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**ТАРИХ – ИСТОРИЯ – HISTORY**

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**TEACHING OF ISLAMIC SCIENCES IN SCHOOLS AND MADRASAS OF THE BUKEY HORDE UNDER THE RELIGIOUS POLICY OF TSARIST RUSSIA**

**Annotation.** This article provides a comprehensive analysis of the teaching of Islamic sciences in schools and madrasas of the Bukey Horde within the framework of Tsarist Russia's religious policy. From the first half of the 19th century, a Muslim educational system developed in the Bukey Horde, organized by mullahs and religious scholars. These institutions played a crucial role in spreading literacy and promoting Islamic values among the local population. However, the Russian Empire sought to weaken the influence of Islam by implementing various restrictive measures. Between the 1840s and 1870s, the imperial administration placed Muslim schools under state supervision, curtailed waqf activities, established Russian-native schools, and made Russian a compulsory subject. The study analyzes archival materials concerning Khan Zhangir's educational reforms, the impact of Tatar mullahs, the establishment of the first Russian-Kazakh schools, and the ideological struggle against Islam. It demonstrates that the Bukey Horde's educational system gradually acquired a colonial character, becoming an instrument of imperial ideology and cultural assimilation. Furthermore, the article highlights the significance of Muslim madrasas in preserving religious and cultural identity among the Kazakhs and examines the mechanisms of spiritual colonization pursued by Tsarist authorities to control the local population.

**Keywords:** Bukey Horde, Tsarist Russia, Islamic sciences, madrasa, Russian-Kazakh school, religious policy, spiritual colonization.

*Introduction*

The history of education represents a distinct branch of national historiography and is closely interconnected with the overall development of historical science. In past centuries, the educational system of the Bukey (Bökey) Horde was characterized by its unique features. The issue of education in the Bukey Horde has generally been addressed only fragmentarily, as an additional component of broader social and cultural studies. The development of education in the Bukey Horde can be divided into three main stages.

In the first stage, beginning with the resettlement of the Kazakhs to the right bank of the Ural River and lasting until the end of 1841, education was obtained exclusively through Muslim schools (madrasahs). The second stage, covering the period from December 6, 1841, to November 1868, marks the establishment of the first Russian-Kazakh school at the Khan's headquarters. The third stage began in 1868, when local schools came under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Council. In 1874, new local schools were opened, and efforts were intensified to promote literacy in the Russian language. Initially, the Russian-Kazakh schools operated under the authority of the Provisional Council, but on November 20, 1874, they were transferred to the supervision of the Ministry of Public Education of the Russian Empire. Although the Bukey Horde's administration was under the jurisdiction of the Astrakhan Governor, its educational affairs were subordinated to the Orenburg Educational District. Subsequently, according to the regulation approved by the Committee of Ministers on January 14, 1877, beginning in 1879, the educational system was placed under the authority of a special inspectorate for the schools of the Horde.

The earliest form of education in the Bukey Horde was closely connected with Muslim schools, where mullahs played a significant role. With the growth in the number of mullahs, the number of Muslim schools also increased. By the mid-19th century, there were 38 Muslim schools in the Inner Horde, serving approximately 400 students — 350 of whom were Kazakhs and 50 Tatars. As a result, Tatar script became widespread across the Kazakh steppe, and a Kazakh who did not know the Tatar language was considered illiterate within his own community.



The renowned ethnographer and historian Salyk Babazhanov noted that until the early 1800s, the Kazakhs of the Bukey Horde were largely unfamiliar with writing. He observed that: “Despite the Kazakhs’ various pretexts and justifications, they possessed an exceptional ability to recall past events, as if bound by thread, without forgetting. The written orders, rewards, or pardons issued by Russian officials became subjects of lively discussion and deep curiosity among the people. Everyone — even the esteemed Khan himself — could not resist bowing before the power of writing. This alone compelled the Kazakhs to recognize the greatness of literacy over ignorance.”

This statement demonstrates that the Russian officials’ decision to promote the teaching of the Russian language among the Kazakhs was not accidental, but rather a deliberate policy aimed at maintaining their subjugation and ensuring imperial control [1, p. 67].

