

## AN ANALYSIS OF CONTRIBUTION OF JADID MOVEMENT IN MODERNISATION AND REFORM OF EDUCATION IN CENTRAL ASIA

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### ABSTRACT

Throughout the research it has been demonstrated that the Jadidism as a religious-cultural and political movement has managed to succeed in reestablishing the state order of Central Asia by contesting with the conservative system and the traditional ulema in battling the ignorance through new-method schools, meanwhile retaining the Islamic religion. This study has found out that the cultural transformation and the modernization of the indigenous community through the transformation of the societal order attained via the reformation of the conventional patterns of education was aspired by the Jadids. In this sense, the Jadids have pursued the new Muslim intellectual cohort who would be more inclined towards the secular sciences than with religious studies. In this revivalist sense, the Jadids called for a reform that was entrenched in a rigorist discourse on correcting Muslim practice. The first chapter of this work will be dedicated to reviewing the Qadimist (conservative Islam) movement by answering questions such as what was the Qadimist, traditional Islam movement, and why did they oppose the reform ideas proposed by Jadids? Subsequently, the second chapter will examine the formation of 'new-method' schools and their proliferation across Central Asia and corroborate with archival documents. The final chapter will explore the methodological content of the new-method schools by dealing with the question of what kind of subjects their curriculum and programs contained.

**Key words:** Jadidism, Qadimism, Islamic Education, Reform, New-Method Schools, Old-Method Schools.

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*Reference to this article:*  
Abzhalov S.U., Bazarbayev K.K., Nurmatov Zh.Y., Abdrasilov T.K. An Analysis of Contribution of Jadid Movement in Modernisation and Reform of Education in Central Asia // Adam Alemi. – 2024. – No.1 (99). – P. 129-142.

### Орта Азиядағы білім берудегі жаңғыру және реформалауда жәдидшілер әрекетінің үлесін талдау

**Аңдатпа.** Зерттеу жұмысында жәдидшілдіктің діни-мәдени және саяси қозғалыс ретінде консервативтік жүйемен күресу арқылы Орталық Азияның мемлекеттік тәртібін қалпына келтіруде табысқа жеткендігі және ғалымдардың надандықпен күресу жолында жаңа әдіс мектептердің ислам дінін сақтап қалудағы орны көрсетілген. Бұл зерттеуде жәдидшілердің дәстүрлі білім беру үлгілерін реформалау арқылы қол жеткізілген қоғамдық тәртіпті өзгертіп, жергілікті қауымдастықтың мәдени трансформациясы мен модернизацияға ұмтылу қажеттілігі көрсетіледі. Осы тұрғыдан жәдидшілерді дін ғылымдарынан гөрі зайырлылыққа жақын ұстанымда болғанын байқауға болады. Жәдидшілер мұсылман тәжірибесін түзету мақсатында осы жаңғырушылық мағынаға негізделген реформаны талап еткен болатын. Бұл жұмыстың бірінші бөлімінде қадимшілдік (консервативтік ислам) қозғалысына шолу жасауға арналады, қадимшілдердің дәстүрлі ислам түсінігі және олардың нәліктен жәдидшілер ұсынған реформалық идеяларға қарсы шықты деген сұрақтар төңірегінде сөз қозғалады. Сондай-ақ, екінші бөлімде «жаңа әдіс» мектептерінің қалыптасуы мен олардың Орталық Азияда таралуы

қарастырылып, архивтік құжаттарға негізделген мағлұматтар беріледі. Қорытынды бөлімінде жаңа әдістемедегі мектептердің оқу жоспары мен бағдарламаларында қандай пәндер бар деген сұраққа жауап беру арқылы олардың әдістемелік мазмұны зерттеледі.

**Түйін сөздер:** Жәдідшілер, Қадимшілер, исламдық білім беру, реформа, жаңа-әдіс мектептері, ескі-әдіс мектептері

### **Анализ вклада джадидского движения в модернизацию и реформу образования в Центральной Азии**

**Аннотация.** В статье подчеркивается успех джадидизма как религиозно-культурного и политического движения в восстановлении государственного порядка Центральной Азии путем борьбы с консервативной системой и место новых методов борьбы ученых с невежеством в сохранении исламской религии. В этом исследовании подчеркивается необходимость изменения общественного порядка, достигнутого путем реформирования традиционных образовательных моделей и стремления к культурной трансформации и модернизации местного сообщества. С этой точки зрения можно наблюдать, что джадидисты занимают более секуляризованную позицию, чем религиозные науки. Джадидисты требовали реформ, основанных на этом модернистском значении, чтобы исправить мусульманскую практику. Первая часть этой работы будет посвящена обзору движения кадимизма (консервативного ислама), будет посвящена вопросу о понимании кадимистами традиционного ислама и о том, почему они выступили против реформистских идей, выдвинутых джадидистами. Во второй части рассматривается формирование школ нового метода « и их распространение в Центральной Азии, даются сведения, основанные на архивных документах. В заключительной части изучается их методическое содержание, отвечая на вопрос, какие предметы присутствуют в учебных планах и программах школ новой методики.

