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**ISLAMIC REFORMATION AMONG TATARS PART 1:
ORIGIN AND INCEPTION OF KEY CONCEPTS OF JADIDISM**

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Abstract

The present paper, "Islamic Reformation among Tatars Part 1: Origin and Inception of key concepts of Jadidism", is the 1st article among the two set of articles on Jadidism and is intended to provide its readers with some meaningful insights into the conception of Jadidism/Jadidi Movement among Russian Tatars. It discusses about the establishment of main concepts of Jadidism among Tatars, along with its major stages of development. The work illuminates various personalities of the period who stood in favour of or against the movement. This paper also throws light on different aspects of Jadidism particularly its social and cultural ones.

Origin of Jadidism

The general origin of Jadidism has not yet been developed in the scientific literature as a phenomenon. Such a position intensifies interpretation of the Tatar history from 18th to 20th Century, as during that period the issue of Jadidism is a crucial one. It is essential to analyse this complex issue from the historical point of view to perceive how the beginning of this phenomenon was formulated. As an outcome of earlier developments in Tatar social philosophy, by 1920s an opinion was shaped among Tatar intelligentsia that Jadidism should to be measured as a "Mental and Cultural Movement of Particular Kind", a "Mental Awakening" aiming reconciliation of the Tatars with European culture, renovation of society as per the demands of the time.¹ In short, it was about a spiritual upsurge, focused on restructuring society, and its deliberate modernisation from a European perspective.

At the commencement of 1930s, there appeared supplementary, peculiarly class-based approximations that came to change. Thus, in 1931 C.E. Jadidism was demarcated by A.

Arsharuni and H. Gabidullin as a “Banner of joint political struggle of the progressive Tatar bourgeoisie and its followers against conservatism”.ⁱⁱ Moreover, in Soviet historiography more rigid formulations, unswervingly developed in Tatarstan in the 1940s and early 1950s were consolidated. It was combined with discussions on the mission for textbooks on Tatar literature in 1948 C.E. and 1952 C.E. at the level of Tatar regional committee of Bolshevik Party. In its resolution, the regional committee’s bureau of 1948 C.E., it was resolved that the textbooks signified an inappropriate assessment of the Jadidist trend, which turned into a counter revolutionary movement.ⁱⁱⁱ In the subsequent resolution, acknowledged in 1952 C.E., this conclusion was specified and distended. It projected Jadidism as a “bourgeois-national movement”, preaching an “ideology of nationalism, Pan-Turkism, class peace within the Tatar nation for the sake of “national unity” and tried to “tear the Tatar nation apart from Russia, turning it into an appendage of the putrid Empire of the Turkish Sultans”. Finally, as per the opinion of the resolution’s authors, after October 1917 C.E. the Jadidists “joined the lines of national counter-revolution...” and their remnants “joined with national gangs of Trotsky and Bukharin, being the paid agents of capitalistic intelligent services”. This continued with an explanation that calls the phenomenon a “counter-revolutionary bourgeois national movement”.^{iv}

