BRILL

JOURNAL OF CENTRAL ASIAN HISTORY
5 (2026) 192–227

JOURNAL OF
CENTRAL ASIAN HISTORY
brill.com/jcah

From the "Interpreter" to the "World of Women": Ismail Gasprinskii and Male/Female Jadidism, 1887–1907

Ozan Karabulak | ORCID: 0000-0002-9091-1945
Marmara Üniversitesi, History Department
Corresponding author
ozan.karabulak@marmara.edu.tr

Michael Kemper | ORCID: 0000-0002-6676-9563
University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam School of Regional,
Transnational and European Studies
m.kemper@uva.n

Received 7 February 2026 | Accepted 7 June 2026 |
Published online 9 November 2026

Abstract

ʿAlem-i Nisvan ("World of Women", 1905/1906–1907) has been celebrated as the first journal produced by and for Muslim women of the Russian Empire. The present article nuances this qualification. By reading *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* in conjunction with Ismail Gasprinkii's newspaper *Terjuman* ("Interpreter", 1883–1918), we argue that the women's journal was largely a male project, reflecting Gasprinskii's long-standing ambition to include women into his broader modernization project. When Gasprinskii eventually received imperial permission to launch *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, in 1905, he framed it as a female initiative and made his daughter Shefiqa director of the new journal. Still, our content analysis shows that most contributions to the journal came from men, and that female voices in *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* fully supported the male Jadid vision about the role of Muslimas as mothers and housewives. We argue that *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*'s circulation in Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Volga-Urals was very limited, and we offer evidence that *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* died a commercial death in 1907. This failure reflected Gasprinskii's editorial and language policies in an increasingly competitive Muslim press environment. When the title reappeared, in 1909–1910, it was no longer a journal but merely a supplement to *Terjuman*, without the pretense of female directorship.

Published with license by Koninklijke Brill BV | DOI:10.1163/27728668-20260009
© OZAN KARABULAK AND MICHAEL KEMPER, 2026 | ISSN: 2772-865X (print) 2772-8668 (online)
This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the CC BY 4.0 license.

Keywords

Muslim female journalism – *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* – Jadidism – Turkish language – Russian Empire – Islam

> The Exalted Imperial Manifesto of 17 October [1905] constitutes the start of a new era and a brilliant time for all of Russia's peoples (*milletleri*), and it opens up a gateway towards happiness. […] As a congratulatory gift for this new era – and taking as our guidance the exalted saying [of the Prophet Muhammad] that 'gathering knowledge is a duty for all Muslims and all Muslimas' – we decided to establish a journal by the name of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* ["The World of Women"], as a weekly periodical specifically addressing women and girls. God willing, this journal will offer literary, practical/technical and household-related contents, and it will appear from the beginning of next year.[1]

With these words the Crimean Muslim cultural reformer Ismail Gasprinskii (1851–1914), owner and chief editor of the *Terjuman* ("Interpreter") newspaper, skillfully announced the coming of a new journal that would specifically address Muslim women in Russia. Over almost two decades, his petitions for such a journal had been turned down by the imperial censorship office; but now, after the Russian Revolution of 1905 had forced the Tsar to promise basic civil liberties and a free press, the time for new Muslim periodicals had come. The journal that Gasprinskii announced here, *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* ("The World of Women"), would indeed gain fame as the first periodical for Muslim women in imperial Russia, and it would cement Gasprinskii's fame as a pioneer of female education and social advancement of Muslim women. Gasprinskii put his nineteen-year-old daughter Shefiqa in charge of the daily affairs of the new journal, thereby making it an ostensibly female project. Indeed, Shefiqa Gasprinskaya (Gasprinskaya-Yusufbeyli, 1886–1975) later gained prominence as a leader in Russia's Muslim movement for female emancipation.[2]

1 Ismaʿil, "*ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (Qadınlar ʿAlemi)." *Terjuman* 85 (21 October 1905): 169. All pre-Soviet publication dates in the present paper are old style.

2 Elif Uzunağaç, "Rusya Türkleri Arasındaki Kadın Hareketinin Önderi: Şefika Gaspıralı (1886–1975)." *Türk Tarihinde İz Bırakan Kadınlar*, eds Okan Yeşilot and Bihter Gürışık Köksal (Istanbul: Vakıfbank Kültür Yayınları, 2023): 345–360; Lenara Z. Chubukchieva, "Zhenskii vopros na vserossiiskom musul'manskom s"ezde v Moskve: po materialam lichnogo arkhiva Shefiki Gasprinskoi." *Uchenye zapiski Tavricheskogo natsional'nogo universiteta im. V.I. Vernadskogo. Seriya 'Istoricheskie nauki'* vol. 25 (64), no. 1/2012: 199–208.

While *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* thus contributed significantly to the public profile of both Ismail Gasprinskii and his daughter, the journal itself has not received much scholarly attention. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the mere fact of its existence has been deemed more important than what was written in it. Most scholars have seen just a few of the surviving copies, with the result that some misconceptions have been carried over from publication to publication. Furthermore, the memoirs of Shefiqa Gasprinskaya, recorded late in her life by Şengül and Necip Hablemitoğlu in their monograph on Russia's Muslim women's movement, are only of limited value for understanding the emergence and profile of the journal, and for evaluating its actual degree of success.[3]

The present paper throws new light on these fundamental questions around Russia's first journal for Muslimas. While it seems that only a limited number of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* copies has survived, this deficiency can partly be compensated for by the information about the journal that Ismail Gasprinskii offered in his *Terjuman* newspaper. We thus argue that *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* should be studied in conjunction with *Terjuman*, the latter being its parental organ. The combined reading of the two periodicals allows us to investigate how the motivation for launching a female journal gradually gained substance starting from at least 1887. *Terjuman* also sheds light on the problems that the female journal faced during its short lifespan, and importantly, it tells us why the marketing strategy behind Russia's first journal for Muslimas eventually failed.

In fact, we argue that *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* was less successful than is usually acknowledged. While most scholars argue that *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* was published without interruption from 1905 to 1910 or 1911,[4] with Shefiqa in charge,

3 Şengül Hablemitoğlu and Necip Hablemitoğlu, *Şefika Gaspirali ve Rusya'da Türk kadin hareketi (1893–1920)* (Istanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayinlari, 2004) [first edition: 1998]. Necip Hablemitoğlu knew Shefiqa and provided information that he heard from her in personal conversations; he also published documents that Shefiqa collected, including some of her own reflections.

4 Two major encyclopedic works indicate that the journal closed in 1910; see Ismail Remiyev, *Vaqitlï Tatar matbuʿatï 1905–1925* (Kazan: Gajur, 1926): 215; Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, *La Presse et le mouvement national chez les musulmans de Russie avant 1920* (Paris & La Haye: Mouton, 1964): 142. The end year of 1910 is also given by Yavuz Akpinar, who edited Gasprinskii's works in Turkish; see *İsmail Gaspıralı Seçilmiş Eserleri: II Fikri Eserleri*, ed. Yavuz Akpınar, (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2004): 36. Azade-Ayşe Rorlich treated *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* as a supplement to *Terjuman* for the whole duration from 1906 to 1910; see Azade-Ayşe Rorlich, "Intersecting Discourses in the Press of the Muslims of Crimea, Middle Volga & Caucasus: the Woman Question and the Nation." In *Gender and Identity Construction: Women of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey*, ed. by Feride Acar and Ayşe Güneş-Ayata (Leiden: Brill, 2000): 150. Others have argued that the journal closed in 1911: G. Selcan Sağlık Şahin,

Gasprinskii's notes in *Terjuman* during those years demonstrate that as a separate magazine *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* existed only from 3 March 1906 to 30 March 1907, preceded by one test copy produced in December 1905. Comments in *Terjuman* clearly demonstrate that no issues of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* were published in 1908 and 1909. After a gap of two years the title reappeared in June 1910, but then not as a full-blown journal but in the form of a two-page supplement to *Terjuman*, edited not by Shefiqa but by her father. In this second period (1910–1911) *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* was therefore fully integrated into the 'male' *Terjuman*. Our division of the history of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* into two periods – the first (1906–1907) when it was a regular journal formally directed by a Muslim woman, and the second (1910–1911) when it was merely a supplement in an otherwise very 'male' newspaper – is fundamental for approaching the question of female agency.

Our study thus emphasizes that *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* emerged out of *Terjuman*, was published alongside *Terjuman*, and eventually returned to *Terjuman*. Chronologically, the present contribution starts with the year 1887 when Gasprinskii for the first time tried to establish a women's journal; it then continues with the establishment of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* as a journal in 1905/1906, and it stops in 1907 when *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* ceased to appear in magazine format. From the 47 journal issues published between December 1905 and March 1907, we have been able to use fourteen for this study.[5] While this is not enough for a full study of the journal, the available copies allow us to explore *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*'s profile and also its history, in particular how the periodical started and how it

"İsmail Gaspıralı, Türk Kadını ve *Âlem-i Nisvan* Dergisi." *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* (*İsmail Bey Gaspıralı Özel Sayısı*) XI/4 (December 2014): 221; Minara Aliyeva Çınar, *Nesip Yusufbeyli'den Şefika Gaspıralı'ya Mektuplar* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2018): 63; Hilal Doğan, *Âlem-i Nisvân Gazetesi* (*1905–1907*), yüksek lisans tezi, Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi, 2000, 26, 36; Elanur Köse, *Kırım ve Kafkasya Matbuatında Kadın: Âlem-i Nisvan, Işık ve Molla Nasreddin*, yüksek lisans tezi, Gazi Üniversitesi, 2021, p. 100. One source argues that the journal continued until 1914; Kamelya Tekne, "Şefika Gaspıralı: Türk Kadın Hareketinin Öncülerinden." *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Türk Dünyası Ansiklopedisi*, 2024.

5 The most useful source study of the journal's history is Hilal Doğan, *Âlem-i Nisvân Gazetesi*, offering a content overview of several journal issues as well as reprints. Available to us through Doğan's work and other sources are issues 4, 6, 35, 36 and 37 of 1907 as well as issues 2–9 of 1907, in addition to the single test issue of late 1905 (marked as a "model", *numune*). The existing Turkish, Ukrainian, Russian, Crimean or Western corpus of scholarship gives no information about the issues that we lack (that is, nos 1–2 as well as 7–34 of 1906, plus issue 1 of 1907), which implies these issues might have not been preserved. A popular publication from Russian-occupied Crimea implies that there, scholars have only three more issues from 1906 at their disposal; see "'Alemi Nisvan' – pervoe spetsializirovannoe periodicheskoe izdanie dlya musul'manok." In *Novyi Bakhchisarai*, Spets-vypusk Terdzhiman Perevodchik, (29 March 2021): 5 (no author). We thank Edward Lazzerini for drawing our attention to this publication.

came to an end. In addition, announcements and advertisements in *Terjuman* provide information about the contents of the missing copies and help us to establish the general development of the journal. The source situation is much better for the years 1910–1911 when the title *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* was used for denoting a supplement to Gasprinskii's *Terjuman*, and when it was clearly a male project; this second period saw new discourses about female roles that will not be discussed here.[6]

The first part of the present paper traces Gasprinskii's idea to set up a special journal for Russia's Muslimas, demonstrating that starting from the 1880s he presented it as an educational initiative by women for women. This is followed by a second section that reconstructs the actual emergence of the journal in 1905/6, and that discusses Gasprinskii's attempts to make it viable. In the third section of this paper we offer a content analysis of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* for 1905–1907 – that is, for the time when it appeared in magazine format. Here our combined reading with *Terjuman* allows us to investigate how the arguments for Muslim female advancement brought forward in *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* related to the dominant "male" Jadid discourse cultivated in its parental organ *Terjuman*, which until 1905 was the monopolist flagship of moderate Muslim modernism in Russia. Did female voices criticize or complicate the patriarchal style of male Jadidism, and the Jadids' insistence that different gender domains were necessary to preserve the Muslim nation in Russia from assimilation? Reflections on these relations lead to the question whether *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* was indeed a journal by women and for women, or whether we might better consider it an extension of a male project. This question will be addressed in the last part of the present paper.