**Ключевые слова:** джадидизм, кадимизм, исламское образование, реформа, школы нового метода, школы старого метода.

#### **Introduction**

The end of the nineteenth century witnessed the appearance of the cultural enlightenment movement of Jadidism in Central Asia. This movement, instigated by the Jadids, sought to improve the lives of those living in the Turkestan area by improving literacy and reducing stagnation and other hindrances. However, they encountered obstacles in achieving their aims of reform and progress. For Khalid, organisation of the Jadid movement was impeccable, evidenced by the way they structured educational reform, their systematic development of curricula, and their weekly newspaper publications. What was novel among the Jadids, however, was their particular context in a historical sense, as well as the influence of European thinking. This was then enhanced by the superiority of the Russian Empire's military, technological, and economic capabilities over those of Central Asian communities, and due to this, the Jadids were great advocates of modernising language, simplifying script, and reforming education

to make it more accessible for people in their communities. The abovementioned scholarly overview suggests that there is a need to explore the intellectual history of Central Asia from its religious, sociocultural, and political perspectives. Therefore, in order to achieve this objective, this paper intends to critically analyse the role of the modernist movement in reforming the region through 'new-method' schooling.

#### **Methodology**

Regarding the methods applied in this research, the theoretical and methodological basis of this thesis relies upon the work of history scholars and their achievements to date. During the research, a comparative historical-interpretive and explanatory approach is applied in order to classify the content and nature of the Jadid movement as a socio-historical phenomenon. In the assessment of the socio-political history of Jadidism, the author will adhere to the principle of objectivity. This research utilises comparative historical and chronological

methods when examining the documents and materials related to the Jadids given in Kydyraliyev's dissertation, along with the research of Western scholar Khalid and these will be synthesised.

### ***The Old Method of Learning: Qadimist Traditional Islamic Education***

Conventional (Qadimist) Islamic education was prevalent across the region in the nineteenth century, particularly in the more settled regions of Central Asia [1, p. 12]. This structure entailed mosque schools, intently concentrated on reading the Quran, and several Islamic primary schools (maktabs) and secondary or higher schools (madrasas) as well [2, p. 165]. These establishments made a contribution to a pattern of wide-ranging but narrow literacy, with official schooling in Arabic, but little or no maintenance for coeducation, particularly beyond the primary level [3, p. 158] indicating that the old-method schooling educated the student to think according to the classical Arabic system, without articulating these in the native language of students. Although there were native language teaching courses, they did not provide a comparative linguistic basis through which the student would acquire a better comprehension of Arabic and instead, Arabic remained on its own and necessitated intense memorisation and internalisation [4, p. 263]. For example, [5, p. 17] states that his teacher, despite all of his years spent learning Arabic grammar, remained unable to speak it fluently. Through the use of a phonetic transcript of standard Arabic mispronunciations, Fitrat would highlight the poor Arabic of the teacher (mudarris). In contrast, the European, who studied Arabic via new-method schooling, spoke it fluently and was able to correct his conversational language in many places. Sharp criticism of traditional Muslim education and the state of science and culture in Central Asia in the nineteenth century is possibly the one thing on which the Jadids and every other observer, scientist and official agreed. For example, according to Khalid, the most

obvious signs of the region's stagnation were seen in the madrasas and maktabs as these establishments were limited with only religious subjects, and they were based entirely on the old methods and were deemed ineffective because they did not have any secular worldly subjects. Muslim educational traditions that emerged in Central Asia's maktabs and madrasas later formed the basis of education in many Muslim societies of the mid-nineteenth century [4, p. 264]. There were two primary concerns here – namely transferring knowledge, and developing appropriate etiquette. According to [6, p. 490], the major driver was to preserve and transmit the truths revealed by God in the Quran to the younger generations, often using strict traditional means such as corporal punishment and necessitating memorisation without explaining why or facilitating understanding. Understanding, or fahm, in this approach to education was not emphasised and there was no measurement of a child's ability to explain Quranic verses; rather, their ability to use a specific verse at an appropriate time was the supposed evidence of their comprehension [6, p. 491]. His suggestion indicates that the method that the old school had was inefficient in conveying education as it was based on cramming rather than comprehension. According to Khalid, in the works of Sadridin Ainiy, the last generation of Central Asians who received a traditional education and at the same time was an outstanding Jadid, he states by recalling his experience in the maktab: "When my father left, the teacher sat me down next to him and ordered one of the older students to work with me. This student asked me to look at my board when he said out loud: "Alif, be, te, se", I imitated him and repeated the names of these letters. Having taught me to pronounce them, the student moved on to other children and began to teach them. The children called him halfa". In this situation, the student had become involved in a social hierarchy; he not only obtained knowledge from the teacher, but also acquired etiquette adab. There were no formal structures to the classes in the