These party commands in Tatarstan in 1950s and 1960s resulted in the conception of historical works in accordance with the above-mentioned cliché. Assessment of historians varied only depending on their state of involvement in party structures or the domain of the party and philosophy. Some among them didn’t went beyond emphasising that, in contrast with the “bourgeois-reformist movement, called Jadidism”, the democratic movement (which was intensifying at the same time), they had “opposite view points”. Adding that the Jadidism from “the very beginning of its appearance” was a movement of a “reactionary and anti-popular kind”, and had an “extremely detrimental ideology of Pan -Turkism and Pan-Islamism as its fundamentals” (1955 C.E.).^v In “History of Tatar ASSR” (1955 C.E.) Jadidism was also amplified as a “bourgeois nationalistic, reactionary movement closely associated with the ideas of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism”. Concurrently, it was recognised that the Jadidists “had been progressing idea of a ‘Europeanised’ enlightening and renewed religion”. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie were convicted of “attempts to substitute their cause for the “national one”.^{vi} Explanations adjacent to party document spirits were also found in numerous works by other authors. For example, S. G. Batyev, a renowned politician and scientist from Tatarstan, in his article on Jadidism written in 1964 C.E., quoted the following features: “reactionary trend, based on an ideology of national bourgeoisie and Pan-Turkism”.^{vii} According to his estimation, it was a “firmly consolidated definition”. He was supported by H. K. Hasanov, who advocated the Jadidism to be interpreted as “counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie national movement”, in addition one which persistently propagated the “ideas of Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism”.^{viii} This inclination in assessment of Jadidism in the Tatarstan historiography continued until the end of the 1960s, and can be observed in the textbook “History of TASSR”, issued in 1968 C.E. It pronounced Jadidism as a “bourgeoisie national movement trend”. The textbook’s authors point out that the forebearers of the movement were “pretending to continue the activity of democratic enlighteners” only with the motive of “gaining the confidence of the masses”, but in fact they had a class foundation, since they were bourgeoisie, while the enlighteners “served the people”.^{ix} It is certainly clear that all the above-mentioned features and estimations revolve round archetypes acknowledged by the party organs.

Nevertheless, other tendencies also existed in the interpretation of Jadidism. For instance, in G. M. Halitov's dissertation type script, finalized in 1947 C.E. and devoted to the pre-October's period of M. Gafuri's work, Jadidism was explained as a "bourgeois national enlightening movement of the close of the 19th Century" (emphasising the liberal bourgeois, democratic and *raznochinet* trend).^x A comparable stance can evidently be seen in the unpublished work of G. Hodayarov, in which Jadidism was represented as equivalent to enlightenment, and the very phenomenon of Jadidism was defined in the following way: "...it is leaving mediaeval times for the 20th Century. It is an expression made by the Turkic nations of Russia and, above all, by the Tatar nation, of turning from the feudal culture and ideology of Bukhara. It is an expression of turning the face towards the west...The new culture and ideology that came into being as a bourgeois-democratic one, aimed to reinforce capitalistic development".^{xi} Apparently, the later inclination had bothered the party and socio-political circles: it is doubtful to be random that such an officially engaged historian as H.H. Hasanov, in his essay published in 1965 C.E., specifically emphasised that "Jadidism should not be acknowledged with enlightenment".^{xii}

During 1970s, when the approach to Jadidism as a stage of enlightenment came to the forefront, together with its advocates, did the condition in terms of the interpretation of Jadidism in Tatarstan started to transform.^{xiii} At last, Y. G. Abdullin, the most considerable in supporting the view that Jadidism would be considered a stage of enlightenment, in the year 1990 C.E. proposed the understanding of this phenomenon as a socio-political expression of the bourgeois democratic movement of the 19th to 20th century.^{xiv}

At the same time, there appeared other foreign views of Jadidism's essence. In T. Davletshin's book "Soviert Tatarstan", published in London in 1974 C.E., Jadidism was acknowledged with school reforms.^{xv} E. Lazzerini made a painstaking study of variations in relation to Jadidism in the Soviet era, having emphasised new explanations given by Y. G. Abdullin in his works.^{xvi} In the outline to the essay by J. Walidi, published in Oxford in 1986 C.E., Jadidism was defined as an "attempt to modernise Islam".^{xvii} Another trend of Jadidism's interpretation was developed in parallel with the above-mentioned approaches. It was already begun by A. Benigsen, who framed an assumption that religious reform should be measured as only the 1st stage of the reformative movement, the 2nd stage of which comprised of an attempt of radical changes in traditional Muslim culture, beginning from language modernisation, and reform in education and upbringing, which followed right after that.^{xviii} As we can see, this scholar measured school reform as only a structural element of a general movement intended at performing "radical changes in the Muslim culture". A. A. Rorlich, in her renowned research dedicated to the Tatars of the Volga and Ural region, preferred to consider changes in schooling within the Tatar reformative movement.^{xix} From the modern publications of the work of Turkish scientist A. Kanlidere,^{xx} who partially realised the task of revealing the ulemas' significance in the Tatar reformative movement, which in the mid-1980s was suggested by E. La.zzereni, deserves specific consideration.^{xxi} In the specified work, Jadidism is interpreted by A. Kanlidere, in a short form as a "combination of Islam and Modernism", giving a more elaborate interpretation of this statement in the following way: the Jadidists, "under influence of penetration of modern ideas in the 19th Century, having realised the requirement of the selective integration of Western culture, intended to change the intellectual position of Muslims towards religious ideas, education, the gender domain and politics".^{xxii} Furthermore, this author had

