

From Atheism to Anti-Colonialism: Fitrat's Writings from the 1910s to the 1930ies



Mirzaeva Zulkhumor Inomovna

Abstract: *In the beginning of the twentieth century Russian Empire in Turkistan strengthened propaganda against religion to separate people from their roots of religious faith, encouraging the imitation of European culture. In 1925 through the 1940s a number of organizations, newspapers and journals that focused on atheism such as Khudosizlar ("khudasizlar"- atheists) were founded and propaganda of atheism was spread among writers, and authors of "the best atheistic works" were appointed to high governmental positions and received state awards. Abdurauf Fitrat (1886-1938) is also wrote works touching on faith such as "Unfair Ishan", "Faith of Zakhro", "Judgement Day", "Revolt of Satan Against God". From the title and presumable content of these works, critics of soviet literature assessed his works as pieces written under the spirit of the struggle against religious prejudice and accepted him as a person "loyal to the Soviet position", who had "changed his faith." Such early interpretations paved the way for Fitrat to be canonized (before his repression) as a genuine atheist. Yet during the 1920s and 1930s in order to avoid repression and Soviet censorship Abdurauf Fitrat successfully used his religious knowledge for struggle against Soviet colonialism. This study analyzes the process that Fitrat was canonized as masters of atheistic aesthetics by strategically using ambiguity and antimony as weapons and trying to prove how he succeeded in spreading his truth through his so-called "atheistic works."*

Key words: *Jadid, Soviet empire, Abdurauf Fitrat, atheistic works, ambiguity, religious beliefs*

I. INTRODUCTION

The nature of Soviet colonialism has been a topic of discussion since the dissolution of the Union in the 1990s. When the Central Asian states achieved independence, literary critics dubbed the Soviet era a period of *mankurtization*,² a process that describes how Soviet modernization separated people from the roots of their religious faith and encouraged the imitation of the culture and traditions of other nations.

Uzbek literary critics placed the beginnings of this *mankurtization*, in part, in the 1920s. In November 1925 the Bolsheviks held a Republican Conference of Atheists and out of that conference emerged a Union of Atheists of

Uzbekistan. In 1928 the magazine "*Khudosizlar*" (The Godless) began circulation and a decade later in 1939 the newspaper "*Khudosiz*" appeared. At the same time articles propagating atheism appeared in other popular Uzbek magazines as "*Mushtum*," (The Fist)², "*Yangi qishloq*" (A New Village), "*Maorif va oqituvchi*" (Education and a Teacher). Atheistic attitude towards religion continued until the 1970s. A number of scientific works criticizing Islam have been created by influential Marx's slogan such as "Religion is poison" (Yusupov, The Origin of Islam).

The Bolsheviks spread atheism among writers and poets by way of competitions like "best atheistic work," "best atheistic poem," "best essay against religion," and "best caricature of religious beliefs." Uzbek intellectuals who spoke the language of atheism received appointments to high governmental positions and state awards, while those who refused faced arrest and even execution.

One famous Jadid writer, poet, translator and scholar, Abdurauf Fitrat (Fitrat is his pseudonym which means talent), was born in 1886 in Bukhara which was the largest Islamic center in Central Asia, including 300 mosques, hundreds of madrassahs who had more than a thousand students (G'oyibova, *Abdurauf Fitrat* 18).

Sattor Jabbor,⁴ one of his fellows as well as student, sent to Germany to study, says that Fitrat perfectly knew Turkic, Persian, Arabic languages and had knowledge of classic and modern literature. His works in Persian were known in Iran and Afghanistan (Cabbar, *Kurtulus* 130).

Fitrat's father was a merchant, a very intelligent and pious person; his mother was a poetess. On one hand he was influenced by a strong religious and high living environment in the family; and on the other hand, by social and political events of the period in which he lived in Bukhara, Istanbul. European philosophy and his love towards learning secular science played a significant role in understanding to change the public's illiterate approach to Islam and to "promote cooperation between Islam and the new society" (Hisao, 9). In the beginning of his works such as "*Munozara*"³ (Debate, 1909, 1911), "*Hind sayyohi bayonoti*" (Indian Traveler, 1912) he referred his critical thinking on reforming unconscious, fanatic and dogmatic views toward Islam religion. Fitrat's view of religion is not just an attempt to reform the Islam, but rather an attempt to change the attitude towards it.

In the beginning of the 1920s, Fitrat created quite different works which seemed to be atheistic in nature by the form and meaning such as *Mi'raj*" (Mirage), "*Oqmozor*" (White Cemetery), "*Qiyshiq eshon*" (Unfair Ishan), "*Zahroning iymoni*" (Faith of Zakhro) (1920), "*Qiyomat*" (Judgement Day) (1923),

Manuscript published on 30 September 2019

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and “*Shaytonning tangriga isyoni*”(Satan’s Revolt Against God) (1924). “*Mirage*,” “*White Cemetery*,” and “*Faith of Zakhro*” were regularly published in the journal “*Xudosizlar*” (Atheist) in 1928 (Fitrat, *Me’roj*). The literary circle was shocked even by titles of these works written by Fitrat who had a very strong belief in faith, known as an Islamic reformer in the East and West and wrote books such as “*Rahbari najot*” (Salvation,1915), “*Muxtasar islom tarixi*” (A Brief History of Islam,1915) and a number of articles about Islam and its valuable importance of releasing from pressure of western Europe. German scholar Ingeborg Baldauf explains this case as follows, “his religious and spiritual knowledge enabled him to take part in the European philosophy, to get involved in the debate with Islam, and this led him to study Middle Ages social assembling and traditional culture in all aspect there wasn’t this opportunity in other Jadid writers and she concluded that “*Satan’s Revolt Against God*” is the most perspicacious atheistic work in the Muslim’s East. (Ingeborg, *Abdurauf Fitrat* 68).