#### *Materials and Methods*

This study employs historical-comparative and source-critical methods to examine the formation and development of Islamic education and religious institutions in the Bukey Horde. The primary sources consist of official archival documents, reports, and correspondence preserved in the central archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation. In particular, materials from the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Fond 78, Volume 2, File 153); the Central State Archive of the Orenburg Region of the Russian Federation (Fond 222, Volume 2, File 2); the Central State Archive of the Astrakhan Region (Fond 1, Inventory 11, File 1196; Fond 1, Volume 2, File 1730); and the National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan (Fond 92) were utilized as the principal empirical base.

The archival sources provided valuable insights into the structure of the religious education system in the Bukey Horde, including the organization of madrasas and schools, as well as the activities of teachers and mullahs. Additionally, the administrative documents and official reports enabled the identification of the Russian Empire’s policy toward Islam and its control mechanisms over Muslim educational institutions in the region.

The study also draws upon a wide range of secondary literature, including R. F. Auelkhanov’s *The Role and Functions of the Orenburg Muftiate in the Political Life of Kazakh Society*, T. T. Tazhibayev’s *Schools of the Inner Horde in the Second Half of the 19th Century*, T. Z. Rysbekov’s *The History of the Bukey Horde*, A. Mukhanbetzhanova’s *Education in the Bukey Horde*, and M. Egemberdiyev’s *The Russian Empire and Muslim Educational Institutions (Late 19th – Early 20th Centuries)*. These scholarly works provided a comprehensive framework for analyzing the socio-political and cultural dynamics of the Bukey Horde.

Methodologically, the research integrates historical-genetic, structural-functional, and comparative approaches. By correlating archival data with academic studies, the investigation elucidates the evolution of Islamic education within the Bukey Horde and the extent of the Russian imperial administration’s influence upon it. Furthermore, through the synthesis of quantitative evidence and qualitative description, the study identifies the socio-cultural significance of Islamic educational institutions in the life of the local Muslim community.

#### *Research Results*

Kazakhstan’s proximity to the imperial center facilitated the successful implementation of the Russian colonial policy. In the early period, Kazakh youth who wished to receive a Russian education had to study outside their homeland, in cities across the Russian Empire. From 1840 onward, wealthy Kazakhs of the Inner Bukey Horde began sending their children to Astrakhan for Russian education. However, since each boy had to hire a private tutor (mullah), studying there was costly. For this reason, it was said that “Jangir Khan considered establishing education for the people of the Horde within his own territory and viewed Orenburg as the main source and true gateway to knowledge” [1, p. 64].

With the approval of the Orenburg Border Commission, on October 24, 1842, Sadriddin Mukhamet Aminev was appointed as a teacher and mullah at the Horde school [6]. Kazakh children received education in well-known madrasas in Seyitov Posad, Sterlitamak, Ufa, and Kazan. The sixty-four Tatar madrasas established in the Khan’s headquarters enjoyed great prestige. For these madrasas, teachers were invited from Kazan, Siberia, Nizhny Novgorod, and Tomsk guberniyas. At the same time, schools were opened in the Khan’s headquarters to prepare Kazakh children for gymnasiums [1, pp. 63–64].

By 1861, the number of Muslim schools had reached 55, with 1,300 pupils. In 1866, there were 93 schools with 3,141 pupils, and by 1872, 154 schools with 3,821 students. However, later these numbers declined sharply— to 88 schools and about 3,000 pupils. According to the school inspector’s data from 1888, there were 52 Tatar schools in the Horde, attended by 1,262 boys and 102 girls. In fact, literacy among pupils of Muslim schools in the Horde developed to a much higher level than Tatar literacy. The mullahs conducted classes with state support, though the curricula remained simple, focusing on reading and writing in Tatar, memorization of selected passages from the Qur’an, and the rules of prayer. These schools were maintained through community and parental funds.

On March 26, 1870, a government decree made the teaching of the Russian language mandatory in national schools. When this order began to be implemented in the Horde, some mullahs expressed distrust toward it. To



influence them, the Orenburg Mufti sent a circular letter authorizing the inclusion of Russian language instruction in their schools. According to the decision of the State Council on November 20, 1874, all Muslim schools, madrasas, and even private tutors were placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Public Education.