predominantly highlighted the leading position of religion (Islam) in the activity of Tatar reformers.^{xxiii}

Contrary to this general background, the problem of Jadidism in Tatarstan sustained to be intensely discussed, there appeared both followers of viewpoints stated in the West^{xxiv} and attempts of more reflective analyses of Jadidism. In particular, in the recent writing of Y. G. Abdullin, devoted to Jadidism, it was stated that the Jadidist movement intended to “save the Tatars as a nation and make a path for progress”. Nevertheless, the fact that the author still deliberates Jadidism as an enlightenment stage, he poses the question of struggle of classifying them. As per the conception, there are two essential differences between Jadidism and enlightenment: (1) Jadidism was a movement of more practical tendency; (2) the circle of participants associated was much broader (including progressive Clergy, Muallims, Shagirds, and a large share of entrepreneurs, etc.^{xxv}

Consequently, in the period between 1970s to 1990s in Tatarstan, a return to definitions that existed among intellectuals in the 1920s in relation to Jadidism took place. Under these conditions, the position of those advocates who supposed Jadidism had "never expressed the interests of the working people" was sealed up with "reactionary Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism", stepped at "openly counter-revolutionary path" and gradually overcome.^{xxvi} Y.G. Abdullin laid special emphasis on the statements of critics and proof that Jadidists stood for public interests and all classes of Tatar society in general.^{xxvii} Such developments in the interpretation of the phenomenon of Jadidism evidently brings researchers from Tatarstan in collaboration with the group of foreign scientists that aims to consider the Jadidist movement against the wider background of the reformation progressions among Tatars.

Numerous arguments should be supposed on the subject of “terms”. As already established, right up to the 1970s, in Tatarstan conceptions like “Jadidism” and the “Jadidist movement” were used predominantly in the class-sense of the term. Even Y. G. Abdullin was subject to this tendency in his new works.^{xxviii} Henceforth, it is clear that up to a certain period in Tatarstan, the term “enlightenment” was more desirable. Those authors who pronounced Jadidism as a phase of enlightenment, the communist ideologue view point, acted as if they were disguising a dubious or extraneous phenomenon under cover of a intentionally “good” movement. The political condition has changed fundamentally and we are able to write openly of Jadidism as reformatory trend. But there appears a problem of conceptual plan: those researchers who were inclined to identify Jadidism only with reformation activity in the field of education (they begin in the 1880s) use the term “Jadidism” in an extremely narrow sense, by no means reflecting other significant aspects of the reformatory movement that took place in Tatar society from the last quarter of the 19th Century. It appears to us that conception of Jadidism (and “Jadidism activity” derived from it) can be usually used to designate the Tatar reformation's nationwide stage (18th to 20th century), since theoretically this movement had one common course in consolidation of nation. Simultaneously, it should be noted out that the very term “Jadidism” was genetically associated with the "Usul-i Jadid" conception ("new method"), which came to the forefront in the course of formation of the "new method" education system among Tatars (originally among Crimean Tatars). Nevertheless, if the aforementioned essence of the “Jadidism” concept is defined more precisely, its utilization in a broader sense will not create any complications.^{xxix}

At last, the artificially shaped complications of “reformation” and “enlightenment” (with their dormant rational end at the "proletarian" stage) allocation among Tatars will be detached; the entire nationwide stage may be considered as an integral reformatory Jadidist stage. It is not improbable that independent stages will be allocated within this rising reforming movement.

