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PRINTING, PUBLISHING, AND REFORM IN TSARIST CENTRAL ASIA

Scholars have long noted, often with disapproval,¹ the tardiness of the introduction of printing to the Muslim world, but the consequences of that introduction on the production, reproduction, and transmission of knowledge in Muslim societies are only now beginning to be understood. For instance, the numerous movements for modernist reform that arose in the Muslim world in the 19th century were all propagated through the medium of print, yet the connection between those movements and the availability of printing seldom has been investigated.² This neglect is all the more surprising in view of the fact that historians of early modern Europe have long emphasized the signal role played by printing in Europe's transition to modernity. In her influential work, Elizabeth Eisenstein has written of a "printing revolution" unleashed by the invention and rapid dissemination of the technology in 15th-century Europe.³ There is, for Eisenstein, something inherent in the very nature of printing that revolutionizes the intellectual outlook of individuals and cultures with which it comes in contact.⁴ In a different vein, Benedict Anderson has pointed to the importance of "print capitalism" in creating a sense of shared community in the 19th century that made possible the rise of nationalism in many parts of the world.⁵

The long absence of printing in the Muslim world casts serious doubt on the universality of the "printing revolution." Despite its long literate tradition, in which the arts of the book were highly valued, the Muslim world did not take enthusiastically to printing. Although European printers were producing books in the Arabic script as early as the beginning of the 16th century,⁶ the first Muslim-owned press did not open in a Muslim country until 1729, when İbrahim Müteferrika was allowed to set one up in Istanbul. The press did not survive its owner's death, and it was not until the 19th century that the printed word became widespread in the Ottoman Empire. Printing arrived even later in other parts of the Muslim world, and its development was no more rapid.

No printing press existed in the khanates of Central Asia at the time of the Russian conquest carried out largely between 1864 and 1876. Yet, in the half-century of imperial Russian rule, a local print trade took hold, and by 1917 the printed word had become ubiquitous in the region. This article seeks to explore the manner

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in which the availability of the new technology affected cultural discourse in Central Asia. More specifically, I am interested in the role of the printed word in the rise of Jadidism, the movement for modernist reform inspired by the Crimean Tatar Ismail Bey Gasprinskii (1849–1914) that rapidly gained ground in Central Asia after the turn of the century.

Through an examination of the output of the early years of printing in Central Asia I hope to show that the impact of print on the Muslim cultural discourse was unclear. The technology itself was coopted by the established cultural elite, which used it to reproduce culturally valued knowledge. In the first decades of printing, printed books could scarcely be distinguished from manuscripts, which continued to be produced. It was only when the Jadids sought to harness print to their goal of disseminating modern elementary education through the so-called new-method (*usul-i jadid*) schools that new genres of publishing began to emerge. Even then, economic and political imperatives of life on the imperial periphery tended to mute the success of reformist publishing. The Russian authorities had the political power to control the output of the presses through licensing and censorship, and the general poverty of the agrarian economy inhibited the investment needed to operate a printing press. Nevertheless, as I argue later, Jadidism as a reformist project would have been inconceivable without the printing press, for the printed word allowed the Jadids to challenge the moral authority of the established cultural elite, the ulema. Jadid reform was articulated in the public space created by the printed word.

PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS

That the printing press had not appeared in Central Asia before the Russian conquest is not surprising given the low level of technology in the area. But printed books had appeared in Central Asia by the middle of the 19th century, either imported from India as part of the overland trade or brought back from the Ottoman Empire and Egypt by returning hajjis.⁷ The establishment of the first printing press in Central Asia in 1868 produced no effect on the local book trade. This press, installed at the Russian military headquarters in Tashkent, possessed Arabic fonts that were used to print the *Turkistān wilayatining gazeti* (Turkestan Gazette), an official organ aimed at local functionaries of the administration, beginning in 1870.

This press did not by itself bring about the emergence of a local publishing trade, however. The latter required investors and buyers, neither of whom existed in Central Asia at that time. The official press used movable type to print Arabic letters in the *naskh* script, which held little aesthetic appeal for Central Asian readers used to the more elaborate *nastaʿliq*. Typeset books, bereft of all decoration, appeared too rude and mechanical to readers still immersed in the manuscript tradition.⁸ In the 1870s, therefore, only five titles were published in Uzbek, all under official auspices.⁹

It was only in 1882 when Esanbay Husaynbay-oghli, a steel merchant in Tashkent, bought lithographic equipment for a local Russian printer that a local print trade took hold. The next year, Esanbay financed the publication of the first locally produced lithographed book, the *Sabāt ul-ʿājizīn* of Sufi Allah Yar, the 17th-century

poet. After that a few presses began to print books on a contract basis. By 1917, there were thirteen presses in Tashkent with perhaps a similar number distributed among other towns of Turkestan. No commercial printing presses existed in the protectorates of Bukhara and Khiva.¹⁰ The amirs of Bukhara, in particular, had become champions of tradition and conservatism in domestic affairs and were opposed rigidly to the new invention; the first press did not open there until 1917.¹¹

Most printing presses in Turkestan were owned by Russians for whom Arabic-script printing remained a side operation. This helped to divorce printing from publishing in a manner that is not characteristic of early printing elsewhere. Eisenstein has pointed out that the early master printers of Europe were "protean figures" involved not just in printing, but also in publishing, selling books locally, and managing far-flung sales.¹² In Central Asia, the reasons printing presses were concentrated in Russian hands were both economic and political. Operating a printing press required a considerable financial outlay as well as the permission of a colonial regime that was generally suspicious of such endeavors on the part of its newly acquired subjects. Russians had greater access to sources of capital and found it easier to receive the permission to publish needed from the colonial regime. We know of only five Muslims who owned printing presses in the period under review. Because they had a strong connection with the intellectual world they served, they took on the roles of publisher and bookseller as well.¹³

