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Ideas of Jadidism and Challenges of Modernizing Kazakh Society in the Late Eighteenth and Early Twentieth Century

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Идеи джадидизма и проблемы модернизации казахского общества в конце XIX – начале XX в.

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Abstract. *Introduction.* In the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, the educational movement of Jadidism spread across the Kazakh steppes. The Jadids were modernists, progressives, it was a movement for the renewal and reformation of society. In the Kazakh steppe, Jadidism emerged as a significant phenomenon that shaped national culture, ideology, and the popular enlightenment move-

ment. *Goals*. The study primarily aims to analyze narratives on the development of Kazakh society in the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries containing attempts of Jadids to modernize the sociocultural, educational and political life of Kazakhstan. *Materials and methods*. The sources for this study include documents of the Chancellery of the Steppe Governor-General and Inspectors of Public Schools from the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Additionally, published documentary materials and periodicals have been used as sources. In writing the article, the authors adhered to the principle of historicism. *Results*. Jadidism was a sociopolitical movement aimed at renewing Islamic culture and society, restructuring the Muslim school system, and implementing reforms that radically altered the content and structure of primary education. The incorporation into different territorial administrative units, on the one hand, slowed the involvement of Kazakhs into the orbit of Jadidist reforms; on the other hand, it opened opportunities for the development of independent actions by Kazakh Jadidist, whose active activities would primarily unfold in the territory of the Steppe Governorate-General. *Conclusions*. The reform in the field of public education undertaken by the Jadids in a European spirit at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had a most noticeable impact on the sociopolitical and spiritual life of the Kazakh people.
Keywords: Jadids, Jadidism, reforms, Turkestan, Chancellery of the Steppe Governor-General, mektep, madrasah, national idea, Muslim educational institutions
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Аннотация. *Введение.* Во второй половине XIX – начале XX в. в казахских степях распространилось просветительское движение джадидизма. Джадиды были модернистами, прогрессистами, это было движение за обновление и реформирование общества. В казахской степи джадидизм стал значительным явлением, повлиявшим на национальную культуру, идеологию и народное просветительское движение. Основной *целью* исследования является анализ нарративов развития казахского общества во второй половине XIX – начале XX в., где наблюдаются попытки джадидистов модернизировать социокультурную, образовательную и политическую жизнь Казахстана. *Материалы и методы.* Источниками для данного исследования послужили документы Канцелярии степного генерал-губернатора и инспекторов народных училищ Центрального государственного архива Республики Казахстан. Кроме того, в качестве источников использовались опубликованные документальные материалы и периодические издания. При написании статьи авторы придерживались принципа историзма. *Результаты.* Джадидизм — общественно-политическое движение, направленное на обновление исламской культуры и общества, перестройку системы мусульманской школы, проведение реформ, кардинально изменивших содержание и структуру начального образования. Включение в состав различных территориально-административных единиц, с одной стороны, замедляло вовлечение казахов в орбиту джадидистских реформ, с другой — открывало возможности для развития самостоятельных действий казахских джадидистов, активная деятельность которых разворачивалась преимущественно на территории Степного генерал-губернаторства. *Выводы.* Реформа в области народного образования, проведенная джадидами в европейском духе на рубеже XIX и XX вв., оказала наиболее заметное влияние на общественно-политическую и духовную жизнь казахского народа.
Ключевые слова: Джадиды, джадидизм, реформы, Туркестан, Степное генерал-губернаторство, мектеп, медресе, национальная идея, мусульманские учебные заведения
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1. Introduction

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, certain events occurred in the semi-colonized and dependent countries of Asia that marked the “awakening of Asia”. The driving force behind this awakening was the desire for societal

renewal manifested in different forms across various regions: in Turkey — through the Tanzimat reforms, in Japan — through the Meiji Restoration, and in Central Asia — through the Jadidist movement. By the late 19th century, the Jadids emerged as reformers in the Turkestan region, which was a controlled territory of the Russian Empire.

The terms "jadids", "jadidism", and "kadimism" do not have universally accepted definitions in academic literature. According to James H. Meyer, "*While „jadidism" and „jadids" are terms that are used to describe Muslims who supported cultural, and especially educational, reforms, the opponents of these reforms are usually described as „kadims". „Kadimism" is generally presented as if it were a coherent intellectual ideology or „camp", like the jadids*" [Meyer 2014: 111]. The term "kadims" was applied to members of a group that supported traditional Muslim education based on Sharia.