On December 6, 1841, Jangir Khan opened the first school in his own headquarters, where bilingual education in Kazakh and Russian began among the Kazakhs. Despite being the only such school, the Khan managed to attract pupils and demonstrated its benefits to his people. Initially, the school was funded entirely from his private resources. Besides the Khan's children, Russian residents of the palace also studied there. By 1852, the number of pupils reached 23, most of whom were from ordinary Kazakh families. After the Khan's death in 1848, an imperial order allocated 1,404 rubles annually for the school's maintenance, with an additional 251 rubles from local taxes. The school employed two teachers: one, paid 150 rubles a year, taught Kazakh, Persian, Arabic, and Islamic subjects; the other, earning 250 rubles, taught Russian language, penmanship, grammar, and arithmetic. Additional funds were allocated for supervision, food, clothing, and building maintenance. By January 1, 1890, there were 38 students—25 Muslims and 13 Christians—20 of whom were state-sponsored [4].

Pre-revolutionary Russian and Soviet historiography largely ignored Muslim educational activity, claiming that only 2% of Kazakhs were literate. Yet, madrasas had in fact posed a serious obstacle to the realization of the Tsarist Empire's goals. A series of measures were undertaken to weaken them, one of which was the replacement of the Arabic script with Cyrillic. Missionary scholars such as N.

Ilminsky, N.P. Ostroumov, and Nalivkin played key roles in this effort. On March 16, 1870, the Russian Ministry of Public Education adopted a regulation based on Ilminsky's system, designed to bring Muslim populations under Russian spiritual dependence. This marked the beginning of a concealed yet systematic struggle against Islam in the field of education.

The Tsarist government pursued two main strategies. First, it sought to undermine Muslim educational institutions by pressuring waqf endowments that financed them. Second, it promoted the establishment of mixed Russian-native schools aimed at integrating and assimilating Muslims. The state provided no financial assistance to Muslim schools; on the contrary, restrictions tightened. To continue functioning, schools and madrasas had to obtain official permission from the governor-general and were allowed to operate only if they employed a Russian language teacher [5].

Later, adult schools also emerged in the Bukey Horde. However, these were not intended to provide general education or literacy; rather, they taught basic Islamic knowledge and interpretation, preparing graduates as semi-literate assistants. Those who completed the two-year course were sent to rural areas as teachers. The effectiveness of these schools depended largely on their instructors' qualifications. Yet, highly educated teachers were rare in Kazakhstan at the time. Thus, teaching positions in Russian-Kazakh schools were filled by graduates of the Kazan Teachers' Seminary, the Orenburg Kazakh School, and the Neplyuev Cadet Corps. However, the Kazan Seminary primarily trained Orthodox missionaries. Compared with teachers in religious schools, instructors in Russian schools were more active and enthusiastic in spreading Russian-Kazakh education and promoting literacy. Nevertheless, these schools propagated Russian rather than traditional Kazakh culture, criticizing old customs and practices as well as the shortcomings of Muslim pedagogy [2].

After the establishment of the Temporary Council, the Tsarist administration ceased providing any assistance to schools that taught Islam. Following the 1868 reform related to the Inner Horde, Muslim mullahs and religious schools came under strict surveillance and repression. Archival documents confirm this: "According to the regulation currently in force regarding the steppe regions, Muslim religious institutions in Orenburg and Siberia were removed from the jurisdiction of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly and placed under the authority of the general civil administration" [7].

The prohibition of Islamic propagation intensified yearly. Even after the reform concerning the Inner Horde, the Russian Empire continued its anti-Islamic policies to accelerate Russification. A document from 1870 stated: "By the order of His Majesty, the teaching of the Russian language has been introduced in all Tatar schools, and no new schools or madrasas are to be opened unless they employ a Russian language teacher" [8].

The oppression of Islam intensified even further in the local region of the Inner Horde. Tsarist officials made every effort to reduce the number of students attending schools that propagated Islamic teachings. They used sultans, nobles, and careerist local administrators and elders within the Inner Horde to carry out provocations against Islam. Despite such actions, the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde increasingly attended schools that provided Islamic education. The inhabitants of the Inner Horde treated mullahs who taught Islam with particular respect and provided them with special services. This is evidenced by Salyk Babazhanov's words: "The mullah is a teacher who teaches morality; they are respected everywhere, given food, treated with humility, and their words are followed without hesitation" [9].

The Kazakhs regarded literacy, learning to write, and expanding their intellectual horizons as a sacred duty. Educated individuals were held in high esteem and served as examples to their communities. Therefore, the



residents of the Horde, especially the wealthy, often hired private mullahs for their families, learning Islamic law and literacy directly in their homes.