Those Central Asians who had the resources to operate a printing press could become prominent public figures. Moreover, many reformers were attracted to the printing trade at least as much by their reformist convictions as by the promise of financial gain. Ishaq Khan Junaydullah Khoja-oghli, for instance, who received permission to establish a printing press in his ancestral village of Toraqorghhan in 1908, had been an active reformer since the 1890s. He had written extensively on the need for his compatriots to arouse themselves from their "sleep of ignorance" and to acquire modern knowledge. His printing press was to be an important weapon in this struggle. The press possessed both typographic and lithographic equipment, the former having Arabic, Russian, Latin, and Hebrew fonts.¹⁴ His press produced a number of books in the years leading up to 1917, many the work of Ishaq Khan. After the February revolution of 1917, Ishaq Khan used the press to publish two newspapers.

But Ishaq Khan remained an exception. In the absence of more local printers like him, the Central Asian publishing trade was organized around the *nāshir* (publisher), the individual who bore the cost and the risk of putting a new book on the market. The role of the publisher could vary from that of a mere sponsor, responsible only for the financial outlay, to one where he also negotiated contracts with the writer, the calligrapher, and the printer; served as editor and proofreader; dealt with the censors; decided on the format and print run; and ensured the distribution of the book.¹⁵ Some *nāshirs* played an even more central role in the creation of the printed book, combining the roles of writer, calligrapher, printer, and bookseller. Of course, many writers published their own books; other *nāshirs* were printers or calligraphers; and many owned their own bookstores.

Many of those who entered the new business of producing and selling printed books in its earliest years were *sahhāfs*, people already involved in the manuscript-book

trade. Others were ulema and members of the established cultural elite. As becomes apparent from a survey of the activity of early *nāshirs*,¹⁶ most Central Asian publishing remained in the hands of those with a traditional Islamic education, so that the trade catered to traditional tastes. Only a few individuals had a sustained presence in the trade, with many *nāshirs* publishing only one book. For most people who entered the trade, publishing remained a side interest. It is difficult to discern patterns in the publishing activities of even the more prominent *nāshirs*. There seems to have been no specialization by topic or genre in the output of these publishers; rather, titles were chosen from a common pool of classics. The bulk of publishing remained in the hands of individuals and hence was subject to limited resources and the frailties of individual initiative.

The only attempts to provide publishing with a sounder footing came after 1908 when several large bookstores (*kutubkhānas*), themselves a new development, became involved in publishing books. Their greatest growth took place in Kokand, but very active businesses also existed in other cities. Most people involved in these new ventures were Jadids who were also active in writing the textbooks and opening schools. In 1915, for instance, several Jadids founded the Ghayrat (Energy) Society in Kokand. The society hoped to raise 12,500 rubles through a public issue of shares, but only 135 shares worth 25 rubles each could be sold in 1915. The goals of the society were to publish textbooks for Jadid schools and to encourage the dissemination of books, magazines, and newspapers among the Muslim population.¹⁷ A similar endeavor was the Maktab Publishing Company, which was formed as a joint-stock company in March 1916 by a number of Jadid activists, book traders, and investors in Tashkent. Maktab had an initial capital of 5,500 rubles and the stated goal of “publish[ing] periodicals and books among Muslims, serv[ing] the Muslim community (*millat*), [and] acquainting our people with European civilization. . . .”¹⁸ Although 5,500 rubles was a minuscule sum in comparison with what was available to publishers in the metropolis (the Moscow publishing firm of I. D. Sytin, the largest in the empire, was worth 3.4 million rubles in 1914),¹⁹ it was significantly more than what was available to individual *nāshirs*. Many of these businesses remained concerned largely with publishing primers and textbooks for the schools. Indeed, many prominent Jadids, such as Mahmud Khoja Behbudi, Abdulqadir Shakuri, Munawwar Qari, Abdullah Awlani, and Abidjan Mahmudov, were involved in these *kutubkhānas*.

THE PRINTED BOOK

The extent of the output of the print trade remains difficult to determine because official records are incomplete.²⁰ G. N. Chabrov cites archival sources, themselves of doubtful accuracy, to the effect that 111 books were published in local languages in Tashkent alone in 1912.²¹ The Orientalist Lev Zimin listed 69 books published in all of Central Asia between 10 September 1910 and 24 August 1911.²² Both these figures probably understate the total, but they do give some indication of the scale of the local trade thirty years after its inception.²³

Several features of the market determined the extent and scope of local publishing. Publishing strategies were shaped by the necessity to sell and to make a

profit. Certain stock titles dominated local production.²⁴ These texts, in various forms of Turkic as well as Persian, may be classified as follows:

1. popular didactic texts, providing brief statements of the essentials of Islamic belief and ritual for a mass audience, for example, the *Chahār Kitāb* and *Haftyak* (selected verses from the Qurʾan), *Farz-i ʿAyn*, and *Awwal-i ʿIlm*;
2. collections (*diwān* and *kulliyāt*) of poets from the canon of Central Asian literature, such as Nawaʿi, Fuzuli, Saʿdi, Bedil, Mashrab, Yasawi, and Sufi Allah Yar;
3. popular accounts of the lives of the Prophet (*maulid*) and his family, and of earlier prophets (*qisas al-anbiyā*);
4. Sufi literature, including hagiographic accounts (*munājāt*, *maqāmāt*, and *tazkira*), usually anonymous and often in verse, of the lives of prominent Sufi figures;
5. anonymous works from the Central Asian oral tradition (*dāstāns* and *qissas*).²⁵

