

The Issue of The Native Language in The Activities of The Turkestan Governor-Generals and Approaches to It (1867-1917)

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Abstract: This article examines the language issue in the communication between the Russian government and the local population in the region after the establishment of the Turkestan Governor-Generalship, the issue of training translators who understand the local language by the imperial government, and the role of language in the colonial policy of Russification of the local population. The article also provides information about the policy of the Turkestan Governor-Generals on the issue of the local language, the desire of the officials serving in the region to teach the local language based on the essence of colonialism, the language issue at the Tashkent Teachers' Seminary, and the desire to increase the status of the Russian language in the region by the end of the 19th century.

Keywords: Turkestan, Governor-General, local, language, rus-tuzem school (Russian-native school), teachers' seminary, V.P.Nalivkin, D.I.Subbotich, Society of Oriental Studies.

INTRODUCTION

Analysis of literature on the topic (Literature review)

Sources of the period on the topic of the Governor-Generals of Turkestan and their approaches to the policy on the issue of the local language in Turkestan, in particular, documents of the National Archives of Uzbekistan (NAUz, Fund I-1, inventory 31, file 116, sheet 65, F-723, inventory 1, file 3, sheet 12), reports by N.L.Yagello (1906) (Report on the State of the Turkestan Teaching Seminary, 1881) and Soviet period research by such scientists as K.E.Bendrikov (1960), V.V.Bartold (1963), as well as modern domestic and foreign research by Z.Abdirashidov (2023), V.Fetisov (2023) O.Yilmaz. (2020), G.S.Sultangaliyeva, M.Y.Abdрахim, O.Sumarokova and others.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In writing this article, scientific research methods such as political analysis of data, problem and quantitative analysis, and systematization were used.

Analysis and results

From the first days of the formation of the Turkestan Governor-Generalship, special attention was paid to the issue of the local language in the region. Because the knowledge of the local language by representatives of the imperial government in the Turkestan region and the communication of Russian officials working at various levels of government in the region with the local population in general was connected with the language. After the colonial policy of the Russian Empire in Turkestan was established relatively more firmly, the Turkestan administration began to

pay attention to the language issue as the final stage of the Russification policy. By the beginning of the 20th century, articles on this topic began to appear in the Russian press. [Kodyrov, N. N. 2013 – 30 6.]

K.P.Kaufman, appointed the first Governor-General of Turkestan, involved a number of orientalists in the implementation of his colonial policy in the cultural life of the region, relying on their theories and opinions. Examples of such orientalists are N.P.Ostroumov (chairman of the Turkestan Teachers' Seminary, head of the Tashkent Men's Gymnasium), V.P.Nalivkin (author of the first Russian-Uzbek dictionary), A.L.Kun (senior official for educational affairs under the Governor-General, first inspector of the educational institutions administration).

The policy of the imperial government on the issue of the local language in the Turkestan region was carried out under the leadership of the Governor-General of Turkestan K.P.Kaufman (1867-1881), based on the interests of the Russian government. According to it, military officers and other officials of the Russian Empire who came to serve the region were required to learn local languages and be aware of the national rituals and customs of the local peoples. Because in the first years of the colonial policy of the Russian Empire in the Turkestan region, there was a need for personnel who knew Arabic, Persian, and Turkic languages. [Yilmaz, O. 2020. – 86 S.]

Starting from the 1880s, the Russian imperial government regarded the establishment of schools with the Russian language as the medium of instruction for the local population in the

Turkestan region as a basis for its policy of Russification. This process was seen as a means to carry out the “Russian interests” in the region. Based on this interest, the education policy in the region aimed to “tie” the local population to the Russian Empire through Russification. To achieve this goal, the “Turkistan Teacher Training Seminary” was established in Tashkent in 1879 to prepare teachers for Russian-language schools. This educational institution remained the only teacher training establishment in Central Asia for over 30 years. [Sultangalieva, G. S., & Abdrahim, M. E. 2020. – 150 B.]