maktab and children did not sit examinations. [7, p. 65]. The student was able to move through his schooling at his own speed, and his abilities were measured by the number of books he had memorised. Having memorised the letters of the alphabet, the student became acquainted with the vowels, which he again learned by memorisation. To memorise the haftiyak, the student was given the name kitabhon ('reader of the book'). Then he moved on to Char Kitab (fourth book) – a collection of writings containing information on Muslim prayers and rituals. Four pieces of writing were included in the anthology: Nam-i Hakk (the book of truth), a treatise in verse by Sharifuddin Bukhari (religious and public figure) concerning the rules for carrying out rituals including praying, fasting, and purifying. After completing the Char Kitab, the student studied poetry in both Persian and Turkic languages, Hafiz, Sufi Allah Yar, Fuzuli, Bedil, Nawai and Attar. These poems were important as they were perceived to be the main canon of the literature of the region, and if an individual was familiar with them and could understand and recite them from memory at the right time, they were considered to have the required etiquette of an educated person. However, Jadids' denunciation of the maktab exceeded its ineffectiveness and disorder and examined the appropriateness of its texts for young children. For example, Abdullah Awlani resonated Munawwar Qari when he wrote about how most people were aware that the books used in Islamic schools in Central Asia were of poetry. He said that many of the books dealt with common issues of practice and/or creed, but as most of the books were written in Persian, many young children found them hard to understand. Awlani did not see how children would benefit from the content of these poems, even if they did understand them. This is because some of the poems were romantic in nature, it was felt this type of content may be morally inappropriate for young children and could lead to indecency. The Jadids also criticized the use of Persian in education. For example, century [4, p. 270] claims that one of the criticisms of the

Jadids from the old maktab was that an increasing number of writings utilised were in the Persian language and the children had trouble comprehending it. The necessity for primers presented in indigenous languages resulted in the explanation of a modern literary Central Asian Turkic language, indicating that if efficient literacy was a pursued aim, only the child's native language should be used. It thus seems that the Jadids reviled the conventional maktab due to its ineffective methods and disrespect towards the native language, and therefore it seems that the Jadids probably sought to substitute it with their new-method schools that would not merely be discerned by a systematic curriculum, yet be part of a structured network of schools as well [1, p. 14]. Another issue that the old school had was that education until the end of the nineteenth century was completely oral. While written texts were used sometimes, these were mainly for visual use only. After finishing Haftiyak, Char-Kitab and the Quran, Ainiy said that "I still couldn't read anything except what I read with the teacher. For example, I could always read those poems of Hafiz that I read at school, regardless of whose hand they were. But I could not read others that I had not read, I was illiterate! I couldn't write at all". Writing was a skill that was not considered fundamental in education of that time, and most teachers did not include it in their curricula. Students were generally expected to master their native language in their own time, and learning in the maktab was conducted in Arabic and Persian languages. Students had to master writing skills themselves, and only calligraphy was taught in the maktab [7, p. 66]. Thus, professional proficiency in the art of calligraphy was similar to being able to recite poetry as one of the signs of an educated person. In the same way as reading, repetition was used to teach and acquire calligraphy skills. While students were taught and could recite the alphabet, the aim of education at the maktab was not to impart functional literacy. The junction of literacy and orality at which the maktab functioned provided efficient

literacy at lower levels than was required. Now that functional literacy was acknowledged as being an extremely valuable skill, and the nonexistence of education specifically geared towards literacy became the maktab's principal failure. In addition, the constant criticism that children squandered many years of childhood in schools that failed to provide them with even the basics of literacy adapted to a recent sense of efficacy. For example, Gasprinskii, regarding the old-method school system, asserted that the rigorous revision of this issue revealed to him that the knowledge imparted in the maktab over a six-year period could be achieved in only two years, providing special order was maintained that teachers used clear, systematised guidelines for teaching how to write and read [4, p. 272]. The years that would consequently be saved could then be dedicated to teaching the Russian language in schools without contravening the Muslim way of life. Therefore, for him, it became crucial to promote new-method schooling so that the same teacher may teach Russian, Arabic, and Turkish. His assertion suggests that the old method of teaching lacked a systematised methodology and thus yielded fewer results, yet the solution of this issue, according to Gasprinskii, lay in the formation of "higher madrasas" – that is, modernised school madrasa, where the language and laws of Russia would be taught. It goes without saying that the whole course of, for example, grammar entailed several years, particularly given the unstable educational organisation in old-style madrasas [7, p. 67]. The abovementioned facts and historical evidence suggest that the Jadids did not aim to oppose the Qadimist or any traditional Islamic religious establishments, but they intended to reform society by bringing about a more modern system of education in order to enlighten the Muslim children so that they could catch up with their Western civilized and educated peers [8, p. 196]. Algar maintains that the cause of the low rates of literacy among the indigenous population were that Arabic was difficult to learn, and the methods of

