THE KHANATE OF BUKHARA FROM C. 1800 TO RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

THESIS

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

IN

HISTORY

BY

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2002


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Dedicated

to my

(Late) Grandmother

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **"The Khanate of Bukhara from C.1800 to Russian Revolution"** which is being submitted by **Mr. Saifullah Saifi** as partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy was carried out by him under my guidance and supervision. It is his original work and to the best of my knowledge, this thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

I recommend that the thesis may be placed before the Examiners for evaluation.

(MANSURA HAIDAR)
Supervisor & Chairman

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It is a pleasant opportunity and my privilege to thank all those who have in any way contributed to the compilation of my work. For the preparation of this thesis *"The Khanate of Bukhara from C.1800 to Russian Revolution"* I owe a great deal to my teacher and supervisor Prof. Mansura Haidar. Her scholarly guidance and incessant encouragement was always available due to which this work could come to a final shape. I deem myself very fortunate to have worked under her inspiring guidance. She has been indeed a source of strength and inspiration behind my inclination to study Central Asian History. In order to get direct access to Primary sources she taught me Russian language also. It needs no mention that I was greatly benefited from this. Mere mention of gratitude in words cannot be possible and sufficient for the kind support I received throughout the course of this study. I am also grateful to Dr. S. Ishtiaq Haidar for his valuable suggestions.

I take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to my teachers namely Prof. Raj Kumar Trivedi, Prof. Ishtiaq Ahmad Zilli, Prof. Shahabuddin Iraqi and Prof. Tariq Ahmad whose constant encouragement I received.

I wish to express my grateful thanks to Prof. Shamsuddin and Madam Chinar Rustamova for their day-to-day academic help.

I am beholden to Dr. Farhat Hassan, Dr. Ali Athar, Dr. S. Jabir Raza, Dr. Hassan Imam and Dr. Pervez Nazir of C.A.S. in History who always showed their readiness for supporting me at every step during my painstaking task of writing thesis. I also wish to thank Dr. Abdus-Salam of the Department of Economics for his moral support.

I feel extremely grateful to my brothers Mr. Hafiz Abul Kalam, Mr. Md. Abul Fatah, Dr. Md. Abu Saleh, Dr. Mohd. Abul Fazal, Mr. M. K. Gauhar (Advocate) and Dr. Md.Ali Jauhar for their kind advice

and support whenever needed by me most. My father and other family members need special mentions as they have been a good source of inspiration for me though I remained away from them and spared little time with them during this course of study. My brothers, sisters and other family members stood by me throughout my days of endeavour. My sincere regards and respects are due to them. I am also thankful to my father-in-law, Mr. Md. Nasimuddin, Superintending Engineer, Bihar Govt. (Rtd.) for inspiring and encouraging me to achieve coveted Ph.D. degree. I cannot forget the help extended to me by my nephew Abul Hayat on this occasion. My wife deserves both my grateful thanks and praise for her co-operation during the period of my research. She braved all the hardships and always stood firmly behind me smiling and encouraging me with her consistent moral and emotional support even in the most difficult moments.

I also wish to thank my friends Dr. Shahid Pervez, Mr. Shahid Ali Scientist and Dr. Nigar Alam Siddiqui for their most needed and timely help. I am also thankful to Md. Meraj Alam, Md. Ziaullah and Md. Mausoof Ahmad for their co-operation.

I am duty bound to thank the staff members of Seminar Library of CAS in History for their support, help and co-operation. The name of Mr. Yusuf Siddiqui needs special mention in this regard. It is also my pleasant duty to remember the co-operation extended to me by the staff of Maulana Azad Library, AMU Aligarh, Seminar Libraries of Departments of Persian and Islamic Studies, AMU, Aligarh, Library of JNU, New Delhi, National Library, Calcutta and Indira Gandhi Centre for Arts, New Delhi.

It is my duty to thank Mr. Abdul Qadir for typing my thesis carefully and diligently.