These titles remained constantly in stock and were reprinted almost every year. The publication of these works was chaotic: the same titles could be published by several publishers at the same time. For example, between 1894 and 1917, Fuzuli's works were published fifty-four times in Tashkent. The year 1893 alone saw six different printings of his *diwān*. The same printer would print the same work for different publishers in the same year. Conversely, nineteen different publishers were involved in the forty printings of Fuzuli for which the *nāshir* is known. Nine of these publishers contributed only one printing each, whereas two put out five editions each.²⁶

In addition to these staple titles, the repertoire of local publishing included Sufi tracts, *risālas* of various craft guilds, popular compilations of *fiqh*, and works of history in the traditional mode. Interestingly, the Qurʾan did not appear on the list of local staples, demand for it being largely satisfied by editions imported from Kazan, Istanbul, and India. There are only a few references to locally printed Qurʾans, and these date from the last dozen years of the tsarist period.²⁷ Similarly absent from the local repertoire were works on hadith and *tafsir*, because these subjects were not taught in Central Asian madrasas where commentaries and glosses from the 12th to the 15th centuries formed the textual basis of instruction.²⁸

Uzbek-language works comprised the bulk of local publishing output. After 1913, several Kazakh-language books were published in Tashkent, although Kazan and Orenburg remained the main centers of Kazakh publishing.²⁹ A considerable amount of Persian-language publishing was undertaken by *nāshirs* from Samarqand and Bukhara, although it is difficult to estimate the total volume of locally produced Persian-language books. The published catalog of Persian printed books in the collections of the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg lists dozens of such works.³⁰ Local editions of Persian works were supplemented by imports from India, which enjoyed great popularity in Central Asia and served as models for local publications.³¹ Several examples of Central Asian reprints of Indian editions are known,³² and some *nāshirs* had their books printed in India.³³ Works in Arabic rarely were published locally, the small demand being satisfied by imports.

Many of these publications were brochures or pamphlets: twenty-five of Zimin's entries are under fifty pages long. Books of substantial length and multivolume works were rare. Price was an important consideration. A short book could sell for

10–15 kopeks and still make a profit, whereas longer books had to be priced at as much as a ruble, a price few readers seemed willing or able to pay.

It is quite obvious that mainstream Central Asian presses in the tsarist period were concerned largely with publishing recognized classics with a guaranteed market. Books that were actually written during the tsarist period comprised only a small part of the output of Central Asian publishing (only nineteen of the sixty-nine works listed by Zimin were written or translated in that period), and most of these titles belonged to traditional genres. Publications included works of living poets, history and geography in the traditional mold, and commentaries on recognized classics.

The products of the local publishing trade were traditional not only in their content but also in their form. Printing took hold in the local book trade only after the introduction of lithography, essentially a process of graphic reproduction that allowed the cursive *nasta'liq* script to be accurately reproduced.³⁴ Instead of being typeset, most Central Asian printed books of the tsarist period were still calligraphed by a scribe (*kātib*) in the manner of manuscripts. Lithography absolved the Central Asian book trade of the necessity of mechanizing the reproduction of texts that typography required; as far as methods of production were concerned, lithographed books were printed manuscripts. Lithography allowed the age of script to continue under the guise of print.

Resemblances between manuscripts and lithographed books were many. Lithographed books also bore decoration in the style of manuscripts, without, of course, the use of illumination. Many books were in fact anthologies in which an anonymous editor (usually the *nāshir*) collected several works, or excerpts from several related works, in one volume. Such books (*majmu'as*) were less the work of an author than artifacts containing a cluster of useful or beneficial texts. Longer books published under their own title were often accompanied by one or more shorter related works or commentaries in the margins of the main work. The text was rarely broken into paragraphs or punctuated. Features of the printed book, such as indexes and tables of contents, were never used. Nor did the scribal tradition itself die out as manuscripts were still being produced in 1917. A large number of works completed during this period, both translations and original compositions, remained in manuscript.³⁵

Traditional works completely dominated the market in the first two decades of local publishing. Their only competition came from a small number of booklets published by N. P. Ostroumov, the editor of the *Turkistān wilayatining gazeti* and an accomplished Orientalist who cultivated paternalistic ties with the local intellectual community. These booklets, aimed at acquainting the natives with European (i.e., Russian) life and culture, had several features in common: they were translations from the Russian, often by Russian Orientalists, and were first published in the *Turkistān wilayatining gazeti*. They were typeset and published in small quantities, the costs of publication being debited to the budget of the newspaper. Publications of this sort included a life of Columbus, a short history of Egypt, and a pamphlet on beekeeping. In addition, official reports and proclamations were published occasionally in Uzbek as pamphlets or broadsides for informational or propaganda purposes. This, however, was the total extent of official involvement in local publishing.