When the Turkistan Teachers’ Seminary was opened, the government approved the teaching of the local Uzbek (“Sart”) and Tajik (“Fors”) languages. However, the first Governor-General K.P. Kaufman proposed to the pedagogical council of the seminary to replace these languages with the Kazakh language. He supported this proposal with the following reasons: “Considering the political interests of our domination in Central Asia, I recognize the necessity of encouraging the nomadic population to come as close as possible to the Russian Empire. Therefore, I believe it is essential to assist the Kyrgyz in freeing themselves from the influence of the Islamic religion. The introduction of Russian writing among them would greatly contribute to this purpose. These goals can only be achieved through the spread of Russian education among the Kyrgyz. The teaching of Russian literacy to Kyrgyz children should be conducted with the help of their native language.” [F. C. Bazilevsky. – 150 C.]

K.P. Kaufman also indicated that introducing the Kazakh language would be appropriate because he noted that the Kazakhs were more inclined to establish closer ties with the Russians and that the Kyrgyz were eager to send their children to Russian schools. [Moscow. 1963. – 51 C.] By January 1881, K.P. Kaufman’s request regarding the languages to be taught at the Tashkent Teachers’ Seminary was accepted, and the teaching of the Kazakh language to Russian students in the seminary was conducted with the use of the Russian alphabet.

During the tenure of M.G. Chernyayev as the General-Governor of Turkestan from 1882 to 1884, strict measures were taken against the cultural initiatives implemented during K.P. Kaufman’s period. In particular, M.G. Chernyayev attempted to formally transform the Turkistan Teachers’ Seminary into a school for training

translators and officials. [Bendrikov, K.S. E. – 151 C.] Through this initiative, he aimed to prioritize training translators and officials beneficial to the government instead of the originally intended goal of preparing Russian-speaking educational staff. However, he did not manage to focus on the language issue in the region during his two-year term as general-governor.

During this period, the absence of teaching local languages at the only institution training pedagogical personnel in the Turkestan region was an illogical situation. Therefore, in 1883, local language courses were opened for Russian-speaking populations at the Tashkent seminary. Additionally, a reward was announced for the local officials of the empire for compiling dictionaries of the local Kyrgyz and Sart (Uzbek) languages. [Sumarokova, O. L. 2015 – 20 C.]

After M.G. Chernyayev, N.O. Rozenbakh was appointed as the General Governor of the Turkestan region (1884-1889) and paid attention to the issue of the local language. In August 1884, he issued an order to replace the Kazakh language with Uzbek, Persian, and Arabic at the Tashkent Teacher Training Seminary, and then sent a substantiated proposal to the Minister of Public Education of the empire for the approval of this order. Additionally, in the implementation of the Russian Empire’s educational policy in Turkestan, he relied on the theories of N.I. Ilminsky (an orientalist, educator, and member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences). N.I. Ilminsky, being a Christian missionary, prevented the introduction of the Arabic language into the seminary. [Bendrikov, K.S. E. – 151 C.]

Additionally, General Governor N.O. Rozenbakh signed the “Guidelines for Official Translators of the Turkestan Region” prepared by the orientalist N.P. Ostroumov. This guideline developed methods for translating official documents for the first time. [Sultangalieva, G. S., & Abdrahim, M. E. 2020. – 75 C.] At the same time, General Governor N.O. Rozenbakh expressed support for the proposal to teach local languages not only in lower schools but also in secondary educational institutions, stating: “Those who graduate from gymnasiums rarely return to the region after entering higher education institutions. As for the children who learned Eastern languages practically in lower schools, they, in exceptional cases, remain in the region. Therefore, attention must be focused on them.” [Moscow. 1963. – 315 C.]

Starting from 1884, with the support of General Governor N.O.Rozenbakh, the teaching of the Uzbek language (Old Uzbek) replaced the Kazakh language in the Turkestan Teachers' Seminary under the guidance of V.P.Nalivkin. The appointment of N.O.Rozenbakh to the position of General Governor of Turkestan and his views on the issue of local languages opened the opportunity for V.P. Nalivkin to teach the local language at the Turkestan Teachers' Seminary. From January 1885 to May 1890, V.P. Nalivkin taught local languages, including Arabic, Persian, and Old Uzbek, which were used by the local population. During these years, the Tashkent Seminary became a scientific center for the study of Uzbek and Tajik languages. Before coming to the seminary, V.P.Nalivkin had already mastered these languages in practice. From the spring of 1877, he lived for six years in the village of Nanay, 18 km from Namangan, with his wife, learning the local language from the surrounding Uzbek and Tajik populations. [Bendrikov, K.S. E.. – 151 C.] Additionally, V.P.Nalivkin, in collaboration with his spouse, attempted for the first time to scientifically study the Uzbek language based on the dialects of the Fergana Valley. The dictionary compiled by the Nalivkin couple was published in Kazan. However, the imperial government's attempts to prepare specialists proficient in Eastern languages for service in the region through these courses were unsuccessful.