Saifullah Saifi

CONTENTS

Acknowledgement

Introduction 1 - 15

CHAPTER-1 16 - 32

CENTRAL ASIA: AN OUTLINE

CHAPTER-2 33 - 81

KHANATE OF BUKHARA:A POLITICAL HISTORY

CHAPTER-3 82 - 147

STATE AND ECONOMY UNDER THE KHANATE

CHAPTER-4 148 - 196

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE,LANGUAGE & LITERATURE

CHAPTER-5 197 - 224

BUKHARA DURING AND AFTER RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Conclusion 225 - 31

Bibliography 232 - 239

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

From amongst many states in western Central Asia Bukhara was the oldest and outshone and surpassed Khiva and Khoqand in many ways. Known all over the world for its golden history and marvellous culture from the hoary past to glorious medieval period, Bukhara emerged a rendezvous of fine arts, learning and culture with a highly developed urban culture from early sixth century A.D. As centuries turned, Bukhara which is said to have acquired name originally from "Vihara" — the religious centre of Buddhism hence the name gradually acquired the status and fame of "abode of Islam" or stronghold of Islam i.e. (Qubbat-ul Islam).[1] This complexion and constitutional position of Bukhara continued to exist till 1920 when the last Amir was dethroned and interestingly enough, another metamorphosis took place turning Bukhara into an altogether new entity or form i.e. the Soviet Republic of Bukharan people. It was dissolved in 1924 in the "national delimitation" of Central Asia, according to which most of its territories were allotted to the newly founded Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan.[2] The then Khanate of Bukhara had comprised greater part of today's Uzbekistan, whole of Tajikistan and parts of Turkmenistan. Bukhara town lies on 39°45' North latitude and 64° 38' East longitudes and is 300 meters above sea level. The Khanate had covered an area of about 83,000

sq. miles, equal to the area of Italy.[3] It extended over eastern banks of Amu Darya — from Russian Pamir to the vast Khivan desert. Before the Russian war with Bukhara in 1868 and Bolshevik occupation in 1920, it extended to Qizilqum desert in north and the channels of Syr Darya and Khanate of Khoqand in the west, Afghanistan in the south and Turkmen towns and Khivan desert in the east.

The view that the earliest literary mention of the name had been found in Chinese sources of seventh century needs reconsideration as this particular name had existed centuries earlier and the Persian sources and geographical works do mention it.[4] Regarding the etymology of the word "Bukhara" we have several different views — some say it is derived from the Soghdian word 'Bukharak' meaning a good and powerful place. The other view is that it is derived from the Sanskrit word 'Vihara' which means monastery. The derived word Bukhara does not appear to be improper. In spite of linguistic complexity there is reason to believe that Bukhara is derived from "Vihara" as there was a village of the same name, near the monastery in Numijkas. Later it turned into town, which ultimately was referred to in the books as the state.[5]

The mountains of Bukhara lie on its frontiers. On eastern and southern sides, they form its boundaries while in

the inner part there is no mountain with the exception of few low-lying ridges near Shahr-i-Sabz and Samarqand. The highest mountains of the world crown the eastern part of Bukhara. The height of these mountain ranges reach up to 5500 to 6100 metres.[6] The mountain ranges stretch from Darwaz to Pamir.

The climate of Bukhara represents two distinct air forms the western region is extremely dry and hot in summer with severe cold in winter. The Amu Darya, which lies in this region, is occasionally frozen for two to three weeks during extreme winter. Between winter and summer there is a break up of heavy rainfall from February to middle of March, which is followed by a short period of spring in which there are rays of hot sun. The other region lying between 2500 feet to 5000 feet above main sea level is warm and mild in summer while winter is marked by severe cold. The period of extreme cold lasts for about four months.[7]

