

Socio-Pedagogical And Economic Factors That Affected The Weakness Of Turkestan's Madrasas (Late 19th - Early 20th Centuries)

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Abstract

The article studies the activities of the madrasas of the Turkestan region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In particular, the reasons for the complete decline of the Turkestan madrasas, which produced hundreds of scholars who took their place in the development of world civilization, are analyzed. The socio-pedagogical and economic factors that negatively affected the activities of the madrasas are comparatively studied using historical materials.

Keywords: Turkestan, madrasas, endowment property, local population, talib, mudarris, inspector, socio-pedagogical, colonial system.

We can note that the madrasahs of Turkestan, which had several centuries of development, were considered centers of spirituality and culture in the East, and produced hundreds of scholars for the world, faced complete decline in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Based on the decision of the Russian Emperor signed on May 17, 1875, "On the establishment of the Turkestan Educational Institutions Directorate," from January 1, 1876, the religious schools and madrasahs of Turkestan were fully subordinated to the regional educational institutions directorate. The first Governor-General of Turkestan, K.P. Kaufman, in his final report to the Russian Emperor, emphasized that during his activities aimed at governing the Turkestan region, he paid special attention to the political significance of religious secondary and higher schools (madrasahs) in the life of the region. He elaborated on the political importance of local madrasahs in society, explaining that besides fulfilling the important function as organizations protecting the rights of Muslim religious leaders in the region, they also operated as centers for promoting the Muslim religion. He stated that the madrasahs were still the sole organization providing the region with

respected imams, teachers, and jurists who influenced the customs and life of Muslims. Therefore, Tsarist Russia should not support the madrasahs, nor show them mercy, but it should be cautious in intervening harshly in their activities, because failing to do so could lead to political unrest in the region. He noted, "we chose the most reasonable path regarding the education of the local people - the path of 'leaving them without attention'" [1; p. 500].

The next Governor-General of Turkestan, N.O. Rosenbach, wrote a special appeal to the Ministry of Public Education in May 1887, requesting the creation of a separate inspector position for Muslim schools and madrasahs within the Turkestan Educational Institutions Directorate and, with its help, to strengthen control over traditional schools and madrasahs. By 1890, permission was granted to create such a position. Since this position was approved after the two inspectors of the educational institutions directorate who dealt with educational supervision, it was named the "third inspector."

In the appeal, Rosenbach justified the necessity of the third inspector position as follows:

- Recently, India has been the cause of the strengthening of the Muslim religion in Turkestan. Literature printed in Arabic and Persian from printing houses in the British-dependent cities of Bombay and Delhi is being brought into Turkestan. Contrary to Russia's interests in the south, India is becoming a cultural center for the peoples of Turkestan;
- Supervised education for the local population is provided only through Russo-native schools. This is not sufficient to fulfill the tasks set before us by Tsarist Russia. It is necessary to become more closely acquainted with the life of the madrasahs, to change the subjects taught there according to European standards, thereby distracting the minds of the youth from Muslim literature and Sharia, and to publish illustrative literature about Tsarist Russian and European education in local languages in large quantities for the people of Turkestan;
- The number of Muslim schools in Turkestan is not less than 4,000. Although these schools exist only in name, tens of thousands of young people study in them. According to the law, the local authorities have the right to establish control over these schools. We consider it unlawful to continue "leaving them without attention." The regional educational institutions directorate has only two inspector of educational institutions staff positions, which are not enough to supervise the activities of all educational institutions in the Turkestan region. As in the Orenburg and Kazan districts, a special inspector position for Muslim schools should be established in the Turkestan region, tasked with taking an accurate account of the region's Muslim schools and supervising the organization of the educational process in the interests of the Tsarist government [2].

From 1890, this position became legally effective, and V.P. Nalivkin, a teacher of southern languages at the teachers'

seminary, was appointed to it. In three academic years (1890/91, 1891/92, 1892/93), Nalivkin personally conducted inspections of existing schools and madrasahs in the Fergana, Samarkand, and Syrdarya provinces. His first reports, opinions, and recommendations were published in 1916 by order of Governor-General A.N. Kuropatkin.

