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Education and Social Transformation in Kyrgyzstan in Historical Perspective (Late 19th — Early 20th Centuries)

This article discusses the changes in educational institutions in the territory of the modern state of Kyrgyzstan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and their development in the context of imperial expansion, cultural changes and competing modernizing projects in Central Asia. It examines the relationship between the traditional Islamic educational system (maktab and madrasas) and the new educational system of the Russian colonial administration and the Jadid reform movement. As part of their analysis, they studied the schools as institutions where knowledge, cultural values, and values of cultural and national identity were transmitted, where educational practices, public awareness, and the ideas about cultural and national identity were changed. The article examines the institutional characteristics and curricula of the various educational institutions, their social roles and the functions they play in the creation of the national intelligentsia. The study finds that traditional Muslim schools served as a key repository and means of perpetuating historical memory, the oral literary tradition, and the Arabic script. Meanwhile, the graduates of the Jadid schools were engaged in the process of education and cultural reform and in building national consciousness, while the graduates of the Russian native (Russian-Tuzem) schools were serving as intermediaries between the population and the administration of the Russian Empire and then the Soviet state. The analysis shows that during this period the educational environment was not a mere transitional stage but a complex field of interaction between various educational models, and the differences between tradition and modernization, local social initiatives and imperial educational policy. Despite the devastating effects of Stalinist repression of the fledgling Kyrgyz intelligentsia, the educated young played a key role in the dissemination of literacy, in the development of secular education, and in laying the foundations of the national education system, the study shows. Their work, including the production of didactic literature (nasihat) and elementary textbooks such as the Alippe, became one of the intellectual and institutional foundations for the education of the following period in the Kyrgyz Republic.

Keywords: education, maktab, madrasa, Jadid schools, Russian-Tuzem schools, Kyrgyz elite, pedagogical approaches, Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyz young people, mullah.

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Тарихи перспективадагы Кыргызстандагы билим беру және әлеуметтік өзгерістер (XIX ғасырдың аяғы — XX ғасырдың басы)

Мақалада XIX ғасырдың соңы — XX ғасырдың басындағы қазіргі Кыргызстандағы билим беру мекемелерінің трансформациясы, сонымен бірге олардың Ресей империясының экспансиясы, мәдени өзгерістер және Орталық Азиядағы бәсекелес жаңғырту жобалары аясындағы даму үдерісі қарастырылды. Дәстүрлі исламдық билим беру жүйесінің (мектеп және медресе) Ресейдің отарлық әкімшілігімен және жәдиттік реформаторлық қозғалыспен байланысты жаңа билим беру үлгілерімен өзара ықпалы зерттелді. Мектептер билим беру тәжірибесінің, қоғамдық сананың және мәдени әрі ұлттық бірегейлік туралы түсініктердің өзгеруін жүзеге асырған әрі мәдени құндылықтарды қалыптастырудың және жаңа әлеуметтік топтарды даярлаудың аса маңызды институттары ретінде зерделенді. Мақалада әртүрлі типтегі оқу орындарының институционалдық ерекшеліктері, оқу бағдарламалары мен әлеуметтік функциялары, сондай-ақ олардың ұлттық зиялы қауымның қалыптасуына қосқан үлесі талданды. Дәстүрлі мұсылмандық оқу орындарында тарихи жады, ауызша әдеби дәстүр және араб графикасын пайдалануға негізделген жазба мәдениет сақталып, ұрпақтан ұрпаққа берілгені жөнінде қорытынды жасалады. Сонымен қатар жәдиттік мектептердің түлектері ұлттық сананың қалыптасуына ықпал еткен билим беру және мәдени реформаторларына айналса, орыс-түзем мектептерінің түлектері әуелі Ресей империясының, соңынан кеңестік мемлекеттің әкімшілік құрылымдары мен жергілікті халық арасындағы дәнекер рөлін атқарғаны анықталды. Жүргізілген талдау қарастырылып отырған кезеңдегі билим беру кеңістігінің жай ғана өтпелі кезең емес, дәстүр мен жаңғырту, жергілікті қоғамдық бастамалар мен империялық билим беру саясаты арасындағы қайшылықтарды бейнелеген әртүрлі билим беру үлгілерінің өзара ықпалдасуының күрделі жүйесі болғанын көрсетеді. Зерттеу қорытындысында сталиндік қуғын-сүргіннің қалыптасып келе жатқан қырғыз зиялылары үшін жойқын салдарына қарамастан, білімді жастардың сауаттылықты таратуда, зайырлы билим беруді дамытуда және ұлттық ағарту жүйесінің қалыптасуында маңызды рөл атқарғаны тұжырымдалды. Олардың өсиет (насыят) әдебиетін және «Әліппе» сияқты бастауыш оқытуға арналған оқулықтарды жасаудағы үлесі Кыргызстандағы билим берудің одан әрі дамуының зияткерлік және институционалдық негіздерінің біріне айналды.

Кілт сөздер: билим беру, мектеп, медресе, жәдиттік мектептер, орыс-түзем мектептері, қырғыз зиялылары, педагогикалық тәсілдер, Кыргызстан, қырғыз жастары, молда.