There are several large and small rivers out of which two are important namely the Amu (Oxus), and the Syr (Jaxartes). Besides, there is Zarafshan, Murghab, Kohik and the rivers of Qarshi and Balkh. Since there is no fixed season for rains, which are usually scanty, and since much water coming down from the snow on the mountains, is consumed by seepage and evaporation it is always difficult to get

sufficient water for irrigation. Even the Aral Sea about which Jenkinson had once expressed the fear in the sixteenth century that its water would soon disappear due to excessive use was gradually losing its original gush and flow till Obruchev found it drying. The irrigational canals dug out from these rivers therefore, served, as the source for irrigation and thus the rivers become very important for the people of Bukhara as they rendered some portion of these dry lands cultivable and therefore hospitable to its inhabitants. The Bukhara town was supplied water from Shahr-i-rud canal, fed by Zarafshan (gold scattering) River. The lack of fresh water for drinking purposes, made life difficult for the people, as a result of which several water borne diseases were common in Bukhara.[8]

The soil of Bukhara was texturally either a rich yellow loam or sandy waste and the later is ever encroaching. In the western part of Bukhara the land except the banks of Amu Darya is not good for cultivation. Contrary to that the area around the river is highly cultivable. The inhabitants of Qashqa Darya, Surkhan, and Zarafshan and Kafirnahang were engaged in farming. The soil in general being fertile[9] was quite suitable for the high agricultural yields of various grains, fruits, silk, cotton and dyes. As a result of which large varieties of grapes, peaches, apricots, melons,

watermelons, plums, apples and pears are cultivated. Henry Lansdell was struck by the enormous size of apricot trees.[10] According to Meakin "the apricot of Turkistan had a fame of its own.[11] In the Syr Darya region it was found in abundant. In Bukhara there were cultivated thirteen different kinds of vines. A particular kind of greenish variety was called *Kishmish*. There were two kinds of plums — yellow and black. The pomegranates were abundant at all seasons, a peculiar kind of which was called *bidone*, seedless or with small seeds only. Bukhara was also famous for its melons. Karki and Charjui rivalled each other in producing melons. The flavours of which were so exceptionally good that they surpassed every region except Khiva. Meakin refers to a certain kind of fruit called *alu-i Bukhara*, which resembled a plum without a skin or a strawberry without a stone.

The cattle breeding was extreme in the villages of Hisar and Alai ranges and in Darwaz. The cattle's especially the horses were famous for their excellence throughout Asia. The horses of certain breed *qara ba pir* were of great importance, which proved its superiority in the battle of 1914.[12] It is reported that several thousand heads of this kind were given to Russia by Amir Alim Khan as a token of friendship. Camels of Bukhara were supposed to be superior to any other Asian region. Small breed of goats, covered with a very long

and coarse hair, reaching almost to the ground was found in Qarategin. The Tibetan cows which Lansdell supposed a crossbreed, was introduced in Bukhara by the Russians.[13] Arab sheep were kept for its wool. Qaraqul sheep was reared chiefly to obtain the black curly lambskins. Bukhara was known for the trade of qaraqul skins and manufacture of leather goods—shoes, saddles. Bukhara was chief place for the culture of silk and the place for its fame was Vardan Zigi where the best kind and quality of it was produced.

The Khanate of Bukhara was rich in mineral resources. The hilly area in the east and south of Samarqand was the prominent mineral rich belt. Balkhi mentions that iron, ammonia, quicksilver, tin, slate, gold, naphtha, pitch, vetroil and a rock type used for fuel, i.e. coal was in abundance. Alim Khan writes that in Bukhara mines of gold, silver, copper lead, iron were found especially in eastern part, most of which were still to be excavated.[14] Also there were to be found naphtha, live coal, sulphur and salt-ammonia. Copper was found north of Sherabad. Iron was found in Nurata in the form of red and brown ironstone. Iron mines were also reported in Hisar. In the hills of Sherabad and Wazirabad mountains, were found sulphur and saltpetre, which were sold in Bukhara.

