

THE POLITICAL AND ENLIGHTENMENT ACTIVITY OF JADIDISM IN THE KHIVA KHANATE: THE CASE OF POLVONNIYOZ HOJI YUSUPOV

Kamronbek Kozimjon-o‘g‘li No‘monov

kamronbeknomonov76@gmail.com

Tashkent International University of Chemistry, Namangan Branch

Abstract: This article analyzes the political and enlightenment-oriented dimensions of the Jadid movement in the Khiva Khanate at the beginning of the twentieth century through the activities of Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov. The study interprets Khivan Jadidism not merely as a phenomenon of school reform or spiritual awakening, but as a comprehensive modernization movement aimed at regulating state administration on a constitutional basis, introducing representative institutions, bringing the financial and communication systems under public control, and renewing society through new-method schools. Yusupov’s activity as an intelligent merchant-intellectual, a multilingual communicator, a Jadid with international experience, one of the leaders of the political wing of the “Young Khivans,” and the first head of the government of the Khorezm People’s Soviet Republic demonstrates the transition of Jadidism from enlightenment to politics. The article uses statistical indicators such as the 1917 manifesto, the thirty-member Majlis, the arrest of seventeen Young Khivans, the twelve-article program of 1920, and the 644-page manuscript of Yusupov’s memoirs as source-based evidence. The results show that Khivan Jadidism took shape in a complex field where modernization, national interests, and external political pressures intersected, and that Yusupov was one of the most multifaceted political and enlightenment figures of this process.

Keywords: Khiva Khanate, Jadidism, Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov, Young Khivans, enlightenment, constitutional monarchy, Khorezm People’s Soviet Republic, modernization

Introduction

Although the Jadid movement in the Khiva Khanate was nourished by the general current of Turkestan Jadidism, its social and political content developed under distinctive conditions. In the Bukhara and Kokand environments, Jadidism was more visible through the press, theatre, new-method schools, and networks of urban intellectuals; in Khiva, however, the movement evolved in confrontation with the firmly established khanate order, tribal-political balances, the Russian protectorate, and the interests of local officials. For this reason, Khivan Jadidism from the very beginning did not separate educational reform from political reform: the renewal of the school was understood as the first stage of renewing the state, while reforming state administration was seen as the institutional guarantee that would protect enlightenment. Historically, the Khiva Khanate is interpreted as one of the political heirs of the cultural space of ancient Khorezm and as a state that existed from the sixteenth century until 1920. In contemporary scholarly literature, the term “Khiva Khanate” is more closely associated with Russian historical terminology, while in local perception this space was also understood as “the region of Khorezm.” By the end of the nineteenth century, although Qongirat rule had relatively centralized the khanate, the Russian conquest of 1873 and the protectorate regime limited Khiva’s internal independence.¹ This historical background complicated the task of Jadid intellectuals. On the one hand, they sought to free local society from religious and educational backwardness, injustices in administration, and disorder in the financial and judicial systems; on the other, they searched for legal and diplomatic ways of escaping Russian political pressure. Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov emerged precisely at the intersection of these two directions -

enlightenment and politics, local tradition and external diplomacy, reform and the practical exercise of power. The main purpose of this article is to reveal the political and enlightenment activity of Jadidism in the Khiva Khanate through the life and socio-political practice of Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov. The scholarly problem of the study lies in the fact that Khivan Jadidism is often presented as a political episode connected with the events of 1920 or the establishment of Soviet power. In fact, at its foundation lay a wide-ranging program concerning the school, administration, popular representation, economic control, and cultural renewal.

Methodology

The study was conducted on the basis of historical-analytical, source-critical, comparative, and prosopographical approaches. The historical-analytical approach made it possible to examine the political processes in Khorezm between 1910 and 1924 in connection with the evolution of Jadidism. The source-critical method enabled a critical comparison of Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov’s memoirs, biographical information about him, and scholarly data on the 1917 manifesto and the 1920 programmatic documents. The prosopographical approach served to connect Yusupov’s personal experience, social origin, knowledge of languages, travels, and official activity with the general social composition of the movement. The article also employs a statistical-analytical method. This method is aimed not at the simple counting of numbers, but at explaining their historical function. For example, the number of the thirty-member Majlis indicates that the principle of representation in Khivan society was expressed for the first time in the form of an official political institution; the arrest of seventeen Jadids shows the degree of political resistance encountered by the reforms; and the twelve-article program demonstrates that Jadidism had turned from an educational movement into a political program. The fact that Yusupov’s memoirs have been preserved as a 644-page manuscript shows that personal memory rose to the level of a historical source.²