teaching were ineffective [9, p. 89]. According to Khalid, the madrasa was the place for reproducing Islamic knowledge intermediated through several tiers of interpretations and commentaries, in which the performances became a mass of fatuity and dogmatism. Now, meanwhile, real knowledge can be found in the divine sources of Islam. This new liberal outlook of Islam challenged the interpretative practice which had been the bedrock of Bukhara madrasas, and hence led to a new comprehension of Islam [8, p. 1128]. The objective was to obtain true knowledge from the original scriptural sources of Islam, circumventing the commentaries and interpretations, that subsequently came to be observed as merely hundreds of years' worth of corrupt behaviour and a cause of social and moral degeneration. Moreover, Chatterjee citing the evidence provided by Aini, a leading Jadid, states that despite the famous madrasas such as Mir Arab and Zahid Khoja producing extraordinary students, these diligent students with nineteen years of laborious training in the madrasa were not always admitted as members of religious establishments. The old-maktab strictly adhered to the taqlid principle, which according to traditional ulema, restricted the reinterpretation of scriptures and thus obtaining other worldly occupations was more likely to be contradictory to Islam [9, p. 89]. In this sense, the madrasa was the place that generated such notions that were obstacles to the attainment of secular subjects such as medicine and geography which were necessary for the growth of the Muslim community, both economically and culturally. However, the new-method school believed that the study of modern subjects was needed and even encouraged; thus, by reinterpreting the scriptures in accordance with the time, they argued that unless the maktab system was reformed and the scriptures interpreted according to the needs of the time, Central Asian countries would remain backward and ignorant, and as result become dependent on more developed countries.



### ***Formation and Development of Usuli Jadid New-Method Schools in Central Asia***

The perception of knowledge as being the solution to all problems, both socially and individually, and as a source of affluence and growth, underlined the objective of all Jadid rationale. However, it was obvious that the maktab and madrasas were not able to generate such knowledge [8, p. 1129]. Therefore, the reform was to start with children's education, with the most central characteristic being the acceptance of the new method of teaching the alphabet. The formation of such schools designed to educate using the new method became the focus of Jadid reform and it was this that gave the movement its name. The Jadid schools that began to open and spread at the end of nineteenth century impacted on the level of literacy of the indigenous population [10, p. 52]. The first school in Turkestan based on the new methodology was established by local factory owner Sultan Murad-bay in the city of Andijan, with a Tatar teacher employed to teach the children of those working in his cotton cleaning factory. In 1901 in Tashkent, Munawwar Qari, a leading Jadid, founded the first new-method school in the city, and by late 1903 it was reported that the city had more than twenty such schools "Turkestanskije Vedomosti", 2 November 1903, demonstrating the rapid increase of new-method schools in Central Asia. Determining the concrete numbers of these schools is problematic, however, since compulsory registering started only in 1912, and even then an increasing number of schools avoided the state's notice [11, p. 228]. The great variation in the number of schools reported in governmental correspondence shows that the administrative system lacked knowledge of the precise number of functioning schools [11, p. 228]. However, according to official data, 13 schools were functioning in the old city of Tashkent and the same number in Kokand, each with 1,100 students enrolled [12, p. 57]. A local inspector reported that in the early part of

1910, 23 new-method schools were registered in his area of Fergana province, yet three years later it was noted that there were "about 20" schools, pointing to a reduction in number of schools. Nonetheless, according to the "Oyina" magazine, 31 schools with 3000 students operated in Kokand then, making it the leading city in Turkestan. These estimates, likewise, seem to downplay the number of functioning schools, for the current press indicates that new schools were being established regularly. According to archival data provided in the research of Kydyraliyev, in 1902-1903 in the Fergana Valley, with the consent of the Kokand and Old Margilansky Judge, the following new-method schools were opened: Maktab Sufi Badal Ishan, where 140 pupils of this school were taught by four teachers; Maktab Kasymbay, where 145 students were taught by one teacher with three assistants; and Maktab Mashrab, where 50 students studied under the guidance of one teacher with three assistants [7, p. 69]. The Fergana governor in February 1910 reported to the governor-general's office that depending on the size of the premises, each such maktab trains from 25 to 100 and up to 120 students [11, p. 229]. Then in Kokand, an inspector of public schools found seven new-method schools, of which there were 145 students in Kasymbayev's school, 80 students in Khalifa Tillo-Khodja's school, and 85 students in Umartiev's school. Thus, according to Khalid, the new-method school Usuli Jadid began to supersede the old maktab and threaten the existence of Russian-native schools. So if, according to Barthold, in Kokand in 1911 there were eight new-method schools with 530 students, then according to "Oyina" magazine, by the beginning of 1914 in this leading educational city of Turkestan, there were 31 Jadid schools with 3000 students [7, p. 70]. These archival figures indicate that the Jadid schools saw a quick proliferation across the regions, increasing in numbers each year. This increase suggests that owing to their efficiency, new-method schools began to supplant the old method schools; meanwhile, this disturbed the Soviet administration that

