

Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Some Problems of The Study of The Regional Jadid Movement in Kazakhstan in The Context of The Structure of National Identity*

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Abstract

In this article, the impact of the Jadid movement on the formation of Kazakh national identity is discussed in the context of the regional characteristics of Kazakhstan. The issue of the Jadid movement in Russian historiography was written within the framework of Islamic integration, pan-Turkism, and ethnic nationalism. The Jadid movement, which is the essence of the national identity construction, has left its traces in Kazakhstan thanks to the Tatar scientists who naturally affect the Turkish unity process. National identity and Turkish unity issues developed in parallel in Kazakhstan. Evaluating the religious views of Kazakh nomads in rural areas, and the tribalism and ethnic relations, the Tsarist administration exerted strong pressure on the policy of Russification. Therefore, Russian-Kazakh schools increased in number and developed rivalry to the Jadid schools. The founders of the Alaş movement, who were educated in the Jadid schools in the northern and western regions of Kazakhstan, later studied at the higher education institutions of the Russian Empire. The

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rest of the Jadids received their education in the madrasahs of today's Uzbekistan, Kazan, Cairo and Istanbul. In this context, two aspects of the Jadid movement have become stereotyped in Kazakhstan, the first is the establishment of the Kazakh state Alaş Orda, the second is the struggle for the unity of the Central Asian Turkic people and the establishment of the Turkestan state.

Keywords

Kazakhstan, Jadid movement, Regional Characteristics, National identity.

Introduction

In the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the national awakening process started among all Turkish-Muslim people who were under the occupation of Tsarist Russia, and the national struggle movements gained momentum in the lands of the ancient Kazakh Khanate. One of the factors that accelerated this process in Kazakhstan was the Jadid movement. It should be noted that there is no common view in the Turkish world studies on Jadidism studies. The issue of Jadidism has been an important step in the education history of the Turkish-Muslim people in the 19th and 20th centuries, and its basis is the construction of national identity by fighting against the colonial policy of Russia through education. In this context, the article should start with a review of the history of the formation of views on Jadidism.

Russian administrators initially evaluated Jadidism as a “*mental and cultural movement*” or “*mental awakening*” of the Turkish-Muslim people, and considered it as an obstacle to Russification and Christianization policies (KC MDA Fund 64, Unit 1, File 3155, Pages 1-7). In a document dated 1858, many reports were sent to the General Governorship about the weakness of Kazakh Turks in the application of the Islamic creed (Şabley 94-95) and that they should be kept away from Tatar and Uzbek influence (Arapov). Sergey Mikhailovich Dukhovskoy, who was appointed as the General Governor of Turkistan on March 28, 1898, established a commission of inquiry on the life and socio-economic situation of Muslims in the region and sent a comprehensive report on this issue to Tsar Alexander III (Vsepoddaneyşiy Doklad Turkestanskogo General Gubernatora 3). In this report, Governor-General Sergey Duhovskoy stated that Tatar and Uzbek clergy had active activities in the spread of Islam in Kazakh lands and that these groups remained more loyal to “*İttihat-ı İslam*” than Kazakh Turks. According to Sergey Dukhovskoy’s opinion, it was necessary to ban Kazan Tatars and Uzbeks from trading in the Kazakh steppes, which would harm the Turkestan region policy of the Tsarist Russian Empire (Vsepoddaneyşiy Doklad Turkestanskogo General Gubernatora 17-24).

Later, Nikolay Ivanovic Ilminski and Nikolay Petrovich Ostroumov (12), who were missionaries in the Turkestan region, described the Jadid movement as a unification movement of the Turkic people. XIX. Aleksandr Efi-

movich Alektorov made extensive studies on the education of Kazakhs at the end of the century (Alektorov 45). Alektorov examined the western, northern and eastern regions of Kazakhstan and pointed to the “activity of Tatar and Uzbek merchants and clergy on Kazakh Turks”.

In 1921, Georgi Ivanovich Safarov wrote about the Jadid movement:

The Jadidists were trying to make changes in education, demanding the introduction of a new common script, the removal of Arabic and Greek from the curriculum of schools and madrasas. This process was shaped as a national movement and then began to turn into a political scene. It is growing under the influence of Tatar and Kyrgyz (Kazakh) intellectuals, and they (Jadidists) are climbing up the ladders. (Safarov 88)

The researches and archive documents show that the Jadid movement in the southeast and northwest regions of Kazakhstan developed in isolation from each other. During the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907, Kazakh intellectuals, together with other Turkish-Muslim intellectuals under the occupation of the Russian Empire, started the National Struggle and declared their intention to establish the Turkestan state. In this context, the views of each Turkistan leader were different. For example, before the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, Alihan Bokeyhanov tried to form the Alash Orda government by merging with Russia's Cadet Party (Abdiğaliuli 2017). In the end, his efforts proved fruitless. Alihan Bokeyhanov explained this in the *Kazak Newspaper* published in 1917:

The Cadet Party says people should be given land. If the land is given to us Cossacks as property, we will sell it to the Russians, like our Bashkir neighbors, and in a few years, we will be left naked. The Cadet Party is against national autonomy. On the other hand, we gathered people under Alaş and tried to ensure their national autonomy. Judging the history of France, Russia and other countries show that a mullah is sold if he receives money from the government. In this case, our spiritual work remains underfoot. In this case, the mullahs who come to power manage and follow the government. If we want to develop Kazakh-Kyrgyz, it would be better to separate the religious business from the government. In Russian, this is called

“separation of the church from the state”. The Cadet Party did not support my view. These three different views emerged this year. Then I tried to open the Alash party for the Cossacks. I mentioned this at the general Kazakh congress in July.