Developmental Stages of Jadidism

A. Benigsen^{xxx} and A. A. Rorlich^{xxxi} emphasise three stages of Jadidism's establishment within Tatar society: religious (theological), cultural and political reformism. But the intricacy of situation is resolved in that while these stages in general follow each other, they can be reciprocally jumbled. For instance, some significant theological deliberations in Tatar society were still continuing at the commencement of the 20th Century, when significant cultural reforms took place and the activity of Jadidist politicians started. In general, it is quite problematic to emphasise clearly marked stages within Tatar social movements according to the European model (from Reformation to Enlightenment and so on). The fact is that Tatar society extensively relates to the East, where due to numerous conditions, the "overlapping" of diverse stages of society's transformation took place.^{xxxii} Consequently, it is not surprising that there exist certain alternative versions between researchers, both in dating Jadidism's initial period and in allocation of definite stages to this phenomenon. For instance, Y. G. Abdullin stated that Jadidism came into being in 1880s.^{xxxiii} A comparable position was taken by A. N. Yuzeev. Though, J. Walidov was inclined to begin religious reformation among Tatars from the movement of A. Kursawi (1776 to 1812 C.E.) and Sh. Mardjani (1818 to 1889 C.E.).^{xxxiv} T. Davletshin acknowledged himself with J. Walidov, but then he added I. Khalfin to the list.^{xxxv} A. Benigsen favored to start this movement from Sh. Mardjani.^{xxxvi} In an article by A. A. Rorlich, Tatar reformism began at the end of 18th to commencement of 19th century and such personalities as G. Utyz-Imyani (1754 to 1815 C.E.), Abu Nasyr al-Kursawi and I. Halfin (1778 to 1829 C.E.) are considered its earliest representatives.^{xxxvii} This view point is reinforced by A. Kanlidere to a certain degree, and even though Jadidism is, in his opinion, interpreted in a rather slender sense as simply a struggle for an educational structure of the novel method, he permits a diverse interpretation of the queries of the reformatory movement, including what is predominantly indicative - of religious renovation among Tatars, starting from A. Kursawi.^{xxxviii}

In various estimations, the approach recommended by J. Walidov, A. Benigsen, T. Davletshin, A. A. Rorlih and A. Kanlidere is more adequate, but with only reservation: it can be supposed that religious renovation among Tatars ages back to 1770s, as we can perceive some kind of discrete relation towards Islam by Mullah Murat, for illustration in objective towards its "renovation". Cultural reformation, with the principal of school education reform in the early period, actually started much later from the 2nd half of the 19th Century (the most celebrated project to create schools of European type for Tatars was prepared in 1860-62 C.E. by H. Faizkhanov (1828 to 1866 C.E.).^{xxxix} In fact, more conclusive steps towards Tatar school reformation were taken only from the last quarter of 19th Century.^{xl} In this Case, the Tatars of the Volga-Ural region were directly influenced by the activity of Crimean Tatar I. Gasprinski (1851 to 1914 C.E.), who already in 1884 C.E. begun teaching as per the new method^{xli} (Usul-i-Jadid that is "new method" hence Jadidism). Those authors who dated Jadidism among Tatars from 1880s accepted reformation in the field of education as the

substance, although reformations in the arena of culture were the most widespread in comparison to the appearance and progress of "new method" confessional schools. It should also be recalled that a number of cultural building sections gained their logical deduction only at the commencement of the 20th Century, when the stage of political reformation started in Tatar society.