Jadidism derives its name from the Arabic *jaded* "new". The ideas of Jadidism were mainly supported by members of the national intellectual elite, the progressive segment of the Muslim clergy, and forward-thinking representatives of the wealthy classes. The Jadidist movement originated among the Tatar intelligentsia and spread to Bukhara, Khiva, and Turkestan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Jadids integrated teaching, learning, and upbringing in the madrasahs where they studied and proposed optimizing education to meet the needs of the local population. They wrote educational materials essential for the proper organization of the school curriculum. "*The leading national intelligentsia, influenced by Russian and European educational systems, opposed the medieval schools that focused on rote memorization and interpretation of religious principles. The Jadids proposed a new, practical approach to education, advocating that, in addition to religious instruction, schools should also teach the native language and literature, mathematics, history, geography, and other secular sciences*" [Madrasah 2012: 45].

Widespread poverty and destitution, the crisis of scholastic religious schools, the ignorance of the masses, stagnation of public thought, and cultural decline in Turkestan all contributed to the rise of the Jadid movement. The Jadids — Muslim educators — identified the path out of darkness and powerlessness through fundamental reforms in the educational system and the enlightenment of the masses. Supporters of Jadidism aimed to adapt Islam to new conditions through reforms, preserving the core tenets of the faith while drawing on and utilizing the achievements of European culture to address national issues.

2. Materials and Methods

The sources for this study include documents from the Chancellery of the Steppe Governor-General and Inspectors of Public Schools from the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Additionally, published documentary materials and periodicals have been used as sources.

The conceptual framework of the research is grounded in modernization theory. Modernization refers to the process through which traditional societies are transformed into industrial ones. It is characterized as a comprehensive process involving numerous simultaneous changes at various levels of society. The primary drivers of modernization are typically the most progressive members of society, and the Jadids are examined in this role. The work follows the principle of historicism. Historicism is employed here as a method for understanding historical phenomena in their formation and development. Based on this principle, the influence of Jadidist ideas on the development of Kazakhstan at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries is analyzed within both temporal and spatial contexts.

3. Literature Review

The historical perspective on Jadidism is extensively covered in the works of foreign scholars. Geoffrey Wheeler characterizes the Turkestan Jadids as "*a muslim reformist movement with pan-Turkic overtones, which aimed at modernizing the Muslim system of education and also at introducing a uniform Turkic language for use by all the Turkic peoples in Russia*" [Wheeler 1964: 41]. Seymour Becker discussed the activities of the Jadids in Bukhara, evaluating it as an independent movement born out of the unique situation in the Russian Em-

pire's protectorate [Becker 1968: 205–240]. A comprehensive and detailed analysis of Central Asian Jadidism can be found in the works of Adeeb Khalid. Using sources in Uzbek and Tajik, as well as archival materials, Khalid describes the Jadids as influential Muslim intellectuals who sought to preserve indigenous Islamic culture while adapting it to the modern state. He explores the debates among intellectuals, thus broadening scholarly perspectives on Jadidism. As Khalid writes: "*The Jadids were successful in garnering considerable support for their project, but their call for reform also evoked vigorous opposition from established elites (the qadimchi) in their society. It was through the debate over the meaning of Central Asian culture that Central Asians came to imagine the modern world and their place in it*" [Khalid 1999: 82]. Ingeborg Baldauf examines the origins of Central Asian Jadidism within the broader context of the reformist movement in the Muslim world [Baldauf 2001]. Yu Akchura viewed Jadidism as a movement for cultural, sociopolitical, and religious reforms, equating it with the European Reformation [Akçura 2008]. Ibrahim Maraş, through comparative research, concludes that the founders of Jadidism in the Muslim regions of the Russian Empire were the Turkic Bulgars and Kazan Tatars [Maraş 2008: 87–96]. Studying the ideas of the Tatar Jadids of the Volga region, Allen J. Frank identifies the crisis of traditional Islamic ideas in the context of Russia's modernization as a precursor to the emergence of Jadidism [Frank 2016]. Mustafa Özgür Tuna provides a thorough analysis of the relationship between Islamic scholars and Muslim intellectuals [Tuna 2017].

