



THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN TURKESTAN AND THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW SCHOOLS

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Irodakhon ABDUMANNOPOVA

*Master's Student, Yangi Asr University,
Tashkent, Uzbekistan*

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Abstract. *This article analyses the education system of the region of Turkestan from the middle of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century, together with the establishment and lines of activity of the Russian-native (russko-tuzemnye), government, and Jadid schools. It describes the traditional maktab and madrasa, the changes that followed the Russian conquest, the colonial policy of Russification embodied in the Russian and Russian-native schools, the network of higher and vocational institutions that emerged, and the reformist initiatives of figures such as the Khivan khan Feruz. The study shows how, against the background of colonial rule, the demand for a modern, native-language education prepared the ground for the new-method school.*

Keywords: *Turkestan, school, Russian-native school, government schools, new-method school, education system, madrasa, secondary school, higher school.*

INTRODUCTION

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the region of Turkestan possessed maktabas that gave primary instruction and madrasas that gave secondary and higher religious education. The majority of the maktabas – including most of the village maktabas – were the simplest primary schools giving religious instruction. In these schools the imams of the mosques and literate mullahs taught; instruction was confined to the most elementary religious duties – that is, to teaching the reading of the Qur'an written in Arabic and imparting the basic obligations necessary for every Muslim. In the town maktabas, besides religious instruction, elements of general education – the ways of writing and reckoning – were taught. The number of pupils reached twenty to thirty in the town maktabas and ten to fifteen in rural areas. Pupils were admitted from the age of six and, depending on their progress, continued until the age of seventeen or eighteen.

In the maktab the “Haftiyak” was memorized first, then the “Qur’an,” after which pupils proceeded to the “Chor kitob.”

MAIN PART

Maktab and madrasas before the Russian conquest

The “Chor kitob” consisted of four sections: the first explained the names of God and set out the rules of religion, ablution, and prayer; the second treated the understanding of creed; and the third discussed the narrations of the Prophet’s word. The poems and ghazals of poets popular among the people were also taught. Usually the pupils of such maktab were the children of well-to-do families; having completed their studies, they applied the knowledge they had gained in trade and in craft workshops, while some pursued further study and took up calligraphy and others entered a madrasa to continue their education.

In the madrasa – the higher religious school – medieval religious philosophy and Muslim law, the grammar of Arabic, and the science of logic were taught. Its curricula changed according to time and circumstance: for example, in the 1430s and 1440s, secular fields such as mathematics, astronomy, and music were also taught in the madrasas of Samarkand and Herat. The madrasa consisted of three sections. In the first section a book setting out the Muslim religious creed, the Arabic language, and law was taught; a pupil of this section studied for nine or ten years. In the second section law, theology, casuistry, logic, Arabic grammar, oratory, and kalam were taught, and pupils studied for seven or eight years. In the third section theology, law, and kalam were taught, with some information from geography and arithmetic given in the law course. Those who completed the madrasa had the right to serve as imams and to work in the courts of the qozis. In the maktab and madrasas it was mainly boys who were taught; in the town religious maktab, the wives of some teachers – the otin-oyis – were engaged in teaching girls as well. Lessons in the maktab and madrasas were conducted in the Uzbek, Arabic, and Persian-Tajik languages.

In the Muslim schools the system of education was divided into five categories. The lower maktab, in which boys were taught literacy (four years); the khalilkhona maktab, in which prayer was memorized; the qorikhona, in which the Qur’an was memorized; the madrasa; and the boarding maktab – the intermediate madrasa – in which both religious and secular subjects were taught and a secondary education given.