The Turkestan General-Governor official N.S.Likoshin noted that in 1886 and 1887, the lecturer V.P.Nalivkin managed to gather up to 50 listeners from Tashkent itself, and the listeners were "astonished" by the lecturer's "bright and captivating speech," but by the end of the semester, only two listeners remained. [Bartold V. C. Essays. M., 1963. – 384 C.] N.S.Likoshin attributed this to many civil servants lacking the patience to learn a foreign language "just for the sake of pure knowledge" while for others, the living and working conditions made it impossible to learn the language. In his view, some officials did not have sufficient motivation to learn the language and were unwilling to do so; they were satisfied with utilizing the services of translators. [Sultangalieva, G. S., & Abdrahim, M. E. 2020. – 68 C.]

At the end of the 19th century, during the tenure of General-Governor S.M.Duxovskoy (1898-1901), there was a determined effort to reduce the influence of local languages by trying to strengthen the position of the Russian language in

the region. S.M.Duxovskoy raised the issue of enforcing the state language in written communications between the "local administration" and Russian officials before the provincial military governors. As an initial measure, he directed that all "local officials," or at least the volost administrators, uyezd heads, and police officers, should use Russian clerks in their official dealings. The main goal of this decision was to rid the administration of reliance on local translators. It is known that at this time, translators in communications between the imperial government and the local population were primarily representatives of the local populace. [Bendrikov, K.S. E. – 365 C.]

In an article published under the order of Turkistan General-Governor S.M. Duxovskoy, the following comments are made regarding this measure: there are no incentives for local children to attend Russian primary and Russian-native schools, which is why they do not enroll in such schools. Completing Russian educational institutions "does not provide any advantages for local youth, and the knowledge gained in Russian language and literacy often has no practical application." However, if the affairs of the volost administrations are conducted in Russian, the situation changes. The article notes that volost heads will be compelled to learn Russian in order to maintain their positions and avoid becoming puppets in the hands of clerks. This situation opens up opportunities for local youth who graduated from Russian and Russian-native schools to earn a living. As a result, it is believed that there is a genuine need to expand the network of Russian-native schools, which are frequently closing or relocating due to a lack of students. [Bendrikov, K.S. E. – 366 C.]

Some high-ranking officials of the Russian Empire in the Turkistan region mastered the local languages and were able to communicate. However, they did not make this public. For example, during the events of the 1892 uprising in Tashkent, S.R. Putinsev, who was the city chief of Tashkent, also knew the local language. He described an encounter with the local population at the old city jome mosque as follows: "On June 23, after the Hayit prayer, I spoke to the people in Russian. My words were translated by Ibrohimbek, the elder of the Ko'kcha district, who spoke Russian well. This person had previously been my translator. I could tell that the translation was being made accurately because I knew Uzbek myself." [Ziyouev, H.S. 2001. – 163 B.]

N.A.Ivanov, who served as the General-Governor of Turkistan from 1901 to 1904, had participated in the imperial conquest of Central Asia and worked in various positions in the administration of Turkistan, where he practically learned the local languages. He could have announced in his inaugural speech that the general-governor could speak fluently in Sart and Kyrgyz languages and did not need a translator, yet N.A. Ivanov also did not disclose his knowledge of the local languages to the public. [Bartold V. C. Essays. M., 1963. – 384 C.] N.A. Ivanov was the head of General A.K. Abramov's office from 1868 to 1873, during which time he learned the local language and became familiar with the life of the local population. [Fetisov, V. C. 2023. – 171 C.]