Steven Sabol's book is significant for the study of the reformist movement in Kazakhstan, focusing on the sociopolitical and nationalist views of three influential figures of early 20th-century Kazakh intelligentsia: Alikhan Bukeikhanov, Ahmet Baytursynov, and Mukhamedzhan Seralin. The resulting discourse on literature, education, and politics shaped the Kazakh movement up to 1920 [Sabol 2003]. Emin Özdemir also highlights the positive impact of the Tatars on the cultural and religious life of the Kazakh people and the contribution of Jadidism to the progressive development of Kazakh society [Özdemir 2009]. Uyama Tomohiko notes that Tatar mullahs and the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly played a significant role in advancing education in the Kazakh steppe, particularly in the Volga-Ural region, with Kazakh intellectuals being oriented towards Western cultural achievements and providing substantial support to Jadidism [Uyama 2012].

The assessment of Jadidism in Soviet historiography changed in accordance with the evolution of Soviet policies on national and religious issues. During the first decade of Soviet rule, Jadidism was considered a distinct form of intellectual and cultural movement or a type of religious reformism. During this period, the history of Jadidism was predominantly written by the Jadids themselves. Central Asian modernists Sadriddin Ayni and Faizulla Khodzhayev demonstrated in their works that Jadidism was initially a cultural and educational movement and later took on a political character. Sadriddin Ayni's book provided a detailed and objective account of the history of Jadidism in Bukhara, including the establishment of new schools by the Jadids and the emergence of periodicals [Ayni 1926]. Faizulla Khodzhayev analyzed in detail the historical conditions for the emergence and development of the Bukhara Jadidist movement, to which he belonged [Khodzhayev 1926]. During this period, Jadidism was presented as a progressive phenomenon in the development of the Muslim peoples of Russia.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, with the onset of socialist modernization (industrialization and collectivization of agriculture), repression in Soviet republics began. Historical science was tasked with criticizing Jadidism and exposing its reactionary, religious essence. Soviet researchers attempted to find political motives in the activities of the Jadids. Faizulla Khodzhayev's book faced sharp criticism from historian Piotr G. Galuzo, who wrote under the pseudonym Turkestansky. Denying the progressive nature of Jadid views, Turkestansky argued that Jadidism represented the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Faizulla Khodzhayev was accused of "idealizing Jadidism". During this period, Khodzhayev and

Ayni had to abandon their positions characterizing Jadidism as a progressive phenomenon. From then on, Jadidism ceased to be the subject of major research. However, the study of the history of Enlightenment and the development of the educational system continued.

Active study of the history of the Kazakh national intelligentsia began in the post-Soviet period. Nazira Nurtazina explored the characteristics of Jadidism in Turkic-Muslim regions of Russia, believing that Jadidism in Kazakhstan manifested itself in a bourgeois-reformist character, with the main goal being the modernization of society and its liberation from Tsarist oppression [Nurtazina 2008]. Gulmira Sultangalieva examined the Muslim problem in the ideology of the Russian Empire and the manifestation of Jadidism in the Kazakh land within the system of ethnocultural relations in Western Kazakhstan. She explored the activities of the Tatar intelligentsia, which initiated the historical beginnings of Jadidism, and the Muslim communities that brought enlightenment to the western regions of Kazakh land [Sultangalieva 2002]. Dikhan Kamzabekuly considers Jadidism to be the foundation of national spiritual growth, representing a synthesis of tradition and innovation characteristic of the Muslim regions of the Russian Empire. According to the scholar, Jadidism is not a movement of a single political nature but a concept with an ideological basis encompassing education and spirituality as a whole. Later, the movement became a symbol of national ideology aimed at awakening the people's consciousness while preserving traditional values, focusing on science and education [Kamzabekuly 2008: 29–37].

The main conclusion in the studies of Kazakh scholars is that the development of Jadidism in the northwestern part of the Kazakh steppe was connected to Jadidism in the Volga-Ural region, while in the southern and southeastern parts it was linked to Central Asian Jadidism. Thus, Kazakh researchers generally view the ideas of Kazakh Jadidists as secondary and derivative. This has motivated the research question in our article — to consider Jadidism in the Kazakh steppe as a factor in shaping Kazakh national ideology, contributing to the development of the popular enlightenment movement, forming Kazakh national consciousness, and serving as a link to Turkic civilization.