Changes after the Russian conquest

After Central Asia was conquered by tsarist Russia, certain changes took place in the maktab and madrasas. Printed textbooks for the Muslim schools appeared: the Qur'an and Haftiyaks printed in Kazan, and lithographed collections of poets brought from India and Iran, were imported; and in Tashkent itself the lithographic publication of textbooks for the schools was begun. The colonial administration did not interfere in the work of the Muslim schools, whose lessons were conducted in the medieval manner; but it nonetheless sought to take measures encouraging the teaching of Russian in the schools. As a result, the local youth began to pay greater attention to learning Russian, and at the beginning of the twentieth century, in accordance with an instruction that Russian be introduced in the madrasas, the teaching of Russian was introduced in some madrasas in 1913–1917. Certain changes also took place in the old schools: under the influence of the Russian-native schools and the new schools, some novelties were introduced in some old-method maktab – literacy training on the basis of the sound method using lithographed primers, and, together with teaching girls to read, the teaching of writing as well. Through these innovations a great shift occurred in the life of the Uzbek schools.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the following madrasas – regarded as seats of higher education – existed in the large central cities of the region of Turkestan: 80 in Bukhara, 40 in Kokand, 22 in Samarkand, 28 in Marg'ilon, and 17 in Tashkent, in which from 400 to 5,000 pupils studied. By 1906, in the Samarkand region alone there were 1,510 Muslim maktab, in which 1,482 teachers gave lessons to 12,740 pupils. In the region of Turkestan as a whole, in 1905–1906 there were 5,290 schools, in which 70,955 pupils received instruction.

Feruz and the new schools of Khiva

By this period, in order to train educated people from among the children of the local citizenry, the Khivan khan Sayyid Muhammad Rahimxon Bahodirxon II – Feruz (1844–1910) – carried out great undertakings. By his direct initiative, a school was opened in his own palace in 1884, in which a Russian teacher and skilled masters of education and upbringing such as Mirzo Rahmonquli Qori engaged in giving knowledge to the young. In accordance with Feruz's decree, the first new-method school was opened in Urgench on 10 November 1904, where a teacher named Husayn Kushaev, who had come from

Turkey, began to give education to the young. In the 1906–1907 academic year, taking into account the wishes of the progressive enlighteners of the khanate, Husayn Kushaev also organized a girls' school in Urgench. Feruz patronized it, allocating separate funds for the school from the treasury, and in this school under Feruz's patronage Husayn Kushaev's wife, Komila Kushaeva, began to give knowledge to the girls.

By 1909 the number of madrasas under Feruz had reached 130 and the pupils in them exceeded 2,300. Feruz sent Komil Xorazmiy – an enlightener who occupied an influential position among the intellectuals of Khiva – on a journey to study the teaching methods of the gymnasiums and schools in the city of Tashkent; on his return, Komil Xorazmiy considerably enlivened the work in this field. The curriculum and plan of these schools provided for teaching mathematics, history, geography, natural science, Russian, local literacy (the native language), and Islamic studies. In the course of lessons, the works of Russian poets and writers were studied alongside those of the thinkers of the East – Navoiy, Fuzuliy, Bedil, Sa'diy Sheroziy, Mashrab, So'fi Olloyor, and others. Feruz also led the development of art, education, and culture in the oasis, organizing in his palace the “Typo-lithography of the Padishah of the Age.” The word “lithography” is of Greek origin, from “lithos” (stone) and “graphos” (I write), and the term came to be used in Uzbek as “toshbosma” (stone-printing). In this stone-printing house at Feruz's palace there were published, for the first time, Abu Nasr Forobiy's “Nisobussibiyon,” an excerpt from Alisher Navoiy's “Xamsa,” the poem “Hayratul-abror,” Shermuhammad Munis's “Munisul-ushshoq” divan, Yoqubxo'ja ibn Ibrohimxo'ja's “Devoni xolis” collection, Feruz's “Devoni Feruz,” and dozens of other works.