Diffusion of Tatar Jadidists into politics relates to the very close of 19th Century, but their contribution in the political life of Russia started to be noticeable from 1905 C.E.^{xlii} The definition of the concluding stage of Jadidist political movement is much more doubtful, as it was revealed in the course of an international round-table dialogue dedicated to Jadidism (February 1995 C.E.).^{xliii} Diverse views on this matter were also specified in the literature as well. For example, Y.G. Abdullin, who deliberates Jadidism to be an "ideological expression of bourgeoisie-democratic movement", is inclined to presume that it was exhausted even before 1917 C.E. but halted its actual existence before October 1917 C.E..^{xliv} Though, the approach of Y. G. Abdullin raises serious oppositions. Accordingly, A. Benigsen emphasised a certain sequence between national Muslim communism (1917 to 1928 C.E.) and previous Jadidist political movements.^{xlv} A comparable view point is reflected in the article "Tatar Jadidism", in which Jadidism is sustained until the 1930s.^{xlvi} unintended confessions of the same approach may be seen in works of T. Davletshin (particularly in the section "Some conceptual aspects of national liberation Tatar movements")^{xlvii} and A. A. Rorlich.^{xlviii} Since the viewpoint of "nation building", the Tatar "Muslim communism" in political plan can certainly be considered a definite continuance of Jadidist political reformation.

Socio-Cultural Aspect of Jadidism

As for Tatars entire period between the 18th and 1st decades of the 20th century may be defined as an epoch of reformation. In which due to the universal nature of Islam, Tatar reformers found themselves constantly within the limits of the context of "Muslim reformation."^{xlix} For the latter there are substantial reasons. As noted by E. Gellner, a well-known professional in the field of anthropology, "Muslim reformation", which was taking place in the world over the course of the past Century, had carried out the same work as Western nationalism, based on rich culture. According to his estimation, this process along with modernisation, resulted in an "elite form of Islam championing over its popular forms".¹ It was the kind of Islam that could provide people, who found themselves in considerably altered conditions of urbanisation and demolition of traditional local communities, with a "new identity, new image of 'ego', to a certain degree acting as a 'certificate, confirming their position and pass to the urban people'. In short, the official Islam became the foundation for anonymous society, prevailing in modern conditions".^{li}

We assume that the reformation movement (Jadidism), that has taken place in Tatar society at least from the 1770s until the culmination of the 1920s, will be defined more accurately as a movement to consolidate nationhood. At the same time, it is essential to recollect that, according to E. Gellner, the indication of a nation's making authorizations from total authority of religion to culture and connection of the latter with ethnic identification.^{lii} Nonetheless in Muslim societies this "transaction" resulted out to be of fairly peculiar kind, there appeared puritanic movements, intended at religious revival and objecting to the influence of various peripheral features on "pure", original Islam.^{liii} In fact, it concerns a peculiar Islamic fundamentalism. it is not arbitrary that regarding the Tatar reformers A. Kanlidere records their idealisation of the early Salafi Islam, their anti-

Qalamist position, emphasising the existence of "appeal to the past" and the peculiar aspect of conventionalism in the activities of the Muslim reformers.^{liv} Nonetheless, with certain reservations, the general declaration of E. Gellner regarding the changeover to a culturally mediated character can also be applied to Tatars.

The fact is that their 1st phase of nation making (the 18th to mid-19th century) commenced on the basis of violent inter-confessional conflicts in the 1st part of the 18th Century, after attempt of their forced Christianization.^{lv} In this era, Tatars had no "elite" culture of their own. It was replaced by Islam, which began to reform itself in the essence of public needs. The very "elite", ethnic sections of the Volga-Ural Tatars, was shaped only in the 2nd half of the 19th and start of the 20th century.^{lvi} Consequently, for the assessments of Tatar case, we have to deliberate the quite significant note made by E. Gellner, who stated that "education of a nation and triumph of the reformist movement" are "parts of one integral process".^{lvii} However, it has to be professed that religious reformation of the Tatars religion, which had already started in the 18th Century, was not exhausted during that period: quite significant theological deliberations were held at the beginning of 20th Century, when chief cultural reforms were taking place and the activity of Jadidist politicians begun.