The situation in the Turkestan region was very different. Kazakh intellectuals Mustafa Çokay and Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpapayev, who were educated in Muslim madrasas, tried to establish the Turkestan Autonomous Republic, and trusted the Provisional Government.

In early 1917, they called this change in Russia a “Great Revolution” and believed that the colonial system had collapsed and that the oppressed people could control their own destinies and build their own nation-states. In a joint letter signed by Mustafa Çokay, Alihan Bokeyhanov and Mirjakip Dulatov:

Independence Day dawned. God delivered us the gift. We were slaves yesterday, now we are equal. That is the only gift in this sad heart. The brutal government that has enslaved all for centuries can no longer come back. (Dulatulı 296-297)

However, the Provisional Government, which came to power in Russia shortly after, did not meet the expectations. For this reason, Mustafa Çokay, who evaluates the past, states the following in his work “Excerpts from 1917 Memories”:

We hoped and believed that the 1917 revolution would allow us to build a national state. Our hopes and beliefs were not justified, and we were deceived. (255-256)

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Tsarist administration and the Bolshevik government began to take new measures against Turkish-Muslim intellectuals in the region, believing that the Jadid movement could play an important role in the formation of Turkish national identity and pose a threat to Russia. In this study, which we are dealing with in this direction, we want to examine the regional differences between the Jadid movement in Kazakhstan and the dual-track policy of the Kazakh intellectuals who were educated in the Jadid schools opened on the territory of Kazakhstan and the Russian educational institutions and then in the National Struggle, and also to examine the process of formation of the Kazakh national identity within

the framework of the Jadid movement. In this research, the activities of the Russian institutions established against the Jadid schools in the steppes of Kazakhstan, as well as the reasons why Tatar, Uzbek, Bashkir and Crimean Turks did not engage in a common struggle with Kazakh nationalist intellectuals during the national independence process were evaluated in the light of archive documents. During the study, the Central state archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Central Archive of the Orenburg Province of the Russian Federation, the documents of the Central state archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the studies on the subject until today were compared.

Activities of Russian Educational Institutions in Kazakhstan against the Jadid Movement

The Tsarist administration attached great importance to using educational institutions as a tool for the Russification of the region in parallel with the expansion of the occupied territory in Turkestan. Tsarist Russia started its occupation policy in the Kazakh steppes from western Kazakhstan, changing it between 1822 and 1824 through a series of administrative reforms and abolishing the khan system (KC MDA, Fund 4, Unit 1, File 42, Pages 103-104). The next Russian school for Kazakh children was the seven-year school that opened in 1850 in the city of Orenburg with the support of the Russian frontier commission. Through the aforementioned schools, the basis for the conduct of the Russification policy in Western and Northern Kazakhstan by the hands of local Kazakh intellectuals in the future has been established. As a matter of fact, these attempts were beneficial in a short time, and Ybyrai Altynsarin, one of the leading intellectuals of the Kazakh society, graduated from the aforementioned school (Altynsarin 297). XIX. Towards the end of the century, Russian city schools, Orthodox church schools, Russian primary schools, Russian-Kazakh and Russian-Tuzem (Local) schools, and Russian literate classrooms were opened in various regions of Kazakhstan (Kenjetayev 33). These schools were financed by the Orenburg and West-Siberian governorates (KC MDA, Fund 4, Unit 1, File 42, Page 2-3).

During the occupation of Kazakhstan, the Tsarist administration created two lines of occupation between 1847 and 1867, the first was to seize Tashkent by easily advancing from the shores of Syrderya, and the second was

to occupy the Alatau district (center Verny, current Almaty city) and Yedisu region under the general governorship of West-Siberia. he intended to do. During this period, Russian military (Starşin) schools were opened in the South-East region of Kazakhstan (Subhanberdina 57). Kazakhs who completed their education activities by taking the teacher exam in the Russian Teachers Seminar after receiving a two-year education in the aforementioned schools were entitled to become teachers. Thus, from 1898 to 1914, the number of Russian schools in Kazakhstan increased from 730 to 1988, and the number of students in these schools rose from 29.1 thousand to 101 thousand (Yadrintsev 112). According to archival documents, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, a total of 2,874 Kazakh students graduated from Russian schools, and later these students worked as teachers in Russian education institutions (KC MDA, Fund 338, Unit 1, File 432, Page 7-8). The first Russian educational institutions providing specialist education were the Turkistan Teachers School, which was established in 1879, and the Orenburg Kazakh Teachers' School in 1883. Their branches were opened in the cities of Aktobe, Verny (Almaty), Semey and Uralsk. Before the Russian October revolution, more than 300 Kazakh students from these schools were trained as specialists in Russian schools (KC MDA, Fund 338, Unit 1, File 435, Page 2).