1 *Terjuman* and Female Education: a Gradually Emerging Discourse

Ismail Gasprinskii's *Terjuman* (1883–1918) was for many years Russia's only "Muslim" newspaper, in the sense that it was initiated, owned and produced by a Muslim, and that it wrote for a Turkophone readership from Muslim ("Tatar") elite perspectives. Published in a simplified Turkish language, with some Tatar adaptations (and until 1905 with parallel Russian translations or abstracts), *Terjuman*'s reporting about economic, political, cultural and social issues stimulated an emerging Muslim reading public in the Crimea, the Volga-Urals

6 On these see Ozan Karabulak, "Ötekiyle Karşılaşmak: Rusya Türklerinin 1910 Kazan Misyoner Kongresi'ne Tepkileri ve İhtida Bağlamında Bir Hicab Tartışması." *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi* 55 (2026): 49–83.

and West Siberia as well as the Caucasus and Central Asia. At the same time *Terjuman* was in exchange with journalists in the Ottoman Empire where it was equally read. During his thirty-one years at the helm of the paper (1883–1914), Gasprinskii strove to maintain a moderate and prudent course, taking into account the need to maintain good relations with the Tsarist administration but also with Russia's Muslim aristocracy and the Muslim scholarly and business elites.[7] All of these Gasprinskii tried to win as readers, subscribers and supporters. This was a male world.

The prospects of a female journal would primarily depend on how many Muslim women could read, and how many of them would be willing and able to afford a newspaper subscription, and whether the profile would be appealing to them. While girls had no access to the traditional Muslim *maktab*s and *madrasa*s, Muslim girls and women from families of the Tatar trade and religious elites did obtain Turkic/Tatar literacy through private homeschooling. Many others received education through informal female teaching circles maintained by the wives of neighborhood imams; after the turn of the century some of these circles were gradually acquiring the form of pious girls' schools. In addition, a growing number of Muslim girls attended Russian (or "Russian-native") schools, where they would follow a state program.[8]

In contrast to these approaches, Gasprinskii's major goal was to modernize the existing Muslim basic school (*maktab*), and to also open *maktab*s for girls. The first schoolbook that he put together in the course of the 1880s, *Khoja-i sibyan*, was explicitly meant to also teach girls, both at school and at home by their mothers.[9] But this Jadid promotion of female education did not yet

7 Ozan Karabulak, *İsmail Gasprinski'nin Tercüman'ı: Sadakat ve Terakki* (*1883–1914*), unpublished PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2024.

8 On Muslim female education see in particular Agnès Nilüfer Kefeli, *Becoming Muslim in Imperial Russia: Conversion, Apostasy, and Literacy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014); Danielle Ross, "Debunking the 'Unfortunate Girl' Paradigm: Volga-Ural Muslim Women's Knowledge Culture and its Transformation across the Long Nineteenth Century." In *Sharīʿa in the Russian Empire: The Reach and Limits of Islamic Law in Central Eurasia, 1550–1917*, ed. by Paolo Sartori and Danielle Ross (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020): 120–155; Rozaliya R. Garipova, "Muslim Women's Religious Authority and Their Role in the Transmission of Islamic Knowledge in Late Imperial Russia." *Tatarica* 5 (2015): 152–63; Alsu A. Khasavnekh, "Rizaeddin Fakhreddin i ego biograficheskii trud 'Mäshhür khatïnnar' ('Znamenitye zhenshchiny')." *Istoricheskaia etnologiia* 5/2 (2020): 306–317.

9 Ozan Karabulak & Michael Kemper, "Where Did Gasprinskii's Jadid Teaching Method Come from? Exchange and Competition between Bakhchesaray, Istanbul and the Caucasus." In *Tatar Diaspora in Modern Eurasia: Connection, Interaction, Transformation*, ed. by Yasushi Shinmen, Mami Hamamoto, Dilara M. Usmanova, and Allen J. Frank (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko Research Library Series vol. 26, 2025): 242.

mean that Muslim women, after attaining literacy, were stimulated to also read newspapers or journals, to participate in the emerging public sphere, and to be exposed to political debates. In general, the Jadid discourse maintained that the woman's role was to care for children and the home.[10]

Still, Gasprinskii was consistent in exploring ways how to reach female readers by journalism. Already in 1887,[11] four years after founding *Terjuman*, he asked the imperial Ministry of the Interior for permission to establish *Terbiye* ("Education"), conceived of as a new journal addressing Muslim women. This first petition was written in the name of Gasprinskii's wife, Zuhra Gasprinskaya (née Akchurina, 1862–1903), an educated woman hailing from a famous family of traders and industrialists in the Volga area. Zuhra supported her husband already in the production and distribution of *Terjuman* but she was not known as a writer. We do not know whether the 1887 petition for a female journal was indeed her idea, or whether Gasprinskii simply used her name to make his project appear as a female initiative. At any event, the petition clarified that the new journal was supposed to appear under Gasprinskii's directorship.[12] It would cover topics related to housework, hygiene, childcare, and pedagogy, in addition to offering novels and biographies of famous women and even Russian language lessons. Over the coming two decades Gasprinskii repeatedly pushed for a journal with this profile, up until 1905 when the project would eventually be implemented under the name of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*.

The 1887 petition argued that the education of Muslim women by a journal would be beneficial for *sblizhenie* ("coming closer"), that is, for making Muslims

10 Hanife Khanïm bint ʿIsmetullah, *Terghib: Muʿallimelerge achïq mektub revishde yazïlmïshdïr* (Kazan: Dombrovskii, 1898); Ismail Bek Gasprinskii, *Qadïnlar* (Bakhchesaray: Terjüman gazetesining tash ve hurufat basmakhanesi, 1903); Rida'addin bin Fakhraddin, *ʿA'ile* (Kazan: Lito-tipografiya I.N. Kharitonova, 1904 [second edition]); Rida'addin bin Fakhraddin, *Terbiyeli khatun* (Orenburg: Kerimof, Hüseyinof ve shürekasïnïng paravay matbaʿasï, 1909 [fourth edition]); Fakhrülbenat Süleymanova, *Qïzlar terbiyesi* (Orenburg: Tipo-litografiya M.F. Karimova, 1906); Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999): 222–228; Marianne Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling under Communism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006): 32–52.

11 This was a year after the appearance in January/March 1886 of *Şükûfezar* ("Flower Garden"), the first Ottoman women's magazine that was published by women, and that was not just a supplement of an exisiting newspaper. See Fatma Çolak Asan, *Şükûfezar Dergisi*, Yüksek lisans tezi, Sakarya: Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2020; Burak Çavuş, "Osmanlı Kadın Yazınında Şükûfezâr Dergisi ve Derginin Tam Çevirisi." *Edebi Eleştiri Dergisi* (2021): 398–429.

12 Viktor Yu. Gankevich, *Na sluzhbe pravde i prosveshcheniiu: kratkii biograficheskii ocherk Ismaila Gasprinskogo (1851–1914)* (Simferopol: Dolya, 2000): 147.

familiar with "Russian life and science".[13] This argument of *sblizhenie* – in the sense of bringing Muslims closer to the interests of the Russian state and Russian society, instead of fostering their isolation – was one of Gasprinskii's favorite selling points for garnering the favor of the imperial administration; it had already worked in 1883 when he, after many setbacks, eventually obtained his license for establishing *Terjuman*.[14]

Yet the 1887 petition for a women's journal was rejected, on the grounds that the proposed contents were already covered by *Terjuman*.[15] This was a weak objection, for while *Terjuman* did offer practical information of all kinds, it did not adapt its messages to the tastes and interests of female readers, and it did not yet publish female voices. The imperial censorship clearly wanted to preclude the drawing of Muslim women into the empire-wide Muslim public sphere that Gasprinskii was attempting to create.

At the same time Gasprinskii did not hurry to make space for female contributors in his regular *Terjuman*. As far as we can see, the first item in *Terjuman* that went back to a female author appeared only a year later, in November 1888: under the title "a letter from Tashkent", *Terjuman* reported that a Muslima from that city – her name is not given – sent a letter to the editor about a Tashkent gymnasium; reportedly, she claimed that since its establishment an overall number of fifteen Muslim girls had studied at that school, with one even graduating with a gold medal.[16] This brief announcement refrained from discussing whether it was desirable that Muslim girls attend Russian high schools.

A year later Gasprinskii's wife Zuhra Gasprinskaya published a short text in *Terjuman*. In this note Zuhra expressed her enthusiasm about the graduation of three Muslim girls from another Russian educational institution, the Transcaucasian Girls' Institute in Tiflis. As she wrote,

> may people see and understand that if education is built upon the morality and honor of Islam, then it cannot lead a Muslima away from the path of God and morality. Rather, education will produce knowledgeable, experienced and energetic wives and mothers, for the benefit of the Islamic community.[17]

13 Gankevich, *Na sluzhbe pravde*: 147; *Ismägïyl Gasprinskiy: tarikhi-dokumental' jïyentïk*, chief ed. Söläyman Rakhimov (Kazan: Jïyen Näshriyäti, 2006): 375–385.

14 Michael Kemper, "Muslim EuRossocentrism: Ismail Gasprinskii's 'Russian Islam' (1881)." In *Eurocentrism in European History and Memory*, ed. by Marjet Brolsma, Robin de Bruin, Matthijs Lok (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019): 79–101.

15 Gankevich, *Na sluzhbe pravde*: 148.

16 "Tashkentden mektub." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 41 (28 Nov. 1888): 77.

17 Zuhra, "Achïq mektub." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 24 (30 June 1889): 50.

This reasoning – girls need education to support their husbands, educate their children, and thereby serve the Muslim nation – would become the core element in the Jadid call for Muslima education, in *Terjuman* and beyond. That we find this argument here as coming from the pen of Zuhra Gasprinskaya is no coincidence: as Gasprinskii's companion in the *Terjuman* business she was already involved in the promotion of Jadid enlightenment thought, even if she herself did not write much in *Terjuman*. Zuhra's insistence that female education is possible in an Islamic manner, without a loss of morality, reflects *Terjuman*'s strategy to take the wind out of the sails of opponents who used Islamic rhetoric against modern education; references to Islamic values would therefore become another major feature of the Jadid discourse about the education of Muslimas.

And still, Zuhra's intervention raised male opposition. One reader from the Caucasus (whom Gasprinskii respectfully introduced as an experienced educator and a judge, with a university education) responded to Zuhra's note by maintaining that Muslim female education should be limited to practical skills, and that it should not mean "a so-called secular education",[18] or "a Frankish style".[19] The educated Muslima must understand that her place is still the home.

The subservient role of the Muslim woman could be justified by Islamic law. Gasprinskii called attention to Shari'a regulations concerning women but did not confront them head-on. Already in the inaugural issue of *Terjuman*, dated 10 April 1883, he posed the question (presented as having come from an unnamed reader) why Islamic inheritance law assigns fewer shares to women than to men.[20] To be sure, Gasprinskii did not say that this Islamic inheritance regulation was unfair. Rather, in a subsequent issue of *Terjuman* he published an anonymous response that declared that the divergent treatment was based on the different numerical values of the names "Adam" and "Hava" (i.e., Eve), with the three Arabic letters of the male name – if counted by their numerical values – amounting to 45, and the letters of "Ḥawa" only to 15; this would explain why men receive two shares of an inheritance and a woman only one.[21] Arguably, by publishing this absurd response Gasprinskii invited his readers to reflect upon the questionability of entrenched Islamic

18 G. Shanaev, "Chemu i kak uchit' musul'manku." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 33 (18 Sept. 1889): 69 (Russian part).

19 Gh. Shanayev, "Qadïnlar terbiyesi." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 33 (18 Sept. 1889): 69 (Turkish part).

20 "Islamja birkach su'al." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 1 (10 April 1883): 2.

21 "Su'allere jevap." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 6 (23 May 1883): 2.

regulations without exposing himself too much. Similarly, in one early contribution Gasprinskii discussed the disadvantages that Muslim women encountered after being divorced by their husbands,[22] still without criticizing the circumstance that the Islamic divorce remained, in practice, a male prerogative.[23] In 1891 *Terjuman* finally touched upon the question of polygamy, by republishing an article from the Ottoman paper *Hizmet* that still *defended* the practice;[24] but in later years Gasprinskii argued that from an Islamic perspective, polygamy was only lawful if certain conditions were met, and that on the whole Islam recommended monogamy.[25] Anything else, we must assume, might have estranged his male readership.