As the Bolsheviks ramped up their anti-religious campaigns, they turned to these texts of Fitrat’s as tools for anti-religious agitation even as Uzbek socialists condemned Fitrat as a “bourgeois nationalist.” Surmising from the title and presumable topic of these works, socialist critics assessed them as pieces written under the spirit of the “struggle against religious prejudice” and accepted him as a person “loyal to the Soviet position” who had “changed his faith.” Such early interpretations paved the way for Fitrat to be canonized (before his repression) as a genuine atheist (Rakhimova, *Fitratning diniy*).

According to the OGPU archive of Uzbekistan, other Jadid intellectuals, including Abdulla Qodiriy (1894-1938),⁵ like wise expressed loyalty to Soviet power after 1923 in his works “*Obid ketmon*”(Obid’s Hoe) (1933-1934), “*Kalvak mahzumning xotira daftaridan*” (In Memoirs of Kalvak makhzum), “*Toshpo ‘lat tajang nima deydi?*” (What Did Picky Toshpo ‘lat say?) (1923). Qodiriy allegedly criticized mullahs, people of faith and religious traditions, while actively participating in the struggle of Soviets against religion (Boqiy, *Qatlnoma*). Even in the early 1990s with Glasnost’ and calls for independence from the Soviet Union, Uzbek literary critics and Western scholars did not reassess earlier conclusions about Fitrat and Qodiriy’s works written on the topic of religion. For example, Umarali Normatov in his work “Qodiriy’s Garden” wrote: “Beginning in 1923 in a merciless struggle against religion, many intellectuals and writers were also mobilized in this struggle. Such faithful people as Qodiriy owing to will of circumstances voluntarily or forcibly or under influence of doubt and spiritual hesitations for some period participated in this struggle, wrote works which accuse and disclaim religion and religious traditions, keenly and unilaterally said critical words about religion and religious people” (Normatov, *Qodiriy bog’I* 89).

It cannot be denied that as a result of the Bolshevik campaign against religion, Jadids such as Fitrat and Qodiriy had to deviate from their religious faith for a time. For example, Khabibulla Qodiriy, the writer’s son, in his book “About My Father” mentioned that in 1936-1937 Abdulla Qodiriy translated 14 anti-religious books from Russian to Uzbek and submitted them to the list of atheistic works (Qodiriy, *Otam haqida*).

Yet both Fitrat and Qodiriy also expressed themselves as faithful Muslims in many of their works and were brought up

under Islamic teachings. Is it possible that they could so easily and quickly reject their religion and faith? After all, Fitrat in his books which were stated above such as “*Munozara*” (Discussion) and “*Hind Sayyohi*” (Indian Traveler), Abdulla Qodiriy in his novels “*Mehrobdan chayon*” (Scorpion Behind the Altar), and “*O’tkan kunlar*” (Days Gone By) each show their commitment to Muslim teachings and faith through the creation of their authorial personas. These works, by the way, were not mentioned when assessing the author’s atheistic leanings. It is necessary to reread the so-called “atheistic” Jadid works with an eye towards the intentions the two authors might have concealed as they wrote.

During the 1920s and 1930s in order to avoid repression Abdurauf Fitrat discovered new ways of struggling against Soviet colonialism. Through their so-called “atheistic works” they succeeded in spreading the truth. The supposedly anti-religious nature of these Jadid works such as “*Qiyomat*” (Judgement-Day) (1923), and “*Shaytonning tangriga isyoni*” (Satan’s Revolt Against God) (1924) distracted Soviet censorship so that the authors could communicate their vital socio-political ideas. In confrontation with hegemonic ideas of colonial power Fitrat, in those works written during the atheistic period, successfully used hidden meanings of words and symbolic characters to express his meaning. Fitrat’s success was so great that he was canonized as a master of atheistic aesthetics while he was simultaneously giving a parallel meaning. In their analyses of such anti-religious works Uzbek and western critics missed the mark, ignoring the language of Fitrat’s pieces in favor of the meaning found in the allegorical form.

II. FITRAT AND JADIDISM

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the intensification of aggression, injustice, and inequality of imperialism, based on the colonial policy of the Russian Empire, led Central Asian peoples to cultural confusion. Leaders of the Jadid movement such as Mahmudxo’ja Behbudiy, Fitrat, Qodiriy, and Cholpon used various ways in order to rescue Turkistan people from the ignorance and to achieve democracy. The first way of reforming education through the expanding was new schools called “Usuli Jadid” (Jadid’s method). The most important thing that Jadids paid attention to in the schools of “Usuli Jadid” was to teach secular (worldly) knowledge with the religious skill. Yet fanatic clergyman denied the secular sciences as “mistrust, disbelief” and removed them from the “new schools” schedule. Then Fitrat wrote his “*Leading Salvation*” (Najot yo ‘llanmasi) as a response to these dogmatic views. He reflects in his work that the study of religious and secular sciences at the same time is an important basis for national development and he attempts to prove his views with the Quran verses and Prophet Hadisis (Fitrat, *Najot yo*). Moreover like other Jadids, Fitrat also paid attention to teaching the history of the Turkic people, which helped to awaken Turkistan people’s national consciousness and to unite the society into ethnicity. Fitrat especially focuses on raising girls’ schools, attracting them to more Jadid schools. He thinks that women should be educated first,

in order to save society from ignorance; the country where the women are deprived of the right to education and training is a disastrous country (Fitrat. *Munozara* 58-59). Moreover, “emancipative- feminist nature of Jadidism” challenges women to break free from legal, social, or political restrictions and to be educated (Muhammadjonova 11). From Jadid’s point of view, family education—mothers and future educated mothers—are required in guiding principles to the younger generation which focuses on new ethics and thinking, as well as a new lifestyle in the form of media.