Results

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the Khiva Khanate was under pressure from two sides. Internally, khanate administration relied on traditional political structures and on the interests of palace officials and local influential figures. Externally, the Russian imperial protectorate limited economic and military-political freedom. According to the Oxford Research Encyclopedia, throughout its history Khiva had been a center of transregional trade, and this importance increased especially when ties with the Russian Empire to the north intensified; after 1873, the khanate entered a new political stage under Russian pressure.³ Jadidism appeared precisely under these conditions as an idea for renewing society from within. For the Khivan Jadids, the “new-method” school was not merely a pedagogical technique. It was interpreted as a means of increasing literacy, spreading secular knowledge, and preparing the people for political rights and social responsibility. Therefore, in the reform program of 1917, the issue of schools was placed alongside matters such as the state treasury, railways, the postal service, and the telegraph. Such integration reveals the scope of Khivan Jadid thinking: they understood progress not simply as spiritual advocacy, but as the unity of administration, infrastructure, and the knowledge system. Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov was formed in this environment. He came from a merchant family, studied in an old-method school, engaged in trade, and knew Arabic, Persian, and Russian. His journey in 1904 to Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and Mecca likely took his worldview beyond the local circle and acquainted him with reformist processes in the Muslim East. In 1914, he led the “Young Khivans” party, which was viewed as the politically active wing of the Jadids.⁴

After the February Revolution of 1917, political activity increased in Turkestan and in the territories adjacent to it. The demand for democratic reforms also intensified in the Khiva Khanate.

On 5 April 1917, Asfandiyarkhan signed the manifesto presented by the “Young Khivans.” It proposed the establishment of an elected Majlis and a Council of Ministers, control over the state treasury, the organization of railway, postal, and telegraph affairs, and the opening of new-method schools. A provisional committee consisting of thirty representatives was envisaged to supervise the reforms.⁵ This figure - thirty representatives - has important symbolic significance in the political history of Khiva. It indicated the need for khanate administration to move from the personal will of the ruler to a system of collective consultation and representation. On 8 April 1917, the Majlis and the Council of Ministers were established; Boboosun Salimov is mentioned as the chair of the Majlis, and Husaynbek Devonbegi Matmurodov as the head of government. Sources note that Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov was assigned the task of stabilizing relations with the Russian government and Russian troops.⁶ The fact that Yusupov was entrusted specifically with diplomatic communication and external political balance was not accidental. His knowledge of Russian, familiarity with the external environment through trade, and experience in Muslim Eastern countries distinguished him among the Jadids as a political figure capable of communication. At this point, Khivan Jadidism became not merely an internal educational movement, but a project of political modernization that took the international situation into account.

The reforms of spring 1917 did not last long. Asfandiyarkhan and conservative forces regarded the new institutions as a threat to their authority. In June 1917, the Majlis was dissolved, seventeen Young Khivans were arrested, and the Jadids began to be accused of “irreligion” and political disobedience. By November, the Majlis had been completely abolished, and Yusupov and a number of other leaders were forced to leave Khiva.⁷ The execution on 18 May 1918 of leaders such as Husaynbek Matmurodov, Ishoqxo‘ja Xo‘jayev, Abdusalom Hoji Islomxo‘jayev, and Hoji Avazberdi Eshonov became a turning point in the history of Khivan Jadidism. After this event, hopes for carrying out reform through agreement with the khan weakened. As a result, some of the “Young Khivans” moved toward more radical forms of political struggle. Explaining this process only by Bolshevik influence would be one-sided; in reality, internal reactionary pressure, political repression, and the suppression of reforms forced them to seek alternative allies. At the same time, rapprochement with the Bolsheviks also posed a danger to the independent program of Khivan Jadidism. At the beginning of 1918, a committee formed in Tashkent from émigré Young Khivans operated under Bolshevik influence; Yusupov worked as its chair. In 1919, he served in the Turkmen section of the People’s Commissariat for Nationalities of the Turkestan ASSR.⁸ These positions moved Yusupov’s activity from the Khorezm question into the broader political field of Turkestan.

The events of February 1920 marked the final stage in the history of the Khiva Khanate. A study published in *Belleten* notes that the main goal of the “Young Khivans” was to build a democratic state while freeing themselves from the oppression of Tsarist Russia, but that the alliance with the Bolsheviks changed the direction of the movement; the intervention of the Red Army ended the khanate regime and led to the establishment of the Khorezm People’s Soviet Republic.⁹ The Young Khivans’ manifesto announced on 8 February 1920 consisted of twelve articles and included political, social, and economic demands. This document shows that Jadidism had become a practical political program. In 1917, they had aimed to carry out reforms within the framework of a constitutional monarchy under the khan; by 1920, the idea of abolishing the khanate order and creating a new political order in the form of a people’s republic had become dominant. After the overthrow of the Khiva Khanate, Yusupov became the first chair of the Council of People’s Ministers of the Khorezm People’s Soviet Republic and served in this office from 27 April 1920 to 6 March 1921.¹⁰ Although this period lasted only about ten months, it represented the most