A first substantial article written by a Muslim women came out in 1890, when *Terjuman* published a text on personal hygiene and healthy food practices authored by Raziyye Tajeddin-qïzï (Kutluyarova, 1866–1923), who is known as the first Muslima from Russia to have graduated from a Russian medical school. In that context Gasprinskii for the first time acknowledged to his readers that *Terjuman* neglected female interests:

> *Terjuman* has been published now for six years, and its issues contained articles and letters that came from all directions. They were all written by men. This time the one item that we offer below is the work of a 'Muslima'.[26]

In 1891 Gasprinskii made a second attempt to obtain imperial permission for an outlet specifically targeting a female readership. The proposed outlet – now

22 "Nikah mes'elesi ve zakon." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 20 (21 Oct. 1883): 1–2 (reporting that in the Transcaucasus, Muslim women repudiated by their husbands would have to turn to a state court if they wanted to claim their property, but the state court would require documentation about their marriage that Muslimas never received in the first place when they married in a mosque). In later years Gasprinskii repeatedly discussed the negative consequences of marrying off girls at a very early age; see "Bir bahis." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 30 (13 Aug. 1895): 89; "Vaqt-i bulugh ve nikah." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 10 (10 March 1896): 37; "Irte nikah." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 24 (21 June 1898): 93–94.

23 Later Gasprinskii was more outspoken; see "Müslimeler ahvalinden bir bahis." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 48 (28 Dec. 1899): 273–274; Ismail, "Zulüm qaydan geliyor?" *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 36 (15 Sept. 1903): 149–150. For Islamic divorce in Russia see Rozaliya Garipova, "Divorce from Missing Husbands: Rizaeddin Fakhreddin and Reform Within Islamic Tradition in Imperial Russia." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 65 (2022): 761–801.

24 "Hizmet gazetesinden." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 39 (8 Nov. 1891): 79.

25 "Birqach qadïn almaq." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 45 (15 Nov. 1898): 180–182.

26 "Idareden." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 21 (17 June 1890): 41 (quotation marks in the original).

entitled *Qadïn* ("Woman") – was not to be a journal in its own right but an appendix to *Terjuman*, to be sent out to the regular *Terjuman* subscribers every other week. This time Gasprinskii argued that the envisaged periodical would counter the negative views about "life, society and the state" that the "fanatic" Muslim woman, confined to her small home, transmitted to her children and to other Muslims.[27] With other words, the Muslima was represented not as a subject of oppression by men (for this would obviously require enlightenment work among Muslim males) but as a dangerous element in and by herself, endangering the Muslim cultural progress (that men have achieved), and implicitly also a threat to the security of the Russian state. Gasprinskii adapted his argumentation to the growing securitization of "the Muslim Question" in Russia's public discourse in that period.[28]

The imperial censor in charge of examining this request, the Turkologist Vasilii D. Smirnov (1846–1922), rejected Gasprinskii's petition. As Smirnov argued, the Muslim way of life did not allow a woman to obtain education without the permission of her husband, which meant that women would not be able to subscribe to the envisaged publication anyways. Smirnov furthermore doubted that Muslim women had any influence on their children,[29] thereby refuting one core argument in the Jadid call for female education.

Was Smirnov perhaps right in his assumption that there was no market for a Muslima journal? Already *Terjuman* had very few female subscribers;[30] and in 1904 (when the overall number of *Terjuman* readers supposedly peaked at 3,000 or even 5,000)[31] Gasprinskii acknowledged that his newspaper had only thirty to forty female subscribers.[32] In that light the design of *Qadïn* as a supplement to *Terjuman* might have been meant to attract more female subscribers to the regular newspaper, which was less risky than trying to establish an independent journal for women.

This does not mean that Gasprinskii's attempts to establish a periodical for Muslims was only a business strategy; he was very consistent in his promotion of the idea, and he garnered the support of Muslim elite families from

27 Gankevich, *Na sluzhbe pravde*: 148.

28 E.I. Campbell, *The Muslim Question and Russian Imperial Governance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

29 Gankevich, *Na sluzhbe pravde*: 146–149; *Ismägïyl Gasprinskiy: tarikhi-dokumental' jïyentïk*: 375–385.

30 "Basiret." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 19 (21 May 1884): 43.

31 [without header], *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 84 (19 Oct. 1904): 169. Cf. "Diqqat gerek." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 47 (11 June 1904): 85; "Mühim ikhtar." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 42 (25 May 1904): 75.

32 "Hindde khanïmlar ijtima'i." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 7 (23 Jan. 1904): 14–15.

the Crimea, the Volga-Urals, and the Caucasus. Şengül and Necip Hablemitoğlu have rightly pointed to the importance of a broader meeting that took place in Bakhchesaray in 1893, to celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Terjuman*. According to the memories of Shefiqa Gasprinskaya, among the guests were several prominent Muslim women, and her mother Zuhra Gasprinskaya addressed these ladies with the following appeal:

> We must grasp all possibilities that law and tradition allow us to use, and we must evaluate all opportunities! [...] We therefore must support the education of girls everywhere. By taking part in charity societies (*jem'iyyet-i kheyriyye*) women must stretch out their hands so that [other girls and women] feel their compassion, in an act of social solidarity (*toplumsal dayanışhma*)![33]

To be sure, this might not have been *verbatim* what Zuhra said, but it is plausible that the attendants discussed the opening of girl schools and of civil society associations. Reportedly, Zuhra Gasprinskaya announced she would establish a handicrafts school for women.[34]

The Hablemitoğlus have argued that this 1893 meeting was the start of a Muslim women's movement in Russia. This might be a bit simplified, as it disregards the circumstance that around that time Muslim elite women not connected to the meeting also started to set up formal girl schooling in the Volga-Urals, based on the regional tradition of female pious homeschooling.[35] Still, the 1893 anniversary celebration in Bakhchesaray prompted Gasprinskii to publish another *mea culpa*, and to announce a turn:

> I would like to extend my special thanks to the compassionate and experienced Muslimas who sent their congratulations on the occasion of the tenth anniversary [of *Terjuman*].[36] I have been very negligent towards our Muslim sisters, and my sins and shortcomings are many: over the past ten years I have not discussed knowledge and information that relates to them, and that they would have needed. Perhaps it was not yet the right

33 Hablemitoğlu & Hablemitoğlu, *Şefika Gaspirali*: 95.

34 Hablemitoğlu & Hablemitoğlu, *Şefika Gaspirali*: 94–95. The first female charities would, however, see the light only after 1905; ibid.: 109–117.

35 Rozaliya R. Garipova, "Muslim Women's Religious Authority"; *Millät analarï: tarikhi-dokumental' häm biografik jïyentik*, ed. Al'ta Kh. Mäkhmütova (Kazan: Jïyen, 2012).

36 Also Fatih Kerimi mentioned the congratulation telegrams that Gasprinskii received from Muslim women at that occasion. See Muhammed Fatih bin Ghilman el-Kerimi, *Qïrïma seyahat* (Orenburg: Muhammed Fatih Kerimov matba'asï, 1904): 73.

> time, but now that we saw what these educated and knowledgeable pure hands have brought to paper, we take this as a lesson, and it became our duty to start speaking about the tasks and rights [of Muslim women].[37]

A little later Gasprinskii declared that *Terjuman* would henceforth write about issues that specifically addressed women, including education, health, and the management of the home.[38] In fact, from 26 September 1893 onwards customers received their *Terjuman* newspaper (which at that time appeared once a week) together with a supplement of four pages that was called *Zamime-i Terjuman* ("Supplement to the *Terjuman*"). While not having a gendered title, this supplement was clearly designed to attract the curiosity of women and girls, and to encourage them to acquire knowledge. Its larger items were serialized novels, most of them written by Gasprinskii himself. Thus the publication of his "Lion-Girl" (*Arslan qïz*), the first parts of which had already appeared in *Terjuman* (under Gasprinskii's pseudonym Molla ʿAbbas Fransevi), was continued in *Zamime*.[39] Advertised as a supplement for women, the *Zamime* was in practice Ismail Gasprinskii's new platform for his own novels. The fiction he offered was close to real life: another sequel, titled "From a Girl's Diary", told the tragic story of the inexperienced underage girl Saʿida who loved a young man but was married off to another man much older than her.[40] Yet after 15 issues, in late February 1894, the supplement disappeared again, for reasons that remain unexplained.

The anniversary year of 1893 was also remarkable as it saw the opening of Russia's first new-method (*usul-i jadid*) girls' school in Bakhchesaray – eleven

37 Ismail, "Muharrirden teshekkür." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 13 (18 April 1893): 25. The woman whose writing achievements Gasprinskii praised here was Bibi Hanife Niyazova; she had sent Gasprinskii a handwritten booklet (titled "ʿAqidat Ahl al-Haqq") that she composed for *Terjuman*'s tenth anniversary. We know that she produced another text called *Terghib* (1898), and that she opened a girl school in Tara (Western Siberia). See "Yeni kitablar." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 8 (28 Feb. 1898): 4; "Iki nadire". Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 40 (8 Nov. 1892): 79.

38 "Ikhtar." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 16 (9 May 1893): 31 (Russian part) and 31 (Turkish part).

39 Molla ʿAbbas Fransevi, "Hikaye: Arslan Qïz." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 1 (7 Jan. 1894): 5–8; 2 (14 Jan. 1894): 5–8; 4 (20 Jan. 1894): 9–12; 6 (11 Feb. 1894): 13–16; 7 (20 Feb. 1894): 17–22. About "Arslan Qïz" and "Qadïnlar Ülkesi" (the latter signed by Gasprinskii with "Molla ʿAbbas") see Cemile Kınacı, "Ütopyadan Gerçeğe: Kadınlar Ülkesi ve Arslan Kız'dan Âlem-i Nisvan'a Evrilen Türk Kadın Hareketi." *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* (İsmail Bey Gaspıralı Özel Sayısı) 11/4 (2014): 224–247; Yılmaz Özkaya, "İsmail Gaspıralı'nın Alp Kadın Tipi: Arslan Kız", *İdil-Ural Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4/2 (2020): 293–303.

40 Saide, "Bir qïzïn defterinden." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 36 (29 Oct. 1893): 13–15; 37 (7 Nov 1893): 17–20; 39 (19 Nov. 1893): 21–23.

years after the establishment of the first *jadid* school for boys in the same town. The new girl school was run by Gasprinskii's sister, Pembe Selime Bolatugova. In the morning there were classes of Turkish, Arabic reading, mathematics and Islamic theology (*'ilm-i hal*), and in the afternoons the pupils learned handicraft techniques such as machine sewing and weaving.[41] Already in late July 1893 *Terjuman* reported that the first class of the girls' school had done exceptionally well, and that the girls had demonstrated their new skills to an invited public.[42] Gasprinskii tried to attract the attention of mothers by inviting them to come and see the success of the female pupils with their own eyes.[43] In fact, the yearly exams were organized as a kind of reading festival, accompanied by expositions of the girls' handmade products.[44] Reportedly, in 1900 two hundred guests attended the exams.[45] Some pupils came from outside of Bakhchesaray, and were hosted in Pembe Selime Bolatugova's own house.[46] Ten years after the opening of the school it was reported that some graduates had already become teachers themselves.[47]

The school remained a Gasprinskii family business: when Pembe Selime died in 1905,[48] the directorship passed on to Gasprinskii's other sister Zeyneb.[49] As *Terjuman* emphasized, the Bakhchesaray girl school became a model for similar schools that were set up in other regions of the empire.[50]

2 After 1905: a Struggle for Survival

As seen at the start of the paper, it was the 1905 February Revolution that eventually made "The World of Women" possible. Already in July of that year

41 "Jedid usul qïz mektebi." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 4 (31 Jan. 1893): 8.

42 "Bakhchesaray." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 24 (23 July 1893): 48.

43 [without title], *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 30 (9 Sept. 1893): 60; "Qïz mektebi." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 4 (30 Jan. 1894): 8.

44 "Qïz mektebi." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 23 (19 June 1894): 46.

45 "Bakhchesaray." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 25 (14 July 1900): 101.

46 "Ikhtar." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 33 (25 Nov. 1899): 249.

47 "Qïz mektebi imtihanï." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 27 (14 July 1903): 113.

48 "Inna lillahi ve inna ileyhi rajiyun." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 24 (29 March 1905): 47.

49 "Bakhchesaray qïz mektebi." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 68 (23 June 1906): 2.