A second way Jadids used educational reform was to send students to Germany, Turkey, Russia, and Egypt. Their fundamental ambition of studying abroad was to gain experience from developed countries and to mature national education by implementing it among Jadid schools and rid the nation of ignorance. According to Sattor Jabbor, more than 150 students were sent to foreign countries by Fayzulla Xo’jayev, Fitrat and other advanced representatives of the richer class (Cabbar, *Kurtulus* 109).

A famous Jadid writer, Cholpon, also offers to send the girls to Europe to be educated. “If not only the freemen, but also the stubborn daughters of the Uzbeks could go to the land of the most delicate and fertile land for themselves, they will be able to earn their right, without any pressure, Old life would be in death”(Cholpon, *Fight for*).

Mass media was a third way for Jadids to widely promote their educational as well as political ideas. They founded a number of journals and newspapers such as *Hurshid* (The Sun, 1906), *Oyna* (The Mirror, 1903), *Hurriyat* (The Freedom, 1912) created on Fitrat’s initiative. Abdulla Avloniy in his article called “Burungi o’zbek matbuotining tarixi” (The History of Uzbek Media) 22 newspapers and 8 journals appeared in the area between 1905-1917(Avloniy, *Burungi* 115-23).

The articles published in those Jadid medias were devoted to the problems of homeland, people’s education and freedom of the nation. They encouraged the people to be unified in national and religious issues and tried to enhance social consciousness of the Turkistan nations. While these Jadids’ periodical presses didn’t last long because of the colonial governor’s efforts at prevention, they could reach the Turkic peoples under Russian empire such as Iran, Afghanistan, India, and Turkey even in a short period. In this period foreign publications such as “Sirotul- mustaqiym” which began to be published after the revolution in Turkey also got involved in Turkistan. This newspaper would reference religious, scientific, social, political and literary problems and had a special place in the development of Fitrat’s intellection.

Turkistan theatre was the best way to propagate Jadid’s reforming even among the uneducated people in Turkistan as long as the main features of the drama genre were based on the fact that the event is expressed through the action, rather than narration. Dramas that puton Jadid theatres refered tragedies in the peoples’s life in Turkistan because of ignonarace. “Padarkush” (The Patricide, 1913) by M. Behbudiy (6), and “Hind ixtilolchilari” (Indian Revolutionniers, 1923) played an important role in national revival, awakening the people from oppression, ignorance and bringing the nation’s mind to new elevation were popular not only in Turkistan but also among Chinese, Iranian, Hindu, and Turkic communists who were struggling to get rid of colonialism (Turdiev *Indian revolutioner* 33).According to Fitrat’s sister, Mahbuba Rahimova’s information, “*Indian Revolutionniers*” was

translated into Indian languages and put on through the Indian theatres too. When Javahlar Neru came to Uzbekistan he claimed this play had an important place in Indian’s liberation (Mirzayeva, *XX asr* 46).The drama was also published in Berlin, in 1923 and 1944 (Cabbar, *Kurtulus* 135).

In fact, Fitrat in his “*Indian Revolutionniers*” utilized India as a metaphor, that through Indian land he expressed Turkistan (Uzbekistan’s) freedom. The realities concerning the play had been known since 1923, at the early time of the play appearing. Interestingly, Soviet ideologists did not fully grasp the essence of the text that was under the mask. That is why drama has reached the boundaries of Baku and has been staged in the Turkish theater several times. The official censorship does not allow it to be put on the stage after the work has become popular among the Turkish peoples who are oppressed under colonial rule. From 1925, all copies of the drama in the library were destroyed (Cabbar, *Kurtulus* 135).

Fitrat always studied along with the internal and external policies, the social system of the Eastern countries and was aware of the sociopolitical ambivalence of Western countries, and reflected these problems in his articles as well as his works. For example, his widely publicized article, “Yig’la Islam!” (Cry Islam!, 1919) was dedicated to the terrible tragedy related to the Ka’ba shooting by the British in Arabia in 1919 (Fitrat, *Sharq siyosati*).

“*Tarbiyai Atfol*” society founded in 1908 in Bukahara has also played a significant role in Fitrat’s Jadid activity. According to Edward Allworth,⁶ Fitrat was an active member of *Tarbiyai Atfol* and the main purpose of this society was to study the causes of the problems of social life and to address the current problems of scientific, economic, political, and social life of Bukhara (Allworth, *Jadidlar*).

Fitrat’s works were closely related to the socio-political realities of the era which he lived in. Fitrat didn’t intend a social revolution until the end of his life, but he was reluctant to reform the Turkistan society, to release his nation from colonial system, from oppression through the education and enlightenment. On the one hand the conservative clergy, and on the other hand the colonial rulers resisted Fitrat, the other Jadids sought thousands of ways to stop their reforming movement: they controlled the magazines and newspapers, destroyed their publishing houses, bookstores and reading rooms were closed. But Jadids moved forward without stopping. Violent measures of imperialism against Jadidism led them to rise from spiritual enlightenment to political resistance. A famous politician Fayzulla Xo’jayev describes Jadids movement to political struggle as follow: At first, Jadidism was only engaged in dissemination of enlightenment. However, the incomplete hard situation of Bukhara’s (Turkistan’s as well- Z.M) social life, the Tsarist colonial politics and the double-handedness of the ruler caused Jadids from cultural dissemination to a political direction(Xo ‘jayev, *Revolution in Bukahar* 99).Thus, Jadidism, which emerged in Turkistan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a cultural, educational, national, and public-political movement, later became the ideology of the national-liberation movement that has grown against colonialism. After the October Revolution in 1917 colonial officials strengthened their resolve to execute Jadid representatives.