Seymour Becker provides an account of the population of Bukhara. He says at the close of nineteenth century the population of Bukhara was about 2.5 to 3 million. Amir Alim Khan himself reports the population of Bukhara was 3.5 million.[15] Two-thirds of whom lived in the western oases. Of the total population 65 percent were sedentary, 20 percent were semi-nomadic and 15 percent nomadic. Between 10 to 14 percent of the population was urban. The largest town of the Khanate was the capital itself with 70,000 to 100,000 persons while Qarshi was next with 60,000 to 70,000, Shahr-i Sabz and Charjui with 30,000 each followed by a dozen towns between 4000 to 20,000 population.[16]

Distribution of population was mainly based on races, which fell in two divisions, one of the Turkish extraction and the other of Iranian origin. From amongst the Turks the Uzbegs were the most prominent. While the Iranian category belonged to Tajik group. Also there were Jews, Afghans, Persians, Arabs, Armenians, Hindus and others in smaller number. Except Hindus and Jews all were Muslims. The Tajiks had clear olive complexions with black eyes and hair, polite, hardworking and intelligent. Moreover they possessed considerable skill of business. Uzbegs possessed high courage with inborn dignity of the Turk. Apart from these

two major groups there were Sorts or sartawals who were settled people skilled in business.[17]

The history of Bukhara may be traced back to sixth century B.C. It was ruled by the Persians between sixth and fourth centuries B.C. It was then said to be inhabited by the kind of population called as Aryans. It was conquered by Cyrus in 540 B.C. Alexander the Great captured it in 327 B.C. Until the second century B.C., the land was under the Greek rule. Then Kushanas got success in establishing its sway over the region that probably ruled till the Turks came there. The Altai Turks came here in sixth century A.D. They gave the region a Turkish character. In the early eight-century the Arabs conquered it. Earlier the Arabs appeared in the region under Ubaidullah ibn Ziyad in 674.[18] Qutaiba ibn Muslim established the Arab rule on firm footing. He built in Bukhara a great Mosque and announced to give to the people two dirhams that came there for Friday prayer.[19] He further maintained a garrison in Bukhara. Thus Bukhara started to be both military and religious centre. In the ninth century the Samanid family under Ismail Saman captured Bukhara and ruled there till 999. In the tenth century, Bukhara was known as centre of culture at that time. The Samanids were followed by the Qarakhanids who ruled the region till 1141. Then came the Qarakhitais whose hegemony over the place continued till

1206. For sometime, Bukhara remained under the powerful state of Khorezm till Muhammad bin Khwarazm Shah was first befriended and then attacked by Chengiz Khan who is said to have devastated it on mass scale in 1220 as evidenced by Juwaini, Rashiduddin Fazlullah and Banakiti, all of whom had written their account century later. The contemporary chroniclers like Shahi and Sam however seen to contradict this. Seemingly, when Marco Polo and other travellers visited the place the region seemed to have recovered its original glory as they described "it as the city of higher grandeur". In 1370 Bukhara fell to Timur who preferred to rule from Samarqand. Thus Bukhara lost its importance for some time. After the death of Timur in 1405 Bukhara emerged as a separate Khanate a provincial state. By 1500 it came under the control of Uzbegs.[20] Under the Shaibanid dynasty, which was established in 1506, Bukhara again regained its importance. During the sixteenth century thrice it remained the capital of Bukhara under Ubaidullah Khan and Abdullah Khan. Bukhara acquired its lost importance and became a centre of art, culture and learning. Rich library and majestic schools of paintings were established here[21] and in the words of Jenkinson "sumptuously built" paces bathhouses and mosques added to its grandeur. In 1598 Abullah Khan died and his son Abdul Momin was murdered, hence Abdullah's