The Russian administration gave importance to Kazakh orphans and especially female students. Nikolay Ostroumov, who was appointed as an education inspector to the Turkestan Governorate General, drew great attention to this issue. Ostroumov, like Ilminsky, was in favor of Orthodox missionary activities among Muslim Turks and believed it was necessary to integrate the natives into Russian society on the basis of Orthodoxy. In this direction, Ostroumov repeatedly stated that local orphan girls should be educated in accordance with Russian culture. According to Ostroumov, "local orphaned girls would learn Russian quickly and raise their children within the framework of Russian culture in the future" (Kerderi 25-28).

In 1888, a private mixed school for Kazakh girls was opened in the town of Irgiz in the Turgay district of Western Kazakhstan, next to the boarding school that provided education services for Russian girls. Two years later, 15 Russian and 20 Kazakh girls started boarding education in this school (KC MDA, Fund 64, Unit 1, File 2911, Page 14). In 1914, 604 educa-

tional institutions were operating in the Turgay region, four of which were secondary education institutions. There were 14 Russian-Kazakh boys' and three girls' boarding schools in the region, with boarding schools. A total of 10849 male and 4705 female students were Russian and 3612 male and 375 female Kazakh students (KC MDA, Fund 64, Unit 1, File 2911, Pages 17-18). Thus, after the increase in the number of Russian schools in the region, the proportion of Kazakh students receiving Russian education increased.

At the opening of the Aktobe Russian-Kazakh School, Ybyrai Altynsarin reported that the number of Kazakh parents who wanted to send their children to the 25-student school planned on October 24, 1881, had tripled (KC MDA, Fon 64, Unit 1, File 938, Page 11). In the madrasa, the students were surrounded by mullahs and adult "disciples", but the success of Russian lessons was so evident that as Ybyrai Altynsarin reported his students at the school began to adopt the Russian-Kazakh school (KC MDA, Fund 64, Unit 1, File 938, Page 28). In the Akmola and Semey regions, the spread of Russian education was slower. Of the 71 schools in the Akmola region in the 1870s, only one was Russian-Cossack and four were Russian-Tatar schools. In 1883, boys' schools providing education to Kazakh children in the Semey region were operating in the regional center of Semey and in the Pavlodar, Oskemen and Zaysan districts of East Kazakhstan. In 1886, 152 boys and 37 girls were studying Russian in these schools (KC MDA, Fund 44, Unit 1, File 24236, Page 96). Compared to other Turkestan Turkic people, Kazakhs mostly enrolled in Russian Orthodox educational institutions. During the 25-year period of the Turkestan Orthodox school, 348 Russians (83.9%), 54 Kazakhs (13%), 9 Uzbeks (2.2%), 3 Tatars (0.7%), and one Turkmen (0.2%) had graduated from school (KC MDA, Fund 537, Unit 1, File 2, Page 15).

At the end of the 19th century, Russian agricultural and medical schools were opened, training specialists to serve the Russian administration. The Tsarist administration saw education as one of the most effective ways to Russify the Turks under Russian occupation. Russian Minister of Public Education Dmitri Tolstoy explained this with the following words:

"The ultimate goal of the education of all Tuzemets (Natives) living in our homeland (Russia) should be Russification and unification with the Russian people" (Vernadskiy 117). Within the framework of the policy determined

by the Russian Empire, the Tsarist administration was trying to attract their children to Russian schools by increasing the authority of the influential Sultans in the Kazakh steppes. The reason for this is that after the children of noble families received Russian education, they would happily serve the Tsarist administration and thus carry out Russian policy (Egamberdiyev and Dinasheva 2019). Local influential Sultans, on the other hand, will necessarily be left in debt to the Russian administration. Thus, 43 senior Sultans served for the Tsarist administration in the North-Eastern regions of Kazakhstan, which were subordinated to the governor-general of the West Siberian Division in 1824-1868, 16 of whom were not from the noble family (KC MDA, Fund 25, Unit 2, File 263, Page 1-4).

For example, 5 of 9 senior Sultans elected in Bayan-Aul province, Northern region of Kazakhstan in 1832-1868, were influential Biy¹ and soldiers. Of these, Shon Edigin, Shorman Kuchukov, Berdaly Kazangapov, Kazangap Satybaldin, and Musa Shormanov were rewarded for sending their children to Russian schools and their authority in the region was increased (KC MDA, Fund 4, Unit 1, File 2465, Page 5). Thus, the Tsarist administration tried to devalue the Islamic educational institutions in the Kazakh steppes and tried to block the National awakening movement in the region. At that time, these activities of the Russians were carried out against the classical-style schools.

In the 1860s, the Tsarist administration felt the need to unify the administrative system of the Kazakh steppes and establish a representative system. In July 1867, Tsar II. Aleksandr issued a decree on the establishment of the Turkistan General Governorship responsible of Yedisu and Syrderya regions. On October 21, 1868, Oral, Turgay, Akmola, and Semey oblasts (provinces), which came under the jurisdiction of the Orenburg and West Siberia General Governorship, were created with the “To the Governor-General of Orenburg and West Siberia with the Provisional Regulation on the Administration of the Steppe” (KC MDA, Fund 4, Unit 1, File 4443, Page 301). Based on these decrees, as of January 1, 1869, Sultan and senior military Sultan positions were abolished (KC MDA, Fund 4, Unit 1, File 5746, Page 25). From then on, Kazakhs were only represented in the local government, and in the positions of volost² governor and aul³ head which were elect-

ed every three years and approved by the military governor of the region (Karimov 30-45).