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Образование и социальные преобразования в Кыргызстане в исторической перспективе (конец XIX — начало XX века)

В статье рассматривается трансформация образовательных учреждений на территории современного Кыргызстана в конце XIX — начале XX века, а также процесс их развития в более широком контексте имперской экспансии, культурных изменений и конкурирующих проектов модернизации в Средней Азии. Исследуется взаимодействие традиционной исламской системы образования (мактаб и медресе) с новыми образовательными моделями, связанными с российской колониальной администрацией и реформаторским движением джадидов. Школы рассматриваются как важнейшие институты передачи знаний, формирования культурных ценностей и подготовки новых социальных групп, через которые происходили изменения образовательных практик, общественного сознания и представлений о культурной и национальной идентичности. В статье анализируются институциональные особенности, учебные программы и социальные функции различных типов учебных заведений, а также их вклад в формирование национальной интеллигенции. Сделан вывод, что именно в традиционных мусульманских учебных заведениях сохранялись и передавались историческая память, устная литературная традиция и письменная культура, основанная на использовании арабской графики. Вместе с тем выпускники джадидских школ стали проводниками образовательных и культурных реформ, способствовавших формированию национального самосознания, тогда как выпускники русско-түземных школ выполняли роль посредников между местным населением и административными структурами сначала Российской империи, а затем советского государства. Проведенный анализ показывает, что образовательное пространство рассматриваемого периода представляло собой не просто переходный этап, а сложную систему взаимодействия различных образовательных моделей, отражавшую противоречия между традицией и модернизацией, местными общественными инициативами и имперской образовательной политикой. В заключении исследования показано, что, несмотря на разрушительные послед-

ствия сталинских репрессий для формирующейся кыргызской интеллигенции, образованная молодежь сыграла важную роль в распространении грамотности, развитии светского образования и становлении национальной системы просвещения. Ее вклад, включая создание наставнической литературы (насыят) и учебников начального обучения, таких как «Алиппе», стал одной из интеллектуальных и институциональных основ дальнейшего развития образования в Кыргызстане.

Ключевые слова: образование, мактаб, медресе, джадидские школы, русско-туземские школы, кыргызская элита, педагогические подходы, Кыргызстан, кыргызская молодежь, мулла.

Introduction

The modernization of schools in the land that is now Kyrgyzstan at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century is a critical yet insufficiently studied aspect of the history of Central Asia. This was a time of far-reaching socio-political and cultural reformations due to the expansion of the Russian Empire, the continuation of Islamic educational institutions and the rise of reform movements like Jadidism. The presence of these different educational models and their interaction gave rise to a complicated intellectual environment that largely shaped modern Kyrgyz society. The significance of the given work is determined by the rise in the number of scholarly interests concerning processes of cultural change, identity formation and knowledge production in the colonies and semi-colonies. At the current level, reconsidering the history of education in Kyrgyzstan, one may get a better insight into how the rival educational frameworks influenced the hierarchy of societal organizations, intellectual activity, and cultural survival. Moreover, analysis of this theme and era helps to add to the wider debates on modernization, colonial experience, and how education can serve as a means of control and as a cultural exchange. This article aims to discuss the formation and interrelation of various forms of educational institutions in Kyrgyzstan at the end of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century and to evaluate their contribution to changes in Kyrgyz society. To achieve this purpose, the article explores the characteristics of traditional Islamic learning in maktab and madrasas; examines the structure of Russian-native (Russian-Tuzem) schools and their place in the colonial system; examines the role of Jadid educational reforms in introducing new pedagogical standards; and explores the social and cultural consequences of the coexistence of these educational systems. The scientific novelty of the study is the fact that it takes an integrated view toward the analysis of educational institutions as the interdependent components of the same socio-cultural system rather than as standalone phenomena. The article provides a comparative outlook on traditional, colonial and reformist models of education, showing their interaction and interdependence. Moreover, it also focuses on the contribution of educational institutions as participatory agents in the process of creating Kyrgyz identity, thereby providing a more refined interpretation of intellectual and cultural changes during the time.

Materials and Methods

The research used a combination of primary historical sources and historiographical literature. Primary sources consist of official publications of the Russian Empire, archival statistical surveys, periodicals and educational publications reflecting the development of education in Central Asia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The main sources are the issues of *Obzor Ferganskoi oblasti* (Reviews of the Fergana Region) for various years, including 1882 and 1892, *Prilozhenie k Obzoru Semirechenskoi oblasti* (Supplement to the Review of the Semirechye Region), materials published in the newspaper *Turkestanskije Vedomosti*, in 1911. These publications that are rich in statistical data, official reports, administrative documents, and descriptions of the organization of maktab, madrasas, Jadid schools and Russian-Tuzem schools. They form the main documentary evidence for the reconstruction of the educational landscape of the area.

The historiographical framework is based on the results of scientific research conducted before, during and after the revolution. Pre-revolutionary writers like S.M. Gramenitskii[1], N.P. Ostroumov[2], N.A. Bobrovnikov[3], and F.M. Kerenskii[4] explored a number of issues in Turkestan education such as curriculum, organisation of educational institutions and the operation of traditional Muslim and Russian-Tuzem schools. The ideology of socialist modernization, such as that of K.E. Bendrikov [5], A.E. Izmailov[6], and D. Aitmambetov [7], dominated the interpretation of education history in Soviet historiography. They interpreted the history of education mainly from the point of view of socialist modernization, which focused on literacy campaigns, secularization and development of the Soviet school system. Over the last few decades, the study of national identity, cultural heritage and the creation of the national intelli-

gentsia has gained increasing significance, particularly since independence in the Central Asian republics. These new historiographical approaches are illustrated in studies by Z. Kurmanov [8] and M.T. Aitbaev [9].