Nalivkin expressed the following attitude towards the state of teaching in the existing local madrasahs, schools, and *qorikhonas* (Quran recitation schools): "...firstly, they are outdated. Secondly, they have no seed for development; they will be gradually squeezed out first by the Russo-native schools, and then, in the distant future, by our Russian educational institutions of various names. For this reason, there is no basis to care either about the functioning of the lower native population's schools or about increasing their number. Gradually, by taking a series of restrictive measures, it is necessary to render the schools weak and incapable of resisting our influence on the spiritual life of the local population" [3; p. 155].

Nalivkin proposed a complete reform of the subjects taught in the madrasahs, the organization of Russian language courses attached to them, and the payment of salaries for the teachers of these courses from the *waqf* funds allocated to the madrasahs. Such a reform of the subjects taught in the madrasah would lead to the infringement of the sacred verses of the Qur'an and the trampling of the religious and educational heritage that had been formed over centuries. The introduction of the Russian language in place of Arabic would inevitably cause justified objections and provoke popular unrest. Fearing this, the Tsarist administrators did not reform the educational content in the madrasahs in the manner proposed by V.P. Nalivkin. The population, which considered the Islamic religion and the Arabic language and script

intrinsically linked to it as sacred, was initially even hesitant to send their children to the Russian language courses organized at the schools.

Seeing the unsatisfactory performance of the Russian language courses established at the schools of the Samarkand and Syrdarya provinces, the governors (Military Governor of Samarkand Count Rostovtsev and General of Syrdarya Korolkov) were forced to admit that Nalivkin's proposal to organize Russian language courses was useless. They acknowledged that there were no trained specialist teachers to teach, no necessary textbooks for study, and the local population did not want to learn Russian, and therefore, it was not possible to open Russian language teaching courses at the madrasahs. The forced introduction of the Russian language into madrasahs, which had their own curriculum based on teaching Islamic sciences and the Arabic language, and the payment of salaries to teachers in Russian language courses from the *waqfs* donated by the people in the hope of a reward from Allah, aroused justified discontent among the people. Taking this into account, the Tsarist administrators were forced to postpone the issue of reforming the madrasahs in the Turkestan region for a certain short period.

The "Instruction for the Third Inspector of Public Educational Institutions managing the Muslim schools of the Turkestan region," approved on March 14, 1894, played an important role in the intensification of the dreadful activities in this field. From 28.10.1889 to 17.03.1898, Turkestan was governed by the extremely ruthless Governor-General A. B. Vrevsky, who paid special attention to the activities of the third inspector. In particular, the "Instruction for the Third Inspector of Public Educational Institutions managing the Muslim schools of the Turkestan region," adopted with his direct intervention, clearly stipulated that all Muslim madrasahs and

schools of the settled and nomadic population in the region would be under the authority of the third inspector [3; pp. 160-164]. The madrasahs and schools, which were under the jurisdiction of the Muslim religious courts during the Khanate period, were now fully and officially transferred to the control of the Tsarist administration. The instruction for the 3rd inspector clearly defined the rules aimed at restricting the activities of the schools.

According to the instruction, the workplace of this inspector, who was considered the supervisor and organizer of all local public education institutions in the region, was in the city of Tashkent, and he was entrusted with the task of inspecting Muslim schools as often as possible and taking measures to find the necessary funds to open Russian language courses at the madrasahs. It was specifically stipulated that the *mudarris* (teachers/professors in a madrasah) would be appointed directly upon the recommendation of the 3rd inspector. The third inspector was tasked with monitoring the volume and content of lessons in the madrasah, and the character, direction, and spirit of the lessons. For this, the inspector was, firstly, required to personally inspect the educational institutions on the ground and, secondly, to receive monthly information from the heads of the madrasahs about the state of educational affairs, and they were required to submit an annual report to the inspector. The 3rd inspector was also tasked with monitoring how the income from *waqf* property was being spent, and in the event of any shortcomings in the activities of the *mutawalli* (waqf manager), to immediately report this to the chief inspector.

It was stipulated that if a madrasah did not submit a report for three years and did not conduct educational activities, the inspector was obliged to apply to the higher authorities to close that madrasah. Thus, this instruction served the purpose of taking

full control of the activities of local madrasahs and schools, and Muslim schools and madrasahs were fully subordinated to the Turkestan Educational Institutions administration, the lessons of schoolteachers and *mudarris* were taken under full control, and their direction was given a political tone.