The Kazakh officials appointed to carry out the Tsarist policies were awarded the 2nd and 3rd degree Holy Anna and Holy Stanislav medals; this was the symbol of incorporation of the steppe into the Russian Empire. Furthermore, the Kazakhs recruited into the regular army were awarded a bronze medal in memory of the 1853-1856 war. The empire's reward system increased the number of its proponents in Kazakh territory (KC MDA, Fund 4, Unit 1, File 3261, Page 1-2).

From the beginning of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, the Tsarist administration worked to establish a central education system that would serve the policy of Russification and Christianization in the region. This effort was led by Nikolai Ilminski and supported by the Orthodox clergy. He believed that orphans and children of strong Kazakhs should be educated in primary schools with a two-year curriculum, in one-class schools with a four-year curriculum, and two-class schools with a six-year curriculum. He also advocated limiting the use of local languages in these schools. He suggested using books in Cyrillic letters and adding made-up vowels to make learning easier (ÖC MDA, Fund 1, Unit 20, File 1753, Page 7). The establishment of Russian-Cossack schools was certainly not an act of kindness. It was one of the government policies that aimed to support the economic and cultural policy of the Tsardom by incorporating the steppe into the Russian Empire. Indeed, after these reforms, we see that the desire to learn Russian culture and language has increased among Kazakhs. Russian intellectuals created various new forms of out-of-school education institutions under the name of Russian intellectuals, who created various educational organizations and new forms of out-of-school education under the Zemstvo⁴ and scientific societies, played an important role in meeting these needs. Successful graduates of Russian-Kazakh schools were given the opportunity to continue their education in higher education institutions in Russia and then tried to use these graduates in policies against Jadid schools (ÖC MDA, Fund 1, Unit 27, File 1589, Page 1-2).

In 1898, Kazakh wealthy people living in the Yedisu Province of Turkistan General Governorate devoted their wealth to the opening of Jadid schools. Among them, Şabdan Jantayev and his son Isametdin built a mosque for 15

thousand rubles, and they also undertook the financing of a Jadid school. In addition, a wealthy named Kanat Hacı opened a new Jadid school at his own expense, attracting educated professors to this school. More than a hundred Kazakh students were trained in this school (KC MDA, Fund 53, Unit 1, File 9 (a), Page 4). The Iskak Gabduvaliyev Madrasa, which was opened in the old style against the Russification policy of Tsarist Russia in the Yedisu region, was restructured in 1899 and started education with the new method. Ismail Gaspıralı wrote about this Jadid school in the newspaper *Tercüman*: “Iskak Gabduvaliyev changed the education of his own madrasah to a new method. His move was welcomed by the locals. The public woke up and began to understand the importance of life today. The thoughts that held the people back started to disappear gradually” (Gankev-iç 316).

“Gabduvaliyev and his trading partners” covered the expenses of the aforementioned madrasah. Zeynetdin Tazetdinov, the rich man from the Vyatka province of Tatarstan, covered the financial expenses of the school. Abdurahman Sagadiyev was responsible for the educational activities and course curricula of this Jadid school. The initial number of students at the school was more than 130 students, and besides Kazakh Turks, Kyrgyz, Uyghur and Tatar Turks were educated in this Jadid school (Kubatova 67).

Thus, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, national intellectuals were trained in the Turkestan Governorate and in the Russian and Jadid schools in the Kazakh steppes. Most of the Kazakh youth continued their education in the “*Galiya*” Jadid madrasa in the city of Ufa. This school was officially opened by Ziyaddin Kemali on October 10, 1906, under the name of “Medrese-i Aliye-i Diniye” (Rorlich 93-95). While Ziyaddin Kemali was the principal of the school, he was also giving lectures in the fields of Hadith, Tafsir, Sunnah, and Psychology. Apart from religious education, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and other science courses were taught in this madrasah. Between 1909 and 1916, 154 Kazakh students graduated from this school. Among them were Magzhan Zhumabayev, Isangali Arabayev, Mustafa Orazayev, Bekmukhambet Serkebayev, Beyimbet Maylin, Abdulla Shokayev and others who played a major role in the formation of Kazakh national identity (KC MDA, Fund 53, Unit 1, File 9 (a), Page 12-17).

