

**THE ISLAMIC EDUCATION SYSTEM OF BUKHARA IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY: A HISTORIOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE WORK OF ZHUMANAZAR ABDUSATTOR****Karimov Suhrobbek Yusupovich**Lecturer, Department of Foreign Languages and Humanities  
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**Abstract:** This article examines the system of Islamic education in 19th-century Bukhara based on a historiographic analysis of the work of Jumanazar Abdusattor. Particular attention is paid to the structure and functioning of traditional educational institutions—maktabs and madrassas—and their role in shaping the religious and social identity of society. The author's approaches to interpreting the educational process, its content, and organizational features are analyzed. The paper identifies key characteristics of the Bukhara educational system, including the predominance of religious disciplines, the influence of ulema and ishans, and the relationship between education and the sociopolitical structure of the khanate. A critical analysis of Jumanazar Abdusattor's concepts is provided, comparing his conclusions with other studies on the history of Islamic education in Central Asia. The scientific novelty of the article lies in its comprehensive examination of Jumanazar Abdusattor's work within the context of modern historical scholarship, as well as in identifying the features and limitations of his approach. A conclusion is drawn regarding the significant role of the traditional educational system of Bukhara in preserving Islamic values and intellectual traditions in the region.

**Keywords:** Madrasah, Bukhara, Islamic education, Bukhara Emirate, Jadidism, waqf, ulema, Sufism, Kukeldash Madrasah, Gaukushon Madrasah, Miri Arab, Tursunjon Madrasah, Nodir Devonbegi

**Аннотация:** В данной статье рассматривается система исламского образования Бухары XIX века на основе историографического анализа труда Жуманазара Абдусаттора. Особое внимание уделяется структуре и функционированию традиционных учебных заведений — мактабов и медресе, а также их роли в формировании религиозной и социальной идентичности общества. Анализируются подходы автора к интерпретации образовательного процесса, его содержание и организационные особенности. В работе выявляются ключевые характеристики бухарской системы образования, включая преобладание религиозных дисциплин, влияние улемов и ишанов, а также взаимосвязь между образованием и социально-политической структурой ханства. Проводится критический анализ концепции Жуманазара Абдусаттора, сопоставление его выводов с другими исследованиями по истории исламского образования в Центральной Азии. Научная новизна статьи заключается в комплексном рассмотрении труда Жуманазара Абдусаттора в контексте современной исторической науки, а также в выявлении особенностей и ограничений его подхода. Сделан вывод о значительной роли традиционной образовательной системы Бухары в сохранении исламских ценностей и интеллектуальных традиций региона.

**Ключевые слова:** Медресе, Бухара, исламское образование, Бухарский эмират, джадидизм, вакуф, улемы, суфизм, Медресе Кукельдаш, Медресе Гаукушон, Мири Араб, Медресе Турсунжон, Нодир Девонбеги

The early 20th century marked the final stage in the centuries-long history of Bukhara's classical education system. During this period, the city, known as the "Dome of Islam," remained the region's largest intellectual center, housing approximately 300 madrassas. During

this period, traditional Islamic educational institutions, particularly madrassas, found themselves under increasing pressure from modernization processes associated with both internal reform movements and the external influence of the Russian Empire. Bukhara, one of the largest spiritual centers of the Muslim world, represented a unique space where deep religious traditions and nascent reformist ideas coexisted. The purpose of this article is to analyze the structure and functions of Bukhara's madrassas and to identify the specific features of their transformation in the early 20th century. Particular attention is paid to defining the role of madrassas in the social, religious, and cultural life of the region in the context of the historical changes of this period.

This historiographical analysis of Zhumanazar Abdusattor's work focuses on the source material for studying the Islamic education system in 19th-century Bukhara. The author draws on a wide range of sources, including chronicles, waqf documents, memoirs of contemporaries, and research by pre-revolutionary Russian and Soviet orientalists. Of significant importance are the works of pre-revolutionary researchers who documented the state of the educational system in the Emirate of Bukhara, as well as archival materials reflecting the economic foundations of madrassas. Zhumanazar Abdusattor interprets madrassas as complex institutional structures that performed not only educational but also important social functions. The author emphasizes that the waqf system—religious donations that financed the salaries of teachers, students, and the facilities of educational institutions—played a key role in supporting their functioning. The study devotes particular attention to the organizational and architectural structure of madrassas. It is noted that they included classrooms, hujras (cells) for student accommodation, mosques, and outbuildings. Large madrassas could accommodate a significant number of students, attesting to the scale of Bukhara's educational system. The management of such institutions was carried out by mutewallis, who controlled the waqf revenues and their distribution. Thus, an analysis of the work of Jumanazar Abdusattor allows us to consider the madrassas of Bukhara not only as centers of religious education but also as important elements of the social and economic structure of society.