4. Kazakh Jadidists as Enlighteners

Jadidism was a sociopolitical movement aimed at renewing Islamic culture and society, restructuring the Muslim school system, and implementing reforms that radically altered the content and structure of primary education. The essence of the reform lay in introducing a new phonetic teaching method, a classroom-lesson system, secular subjects, and teaching in the native language. The founder of Jadidism is considered to be the Crimean Tatar enlightener Ismail Gasprinskiy, who in 1884 opened the first reformed school in Bakhchisarai, where new teaching methods were used. Gasprinskiy believed that "*Muslims themselves should begin working to improve their educational system and teaching methods*" [Gasprinskiy 2016: 274]. By the turn of 20th centuries, Jadidist schools were already operating in the Volga region and the Urals, in Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg, Samara, Astrakhan, and other provinces, where the majority of the population adhered to Islam. One of the prominent figures of the Turkestan Jadidist movement, Munavvar Kari, organized a similar school in Tashkent in 1901. In addition to opening new-method schools, the Turkestan Jadidists organized charitable societies, established publishing houses, released newspapers and magazines in the national language, compiled and published textbooks and teaching aids, produced literary and journalistic works, opened public libraries, and engaged in theatrical creativity.

In this period, Kazakhstan's territory was separated: the southern and southeastern parts were included in Turkestan Governorate-General, the northern, eastern, and central regions were part of the Steppe Governorate-General, and the remaining areas were directly managed by imperial agencies. The incorporation into different territorial administrative units, on the one hand, slowed the involvement of Kazakhs into the orbit of Jadidist reforms; on the other hand, it opened opportunities for the development of independent actions by Kazakh Jadidists, whose active activities primarily unfolded in the territory of the Steppe Governo-

rate-General. Abay Kunanbaev, Mashhur-Jusip Kopeyev, Akhmet Birimzhanov, Mirzhakip Dulatov, Akhmet Baitursynov and others were familiar with the achievements of European science and sociopolitical life and believed that introducing modernized education in the Kazakh steppe would become a prerequisite for the formation of a new progressive Kazakh society.

The activities of Kazakh reformers unfolded in three key areas: first, the reform of the education system; second, the organization of the national press; and third, the renewal of the sociopolitical life of the Kazakh people. Despite their nomadic lifestyle, every Kazakh aul (village) had its own local schools, where mullahs served as teachers. Young people who received education from a mullah would later continue their studies in a madrasahh. Adeeb Khalid notes that Kazakhs did not have a tradition of studying in madrasahhs, and Kazakh children were sent to Russian schools starting from the early 19th century [Khalid 1999: 106]. However, in the 19th century, Muslim educational institutions, primarily mekteps and madrasahs, operated in the Kazakh steppe. A mektep was a primary educational institution where children were taught to read and memorize the Quran. After completing their studies, the children of wealthy Kazakhs would continue their education in a madrasah. A madrasah was considered a secondary and higher educational institution, preparing students to become spiritually developed experts in Muslim law, based on religious and moral principles. Moreover, madrasahh served as "higher educational institutions" for training teachers.

However, there was a significant gap between the development levels of Russian educational institutions and Muslim madrasahs in the Kazakh steppe. In Russian educational institutions, religious studies were taught twice a week, while the remaining time was dedicated to foreign languages, history, algebra, geometry, geography, and other secular subjects. In this situation, Muslim educational institutions could not compete with the Russian education system. Therefore, the Jadids sought to change the traditional education system in the Kazakh steppe and introduce new teaching methods, which were necessary for people of the new era to meet the demands of the emerging capitalist society. Under the direct guidance of the Jadids, schools with new teaching methods were established. The secular religious education system of Jadidism, as a cultural and educational phenomenon, was divided into "primary", "secondary" and "higher" schools. Progressive educators rallied around the idea of Jadidism and employed the "phonetic method", a method where each letter of the alphabet was assigned a specific sound.

In the Kazakh steppe, Muslim educational institutions were opened with special permission from the Imperial Ministry of Public Education and were under the jurisdiction of the regional governors-general. According to the Provisional Regulations of 21 October 1868, mullahs were required to obtain permission from the district chief to teach literacy to residents and establish schools attached to mosques. The Regulations of 16 March 1870 established complete control over Muslim edu_cational institutions, making the study of the Russian language mandatory for all Muslim mekteps. In 1877, the Ministry of Public Education approved a project related to the work of inspectors assigned to Kazakh, Bashkir, and Tatar schools. According to the project, inspectors were tasked with monitoring the progress of education in all Muslim mekteps and madrasahs [Gramenitskiy 1896: 68]. The Regulations of 1891 "On the Administration of the Akmola, Semipalatinsk, Semirechensk, Ural, and Turgai Regions" fully integrated Kazakh nomads into the administrative governance of the Russian Empire, with all socioeconomic and cultural, educational matters being resolved by the authorities [From the history 1905: 36]. According to the Regulations of 14 January 1906, the general supervision over private madrasahs, as well as the issuance of permits for opening them, was entrusted to the Inspectors of Public Schools. Most of the Kazakh population were to do with small aul mekteps only, where the curriculum consisted solely of studying the Quran and the Arabic alphabet.