Methodologically, the study is based on historicism and objectivity. The historical-comparative approach is used to compare the curricula, educational goals, teaching methods and social role of maktab, madrasas, Jadid schools and Russian-Tuzem schools. In the case of official documents and published materials, the texts are subjected to source criticism in respect of reliability, context, authorship and ideological orientation. By this method, it is possible to separate out the administrative representation from the historical facts of educational development. In addition, the social history of education is applied to the analysis of the role of educated young people in the process of social mobility, in the formation of the state intelligentsia and in the early stages of the formation of modern state institutions.

Results

The analysis demonstrates that education in Kyrgyz society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries played a decisive role in expanding literacy, shaping social mobility, and fostering the emergence of a modern intelligentsia. Educational institutions operating in this period, despite differences in structure, curriculum, and ideology, collectively contributed to the formation of basic literacy, moral norms, and intellectual skills among Kyrgyz youth. Empirical evidence indicates a steady growth in the number of schools and students from the 1880s onward, with enrollment rising to approximately 9,500 pupils by the end of the nineteenth century. Instruction combined religious, linguistic, and secular elements, producing a literate stratum capable of reading and writing in Arabic and Russian and engaging with both Islamic and European intellectual traditions. Graduates of these institutions often assumed roles as teachers, poets, administrators, and community leaders, thereby facilitating the transmission of knowledge and cultural values. The following provides statistical information on schools and student enrollment in the territory of present-day Kyrgyzstan between 1880 and 1916 (Table 1).

Table 1

Schools and students in the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan in the period from 1880 to 1916

Education Sphere	Schools (approx.)	Students (approx.)	Notes
Maktab/Madrasas	1,116 (Fergana, 1882)	3,878-9,559 (1883-1890)	Religious, Qur'an, basic literacy; boys dominant, girls limited
Russian-Tuzem	16 (1916)	750 (1916)	Russian language, secular subjects, cultural assimilation
Jadid Schools	16-20 (1910)	500 (1908)-200+ (Iqbal, 1908)	Secular, religious, modern pedagogy, multi-ethnic students

The findings also indicate that education was not only an instrument of cultural tradition but also a social change agent. Critical thinking and politics were developed due to exposure to new teaching techniques, printed textbooks and non-religious topics. There are numerous instances of educated Kyrgyz later taking part in the field of journalism, language reform, and administration of the people. In the early twentieth century, this educated generation became the base of the Kyrgyz intelligentsia, the representatives of which took an active part in the processes of national consolidation and state-building in the Soviet era. On the whole, education during this period of transition was one of the main driving forces of the process of transforming an oral, nomadic society into the sphere of literacy, intellectual distinction, and national consciousness.

Table 2

Comparative Characteristics of Maktab and Madrasas, Russian-Tuzem Schools, and Jadid Schools in Central Asia

Criteria	Maktab and madrasas	Russian Tuzem schools	Jadid schools
Educational orientation	Religious and traditional	Secular and colonial-administrative	Reformist synthesis of religious and secular
Curriculum content	Quran studies, Islamic law, basic literature	Russian language, arithmetic, geography, basic sciences	Religious subjects combined with modern sciences and literature
Language of instruction	Arabic script, local Turkic languages	Russian language	Native Turkic language and partially Russian
Pedagogical methods	Memorization, repetition	Structured classroom system,	Phonetic method, interac-

		formal instruction	tive and modern teaching approaches
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The comparative study as shown in the table shows that the three educational models were not closed systems but operated within the same socio-cultural arena, whose interaction led to complex and even contradictory results. The continuation of religious knowledge and cultural traditions was the preservation of the elements of Kyrgyz identity that were secured through maktab and madrasas. The integration into the imperial administrative system occurred through the Russian-Tuzem schools which encouraged new types of social mobility and, at the same time, led to cultural transformation and partial assimilation. However, the mediating and transformative role was played by Jadid schools that were based on a combination of both traditional and modern education. The focus on innovative approaches to pedagogy and expanded curricula allowed the appearance of a critical and socially active generation that arose and became a steam engine in cultural reform and intellectual growth.

The scientific novelty of the present analysis is that it shows that the presence and interaction of these models of education established a multidimensional educational ecosystem that is dynamic. As opposed to the past research, which considered these schools as different phenomena, the study points out the interconnection between them and how it contributed not only to the spread of literacy and knowledge but also the establishment of social hierarchies, intellectual networks, as well as the emergence of a new Kyrgyz intelligentsia. Connecting the real-life information with the comparative framework, the study sheds new light on how education was a mechanism of cultural preservation as well as a means of colonial rule and modernization of a society. Such an approach helps provide a clear picture of the complicated events that took place with the help of education to transform the Kyrgyz society at the beginning of the twentieth century, providing a new interpretation of the historical context of contemporary Kyrgyz intellectual and cultural life.

Discussion

The case of educational institutions in Kyrgyzstan in the late 19th and early 20th century demonstrates the complicated and rather contradictory character of the role that they played in developing the social and intellectual environment of the Kyrgyz society. The fact that three types of schools were present at the same time, including the traditional madrasas, Russian-Tuzem (local) schools, and the reformist Jadid schools, depicts the transitional nature of the time, which was characterised by competing ideologies, colonialism and the development of national consciousness among the Kyrgyz.