The first major innovation in local publishing came in 1902, a full two decades after printing had become commonplace, and it was related to developments in Muslim education influenced by the new-method (*usul-i jadid*) movement then developing among the Tatars of the Crimea and the Volga. The Jadids aspired to a thoroughgoing cultural reform based on the creation of modern elementary education focused on the acquisition of functional literacy in the vernacular through the use of the phonetic ("new") method, as well as the introduction into the curriculum of secular subjects. The new-method schools differed from the traditional *maktab* in a number of ways. Although it familiarized its students with the alphabet, the traditional Central Asian *maktab* was not concerned with teaching literacy. It imparted instruction orally; its graduates were made familiar with several basic texts of the Islamic tradition but not by being able to read them fluently. Full literacy, that is, the ability to read a text without recourse to mnemonic devices, was achieved only in the advanced stages of a madrasa education. New-method schools also differed from the *maktab* in including arithmetic, geography, and history in their curriculum; and although instruction in the tenets of Islam continued to occupy an important place in Jadid schools, its relation to the student was quite different from what it was in the *maktab*.³⁶ Lessons for religion were separated in the curriculum, thus beginning the process of making Islam a subject for knowledge.³⁷ Finally, new-method schools used textbooks especially designed for children. Jadid reform entailed nothing less than the production of a new kind of knowledge.

New knowledge required new texts, and the Jadids were responsible for almost the entire literary output in new genres in Central Asia in the last years of the old regime. Two new fields appeared in the local publishing trade in these years: textbooks for new-method schools and a new literature (and drama), free of the old literary tradition and expounding new ideas.

The new textbooks of the early 20th century embodied a number of novelties. Patterned on Tatar models, they introduced the child to the alphabet and offered passages for reading specially composed for a juvenile audience. They represented the first attempt to create a children's literature in Central Asia; in the *maktab*, children were treated as miniature men and were expected to learn, through memorization, the same religious and mystical texts that adults used.

The first local Jadid textbooks appeared in Persian in 1904 and in Uzbek in 1907,³⁸ and in the last years of the old regime dozens of textbooks were published by local writers for arithmetic, geography, history, and Uzbek and Persian grammar, as well as for strictly religious topics.³⁹ Most of the locally produced textbooks were primers and elementary readers, as texts for higher grades continued to be imported. In 1914, for instance, Jadid schools in the Samarqand oblast' were using books published in Kazan, Bakhchisarai, Tehran, and Bombay.⁴⁰

The first works of the new literature appeared in 1911, and although they were few (I have counted four works of prose and eleven of drama published locally), they represented a growing field of endeavor. Drama played a significant part in this output. Introduced to Turkestan by Tatar and Azarbayjani troupes, it was embraced enthusiastically by local Jadids as the most suitable medium for their message.⁴¹ Theater embodied an ideal link between print and speech: performances based on printed texts replicated the uniformity of print in an oral medium accessible to all.

In addition to textbooks and belles-lettres, the Jadids also wrote and published the first books in Uzbek on secular topics. Years before he became a printer, Ishaq Khan had published a glossary providing equivalents in six languages (Uzbek, Persian, Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Urdu, and Russian).⁴² He later wrote a history of the world's alphabets illustrated with examples of writing in various scripts.⁴³ In 1912, Fazilbek Atabek-oghli published an abridged translation of *Robinson Crusoe*, the first translation into Uzbek of a Western European work.⁴⁴

By 1917, then, Jadid publications had secured a niche in the local book trade. Nevertheless, as Zimin's bibliography shows, it was only a niche in a market still dominated by traditional works. This was an apt indication of the Jadids' status of a fledgling elite that was confirmed by their experience of electoral politics in 1917.

NEW USES OF THE WRITTEN WORD

Printing could be used to print more than just books, and other kinds of printed matter were probably the form in which most people encountered printing in this period. The new technology made possible entirely new uses of the written word, of which the most obvious example is the newspaper. As an ephemeral mass-produced commodity, a "one-day best-seller" in Benedict Anderson's phrase,⁴⁵ the newspaper is meant to be read quickly, relatively inattentively, and simply as a source of information, in stark contrast to the intensive, reverential reading of a limited number of texts that had characterized premodern uses of the written word.⁴⁶

The first vernacular newspaper in Central Asia was the official *Turkistān wilayatining gazeti*. Aimed at local functionaries of the regime, it sought to keep them informed of the regulations of the government and to provide "useful information" about history, geography, and anecdotes from the history of the Romanov house.⁴⁷ The state, in using the reproductive powers of print to disseminate a uniform message, realized the potential of the medium and sought to control the manner in which it was used. Although Turkic-language newspapers from the Crimea and the Ottoman Empire reached Central Asia, it was not until after the revolution of 1905 that the publication of private vernacular newspapers was allowed locally. Once journalism became a possibility, the Jadids entered the fray, seeking to use the newspaper for their purposes of preaching reform and criticizing society. As Behbudi noted in introducing the functions of newspapers to his audience, "Some newspapers are concerned only with criticism [of society]. . . . In this way, the newspaper becomes the spiritual leader (*hākīm va-yā raʿīs*)."⁴⁸ But the lot of the Central Asian journalist was a sorry one. Even in the more liberal political atmosphere after 1905, local newspapers were kept on a tight leash, with the state retaining sweeping powers over them. When a newspaper did manage to appear, it had to counter the vagaries of the market. Sales were small (e.g., the newspaper *Shuhrat* had a print run of only 300 when it was closed down by the administration in 1908)⁴⁹ and with minimal advertising revenue, newspapers not shut down by the state usually folded for financial reasons. Of the nine newspapers launched in Turkestan before 1917, not a single one survived for more than a few months. Five were shut down by the government and the other four fell as casualties to the limited market.⁵⁰

Other periodicals suffered a similar fate. Behbudi started publishing *Ayna*, an all-purpose magazine, in 1913 after his newspaper *Samarqand* went out of business. He put out the magazine virtually single-handedly, but even his Herculean efforts failed to keep the enterprise afloat. The magazine was published from Behbudi's own house and most likely was subsidized from his personal resources. It had inherited 600 subscribers from *Samarqand*, but at the end of its first year of publication, only 234 remained in good standing.⁵¹ The decline continued, and the magazine folded in the spring of 1915. Government intervention and the small market combined to limit the impact of the periodical press.