In 1905, several petitions were submitted to the Steppe Governor-General by Kazakhs, outlining the need for reforms in the legal status, administrative structure, spiritual and religious life, and public education of the local

population in the Steppe region. Due to the Russian Revolution of 1905–1907, these issues were discussed two years later. A commission was established to review these petitions. On 20 May 1907, a meeting of the Commission was convened in Omsk, where two Kazakh representatives from each district of the Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions were invited. The Governor-General announced that the decisions of this meeting would not be binding and would not result in immediate changes to the existing structure of Kazakh society, but could serve as material for future government legislative proposals [Muslim maktabs 1907: 50].

One of the main points in these petitions was the request for permission to open madrasahs — Muslim religious teacher training schools with a well-defined curriculum. According to this curriculum, Kazakh youth would study not only Muslim religious texts but also secular sciences, as well as Persian, Tatar, and Turkish languages. During the discussion on public education, the Kazakh representatives, citing the Manifesto of 17 October 1905, argued that their request was both justified and feasible. As is well known, this Manifesto proclaimed "*the granting to the population of unshakable foundations of civil liberty based on the principles of real inviolability of the person, freedom of conscience, speech, assembly, and association*" [CSA RK. F. 44. I. 1. F. 24236. L. 235].

The issue of opening madrasahs did not provoke strong objections, but the Russian members of the Commission opposed funding madrasahs with state resources and were also against the proposed curriculum, which did not include the mandatory study of the Russian language. After lengthy discussions, the meeting acknowledged the possibility of opening Muslim madrasahs with private Kazakh funds, provided they were subordinate to the Ministry of Public Education and included the mandatory study of the Russian language in their curriculum.

The Kazakh petitions also included a request for permission to introduce instruction in the Kazakh language. This issue was met with significant resistance from the imperial authorities, as education in madrasahs had previously been based on textbooks published in Russia, with other materials allowed only with the approval of the Inspector of Native Schools. The Commission deemed it necessary that madrasahs and mekteps could be opened by private individuals or communities only with the permission of the Ministry of Public Education, as the imperial authorities feared that these Kazakh educational institutions might become "hotbeds of Pan-Islamic ideas", centers of "anti-state propaganda" like the "Tatar schools" [Ostroumov 1895: 108]. Therefore, the Commission stipulated that a mandatory condition for opening Muslim schools in Kazakh lands was that only Kazakhs could serve as teachers.

French historian Helene Carrere d'Encausse noted that "*the Russian authorities grew uneasy about the influence of Pan-Turkic and Pan-Islamic ideas brought to Kazakh lands by the Tatars of the Volga, ideas which helped precipitate the formation of an awareness of nationality*" [Carrere d'Encausse 1994: 96]. Thus, in discussing the petitions of Kazakh Jadids, the Commission sought to prevent their cooperation with Jadids from other Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire.

Despite these obstacles, private madrasahs that applied new teaching methods were established in the Steppe Governor-General's territories inhabited by Kazakhs. The opinion of Zholseitova and Sembiyeva that new-method schools were primarily opened in southern Kazakhstan and that there were few such schools in Kazakh territories under the Steppe Governor-General is inaccurate [Zholseitova, Sembiyeva 2021: 31].

By the early 20th century, the following madrasahs were operating in Kazakh lands, funded by private donations from the wealthy: madrasah Baba Ata in Sozak, madrasah Myrzabai Akhun in Kyzylorda, madrasah Mamaniya in Zhetysu, madrasah Tuz in Torgai, madrasahs Muttigiyah and Rahibiyah in the Bukey Horde, madrasah Buzuov in the Ural region, four madrasahs — Orda, Akhmet Riza, Ayagoz, and Sary Khismat — in Semipalatinsk, madrasah Duligaly in Zhezkazgan, and madrasahs Ak Ishan, Khalfe, Shamukhamet Ishan, and Molda Khashir in South Kazakhstan. In these madrasahs across the Kazakh steppe, lectures were delivered by teachers from Bukhara, Istanbul,

Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg, Troitsk, Omsk, and other major cities with Muslim populations [CSA RK. F. 64. I. 1. F. 938. L. 135]. In addition to Arabic and religious studies, natural sciences were also taught in these madrasahs.