The elementary religious education was mostly provided in maktab, used as small village schools. Studies usually started with the knowledge of the Arabic alphabet, and memorization of Quranic verses and the acquisition of simple literacy. Nomadic Kyrgyz areas often had their education practised in the yurts, where a mullah taught a small group of children. Students generally resided in groups of learners throughout the study and provided food or animals to sustain the educator and were rewarded by their families with material goods as encouragement to master letters and memorize parts of the Quran [7; 17]. Madrasas, which operated side by side with traditional maktab, were major sources of formal education during the time of the Kokand Khanate, which influenced most of the educational centers. These schools taught Arabic writing, Islamic theology, Quranic studies, literature and, to a lesser extent, natural sciences. Mobile schools called *kochmo maktab* («moving schools»), were common in most regions inhabited by Kyrgyz. Training of children in these areas was conducted by a mullah in a yurt and thus allowed the instruction to be based on the nomadic way of life of the people. This educational system was witnessed by the modern spectators. A typical picture in one of these schools was given by the English traveler Wood who came to the area at the beginning of the nineteenth century: «We were in a yurt and an aged mullah was instructing children. Some of the children were learning to write letters on a blackboard, others were humming like bees, learning texts in a greasy-covered and tearing Qur'an, memorizing them» [10; 215].

Maktab had focused on reading and writing, and even on simple arithmetic and useful knowledge that had to be taught to a child to make him/her live in the world. In spite of their predominantly traditional approaches to instruction and their heavy dependence on the use of rote learning, these schools served as an important source of laying the foundations of literacy among young Kyrgyz people, as well as, in the development of the local literate elite. Based on the recollections of Moldogazy Taranchiev, a student at the Tuura-Suu school in the Ton District in 1914, D. Aitmambetov wrote that students slept together in one house, where they kept their bedding, and the mullah and the cook had their family in the separate yurt, called the kitchen. As Taranchiev describes, this yurt was also used to store food supplies and household

utensils, and the mullah ate the food at the cost of the students. It is reported by Aytmambetov that the mullah, whose name was Sagyndyk Mullah, had been requested by the Sayak community and that every student was supposed to provide him with provisions, such as a sheep, a sack of flour, tea and firewood. Additionally, Taranchiev remembered that on the progress of their children in learning letters and memorizing parts of the Quran, parents used to award their children gifts like clothes, livestock, or other valuable products, and another gift, a Thursday gift, which was food or money, was also a norm. According to Aytmambetov, lessons lasted four hours before noon and four to five hours in the afternoon, and evenings were spent in preparing the lessons by candlelight. Fridays were kept as a rest day, when students went home and the school year was on average five or six months, between October and April [7; 17].

According to Borubay Kenensarin (one of the first Kyrgyz poets), he was sent to a mullah in 1903. In his village was a mullah by the name of Sydyk, whose fingers on his right hand were deformed congenitally. During the fall, Kenensarin was brought to the *boz uy* (Kyrgyz yurt) of the mullah, when the latter was meeting with about twenty children. The eldest were between twelve and thirteen years, the youngest were seven to eight. Each of the children brought him presents, and those able to do so gave the mullah twenty or fifty *tyiyn* (coins). Fathers would take their children by the hand leading them to the mullah and make them kneel before him and put the presents on the table. When they handed the coins they said words, which they appeared to have committed to memory: they handed over their children to the mullah, saying, «Mullah, here I bring my child; the flesh is thine, the bones mine; do not spare him. Should he not learn well, you can just punish him» [11; 25].

Specifically, the didactical teaching in the *boz uy* (Kyrgyz yurt) schools was predominantly scholastic and dogmatic. Children had to study religious scriptures in Arabic and Persian without even knowing their content. Realizing this state of affairs, the Russian historian A.I. Krasnov in the 1880s wrote «Children learn for a long time without having the slightest idea, all of them reciting aloud over each other, so that a Muhammadan school is a buzzing bee» [12; 462]. The validity of the observation that Krasnov makes is attested to by the former students of these *boz uy maktab* themselves. A typical example is the memoir of the teacher Musyuraly Kopobayev, who was born in the 1880s and taught in the Soviet era. Recalling his experience in the 1950s, he wrote: «Since the time I was eight years old I went to the village religious school, where I was taught by a mullah. The mullahs taught us long and unintelligible *surahs* of the *Aptiek*, Quran, *Sopoldoyar* and *Four Books* which they themselves did not comprehend. I attempted to learn these long *surahs* like water, being afraid of this mullah of the grim face. We had not only to memorize, but to recite them with perfection and rhythm» [13; 129].

The *maktab-madrasas* were taught using the subjects that were taught in one way across Turkestan, which was based on the Islamic religion. They were *Tarih-i Anbiya* (History of Prophets), *Tahabet*, *Ikra*, *Tarihi Cografiya*, *Muhtasar Tarih* and *Amali Hesap*. Kyrgyz young people educated in *maktab*s and *madrasas* came to be called in the Kyrgyz community in the name of writing poets and the name of *moldo* (*mevla* or mullah) was applied to the literate and educated people. It is also known that there were some literate poets of the Kyrgyz people and they had the reading and writing skills. Some of them are *Moldo Kylych*, *Moldo Niyaz*, *Togolok Moldo*, and *Aldash Moldo*. One such work is *Moldo Kylych's Zilzala* (meaning «earthquake»), the first work written in the Kyrgyz language using the Arabic alphabet. It is known that it was published as a book in Ufa in 1911 [14]. Overall, poets who assumed the name of a *moldo* created songs of encouragement and history of Kyrgyz tribes. Thus, religious books had a profound effect on the curriculum, and students were educated about good and bad, usually with the help of instructive poems and proverbs. A lot of Kyrgyz young people who attended these *madrasas* aided the written tradition of Kyrgyz society by writing down folklore, tribal organizations and lineages. The fact that they were literate in the Arabic language enabled them to participate in wider Islamic intellectual cultures. Graduates of these schools were commonly known as the *moldo* and were taken as the head of the community, teachers and counselors.