50 See "Qïz mektebi." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 38 (23 Oct. 1894): 76; "Shekiden." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 43 (30 Nov. 1894): 86; "Bizim halve ma'ishet." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 11 (19 March 1895): 22; "Idaremize gelen khaberler (mekteb)." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 26 (16 July 1895): 75; "Akhbar-ï dakhiliye." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 38 (8 Oct. 1895): 127; "Khankirmandan maktub." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 24 (23 June 1896): 97; "Khankirman." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 24 (17 June 1897): 94.

Gasprinskii submitted a new petition, this time for a full-fledged journal under the title of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*. Again adopting his rhetorical strategies to the new era, Gasprinskii now argued from a progressivist position: he claimed that Russia's Muslims had already made significant progress over the past decades, and that the next step should be a women's journal. He also argued that a new Tatar literature had already come into being, one that liberated itself from the traditional ("scholastical") Islamic literature of the past and that "came closer to Russian popular literature". This was a slightly camouflaged reference to the success of Jadidism, and to Gasprinskii's own role as its pioneer.[51] What was still standing in the way of progress was, again, the Muslim woman:

> The Muslim women is living in a seclusion that isolates her from every outside influence, from everything that drives the outside world. As she is suffering from deep ignorance (*ot glubokogo nevezhestva*), the Muslim woman also functions as a break (*tormoz*) that slows down the development of Muslim society as a whole.[52]

In this petition Gasprinskii's point was not that Muslim women should be given a platform for discussing their situation; rather, what he implied was that Muslim men should rescue them from their ignorance. Gasprinskii thus continued to frame the Muslim woman as a problem, this time portraying her not as a security threat but as an impediment to social progress.

The envisaged journal was supposed to offer information about laws and regulations that women needed, about household management and childcare, and about skills like carpet-weaving to make an income from home. This remained a very conservative profile. There would also be stories, scientific news, and biographies of famous women, plus information about female life in other countries; in addition, the journal would publish letters from the readers and respond to them.[53]

When in November 1905 two women from Kazan and Ural'sk as well as an imam from a village in Saratov region asked for more information about the

51 For Gasprinskii's presentation of the Jadid success story as largely his own, see his *Mebadiʿ-i temeddün-i islamiyyan-i Rus* ("The Foundations of the Progress Made by Russia's Muslims") (Bakhchesaray, 1901); for a translation and analysis of this publication see Edward J. Lazzerini, "Ğadidism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: A View from Within." *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* XVI/2 (April-June 1975): 245–277.

52 Gankevich, *Na sluzhbe pravde*: 149.

53 Gankevich, *Na sluzhbe pravde*: 151–152; *Ismägïyl Gasprinskiy: tarikhi-dokumental' jïyentïk*: 399–400. Gasprinskii himself published the text of his petition in *Terjuman*: "'Alem-i Nisvan yaki Khanïmlar Dünyasï." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 95 (21 Nov. 1905): 190.

envisaged journal they might have been surprised that they got a response in *Terjuman* not from Gasprinskii but from his daughter Shefiqa Gasprinskaya, who was introduced as "secretary and director" (*katib ve müdiresi*) of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, and as entrusted in this role (*vekalet ile*) by her father. This was the first time Shefiqa was publicly brought into connection with the *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* project.[54]

Shefiqa (born on 21 November 1886) learned from her father how to read and write and then went to the Jadid girls' school of her aunt, Pembe Selime. In that period she also received home schooling by nannies, apparently in Russian. Her parents drew Shefiqa into the practical work of the *Terjuman* business, and after her mother Zuhra's death in 1903 Shefiqa also took care of the household work. On the pages of *Terjuman* her name first appeared in 1904 as the person in charge of a campaign to collect shirts for the (Muslim) soldiers of the imperial army fighting in the war against Japan.[55]

In the summer of 1905 Shefiqa wrote her first opinion article in *Terjuman*. This piece was designed as a response to a certain Zeyneb Ahmedova who had published a letter in the Baku newspaper *Hayat* (1905–1906). In that letter, Zeyneb Ahmedova had vehemently criticized the male Jadid writers of her time. As Ahmedova argued, men took the time to discuss the most minuscule question but they did not want to address the most "catastrophic" problem of the time, namely women's need for education. According to Ahmedova, men were responsible for the fact that women were stuck in ignorance; it seemed as if they kept their wives without education because they did not want to lose their toys.[56]

Shefiqa Gasprinskaya, in her reaction, fully agreed with Ahmedova's criticism of men, underlining that the education of girls was the biggest problem facing Russia's Muslim community. But she went a step further: as men were so indifferent towards the women's question, it was the duty of the "educated and enlightened women" themselves to write and debate female issues, and to work towards an improvement of their situation.[57]

54 Shefiqa Ismaʿil-qïzï, "'Alem-i Nisvan idaresinden." *Perevodchik/Terjuman*: 96 (23 Nov. 1905): 192.

55 "Okuyuju müslümanlara khitab." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 11 (6 Feb. 1904): 23; "Iʿane." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 12 (10 Feb. 1904): 26; "Gömlek iʿanesi." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 22 (16 March 1904): 44; Shefika Gasprinski qïzï, "Islamlarïn vatanperverligi." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 31 (12 April 1904): 64.

56 Zeyneb Ahmedova, "Millet qïlavuzlarïna", *Hayat* 11 (19 June 1905): 4.

57 Shefiqa Khanïm Gh., "Zeyneb Khanïm Ahmedova'ya achïq mektub." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 51 (1 July 1905): 100–101.

At that time the Baku paper *Hayat* already had an active pool of female contributors.[58] The emergence of a female press exchange between Baku and Bakhchesaray, and the bold contribution by his eighteen-year-old daughter, may have convinced Gasprinskii that there was indeed a market for *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*.

Towards the end of 1905 it seemed like everything was ready. *Terjuman* customers received subscription cards that they could use for ordering the new journal.[59] Then Gasprinskii announced he was waiting for special equipment that had not yet arrived.[60] Eventually a test issue was published, as it seems in December of 1905,[61] with the hope to garner more subscriptions. This test issue had 15 pages of textual content. Its language was very similar to that used in *Terjuman*: a simplified Turkish with not many "Tatar" elements in it, designed to be accessible to anyone across Russia who could read Turkish.

While *Terjuman* rarely contained images, the test issue came with several photos. The first one showed Aleksandra Fedorovna, the wife of the Russian Tsar Nikolai II, with a few sentences about her biography. The appearance of the Tsarina in the first issue was a profession of loyalty to the imperial dynasty, and to the Russian state. A second image showed a female household servant (*jariya*) of the former Ottoman Sultan ʿAbdalʿaziz (ruled 1861–1876),[62] reflecting Gasprinskii's parallel orientation to Ottoman Turkey.

The test issue also reproduced letters by *Terjuman* readers who were looking forward to receiving *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*. The first letter came from a man who

58 Several women published in *Hayat* before the first public announcement of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*: ʿAbdürrashid Ibrahim's daughter Fevziye, Asiye Nerimanov, Ayan Khanïm, Qadriye Khanïm and Zeyneb Ahmedova. About *Hayat* see Yakup Sevimli, *Hayat Gazetesi Üzerine Bir Araştırma*, unpubl. PhD dissertation, Ege Üniversitesi, 2001.

59 *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 106 (19 Dec. 1905), supplement. Cf. "'Alem-i Nisvan ya ki Khanïmlar Dünyasï." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 98 (28 Nov. 1905): 195.

60 "Ikhtar." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 110 (30 Dec. 1905): 223; "Bizim matbuʿat-ı türkiyye." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 1 (9 Jan. 1906): 2.

61 The exisiting test issue (*numune*) only bears the year of 1905 on its cover. As it contained readers' letters that directly addressed Shefiqa, we must assume that the test issue appeared after 23 November 1905 when Shefiqa was for the first time announced in *Terjuman* as "director" of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*.

62 "Bu nüskhamïzdaki resimler." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (test issue 1905): 2–3. The picture of this person (named "Nuristan") was originally meant to accompany a booklet about the deposal of Sultan ʿAbdalʿaziz (in 1876) that Gasprinskii announced to (re)publish in Bakhchesaray, in 1904; see "Su'al-jevab." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 84 (19 Oct. 1904): 169. This was probably Ahmed Sa'ib's *Vaqʿa-ı Sultan ʿAbdülaziz* (Cairo, 1320/1904). According to Gankevich (*Na sluzhbe pravde*: 172), the (re)publication was thwarted due to the intervention of Ottoman bureaucrats. For a reprint of the photo see also Çorluluzade Aziz Esenbel, "Oğlunun Kalemile Mahmut Celâleddin Paşa." *Tarih Dünyası* 14 (1 Kasım 1950): 583.

requested that his wife be registered as subscriber – perhaps a reminder that women could subscribe via others if they did not want to expose themselves.[63] Three more letters came from women, however, who stressed the necessity of having a female journal.[64] One of them asked that an easy language be employed[65] – drawing attention to the fact that a female public might require specific linguistic strategies. Another female reader addressed Shefiqa directly, expressing her hope that she would do as much for women as her father had achieved for men.[66] While these letters indicate that some women were eagerly expecting the appearance of the regular *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, we also learn from the December 1905 test issue that by that time there were only 22 subscribers to the upcoming journal (of whom seventeen were women).[67] Gasprinskii must have been aware that the journal for women would be a costly affair. Still, he did not attempt to mitigate the costs of publishing the journal by including advertisements; in contrast to the paternal *Terjuman*, *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* contained no commercials.

In February 1906 *Terjuman* readers were told that the launch of the regular journal was postponed due to Shefiqa's wedding. Shefiqa's fiancé was the future Azerbaijani statesman Nasib Yusufbeyli (Yusufbekov, 1881–1920). Yusufbeyli first visited Bakhchesaray in January 1903 as part of a group of Caucasus students from Odesa University.[68] After meeting at this occasion Shefiqa and Yusufbeyli entered into correspondence.[69] Yusufbeyli visited Bakhchesaray once more at the occasion of *Terjuman*'s twentieth anniversary, also in 1903.[70] Shefiqa and Yusufbeyli married in early 1906, and this may indeed have delayed the launching of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*.[71]

63 ʿAbdülshükür Molla ʿAbdürreshidoghlu Eminov, "'Alem-i Nisvan idaresine mektub", *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (1905): 1.

64 Fatma Feride bint Murtaza Vahabova, "Diğer mektub" *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (1905): 1.

65 Zeyneb el-Bibi Safarova, "Diğer mektub" *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (1905): 1–2.

66 Ruqiye Khanïm Almakayeva, "Idareye mektub" *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (1905): 11–12.

67 "Müshterilering isimleri." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (1905): 12.

68 "Qafqazyalï misafirler." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 2 (15 Jan. 1903): 7–8. According to statements by Shefiqa, the group arrived in December 1902; see Hablemitoğlu & Hablemitoğlu, *Şefika Gaspirali*: 33. About Yusufbeyli see İbrahim Suslu, *Azerbaycan Siyasi Tarihinde Nesip Bey Yusufbeyli (1881–1920)*, yüksek lisans tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2012; Yılmaz Özkaya, "Nesip Bey Yusufbeyli'nin Tercüman'daki Yazıları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme." *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı* 9 (Nisan 2014): 135–150.

69 Minara Aliyeva Çınar, *Nesip Yusufbeyli'den Şefika Gaspıralı'ya Mektuplar* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2018).

70 Ismaʿil, "Duʿa günü." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 18 (11 May 1903): 69–70. There are claims that both Narimanov and Yusufbekov wanted to marry Shefiqa, and that they even engaged in a duel; Çınar, *Nesip Yusufbeyli'den*: 66–68.

71 "Idareden ikhtar." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 12 (10 Feb. 1906): 1.

The first regular *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* issue came out on 3 March 1906, totaling sixteen pages.[72] While the journal started as a weekly, this ambition was soon lowered to two issues per month. Like *Terjuman*, *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* was also sold at train stations and ferry terminals.[73]

As many new Muslim periodicals appeared in 1905 and 1906, these formed a serious competition to *Terjuman* and its offshoots; the existing readership base was not broad enough to carry the many new titles. Gasprinskii later admitted that *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* did not find enough customers; as he reasoned, women were not yet familiar with the literary language.[74] What he meant by "literary language" was the simplified Turkish language that *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* used, and which Gasprinskii promoted as a common language for all Turkic Muslims of Russia. This linguistic policy worked for educated Muslim men from, say, Azerbaijan and the Volga-Urals, who already had the habit of reading Ottoman newspapers or Turkish literature; but women – even if they could read texts in their vernacular Turkic languages (like Volga Tatar) – were probably much less familiar with Turkish. From that perspective, the *Terjuman* language policy became another entrepreneurial risk for *ʿAlem-i Nisvan.*

The last issue of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* came out on 30 March 1907. A few days later Gasprinskii reported to his *Terjuman* readers that he was sick, and that doctors recommended him to have a rest. *Terjuman*, which until that point had come out three times a week, would henceforth appear only once a week. As a form of compensation *Terjuman* readers would receive more serialized parts of a scientific dictionary (called *ʿIlmi ve fenni qamus*) as a supplement to the newspaper.[75] We must assume that with this announcement Gasprinskii also implied that *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* was finished.