important political experience of Khivan Jadidism. Yusupov’s government attempted to pursue an independent policy, continue democratic reforms, and defend national interests. However, the Turkkomissiya and the command of the Turkestan Front did not regard such a policy as compatible with their central plans and carried out further political changes in Khiva.¹¹ This situation reveals the most complex aspect of Yusupov’s activity: as a Jadid, he desired national renewal; as a statesman, he sought to preserve balance under the conditions of real power. Yet in 1920-1921, contradictions in Khorezm intensified among state sovereignty, the local elite, tribal-political forces, the Soviet military-administrative apparatus, and the reformist program of the Jadids. Therefore, Yusupov’s political defeat indicates not personal weakness, but rather the very narrow historical possibility available to Jadid governments across the region. Encyclopaedia Iranica also emphasizes that Jadid-oriented governments in Bukhara and Khiva operated for only a short period in 1920-1921 and that by 1924 Bolshevik politicians had reorganized the foundations of the region’s subsequent development.¹²

Discussion

In the history of Khivan Jadidism, there was no strict boundary between enlightenment and politics. For the Jadids, opening a new school meant not only increasing literacy, but also bringing society into a civic condition in which it could understand its rights. It is no coincidence that in the 1917 manifesto new-method schools appeared together with issues such as control over the state treasury, communication facilities, and railways. This order shows that the Khivan Jadids viewed modernization systematically: enlightenment awakens political consciousness, while political institutions stabilize enlightenment. The personal image of Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov also expresses this harmony. He came from the classical madrasa environment, studied in an old-method school, yet knew Arabic, Persian, and Russian, possessed external connections through trade, and had seen major centers of the Muslim East. Thus, he was not “against tradition,” but rather supported harmonizing tradition with the demands of the age. Such figures embodied the internal philosophy of Jadidism - not denying religion, but opposing ignorance; preserving national identity while accepting modern systems of administration and knowledge. Three stages can be distinguished in Yusupov’s activity. The first stage was the period of enlightenment-political preparation, which included the Jadid environment that had formed by 1914. The second stage was the period of constitutional reforms in 1917, when Yusupov appeared as one of the authors of the manifesto and as the person responsible for external relations. The third stage was the revolutionary-political period of 1918-1921, during which he acted as the leader of the émigré committee, a responsible official in Turkestan institutions, and the chair of the KhPSR government. From this point of view, the political activity of Khivan Jadidism must be assessed from two sides. On the one hand, it advanced ideas of representation, control, accountability, school reform, and renewal of state administration within the khanate. On the other hand, the forced alliance with the Bolsheviks weakened the movement’s independent democratic direction. The “Young Khivans” had to rely on external military-political assistance in overthrowing the tyranny of the khanate, but this assistance later became a factor that restricted their own political program. The Belleten article also notes that Soviet power did not allow the independence of the Khorezm republic and abolished it in 1924.¹³ The source value of Yusupov’s memoirs deserves special attention. According to Mamadaminova’s study, Yusupov’s memoirs were written in 1926 on the basis of his diaries, described the events of 1910-1924 with features of the Khorezm dialect, and consisted of a 644-page manuscript; the typed copy translated into Russian by Boris Cheprunov in the 1930s comprised 256 pages.¹⁴ These facts make it possible to evaluate the memoirs not as ordinary recollections, but as a source that records internal testimony, political self-justification, and the

spirit of the period. Nevertheless, Yusupov’s memoirs should be read not as absolute truth, but as a source. The genre of memoir is connected with the author’s own experience, political position, and later interpretations. Even so, their value lies precisely in the fact that they were written from within: they show the hopes, mistakes, compromises, and compulsory choices of the Khivan Jadids in their relations with external forces. Therefore, through the figure of Yusupov, Khivan Jadidism appears in a more complex, human, and historical perspective.

Conclusion

When the political and enlightenment activity of Jadidism in the Khiva Khanate is analyzed through the example of Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov, it becomes clear that this movement was much broader than a simple “school reform.” It was a modernization program that united the concepts of state administration, representation, financial control, the communication system, external political relations, new-method education, and national interests. Yusupov contributed to this program through his personal experience, diplomatic ability, and political courage. The results of the study point to three main conclusions. First, Khivan Jadidism was a movement that moved from educational awakening to political reform, and the 1917 manifesto expressed its constitutional stage. Second, Yusupov’s activity revealed a new type of Jadid intellectual: he was a figure who combined religious-traditional knowledge, commercial experience, multilingualism, international observation, and political practice. Third, although the experience of the KhPSR in 1920-1921 represented an attempt by the Jadids to implement state administration, Soviet centralization and military-political pressures limited this possibility. Thus, Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov should be assessed in the history of Khivan Jadidism not merely as a political leader, but as a historical figure who connected enlightenment with state reform. His activity shows through what complex paths, compromises, and contradictions the idea of national development manifested itself in the history of Khorezm. Today, the study of Yusupov’s legacy helps us understand Jadidism not as a romantic memory, but as a real political experience, an idea of renewing the state, and a movement aimed at building an enlightened society.

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