The events that took place during the late 19th and early 20th centuries show that a certain part of Kyrgyz people who had been educated in *madrasas* went on to open up *maktab*s in the places where they settled. The Mullah Kyrgyz Madrasa, the Alymbek Datka Madrasa and the Shabdan Bahadir school are examples of note. Under hard times *Nurmoldo Kyrgyzbay Aksykentiy* took down one thousand pine trees of the *Chanaasch* and *Minzhasar* valleys, where his ancestors had a pasture, and had them cut into pillars, beams, lattices, and carved decorations. He brought all supplies using horses, camels, oxen and carts to *Namangan* city and constructed a high-roofed madrasa. The madrasa became known as the Mullah Kyrgyz Madrasa due to the fact that *Kyrgyzbay* was a great mullah. Even after Mullah Kyrgyz's death, his name and efforts for the people were remembered. In the year 1912 the *Namangan* people built a two-story madrasa like the pre-

vious one, and it was named as the Mullah Kyrgyz Madrasa which exists up to this day [15; 576]. To take an illustration, the document entitled Overview of the Fergana Region for 1882 states that in the same year, there were 165 madrasas in the Fergana region and 1,116 schools [16]. Moreover, ten years later, a report of the Fergana Region of 1892 also documents that in 1890, there were 92 schools in the Osh Uyezd [17]. Using archives, M. Sultanova writes that Alymbek Datka, the famous native of Alay region and the son of Asan Bi, had already studied higher sciences of Islam in Bukhara and Samarkand, and his intellectual growth was brought to fruition by these studies. She indicates that in 1860 Alymbek Datka established a madrasa in Osh where two mullahs (teachers) taught and 80 to 100 students studied. Her version states that the madrasa earned a yearly revenue of 1,600 som. M. Sultanova still states further that, according to some sources, Kurmanjan Datka not only was a literate person but also wrote poems that were welcomed by the population. She also writes that the sons of Alymbek Datka attended the madrasa that their father made there, and after graduating became teachers or administrators. In about seventy years, Sultanova concludes, the madrasa of Alymbek Datka became a source of hundreds of educated students and has significantly contributed to the evolution of education in southern Kyrgyzstan [18; 164].

Not only educated individuals established maktabas and madrasas. Some khans of the Kokand Khanate also founded numerous madrasas, often naming them after their mothers or wives. In this way, several khans' wives or female relatives preserved their memory through charitable foundations. For example, Izat-bibi, the mother of Umar Khan, founded one of the wealthiest madrasas in Kokand, known as Min-Ayim. Maqlyar-ayim, the wife of Umar Khan and the mother of Madali Khan, established two large madrasas. Similarly, Haqim-ayim, a Kyrgyz woman from Talas and the wife of Shir Ali Khan and mother of Khudayar Khan, founded two madrasas in the city of Kokand [4; 20].

Contrastingly, the Russian-Tuzem schools which were an extension of the imperial education system were focused on cultural assimilation. On the one hand, they made Kyrgyz young people able to obtain secular education and to work in the colonial and then Soviet administration; on the other hand, they tried to alienate students from their religious and cultural background. Ironically though, the same education helped some Kyrgyz graduates to acquire instruments of political literacy and organization which they then exercised in supporting their national identity.

The Russian Empire had conquered the Kokand Khanate (including the territory of Kyrgyzstan) and, first of all, schools were established where the children of the Russian families which had settled in the regions of Issyk-Kul named Darkhan and Chychkan were to be educated. This type of settlement was slowly spreading to the Chui region. Kyrgyz youths who used to be part of the local population also started attending such schools. The local people favored the opening of Russian-language schools in Kyrgyzstan. In 1884, the Russian-Tuzem school was founded in the village of Karakonuz in Tokmok region and, as it is known in the archives, it opened with 20 Dungan children and 3 Kyrgyz children. Aitmambetov states that Russian schools started appearing in the Northern region of Kyrgyzstan at the end of the 19th century. They opened in Pishpek in 1879, in Kara-Balta in 1880, in the Issyk-Kul region in 1883-1885, in the Talas region in 1889-1890 and the first school was opened in 1878 in Osh [7; 83]. So, with the beginning of small schools in different locations, Russian-Tuzem schools gradually became established in the far At Bashy Valley. Despite the fact that they were initially viewed with contempt by the Kyrgyz people blinded by science and education, they eventually introduced their children into Russian-Tuzem schools with much excitement. Parents even petitioned the schools to provide evening courses on learning Russian to adults and they were granted. Kyrgyz children in these schools attended schools along with Uzbek, Uyghur, Tatar, Dungan and some Russian children. Nevertheless, already in 1873, Kaufman offered the tsarist government a plan of the structure of the Educational Department and Public Education in the Turkestan Region. It said: Public education in the region, its development, should be carried on in the way of Russia interests, which are to work out the economic part of the population, its citizenship and unity, and to unite it with the principles of Russian state life. However, simultaneously, the religious ideology of the foreigners must not be subject to any direct intrusion on the part of the school; it must in no way be confessional in any manner [5; 63].