According to the report submitted by the Bukey (Inner) Horde to the Astrakhan Khanate on January 1, 1896, there were a total of 62 schools in the Inner Horde. Among them were two two-class schools, six one-class rural schools, fourteen higher schools, and thirty-eight madrasas and religious institutions. The total number of teachers in the Inner Horde was 89, of whom 58 were religious instructors. Approximately 400 students were enrolled in madrasas and religious schools [10].

A description of the interior of a Russian–Kazakh classroom (in the two-class Horde school) is as follows: among the modest conditions of the classroom, the portrait of His Imperial Majesty Emperor Nicholas II stood out. Every day after lessons ended, students would gather near the portrait and sing “God Save the Tsar” (“Bozhe Tsarya Khrani”). When the mullah, who taught religion, began his lesson or recited the school prayer at the start of the day, he would sit facing the portrait. In all Russian–Kazakh schools of the Bukey Horde, the portrait of the Tsar, first hung during the reign of Zhangir Khan, held high honor and religious significance.

Taking this into account, the inspector of schools submitted a request for funds to acquire and install portraits of His Imperial Majesty Nicholas II in local Russian–Kazakh schools—especially for the poorer village schools—considered of great symbolic value. Specifically, portraits printed by Markus Press and Gal’kin, which were noted for their elegant appearance on the walls.

The development of choral singing in Russian–Kazakh schools was notable. In 1895, with permission from the local educational authorities, the school inspector installed two harmoniums: one for the two-class men’s school and another for the women’s school at the Khan’s Palace. The instruments were personally selected by V. Smolensky, the director of the Moscow Synodal Choir, from the B.G. Zimmerman store, and each cost 190 rubles (according to the store’s catalog No. 4044 for the year 1895) [11, 182].

Regarding the school at the Khan’s Palace: it was established in 1892 with funds raised by the local Tatar community, costing more than 3,000 rubles. Most other madrasas and schools in the Horde were located in earthen houses, but among them, the madrasa in New Kazan stood out architecturally. Both the Horde school and the New Kazan madrasa included well-equipped Russian classrooms. In 1894, the Horde school had 21 male students. According to data provided by administrators and mullahs, the total number of madrasas and schools in the Horde in 1894 was 36, with 415 male students enrolled. These figures, however, are likely inaccurate, as the actual number of Islamic educational institutions and students must have been significantly higher [11, 183].

Regarding the women’s school at the Khan’s Palace: it was described by the inspector of Horde schools and the school’s religious instructor, Mullah Abdullin. In the photograph taken on October 17, 1895, Abdullin appears alongside A.G. Danilevskaya, the headmistress since the 1894/1895 academic year, and the school’s Kazakh girl students; nearby are L.V. Metanieva, another teacher (currently headmistress), and several Russian women teachers [11, 186].

Жаңа-Қазандағы медресе Ордадағы абаттандырылғандардың бірі және біз бұл The madrasa in New Kazan was one of the most well-maintained in the Horde, and it was assumed that this would provide a clearer depiction of student life. However, the lighting inside proved to be quite poor, as the building had few windows. The scene was described as follows: on a half-carpeted floor, before a low table covered with books, sat Mullah Galikeev (a Tatar), teaching his students. Around him, up to twenty khalfas and shakirids (disciples) were seated. Some listened attentively to the mullah’s explanations and looked through the books, while others sat on the floor, writing in Tatar [11, 190].

On Friday, October 13, Yakub Buzaov (Zhakyb Buzaov), an officially recognized mullah of the 7th starshina (administrative district) of the Talov section, had just finished performing his prayers—considered sacred by Muslims—and exited the mosque when he encountered a photographer. The photographer requested to take a picture of Buzaov together with his students. However, since there were no classes that day, Buzaov ordered felt rugs and carpets to be spread in front of the madrasa, placed his staff against the wall, and, along with some of his visitors, posed for the photograph. The madrasa building reflected the architectural style common to the region [11, 191].

Most students of the Tobolsk and Orenburg Governorate madrasas were unable to find positions as mullahs in their home areas and therefore became tutors for the children of wealthy families. About half of the graduates of the Tarsk district madrasa went to the Kazakh steppe. These teachers were not under government supervision, and their number was significantly greater than that of officially designated mullahs.