Our argument that *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* died a commercial death in late March 1907 conflicts with the claims that it was brought down by the Russian government. This claim goes back to a statement by Shefiqa Gasprinskaya, who once said that she sacrificed her women's journal (in *late* 1907, as she remembered) in

72 "Idareden ikhtar." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 21 (3 March 1906): 1.

73 "Ikhtar." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 30 (24 March 1906): 3.

74 "Mizan." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 14 (8 Feb. 1907): 1. At another occasion Gasprinskii claimed that when women send letters to the newspapers, "80 percent" of them show they are familiar with the "literary language" (*lisan-ï edebiye*, meaning Turkish); see "Til bahsi." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 20 (1 March 1906): 1. According to a female reader's letter published in the Ufa newspaper *Ülfet* (1905–1907), the language of the *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* test issue was not understandable to everyone; Kamile Khanïm Qasïmova, "Ufadan mektub." *Ülfet* 9 (2 Feb 1906): 3.

75 Ismaʿil, "Bash muharrirden ikhtar." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 35 (6 April 1907): 1.

order to decrease the government's pressure on her father's *Terjuman*.[76] True, the brief liberalization of 1905/1906 was followed by years of increased political repression, but there is no evidence that the moderate and loyalist *Terjuman* suffered from particular government pressure at that time – and even less so *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, which rarely touched upon political topics.[77] That economic, not political reasons led to the magazine's demise is supported by Gasprinskii himself, who later in 1907 published a list of Muslim periodicals in Russia that had ceased operation due to a lack of customers. This list included *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*.[78]

When *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* reappeared in June 1910 it took the form not of a stand-alone journal but that of a two-page supplement (*ʿilave*) to *Terjuman*, to appear twice a month. This meant it was financed via the regular *Terjuman* customer fees (without increasing the subscription price),[79] and there was no need to hunt for dedicated subscribers to a female journal. Shipping began with the *Terjuman* issue 25 of 18 June, 1910. As a supplement the new *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* had no independent numeration but carried the numbers of the respective *Terjuman* host issue.

The new *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* was soon alternating with another bi-weekly *Terjuman* supplement, called *ʿAlem-i Sibyan* ("The World of Children"), launched on 8 October 1910.[80] With their focus on education the two supplements occupied similar niches. Both were, as far as we can see, merely extensions of *Terjuman*, with Gasprinskii remaining in charge of both.[81] There is no indication that Shefiqa Gasprinskaya was involved; from her letters to her father it becomes clear that she was not in Bakhchesaray in this period.[82] Rather, much of the new *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*'s editing work was done by ʿOsman Aqchoqraqlï (1879–1939), who in 1910–1911 worked for Gasprinskii's *Terjuman*.[83]

76 Hablemitoğlu & Hablemitoğlu, *Şefika Gaspirali*: 45.

77 In the available copies we found few items that could be considered political: legal regulations about marriage (1907, 3: 2–3); feminist actions in the West (1907, 5: 3–4); women's rights to participate in elections in Finland (1907, 9: 3). All of these were moderate in tone.

78 "Milli matbuʿatïng hali." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 48 (13 July 1907): 2 (also mentining his humoristic magazine *Ha-Ha-Ha* and his *Millet* as given up due to a lack of readers). When Gasprinskii revived *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* as an appendix in June 1910, he again made clear that in journal form *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* had been closed because it did not cover the expenses; "ʿAlem-i Nisvan." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 25 (18 June 1910): 1.

79 "ʿAlem-i Nisvan." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman*, 25 (18 June 1910): 1.

80 Ismaʿil, "Ikhtar." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 41 (8 Oct. 1910): 1.

81 See, for instance, "Khaberler." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 44 (29 Oct. 1910): 2.

82 Hablemitoğlu & Hablemitoğlu, *Şefika Gaspirali*: 57–58.

83 "Idareden ikhtar." *ʿAlem-i Sibyan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 27 (29 June 1912): 1; "Gazete idaresinden." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 3 (13 Jan. 1912): 1. See also Elmira Abibullaeva, "Prichiny,

Between 18 June 1910 and 25 March 1911, the *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* supplement appeared 21 times. In early 1911 Gasprinskii announced to his readers that a new women's journal had appeared in Baku, under the title of *Ïshïq* ("Light").[84] Also focusing on female education, the weekly *Ïshïq* (1911–1912) was run by Khatije Khanum Alibeyova and her husband Mustafa Bey Alibeyov.[85] Gasprinskii valued their contributions and copied some of Alibeyova's articles into *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* in February.[86] Then, in March 1911, *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* suddenly disappeared. A month later Gasprinskii explained that with the appearance of *Ïshïq* in Baku there was no need to continue a female platform in Bakhchesaray.[87] Gasprinskii evidently understood that the Azerbaijani *Ïshïq* was more professional, and better able to cover the small market for female readers. However, with the termination of the *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* supplement also the project of reaching out to women in all parts of the Russian empire itself came to an end.

3 *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*: Still a Male Jadid Discourse?

As a project grown out of *Terjuman*, *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*'s message and language remained very close to that of its parental organ. The female journal of the 1905–1907 period perpetuated the male Jadid cliché of the uneducated Muslim woman who was in need of education in order to fulfill her God-given duties – as the mother and educator of her children before school age, as a companion to her husband, and to a degree as the family doctor. All her business activity was supposed to take place in the protected space of the home. Through these heavily gendered functions, the Muslima would safeguard the survival of the Muslim community and allow men to work for the progress of the nation. To carry out these functions she needed a tailor-made education, which was supposed to contain practical skills in fields considered to be the realm of women, in addition to a light version of what boys learned at Jadid schools. National awareness was supposed to go hand-in-hand with Islamic morality and piety.

---

povliyavshie na zakrytie zhurnala ʿAlem-i nisvan ('Zhenskii mir') (k 170-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya Ismaila Gasprinskogo)", *Krymskoe istoricheskoe obozrenie* 2 (2021): 103.

84 "Ïshïq." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 5 (28 Jan. 1911): 2.

85 Cf. Hande Aydın, *İlk Kadın Gazetesi* Işık*'ın (1911–1912) Azerbaycan Kadın Tarihindeki Yeri*, yüksek lisans tezi, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2018.

86 Idare, "Khanïmlara tebshir", *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 7 (11 Feb. 1911): 1; Khatije, "Evlenmek khususunda." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 7 (11 Feb. 1911): 3–4; Khatije, "Huququmuz." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 9 (25 Feb. 1911): 1–2.

87 "Idareden", *ʿAlem-i Sibyan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 17 (22 April 1911): 1.

This image of the Muslim woman comes to the fore in *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*'s editorials, which at times took the form of long feuilletons. While these editorials were often left unsigned, we can assume that most of them were written by Shefiqa Gasprinskaya; her Turkish vocabulary, grammar and syntax (with very few "Tatarisms") resembled the language of her father, but Shefiqa's style was more emotional, with more flowery metaphors and rhetorical questions.

Prominent in the journal were letters by female readers; these were marked as coming, above all, from Muslim communities of the Volga-Urals, Western Siberia and Kazakhstan, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. Like *Terjuman*, *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* projected an empire-wide Muslim readership. Some items in *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* addressed women as "sisters", creating the impression of a separate, female-only platform characterized by trust and safety.

These letters tended to copy the male Jadid perspectives: educated Muslim women stood up as witnesses of the low level of education and culture among Muslim women. As insiders they based their statements on personal observations, thereby making the Jadid message appear more authentic. A case in point is Rukiye Almakaeva's letter in the 1905 test issue of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*. Writing from Astrakhan in the Volga region, Almakaeva underlined that Russia's Muslim women were oppressed by ignorance.[88] Another female letter-writer deplored the situation of women in the South Caucasus. Deprived of knowledge and education, women there were living in "an ocean of ignorance". Women had no idea how to keep their household in order; living in a mess, they were badly nourished and unable to observe the principles of hygiene, which made them prone to diseases. This also damaged their relations with their husbands, children and neighbors. Women claimed to be Muslimas but their words and deeds revealed that they had no idea about Islam; and some did not even want to speak Turkish, preferring Russian instead.[89] Texts like these underlined that the lack of education led to a loss of religion and of ethnic awareness, and that the introduction of female education was the way towards the correct national-cum-religious identity.

Reports about Central Asian women were probably difficult to obtain. In the 1880s and 1890s *Terjuman* had occasionally reported about government investments into midwifery schools, day-cares, and hospitals specifically for

88 Ruqiye Khanïm Almakayeva, "Idareye mektub", *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (1905): 12.

89 "Qafqazyada Müslime khanïmlar", *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4 (24 March 1906): 49. For a transcription of this letter see Doğan, *Âlem-i Nisvân Gazetesi*: 270–272. Perhaps the author of this item was Shefiqa herself.

Muslim women in Central Asia;[90] we also read that in 1892 the aforementioned Raziyye Tajeddin-qïzï obtained permission from the governor in Tashkent to open a medical clinic.[91] *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*'s major innovation was that it published letters by Muslimas from Central Asia. A woman from Kokand by the name of Tajiyye wrote how happy she was that Muslim women now had their own journal and could make their voices heard.[92] In her own Central Asian society, she saw nothing of that: as she estimated, only one percent of all Muslimas knew how to read and write. Most Muslimas did not know how to earn money and therefore remained dependent on their husbands; to make a living some were forced to engage in prostitution. Such women could not offer their children a better life. Tajiyye therefore recommended that Muslims in Central Asia send their boys and girls to the schools that Noghays opened in the region[93] – "Noghay" being the customary term used in Central Asia to denote Muslim Tatars especially from the Volga-Urals. This letter in a Crimean journal thus turns into a piece of advertisement for Tatar Jadid educators operating in Central Asia, reflecting the civilizational hierarchies of "progressed" Tatars and "backwards" Central Asians that we know from male Jadid writings. The ductus of the letter – including its calculation of percentages, and its reference to prostitution as the inevitable result of neglect and poverty[94] – is very close to the style of male writings from the period, raising the question whether there was a professional male Jadid writer behind Tajiyye.

Other letters of similar contents were signed by men. A certain ʿAbdalmanaf Toqmaqlï complained that in Central Asia, women were living "like animals".[95]

90 "Akhbar-ï dakhiliye." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 1 (10 April 1883): 2; [without title], *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 2 (17 Jan. 1885): 2; "Mawara'un nahr." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 19 (12 May 1896): 77; "Nisaʾ mekteb-i tïbbiyesi." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 28 (21 July 1896): 112.

91 "Bibi Raziye Khanïm." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 47 (20 Dec. 1899): 270. Later *Terjuman* reported about a local Muslim woman named Zeyneb Abdurrakhmanova who began practicing medicine in Tashkent after receiving her medical education; see "Yeni bir Müslime hekim", *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 57 (1 Aug. 1908): 3; "Khaberler." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 28 (9 July 1910): 2.

92 For a translation and analysis of this particular letter, see Marianne Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan*, 36–40. According to Kamp, this letter is one of the very few published writings by a Muslim woman from Central Asia from before 1917. Kamp also emphasised the Jadid character of Tajiyye's call for Muslima education.

93 Khoqantlï Eshrefülbenat Tajiyye, "Idareye mektub." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 36 (1 Nov. 1906): 572–574.

94 Gasprinskii claimed that prostitution had become very widespread among Muslim women in Central Asia; see "Tashih." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 27 (12 June 1898): 105–106; "Tashkend." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 29 (3 Aug. 1902): 115 (quoting a Russian newspaper report on that topic). Cf. Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan*: 38.