At the beginning of the century, at least 10,000 students were studying in the madrassas of Bukhara. All educational institutions were strictly divided into five categories depending on their prestige and the level of training of their teachers:

1. Highest (fifth) category: Included the Kukeldash and Gaukushon madrassas, where scholars with the highest ranks—akhund and a'lam—taught.
2. Fourth category: A group of nine elite madrassas (including Miri Arab, Tursunjon, and Nadr Devonbegi), where muftis lectured.
3. Third category: Institutions where mudarrises, who had the right to wear the honorary "banoras" robes, taught.
4. Second and first categories: Smaller madrasas with less waqf funding.

The total number of teachers (mudarris) in the city exceeded 400, and primary education was provided by almost 1,000 maktabdors.

The academic year at the beginning of the 20th century lasted six months: it began in September (mezon) and officially ended in March (hamal). This schedule allowed students from rural areas to participate in fieldwork during the spring and summer. Classes were held four days a week (Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday), with Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday considered days off. Education included theology, law (fiqh), logic, philosophy, and philology. The duration of study was not strictly limited and could range from 7–12 to 20 years, and in exceptional cases, gifted students remained within the madrasas until the age of 40, combining their studies with duties as calligraphers or assistant teachers. Teaching methods were based on the traditional system of memorizing texts and commenting on them. The authority of the teacher and the oral transmission of knowledge played a significant role. However, by the beginning of the 20th century, signs of a crisis in the educational system were evident: a disconnect from the practical needs of society, and conservatism in curricula and

methods. Madrassas played a crucial role in the formation of society's religious elite. Graduates became imams, qadis, and teachers, and occupied significant positions in the social structure. Furthermore, madrassas served as centers of spiritual life, around which religious circles and Sufi brotherhoods formed. They contributed to the preservation of Islamic tradition and the cultural identity of the region.

Despite the brewing political changes, new educational institutions continued to be built in Bukhara in the first two decades of the century. Institutions:

1. Amir Alim Khan Madrasah: Built by the last emir of Bukhara near the Kalon Minaret. Unlike ancient traditions, it did not have extensive waqf lands, and its activities were financed directly by the ruler.

2. Ibrahim Oksakol Madrasah (1911): A two-story building with 24 hujras in the Kosagaron guzar.

3. Turakulbay Madrasah (1907): A large two-story building in the Mir Masud guzar, the architecture of which already showed European influence.

4. Abduhafizbay Madrasah (1910): Consisted of 17 brick hujras in the Pochukuli guzar.

The system's material well-being was based on waqfs—donated property (land, shops, bathhouses), the income from which was used for scholarships and building maintenance. In large madrassas, such as Mir Arab or Kukeldash, students were divided into three categories based on their academic performance (a'lo, avsat, and adno), which determined the size of their stipends. At the beginning of the century, special aid funds existed in Bukhara for out-of-town students, such as waqfs for students from Tashkent or Andijan. The city's best students were awarded cash prizes annually at a ceremony in the Gaukushon Madrassah.

The traditional education system was forcibly eliminated after the establishment of Soviet power. In 1920, instruction in most madrassas ceased, and in 1929, the old schools and madrassas were officially abolished. Madrassah buildings were nationalized and converted into warehouses, prisons, or communal housing, and many, such as the Shafi' Chobin or Khoja Davlat Madrassahs, were destroyed during subsequent urban development. An analysis of the Islamic education system in Bukhara in the early 20th century, through the lens of Zhumanazar Abdusattor's research, allows us to formulate the following key conclusions: Zhumanazar Abdusattor's work clearly demonstrates that madrassas were not simply religious schools, but powerful economic entities. The differentiation of student payments based on academic performance (a'lo, avsat, adno) indicates elements of meritocracy in resource distribution. Contrary to the perception of complete stagnation, the first two decades of the 20th century were marked by active construction (Amir Alim Khan, Turakulbay madrassas, and others). The appearance of European elements in the architecture of new buildings indicates the beginning of a cautious visual and functional modernization of traditional institutions even before radical political change. The author makes a significant contribution to modern scholarship by systematizing disparate archival data and waqf documents. His work moves away from the simplistic perception of the late Bukharan educational system as "decadent," presenting it as a complex, living organism that attempted to balance centuries-old tradition with the challenges of modern times. The tragic end of the history of classical education in the 1920s was the result not of natural evolution, but of violent political upheaval. The conversion of madrasah buildings to economic use meant the loss of not only educational facilities but also the destruction of the unique socioeconomic ecosystem that had been developing in Bukhara over centuries.

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