sister Zuhra Begis husband Jani Beg was given the reins and his three sons namely Din Muhammad, Wali Muhammad and Nazar Muhammad became the rulers. Since Jani Beg happened to be the ruler of Astarakhan from where the Russians had thrown him out. Thereafter as a fugitive prince he had taken shelter with the Uzbeg ruler Iskandar, the father of Abdullah Khan. After the takeover of Shaibanid dynasty through female line, the new name of Janids or Astarakhanid was given to the dynasty, which lasted for over a century. The death of Subhan Quli in 1707 heralded the disintegration and downfall of the dynasty. The Qachar conqueror Nadir Shah invaded it in 1740 and gave death blow to the remnants of Chingizi power and to the Janid state.[22] While leaving the place after his conquest, he had appointed Muhammad Rahim as his governor. Thus was founded Bukhara's last dynasty i.e. Manghit dynasty. The Manghits ruled Bukhara from 1753 to 1920.

Shah Murad (1785-1800), Muhammad Rahim's grandson expanded the Khanate up to Iran and Afghanistan. He restructured the central bureaucracy of Khanate and reorganised provincial administration. He used the title of Amir instead of Khan to stamp the beginning of a new era of Muslim rule. His son Amir Haider (1800-1826) was successful in enjoying the support of urban population and

religious groups and *Ulema*. He successfully established Amir's central authority, which had started decreasing during later years, and curtailed the powers of Uzbeg tribal aristocracy, which had become strong for the past few decades. Haidar's son Amir Nasrullah (1826-1860) virtually crushed all probable potential challenges, which could place a hurdle in his way.[23] He was less dependent on tribal support. Having reorganized the Bukharan army to some extent on modern lines, he made attempts for military expansion, which were generally unsuccessful. His constant warfare against Khoqand made both the states so weak that neither was able to check the Russian advance later.

Under Nasrullah's successor, Amir Muzaffar, Russians started their attempts to give a practical shape to their centuries old dream. The Central Asian region with all its resources had always excited their cupidity. As soon as they managed to come to Tashqand in 1865, the gates of Central Asia seem to be opening for them.[24] The Amir was defeated in three successive battles and finally had to sign a treaty with the Russian Governor General of Turkestan, A.P. Von Kauffman on 18 June 1868.[25] According to the terms of treaty, the Amir had to accept vassal status giving secession of Samarqand stay of political residency in Bukhara and providing special privileges to Russian merchants. Although

there was no significant change apparently during his reign, under his son, Amir Abdul Ahad (1885-1910) Russian influence was seen spreading in Bukhara's economic, social and political development. The construction of railways through the Khanate in 1887 increased the Russian influence in different spheres. The last two rulers namely Abdul Ahad and Alim Khan (1910-1920) witnessed the opposition of liberal reformist circles inspired by western political and social thought. They were successful in suppressing these oppositions. However, Amir Alim Khan had to flee from Bukhara following an uprising against the Amir led by the Communist party in September 1920. The Red Army troop took the city after four days fighting. Thereafter Bukhara became People's Republic.

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CHAPTER 1

CENTRAL ASIA: AN OUTLINE

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The region called as *Asiya-i-Wusta* or *Asiya-i-Miyana* in the Persian sources and *Sredni Azii* in Russian is supposed to be one of the oldest centres of civilization. The place had been variously defined in different geographical sources due to its fluctuating borders after every medieval war. Nevertheless the region, popularly known as "Heart of Asia" or Inner Asia was given the name "Transoxiana" or *Mavaraunnahr* (beyond the river) by the Arab conquerors in the eight century. Broadly speaking, larger areas (e.g. Mongolia, China, Northern India, Western Asian region) whereas Inner Asia was the land lying between river *Amu* and river *Syr* called in Arabic language as *Jihun* and *Sihun*. Lying approximately between 35° and 55°[1] and located in Eurasian landmass the Caspian Sea extend from the west to the boarder of western China in the east. To the north lies Russia and *Dasht-i-Qipchaq* and to the south are Iran, Afghanistan, Kashghar, Khotan and India. It occupies a vast territory consisting of the five Republics of erstwhile Soviet Union and now independent states-Qazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Qirghistan. It has been surmised that in actual meaning the term 'Soviet Central Asia' applies only to the four of the above-mentioned five republics and