95 Also in *Terjumam*, the "animal" metaphor for women was often used; see "Qïzların terbiye ve tahsili." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 36 (15 Sep. 1896): 143–144; "Terk olunajaq bir

As these women were lazy, they did not make the effort to provide their children with a healthy environment or to give them a moral foundation. Parents usually sold their daughters to the highest bidders.[96] This latter custom is also central in a story by Yarullah Muradov, a Jadid writer of the younger generation. Muradov told the drama of a women who never received any systematic education and who was forced into a marriage at an early age. She did not know the rights that women enjoyed under Shari'a.[97] With narratives like these, *'Alem-i Nisvan*'s strategy was to offer lively examples and concrete biographical experience.

Many items emphasized that education must produce a personality firmly grounded in Turkish identity, in Islam, and useful for human society at large. This triad is extolled in much detail by one of the more frequent contributors to the journal, the Azerbaijani writer 'Abdullah Sur (1882–1912) who at that time was studying in Istanbul.[98] Normative statements linked to Islam were frequent but remained on a general level, mostly coming in the form of *hadith* wisdoms attributed to the prophet Muhammad that underlined the role of the wife in the family and household. It was underlined that the original message of Islam was very much in line with modern Western pedagogy; for instance, it was argued that the European approach to education, by captivating the children's minds instead of threatening them with punishment, was already recommended in *hadith* literature.[99] This vision reflects the general Jadid perspective that saw Islam as originally the religion of science and progress, now to be cleansed from the rust of the ages with the help of modern (Western) knowledge.[100]

'adet." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 45 (17 Nov. 1896): 180; "Birqach qadïn almaq." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 45 (15 Nov. 1898): 180–182; "Müslimeler arasında." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 41 (20 Oct. 1903): 174–175.

96 Toqmaqlï S. 'Abdülmenaf, "Idareye mektub", *'Alem-i Nisvan* 4 (24 Mart 1906): 63–64. Similar letters about the marrying off of young girls can be found in the later record of *'Alem-i Nisvan*; Meryem Ahmed qïzï Isma'il, "'Alem-i Nisvana makhsus mektub." *'Alem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 44 (29 Oct. 1910): 1–2 (from Siberia).

97 Yarullah Muradov, "Hikaye." *'Alem-i Nisvan*, 6 (7 April 1906): 93–96. Cf. Yarullah Muradi, "Khanïmefendilere khitab." *'Alem-i Nisvan* 6 (9 Mart 1907): 3–4; Muradov, "Idareye mektub." *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 89 (2 Nov. 1905): 178 (Russian part).

98 'A. Sur, "Terbiye." *'Alem-i Nisvan* 36 (1906): 561–563. About 'Abdullah Sur see Mehdi Genceli, *Hür Fikirli Türk Abdullah Sur* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2021).

99 Cf. "Hadis-i sherifler." *'Alem-i Nisvan* (1905): 4–5. For *hadith* sections see "Hadis-i ulvi", *'Alem-i Nisvan* (1905): 11; "'Ilm-i hadis." *'Alem-i Nisvan* 4 (24 March 1906): 56–57; 35 (1 Nov. 1906): 558–559; 36 (1 Nov. 1906): 570–571; 37 (29 Dec. 1906): 578–579; 3 (12 Feb. 1907): 3–4; 4 (23 Feb. 1907): 3–4.

100 Cf. Kefeli, *Becoming Muslim in Imperial Russia*: ch. 5.

One of the selling points in *Terjuman*'s advertisements for *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* was that the journal would familiarize female readers with the lives of women in other countries.[101] And indeed, the 1906 issues offer brief biographies of historical personalities. Among these were Arjumand Banu Begum (1593–1631), a favorite of the Moghul ruler Shah Jahan,[102] but also Khurshid Banu Khanum (1830–1897), the wife of the last ruler of Qarabagh in the South Caucasus.[103] Also represented were Ottoman poetesses like Zaynab Khatun (d. 1474, a wife of Mehmed II. Fatih) and Sheref Khanum (1809–1861),[104] in addition to Nazli Zaynab Khanum (1853–1913) from the Egyptian dynasty of the Khedives.[105] These examples of educated women from the major Muslim dynasties testified to the important position that women could occupy in high politics and literature. What remained unnoted is that all of these biographical entries were copied from "Famous Women" (*Mashhur khatunlar*), a Tatar/Turkish compendium of female Muslim biographies published in 1904 by Rida'addin bin Fakhraddin (1859–1936), at that time a co-worker (*qadi*) in Russia's imperial muftiate in Ufa.[106] Curiously, *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* copied Fakhraddin's biographical entries together with some of the respective women's Arabic and Persian poems, without any translation or explanation in Turkish; this seems to imply that in the mind of the editors, there were female readers able to appreciate poetry in these foreign languages. Other poetry in *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* was in Turkish, with authors such as Nigar Khanïm (1862–1918),[107] whose name also appeared repeatedly in *Terjuman*.[108] The journal also offered male poetry, including that of the Ottoman statesman Ziya Pasha (1829–1880).[109]

101 Ismaʿil, "'Alem-i Nisvan (Qadïnlar ʿAlemi)." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 85 (21 Oct. 1905): 169.

102 "Erzümend Banu Begüm." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 46 (12 Nov. 1910): 1.

103 "Meshhure qadïnlar." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4 (24 March 1906): 57–59.

104 "Meshhure qadïnlar." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4 (24 March 1906): 59.

105 "Meshhure qadïnlar." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 6 (7 April 1906): 89–91.

106 Rida'addin b. Fakhraddin, *Mashhur khatunlar* (Orenburg: Kerimov, 1904). Fakhraddin was a great admirer of Gasprinskii and also of his wife Zuhra, and would certainly not have objected to these republications; see Diliara S. Brileva, "Gasprinskii i gazeta 'Terdzhiman' v zhurnale 'Shura' (1908–1917)", *Islamovedenie* vol. 6. 2 (2015): 5–16.

107 [Without title], *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 3 (14 Jan. 1911): 1; Nigar Khanïm, "Na'at", *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 3 (12 Feb. 1907): 1; Nigar Khanïm, "Nerdesin?." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 3 (12 Feb. 1907): 1; Nigar Khanïm, "Gönlüm ne ister?", *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 6 (9 March 1907): 3.

108 "Nigar Khanïm." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 6 (15 Feb. 1892): 12; "Geje yarïsïndan songra." Perevodchik/*Terjuman* 46 (23 Dec. 1892): 91.

109 "Shiʿir-i türki", *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 35 (1 Nov. 1906): 559–560; 36 (1 Nov. 1906): 572. For a piece of Ziya Pasha's *Kharabat* see "Ziya Pasha Merhumung." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (1905): 11; for Mehmet Emin's poems see "Türkche shiʿirler." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 30 (23 July 1910): 3.

One of the most prominent elements of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* were well-known novels; these appeared over several issues. As far as we can see, all had male authors. In 1906 the journal featured a theatre piece by the famous Turkish novelist Namık Kemal (1840–88), "The Poor Child" (*Zavallı Çocuk*).[110] Its reproduction in *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* did not entail any linguistic adaptation, except that the title was given in a Tatar form ("Bakhïtsïz Bala", "The Unlucky Child").[111] Another well-known piece was Jules Verne's "Two Years of Holidays" (*Deux ans de vacances*, originally of 1888), reprinted (in parts) on the basis of an Ottoman translation.[112] *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* explained that this novel instilled heroism in children and triggered their problem-solving skills; it was recommended that parents should read it to (or with) their children.[113]

The practice of educating children at home was also discussed on a more general level. Mothers were instructed to respond when their children asked, for instance, about the names of the stars, or why flowers are colorful. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* encouraged mothers to foster the curiosity of their children by asking them easy questions, of the type "What is this?", "What is this made of?", and "What is its purpose?", with the journal offering images of a coffee table, a padlock, or a sickle – objects that, it was assumed, could be found in every household.[114] In other contributions the journal explained more specific phenomena, such as why the level of oxygen decreases at higher altitudes, or how whales acquire their food.[115]

The Muslim mother was also called upon to be the doctor of the household. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* regularly presented basic information about various diseases

110 *Zavallı Çocuk: Üç fasıldan ibaret tiyatro oyunu* (Istanbul: Maarif Nezareti, 1290).

111 One of the female characters in Kemal's novel is called Shefiqa; in *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, this name is changed to 'A'isha. Also, at some points Russian words appear in the text, and the Turkish "kendini" (*Zavallı Çocuk*: 9) is replaced by "özünü" (*ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4: 51). See "Bakhtsïz Bala." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4 (24 March 1906): 51–53; 6 (7 April 1906): 82–86. The *Terjuman* advertisements for the *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* journal tell us that parts of Kemal's piece also appeared at least in *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* issues 2, 3, 5 and 7 of 1906.

112 Publication went from October 1906 to the last issues of 1907, covering presumaby one third of the original work. See "Chojuqlarïng seyahat-i gharibesi ve bashlarïna gelen 'aja'ib ve qorqunch vaqï'alar", *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 35 (1 Nov. 1906): 545–552; 9 (30 March 1907): 5–8. For the Ottoman translation, see Jül Vern, *İki Sene Mektep Tatili: Seyahat-i Harikulade*, transl. by Ahmet İhsan (Istanbul: 'Alem Matbaası, 1308 [1890–91]). In *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* the title was changed to the more adventourous "The Children's Strange Voyage and the Astounding and Scary Things that They Encountered".

113 [Without title], *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 37 (29 Dec. 1906): 585.

114 "Ana dersleri", *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (1905): 8–9.

115 "Mizanü'l-hava", *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 6 (7 April 1906): 86–88; "Qutub balïghï." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 6 (7 April 1906): 93–94.

such as measles, diphtheria and cholera,[116] and recommended precaution measures against snake and scorpion bites. Other articles discussed questions around childbirth as well as the nutrition and healthy upbringing of children, sometimes with excerpts from Ottoman advice literature.[117] Finally, some items offered information on handicraft, such as sewing, framing it as an activity that can generate income.[118]

4 Conclusions

Gasprinskii's idea of establishing a female periodical emerged out of his broader project of modernizing Muslim education in Russia, including by establishing girls' schools. In that sense the journal for women was another ramification of Gasprinskii's basic trademark, within a cluster of projects in which Gasprinskii gave room and visibility to his wife, daughter, and sisters. It was largely a family enterprise.

Our combined reading of *Terjuman* and *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* sheds light on the business aspects behind the emergence, running, and extinction of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*. The circumstance that *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* appeared in two formats, first as a journal (1906–1907) and later as a supplement (1910–1911), reflects Gasprinskii's changing marketing strategies.

While Gasprinskii worked towards the establishment of a women's journal since 1887, it was only after the 1905 Russian Revolution that he could implement his plan, once more positioning himself as a pioneer in journalism while also introducing his daughter to the public sphere. Yet the liberalization of 1905 also brought competition from new Muslim newspapers and journals that sprang up elsewhere in Russia. Among these were platforms with more radical positions that attracted, above all, a younger and more progressivist readership. To these new readers *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* may have appeared as an anachronism, just like *Terjuman* became increasingly perceived as a conservative newspaper. While employing Muslim modernist rhetoric, the new *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* simultaneously defended the boundaries of what we would today call

116 "Tabib nasihatleri." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4 (24 March 1906): 61–63; 6 (7 April 1906): 91–93. Cf. "Khanïmlara müraja'at." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 32 (6 Aug. 1910): 1–2.

117 "Doktor Besim Ömer Pashanïng qadïnlar haqqïnda bir nije sözü." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 36 (1 Nov. 1906): 564–566; "Günesh ve qan." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 37 (29 Dec. 1906): 577–578; "Chojuq büyütmek." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 2 (30 Jan. 1907): 3; "Doğururken temizlik." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 6 (9 March 1907): 4–5; 7 (16 March 1907): 2; 8 (23 March 1907): 2–3; 9 (30 March 1907): 1–2.

118 "Naqïsh ve tikish", *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4 (24 March 1906): 60–61.

traditional gender roles; what was new was that these old gender roles were justified by the discourse of nationalism and modern sciences.