By censoring the above-mentioned regulations, and classifying books and teachers, it was clear that the Turkestan administration was targeting a similar organization that had been operational in Turkestan under the tenure of General Kaufman. The regulations regarding the administration of the Turkestan Region stated that two settled Muslims (Sarts or Tajiks) were able to initiate a case in front of the people's judge. Two nomads (i.e. Kyrgyz) had an opportunity to bring a case before their respective volost judges and biys (courts and traditional institutions in the Kyrgyz world). Nevertheless, in case one conflict concerned both a Kyrgyz and a Sart, they were stripped of their right to resolve it under the Sharia law and had to address the general

state court. The reasons for this distinction need not be treated; but we observe it to have brought Sarts and Kyrgyz into more intimate familiarity with and feeling of their kinship than they had under the Khans and Biys. This consciousness is further enhanced by the new school regulations [3; 62].

In Kyrgyzstan, Russian-Tuzem schools taught Russian grammar, spelling, dictations were written often, and Pushkin and Krylov fables were memorized. Children of the Russian poor also attended schools that were run in the Russian language depending on the conditions. It is remarkable that, on January 1, 1916, there were 570 students in Russian-language schools in the districts of Pishpek (nowadays Bishkek) and Przhevalsky only, of whom, according to the information, 528 were children of the local population. Accordingly, in 1916, 750 children attended 16 Russian-language schools that had been opened in Kyrgyzstan [6; 31-32]. Some of these would later become statesmen and thinkers in the future, such as Yusup Abdrakhmanov, Kasym Tynystanov, Bayaly Isakeev and Torokul Aitmatov. Colonial rulers established Russian-language schools, however, giving more importance to the education of settlers: formed under the influence of the Russian colonialists, these schools were to assimilate the Kyrgyz students into the Russian system of administration. They focused on the Russian language and culture and gave the basic education. Russian-Tuzem schools were included in the larger practices by the Russian Empire to dominate Kyrgyz locations (Kyrgyzstan) by inculcating loyalty amongst local elites with the help of education. In the 1930s, the first Kyrgyz intelligentsia was based on Kyrgyz youth who graduated from Russian-speaking schools.

Due to the efforts made by the Russian-native schools and educational institutions in the land of modern Kyrgyzstan, the information on their success was spread in the mass media. In fact: As it is, several individuals who are members of the native population currently know the Russian language and can not only speak it, but can also write it [19]. Thus, the education of the children among nomadic Kyrgyz people was carried out in the yurts. Since the second part of the nineteenth century, the schools and student enrolments grew at a fast rate in Kyrgyzstan. There were 3,299 boys and 579 girls in school in 1883 or a total of 3,878 students [20; 46]. In 1886 the student population went to 4,667, of whom 4,176 were boys and 491 girls [21; 64]. This increase in the number of students occurred in 1888, that is, two years later, reaching 8,856 [22; 53]. The student population varied with each year. In 1889, after one year, the number dropped to 6,358 students [23; 80]. However, in 1890, it again increased to 7,576 boys and 1,983 girls, making 9,559 students [24; 101]. As reported by D. Aytmambetov, Pishpek Uyezd (county) had 14 schools (three were girl schools) and a total enrollment of 715 students. In 1909 a school was established in the Sarubagish Volost of Chon Kemin region where 150 Kyrgyz children were educated. A building was designed to be used as a school, which was erected in Temirbolot Volost. On the territory of the same Pishpek Uyezd in a locality called Taldy-Bulak, Kanat Ybykeev opened a school where Kyrgyz instructors were hired [7; 14].

The newspaper *Turkestanские Vedomosti* (1902) reported that most Kyrgyz wanted to study in Russian; nevertheless, the Tokmak Russian-native school was insufficient to serve all those who wanted to attend it. This pressure is also demonstrated by the report on how several thousand Kyrgyz of 26 volosts of the Pishpek Uyezd held an urgent kurultai (assembly) in 1901. This meeting was intended to encourage the use of Russian literacy among children and to request the uyezd administration to build a 150-seat boarding school to accommodate the Kyrgyz teens around the Pishpek city school, and the local population volunteered to take care of the related costs [25]. Kyrgyz students started to visit higher-level urban schools as well (boys and girls gymnasiums), but this was still rather a rarity. Out of the 120 girls attending the Pishpek girls gymnasium, 11 were Kyrgyz and, according to the archival records, during the 1913-1914 school year, two Kyrgyz boys were enrolled at the Pishpek boys gymnasium [26; 20-21]. The role of education was also accentuated by the famous sage Bayzak Tooke uulu, born in 1828 in Jungal, in the end of the 19th century, exhorted his people in practice: Settle down, forget about agriculture, there is not enough livestock. Where possible, open schools, and allow our children to study the Russian language, science and arts [27; 66]. In combination, these images show the desires of the Kyrgyz people towards modern education and the obstacles they had to overcome on their way to it during the late imperial Russia. The findings of the study conducted by G.K. Krongardt pointed to the fact that by 1914 there were 110 Russian villages on the territory of Kyrgyzstan, and the number of migrants who lived there was approximately 122,000. It was the task of the imperial rulers to provide education to this high number of migrants, as well as to enlighten them. In 1879, the Governor-General of Turkestan received a special circular of the Russian Ministry of Education, which stipulated the obligatory education of the children of the Russian population in the Turkestan territory. Even before this, the local colonial government had opened the first parish Russian school in Tokmok in 1870 [28].