Thus, although the senior *mudarris* was officially (approved by the Tsarist administrators) the head of the madrasah, in practice, the management was in the hands of the Tsarist administrators. The senior *mudarris* was charged with the duties of urgently notifying the public education inspector and the *uyezd* (district) chief in case of any unexpected event, conflict, death, fire, or similar incidents in the madrasah; compiling a complete list of madrasah staff and students at the beginning of December each year, indicating the level ("excellent," "average," "lowest") and how many years they have been at that level for the madrasah's *mutawalli*, *mudarris*, and students, and submitting it to the inspector; demanding necessary information from the *mutawalli* about the income from *waqf* property; providing information to the inspector at the beginning of February each year about the income received from the *waqf* property and how much of it was spent; and keeping the madrasah clean and supervising the funds allocated for its repair. Also, demanding that the *mudarris* perform their duties conscientiously and supervising them, and demanding that students attend classes regularly and be "well-behaved" were among the duties within the authority of the senior *mudarris*.

It becomes clear that the Tsarist administrators, under the pretext of improving the activities of the madrasahs, through the position of the senior *mudarris* they created, were constantly aware of all its internal affairs: the activities of staff and mullahs, the content of lessons, changes in

the *waqf* composition, economic affairs, issues of proper use of income, and others, and they monitored the activities of the institutions.

In our opinion, in the early years of Tsarist rule, Tsarist officials did indeed use the services of Muslim clergy as needed for the interests of the empire. Later, after the Tsarist regime partially secured the political-economic and "ideological" conditions that served its interests in the region, it confiscated *waqf* properties, citing shortcomings, misunderstandings, or the loss of documents confirming the land and properties allocated for the *waqf* as a pretext. It is worth noting that the governor-general's officials skillfully carried out most of these actions through the hands of the Muslim clergy, without depriving them of the necessary provisions for their personal households.

According to the 1894 Instruction of the next Governor-General of Turkestan, S. M. Dukhovskoy, on regulating the management of *waqf* property, the *mudarris* were obliged to submit an annual report to the Tsarist administration's public education inspectors about the madrasah's *waqf* property. The relevant clauses of the Instruction legalized this as follows: §8 - in necessary cases, the head *mudarris* is given the right to demand information from the *mutawalli* about the *waqf* property in his madrasah and the amount of income from that property; §9 - it is noted that at the beginning of February of each year, the *mudarris* must report to the inspector on the amount of income received from the madrasah's *waqf* property during the past year, how this income was distributed among the *mudarris*, *mutawalli*, mullahs, and other persons, as well as all changes in the *waqf* funds. [4].

If we pay attention, this instruction takes a general approach to the economic provision of madrasah students. The tsarist officials, who did not want to provide any financial

assistance to the development of the madrasahs, were very interested in how this institution was being preserved without the material and moral support of the state. Once they knew the reason, as soon as the opportunity arose, they devised various ways to use the waqf property for their own interests. They developed various laws and regulations aimed at confiscating waqf property, appropriating the main part of the income from it, and depositing the rest into the state treasury.

In the "Rules for the implementation of land and tax affairs in the Turkestan region," annexed to the Regulations, it was required that all waqf documents (waqfnamas) be submitted to the provincial administration for inspection within 6 months of the publication of these instructions, and it was stipulated that waqfnamas not submitted within this period would be considered invalid. Therefore, waqf organizations submitted their waqfnama documents, which confirmed the right to own waqf property, to the provincial administration. If, for some reason, the documents were not submitted on time or were lost, the waqf properties were transferred to the state, that is, to the disposal of the colonialists, without any inspection or analysis.

The Governor-General of Turkestan developed instructions for the provincial administrations on how to check waqf documents and determine whether they were legal or illegal. The instruction stated: "The provincial administration shall review all documents submitted within the specified period, and shall submit its conclusion on leaving the forged or invalidated ones without effect to the Governor-General for approval. From the remaining waqf documents, the Provincial Administration shall separate those certified with the seal of the khan or emir and, through a commission, hand them over to the land-tax commissioner for inspection in accordance with the instructions given to

him. All other documents certified with the seal of a khan or emir, since they are not confirmed to have the right to receive an exemption from paying land tax to the state and only confirm the right to own waqf property, will be left in the provincial administration until future instructions" [MDA of the R.Uz., F.I-1, List 25, Case 72, P.332].

Experienced and knowledgeable mudarrises (teachers), deprived of material support, were forced to engage in other work to support their families and make a living. As a result, the process of educating and raising the children of the local people was seriously negatively affected.

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