was the conservative protectionist. For example, Benningsen and Quelquejay [13, p. 159] maintain that the Soviet administration attempted to conserve the archaic form of Islam and culture with regards to religious and educational policy suggesting that these acts aimed at weakening the reform movement presented by Jadids by favoring the conservative schools. The first national private school of a new type was established in Nukus, and later education was conducted in Russian, indicating the intervention of the Soviet authority on the new-method school activities and consequently transforming the national schools into Russia-native schools with the intention of indigenisation of local people. Besides, Khalid provides historical evidence demonstrating that under the chairmanship of the aksakal leader of the city of Mirza Bahadur, a meeting was held in which honorary citizens of the city took part, including Khojikhon Tura, Hakimkhon Tura, Eshon Bobohon, Mirza Saidkodir, and Mullo Aliboy, consequently making a decision to open another new-method school in Khujand. He further shows that the eminent figure of the city, Mirzo Bahadur, pledged to contribute 300 rubles to the school fund from his savings. One can easily deduce from the above-mentioned evidence that leading members of society were willing to support the new-method schools, contributing to the establishment of the school at their own expense. Moreover, it should be noted that while at the end of the nineteenth century new-method schools in the Turkestan Territory were a very rare phenomenon, by 1911 the number of schools of this type reached at least 63 with 4,106 children were enrolled in them. Although the Palen Auditing Commission could not establish exactly how many new-method schools there were in the Turkestan territory due to the lack of registration of these schools, according to the report, "the indigenous population willingly sent their children to these new-method schools, motivated not so much by political considerations, but a desire to give the younger generation an education more in line with the real needs

of modern life than the scholasticism of confessional school. This record suggests that the local population was satisfied with the teaching of schools in line with modernism as opposed to old-method schooling, which by then was thought to be outdated [4, p. 298]. As an illustration, according to the commission reports, more than 200 children studied in four new-method schools in Samarkand, and 230 in five schools in Andijan, compared to the old-method schools, where on average 10-15 children studied – indicating that, indeed, many students were enrolled in the new-method schools [7, p. 75]. This is supported by Bazarbayev et., all (2013) who assert that there were 5892 schools and 353 madrasas at the beginning of the twentieth century. This archival evidence cited in Bazarbayev et., all suggests that the Jadids were successful in spreading the schools quickly, indicating that their method of teaching was most likely welcomed by the native people choosing them instead of the old-style madrasa. When looking at the numbers, there is a wide gap between the numbers of schools. It is surprising that they were so immediately prosperous which spread so quickly and attracted many students [1, p. 12]. Even the tsarist administration found out that there were increased levels of literacy among the native population. For instance, in March of 1919, Mischenko, the then-governor of Turkestan, sent a report to the Russian Minister of Education explaining this increase in literacy levels, especially among those living in central oblasts such as Ferghana, Syrdarya, and Samarkand. He remarked that the literacy of these people was greater than in European Russia [11, p. 230]. Therefore, this educational establishment started to be more tightly controlled by the Soviet government, implying that the Soviet colonial authority was anxious about national schools – that is, Jadid schools – assuming that their activities might instigate the anti-colonial conflict [10, p. 325]. Thus, the tsarist administration, investigating the issue rigorously, established certain commissions within the educational administration department.

These commissions were designed to tighten up the control over schools in the country and to introduce regulatory legislation covering new-method schools. In early 1912, the laws were ratified by the governor-general A. I. Semenov, declaring that permission had to be granted to open new-method secondary schools by public school inspectors. This compelled the new-method schools to introduce the Russian language into the curriculum as an obligatory subject that ought to be studied. This evidence indicates that the Soviet authority was fearful of the Jadid schools' success, as most subjects were taught in the native language and Turkish was given precedence over Russian. With the Soviet regime being anxious, they sought to keep it under control, and consequently they forced the Russian language into the curriculum. For example, on 22nd September 1913, the interior Ministry that attached special significance to the Jadid schools as a political entity delivered a special letter to the Turkestan governor-general, which said: "New-method schools educating in a Turkic language are campaigning for the Muslim's unity, and the school reformers, by uniting all Muslims with the emphasis on the religious and national identity, intend to damage the interests of the Soviet government" [11, p. 230]. These two documents, according to Bazarbayev et al., probably served as the basis for the colonial authority to hinder the movement. It seems that the earlier tsarist administration ensured that the new-method schools had external connections with several political organisations of Turkey and Muslim India [10, p. 325]. This is evidenced by the fact that in 1909, the new Governor-General, A.V. Samsonov, reported to the Minister of Education Schwartz that the advanced part of the native Muslims, under the influence of the Volga and Crimean Tatar intellectuals, as well as Turkish campaigners penetrating into the region, realised the deviation of the education in native schools and therefore, exerted considerable effort to propagate the so-called new-method schools. The report further says that the schools taught using the sound method and taught subjects