In the early 20th century, with the growing number of people seeking education, new schools and madrasahs were established and expanded. For instance, madrasahh Kalzhan Akhun opened in Kyzylorda, madrasah Koram in the Almaty region, and madrasah Abdikadyr in Taraz. Information published in the press about schools opening in specific areas confirms that educational institutions existed in all corners of Kazakh lands. Among the traditional educational institutions established by authorities in the Kazakh steppe, the new-method schools and madrasahs gained higher prestige among the people. A textbook was necessary for teaching at new-method schools. I. Gasprinskiy wrote an educational guide based on the new method titled "Khavadzhe-i-Subyan" [Gankevich 2000: 59]. While studying at the Sorbonne, I. Gasprinskiy became acquainted with new methods of teaching the alphabet and conceived of reforming the Muslim education system based on this method.

Starting in 1900, the number of new-method schools in cities increased, and old-method schools gradually transitioned to the new-method system. In 1903, new-method schools appeared in Kazaly, and in 1905 in Perovsk. In 1904, the male school in Verny named after Gabdulvaliyev was reorganized into a new-method school. The April issue of *Terdzhiman* noted that the quality of education at the new-method school built in Verny with funds from a local merchant was satisfactory, and the people were grateful. Between 1904 and 1905, schools in Akmola, Semipalatinsk, Karkaraly, Verny, and Kapal transitioned to the new system. By 1909, there were 39 schools in the Syr Darya region and 18 in the Zhetysu region [CSA RK. F. 44. I. 1. F. 24236. L. 235]. In 1913, Petropavlovsk had five madrasahs and eight schools with 15 teachers. Among the madrasahs operating in Petropavlovsk, madrasah no. 1 stood out for its innovative teaching methods. One of the graduates of this school was the poet and leader of the Alash movement Magzhan Zhumabayev [Makhmutov 2012: 611–612].

On 11 July 1911, at a meeting of district leaders within the Turkestan Governor-General's jurisdiction, the Inspector of Education presented the "Regulations on New-Method Schools" which came into effect in January 1912. According to this project, the opening of new-method schools was placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education, and Russian language lessons were mandated in these newly established institutions [CSA RK. F. 44. I. 1. F. 24236. L. 235]. As a result, strict control was imposed over the activities of new-method schools.

Kazakh intellectuals, convinced of the effectiveness of the textbooks used in Gasprinskiy's new-method schools, created new-style textbooks in the Kazakh language. The author of the first such book was Aqmet Baytursynuly, a prominent Kazakh scholar and educator. He modified the Arabic script by replacing Arabic letters not used in the Kazakh language with those commonly used by Kazakhs and developed a Kazakh alphabet titled "New Orthography". Baytursynuly wrote a textbook in a modern style and introduced a new teaching method in the Kazakh steppe.

Edward Allworth considers the implementation of Jadidist ideas in the Kazakh steppe through the work of Baytursynuly: "*Some Jadids from outside the old cities were equally effective and energetic in putting the new program across. Aqmet BaytursinuIi, a Kazakh from Sartubek in the Turgay uezd north-northeast of the Aral Sea, received some tutoring from Tatar mullahs in his village, and then finished the Russian-Kazakh school at the provincial town of Turgay, after which he went to Orenburg and completed the four-year Kazakh teachers' institute in 1895. He immediately began to teach in various Kazakh villages and larger towns like Aktyubinsk, Kustanay, and Karkaralinsk*" [Allworth 1994: 349–396].

5. Jadids and the Challenges of Modernizing Kazakh Society

The Jadids laid the foundations for the national press, highlighting the country's achievements in social, cultural, economic, and political spheres. Articles in the press had a profound