The Russian-native (russko-tuzemnye) schools

In accordance with the decree of the Governor-General of Turkestan, the Russian settlers began to carry out an educational reform with the aim of opening and expanding Russian schools, Russian-native schools, and gymnasiums in the region, and – at the expense of these – of crowding out the local maktab and madrasas. By this they ostensibly wished to raise the level of literacy of the population of Central Asia, and they sought to exaggerate every action taken. They attempted to belittle the population of the region – which before the upheaval of 1917 was twenty-one per cent literate – as wholly illiterate, and heaped empty slander upon it. They tried to pursue the policy that, in order to make the population of the region literate, Russian schools, Russian-native

schools, and gymnasiums were needed above all, and that literacy could not be achieved in the madrasas, the old-method “usul-i qadimiya” schools, or the otin schools.

Evidence of this may be seen in the data of the population census conducted by Russia in 1897, in which the level of literacy of the population of Central Asia was recorded as follows: Tajiks – 99.5% illiterate; Kyrgyz – 99.4%; Turkmens – 99.3%; Uzbeks – 98.4%; and Kazakhs – 97.9% illiterate. All these figures were fabrications. In reality the level of literacy of the peoples of the region of Turkestan was not lower than that of the population of tsarist Russia, for before the upheaval of 1917 the peoples of Turkestan had received their education in private and public maktab and madrasas and had attained high learning. Indeed, the deliberate belittling, in the said census, of citizens belonging to nationalities other than the Russian was a result of tsarist Russia’s principal ideological struggle, for they considered literate only those who had completed Russian and Russian-native schools, and they strictly persecuted the opening of secular schools and the publication of native-language textbooks, newspapers, and journals.

At the same time the tsarist government opened schools in places inhabited by non-Russian populations, and these schools set themselves the aim of Russification. In the 1860s the tsarist government approved school statutes, on the basis of which primary and secondary schools were reorganized, and it set about drawing up state documents concerning the organization of schools for the non-Russian peoples. The principal political and ideological directives relating to school affairs were expressed in 1870 by D. A. Tolstoy, the minister of public education of tsarist Russia, who declared that the ultimate aim of educating all the alien (non-Russian) peoples living in the fatherland must, without doubt, be their Russification and their merging with the Russian people. Under the Russification directive announced in 1870, all peoples not belonging to the Russian nationality were divided into three categories: the “least Russified peoples” (the peoples of Eastern Siberia and the Volga region), in whose schools instruction was to begin in the native language and later pass to Russian; the “peoples living in districts inhabited also by Russians,” in whose schools instruction was to be conducted at first in Russian, with the native language as an aid in some cases, and to pass as soon as possible to Russian alone; and the “sufficiently Russified peoples” (Ukrainians, Belarusians, and others), in whose schools instruction was to be conducted in Russian alone. The application of these “Rules” led to the complete crowding-out of the experience of

native-language instruction that had arisen in the social movement of the 1860s.

On the basis of this general directive document, instructions defining the principles of the educational work of the schools in particular districts of the vast Russian empire were created and announced. A special administration of the Turkestan educational institutions was established under the Governor-General of the Central Asian district, on which, above all, the task of carrying out the policy of Russification was laid. Having defined the order of the schools' work by appropriate state documents and entrenched the organs of school administration in their aims, tsarism unceasingly intensified its system of fastidiously and minutely supervising the activity of teachers. As General Rosenbach put it: "In carrying out the plan to Russify the region, the school must acquire great significance." Indeed, during the colonial period the Russian-native schools came into being, whose true aim was the Russification of the region. At the beginning of the twentieth century there were in all only some 20,925 workers in Turkestan; the railways were built in order to carry off all the riches of the region to Russia; and the various newly opened schools served to prepare interpreters for the colonial officials.