Local elites are seen as being at the forefront in the formation of the first Soviet republics in the Central Asian region in many of the recent studies. The elite of the Kyrgyz of that era took an active part in the creation of the Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Oblast [29; 51]. Yusup Abdrakhmanov, a student of the Russian-Tuzem school became one of the most active leaders of the Kyrgyz youth. It is also known that members of the Kyrgyz intelligentsia were educated not only in Russian-Tuzem schools but also in Jadid schools, prominent among them are Torokul Aitmatov and Kasym Tynystanov. The descendants of our people who studied in Russian-native schools prior to the revolution also turned out to be really competent in the initial years of the Soviet power. Literacy and education turned out to be their valuable assets in the hard times of 1920s and 1930s. The first national leaders who played an essential role in the formation, centralization, and development of Soviet Kyrgyz statehood included I. Arabaev, Yu. Abdrakhmanov, A. Sydykov, T. Aitmatov, I. Aidarbekov, B. Isakeev and A. Osmonbekov (the first commander of the Kyrgyz Red Army); their recommendation of studying the Russian science, Russian language, and Russian arts was later confirmed actually and was an indication of a vision of the future, and the necessity of the future life.

A third, middle way was the Jadid schools. They were a subset of a larger Muslim reformist trend which attempted to bring modernization to education as an internalization of the Islamic tradition. A new approach to education in Central Asia was brought by the emergence of the Jadid movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, headed by Crimean Tatar intellectual Ismail Gasprinsky. Jadid schools tried to provide modern Islamic education by adding secular courses like mathematics, geography, history and sciences to the traditional religious education. Their textbooks were printed in the cities of Kazan and Ufa. Nonetheless, the colonial authorities were not so fond of them because Russian was not studied in these schools. Thus, the officials of Turkestan made up their minds to shut down such schools at the end of the 19th century, however, they lacked the resources to shut down such schools totally, and they proceeded with their operation even after that.

Jadid educators tried to raise a new intelligentsia of Muslims with educational skills and phonetic literacy, who could appreciate the modern world of science and thought and still bear in mind the cultural and religious background. In Kyrgyzstan, the scholars of Jadid schools became the first to awaken the nation with their activities as writers, poets, journalists, and cultural personalities in the 1920s and 1930s. Baigaziev believed that Jadid school was religious and at the same time secularly oriented. The old syllabic-letter approach was now substituted with a progressive one, which encompassed not only the phonetic (sound-based) one but the explanatory reading as well [26; 26-27]. Starting with the late 1890s, Tatar schools (Jadid) started to be built in the northern part of Kyrgyzstan. Using archival records of the situation in Kazakhstan, D. Aytmbetov writes that in 1880 there were four schools in Przhevalsk and its environs, one Tatar school, one Uzbek school, and two Dungan schools, containing 111 students in total. By the year 1908, there were 14 Tatar and Uzbek schools in the area, teaching almost 500 children, including approximately 420 boys and 80 girls. Similarly, by 1910, there were 16 Tatar and Uzbek schools in Pishpek [7; 12-13].

Jadid schools had desks, boards, teacher tables, geographical maps and a more modern system as compared to maktab-madrasas. Subjects included Geography, Grammar, Logic, Retelling, Reading, Arithmetic, Geometry, Hygiene, Reading the Qur'an, and History of Islam. As Bobrovnikov noted, national ideas began to form as knowledge, including knowledge of the Russian language, spread among the Kyrgyz population. Consequently, they tried to create their literature written in Kyrgyz language [3; 70].

Kyrgyz young people who studied in these schools became very instrumental in creating national awareness, encouraging literacy campaigns, and supporting social and political changes. Most of them became educators, writers and even activists who strived to keep and elaborate Kyrgyz identity in an ever-changing political environment. Jadidism is a reformist movement that developed later in the 19th century to promote modern education and still impart teachings of Islam. The movement aimed at blending the local traditions with the modern ideas to solve social and cultural problems. Jadids wanted to improve society through education and encouragement of intellectual growth and the exposure of the society to European culture through literacy. Jadid schools were regarded as progressive schools that provided the basis of the Kyrgyz national intelligentsia and helped to reform education in the Soviet period.

The Kyrgyz who attended Jadid schools were political leaders in society during the first half of the 20th century. These were prominent Kyrgyz thinkers who made a contribution towards getting rid of illiteracy. These included Torokul Aitmatov, Ishenaaly Arabaev, Kasym Tynystanov, and Bayaly Isakeev who were suppressed under Stalinism. Ishenaaly Arabaev and Kasym Tynystanov had a particular role in eliminating illiteracy in the Kyrgyz society. They contributed widely to the elimination of illiteracy among the masses, by writing an alphabet textbook for adults [30]. The pioneers of the Kyrgyz language were led by Kasym

Tynystanov. Among the Kyrgyz who attended a Tatar school was Sydyk Karachev, regarded as the first Kyrgyz journalist and prose writer; in 1924, he became the first responsible editor of the newspaper *Erkin Too*, printed in Tashkent. His first short stories were written in the Tatar language [26; 28-29]. Similarity of the inner meaning and the content of schools in the Turkestan region is described by the Russian researcher N.A. Bobrovnikov in the following way: «Regardless of the area of Turkestan, whether in the centre or in the outer regions, the homogeneity and identity of the Muslim schools and madrasas appear to indicate that the hearts and minds of the people were turned towards Islam, which then appeared as something that cannot be separated in their life» [3; 42].