Printing also made possible such uses of the written word as business forms, visiting cards, placards, and posters, all of which were in use in Central Asia by 1917. These represented entirely new forms of communication with no antecedent in the Islamic tradition (the impact of such new practices on Muslim society merits further consideration). Printing also made possible the broadsides containing proclamations from the Ottoman sultan that were reportedly widespread in Ferghana after the outbreak of the war in 1914.⁵² Similarly, pictures of Ottoman leaders and postcard views of Istanbul were circulating in Central Asia at the beginning of the war, causing much anxiety among Russian administrators.⁵³

THE PRINTING PRESS: AN AGENT OF CHANGE?

Surveying the early years of printing in Central Asia, one searches in vain for the "printing revolution" that the invention is said to have set off in early modern Europe.

As has been demonstrated, printing was coopted into traditional practices and served to put into print the same books that had been reproduced by hand in earlier centuries. Traditional books monopolized the market in the first two decades of local publishing and dominated it in the following decade and a half. These books looked the same, and were produced in the same manner, as manuscripts. Even when printing was harnessed for nontraditional ends, as by the Jadids, its impact was severely restricted by the small size of the market.

But if most Central Asian printed books could not be distinguished from manuscripts in form or content, they certainly were more ubiquitous. Even the small print runs of Central Asian books represented a quantum leap from the manuscript age. The thirty-five years of commercial publishing in Central Asia probably produced hundreds of thousands of copies of traditional books. At first sight, the effects of the greater availability of literary classics seem minimal. We find no evidence of an upsurge of interest in the literary heritage of Central Asia provoked by the greater availability of the classics. No critical editions were produced, and the works of even the most important poets were poorly known.⁵⁴ Yet, the new ubiquity of the written word carried in it the seeds of a profound change in cultural attitudes toward knowledge and its place in society.

The scarcity of the written word in the manuscript age endowed it with a sacral aura. Writing itself was the object of reverence, and the mnemonic, ritual, and devotional uses of the written word overshadowed its more mundane documentary functions. At the same time, the Islamic tradition has long been suspicious of the ability of the written word alone to convey the meaning of its author. Ideally, access

to the written word was to be mediated by authoritative, face-to-face interaction with a recognized master, usually in a madrasa.⁵⁵ The possession of such authoritative knowledge served as a marker of the cultural and social authority of the learned elite. The ubiquity of print made the written word much more accessible and tended to render the mediation of the learned unnecessary, thereby producing two interrelated results.

On the one hand, print allowed the Jadids to challenge the monopoly of the traditionally learned over authoritative discourse. In their writings, the Jadids tended to address a public composed of all those who could read. The use of print allowed the Jadids to go beyond the concerns of intellectual pedigree and patronage that provided the framework for literary production in the manuscript age. The Jadid project involved nothing less than the redefinition of the social order, for when Behbudi claimed that newspapers were spiritual leaders of society or that the theater was a "house of admonition" (*ʿibratkhāna*) where society could take stock of its ills,⁵⁶ he was challenging directly the authority of the traditional cultural elite. The knowledge of the ulema was now neither necessary nor sufficient to cure society's ills. Similarly, the new prose literature—with its critical posture, independent of the constraints of *adab*—was crucial to the Jadids' attempt to carve out a discursive space for themselves in their society. The printed word redefined the boundaries of the public space within which debate was carried out. The creation of a print-based public space led to a new cultural politics in Central Asia.

On the other hand, the ubiquity of print contributed to a certain desacralization of writing itself. Combined with the spread of functional literacy, the ubiquity of print tended to shift the focus of learning from the master to the text, the secrets of which were now available to all who could read. Newspapers and printed forms further tended to encourage purely utilitarian uses of writing. The Jadids' denigration of the medieval commentaries and glosses used in the madrasa and their call for a "return" to the textual sources of Islam were rooted in this new attitude toward writing.⁵⁷ The market-oriented print trade also led to the commodification of the written word: unlike manuscripts, printed books had to be sold much like any other commodity. Publishers were not patrons, and although sometimes putting a godly book in print was seen as a pious act, few publishers could afford to do so regularly. This commodification further contributed to the desacralization of writing in the age of print.

Both these phenomena were highly subversive of the authority of the ulema. Access to printing allowed the Jadids to reconfigure cultural debate in their society and to lay the foundations for a broad-based movement of cultural reform beyond the control of the older cultural elite. Much of Jadid reform would have been inconceivable without the printing press. Yet, as the total dominance of traditional genres until 1902 shows, none of the changes wrought by print were inherent to it. Rather, they were connected intimately to the social struggles of the Jadids, and many of the successes of print were muted by the political and economic realities of life on the imperial periphery.