Accordingly, the stages of Jadidism (reformation) detailed above, reflect qualitative phases of the Tatar nation-building, which possesses three stages: the stage of "Muslim" nation development (18th to middle 20th Century); the stage of "ethnic" (ethno-cultural) nation establishment; the stage of establishment of the Tatar "political" nation (first two and a half decades of the 20th Century).^{lviii} But it has to be particularly emphasised that none of these designated steps were "pure" ones. Say, since religious reformation was leading the 1st stage, the section of successive cultural reformation existed within its bounds. Significant cultural changes continued during the last phase but, as was already noted, reformatory explorations in the field of theology were yet not finished. Consequently, the wisdom of the problem can be found in some general propensities, the main spirit of which is reformation of the nation.

ⁱ Walidov J., *Studies in history of education and literature of the Tatars*, Oxford, 1986, pp.74-85; Ibrahimov G., "Tatarlar arasynda revolyutsiya kharakatlare", *Asarlar*, vol. 7; *Tarikhi khezmatlar (1911-1927)*, Kazan, 1984, pp. 262, 429 .

ⁱⁱ Arsharun I.A., Gabidullin H., *Ocherki panislam i pontyurkizma v Rossii*, M. 1931, p. 22.

ⁱⁱⁱ "Postanovlenie Bureau Tatarskogo OK ot 2.09.1948 g. "Ob uchebnike tatarskoi literatury dlya 8 klassa" (On manual of the Tatar literature for the 8th class)", *Islam v Tatarskom mire: istoriya i sovremennost'* (Materials of the international symposium, Kazan 29 April-1 May 1996), Kazan, 1997, p. 355.

^{iv} Postanovlenie Bureau Tatarskogo OK ot 19.01.1952 g. "Ob oshibkakh v uchebnike literatury diya 8 klassa tatarskikh srednikh shkol", *Islam*, pp.362-263.

^v Gainullin M., Kayum Nasyrov prosverite/'skoe dvizhenie sredi tatar Kazan, 1956, pp. 12-13.

^{vi} Istoriya Tatarskoi; ASSR, vol. 1, Kazan, 1955, p. 370.

^{vii} Batyev R.G., "Tatarskiy Jadidizm i ego evolyutsia", Istoriya SSSR, 1964, No.4, p. 53.

^{viii} Hasanov H.H., Revolyutsiya 1905-1907 gg. v Tatarii, M.: Nauka, 1965, p. 61.

^{ix} Istoriya Tatarskoi ASSR (s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei), Kazan, 1968, pp. 235-236.

^x Halitov G.M., Dooktyabrskaya tvorcheskaya evolyutsiya Madjita Ghofuri, Kazan, 1947. Manuscript of the thesis of candidate of literary criticism, Dept. of manuscripts of Language, Literature, and History Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. fund 70, inv. 1, file 22, pp. 19, 294,299.

^{xi} Hodayarov G., Iz istorii natsional'nogo osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya i dorevolucionnoi dukhovnoi kul'tury tatarskogo i boshkirskogo naradov, Ufa (n/d.}. Manusc:ript {Stored In Dept . of Social Ideas and Islamistics. Judging from the contents it was written in the late 50's and developed and corrected until the mid-60's), p. 25.

^{xii} Hasanov H.H., Revolyutsiya, p. 60.

^{xiii} See: Abdu Illn Ya . G., Jadidism, ego sotsial'naya priroda i evolyutiya, iz istorii Tatarskoi obshchestvennoi; mysli, kazan, 1979, pp.97,104; istoriya Tatarskoi ASSR, Kazan, 1980, pp.79-81. The followers of this approach underlined that Jadidism was a movement against the heritage of a "feudal past" for the creation of certain conditions to establish bourgeois-democratic reforms.