impact on people's thinking and worldview, and Kazakh intellectuals used newspapers and magazines to advocate against religious fanaticism. The education reform of the early 20th century was central to the spiritual culture of the Kazakhs. The activities of Kazakhs aimed at comprehensive engagement with various scientific fields were published in periodicals [Ibragim et al. 2002]. Kazakh Jadids viewed periodicals not only as a means of information dissemination but also as a tool for addressing societal deficiencies. Jadidist periodicals such as "Serke", "Kazakhstan", "Kazakh", and the magazine "Aikap" significantly influenced the expansion of the public's horizons and ideological awakening. The early issues of "Aikap" reflected the problems of the Kazakh people concerning land and religion. They advocated for providing desired lands, building cities, mosques, schools, and madrasahs. The magazine also addressed educational and linguistic issues, suggesting that urbanization and settlement could advance education, preserve the language, and elevate civilization and modernization. Materials from newspapers like "Dala Ulayaty" (1888–1902), "Serke" (1907), and "Kazakh" (1913–1918), published in the Kazakh steppe, reveal the Jadids' positions. Kazakh intellectuals wrote about the political and social situation in Kazakh lands, as well as religious issues and the education of children by mullahs.

M. Seralin, editor of "Aikap", continued the traditions of 20th-century Kazakh enlightenment and provided concrete recommendations for opening schools and educating children. M. Seralin wrote: "*If we do not study, in the future, we will have no other place but to serve for educated people. If the society do not support the pursuit of education, we will not be able to increase the number of educated Kazakhs*" [Mukhametzhanova 2014: 60].

Contributors to the magazine, such as S. Toraygirov, S. Seyfullin, B. Maylin, S. Donentaev, and M. Seralin played a significant role in awakening Kazakh public opinion and developing national culture. Their works called for breaking away from outdated traditions, embracing innovation, and creating a new Kazakh culture, literature, and language modeled after European culture. M. Seralin emphasized the importance of education in Kazakh and Russian languages, focusing more on social and religious issues than on politics. Alongside M. Seralin, Sh. Kudayberdiev, and M. Kopeev, who adhered to Jadidist ideas, made bold attempts to modernize religious schools and incorporate secular subjects into the curriculum. Helene Carrere d'Encausse offers a valuable perspective on the role of the national press in developing national consciousness: "*It removed them from the dominant Tatar influence which they had been experiencing until then and gave their effort a proper direction: the struggle for a transformation of Central Asia and the rallying of a Turkistan nationality*" [Carrere d'Encausse 1994: 193]. This assessment reflects the significance of Kazakh national press in modernizing traditional Kazakh society.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the libraries of new-method schools and madrasahs were enriched with Kirghiz (Kazakh) language books. From the collection of books published in the early 20th century, it is evident that Kazakh intllectuals possessed a broad worldview, deep knowledge, and compassion for their people. Their books compiled and published the millennium-long history, traditions, legends, heroic songs, epics, and poems of the Kazakh people.

According to the renowned scholar of Jadidism, Adeeb Khalid, "*the key concepts in Jadidism were 'civilization' (madaniyat) and 'progress' (taraqqiy), which the Jadids assimilated into their understanding of Islam to produce a vigorously modernist interpretation of Islam, in which the achievement of 'civilization' (always in the singular) came to be seen as the religious obligation of all Muslims*" [Khalid 1999: 127]. However, Kazakh intellectuals did not perceive Islam as a universal civilizational concept; instead, they emphasized Kazakh national identity. For example, Akhmet Baytursinuli believed that Kazakhs should preserve their national cultural roots, traditions, and language while assimilating modern values, which led him to modernize the Kazakh language. Consequently, he supported modernism (the new method) and was the first ethnic Kazakh to propose phonetic instruction instead of the traditional method of teaching letters. His article advocating modernism titled "From

the Kazakh Educational Institution" argued for a new approach to training teachers for primary schools.

Another notable Kazakh modernist was the eminent thinker, ethnographer, historian, and poet Mashhur Zhusip Kopeev. His pamphlets were deemed subversive by Soviet authorities, who accused him of inciting religious fanaticism. In his pamphlet, Kopeev described the brutal actions of officials and the corrupt courts under the Tsarist administration, as well as the oppression of innocent people despite the proclaimed manifesto of equality. Kopeev called for Muslim peoples, including Kazakhs and Tatars, to unite against injustice within the framework of Islam. His advocacy for enlightenment is a remarkable aspect of his biography. He actively promoted the new teaching methods and the new alphabet "Usuli Jadid" created based on old Arabic script with adaptations for the Kazakh language. His articles and essays were regularly published in "Dala Ualayaty" and "Aikap", and he keenly responded to contemporary events. His notable works include "Korogly", "Er Kokche", and "Er Sain" [Kopeiuly 2006: 540].