about which the maktab and madrassas had no knowledge, for example modern geography, history, and arithmetic using textbooks compiled in Kazan-Tatar, Tajik, and even in Ottoman dialects [13, p. 159]. Moreover, some reports stated that even ideas of a clearly separatist and national character were being implanted, and if such schools were left to their own ways, then in the future they would become breeding grounds not only for Pan-Islamism, but also for Pan-Turkism or Pan-Asianism [10, p. 13]. As the tsarist administration persecuted the organisers of the new-method schools, many of these schools existed in secret, so it must be acknowledged that there were more of them than records indicate [15, p. 197]. The general picture of the development of a network of new-method schools in the Turkestan Territory is drawn as follows: before 1905: slow growth; in 1905-1910: fast growth; in 1911: temporary decline; in 1912-1914: resumption of growth; after 1914: decline. Thus, in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, in different parts of Turkestan, mainly in large cities, a movement of Jadids developed for the transformation of Muslim schools, which became a constant feature of the urban life of the region.

### ***Organisational and Methodological Content of New-Method Schools***

The establishment of impeccably organised schools that would maintain a disciplined, standardised education, offering worldly as well as religious education to the children of Central Asian society, was the main goal and concern of Jadidism [4, p. 368]. Therefore, the new methodical movement of the Jadids supported renewal of conservative religious schools which, according to Khalid, did not meet the requirements of modernism, by introducing secular subjects into the curriculum, in order to improve the organisational and methodological content of the curriculum. In order to reform the traditional religious schools, the Jadids proposed the following: conducting classes in Muslim schools according to a single curriculum, which included – as per new methods – religious subjects and secular disciplines such as



arithmetic, natural science, geography, history, Russian, and native languages. For example, Shorish asserts that the educational system of the Jadid movement had its curricular roots from the *Samanids* of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the technological and scientific sciences of the twentieth century in order to create a free and decent society in Central Asia. In other words, the intention of the Jadid movement was to rid Islam of its anti-progressive features and to resort to the rationalistic and scientific traditions of its Golden Age (Weller, 2014). When looking at the history of Central Asia, the region's Golden Age was of course part of the broader Islamic Golden Age of the 8<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, originating from cities such as Bagdad, Samarkand, and Kordoba [16, p. 345]. This indicates that the Jadid movement wanted to stop *taqlid* (imitation) and reinterpret the scriptural texts according to the time by returning to original sources of Islam and to an appreciation of science that existed in Islamic civilisation until the 13<sup>th</sup> century CE [4, p. 301]. During this extensive process, intellectuals from the Central Asia region including al-Biruni, al-Farabi, al-Khaurazmi, and ibn-Sina (Avicenna), along with many other collaborators, contributed

significantly towards the progression of their own fields as well as the entire Islamic, Western, and Russian communities [2, p. 162]. As Khalid explains, the Jadid movement not only borrowed ideas and perspectives from the modern Western world, but also from much older periods in history, including from its own heritage. For this reason, the Jadids, seeing the scientific and technological achievements of the Western countries that Muslim countries once had, and borrowing the science from the Western world, exerted considerable effort to combine religious education with secular subjects. For example, Weller provides an overview of the new Jadid curriculum (Table 1), arguing that they attempted to add to their curriculum new modern subjects, thus reducing the number or hours spent on religious subjects. This suggests that the main concern of the Jadids was the reform of formal education and Islam. Although Islam would function in the curriculum for moral guidance, it would no longer predominate, as overriding significance was now to be placed on science, foreign languages, mathematics, history and an entire spectrum of practical subjects such as writing [8, p. 1128].

**Table 1 - Syllabus for the new-method school**

Classes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
<i>Secular Teaching</i>									
<i>Turkish Language and Literature</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
<i>Arabic Language and Literature</i>	6	6	4	3	2	2	2	2	27
<i>History of Islam</i>	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	8
<i>Mathematics</i>	3	3	3	2	4	4	2	1	22
<i>Geography, Physics, Chemistry</i>	4	4	4	1	2	1	5	4	25
<i>Agriculture</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
<i>Hygiene</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>Psychology, Logic</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
<i>Bookkeeping</i>	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	3
<i>Method</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>Calligraphy</i>	2	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	7
<i>Russian Language</i>	12	12	12	12	12	3	3	2	68
<i>French and German</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total</i>									189

(Source: Bobrovnikoff, 1911, cited in Shorish, 1994)