Government schools and aul schools

In the places inhabited by the Muslim population there had long existed maktabas, madrasas, and the like; against these the tsarist government built special government schools for the numerous peoples of Russia. In most of these schools instruction was conducted in Russian. One type was a four-year school, another a two-year school. Some four-year schools had boarding facilities, in which mostly the children of feudal lords and of the wealthy stratum of the local population were educated. After Turkestan passed under Russian control, the Russian-native schools of Central Asia became rather well known. For the children of the labouring people, however, only two-year literacy schools – not established as a coherent system – were opened. The first aul schools were organized in the auls of the Turgay province in 1892 and were adapted to the nomadic life of the population. In the aul schools Russian, arithmetic, the Kazakh alphabet, and the Islamic religion were taught; instruction was conducted in the pupils' native language, but its level was very low. In 1916 there were 169 aul schools with 5,000 pupils, which made up only about one per cent of all Kazakh children of school age. For the Muslim population of Central Asia and the North Caucasus, Russian-native schools – aimed at their Russification – began to be opened from the 1880s onward;

by their curricula these schools differed from the Russian ministerial schools only in the teaching of the Islamic religion. In the Russian-native schools instruction was in Russian, while religious teaching was conducted in the pupils' native language.

The first Russian schools in Turkestan

In the khanates of Central Asia, Islam was the state religion, and the Muslim imams were firmly bound up with the feudal rulers of the region; thanks to the help of these rulers, there were here very many Muslim educational institutions – maktab attached to mosques, madrasas, and the like. Kaufman, the first Governor-General of Turkestan, adopted a policy of “non-interference” (neutrality) toward all Muslim institutions. Having refused to reform the medieval Muslim schools, tsarism sought to make the Russian schools opened in the places where Russians had settled into an instrument of its policy in the field of education in Turkestan (the first Russian school in Tashkent was opened in 1866). The children of the local population were also admitted to the Russian schools to study together with Russians. In the primary Russian schools of Turkestan, crafts were taught considerably more than in the European part of Russia, the aim being to draw more children of the local population into the schools.

Tsarism's school system of Russification in Turkestan differed from the “Il'minsky system” approved for the Volga region. The Kazan pedagogue Il'minsky had opened separate schools for the Chuvash, Mari, and other peoples of the Volga; in these schools instruction was conducted at first in the children's native languages, with Russian taught as a separate subject, while all the textbooks were composed in the spirit of promoting the Christian (Orthodox) religion. By contrast, among the local population of Turkestan, where the influence of Islam was strong, the missionary work of Christians was not permitted; moreover, the teaching of the Muslim religion was forbidden in the Russian schools; and the local children who entered the Russian schools were taught in Russian from the very first day. The first Russian secondary educational institutions in Turkestan began to be opened in the 1870s: in 1876, men's and women's gymnasiums in Tashkent and in Verniy (present-day Almaty), and in 1879 a teachers' seminary in Tashkent. The children of the local population were admitted to the gymnasiums as well, while in the teachers' seminaries one-third of the places were allotted to local children. Although in some of the first Russian schools opened in Turkestan the children of the local population made up a quarter or more of the pupils, across the whole region of

Turkestan the number of local children studying in such schools did not exceed two hundred.

Most of these too were Kazakh children; Uzbek and Tajik children were very few, because the Muslim imams carried on propaganda against the schools of the “infidels.” In the Russian schools, especially the secondary schools, the children of the wealthy and the privileged made up the majority of pupils by their social position. Although tsarism’s school policy consisted of Russification, the joint study of Russian children and local children nonetheless fostered mutual friendship among them. Children who entered the Russian schools knew no Russian at all, and considerable difficulty arose as a result; a pupil who had entered but knew no Russian usually studied in the lower section until he had learned to speak Russian, and only then was transferred to the upper section. Transfers to the upper sections were made even in the middle of the school year, since the schools were small and lessons were conducted simultaneously with several sections. Most of the Kazakh children studying in the Russian schools lived in boarding houses, where Russian was learned still more quickly and thoroughly. In the early years, in order to occupy the local children more with Russian, pupils at the Tashkent gymnasium were exempted from learning Latin.