In January 1924, when third of conference ended with Stalinism's victory search for "dubious," went in highest peak in Turkistan. Since then, every single story published by the intellectuals has been harassed, and every chapter of the works by Jadids has been criticized. The root of the horrific repressive policies that began in 1937 goes back to the "great revolution" that symbolizes the celebration of the Soviet regime in 1929. Bekhbudiy, Avloniy, Fitrat, Cholpon, and Kadiriy were even compelled to explain the meaning of symbolic images used in their work. After all they now had to find quite different ways or methods of ambiguity to distract Soviet censorship. Fitrat succeeded in expressing his ideas through the "confusion method" in his atheistic writing. Yet none of his methods or attempts could save Fitrat and other Jadid writers. Fitrat was shot on October 4, 1938 with fellow writers Kadiriy and Cholpon.

After Stalin's death in 1963 Fitrat was rehabilitated and on September 25, 1991 Fitrat received the Alisher Navoi State Prize for his contribution to the development of Uzbek literature.

III. ATHEISTIC PLOT WAS ONE OF THE BEST METHODS OF CONFUSING SOVIET CENSORSHIP

The 20th century left scars on Uzbekistan just as it did the rest of the world. Two sets of repressions, those during the first five-year plan and the Great Terror, struck fear into the intelligentsias of Russians and non-Russians alike. However, the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage in the activities of Fitrat, Qodiriy, and Cholpon played a significant role creating the scientific literary climate. In their synthesized views of their progress in world literature and enlightenment, they reflected the enthusiasm for humility, hatred of fanaticism. The literature, which is the mirror of the nation's thinking, people's lifestyle, traditions and spiritual and psychological world, has tried to find the way of internal and external struggles for national liberation. Fitrat's work projected the Uzbek nation into the past and put it at the center of world history. He saw himself as an enlightener, lifting his people from ignorance to national consciousness. The "Debate" ("Debate between a Bukharan Teacher and a European") which was written in 1911 in Istanbul by Fitrat, is dedicated to the discussion between the *mudarris* (teacher at an Islamic theological school) from Bukhara and a French man who met in India during his way for *hajj* (obligatory pilgrimage to a holy place making a religious pilgrimage). Fitrat criticized ignorance and dogmatism through his protagonist (European Farangi). Farangi⁷ (Fitrat) commented on Koran as long as he completely knew the Koran well and the Islamic principles, he commented on giving examples from *Hadis* (the sayings of our prophet Muhammad) passages (oyat) from surah (Khalid, *Representations* 196).

Observations from the details mentioned above, Fitrat reflects his Islamic reformer views of his Muslim society as backward and having declined from a previous civilization greatness and this confirmed that Fitrat was one of the scholarly of Islam religion, who knew Farsi and Arabic and who learnt Koran by heart.

The effect of Soviet repression, even in the early years of the Bolshevik state, however, was such that Fitrat could not openly express his ideas. There are various contradictory interpretations in the analysis of Fitrat's

religious writings, particularly his "Me'roj" (1920), "Judgment Day" (1923) and "Satan's Revolt Against God" (1924). In the 1930-1940s "Judgment Day" (1923) and "Satan's Revolt Against God" were completely read and interpreted as atheistic works. According to those views Fitrat ironically criticized superstition (The prejudice, by virtue of which much is happening, is a manifestation of supernatural forces and foreshadowing the future) and fanatics, Mullahs whom are from point of official literary politics. The representatives of official Soviet censorship assessed those works as pieces written under the spirit of the "struggle against religious prejudice" and accepted Fitrat as a person "loyal to the Soviet position" who had "changed his faith" (Fitrat. *Me'roj* 43). Such early interpretations caused to get "Judgment Day" (1923) and "Satan's Revolt Against God" published several times.

Those thoughts on Fitrat's religious works appeared in the smaller research of some scientists even in the beginning of 1990s when the socio-political situation had completely changed in Uzbekistan. For instance, Uzbek scholar G. Rakhimova in her article "Fitrat's religious works" states: "The religious myth has appeared as a dramatic piece of art that has created a deep socio-ideological essence through the poet's talent.... Fitrat correctly recognized that his trust, that he has used for, was miserable. Understanding that he was in wrong way he could renounce and fight against the religious and follows others (jadids Z.M) too (Rakhimova, *Fitratning diniy*). Turkish scholar Sayfuddin Yozuvchi states that, "it was no different for Fitrat to get atheist or a believer. Because if Fitrat did not sympathize with the assessing 'Mirage', published in the first issue of the 1928 as an atheist, he wouldn't give his next work "Zakhro's Faith" in the second issue of Khudosizlar (G'oyibova, *Abdurauf* 133). Turkish scientist Sayfiddin's approach to Fitrat's religious works can be regarded as subjective thoughts expressed outside the author's life and creative background. First of all, when Fitrat's expectations from revolution disappeared, his main goal was to convey his works as much as possible to the people without being repressed. So there was no difference between the soviet critics or Bolsheviks attitude to his religious beliefs. Secondly, all his works are based on Jadid's teaching, socio-political views. Only these views are reflected in a major way through complicated religious images. Thirdly, the Uzbek scientist H. Boltaboev said: "... The superficial pressing of an "atheist" against a religious scholar who has raised the Islamic tenet in his books was injustice" (Boltaboev, *Fitrat* 9). In addition, Ilhom G'aniyev strongly criticizes G. Rakhimova and says that her conclusions on Fitrat's religious works are very subjunctive and she couldn't reach the real essence of the works (G'aniyev, *Fitratning Shaytoni* 27).

In the post-Independence years, a new kind of interpretation has appeared. According to this research Fitrat depicts ignorance, russianization through harsh criticism and ridiculing. These approaches to the author's works were the first step to understanding the reality of Fitrat that he wanted to say. The first study of Fitrat's aesthetic ideals was an article by Ninel Vladimirova. She in her small study, says Munkar-Nakir (angels of Allah who questionnaire people on their good and bad proceedings after the death) is typical officials-bureaucrats.