This table, highlighting the high emphasis placed by the Jadids on formal education via the new method by incorporating secular subjects with religious teachings, suggests that Jadids aspired to return to Golden Age Islam which, according to [4, p. 352], was compatible with modernism by bringing about reform to schools' curriculum content. Traditional Islamic education, as Shorish asserts, was thoroughly theological and would not help the Muslim countries to grow scientifically and economically. This indicates that the aim of the Jadids, within the context of Islam, was to modernise the content of the school curriculum by incorporating both religious and secular subjects, meaning that they appear to attach great importance to the secular subjects as without them, the material wellbeing, economic achievements, and liberation from Soviet authority would not be possible. However, the curriculum provided by Shorish illustrates that the Russian language was the most taught secular subject, accounting for 68 hours in total and 12 hours a week, which is the highest among all other subjects. According to Bazarbayev et al. (2013), studying the Russian language became compulsory after the interference of the Soviet authority in the affairs of new-method schooling, and if it was not taught, permission for opening the school would not be granted. In the same vein, Khalid states that the new procedures held sway over the new-method schools, such as obtaining permission to open the school from the inspector of education in Tashkent [4, p. 353]. Despite providing evidence regarding the teaching of Russian, Khalid later asserts that teaching Russian was the exception and it was not forced from the top; rather, due to the lack of proficient teachers, Russian was not taught in many cases [4, p. 354]. As an example, in 1911 Munawwar Qari, a leading Jadid, began teaching Russian to his students, and within four years it was being taught by a Russian teacher up to twelve hours per week. This indicates that teaching Russian was not compulsory, but it was supported by Jadids themselves. This is supported

by Weller [16, p. 353], who, reflecting the modernist approach of Abai Kunanbaev (1845-1904), a well-known Kazakh Jadid who wrote in the early 1900s, cites the following excerpt:

"One should study Russian... In order to avoid their harmful ways, yet partake of their profits, one must know their language, studies and scholarship. If you study their language, your inner eyes will be enlightened. The person who knows the language and skills of somebody else will, with that, have the same opportunities they have, he will not have to plead for help and be debased with exceeding shame. Russian learning and culture are the keys to the world".

This passage leads one to assume that learning of the Russian language was emphasised as a means of cultural achievement and for achieving worldly success, since Russia had reached cultural and civilizational achievement. Although the history of Islam was taught only eight hours a week, it was considered to be of major importance. For example, according to Khalid (1998), the history of Islam was underscored by the Jadids in presenting visual evolutionary history in which the progress of humanity is narrated, beginning with Adam and leading up to today. This implies that the Jadids aimed at teaching students that progress is compatible with Islam by illustrating the case studies of Prophets who mastered crafting skills and invented new objects which is again indicative of the advantage of history as a subject. Moreover, according to Khalid, the stories of the Prophets (*qisasul-anbiya*) were introduced into the curriculum inspired by schools in Russia whose curriculum had always involved sacred history. He further maintains that the Jadids tried to produce their own Muslim version of this approach. All religious nations teach their children about their particular prophets and customs, giving guidance and historical accounts according to their faith [4, p. 357]. This suggests that by teaching the history of Islam the Jadids were willing to inculcate religious enthusiasm and national sentiment. Therefore, it was claimed that Muslim students should know

more about the origins of their religion. Besides, geography was considered to be a significant subject in the minds of Jadids, as it fostered a visual appreciation of the modern world [4, p. 358]. As Behbudi (1909) states, the world had been conquered by the Europeans who knew the world, and likewise, conquered countries must also know the world. For example, Behbudi published a four-colour wall map of Central Asia engraved in Turkic, and his bookstore

contained many maps and atlases, especially of Ottoman origin [18, p. 274], suggesting that the terms 'nations' and 'conquest', and the special emphasis on Turkic language, seem to imply that along with reform of education, the awakening of nationalistic sentiment seems to have possibly been one of the main goal of the Jadids in obtaining independence from the Soviet state and establishing the Islamic state based on the system of the Golden Age.

**Table 2** - Hours dedicated to Islamic studies

Classes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
<i>Religious Teaching</i>									
<i>The Quran</i>	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>Systematic Theology</i>	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	4
<i>Fiqh (Law)</i>	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
<i>Usul-al Fiqh (Fundamentals of Law)</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	4
<i>Rules of Morals</i>	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	3
<i>Faraid (Inheritance Law)</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
<i>Tafsir (Explanation of the Quran)</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
<i>Fundamentals of Hadith</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	4
<i>Total</i>									24

(Source: Bobrovnikoff, 1911, cited in Shorish, 1994).