ʿAlem-i Nisvan failed not because Muslim women were illiterate: already before 1905 there were new girls' schools popping up, with female teachers and students as potential customers. Rather, the journal failed because it did not attract enough attention. Perhaps this was because it did not give space to controversial subjects. Issues related to the veil were picked up a few times but, as it seems, without a clear prescriptive upshot.[119] Here we should keep in mind that in the same years of 1906–07, there was a lively debate on the *hijab* among Russian Muslims, involving Muslim newspapers and magazines such as *Fiker*, *Qazan Mukhbiri*, *Vaqït*, *Ülfet*, *Nur*, *ed-Din ve'l-Edeb*, *Yoldïz*, and *Beyanü'l-Haqq*.[120] Gasprinskii, however, believed that the time was not ripe for discussing the issue of the *hijab*, as we know from his statements in *Terjuman*.[121] From the limited and careful coverage of the veiling question in *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* we must conclude that the female journal simply continued a *Terjuman* position, and was not established for exploring alternative perspectives.

In fact, *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*'s general line of reasoning was that Islamic law gave Muslimas significant rights and enough protection, and that the current misery of women needed to be addressed by a better implementation of the existing Islamic practices. The framework thus remained fully Islamic, without however engaging in specialist theological debates. Importantly, the need to give women education and knowledge was justified by Islam, which was portrayed as the religion of science and knowledge for both genders.

Conservative were also the references to Ottoman culture, which came in the form of republications of poetry, advice literature, and translations of European youth literature, all produced by men. In the available copies of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, nothing indicates that Gasprinskii or his daughter borrowed from the women's press in the Ottoman Empire, or that they saw contemporary Ottoman female writers or activists as a source of inspiration. Similarly, there is no exploration of the new roles that women assumed in contemporary Europe. In contrast to *Terjuman*, where men used considerable space to discuss the West (understanding it as a model or as a threat), *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* offered very few items about questions of social and political life in Europe and Russia. Equally not thematized were class distinctions, even though the availability of

119 "Türki jurnaller." *Vaqït* 62 (17 Aug. 1906): 3; "Bu sene chïqmïsh nüskhalardan derj edilmish mevadïng bazïlarï bunlar", *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 37 (29 Dec. 1906): 585; Hasanof, "Qayu hijab zararlï?." *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 7 (16 March 1907): 3–4.

120 "Mizan." *Terjuman* 70 (28 June 1906): 2; "Edeb ve edebiyat", *Terjuman* 35 (6 April 1907): 2.

121 "Hijab mes'elesi." *Terjuman* 3 (8 Jan. 1907): 2.

education for Muslimas was clearly linked to economic disparities. As the journal was speaking to wealthy customers from the Muslim elite, *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* evaded topics that could be interpreted as challenging male leadership, or as weakening the position of Muslim males in what was portrayed as the Turkic/Muslim national struggle of survival in Russia.

The prominence of contributions by men made *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* preserve the male Muslim modernist perspective on the role of women; it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that women contributors had to copy the male perspective to see their texts being published. As a result, the journal remained "flat" in terms of positions, and repetitive in the homogeneity of its vision.

ʿAlem-i Nisan was also out of tune with the rapidly changing public discourse in that it continued Gasprinskii's promotion of Turkish for all Turkophone Muslims of Russia – at a time when the Muslim press, blossoming after 1905, increasingly turned to the regional Turkic vernaculars (like Volga Tatar and Azeri). Many educated Muslimas from Russia's regions must have had difficulties with the Turkish language that *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* employed. We saw that Gasprinskii repeatedly complained about women having insufficient command of the "literary language" – but he maintained the hope that this would change over time. That Gasprinskii explained the closing down of his *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* supplement in 1911 with a reference to the emergence of a regional journal, namely *Ïshïq* in Baku, can be regarded as a recognition of his strategic failure to attract female writers and readers through his use of Turkish. This was an unresolvable dilemma, for the alternative – the use of one of a regional Turkic language – would equally have limited the journal's circulation. And after all, Gasprinskii's publishing business in Crimea was far away from readers and writers in Baku, Orenburg, Kazan, Ufa, and St. Petersburg, where most of the new periodicals emerged.

Overall, a close look at the history and profile of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* complicates the assumption that it supported new forms of female agency. One of the major contradictions of the project was that while Shefiqa Gasprinskaya was presented as its director in 1905–1907, the journal was also one of Ismail Gasprinskii's pet projects. He owned it, had lobbied for it since 1887, and determined its profile and language. While the division of tasks between father and daughter remains unclear, our study has revealed that the journal's agenda reflected the dominant male positions about the role of women and the kind of information they should receive. The central contradiction was that the journal's key narrative of female ignorance presupposed the existence of educated women who could produce and publish this narrative, and a privileged female audience able to buy and read the magazine. On both accounts the journal failed: the education and entertainment offered in the women's journal

came largely from the pens of men, and the number of female customers who appreciated *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (and could afford it) remained very limited. It might therefore not be too far-fetched to ask whether *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* was perhaps also, or even primarily, written for male readers who liked to see their views about women confirmed; this would explain the re-emergence of *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* in 1910, now as part of the "male" *Terjuman*.

Bibliography

ʿAbdullah Sur. 1906. Terbiye. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 36: 561–563.

Abibullaeva, Elmira. 2021. Prichiny, povliyavshie na zakrytie zhurnala ʿAlem-i nisvan ('Zhenskii mir') (k 170-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya Ismaila Gasprinskogo). *Krymskoe istoricheskoe obozrenie* 2: 103.

Ahmedova, Zeyneb. 1905. Millet qïlavuzlarïna. *Hayat* 11: 4.

Akhbar-ï dakhiliye. 1883. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 1: 2.

Akhbar-ï dakhiliye. 1895. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 38: 127.

Alem-i Nisvan. 1910. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 25: 1.

ʿAlemi Nisvan' – pervoe spetsializirovannoe periodicheskoe izdanie dlya musul'manok. 2021. *Novyi Bakhchisarai*: 5.

ʿAlem-i Nisvan ya ki Khanïmlar Dünyasï. 1905. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 95: 190.

ʿAlem-i Nisvan ya ki Khanïmlar Dünyasï. 1905. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 98: 195.

Almakayeva, Ruqiye Khanïm. 1905. Idareye mektub. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (test issue): 11–12.

Ana dersleri. 1905. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (test issue): 8–9.

Asan, Fatma Çolak. 2020. *Şükûfezar Dergisi* (*çeviriyazı-tematik inceleme-sözlük-indeks-metin*). Yüksek lisans tezi. Sakarya: Sakarya Üniversitesi.

Aydın, Hande. 2018. *İlk Kadın Gazetesi* Işık*'ın* (*1911–1912*) *Azerbaycan Kadın Tarihindeki Yeri*. Yüksek lisans tezi. Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi.

Bakhchesaray. 1893. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 24: 48.

Bakhchesaray. 1900. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 25: 101.

Bakhchesaray qïz mektebi. 1906. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 68: 2.

Bakhtsïz Bala. 1906. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4: 51–53; 6: 82–86.

Basiret. 1884. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 19: 43.

Bennigsen, Alexandre and Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay. 1964. *La Presse et le mouvement national chez les musulmans de Russie avant 1920*. Paris & La Haye: Mouton.

Bibi Raziye Khanïm. 1899. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 47: 270.

Bir bahis. 1895. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 30: 89.

Birqach qadïn almaq. 1898. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 45: 180–182.

Bizim hal ve maʿishet. 1895. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 11: 22.

Bizim matbuʿat-ı türkiyye. 1906. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 1: 2.

Brileva, Diliara S. 2015. Gasprinskii i gazeta 'Terdzhiman' v zhurnale 'Shura' (1908–1917). *Islamovedenie* vol. 6. 2: 5–16.

Bu nüskhamïzdaki resimler. 1905. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (test issue): 2–3.

Bu sene chïqmïsh nüskhalardan derj edilmish mevadïng bazïlarï bunlar. 1906. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 37: 585.

Campbell, Elena I. 2015. *The Muslim Question and Russian Imperial Governance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Çavuş, Burak. 2021. Osmanlı Kadın Yazınında Şükûfezâr Dergisi ve Derginin Tam Çevirisi. *Edebi Eleştiri Dergisi*. 398–429.

Chojuq büyütmek. 1907. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 2: 3.

Chojuqlarïng seyahat-i gharibesi ve bashlarïna gelen ʿaja'ib ve qorqunch vaqïʿalar. 1906. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 35: 545–552; *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*. 9: 5–8.

Chubukchieva, Lenara Z. 2012. Zhenskii vopros na vserossiiskom musul'manskom s"ezde v Moskve: po materialam lichnogo arkhiva Shefiki Gasprinskoi, *Uchenye zapiski Tavricheskogo natsional'nogo universiteta im. V.I. Vernadskogo. Seriya 'Istoricheskie nauki'* vol. 25 (64), no. 1/2012: 199–208.

Çınar, Minara Aliyeva. 2018. *Nesip Yusufbeyli'den Şefika Gaspıralı'ya Mektuplar*. Istanbul: Ötüken.

Diqqat gerek. 1904. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 47: 85.

Doğan, Hilal. 2020. *Âlem-i Nisvân Gazetesi* (*1905–1907*). Yüksek lisans tezi. Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi.

Doğururken temizlik. 1907. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 6: 4–5; *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 7: 2; *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 8: 2–3; *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 9: 1–2.

Doktor Besim Ömer Pashanïng qadïnlar haqqïnda bir nije sözü. 1906. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 36: 564–566.

Edeb ve edebiyat. 1907. *Terjuman* 35: 2.

Eminov, ʿAbdülshükür Molla ʿAbdürreshidoghlu. 1905. ʿAlem-i Nisvan idaresine mektub. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (test issue): 1.

Erzümend Banu Begüm. 1910. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 46: 1.

Esenbel, Aziz. 1950. Oğlunun Kalemile Mahmut Celâleddin Paşa. *Tarih Dünyası* 14: 583.

Fakhraddin, Rida'addin. 1904. *ʿA'ile*. Kazan: Lito-tipografiya I.N. Kharitonova [second edition].

Fakhraddin, Rida'addin. 1904. *Mashhur khatunlar*. Orenburg: Kerimof.

Fakhraddin, Rida'addin. 1909. *Terbiyeli khatun*. Orenburg: Kerimof, Hüseyinof ve shürekasïnïn paravay matbaʿasï [fourth edition].

Gankevich, Viktor Yu. 2000. *Na sluzhbe pravde i prosveshcheniyu: kratkii biograficheskii ocherk Ismaila Gasprinskogo* (*1851–1914*). Simferopol: Dolya.

Garipova, Rozaliya R. 2015. Muslim Women's Religious Authority and Their Role in the Transmission of Islamic Knowledge in Late Imperial Russia. *Tatarica* 5: 152–63.

Garipova, Rozaliya R. 2022 Divorce from Missing Husbands: Rizaeddin Fakhreddin and Reform Within Islamic Tradition in Imperial Russia. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 65: 761–801.

[Gasprinskaya], Shefiqa Isma'il-qïzï. 1904. Islamlarïn vatanperverligi. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 31: 64.

[Gasprinskaya], Shefiqa Isma'il-qïzï. 1905. 'Alem-i Nisvan idaresinden. *Perevodchik/Terjuman*: 96: 192.

[Gasprinskaya], Shefiqa Isma'il-qïzï. 1905. Zeyneb Khanïm Ahmedova'ya achïq mektub. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 51: 100–101.

[Gasprinskaya], Zuhra. 1889. Achïq mektub. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 24: 50.

Gasprinskii, Isma'il. 1893. Muharrirden teshekkür. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 13: 25.

Gasprinskii, Isma'il. 1903. Du'a günü. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 18: 69–70.

Gasprinskii, Isma'il. 1903. *Qadïnlar*. Bakhchesaray: Terjüman gazetesining tash ve hurufat basmakhanesi.

Gasprinskii, Isma'il. 1905. *'Alem-i Nisvan* (Qadınlar 'Alemi). *Terjuman* 85: 169.

Gasprinskii, Isma'il. 1907. Bash muharrirden ikhtar. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 35: 1.

Gasprinskii, Isma'il. 1910. Ikhtar. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 41: 1.

Gazete idaresinden. 1912. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 3: 1.

Geje yarïsïndan songra. 1892. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 46: 91.

Genceli, Mehdi. 2021. *Hür Fikirli Türk Abdullah Sur* (*Hayatı-Çalışmaları-Görüşleri -Hakkında Yazılanlar*). Istanbul: Ötüken, 2021.

Gömlek i'anesi. 1904. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 22: 44.

Günesh ve qan. 1906. *'Alem-i Nisvan* 37: 577–578.

Hablemitoğlu, Şengül and Necip Hablemitoğlu. 1998. *Şefika Gaspıralı ve Rusya'da Türk kadın hareketi* (*1893–1920*). Ankara: Ajans-Türk Matbaacılık.