Characteristics and Regional Differences of Jadid Schools in Kazakhstan

With the spread of Jadid schools in Kazakhstan, the contact between the Russian Empire and Turkish intellectuals strengthened and contributed to the active participation of society in cultural processes at the beginning of the 20th century. Especially at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Tatar Turks had a great influence in the western and northeastern regions of Kazakhstan. In the Syrderya and Yedisu regions of Kazakhstan, the activities of the Uzbek mudarris were stronger. The influence of Tatar intellectuals on the one hand, and the activities of Uzbek mullahs in the Kazakh steppes on the other hand accelerated the Jadidism activities in the region. The necessity of Muslim education, religious and daily life reform, and the development of national culture, put forward by the Jadidists, ultimately led to the formation of their own national identities in terms of the ideology of the Turkic people. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the Tatar Turks had a great influence in the western and northeastern regions of Kazakhstan. But in Syrderya and Yedisu regions, Uzbek mudarrises (madrasah professors) were more active. This prevented the development of a common Turkish identity. The reforms brought by the Jadidists in the field of Muslim education, religion, and daily life, and their efforts to develop the national culture, eventually led to the ideological differentiation of the Turkish people.

It is known that the Jadids played a major role in the unification of the Muslim Turkish communities in Russia. However, each of the Turks included in the empire defended their ethnic differences. Unlike the national identity projects of European and Transcaucasian Christians, it is clear that the Jadid movement was unable to unite all the Turkish-Muslim people of the Russian Empire (Zenkowsky 117). The situation was different in the Kazakh steppes. The ideological conflict between the Kazakh people arose between the Jadid schools and the intellectuals who grew up in Russian schools.

Russification and Christianization policy based on the ideas of Ismail Gaspıralı and the theory of Nikolay İlminski played a major role in the National Struggle of Kazakh Turks. The idea of common Turkish identity, which came to Kazakh lands by Gaspıralı and Tatar intellectuals, had a significant impact on the resistance of Kazakh Turks against the Russification policy of Tsarist Russia (Kenjetayev 37-38).

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, a new Kazakh intellectual class, who received education in a new way and at the same time turned to Islam, began to form with the significant influence of Tatar Jadids (Maraş 17). Financial support to the Jadids in the Kazakh steppes was provided by Tatar businessmen who were interested in training trained personnel. Merchant Ahmet Husainov opened a school and a madrasah in the mosque he had built in Orenburg in 1891 and named this madrasah “Hüseyniye” madrasah. Later, Kazakh scientist Kudaybergen Jubanov was educated in this new Jadid school. In this context, the representatives of Kazakh merchants also provided financial support for the construction of Jadid schools. For example, with the support of Maman Esenkulov, the first two-year, then four-year and finally eight-year “Mamaniya” Jadid school was started in 1899 and opened in 1904 in Kapal district of Almaty province. This school took as an example the education system of the “Galiya” madrasah, which was established by the Bashkirs in the city of Ufa. The family of the Mamanovs, one of the richest in Kapal province of Yedisu province, spent a large amount of money on the opening of the Jadid school called “Mamaniya” and invited the professors who graduated from the Samarkand and Bukhara madrasahs to give lectures to this school. Likewise, Alimbek, who was engaged in commerce in the Fergana valley, allocated money for the construction of a new Jadid school in the wealthy city of Osh called Datka (KC MDA, Fund 53, Unit 1, File 9 (a), Page 7). Professors were recruited to the “Mamaniya” madrasah from Orenburg and Ufa. According to Jadid Abdulaziz Mussa from Kazan, who visited the Yedisu region in 1910, Kazakhs in the Kapal district supported the teachers themselves and built new schools without resorting to the authorities for help (Demiroğlu 120-134).

Tatar business and clergy tried to strengthen the Muslims in the Steppe region. On the territory of the Orenburg province, the merchant Ahmet Husainov worked to support the local Muslims (Andican 28). He initiated the establishment of a Muslim education and charity association in Akto-be, which was registered with the Turgay regional government in Western Kazakhstan on January 29, 1908. The founders of the Muslim Society in Kostanay in 1909 were famous Tatar merchants, Mullavali Yaushev and Ataulla Bayazitov and Gayasetdin Yakupov. In 1909, the same society was formed with the support of the Kazan Tatar merchants Zagidullin and Na-

syrov, who were permanent residents of the Bokey Horde (the lands between the Volga and Ural rivers) in the West Kazakhstan region and were included in the Astrakhan province of Russia after the Bolshevik revolution (Balkaşın 60). In May 1909, with the opening of schools, madrasas and libraries in the city of Guryev in Western Kazakhstan, a Tatar-Kazakh mutual aid society was established, aimed at public education. Thus, thanks to the activities of Tatar-Kazakh Turks in Western and Northern Kazakhstan, Jadid schools were established in Aktobe, Irgiz and Kostanay. During the summer holidays, young Tatar Jadids went to the Turkestan region and opened yurt schools⁵ (Letuçiye Shkoli) without the permission of the Tsarist administration and taught children for a high price (Vasilyev 63).