Mirzhakyp Dulatuly was a prominent educator, public figure, and journalist. His poetry collection "Wake Up, Kazakh!" published in St. Petersburg in 1909 faced repression from the Tsarist administration. The poems address awakening from ignorance, with the only way out being the fight against ignorance and injustice. Dulatuly urged Kazakh youth to study, stating that art and science do not come to an uneducated person. The secret decree limiting the distribution of Dulatuly's "Wake Up, Kazakh!" continued even after his arrest. The book was confiscated in 1911 by the Press Department, reflecting its impact on the Kazakh people. Despite the ban, Kazakh society continued to read his work, prompting officials to accuse the population of inciting resistance against oppression and advocating for the rights of Kirghiz (Kazakh) people. Dulatuli also addressed gender equality in his works. His novel "Bakytyz Zhamal", first published in Kazan in 1910, is a literary work addressing the unequal status of women in Kazakh society [Dulatuly 2013: 344].

Kazakh intellectuals, while adhering to Islamic beliefs, did not reject Western-born concepts of modernism but sought to adapt these ideas to the development of Kazakh society. The definition of Muslim intellectuals formulated by Mustafa Özgür Tuna appears to be the most fitting for Kazakh intellectuals: "*The Russian Muslim intelligentsia was born around 1905 when we can first document secularly educated progressive Russian Muslim intellectuals conceiving themselves as a distinct intelligentsia. Gasprinskiy's over two decades of preparatory work was crucial in this conception and he ended up coining the Turkic word „ziyâlılar" to correspond to „intelligentsia"in the Russian language too. Gasprinskiy and the Muslim intellectuals who gave birth to the Russian Muslim intelligentsia at the turn of the twentieth century followed the example of the Russian, Polish, as well as other intelligentsias in the Tsarist empire in fashioning themselves as a Muslim intelligentsia. A patriotic sense of social responsibility, or commitment to improving the lives of their coreligionists by reforming what they perceived to be the secular aspects of life such as education, industry, agricultural production, and ability to interact in non-Muslim contexts, was the defining core of the Muslim intelligentsia's self-definition*" [Tuna 2017: 45–46].

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Kazakh intellectuals, using the ideas of the Jadids, sought to reform the education system, prepare qualified specialists, change the social structure of society and ultimately achieve independence through progressive transformations. The activities of the Kazakh modernist intelligentsia in the direction of spiritual awakening and education of society bore fruit during the national liberation movement. Unlike Central Asian Jadidism, a significant part of the Kazakh Jadids consisted of intellectuals who received a secular education, as well as representatives of the creative intelligentsia.

6. Conclusion

The leaders of the Jadidist movement — the Kazakh intelligentsia — sought to implement changes for the development of the social and cultural sphere of the Kazakh steppe in a new direction. They called on people to reassess and improve their views, beliefs, and manners un-

der the needs of the time, to correct the status of women in society, to address rights and health issues, and to fight for the future and independence of the country. As a result, thanks to the initiatives of educated Kazakh intellectuals, Jadidism on Kazakh soil began to transform into a sociocultural movement. The main goal of this movement was to elevate the socio-cultural level of the people.

The reform in the field of public education, undertaken by the Jadids in a European spirit at the turn of the 20th century, had the most noticeable impact on the sociopolitical and spiritual life of the Kazakh people. The opening of many schools and madrasahs in the Kazakh steppe at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries not only provided education to the vast majority of the population but also increased national self-consciousness. As a result of the political events of the 20th century, the question of creating national autonomy shows that Kazakh youth at the beginning of the 20th century were taking form as political elites with mature political views. This was only possible due to the long-term sociopolitical work of the Jadids.

Overall, the radical part of the Jadids, representing the "progressive" movement, put forward an extensive range of political demands. For the Kazakh national intelligentsia, the modernization of the spiritual sphere was a priority. In this regard, historical parallels can be drawn with Turkestani Jadidism, which emerged as a cultural and educational movement advocating for the reform of the Muslim school and the introduction of elements of European education. The distinctive features of Kazakh Jadidism from Central Asian Jadidism consist in the Western orientation of Kazakh intelligentsia, aligning with the political platform of liberal democracy, although the methods used were undeniably Jadidist. If one were to choose between Muslim liberalism, democratic enlightenment, and religious reformism to characterize Kazakh Jadids, the most fitting would be democratic enlightenment. The Kazakh intellectual community called on the people to preserve and respect their national culture and traditions while understanding and appreciating the national characteristics of both Western and Eastern peoples, enriching their spiritual world.

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