The late 19th and early 20th century saw the establishment of Jadid schools in most parts of modern Kyrgyzstan and they offered education to the Kyrgyz youth. The most famous of these schools was the *Iqbal* (meaning Future) maktab of the city of Tokmok (a city of Kyrgyzstan). There were also Kyrgyz students who were educated at the Galiya Madrasa in the city of Ufa and after completing their education, went back to their country and founded schools. The *Iqbal* school had children of different ethnicities. In 1908, the school had 36 Tatar, 30 Uzbek, 9 Dungan and 200 Kyrgyz students as an example. Over time, *Iqbal* grew into a separate center for training Muslim activists in the entire north of Kyrgyzstan. Students from a number of local schools studied there. *Iqbal* school focused on both religious and secular education [7; 39-41].

In his book «History of the Kyrgyz Shadmania» published in Ufa in 1914, Osmonaly Sydykov, the first Kyrgyz historian to attend the Galiya Madrasa, wrote as follows: Education is a very important factor in life.

«The printing press and the entire library were printed,

Through art, man created these things.

One white Kazakh-Kyrgyz was looking on.

It was due to ignorance that we were left behind.

Why should we lie down so much, my dear!» [31; 3].

Ishenaaly Arabaev went to the far city of Istanbul in Turkey in 1907 where he studied. He spent some time there and after this he resumed his journey to Tehran, Baghdad and finally Mecca. Subsequently, he went to Orenburg, Kazan and Ufa in search of knowledge. He attended the Galiya Madrasa in Ufa between 1910 and 1913; it was an educational institution established to educate students in European sciences as well as in religion. Arabaev conducted educational work in the Issyk-Kul and Naryn areas after receiving a diploma in the Galiya Madrasa. It was his long-term dream to write books in his native language. He and a Kazakh student called H. Sarsakeev first wrote a textbook to be used with Kyrgyz and Kazakh children, called *Alip-be*, or the Phonetic Method of Reading (الفبا ياكە تونە اوقو), which was published in 1911 by the Shark Publishing House in Ufa [32]. Arabaev, having finished his education in the Galiya Madrasa, returned home, founded schools and used his own school textbooks to teach children [26; 52]. In the same way, a student of a Jadid school, followed by a Russian school, Sydyk Karachev, was the editor-in-chief of the first newspaper to be published in Kyrgyzstan in 1924 titled *Erkin-Too*. He subsequently worked as a literary contributor and editor at Kyzyl Kyrgyzstan and Kyrgyzmambas. Besides that, the poetic works of S. Karachev were widely distributed among the public.

The analysis shows that the Russian imperial officials were more afraid of the issue of cultural mediation in Central Asia and the perceived threat of Tatar mediation between the empire and the native people. According to Krasnov's remarks, he feared not only the change of culture but also the loss of Russian ideological and administrative control in the region. The critique of the Jadid-based educational activity was thus more founded on the question of loyalty and identity creation than on the question of competing forms of modernization paradigms [12; 460]. In this case, the imperial observers found Jadid schools to be the means of cultural realignment, which did not require such strict Russian control, showing the failure of the imperial educational policy in the steppe.

The case of educational institutions in Kyrgyzstan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries illustrates the complex and contradictory role of schooling in shaping the social and intellectual environment of Kyrgyz society. Maktab and madrasas offered basic literacy, religious education and cultural continuity, and students were usually taught in yurts under mullahs and subsidized by their families through material contributions as archive sources and memoirs document. The imperial regime introduced Russian-Tuzem schools which helped to promote secular education, learning Russian, and entry into the colonial bureaucracy, but also inadvertently provided Kyrgyz children with the instruments of political and cultural literacy. Based on the reformist thoughts of Ismail Gasprinsky, Jadid schools combined religious and secular curricula, modern methods of pedagogy and gave rise to a new intelligentsia who were active participants in literacy campaigns, cultural production and awakening of the nation. Together, these institutions formed a multidimen-

sional educational system whose interactions shaped literacy, social mobility, and the development of a modern Kyrgyz intelligentsia proving the weakness of the colonial policy and the mechanisms of adaptation of the local communities.

Conclusions

Late 19th- and early 20th-century Kyrgyzstan had a unique educational landscape that was characterized by three types of schools—traditional maktab and madrasas, Russian-Tuzem schools, and Jadid schools, each playing their specific social, cultural, and political role. Maktab and madrasas maintained Islamic scholarship, literacy in the Arabic language, and moral tradition, and their graduates created advisory verse, recorded genealogies, and increased access to education by establishing schools. Russian-Tuzem schools focused on secular education, learning the Russian language, and managerial skills, which resulted in the creation of intellectuals and early Soviet managers, yet many of these later became targets of repression during Stalinist purges. Jadid schools integrated Islamic and modern secular education, encouraged reformist ideas, and fostered a sense of nationalism, and they were at the center of the Awakening of Asia as they educated Kyrgyz youth to be open to modern ideas while still maintaining their culture. Together, the graduates of all three systems were educated, wrote, and engaged in journalism, which led to the formation of the intellectual and political life of the Kyrgyz. Their works formed the basis of literacy, education, national identity, and contributed to the formation of the Kyrgyz intelligentsia that became active in the processes of modernization, nation-building, and social change at the beginning of the 20th century.

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