Until the 1860s, the Bukey Khanate had no library other than the Khan’s personal collection. This created great difficulties, as students and teachers lacked access to additional literature. Even graduates of the Orenburg Neplyuev Cadet Corps who were assigned to serve in the Horde spent long periods performing purely mechanical work without opportunities to read books. Consequently, instead of improving their education, they gradually forgot what they had learned at the Corps. In light of this situation, a proposal was submitted to the deputy governor



to establish a library and to allocate 75 rubles annually for this purpose. Agrov, the priest of the Alexander Nevsky Church in the Khan's headquarters, requested an annual allocation of 30–40 silver rubles for the publication of religious books. The governor-general recognized the need for a library and allocated funds for periodicals and religious literature [3, 69].

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The Bukey Khanate became one of the cultural and educational centers of Kazakhstan. In the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, educational activities in the Khanate developed through various systems of schooling. In the initial period, Muslim schools played a major role. Data preserved from the writings of state officials do not allow for an exact determination of the number of Muslim schools or their rate of growth. Therefore, brief statistical reports serve as the main sources. The reported numbers of Muslim schools and students vary considerably. Determining the number of schools also helps to establish the number of mosques and clergy [3, 53].

Until 1868, that is, before the administrative reform, the only Russian–Kazakh school in the Inner Horde was located at the Khan's headquarters; all other institutions were Muslim schools and madrasas. According to N. Levanov, a former teacher in the second district of the Inner Horde, there were 154 Muslim schools in 1872, with 3,821 students. Official reports from the uchilishche (educational institutions) listed only 38 Muslim schools and madrasas. On November 11, 1891, Rostovtsev, the trustee of the Orenburg educational district, wrote to the Ministry of Public Education stating that there were about 400 Muslim schools and madrasas in the Bukey Horde.

According to Astrakhan Bulletin, as of January 1, 1899, there were 60 schools and madrasas in the Bukey Horde with a total of 1,679 students, including 1,436 boys and 243 girls. The girls were taught by the wives of the mullahs.

In the Inner Horde, Zhangir Khan's educational policy was primarily aimed at opening primary schools adjacent to mosques. A system of religious centers headed by mullahs was established. The Orenburg Mufti had a significant influence on the Khan's government in strengthening Islam among the Kazakh population. Mullahs were invited from Kazan and Orenburg, and Kazakh youths were sent to study in religious schools and madrasas in Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg, and Astrakhan. Zhangir Khan issued a decree to collect funds for the construction of mosques with primary schools. Tribal leaders were tasked with raising these funds. Local mullahs were appointed by the Khan and were responsible for maintaining the mosques in their localities. The activities of religious officials were centralized. The main mosque at the Khan's headquarters was headed by an akhun, whose duties included supervising the network of local mosques and mullahs.

A special commission under the Khan's authority was established to examine and approve mullahs, reassign them, and regulate religious appointments. By the mid-19th century, each tribe or administrative unit had its own



officially recognized mullahs, replacing the formerly self-proclaimed ones. The Khan aimed to gradually replace foreign (Tatar and Bukhara) mullahs with local Kazakh clergy.

Although official statistics on the development of mosques in the Bukey Khanate are approximate, they nonetheless help trace the growth of Muslim education. The number of students in Muslim schools was much greater than in Russian or Russo-native schools. However, the stability of these schools was inconsistent, depending on the material conditions of the population, the personality of the religious leaders, and geographical and natural factors. Wealthy mullahs and peasants provided financial assistance for the maintenance of Muslim schools [3, 54].

Most Muslim schools in the Bukey Khanate were supported by voluntary contributions from students' parents and tuition fees. According to the records of the Orenburg Regional State Archive, mullahs, literate Tatars, and Kazakhs teaching children received payment in the form of livestock: one cow, five sheep, or, in some cases, a horse or a camel for six months of instruction [3, 72].

Government agencies did not provide material support to Muslim schools. The social composition of students was diverse: children of ordinary Kazakhs and Tatars studied alongside the sons of mullahs and wealthy herders. Home-based instruction also existed among the Kazakhs, although specific data on this are lacking [3, 73].

As for the teaching process, there were no formal programs or statutes in Muslim schools. Instruction was usually conducted during the winter. Attendance was voluntary. Each school was led by a single teacher, who invited another literate person or one of his best students to assist when the number of pupils increased [3, 28].

The curriculum included Arabic script, Turkic languages, religion, and arithmetic. In general, education was religiously oriented, though its academic quality remained low. Despite this, Muslim educational institutions enjoyed great prestige and played a significant role in the cultural and intellectual development of the population. In 1841, Zhangir Khan opened a new-type secular school in the Bukey Horde, separate from the traditional Muslim schools [3, 55].