The totalitarian state is, of course, a violent organ, and it must have its executives, in the role of such executors in the "Judgment Day" was depicted – Munkar and Nakir as Malow and officials. Ruzikul-Pochamir's replies are the protection of ordinary people from the abuse of their rights ... The state is, of course, a violent body, and it must have its executives, in the role of such executors as the image of the malignant officials –Munkar and Nakir. The scene of Pochamir and Juma Mama is a tragedy of ordinary people, who believe in a paradise prepared by many Bolsheviks, but who does not know what to do with all the investigations and other cues" (Vladimirova, *Qiyomat* 18).

Ninel Vladimirova's article on "Judgment Day" focuses on the symbolic essence of images, such as Munkar and Nakir, the discovery of mockery and perjury, and invites truths closely related to the essence of the work.

German scholar Zigrud Klaymichel's views on "Judgment Day" is very close to Ninel Vladimirova's. She also focuses on symbolic characters of the play and says that "Fitrat expressed in his play "Judgment" the role of the revolution in the life of the peoples of Central Asia, the doubts about the positive or negative impact of the revolution on the life of the people, by the motive of Heaven and Hell. What will the revolution give the nation: Hell or Paradise? (Kleinmichel. *The Uzbek* 123)

In the second decade of the Independence of Uzbekistan, a number of studies have emerged that have developed the concepts first pioneered by Ninel Vladimirova. Although these interpretations were more ideologically oriented than poetic analysis standards, the focus was on the issue of expressionism, particularly in the mockery, the discouraging of the subject, and the reaction to artistic texts from poetic principles.

US-American scholar Edward Allworth⁸ also researched works by Fitrat on religious mythology. Allworth who carried out extensive research on Jadid literature was the first as a foreign scholar to analyze "Judgment Day" and "Satan's Revolt Against God" from the contextual approach (the general idea of Fitrat's works, the entire creation, is to expose the essence of the Jadid movement, Reforming, Force, and the ideas of Enlightenment) and socio-cultural aspect.

US-American scholars mostly paid attention to symbolic and allegorical images, metaphorical expressions which Fitrat concealed his reality on social and political reforms in colonial Turkistan and proved his thoughts through William Empson's theory (Empson, *Seven Types*). According to William Empson, author's real conceptual ideas have been interpreted in the form of a mystery, external meaning of text functions like a mask. These hidden ideas are revealed by textual analysis of the work. Tajnis (paronomasia), contrasting expressions, ambiguity and multilingualism - the words and sentences that simultaneously perform various functions are consciously and unconsciously reflected in artistic literature, and creators are protected from threats by using such method.

Allworth draws his attention to simple details that are so vague and unusual, and he tries to reveal the author's hidden idea through the conceptual, linguistic and structural approach (Allworth, *Evading Reality* 18-19). For example, Allworth says that "Fitrat in his "Satan's Revolt Against God" successfully used from linguistic elements - passive and plural form of the verb such as "why the wing was given if one can't be flown", "one can't be grown", "one can't be

blossomed", "one can't be risen up", "one can't be created", "one can't be faded" (Allworth, *Evading Reality* 78). We can see such observations in "Judgment Day." For instance, "once the door was opened, some dozy sound was heard": Brother, come. Here is a good tea for the guest ... Tea was brought. Poppy was provided in a few minutes. That is what he called *pochamir* (Pochamir-Ro'ziqul, the main hero of the story). (Fitrat, *Qiyomat*, 1935);

Fitrat didn't accidentally use the passive form of Uzbek language as Allworth noted above. This approach does not permit official censorship to identify a participant or a cause of any reality". Thus, through the method of intellectual abstractedness the author can easily hide his ideological objective into a poetic text.

Allworth also focuses on the symbolic expression represented in "Judgment Day". He says Fitrat refers the process of russification of the Uzbek nation in the events related to the word *ochirat* (queue), expressed in the main image of the work. (Allworth, *Evading Reality* 39-40) Indeed, Malawi's Munkar and Nakir images also carry a certain ideological burden. This is N. Vladimirova says "Munkar-Nakiri is typical officials, bureaucrats and officials Ruziqul-Pochamir's replies are the protection of ordinary people from the abuse of their rights ... The totalitarian state, of course, is a violent body and must have its executors. The role of the officials of Munich-Nakir is shown by the Maloque officials" (Vladimirova, *Qiyomat* 18).

Fitrat was expelled from Bukhara while he wrote his "Judgment Day". Fitrat's attitude to soviet's deception reflected in his poem "Distress of Motherland" (Yurt qayg 'usi) published in jadid newspaper "Hurriyat" ("Freedom") and in the article "A new misfortune was raised in Russia-Soviet's misfortune" (Rusiyada yangi bir balo bosh ko'tardi-bol'sheviklar balosi") (Mirzaeva, *XX asr* 130). Thus, Twenty-two years ago, Allworth's thoughts were echoed by the story of Pochamir and Juma Mama, who believed in the paradise prepared by the Bolsheviks, but the tragedy of ordinary people who did not know how to go through all the investigations and other cues.

Creating modern works based on religious themes is characteristic of World and Uzbek literature. Particularly, Dante's "Divine Comedy," A. Ahverdeev's "Letters from Hell," H. Jovid's "The Devil," J. Milton's "Lost Paradise," were created during the social and political unrest -political turmoil and the course of great historical revolutions. Fitrat also created his works on religious mythology when atheist movements, ideologies, political oppressions, repressions and censorship strengthened in Turkistan. The religious images have helped Munkar-Nakir demonstrate the actions and behaviors of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Pochamir's harassment between hell and paradise is common with disorder, chaos, ignorance, and different kinds of trouble in Bukhara (in a wide sense in Turkistan) which appeared because of the soviet empire.