By the beginning of the 20th century, there were several changes in the language policy of the imperial government representatives in the Turkistan region. Now, the imperial officials made efforts to study the local population's language in order to improve communication with the local population and the representatives of the Russian administration, as well as to gain more economic income from the region. Specifically, General-Governor N.N. Tevyashov (1904–1905) emphasized in the general meeting of the Orientalists Society's Tashkent branch on January 8, 1905, that “not knowing the local languages complicates communication with the local population and does not allow for establishing contact without a translator.” He agreed with the idea put forward by the Council of the Orientalists Society's Tashkent branch regarding the necessity to establish a commercial educational institution in Tashkent where local languages would be taught. This educational institution was supposed to prepare traders and translators, thus meeting the needs of both parties. [Moscow. 1963. – 315 C.]

In 1905-1907, the revolution in the Russian Empire significantly motivated the Russian population in the Turkestan region to learn local languages. During this period, the Oriental Studies Society in Tashkent proposed on January 12, 1905, to open local language courses in the upper grades of Russian city schools to “disseminate knowledge of local languages among the Russian population.” Additionally, it was decided to establish a city educational institution in the local part of Tashkent “to educate the local population.” This institution provided an opportunity for young people who had graduated from Russian native schools to continue their education. The society was composed of influential officials in the region, and General-

Governor N.A.Ivanov actively participated in this process as the honorary president of the Tashkent branch of the Oriental Studies Society. [Bendrikov, K.S. E. – 370 C.]

The issue of local language and its learning was given special attention by Turkestan General-Governor D.I.Subbotich (1905-1906), who raised the necessity for representatives of the Russian administration to communicate with the local population without interpreters, meaning they needed to know the local languages. [Bartold V. C. Essays. M., 1963. – 384 C.]

During his tenure, D.I.Subbotich wrote a letter to the Minister of War of the Russian Empire A.F.Rediger, stating: “We have been ruling Turkestan for forty years, and until now there are only a few administrative officials who know at least one local language, to the point where they can be counted on one hand. Additionally, their number is even smaller in the judicial department.” He described this situation as “disastrous” and “extremely unnatural,” and ordered the formation of a commission to discuss possible measures to encourage employees to learn local languages. [Yagello, N. L. – 2 C.] Subsequently, the Turkestan Commission for Learning Local Languages was established, and the General-Governor himself oversaw it. P.I. Khomutov headed the commission, while its members included Kastalskiy, Lomakin, and Papengut.

In 1906, the “Collection of Materials on the Study of Local Languages by Military-People's Administration Workers of the Turkestan Krai” was published in Tashkent. The authors of the articles and materials published in it firmly asserted that if a higher educational institution is opened in Tashkent, it should be directed to young people of Russian nationality who have graduated from local secondary educational institutions. It was noted that these young people who remained in the country “can be very useful in all areas of service.”

As a result, on September 16, 1906, the Governor-General of Turkestan, D.I.Subbotich, issued a special order (No. 353) with the following content: “Based on the conclusions of the “Collection of Materials on the Study of Local Languages,” and agreeing with the idea of the necessity to establish a higher education institution in Tashkent for teaching Eastern languages to graduates of secondary educational institutions in the region, I propose that the Turkestan Committee for the

Study of Local Languages (more precisely, the commission - M.K.) consider Mr. Sayfi's project on establishing the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent. Furthermore, I suggest that they fully develop a project for establishing a higher educational institution in Tashkent where Oriental languages will be taught to graduates of secondary educational institutions in the region, for subsequent presentation. For this purpose, it is necessary to invite Mr. Sayfi, the author of the project, and other knowledgeable individuals to join the committee." [Bendrikov, K. S. E. – 171 C.]

According to the project proposed by D.I.Subbotych, the period for familiarization with the language of the residents of their district is one year, and the level of language proficiency should be at the level of "controlling the translators"; they are given a second year to master the language perfectly, and "in the event of confirmation of non-compliance with this requirement, they are subject to any action on service within the region and even dismissal from service." These requirements apply to officials already in service in the Turkestan Krai. It is determined that new recruits are required, if possible, to complete a course of study at an educational institution of oriental languages or to practically study the language of the local population. As an incentive measure, employees were promised additional payments to their salaries for learning the local language. [Bendrikov, K.S. E. – 373 C]

Projects for the teaching of local languages were developed in 1902, 1905, and 1906, and among these projects, the 1906 project is considered relatively well-developed (O'zMA.).