By the early 1880s the view had spread that Islam should be taught to the Uzbek and Tajik children studying in the Russian schools so that their parents would not fear these schools. The administrators of Turkestan decided to test how far this view was correct. On 19 December 1884, the first Russian-native school was opened, as a trial, in the “old town” part of Tashkent; ten years later the number of such schools in Tashkent had grown to four, and schools of this type began to be organized in the large cities and villages of the region. Whereas the Russian and Russian-native schools had first appeared in the region in the 1870s, by 1904 their number had reached fifty-seven. In the Russian-native schools a Russian teacher taught the pupils Russian, arithmetic, and other subjects, for which half of the teaching time was set aside; the remaining half was given over to the “Muslim domla,” who, as in the old-method schools, was engaged in teaching the children religious lessons. Only boys were taught in the Russian-native schools; parents did not send their daughters to such schools. In 1903 a Russian-native school for girls was opened in Tashkent by the Turkestan Pedagogical Circle, but its activity did not last long and it closed two years later. The programme and method of

teaching Russian in the Russian-native schools were designed for non-Russian pupils (although Russian children too were sometimes encountered in them).

In the Russian-native school opened as a trial in 1884, the Uzbek language was introduced for the pupils. V. P. Nalivkin, who had lived for six years in a village near Namangan and had learned Uzbek well, was the first to teach Uzbek in this school; he was the first teacher of the trial Russian-native school and taught at the seminary until 1890. In his lessons Nalivkin not only taught the future teachers Uzbek but also kindled in them an interest in studying the region. The Russian population of Turkestan was provided with school education considerably better than the local population. The first Russian school in the region was opened in Tashkent in 1866 and in Samarkand in 1870, and within a year or two Russian schools appeared in the other cities of the region as well. In these Russian schools the children of the local population made up a very small number. In 1876 a men's pro-gymnasium and a girls' pro-gymnasium were opened in Tashkent, and in 1894 a Realschule was opened; these institutions had a boarding house for pupils from other cities and were maintained from the state budget.

In 1879 the Turkestan Teachers' Seminary was opened in Tashkent, intended to train teachers in the native language for the Russian primary grades; from the mid-1880s the seminary also set about training teachers for the Russian-native schools. The compulsory study of the local language was one of the features of this Tashkent seminary. In 1887 a dictionary and grammar treatise compiled by Nalivkin was published – the first manual on the Uzbek language in the history of linguistics. The greater part of the funds allotted for schools was spent on the secondary educational institutions, and especially large sums were spent on the cadet corps in Tashkent. Besides the four institutions already in operation, five more were opened from 1900 onward; women's and men's gymnasiums were established in Samarkand and in New Marg'ilon. In 1905–1916 the number of secondary schools more than doubled, and secondary schools appeared in almost all the district centres. In the economically most developed cities of Kokand and Tashkent, new-type secondary schools – commercial colleges in which boys and girls studied together – were opened in 1905–1907.

The economic development of Turkestan led to the opening of vocational-technical schools. Thus, as early as 1896, a college was opened in Tashkent to train cadres for repairing cotton factories and other plants; in 1897 a course for training irrigation

supervisors was organized; in 1902 an agricultural hydrotechnical school was opened near Tashkent; in 1904 a horticultural school was opened in Samarkand and, in the same year, a railway-technical college in Tashkent; and in 1908 A. M. Malinovskaya opened a private girls' vocational school in Tashkent to train handicraft masters and bookkeepers. In this way the cultural and economic development of Turkestan rose to a considerably higher level.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, by the beginning of the twentieth century the large central cities of the region of Turkestan possessed substantial seats of higher education – 80 madrasas in Bukhara, 40 in Kokand, 22 in Samarkand, 28 in Marg'ilon, and 17 in Tashkent, with from 400 to 5,000 pupils – and in the Samarkand region alone there were 1,510 Muslim maktab by 1906, while in the region as a whole in 1905–1906 there were 5,290 schools with 70,955 pupils. The traditional maktab-and-madrassa system, the colonial network of Russian and Russian-native schools aimed at Russification, and the reformist initiatives of rulers such as Feruz together formed the contradictory educational landscape of Turkestan. It was against this background – of colonial pressure on the one hand and a growing demand for modern, native-language learning on the other – that the new-method (Jadid) school emerged as the decisive answer of the region's enlighteners.

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