It is well known that the title is considered the main part of composition of literary work. The title is a tiny work which brings a writer's literary intention, idea of the work, structure of characters, and all other elements to the single point.

Another question is: Why does Fitrat call the work "*Judgment Day*"? Why did he use religious mythology to explain his ideological purpose? Was it a coincidence that Ruzikul-Pochamir, the ordinary people who understood the daily life of the ancient city of Bukhara at the beginning of the twentieth century, was brought as the main figure in "*Judgment Day*"?

Usually, when reading any art or poetry, we do not pay attention to its headline or title, it is only limited to the eyesight, but in the title of a particular artistic work the author's purpose and idea are fully reflected. The title is definitely an important element of literary art, which serves to reflect the purpose and idea of the author.

Jonathan Culler speaks about extrapolating (dissemination of conclusions based on observing part of the phenomenon to another part of it) the literary text in his book "Structural Poetics." In his opinion, thematic extrapolation is directly related to the symbolic concept in the literary art. An external reality or image is based on the cause of the extrapolation. It is evident that extrapolation focuses on the form and content of the poetic text. Fitrat also successfully used the title, especially in "*Judgment Day*," to express his own ideological conception and he purposefully opposed the colonial policy and targeted it with a clear objective. In this way he first used the abstract category; second, Turkic language capabilities; and third ambiguities. In colonial countries literature, in particular national literature, it is a fast and effective means of fighting towards alien ideologies and cultural forms. Without the symbolic forms of this kind of struggle literature, which is opposed to the ideas of the hegemony of the imperialist government cannot be succeed in reaching its own political as well as social mission. Allworth says the following about structural inter-connectedness between the title (*Judgment Day*) and the story's plot: "Fitrat aimed two things in his religious works, including "*Judgment Day*". First, he expressed his real attitude (trust and respect Z.M) to Islam through this specific approach; second, he successfully got officials confused in criticizing a new ruling system of Soviet Empire" (Allworth, *Preoccupations*).

Indeed, "*Judgment Day*" refers to artistic interpretation of internal and external chaos in the country as a result of wrong management of the colonial system. The word *qiyomat*, (the day of reckoning) is also spoken in the novel, "Night and Day," by Cholpon in the episodes related to chaos, struggles, prostitutes which caused the war between Russia and Germany: "It was bad that they were fighting each other. Many people have been killed The homeland is also slowly boiling up like *samovar* (tea house). That is problem! That is bad! When I look at the people's eyes, all their eyes- Russians and Muslims is suspicious. The life is becoming more and more expensive.... They say that all officials, including the commanders, should be sent to fight. There are rumors that everyone will be allowed to train the country and throw it back to Germany. These words will not be left to the commander. Doesn't the commander believe in "the end of the world"? "Time has come to the end," he thinks. (Cholpon, *Kecha* 126).

Another US-American scholar, Shawn Lyons, in his article devoted to the novel "Night and Day" by Cholpon says "the external disorders which strengthened in the country are depicted through the strange atmosphere surrounded two character such as Zunnun and Miryoqub (Zunnun's intimate relationships with Noyibto'ra's wife, the marriage of

Miryakub to the Russian woman Maryam and the chaos caused by the negative aspects of the dominant culture) and this is the sign of the judgment in the Empire. In the reality of this picture, the resurrection is expressed metaphorically" (Lyons, *Resisting Colonialism* 179). Moreover, Lyons informs that in recent years, many works have been created on the topic, "The Judgment day" not only in Uzbek literature, but also in Russian literature (Lyons, *Resisting Colonialism* 190).

Ingeborg Baldauf described Satan's Revolt as "existential refutation" in the play "*Satan's Revolt Against God*". She thinks that Satan's Revolt is Fitrat's Revolt. She equals Satan with Fitrat. According to Baldauf the essence of the problem is the interpretation of man as nature, society and the inner world and alienation from his life. Everything that exists outside of man and his emotions is a denial of God. The only person who is free or who has right to choice can deeply realize the real meaning of his life. From this point of view he rejected the Allah that was inconceivable. From Baldauf's point of view the cause of sin is the knowledge. She would prefer to live and be present in the life rather than to know the significance of the life. She considers the primary power (God) metaphysics and denies it and the freedom of the inner world, peace and calmness of the soul is a great global power.

Here is the original verse from the play:

*I can't be punished by Him
I am talking to you
Neither he burnt nor he got snake swallow
Nor he could pour flame over my head
His hell didn't boil, didn't overrun
His river Laqqum with fire didn't overflow
Look, what did he take back from me:
Just one dirty crown, two wings and one stick*
(Fitrat, *Tanlangan* 229)

*In Uzbek
Hech bir jajo berolmaydi u menga,
omon-esson so 'ylab turibman senga.
Na yondirdi, na yilonga yutdirdi,
N aboshimga alangalar to'kdirdi.
Tamug'lari qaynamadi, toshmadi,
Laqqum olov daryolari oshmadi.
Qizib mendan olgan narsas ta boq
Bir kirli toj, ikki qanot, bir gayoq*

(Fitrat, *Tanlangan* 229)

From the given text I can say that Baldauf uses Satan's speech towards the author, Abdurauf Fitrat, while Uzbek scholar Ilhom G'aniyev tries to analyze who is Fitrat's Satan (G'aniyev, *Fitarning Shaytoni*). She analyzes Fitrat's attitude to beliefs, national values not from its national-genetic roots and literary-aesthetic traditions. She analyzes the leading creative concept of Fitrat on the basis of the views of European measures, in particular philosophy of existentialism, such as Karl Theodor Jaspers, Martin Heidegger, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Albert Camu. In the position of I. Baldauf lies the view such as "Is it reasonable or opposite to rational logic." But from the point of Fitrat's strong belief and his literary reputation we could say that Baldauf's conclusion on "*Satan's Revolt Against God*" by Fitrat couldn't completely open the author's aesthetic purpose.