^{xiv} Abdullin Ya. G., Burzhuazno- demokraticeskoe dvizhenie rubezha XIX-XX vekov i ego ideologicheskoe vyrazhenie, Jadidism, Obshchestvennaya i filosofskaya mysl' v Tatarii nachala XX veka, M.: Nauka, 1990, p. 16. Judging from the fact that the close estimation of Jadidism in the period of time in question was given by scholars of Central Asia (See: Is istorii obshchestvenno- filosofskoi mysli i volnodumiya v Srednei Azii, Tashkent, 1991, p.96-97), such interpretation should be attributed to the post- Soviet Turkic states.

^{xv} Davletshin T., Soviet Tatarstan: Theory and practice of the Lenin national policy, London, 1974, pp.46-50.

^{xvi} Lazzarini R. J., ("Ethnicity and the uses of History: The case of the Volga Tatars and Jadidism", *Central Asian Survey*, vol. 1, N2/3, November 1982, pp. 61-69.

^{xvii} Walidov J., *Tatar jadidism, Studies in history of education and literature of the Tatars*, Oxford, 1986, p.8.

^{xviii} Benigsen A., *Musul'mane v SSSR (Muslims in the USSR)*, Paris, 1983, p.16-17.

^{xix} Rorlich A.A., *The Volga Tatars: a profile in national resilience*, Stanford, 1986, pp. 86-103, 105.

^{xx} Kanlidere A., *Reform within Islam. The tajid and jadid movement among the Kazan Tatars (1809-1917). Conciliation or conflict?* Istanbul, 1997.

^{xxi} Lazzarini R. J., *The revival of Islamic culture in pre-revolutionary Russia: or, why a prosopography of the tatar ulema?* *Passe Turco-Tatar Present Sovitique*, *Studien offered to A. Benigsen*, Paris, 1986, pp. 367- 372.

^{xxii} Kanlidere A., *Reform*, pp.74, 78.

^{xxiii} *Ibid*, pp.40, 42, 57, 139 etc.

^{xxiv} For instance, A. Yuzeev believes Jadidism can be considered neither the enlightening movement, nor the reform movement, as it was only the "public movement for education reform" (Yuzeev A. "Mesto Jadidisma v Tatarskoi obshchestvennoi mysli kontsa XIX-nachala XX vekov", *Gasyrlor avazy*, *Echo of centuries* 1999, No. 1-2. pp. 164-165. A closely related point of view has been expressed in other works by the author. (See: Yuzeev A., *Tatarskaya filosofskaya mysl kontsa XVIII-XIX vv.*, Book 1, Kazan, 1998, pp. 39-40.; *Idem*, *Mardjani*, Kazan, 1997, p. 46. In this piece he developed an idea that among the Tatars, first a religious reformist movement was formed (between the turn of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century), and then the enlightenment period began (the second half of the 19th century).

^{xxv} Abdullin Ya. G., *Jadidism sredi Tatar: vznikovenie, razvitie i istoricheskoe mesto*, Kazan, 1998, pp.3,23,29,33-34.

^{xxvi} *Istoriyo Tatarskoi ASSR*, 1980, pp.81-82.

^{xxvii} Abdullin Ya. G., *Jadidism sredi Tatar*, pp. 28-29.

^{xxviii} His position is very clear in his assessment given to Jadidism as an "ideological expression of the bourgeoisie-democratic movement" and from striving to put the upper threshold of Jadidism at October 1917 (see: Abdullin Ya. G., *Burzhuazno-demokraticeskoe*, pp. 28-29).

^{xxix} See: Ishaqov D., "O Tatarskom Jadidisme v svyazi s diskussiey o ego sushchnosti", *Musa Bigiev: miras kheam khazerge zaman. Khalykara konferentsiya materiallary*, Kazan, dekabr', 1999, Kazan, 2000, pp. 148-157.

^{xxx} Benigsen A., *Musul'mane*, p. 79.