The students' bedding and clothing at the school were provided by the state. According to the inspection of 1861, the influence of the mullah on the upbringing and mentality of the youth in the Horde was very strong. As a result of this inspection, beginning in 1864, Islamic Sharia instruction was separated from the Kazakh (then called Kirgiz) language curriculum. The study and writing of Arabic and Persian were removed from the educational program. In 1861, Colonel Gern raised the issue of establishing schools under regional administrations in order to free Kazakh education from primitive religious instruction [3, p. 57].

In the Russian–Kazakh schools of the Inner Horde, religious subjects made up one-fourth of the curriculum. In Muslim and Tatar schools, however, most subjects were religious in nature [3, p. 65].

In 1894, there were 278 students (269 boys and 9 girls) studying in schools across the Bukey (Inner) Horde, and 17 mullahs were employed as teachers. The detailed distribution was as follows:

Kalmyk Division – At the school near the No. 2 Starshina, teaching was conducted by Akhun Chinabekov, with 25 male students. In the Zhyrakuduk settlement, instructor-mullah Dzhuruktaev taught 15 boys and 5 girls. At the school near the Sakhayinsky Cathedral Mosque, teaching was conducted by the Akhun of the No. 1 Starshina. In the “Torgyn” settlement, instructor-mullah Garanov taught 18 boys. In the “Sarbasty” settlement, Akhmed Khudaikulov taught 20 boys. In the “Khorun” settlement, Gabdolla Koykhodzhin taught 25 boys. In the “Shanady” settlement, Balghara Tlekbayev taught 15 boys.

Naryn Division – In the “Zharkiyak” settlement, the No. 4 Starshina school was taught by instructor-mullah Zhuban Dzhurtybekovich, with 12 boys. In the “Terekty Kum” settlement, instructor-mullah Kadyrberli Bekbayev taught 8 boys and 2 girls. In the “Meshit-Tagyl” settlement, Akhun Imangali Murzaliev taught 13 boys and 2 girls.

Talov Division – In the “Aldarin” settlement, Mullah Serdiki Kadyrbekov taught 20 boys. In the “Doshlydy” settlement, Mullah Gumarov taught 10 boys. In the “Yrbas-Kol” settlement, Mullah Kubeev taught 20 boys. In the “Uyrek” settlement, Mullah Ileshev taught 15 boys. In the “Karasu” settlement, Mullah Buzaubov taught 25 boys. In the “Kossaral” settlement, Mullah Dzhantyrov taught 10 boys. In the “Karakoğa” settlement, Mullah Abdrakhmanov taught 10 boys.

Primorsky Division – At the madrasa near the mosque, Mullah Kabyllov taught 10 boys [12]. On October 20, 1894, following the death of Emperor Alexander III, the school inspector visited the local mosque with Kazakh (then Kirgiz) students after leaving the church. There, the mullah administered an oath of loyalty to the Emperor in accordance with Islamic law. After leaving the mosque, the inspector instructed teachers to dedicate the remainder of the day to commemorating the late Emperor, to discuss his life with students, and to sing “God Save the Tsar.” This demonstrates the dominance of Christian influence in the schools.

According to Inspector A. Voskresensky's 1894 report, there were a total of 307 students studying in Bukey Horde schools: 270 boys and 37 girls. The distribution was as follows: Boys – Orda (49), Ulken Ganyushkin (51), Kamysh (21), Kamysh-Samarsky (38), Naryn (21), Talov (37), Torgyn (32), Russian-class school near the Khan's



Palace (21). Girls – Kamysh-Samarsky (4), Talov (1), Girls' school (32). Among them, 55 were Christians (Orda – 17, Ulken Ganyushkin – 9, Kamysh-Samarsky – 6, Naryn – 1, Talov – 5, Girls' school – 17), and 250 were Muslims (Orda – 30, Ulken Ganyushkin – 42, Kamysh – 21, Kamysh-Samarsky – 36, Naryn – 20, Talov – 33, Torgyn – 32, Russian-class school – 21, Girls' school – 15). By ethnicity, of the 307 students, 228 were Kazakh, 57 Russian, and 22 Tatar [14].