Hadis-i sherifler. 1905. *'Alem-i Nisvan* (test issue): 4–5.

Hadis-i ulvi. 1905. *'Alem-i Nisvan* (test issue): 11.

Hanife Khanïm bint 'Ismetullah. 1898. *Terghib: Mu'allimelerge achïq mektub revishde yazïlmïshdïr*. Kazan: Dombrovskii.

Hasanof. 1907. Qayu hijab zararlï?. *'Alem-i Nisvan* 7: 3–4.

Hindde khanïmlar ijtima'i. 1904. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 7: 14–15.

Hijab mes'elesi. 1907. *Terjuman* 3: 2.

Hizmet gazetesinden. 1891. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 39: 79.

I'ane. 1904. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 12: 26.

Idare. 1911. Khanïmlara tebshir. *'Alem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 7: 1.

Idareden. 1890. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 21: 41.

Idareden. 1911. *'Alem-i Sibyan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 17: 1.

Idareden ikhtar. 1906. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 12: 1.

Idareden ikhtar. 1906. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 21: 1.

Idareden ikhtar. 1912. *ʿAlem-i Sibyan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 27: 1.
Idaremize gelen khaberler (mekteb). 1895. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 26: 75.
Ikhtar. 1893. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 16: 31.
Ikhtar. 1899. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 33: 249.
Ikhtar. 1905. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 110: 223.
Ikhtar. 1906. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 30: 3.
Iki nadire. 1892. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 40: 79.
ʿIlm-i hadis. 1906. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4: 56–57; *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 35: 558–559; *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 36: 570–571; *Alem-i Nisvan* 37: 578–579.
ʿIlm-i hadis. 1907. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 3: 3–4; *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4: 3–4.
Inna lillahi ve inna ileyhi rajiyun. 1905. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 24: 47.
Irte nikah. 1898. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 24: 93–94.
Ïshïq. 1911. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 5: 2.
Islamja birkach su'al. 1883. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 1: 2.
İsmail Gaspıralı Seçilmiş Eserleri: II Fikri Eserleri. 2004. Ed. Yavuz Akpınar. Istanbul: Ötüken.
Ismägïyl Gasprinskiy: tarikhi-dokumental' jïyentik. 2006. Chief ed. Söläyman Rakhimov. Kazan: Jïyen Näshriyäte.
Jedid usul qïz mektebi. 1893. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 4: 8.
Kamp, Marianne. 2006. *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling under Communism*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
Karabulak, Ozan. 2024. *İsmail Gasprinski'nin Tercüman'ı: Sadakat ve Terakki (1883–1914)*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi.
Karabulak, Ozan. 2026. Ötekiyle Karşılaşmak: Rusya Türklerinin 1910 Kazan Misyoner Kongresi'ne Tepkileri ve İhtida Bağlamında Bir Hicab Tartışması. *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi* 55: 49–83.
Karabulak, Ozan, and Michael Kemper. 2025. Where Did Gasprinskii's Jadid Teaching Method Come from? Exchange and Competition between Bakhchesaray, Istanbul and the Caucasus. In *Tatar Diaspora in Modern Eurasia: Connection, Interaction, Transformation*, ed. by Shinmen Yasushi, Hamamoto Mami, Diliara Usmanova and Allen Frank. Tokyo: Toyo Bunko Research Library: 221–256.
Kefeli, Agnès Nilüfer. 2014. *Becoming Muslim in Imperial Russia: Conversion, Apostasy, and Literacy*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
Kemal, Namık. 1290. *Zavallı Çocuk: Üç fasıldan ibaret tiyatro oyunu*. Istanbul: Maarif Nezareti.
Kemper, Michael. 2019. Muslim EuRossocentrism: Ismail Gasprinskii's 'Russian Islam' (1881). In *Eurocentrism in European History and Memory*, ed. by Marjet Brolsma, Robin de Bruin, Matthijs Lok. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press: 79–101.
Kerimi, Muhammed Fatih bin Ghilman. 1904. *Qïrïma seyahat*. Orenburg: Muhammed Fatih Kerimov Matbaʿasï.

Khaberler. 1910. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 28: 2.
Khaberler. 1910. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 44: 2.
Khalid, Adeeb. 1999. *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Khanïmlara müraja'at. 1910. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 32: 1–2.
Khankirman. 1897. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 24: 94.
Khankirmandan mektub. 1896. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 24: 97.
Khasavnekh, Alsu A. 2020. Rizaeddin Fakhreddin i ego biograficheskii trud 'Mäshhür khatïnnar' ('Znamenitye zhenshchiny'). *Istoricheskaya etnologiya* 5/2: 306–317.
Khatije. 1911. Evlenmek khususunda. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 7: 3–4.
Khatije. 1911. Huququmuz. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 9: 1–2.
Khoqantlï Eshrefülbenat Tajiye. 1906. Idareye mektub. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 36: 572–574.
Kınacı, Cemile. 2014. Ütopyadan Gerçeğe: Kadınlar Ülkesi ve Arslan Kız'dan Âlem-i Nisvan'a Evrilen Türk Kadın Hareketi. *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* (İsmail Bey Gaspıralı Özel Sayısı) 11.4. 224–247.
Köse, Elanur. 2021. *Kırım ve Kafkasya Matbuatında Kadın: Âlem-i Nisvan, Işık ve Molla Nasreddin*. Yüksek lisans tezi. Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi.
Lazzerini, Edward J. 1975. Ğadidism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: A View from Within. *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* XVI/2: 245–277.
Mawara'un nahr. 1896. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 19: 77.
Meryem Ahmed qïzï Isma'il. 1910. ʿAlem-i Nisvana makhsus mektub. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 44: 1–2.
Meshhure qadïnlar. 1906. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4: 57–59; 6: 89–91.
Millät analarï: tarikhi-dokumental' häm biografik jïyentik. 2012. Ed. Al'ta Kh. Mäkhmütova. Kazan: Jiyen.
Milli matbu'atïng hali. 1907. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 48: 2.
Mizan. 1906. *Terjuman* 70: 2.
Mizan. 1907. *Terjuman* 14: 1.
Mizanü'l-hava. 1906. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 6: 86–88.
Molla ʿAbbas Fransevi. 1894. Hikaye: Arslan Qïz. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 1: 5–8; 2: 5–8; 4: 9–12; 6: 13–16; 7: 17–22.
Muradov, Yarullah. 1905. Idareye mektub. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 89: 178 (Russian part).
Muradov, Yarullah. 1906. Hikaye. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, 6: 93–96.
Muradov, Yarullah. 1907. Khanïmefendilere khitab. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 6: 3–4.
Mühim ikhtar. 1904. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 42: 75.
Müshterilering isimleri. 1905. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (test issue): 12.
Müslimeler ahvalinden bir bahis. 1899. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 48: 273–274.
Müslimeler arasïnda. 1903. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 41: 174–175.
Naqïsh ve tikish. 1906. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4: 60–61.
Nigar Khanïm. 1892. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 6: 12.

Nigar Khanïm. 1907. Gönlüm ne ister?. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 6: 3.
Nigar Khanïm. 1907. Na'at. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 3: 1.
Nigar Khanïm. 1907. Nerdesin?. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 3: 1.
Nikah mes'elesi ve zakon. 1883. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 20: 1–2.
Nisa' mekteb-i tïbbiyesi. 1896. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 28: 112.
Okuyuju müslümanlara khitab. 1904. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 11: 23.
Özkaya, Yılmaz. 2022. İsmail Gaspıralı'nın Alp Kadın Tipi: Arslan Kız. *İdil-Ural Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4 (2): 293–303.
Qafqazyada Müslime khanïmlar. 1906. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4: 49.
Qafqazyalï misafirler. 1903. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 2: 7–8.
Qasïmova, Kamile Khanïm. 1906. Ufadan mektub. *Ülfet* 9: 3.
Qïz mektebi. 1894. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 4: 8.
Qïz mektebi. 1894. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 23: 46.
Qïz mektebi. 1894. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 38: 76.
Qïz mektebi imtihanï. 1903. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 27: 113.
Qïzların terbiye ve tahsili. 1896. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 36: 143–144.
Qutub balïghï. 1906. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 6: 93–94.
Remiyev, Ismail. 1926. *Vaqitlï Tatar matbuʿatï 1905–1925*. Kazan: Gajur.
Rorlich, Azade-Ayşe. 2000. Intersecting Discourses in the Press of the Muslims of Crimea, Middle Volga & Caucasus: the Woman Question and the Nation. In *Gender and Identity Construction: Women of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey*, ed. by Feride Acar and Ayşe Güneş-Ayata. Leiden: Brill: 143–161.
Ross, Danielle. 2020. Debunking the 'Unfortunate Girl' Paradigm: Volga-Ural Muslim Women's Knowledge Culture and its Transformation across the Long Nineteenth Century. In *Sharīʿa in the Russian Empire: The Reach and Limits of Islamic Law in Central Eurasia, 1550–1917*, ed. Paolo Sartori and Danielle Ross. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press: 120–155.
Safarova, Zeyneb el-Bibi. 1905. Diğer mektub. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (test issue): 1–2.
Saide. 1893. Bir qïzïn defterinden. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 36: 13–15; *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 37: 17–20; *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 39: 21–23.
Sevimli, Yakup. 2001. *Hayat Gazetesi Üzerine Bir Araştırma*. Unpubl. PhD dissertation. Ege Üniversitesi.
Shanaev, G. 1889. Chemu i kak uchit' musul'manku. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 33: 69 (Russian part).
Shanaev, G. 1889. Qadïnlar terbiyesi. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 33: 69 (Turkish part).
Shekiden. 1894. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 43: 86.
Shiʿir-i türki. 1906. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 35: 559–560; 36: 572.
Su'al-jevab. 1904. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 84: 169.
Su'allere jevab. 1883. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 6: 2.

Suslu, İbrahim. 2012. *Azerbaycan Siyasi Tarihinde Nesip Bey Yusufbeyli (1881–1920)*, yüksek lisans tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi.

Süleymanova, Fakhrülbenat. 1906. *Qïzlar terbiyesi*. Orenburg: Tipo-litografiya M.F. Karimova.

Şahin, G. Selcan Sağlık. 2014. "İsmail Gaspıralı, Türk Kadını ve *Âlem-i Nisvan* Dergisi." *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* (*İsmail Bey Gaspıralı Özel Sayısı*) XI/4. 210–223.

Tabib nasihatleri. 1906. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4: 61–63; 6: 91–93.

Tashih. 1898. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 27: 105–106.

Tashkent. 1902. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 29: 115.

Tashkentden mektub. 1888. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 41: 77.

Tekne, Kamelya. 2024. Şefika Gaspıralı: Türk Kadın Hareketinin Öncülerinden. *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Türk Dünyası Ansiklopedisi*. https://turkdunyasiansiklopedisi.gov.tr/detay/948/Şefika_Gaspıralı.

Terk olunajaq bir ʿadet. 1896. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 45: 180.

Til bahsi. 1906. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 20: 1.

Toqmaqlï, S. ʿAbdülmenaf. 1906. Idareye mektub. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* 4: 63–64.

Türkche shiʿirler. 1910. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan*, supplement to *Terjuman* 30: 3.

Türki jurnaller. 1906. *Vaqït* 62: 3.

Uzunağaç, Elif. 2023. Rusya Türkleri Arasındaki Kadın Hareketinin Önderi: Şefika Gaspıralı (1886–1975). In *Türk Tarihinde İz Bırakan Kadınlar*, eds Okan Yeşilot and Bihter Gürışık Köksal. Istanbul: Vakıfbank Kültür Yayınları: 345–360.

Vahabova, Fatma Feride bint Murtaza. 1905. Diğer mektub. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (test issue): 1.

Vaqt-i bulugh ve nikah. 1896. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 10: 37.

Vern, Jül. 1308. *İki Sene Mektep Tatili: Seyahat-i Harikulade*. transl. by Ahmet İhsan. Istanbul: ʿAlem Matbaʿası.

Yeni bir Müslime hekim. 1908. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 57: 3.

Yeni kitablar. 1898. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 8: 4.

Ziya Pasha Merhumung. 1905. *ʿAlem-i Nisvan* (test issue): 11.

Zulüm qaydan geliyor?. 1903. *Perevodchik/Terjuman* 36: 149–150.