In the absence of any involvement by the state, the small and conservative market proved all important. The small size of the market was a function of low literacy rates and low purchasing power of the bulk of the population. Of course,

illiteracy does not in itself close off access to books.⁵⁸ Books can be read aloud, and the audience for the written word was always significantly greater than the number of competent or fluent readers. Gatherings for collective reading (*mashrab*), in which local literates or itinerant storytellers (*maddāh*, *qissakhwān*) recited from written texts, were a common phenomenon in both rural and urban Central Asia.⁵⁹ Individuals with a *maktab* background thus constituted not only an audience for books but also a market of sorts. The tastes of this market were, however, highly conservative, encompassing texts used in *maktabs* and other works of the oral tradition. The changes wrought by print did not extend beyond the literate segment of society, whereas older attitudes continued unchanged among the vast majority of the population. Publishing was also hostage to the low purchasing power of most people, hardly surprising in an agrarian society with low levels of surplus. Even the traditional favorites seldom sold more than a thousand copies.

Publishing remained a small-scale operation that few considered a lucrative investment. This was especially true of the new genres developed by the Jadids, for unlike the trusted classics of the canon, these new works had no guaranteed market. To be sure, many reformers were willing to subsidize their publishing efforts out of their own pockets, and the Jadid writer Hamza Hakimzada Niyazi raised the money through collections among his friends to have his novel *Yangi saādat* (The New Happiness) printed.⁶⁰ But few pockets were deep enough to overcome the need to sell.

Similarly, hostility of both the colonial regime and the ulema further curtailed the Jadids' use of print. The former had the power to censor books and newspapers; the latter provided sustained opposition to every innovation (*bid'at*) introduced by the Jadids. An article in the Tashkent newspaper *Taraqqi* criticizing the traditional *maktab* so irked the ulema that they petitioned the administrator of the city to shut down the newspaper.⁶¹ Such opposition could turn violent, as it did in December 1913 when the imam of the Ulugh Beg Mosque in Samarqand condemned the Jadid poet Sayyid Ahmad Ajzi to death for blasphemy.⁶² Unlike their Indian counterparts,⁶³ however, few Central Asian ulema used print themselves, the sole exception being a group in Tashkent that founded the revivalist journal *al-Islāh* in 1915.

Print provided the elite with a powerful instrument in their social struggles; it did not, however, define those struggles, nor could it transcend the material and political difficulties that marked them. The Jadids lacked the resources to counter the problems of low sales and political hostility. The history of printing after 1918 provides an interesting contrast. In 1918, the fledgling Soviet regime confiscated all printing presses in Turkestan, thereby sounding the death knell for the lithography-based printing trade. In its place it instituted, gradually but inevitably, a state-sponsored publishing industry that produced primers, textbooks, informational material, and political tracts serving the regime. For this purpose, the regime had at its disposal the financial and intellectual resources not just of Central Asia, but of the whole Soviet Union, with publishing houses in Moscow supplementing those of Tashkent. Coupled with the establishment of a network of elementary schools imparting functional literacy in the vernacular, this publishing activity proved highly effective in inculcating new political values and identities.⁶⁴ But that is another story.

NOTES

Author's note: The first germs of this article were present in a paper given at the Fourth International Conference on Central Asia in Madison, Wisconsin, in September 1990. Since then, it has benefited greatly from comments by Michael Chamberlain, Cheryl Duncan, Uli Schamiloglu, and M. Nazif Shahrani. Any errors of fact or opinion are, of course, solely mine.

¹Thomas F. Carter, "Islam as a Barrier to Printing," *The Moslem World* 33 (1943): 213–16.

²Dale F. Eickelman, "Changing Interpretations of Islamic Movements," in *Islam and the Political Economy of Meaning: Comparative Studies of Muslim Discourse*, ed. William R. Roff (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 25–26.

³Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1979), 1:3–159; an abridged version of this book was published as *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983).

⁴Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 1:55.

⁵Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London, 1991), 33–46.

⁶Abrar Karimullin, *U istokov tatarskoi knigi (ot nachala vozniknoveniia do 60-kh godov XIX veka)* (Kazan, 1971), 38–111; Josée Balagna, *L'imprimerie arabe en Occident (XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1984), passim.

⁷The import of Persian-language books from India continued to 1917: G. L. Dmitriev, "Rasprostranenie indiiskikh izdanii v Srednei Azii v kontse XIX—nachale XX vekov," *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy* 6 (1962): 239–54; on Arabic and Turkish-language books of Ottoman and Egyptian origins, see Mir-Salikh Bekchurin, *Turkestanskaia oblast': zametki* (Kazan, 1872), 12.

⁸M. Rustamov, *Ўzbek kitobi* (Tashkent, 1968), 45.

⁹See the bibliography compiled by N. A. Burov, "Dorevoliutsionnaia pechat' Turkestana (1868–1879 gg.)," *Nauchnye trudy Tashkentskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* 261 (1964), for details on these titles.

¹⁰The exception was a lithographic press set up by Muhammad Rahim Khan, the ruler of Khiva, at his court in 1874. Because this was the first lithographic press in Central Asia, there has been a tendency in the literature to exaggerate vastly its importance; see Edward Allworth, *Central Asian Publishing and the Rise of Nationalism* (New York, 1965), 10–14; Almaz Yazberdiyev, *Arap grafikasinda neshir edilen Turkmenche kitaplar* (Ashkhabad, 1981), 22–27. In reality, as the Russian Orientalist A. N. Samoilovich described in 1908, the press was used only to print the works of court poets and certain classics in limited editions for distribution among the court elite. The press had no commercial aims, and its impact on Khivan society was minimal. See his "Materialy po sredneaziatsko-turetskoi literature, II: Khivinskie pridvornye knigokhranilishcha i knigopechatnia," *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Turkmenskoi SSR*, ser. Obshchestvennykh nauk, 1 (1981): 82.