There is another main reason why Fitrat's religious works such as "*Judgment Day*" and "*Satan's Revolt Against God*" continued to be read during the Soviet period and weren't denied by censorship.

The rebellious that Fitrat refers to through Satan is also reflected in the Uzbek poet Mashrab's lyrics⁹. Our science recognizes that such a rebellious worldview philosophy has been leading in the creative heritage of Boborahim Mashrab. However, the legacy of dozens of literary and cultural figures, full of mystical truths,

such as Ahmad Yassaviy, Sheikh Najmiddin Kubra, Sufi Olloyor, and poetical thinking, imagination, and the world of the former Soviet Union were completely denied. Surprisingly, during Soviet period, such as in the 1950-1980s this is due to the fact that the rebellious spirit manifested in Mashrab studying and teaching his works continued uninterrupted and Soviet ideologists used it for their own ideological interests concerning with historical area. From the same point of view, it is clear why the works of Fitrat were not denied.

It is evident that the study of Mashrab and Fitrat's literary heritage, which is not so close in the context of their period of life and their creative-aesthetic ideals, is precisely related to the fact that their leading creative concept is proportional to the ideological principles. However, the poets and writers, who were promulgated as "religious deniers," were conceptually represented deficiency of fanaticism. Indeed, the main reason of Satan's rebellion is also seen in his selfishness. When Allah orders Angels to genuflect Adam, Satan urges the Angels not to kneel to Adam, and not to admit themselves to be insulted. Satan proudly continues that although he was against the Allah, he couldn't chastise him (Fitrat, *Tanlangan* 228-29).

Hence, the misinterpretation of judgment of "Adam's honesty" throws Satan into suspicion and eventually leads him to revolt. It turns out that the same rejection from the point of rational logic is coincidental with ideology of Soviet literature related to refutation of religion and Sufi views.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

From the research observations we could say that Fitrat's life and his scholarly and creative activity are full of contrasts, and continue to draw the avid attention of both Uzbek and foreign scholars. Academic views differ, particularly in the analysis of Fitrat's creations on religious themes, "*The Judgment Day* (1923) and "*Satan's Rebellion against God*" (1924). One group of scholars has interpreted these works as "atheistic". In their opinion, Fitrat composed these works with the aim of combating superstition: he ridicules those who believe in heaven, hell, and the day of judgement, and subjects to ironic mockery anyone who worship God. This view of Fitrat as an atheist writer prevailed throughout the last century, even after the social and political situation in Uzbekistan changed. Indeed, it was interpretation of these works as atheistic in spirit that allowed them to be published several times during the Soviet period. A second group of scholars opposed the simple atheistic reading with the observation that "while set in a society that promises happiness to all, the story is permeated by a deep sorrow, depicting the spread of meaningless slogans, starvation, inequality, and social dislocation. Even as some events inspire laughter, the work as a whole conveys a tragic

pathos". However, in all of the thoughts there is some kind of unilateral (subjective) approach to the issue. So such discussions confirm that the real essence of Fitrat's religious work still isn't completely investigated. Without entirely rejecting the claims of either group my discussion was that Fitrat, not unlike the other Jaidids, was seeking a way to escape the travails of censorship. Finding a unique defense against foreign influence and imposition of ideas alien to national literature, he succeeded in propagandizing his truth by means of his "atheistic works" and in so doing struck a blow against colonialism. Fitrat's intention in creating these works was to show that the and outer chaos of modern life – which resulted from colonial policy- were akin to the coming of doomsday. By invoking such terms as "the day of judgment", he warns his readers that Muslim nations must take special care to avoid the disruptions threatened by colonial powers.

Fitrat traced his own prior reality to Islam and Panturkism. He turned to atheism only in the 1920s-1930s. His anti-colonial ideas strengthened gradually on the basis of atheism. He effectively used metaphor and double meanings to oppose the dominant ideas of the colonial government. Fitrat's ultimate truth is reflected in the esthetics of atheism; he smuggled the fight for national liberation in an atheistic shell.

V. CONCLUSION

It is known that the literary-ideological policy of scientists during the period of their existence served as an important factor in the expression of their views. The objectivity of the interpretation is based on the objective conditions and capabilities. Approved and even inclined views of their own policy have been closer to or far from poetical standards, to the national interests, or to contradictions, Fitrat's aesthetic ideals.

Observations that I argued on Fitrat I could say that the Jadid writer's attitude towards Islam can be found in their characters, in the speech of those images and in the symbolic events of the works. For example, both these authors and other contemporaries used the theme of judgment day to communicate what critics have commonly read as an atheistic message. But Fitrat's "*Satan's Revolt Against God*" and "*Judgment Day*," undoubtedly make use of the Quranic end times to voice opposition to Russian imperialism the authors map the internal and external chaos of encroaching "modern life" to scriptural events to warn their fellow Muslims in a familiar language –but the choice of judgment day and the interpretation of it, as determined by dialog and the characters, demonstrate the authors' loyalty to Islamic teachings. They simply disguised their faith through a set of obvious "atheistic" allegories.

In accordance with abovementioned views and previous Soviet and Uzbek literary criticism I would like to reiterate my conclusion with the following:

a) Atheism as a means of expressing Jadid ideas: in the 1920s and '30s, as the suppression of "nationalism" and "Panturkism" intensified, Soviet ideology achieved hegemony through the imposition of fear and the forceful subordination of national ideas.