^{xxxi} Rorlich A. A., *The Volga*, p. 49,

^{xxxii} Ishmuradova Z.K., *Prosvetitel'stvo v Srednei Azii i reformatorstvo, Is istorii obshchestvenno- filosofskoi mysli i volnodumiyo v Srednei Azii*, Tashkent, 1991, pp. 102-114.

^{xxxiii} Abdullin Ya. G., *Jadidism*, p. 104; *Idem*, *Burzhuazno-demokraticeskoe*, p. 16.

^{xxxiv} Walidov J., *Studies in history of education and literature of the Tatars*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 56-68.

^{xxxv} Davletshin T., *Sovetskiy*, p. 28-30.

^{xxxvi} Benigsen A., *Musul'mane*, p. 16-17.

^{xxxvii} Rorlich A. A., *The Volga*, p. 49.

^{xxxviii} Kanlidere A., *Reform*, pp. 24-25, 77.

^{xxxix} See: Usmanov M.A., *Avtografy Mardjani na polyakh podlinnikov proekta H. Faizhanovo o shkoi'noi reforme, Mardjani: uchenyi, myslitel', prosvedtel'*, Kazan, 1990, pp. 119-129,

^{xl} Manmutova A.H., *Stonovlenie svetskogo obrazovoniya u Tator (bor'ba vakrug shkol'nogo voprosa)*. Kazan, 1982; Rorlich A. A., *The Volga*, p. 88.

^{xli} Rorlich A. A., *The Volga*, p. 88.

^{xiii} Benigsen A., *Musul'mane*, p. 21; *Tatar jadidism*, p. 8; Rorlich A. A. *The Volga*, pp.105-106. Ishaqi A., *Idel-Ural*, London, 1988, p. 42.

^{xiii} Muhametshin R., "Jadidism: vremya poiska novykh podkhodov", *Tatarstan*, 1995, No. 9-10. pp. 87-89.

^{xiv} Abdullin Ya. G., *Jadidism*, pp.114-116; *Idem*, *Burzhnuazno-demokraticeskoe*, pp. 28-29.

^{xv} Benigsen A., *Musul'mane*, pp.19-26.

^{xvi} *TatarJadidism*, p.11.

^{xvii} Davletshin T., *Soviet*, pp.143-152.

^{xviii} Rorlich A.-A., *The Volga*, pp. 142-156.

^{xix} Therefore, reproach by A. Kanlidere of scholars for a lack of attention paid to the religious aspect of the Tatar reform movement is quite fair, Kanlidere A., *Reform*, pp. 29,129.

ⁱ High Islam (same for high culture), in understanding of E. Gellner, was a written, unifying, individualistic tradition, i.e., Islam designed in book tradition.

ⁱⁱ Gellner E., *Usloviya svobody*, M., 1995, pp. 26, 32, 34, 87.

ⁱⁱⁱ Gellner E., *Natsii i natsionalizm*, M., Progress Publishers, 1991.p.159.

ⁱⁱⁱ Gellner E., *Usloviya svobody*, p.34.

^{iv} Kanlidere A., *Reform*, p.40.

^{iv} Ishaqov D. M., "Ob identichnosti volgo-ural'skikh Tatar v XVIII veke". *Islam v Tatarskom mire: Istoriya i sovremennast'* (Materialy mezhdunorodnogo simpoziuma, Kazan 29 aprelya-1 maya 1996 g.), Kazan, 1997, pp. 25-28.

^{vi} Ishaqov D.M., Problemy stanovleniya i transformatsii Tatarskoi natsii, Kazan, 1997, pp. 7-50.

^{vii} Gellner E., Natsii, p. 174.

^{viii} Ishaqov D.M., "Ob osnovnykh etapakh stanovleniya Tatarskoi natsii (Istoriko-sotsiologicheskii ocherk)"
Panoama-Forum, 1997, .No 1, p.103-107; No. 11; pp. 67-87.