¹¹Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, *Réforme et révolution chez les musulmans de l'Empire russe*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1981), 86–89 and passim.

¹²Elizabeth Eisenstein, "From Scriptoria to Printing Shops: Evolution and Revolution in the Early Printed Book Trade," in *Books and Society in History*, ed. Kenneth E. Carpenter (New York, 1983), 33–35.

¹³Adeeb Khalid, "Muslim Printers in Tsarist Central Asia: A Research Note," *Central Asian Survey* 11, 3 (1992): 113–18.

¹⁴Advertisement in Abdurrauf Shahidi, *Mahramlar* (Namangan, 1912), 55. On Ishaq Khan, see Olim Usmon, *Ўzbekistonda rus tilining ilk targhibotchilari* (Tashkent, 1962), 40; A. Bobokhonov, *Ўzbek matbaasi tarikhidan* (Tashkent, 1979), 112–14.

¹⁵R. N. Kholmatov, *Iz istorii uzbekskoi staropechatnoi arabografichnoi knigi i knizhnoi kul'tury v gorodakh Ferganskoi doliny 1867–1917 gg.: avtoreferat* (Tashkent, 1989), 13–14.

¹⁶The most detailed list of *nashirs* active in the tsarist period is in Ra'no Mahmudova, "Toshbosma asarlari va ularning Ўzbek adabiëti tarixidagi ahamiyati" (diss., Tashkent, 1970), 51–56, who lists 80 different individuals.

¹⁷Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Uzbekistana, Tashkent (TsGAUz), fond 1, opis' 31, delo 1144, listy 34–36.

¹⁸“‘Maktab’ nashr-i maʼarif shirkatining qānuni,” *Turan* (Tashkent), 5 May 1917.

¹⁹Charles A. Ruud, *Russian Entrepreneur: Publisher Ivan Sytin of Moscow* (Montreal, 1990), 141.

²⁰For a comprehensive survey of available bibliographies and their shortcomings, see A. Iazberdyev, *Iz istorii bibliografirovaniia natsional'noi pechati narodov Srednei Azii vtoroi poloviny XIX i pervoi chetverti XX veka* (Ashkhabad, 1974).

²¹G. N. Chabrov, “Iz istorii poligrafii i izdatel'stva literatury na mestnykh iazykakh v dorevoliutsionnom Turkestane (1868–1917 gg.),” *Trudy Sredneaziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* 57 (1954): 89.

²²L. Zimin, “Bibliografiia,” *Sredniia Azia* 2, 3, 4, 6, 8 (1911); although Zimin's bibliography may not be complete, it is very accurate for what it does cover.

²³It should be noted that these figures are significantly higher than those generally quoted in the literature. Soviet sources usually cite a figure of thirty-three titles in Uzbek for the year 1913: *Istoriia knigi v SSSR 1917–1921*, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1986), 3:168. These figures are also used by Allworth, *Central Asian Publishing*, 36.

²⁴Martin Hartmann, “Das Buchwesen in Turkestan und die türkischen Drucke der Sammlung Hartmann,” *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 7, 2 (1904): 72.

²⁵M. Nazif Shahrani, “Local Knowledge of Islam and Social Discourse in Afghanistan and Turkistan in the Modern Period,” in *Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective*, ed. Robert L. Canfield (Cambridge, 1991), 166–70, reproduces a remarkably similar canon from Afghanistan.

²⁶*Azərbaycan Kitabı (Bibliografiya)*, 2 vols. to date (Baku, 1963), 1, passim.

²⁷L. Zimin, “Bibliografiia,” *Sredniia Azia* 2 (1911): 133; Rustamov, *Ўzbek kitobi*, 41, 42.

²⁸Sadr al-Dīn ʿAynī, *Yaddāshthā*, ed. Saʿīdī Sirjānī (Tehran, 1984), 163–65. Sadriddin Ayni (1878–1954) was among the last generation of Central Asians to receive a madrasa education. His copious reminiscences, quoted here from the Persian edition, provide an unsurpassed account of life in Bukhara at the turn of the century.

²⁹A. M. Zhirenshtin, *Iz istorii kazakhskoi knigi* (Alma Ata, 1987), 101–2.

³⁰O. P. Shcheglova, *Katalog litografirovannykh knig na persidskom iazyke v sobranii LO IV AN SSSR*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1975).

³¹Dmitriev, “Rasprostranenie,” 249–51.

³²Shcheglova, *Katalog*, nos. 381, 934, 1213.

³³Dmitriev, “Rasprostranenie,” 252; Mahmudova, “Toshbosma,” 55.

³⁴The dominance of lithography was not unique to Central Asia: it was to prove popular in the Muslim world wherever *nastaʿliq* was the dominant script. Typesetting in *naskh* became common in Iran only in the middle of this century, and Urdu is still usually printed with lithography. Karl Klaus Walther, “Die lithographische Vervielfältigung von Texten in den Ländern des Vorderen und Mittleren Orients,” *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 65 (1990): 223–36.

³⁵Jumaniyoz Sharipov, *Ўzbekistonda tarjima tarikhidan* (Tashkent, 1964), 397–402, provides a long list of translations (all from Arabic and Persian) that were never printed.

³⁶Adeeb Khalid, “The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Tsarist Central Asia” (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1993), 273–301.

³⁷Dale F. Eickelman, “Mass Higher Education and the Religious Imagination in Contemporary Arab Societies,” *American Ethnologist*, 19 (1992): 643–47.