Even the Jadids were forced to explain the real meanings of symbolic characters depicted in their works. As a result, Fitrat created a new way of fighting colonialism—expressing his socio-political ideas in an atheistic frame.

b) Depiction of internal contradictions: Atheism served as a mask for Fitrat, and at the same time helped him to reflect the internal contradictions of Islam: it made it possible for him to translate the experience of everyday life (these internal contradictions were the main reason for Turkistan's colonial subordination) into literary work.

c) An atheistic plot was one of the best methods of confusing Soviet censorship: In this way the author, while perhaps reflecting his real attitude to religion, also achieved success in distracting Soviet officials from the true thrust of his ideas.

d) From atheism to anti-colonialism: In the period from 1920-1930 anti-colonial (anti-Soviet) ideas grew stronger in Fitrat's work. Taking into consideration the proliferation of atheistic works in Fitrat's output over the same period, it becomes clear that these works are in fact anti-colonial in their essence.

The "retreat from faith," as Soviet and modern literature critics suggested, indeed was a struggle against the chaos that resulted from the imposition of another nation's culture and a step to a different expression of faith in the atheistic period. To be precise, Fitrat criticized colonialism – a tact acceptable to the Soviets who at that time also condemned Russian colonialism – but through the language of religion, which went unnoticed or misinterpreted by Soviet critics as atheism.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

1. I am very pleased to acknowledge and thank Mrs. Anna, Veronica and Teresa for their valuable help to revise English version of the paper.

2. Chinghiz Aitmatov coined the term *mankurt* in his novel "The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years." In the novel, he recounts a legend, according to which *mankurts* were prisoners of war who were turned into slaves by having their heads wrapped in camel skin. Under a hot sun these skins dried tight, like a steel band, thus enslaving them forever, which he likens to a ring of rockets around the earth to keep out a higher civilisation. A *mankurt* did not recognise his name, family or tribe — a *mankurt* did not recognize himself as a human being. As the Soviet Union fell apart in the early 1990s, the *mankurt* was invoked by Central Asian cultural critics to describe the cultural loss that occurred as a result of Soviet modernization. To get more information about *mankurt* and *mankurtisizm* see my article "Chingiz Aytmatov and XX Century Uzbek literature". International Scientific and Practical Conference on Renaissance of National Literatures in the second half of the XX th Century and Chynghyz Aitmatov. December 12, 2018, Kazan (Russia)

3. To get more information about Fitrat's work "Munozara" you can see my article "Representation of Europeans Twentieth Century – Uzbek Literature" Journal of the Institute for Foreign Language Studies, 2012, № 2, Korea

4. Sattor Jabbor (his pseudonym was Subutoy) wrote his book "Kurtuluş Yolunda" (On the way of Salvation) in 1931 with his Turkish friend Hayri Tokay, a Turkish student who came to study to Berlin. But because of Sattor Jabbor's execution in 1938 the book couldn't be published on time. Almost 70 years later it appeared in Turkey by German and Turkish scholars. Sattar Jabbor was very close to Fitrat and translated a number of his poems into German and got published in Berlin's daily journals. To get more information about the books see: Mirzaeva Z. XX asro'zbek adabiyotining Amerikada o'rganilishi. (The study of XX Century's Uzbek Literature in America) Toshkent: Fan, 2010; Sigrig Kleinmichel. A work on Central Asian Literature in a Turkish-Uzbek mixed language // Kunde des Morgenlands, Wien, 2004, pp.382-389; Turdiev Sh. Ular Germaniyada o'qigan edilar (They studied in Germany). Toshkent, Akadem- Xizmat, 2006.

5. Abdulla Qodiriy was a famous Jadid writer, poet, and translator as well. He was one of leaders of the Jadid movement. Qodiriy first time in Uzbek literature created "O'tkan kunlar" (Days Gone By) and "Mehrobdan chayon" (Scorpion from the Alter) in roman (novel) genre. In his "O'tkan kunlar" the writer refers his ideology on Independence through his prototype Otabek. "O'tkan kunlar" was the primary reason for the execution of Abdulla Qodiriy in 1938.

6. Famous US-American scholar Edward Allworth was the first to investigate the symbolic meaning of the play "The Patricide" by M. Behbudiy and proved that it is the best example of Uzbek Jadid drama while Uzbek scholars appraise it as a weak play. Moreover, according to the real scientific resources related to learning differences of "The Patricide" published in different periods Allworth's version was the most adequate variant of the play (Samarkand, 1913) among other versions done by Uzbek scholars. To get more information see: Allworth, Edward "Murder as Metaphor in the First Central Asian Drama." Ural-Altai Year –book, 58 (1986). Mirzaeva, Zulkhonor. Syncretism of educational-social and artistic problems in "The Patricide" and comparative analysis of editions of the drama. Filologiyamaseleleri.– Baku, (Azabaijan), 2011.– № 11, pp. 279–294, Zulkhonor Mirzaeva, academia.edu;

7. US-American scholar Adeeb Khalid has his own paradox upon the character of Farangi who knows Koran well in "Munozara" See: Adeeb Khalid. Representations of Russia in Central Asian Jadid Discourse // Russia's Orient. Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700-1917/ M. Khodorkovsky, Y. Slezkine, E.J. Lazzarini, A. Khalid and etc.; ed. Daniel R. Brower and E. J. Lazzarini.-Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.p.196. Mashrab, is his pseudonym, original name Boborahim MullaVali son. Born in Namangan in 1640, died in Balkh in 1711.

The poet and notionalist. The name of Mashrab is mentioned in the Sufi works and tazkiras (for instance, Bade Samarkandiy's "Muzokirul-ashab") created in the 18th-19th centuries. However, the information about the poet's life and creative activity is rare. There is no clear source of information about the literary heritage left by Mashrab.

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