At the beginning of the 19th century, the imperial authorities began to view the Tatars and Bashkirs as the leading elements of the ideas of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism (Devlet 37). The reason for this was that the Russian intelligence at that time claimed that the Tatars and Bashkirs were making propaganda for the common Turkish identity to Kazakh students in Jadid schools. According to the report of a Russian agent, “Jadid Kazakh youths did not need Russian-Kazakh schools in Kazakh lands, they could learn Russian in Tatar madrasas, they needed to get together with other Turkish people, and for this they were printing their books called *Oyan Kazak, Dogrul Kazak, Masa (Mosquito)* from Ufa” (Rirmanov and Kapiyeva 65). The Tsarist administration saw Kazakh nomads and Siberian Tatars as more harmless and inexperienced in religious matters (Arapov and Kotyukova 57-71). For this reason, the Russian government dramatically changed its policy towards the Jadid schools in 1910. He officially decided to limit the curriculum of the Jadid schools and demanded that only Islam be taught. At the same time, censorship was strengthened (Erşahin 213). In 1912-1913, however, since the Russian administration contributed to the “awakening of national identity”, it concluded that it was necessary to strengthen the control over the Jadid schools and to restrict the teaching of Kazakh there (Nam 84). At the beginning of the 20th century, Russia’s Minister of Public Education Lev Kasso demanded an end to Turkish education taught in Jadid schools, saying that “the acceptance of a foreign language (Turkish) in teaching would neither improve the interests of the state nor the prestige of Russian as a state language” (Nam 82).

From January 1911 to August 1915, the activities of the Jadidists were supported by the Kazakh innovators gathered around the *Aykap* magazine published by Kazakh intellectual Mukhamedzhan Seralin in the city of Troitsk. Kazakh Jadidists and other intellectuals respected the reforms and personality of Ismail Gaspıralı. Mukhamedzhan Seral describes Ismail Gaspıralı as follows:

Thanks to the teacher of 20 million Russian Muslims, we began to understand ourselves, learn about international sciences and arts, and understand the sciences and arts of our ancestors. Just recently we were regarding ourselves as living corpses, Gaspıralı gave us a soul. (Sapargaliyev 28).

Kazakh scholar Salik Zimanov states that Mukhamedzhan Seralin and his supporters had been closely acquainted with Tatar culture thanks to the Jadid movement, and they tried to impose their political views on Kazakhs (Zimanov, *Nekotorıye* 132).

Efforts to establish a Turkish identity among the Muslims of Russia found support from the intellectuals living under the jurisdiction of the Turkestan General Governorship⁶. The first Jadid groups appeared in Turkestan at the beginning of the 20th century. Turkistan and Bukhara Jadidists supported the “*Bukhara-Turkestan Identity*” or “*Turkistan Identity*”. Kazakhs in Turkestan and the Steppes supported the ideas of Ismail Gaspıralı and worked for the unification of the local people under the “*Turkistan Nation*”. Mustafa Çokay, Jahansha Seydalın, and Mukhamedzhan Seralin were among them. According to Kazakh intellectuals Sanjar Asfendiyarov and Salik Zimanov, more than 100 Jadid schools were opened in Kazakhstan until 1917 and they were providing education with the new method (Zimanov, *Ot Osvoboditelnyh* 37). Later, these schools began to be perceived as a threat to the policy of the Russian Empire. Half of the Jadid schools, which were opened together with the classical religious schools in the Turkestan General Governorship, started to be closed according to the decision taken by the Turkestan Governor in 1910-1911 (OV MA, Fund 21, Unit 2, File 379, Page 136). The Jadid movement of Muslim Turks in the southern regions of Kazakhstan clearly gained momentum against the Tsarist rule. No such increase was observed in new method training in northeastern and central Kazakhstan. The main reason for the weakness of the Jadid movement in

these regions is that the Kazakh population of the northern and western regions was affected by the Russian culture and lifestyle, and the control of the Tsarist administration in the region was strong. Numerous archival documents show that the Tsarist administration had stronger control over Tatar merchants and clergy (Galuzo 42).

In addition, the influence of Tatar and Uzbek merchants and businessmen was greatly hindered by Kazakhs educated in Russian-Kazakh educational institutions. This was also facilitated by the transfer of negative perception patterns of the main segment of the Kazakh population of commercial Tatars and Uzbeks to the entire Tatar and Central Asian educated class (OV MA, Fund 21, Unit 2, File 625, Page 56).

In this context, Russian researchers in official service and Orthodox missionaries who want to expand the field of Russian education in the region tried to use the negative relationship of Kazakh livestock farmers with trade groups of Tatar and Uzbek origin. Mihail Putintsev, a Russian Kazak officer and also known for his missionary activities in Kazakhstan, in his travel notes in 1865, in the hope of Russifying and Orthodoxizing the Kazakhs, mentioned: “The time when the Kyrgyz (Kazakh) people will be our brothers is not too far off” (OV MA, Fund 213, Unit 1, File 2, Page 74). The orientalist Vasilij Grigoryev has repeatedly stated that the Kazakh literary language should be prepared based on the Cyrillic alphabet and that they could only keep it away from Tatar cultural interaction in this way (ÖCMDA, Fon I-47, Unit 1, File 926, Page 182).

Missionary Nikolay Ilminski pointed out that the activities of the Tatars in the Kazakh steppes, as well as the cultural influence, were dangerous and prepared the Cyrillic alphabet for Kazakh Turkish. He emphasized that the development of national literary languages should prevent the spread of Islamization and Turkism in order to allow “natives” to integrate more successfully into Russian society without resorting to compulsory linguistic and cultural Russification (ÖCMDA, Fund I-17, Unit 1, File 1685, Page 36). Nikolay Ilminski, who traveled the Kazakh steppes and was familiar with the language and lifestyle of Kazakh nomads, drew attention to the Kazakhs’ natural curiosity and desire for education, believing that this would soon increase their love for the Russian language and culture. He advocated that Kazakhs should receive education in their mother tongue but in the

Cyrillic alphabet in order to participate in the life of the Russian people and “get used to education in Russian” (ÖCMDA, Fon I-47, Unit 1, File 1148, Page 112).