According to I.D.Yagello, author of a collection of materials on the issue of studying the local language by employees working in the military-public administration of the Turkestan Krai, "Recently, the issue of studying the local language by employees of administrative institutions of the Turkestan Krai has been developed in detail and comprehensively. The Imperial Ministry of War was presented with the basic principles of organizing the work of studying local languages by persons serving in the military-people's administration of the Turkestan Krai" (Yagello, N. L.) and finally, as an experiment, evening paid courses of local languages were opened for those wishing to study in the main cities of the Krai. Thus, in Tashkent, two types of courses operate simultaneously: simplified courses for

administrative personnel and staff courses for officers.

Oriental language courses for officers on duty in Tashkent were organized to provide the troops of the Caucasus and Turkestan Military Districts with officers who know the languages of the Caucasus, Turkestan, and neighboring countries, as well as those who are deeply familiar with their way of life and structure, and to provide appropriate training for officers wishing to work in the administrative and police administration of the Caucasus and Turkestan Krai. (Yagello, N. L.) However, General-Governor D.I.Subbotich, who had begun practical efforts to spread the local language among Russian officials in the Turkestan region, was recalled from Turkestan, accused of "liberalism." The practical efforts of the Governor-General of Turkestan, D.I.Subbotich, on the issue of the local language were unsuccessful.

After him, the newly appointed Governor-General N.I.Grodekov (1906-1908) also studied the local languages himself and demanded that all officials of the Russian administration follow his example and consciously master the language, as he did not want to be a passive and trusting listener, since translators did not always accurately convey the local speech throughout his career. [Sultangalieva, G. S., & Abdrahim, M. E. 2020. – 68 C.] In May 1907, he issued an order requiring military governors to "give priority to those who know the local language" in filling all vacant positions in the administrative-police administration of the region, but the new head of the region did not strictly require officials serving in the Turkestan region to know the local languages.

Even in the first decade of the 20th century, after several decrees encouraging the study of the local language, the situation did not change. Senator K.K.Palen, who conducted an audit of the Turkestan region in 1908-1910, concluded that students' language acquisition was low. This was due to the lack of qualifications of some teachers and the low interest of students. [Kodyrov, N. N. 2013. – 151 B.]

A.V.Samsonov (1909-1914), appointed Governor-General of the Turkestan Krai in 1909, was surprised that at the solemn meeting, representatives of the local population greeted him not in Russian, but in their native language. [Bendrikov, K.S. E. – 367 C.] It was not possible to fully implement Russification, which was one of the main directions of the Russian Empire's

colonial policy in Turkestan for more than 40 years. The inspector of public educational institutions N.P.Ostroumov also described the Russian officials of the Turkestan Governor-Generalship as “bad as spreaders of culture.” [Sultangalieva, G. S., & Abdrahim, M. E. 2020. – 68 C.]

Despite the intensification of the Russification policy in Turkestan under the leadership of A.V.Samsonov, the issue of the local language in the institutions of the region did not progress. A.V.Samsonov, aiming to introduce the study of the Russian language as a subject in all primary schools in villages and auls far from the Russian population, raised the issue of teaching in the native language in these schools.

In 1906-1907, compulsory study of the local language was introduced in commercial schools established in the cities of Kokand and Tashkent of the Turkestan Krai. Voluntary instruction in the local language was conducted at the Tashkent Real School (until 1917, a secondary school in the Russian Empire, where mathematics and natural sciences were taught mainly) and a military school. However, the most widespread secondary schools - gymnasiums - did not have an optional local language course. On the eve of World War I in 1914, the local language began to be introduced as a compulsory subject in higher primary educational institutions in Turkestan. [Bendrikov, K.S. E. – 374 C.]

CONCLUSION

AND

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the second half of the 19th - early 20th centuries, the administration of the Turkestan Governor-Generalship, in carrying out its colonial policy in the region, suffered from a shortage of Russian officials who knew the languages of the local peoples, and was forced to use the services of translators from among the local population. This means that representatives of the Russian authorities in the region were forced to hire the local population for service in the territorial administration system. Despite several attempts to

teach local languages to Russian administrators, until the end of the Russian Empire's colonial policy in Turkestan, the Turkestan administration could not transition office work to Russian even in the lowest administrative level - volosts where the local population lived.

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