³⁸Haji Muin Shukrullah-oghli, “Fevral inqilābighacha Samarqand wilayatida chiqqan yangi asarlar,” *Inqilāb*, 1 (1922): 42.

³⁹Evidence of the central importance of purely religious instruction in Jadid schools are the numerous textbooks devoted to religious dogma and ritual, for example, Sadriddin ʿAynī, *Žurūriyāt-i diniyya* (Samarqand, 1914), in Persian, or Munawwar Qari Abdurrashidkhan-oghli, *Hawāʾij-i dīniya*, 3 parts (Tashkent, 1910), in Uzbek. Jadid writers also provided the first grammars of Uzbek—Muhammad Amin b. Muhammad Karim Fakhruddin, *Turkcha qāʿida* (Tashkent, 1913)—and Persian—Muhammad Rasul Rasuli, *Rahbar-i Farsi* (Tashkent, 1911)—and the first textbooks on arithmetic—Inayatullah Damla Mirzajan-oghli, *Hisāb masʿalasi* (Tashkent, 1913)—and geography—Munawwar Qari, *Yer yuzi* (Tashkent, 1913).

⁴⁰TsGAUZ, fond 1, opis' 31, delo 943, list 23v.

⁴¹M. Buzruk Salihov, *Ozbek teatr tarixi ucun materiallar* (Tashkent, 1935), 55–68.

⁴²Ishaq Khan Junaydullah Khoja-oghli, *Lughat-i sitta alsina* (Tashkent, 1901), 101.

⁴³Idem, *Jāmiʿ ul-khutut* (Namangan, 1912), 84.

⁴⁴Fazilbek Atabek-oghli, trans., *Roman: Robinzon hikāyasi* (Tashkent, 1912), 48.

⁴⁵Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35.

⁴⁶Roger Chartier, “Du lire au livre,” in *Pratiques de la lecture*, ed. R. Chartier (Marseilles, 1985), 69 ff.

⁴⁷N. P. Ostroumov, “Svedeniia o Turkestanskoi tuzemnoi gazete,” *Trudy Syr-Darʼinskogo oblastnogo statisticheskogo komiteta v 1887–1888 gg.* (Tashkent, 1888), 1–3.

⁴⁸Mahmud Khoja [Behbudi], “Gazēt chistʼ?” *Samarqand* (Samarqand), 3 May 1913.

⁴⁹TsGAUz, fond 461, opisʼ 1, delo 57, list 607v.

⁵⁰TsGAUz, fond 1, opisʼ 31, delo 536, listy 12–16. Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay, *La Presse et le mouvement national chez les Musulmans de Russie avant 1920* (Paris, 1964), 156–70; some of the entries on Central Asia in this seminal work stand in need of correction. See also Ziyō Saidov, *ʻUzbek waqtli matbuoti tarikhiga materiallar (1870–1927)* (orig. 1927), in his *Tanlangan asarlar* (Tashkent, 1974), 13–116.

⁵¹“Muhtaram khwanandalargha!” *Ayna*, 16 November 1914, 40–41.

⁵²Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii, Moscow (GARF [formerly TsGAOR]), fond 102, opisʼ 245 (1915), delo 74, chastʼ 84B, list 75.

⁵³GARF, fond 102, opisʼ 244 (1914), delo 74, chastʼ 84B, list 390.

⁵⁴Printed *diwāns* of no less a person than Alisher Nawaʼi included material that he never wrote; see Raʼno Mahmudova, “Alisher Nawoiy asarlarining Inqilobgacha bʻlgan nashrlari tarixidan,” *Sharq yulduzi* 7 (1968): 230–36.

⁵⁵Dale F. Eickelman, *Knowledge and Power in Morocco: The Education of a Twentieth-Century Notable* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 57–106; Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988), 146–54; Brinkley Messick, *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 25–36, 84–94.

⁵⁶Mahmud Khoja [Behbudi], “Tiyatir nedur?” *Ayna*, 10 May 1914, 550–53.

⁵⁷Criticisms of the ulema were commonplace in Jadid writing; the classic statement of the case was made by Fitrat Bukhārāyī [Abdurrauf Fitrat], *Munāzara-yi mudarris-i bukhārāyī bā yak nafar-i farangī dar Hindustān dar bāra-yi makātib-i jadida* (Istanbul, 1911), 7–21.

⁵⁸Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 152–58.

⁵⁹Karl Reichl, *Turkic Oral Epic Poetry* (New York, 1992), 87–89; T. I. Sultanov, “Sredneaziatskaia i vostochnoturkestanskaia pozdnesrednevekovaia rukopisʼnaia kniga,” in *Rukopisʼnaia kniga v kulʼture narodov Vostoka: ocherki*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1987), 1:497–98.

⁶⁰Hamza Hakimzoda Niyoziy arkhivining katalogi (Tashkent, 1990), 1:306, document no. 494.

⁶¹Mulla Zulfiqar, “Madrasalargha aid,” *Taraqqi*, 5 July 1906; cf. the report on the incident in *Russkii Turkestan*, a Russian socialist newspaper, quoted in Kh. Vakhidov, *Prosvetitelʼskaia ideologiya v Turkestane* (Tashkent, 1979), 77.

⁶²Mahmud Khoja [Behbudi], “Bizni hallar wa ishlar,” *Ayna*, 18 January 1914, 200–2.

⁶³Francis Robinson, “Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print,” *Modern Asian Studies* 27 (1993): 232–33, 240–42.

⁶⁴Allworth, *Central Asian Publishing*, 16–38.