Orthodox missionaries and scholars urged the imperial authorities to more actively promote Russian education in order to distance the Kazakhs from the influence of other Turko-Muslim people. Grigori Potanin, drawing attention to the development of Muslim Turkish Jadidists in the Kazakh environment between 1899-1906, suggested strengthening the secular cultural influence on Kazakhs by turning them towards Russian science, history, literature and culture (ÖCMDA, Fon I-47, Unit 1, File 255, Page 44).

However, we see that the effects of the activities of the Russian administration and missionaries on the South Kazakhstan region are weak. The reason for this is related to the influence of Central Asia’s Samarkand, Bukhara and Khiva schools and madrasas on the people of the southern region of Kazakhstan. According to statistical information, more than 1000 schools were implementing the education system of Jadid schools in the Turkestan part of the Syrderya region, Shymkent district, affiliated with the Turkistan General Governorship. In the steppe region, there were more than 571 students who graduated from a total of 157 Russian-Kazakh schools each year (KC MDA, Fund 537, Unit 1, File 2, Page 15).

Thus, the struggle for national identity and national ideas in Kazakhstan was supported by a narrow-enlightened group, closely connected with the people and aware of the need to modernize and educate them. Alihan Bokeyhanov distinguishes between two socio-political movements that idealize different models for Kazakh society. The first trend sought to bring about the revival of the Kazakhs through the renewal of the social and cultural values of Islam. Alihan Bokeyhanov also accused the Jadidists of Turkism (Turkophilia) and argued that it is not feasible in the steppes. Sanzhar Asfendiyarov, on the other hand, believed that the Turkism movement was dominant in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and a strong influence of the Tatar bourgeoisie and clergy was felt in Kazakhstan (Asfendiyarov 150). Lemerrier-Quelquejay does not deny the process of formation of a new ethno-regional “Turkestan” identity at the end of the 19th century but argues that it took place among urban intellectuals, not rural people. In other words, he argued that the “Turkistan” identity lived only in a cer-

tain intellectual milieu. And he considered the ethnic and political unity of Russian-occupied Turkestan as a way of survival. He emphasized that all the pre-revolutionary political leaders of the region identified themselves as Turkistanis (Lemerquier-Quellejay 17-21).

Conclusion

The widespread of the Jadidism ideology in Kazakhstan contributed to the strengthening of contacts between various representatives of the intellectual part of the Muslim Turks of Russia and the active inclusion of society in the civilizational processes at the beginning of the 19th century. It is known as the time of strengthening the cultural interaction of Turkic people, especially in the Volga-Ural region and Western Kazakhstan, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This manifested itself in the development of the national awakening movement among the Turkish people. The Muslim education, religion, and life reform practiced by the Jadids served as a necessity to develop a national culture, ultimately as a means of spiritual validation and ideological legitimacy of the Turkish people.

In this context, it should be said that at the beginning of the 20th century, two different ideologies clashed in the field of education and enlightenment. These are educational reformists and colonial-imperialist supporters. Therefore, the strong movement for school reform gradually took shape in the political liberal opposition movement of the Muslims of Russia. A qualitative change in public consciousness was marked by the entry of new forces into the public sphere. On the basis of religious reform, enlightenment and liberal ideas, new directions of social thought were formed, which formed the theoretical basis for the subsequent strong rise of national awakening among Kazakhs on the way to progress. This period was marked by the growing influence of secular culture on the Turkic people of the Volga region, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, Siberia and other parts of Russia in fields such as education, printing, literature and art.

The Jadid movement developed as a movement based on the national, progressive ideas of Muslim Turkish and Kazakh intellectuals in the Tsarist Russian Empire. The emergence of this movement in the Kazakh steppe in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century marked a period that required social, cultural and political changes and

intellectual efforts that could save people from regression. The innovations brought by the Jadid intellectuals contributed to the further development of all areas of Kazakh society.

In connection with the historical, political, social and cultural events that took place in this period, it was necessary to reform the Muslim education system. The formation of Jadid schools and madrasahs resulted from the unique characteristics of the Kazakh people's religion, the formation of national identity and the emerging need for secular education.

At the beginning of the 20th century, cities such as Kazan, Ufa and Orenburg were known as centers where Muslim Turks came together and developed the Jadid movement. Jadid schools in these cities provided a secular education to Kazakh youth and contributed to their development as intellectuals who started the national movement.

The national movement of Kazakh Turks developed in parallel with the movement of other Muslim Turks in the Russian Empire and formed as a force against the policy of Russification. In this direction, the Tsarist Russian administration began to take measures against Islam by accusing Muslim Turks of "pan-Islamism", first by opening Russian schools, and then by developing the theory of "pan-Turkism", it tried to prevent the formation of Turkish national awakening through various games. Regardless of this, the Jadid movement in Kazakhstan provided the national awakening of the steppe people and then the revival of the National movement.