To advance Muslim education, the Khan's Palace Society School began operating in 1909. From that year, it was officially registered as a confessional (interethnic) school with the approval of the regional inspector. Instruction was conducted in the Tatar language. The curriculum included Islamic faith, elementary arithmetic, and the Tatar language, taught using textbooks printed in Kazan such as Qur'an, Muntazam-Kharaat, Kahida Kitab (Tatar Grammar), and Turki-Sart (Fannit-Tajvast) (How to Read the Qur'an Correctly).

Among the teachers was Nazmuddin Shaikhuzamanov, a Tatar peasant from the Tetyush District of Kazan Province, educated at a madrasa. The course of study lasted four years. The Galikeev Akhun Madrasa in New Kazanka Village was opened in 1894. Instruction there was in Tatar and included literacy, arithmetic, history, geography, Arabic grammar, Qur'anic studies, and analysis. The textbooks used included Muallim-Nahu (A. Gumarov, Astrakhan, 1910), Risale-Garai (Gumarov, 1910), Muallim-Shariga (Zabirov, Kazan, 1906), Muallim-Sar (Gumarov, Astrakhan, 1910), Sumiamul-Narvat (Adutov, Kazan, 1909), Reading Book (Abuzarov, Kazan, 1910), Geography-Ijmali (Khanafi, Kazan, 1908), Bidayt Geography (Kazan, 1909), History of the Prophets (Tarikh Anbiya) (Khanafi, Kazan, 1907), and Kisay Masalary (Bagdanov, Kazan, 1909).

The teaching staff included Akhun Galikeev, Gabdolla Gabdrashidov, Gabdrakhman Khamidullin, Kairgalin Yagubbayev, and Hakim Abdushev—all graduates of traditional madrasas. However, they were also familiar with the new teaching methods introduced in Kazan and Ufa. There was no fixed curriculum; each teacher determined what to teach each year. Education lacked a unified system and methodical oversight. Students enrolled voluntarily with particular teachers. Each instructor managed multiple subjects, meaning the madrasa largely retained its traditional teaching structure.

The madrasa had six main divisions and a seventh preparatory section, with examinations required for promotion between levels. By 1913, there were 150 students enrolled at the New Kazanka Madrasa. As of January 1, 1913, the Inner Horde had 39 schools and 61 madrasas, totaling 100 Muslim confessional schools. Of these, 10 followed the new method (*usul-i-jadid*), while the rest used the old traditional method (*usul-i-qadim*) [14].

The rapid expansion of Russian schools alongside Muslim schools across Kazakh lands created opportunities for intellectually curious and ambitious Kazakh youth to determine their life goals, career paths, and education choices. However, it is essential to acknowledge that the long-standing spiritual traditions of the people—passed down through generations—were deeply affected by the deliberate and cunningly executed policy of spiritual colonization, which left lasting and painful consequences.

#### *Conclusion*

In conclusion, the teaching of Islamic knowledge in the schools and madrasahs of the Bokei Horde was a complex historical phenomenon directly connected to the colonial and religious policies of Tsarist Russia. From the second half of the 19th century, the main goal of the empire was to fully integrate the Kazakh people under its control, to undermine their national and religious unity, and to gradually remove Islam from public life. To achieve this, the Russian administration issued various laws and directives restricting the activities of religious schools and madrasahs and sought to diminish the prestige of Muslim educational institutions. However, despite these suppressive measures, the Islamic schools of the Bokei Horde did not cease to function; instead, they became the spiritual foundation of the local population.

The schools and madrasahs of that period served as centers of culture and enlightenment for Kazakh society. Alongside religious education, students learned literacy, arithmetic, history, and literature. Through these institutions, young people mastered the principles of Islam, the fundamentals of Sharia, and the Arabic and Persian languages, gaining access to the intellectual and spiritual heritage of Muslim civilization. This educational process not only nurtured the people's religious consciousness but also became a form of inner spiritual resistance to colonial rule. Through Islamic learning, the Kazakh people preserved their cultural roots and spiritual independence.

The Tsarist government attempted to weaken the influence of Islam by using sultans and local administrators to control madrasahs and limit the roles of mullahs and khojas. Nevertheless, highly respected religious figures among the population continued their work with determination. They educated children in villages and settlements, spread religious knowledge, and revitalized the spiritual life of the people. These efforts strengthened the position of Islam within society and contributed to maintaining internal unity among the Kazakhs.