Table 2 shows that the hours dedicated to studying Islamic subjects were reduced, and less time was spent on these compared to secular subjects. Among the religious subjects were the 'rules of morals' which accounted for three hours a week, these lessons were intended to inculcate morality which was probably different from the moral training delivered in the old school *maktab* that typically used corporal punishment [4, p. 359]. However, [19, p. 45], in his analysis regarding the morality, claims that moral education cannot be different whether it is delivered in 'religious' or 'secular' content. His claim suggests that since moral education primarily entails the instructions of proper conduct and behaviour of an individual, it involves the instructions to follow the norms. In this sense, it can be stated that the moral education of new method school could not be delivered differently from the old method *maktab*. Here, the author of this paper is in total agreement with the

argument of Karimullah (2013) regarding the deliverance of moral education. The difference mentioned above implied the method or way of inculcating it. In other words, while old method school often used the method of corporal punishment in inculcating morality, in new method school, the method of instilling morality was based on explanation. For example, the phrase "the flesh is yours, the bones are mine", was popular expression upon the admission to the *maktab* and *madrasah* of pupils, which means, when the student was firstly admitted to the *maktab*, parents would give consent to the physical punishment incurred by teachers *mudarris*, when students did not study and did not behave properly [20, p, 195]. This suggests that the corporal punishment was prevalent in old school when imparting knowledge and inculcating adab, that is moral education. With regards to religious subjects, they were taught to students not through imitative practice, but via

specifically designed primers in the native language and, dissimilar to the old method, the comprehension of the meaning of these religious subjects were emphasised [1, p. 12]. While in the *maktab*, all Islamic knowledge was sacral and doctrines of Islam permeated all teaching, the new-method schools viewed the Muslim faith as something that could be researched – in other words, Islamic knowledge might be obtained in the same manner as other types of knowledge [4, p. 196]. In general, teaching using the sound method was more effective than the ‘cramming’ of old-method schooling, and teaching itself was carried out more consciously [2, p. 168]. It should be noted that the programmes used in the Jadid schools, unlike the usual old-method *maktabs*, provided for not only mastering of the basics of literacy by children using the sound method, but also the study of subjects such as mathematics, geography, natural science (solids, gas, air, heat, cold), the basics of natural science including mineralogy, and even anatomy [16, p. 361]. Apart from this, Kydyraliyev provides a good illustration of the concept of tolerance that played a key role in the Jadid schools. For example, during an examination by members of the audit commission K.K. Palen in 1908, in one of the *usuli jadid* schools the following incident occurred: the students were asked how many of them were *Shiites* and how many were *Sunnis* (both sects within Islam). Why do you need to know this? We are all *Shiites* and *Sunnis* – *barobars* (equal). We have neither *Sunnis* nor *Shiites*, was the answer. Based on this answer the auditors concluded that “in the new methodological schools, they educate the young generation in the concepts of brotherhood and love of all Muslims, regardless of confessional shades”. Thus, Jadidism made some improvements in the organisation, content, and methods of work of Muslim schools in Central Asia on the basis of the didactic principles of pedagogy. The Jadid schools began to use teaching methods that weakened the old system of drilling and cramming. The content of education changed: real general education subjects were introduced into the curricula of these

schools – reading and writing in their native language, arithmetic, history, geography, natural sciences and the Russian language, but with the indispensable preservation of the leading role of religious disciplines [20, p. 198].

### **Conclusion**

The research has shown that the call for organized schools had reflected the central problem of the Jadids and the creation of a well-organized school system that offered a standardized, disciplined education that would provide both religious and secular instruction for future generations of society. This has suggested the only way of overcoming the ignorance and comprehending the genuine meaning of Islam. As Kydyraliyev asserts that the understanding the central role of faith in both knowledge and society provides a critical understanding of the nature of Jadidism, therefore the Jadids’ belief in the ability of the human intellect to solve the problems of the world was intertwined with the concept of progress, which contributed to the desacralization of their worldview suggesting that there was no contradiction between the concept of progress and their belief in Islam. According to Jadids, Khalid argues that only knowledge could allow Muslims to understand Islam correctly, and Islam itself was the best guarantee of progress and thus new concepts and knowledge about religion, history and politics underlie the Jadid criticism of society at that time. For example, *maktab* was disorganized, unhygienic and run by illiterate teachers with no pedagogical education, there was no system to check schools, there were no organizations to set up schools, and primarily the *maktab* and *madrasa* lacked secular subjects and did not pay any attention to them without them the economic and cultural prosperity and more importantly the liberation from the colonial power, according to Jadids, would be impossible. This study has found out that the new concepts of time and space were reflected in the Jadids’ emphasis on history and geography and this allowed the study of world history,

which gave rise to new, rationalistic understandings of Islam. Throughout the research it has been demonstrated that at the heart of the discourse on the traditions of reform, a new kind of knowledge was developed, created and transmitted in a fundamentally new context. This study has shown that the Jadids' efforts to overcome this crisis in society has been a central feature of their reformist project and their belief in the effectiveness of organization and order, portrays the Jadids as reformers with a modern vision.

### Sources of financing

This research is funded by the Committee of Science of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Grant No. AP 19676634)

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