Notes

1. Biy was an important figure in the Kazakh Khanate administrative system. Biy was a military leader, administrator, judge, and representative of the steppe aristocracy.
2. This is a subunit of an administrative-territorial region in Volost, Russia.
3. Aul is a settlement consisting of one tribe or several tents in traditional Kazakh society. The Kazakh proverb "The base of the village is unity, the base of society is life" emphasizes the ethnic, economic, and spiritual importance of the village.
4. Zemstvo: Local self-government bodies (zemstvo assemblies, administrations) in the Russian Empire and the Russian Federation at the provincial, and district level in 1864-1919 and at the Volost level after 1917.
5. Since the Middle Juz tribes and tribes living in the Kazakh steppes, especially on the edges of Syrdera, were shepherds, during their seasonal (summer, autumn,

winter, and spring) migrations, Tatar mudarrisses (madrasah professors) traveled with these tribes and educated them in tents.

6. General governorship of Turkestan, Tsar II. It was established with a decree titled “Turkistan Provisional Administration” signed by Alexander. The administration of Syrderya and Yedisu provinces, the center of which was Tashkent, was given to the governorship. The territory of today’s Uzbekistan was included in the province of Syrderya, and the territory of today’s Kyrgyzstan was included in the province of Yedisu. The Turkmenistan region was later included in the Zakaspi province and was attached to the Turkestan general governorship.

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Kazakistan'daki Bölgesel Cedidcilik Hareketi Kapsamında Milli Kimlik İnşası Meselesi Üzerine Bir İnceleme*

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Öz

Bu makalede Kazakistan'ın bölgesel özellikleri bağlamında Cedid hareketinin Kazak Milli kimliğinin oluşumu üzerindeki etkisi ele alınmıştır. Rusya tarih yazımında Cedidcilik hareketi meselesi, İslami bütünleşme, PanTürkizm ve etnik milliyetçilik çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiştir. Türk dünyasındaki siyasi anlamdaki birleşmenin mimari olan Tatar aydınlarının etkin faaliyetleri sonucunda Kazakistan'daki milli kimliğin inşasında Cedidcilik hareketinin etkinliği görülmektedir. Kazakistan'da milli uyanış ve Türk birliği süreci paralel olarak gelişmiştir. Kazak kırsalındaki göçebelerin dini inanışlarını, kabileler arası cekişmelerden etkin bir şekilde yararlanan Çarlık idaresi, Kazakistan'da güçlü bir Ruslaştırma politikasının temellerini atmıştır. Bu bağlamda Cedid okullarına rakip olarak özellikle Rus-Kazak okullarının sayısı artırılma yoluna gidilmiştir. Kazakistan'ın kuzey ve batı bölgelerindeki Cedid okullarında eğitim görmüş olan Alaş hareketinin kurucuları, daha sonra Moskova ve Saint Peterburg'un yüksek eğitim kurumlarında tahsillerini tamamladılar. Aynı zamanda geriye kalan Cedid aydınları da, günümüzdeki Özbekistan, Kazan, Kahire ve İstanbul medreselerini bitirdiler. Bu bağlamda ülke dışında alınmış olan

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eđitimin etkisi ile Kazakistan'da Cedid hareketi iki ynde geliřti: Bunlardan birincisi Kazak devleti olan Alař Orda'nın kurulmasına ynelik faaliyetler, ikincisi ise Merkezi Asyadaki Trk halklarının birliđi ve Bađımsız Trkistan devletinin kurulması iin mcadele edilmesidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kazakistan, Cedid hareketi, Milli hareket, Milli kimlik.

Некоторые проблемы исследования регионального джадидского движения в Казахстане в контексте строения национальной идентичности*

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Аннотация

В данной статье рассматривается влияние джадидского движения на формирование казахской национальной идентичности в контексте региональных особенностей Казахстана. В отечественной историографии проблема движения джадидизма оценивалась в рамках исламской интеграции, пантюркизма и этнического национализма. В результате активной деятельности татарской интеллигенции, являющейся архитекторами политического объединения в тюркском мире, видна эффективность джадидского движения в построении национальной идентичности в Казахстане. В Казахстане параллельно развивался процесс национального пробуждения и тюркского единства. Царская администрация, эффективно извлекавшая выгоду из религиозных верований кочевников казахской деревни и межплеменных конфликтов, заложила основы жесткой политики русификации в Казахстане. В связи с этим увеличилось количество русско-казахских школ, которые составля-

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ют конкуренцию джадидским школам. Основоположники движения Алаш, получившие образование в джадидских школах северных и западных областей Казахстана, впоследствии завершили свое образование в высших учебных заведениях Москвы и Санкт-Петербурга. В то же время оставшиеся джадидские интеллектуалы достроили медресе сегодняшнего Узбекистана, Казани, Каира и Стамбула. В этом контексте под влиянием полученного за границей образования джадидское движение в Казахстане развивалось по двум направлениям: во-первых, деятельность по созданию казахского государства Алаш-Орда, во-вторых, они боролись за единство тюркских народов в Средней Азии и создание Независимого Туркестанского государства.

Ключевые Слова

Казахстан, джадидское движение, национальное движение, национальное самосознание.