Thus, the teaching of Islamic knowledge in the Bokei Horde played a crucial role in the development of the spiritual and cultural life of the Kazakh people and in preserving their national identity and traditions. Islam became not only a matter of faith but also a system of cultural and moral values defining the nation's identity.



Through it, Kazakh society resisted the spiritual colonialism of Tsarist Russia and safeguarded its cultural integrity. Therefore, the emergence and development of Islamic education in the Bokei Horde represent one of the most significant stages in the religious, cultural, and historical evolution of the Kazakh people.

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#### ПАТШАЛЫ РЕСЕЙДІҢ ДІНИ САЯСАТЫ ШЕҢБЕРІНДЕ БӨКЕЙ ОРДАСЫНДА ИСЛАМ ІЛІМІНІҢ МЕКТЕПТЕРДЕ МЕН МЕДРЕСЕЛЕРДЕ ОҚЫТЫЛУЫ

**Аңдатпа.** Бұл мақалада Патшалы Ресейдің діни саясаты аясында Бөкей Ордасында ислам ілімінің мектептер мен медреселерде оқытылуы кешенді түрде қарастырылады. XIX ғасырдың бірінші жартысынан бастап Ішкі Бөкей ордасында мұсылмандық оқу жүйесі кең дамып, оны молдалар мен қожалар ұйымдастырған. Бұл оқу орындары халық арасында діни сауаттылықты арттырумен қатар, ислам құндылықтарын дәріптеуде маңызды рөл атқарды. Алайда Ресей империясы ислам дінінің ықпалын әлсірету мақсатында түрлі шараларды жүзеге асырды. 1840–1870 жылдар аралығында патша әкімшілігі мұсылман мектептерін мемлекеттік бақылауға алу, уақыптардың қызметін шектеу, орыс-түземдік мектептер ашу және орыс тілін міндетті пән ретінде енгізу арқылы мұсылмандық білім жүйесін әлсіретті. Зерттеуде Жәңгір ханның білім беру саласындағы бастамалары, татар молдаларының ықпалы, алғашқы орыс-қазақ мектептерінің құрылуы және патша өкіметінің исламға қарсы идеологиялық әрекеттері нақты архивтік деректер негізінде талданды. Сонымен қатар Бөкей Ордасындағы білім жүйесінің отаршылдық сипатқа ие болып, империялық идеологияның құралына айналғаны көрсетілді. Мақалада мұсылман мектептері мен медреселердің қызметі, олардың жергілікті халықтың мәдени және діни өміріндегі маңызы ашылып, Ресейдің рухани отарлау саясатының тетіктері ғылыми тұрғыдан сараланды.

**Кілт сөздер:** Бөкей Ордасы, Патшалы Ресей, ислам ілімі, медресе, орыс-қазақ мектебі, діни саясат, рухани отарлау.

Ахан Ж., Акынды М.

#### ПРЕПОДАВАНИЕ ИСЛАМСКИХ НАУК В ШКОЛАХ И МЕДРЕСЕХ В БУКЕЕВСКОЙ ОРДЕ В РАМКАХ РЕЛИГИОЗНОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ ЦАРСКОЙ РОССИИ

**Аннотация.** В статье комплексно рассматривается преподавание исламских наук в школах и медресе Букеевской Орды в контексте религиозной политики Царской России. С первой половины XIX века в Орде активно развивалась мусульманская система образования, организованная муллами и ходжами. Эти учебные заведения способствовали распространению грамотности и укреплению исламских ценностей среди населения. Однако российская администрация, стремясь ослабить влияние ислама, предприняла ряд мер, направленных на ограничение деятельности мусульманских школ. В период 1840–1870 годов власть внедрила государственный контроль над учебными заведениями, сократила роль вакуффов, открыла русско-түземные школы и ввела обязательное преподавание русского языка. В исследовании проанализированы инициативы Жангир-хана в сфере образования, влияние татарских мулл, деятельность первых русско-казахских школ и антиисламские реформы царизма. Особое внимание



уделено тому, как система образования в Букеевской Орде постепенно приобрела колониальный характер и стала инструментом имперской идеологии. В статье также раскрывается значение мусульманских медресе в культурной и религиозной жизни казахов, а также механизмы духовной колонизации, применявшиеся российскими властями для подчинения туземного населения.

**Ключевые слова:** Букеевская Орда, Царская Россия, исламские науки, медресе, русско-казахская школа, религиозная политика, духовная колонизация.