not to Qazakhstan, which has no doubt cultural and ethnic affinities but has different geographical features. During the period of Czar it was known *Stepnoi Karai* (steppe region). It should, however be noted that Qazaqs formed a part of the Uzbeg people as late as fourteenth century when the division occurred and the two terms *Qaraunah and Jetah* were applied to the two newly emerged political and ethnic groups, a description of which is available in Haidar Dughlat's Tarikh-i-Rashidi. Central Asia occupies an area of 1542200^2 square miles (399440) square kilo meters). The central Asian countries range in size from Qazakhstan with the area of 1049200 square miles to Tajikistan at 55300 square miles.[3] In the early 1990s Uzbekistan had more than twenty million people, the largest population, followed by Qazakhstan, Tajikistan, Qirghistan and Tukmenistan.[4] Population density through out the region varies widely from an average of almost from 120 person per square mile (46 person per square kilometre). In Uzbekistan to 20 persons per square mile in Turkmenistan and only 16 persons per square mile in Qazakhstan.[5]

Soviet geographers have divided central Asian regions into four sub regions. These are: the steppe, constituted by northern Qazakhstan known as *Tsellini Krai* (virgin lands region); the semi-desert consisting roughly of the rest of

Qazakhstan. The desert region reaching the Persian frontier in the west and Chinese frontier in the east; the mountain region of which the main features are the Pamirs and the Tian shan.[6] The physical geography of Central Asia is quite varied as it had vast expanses of steppe grasslands in the north; deserts as vast as Aq Qum Qara Qum and Ha darvesh with their brackish and salty water and thorny bush and semi deserts on flat, wide plains in the west and central areas; piedmont platforms.

Central Asia is bounded on the east and south by a number of high mountain ranges like Ala Tan and Qara Tan mountain ranges.[7] The mountain ranges include Kopet-Dagh of northern Iran; the Hindukush of Afghanistan; the Pamirs, occupying most of Tajikistan to the south; and the Tien Shan extending eastward into China. The mountain ranges in southern and south-eastern borders, act as a barrier blocking moisture flowing north across India and Pakistan from the Indian Ocean.

The desert land covers approximately sixty percent territory of Central Asia. The main deserts are the *Qaraqorum* (black sand), which covers most of the territory of Turkmenistan, and the Qizilqum (red sand) occupies most of western Uzbekistan. Generally the desert areas are not suitable for regular cultivation, the margins of the *Amu*

Darya and *Syr Darya* region that bring water from the high mountain borderlands,[8] however yielded enough not only to support its own population but also to attract foreign invaders.

The climate of Central Asia is very dry. The summer and winter are very hot and cold respectively. At Ashqabad and Termiz the climate is sub-tropical with temperature reaching 40^0 Celsius. Termiz is known, as the hottest place in former Soviet Union.[9] Winter is very severe in the desert and semi-desert regions. Here mercury reaches to -42.1^0 F in the west and -49.6^0 F in the east. Precipitation is low in the whole area with much variation in its intensity. In the semi-desert, unlike India, there is no separate season for rains, which are irregular and often scanty. Most of the rain falls in summer, while in the south of the desert region most rain falls in March. There have been years when in Tashkent no rain had fallen from the beginning of July until the end of September.[10] The rate of evaporation and precipitation are very high and low respectively in Central Asia. The south of the Aral Sea witnesses average precipitation about 3" (75 mm) per year. At Bukhara the amount rises about 5" per year but at Tashqand the average precipitation is about 14" per year. Thus the area becomes semi-arid in winter but the hot dry desert in summer. In the east, is Farghana valley

surrounded by high mountains where precipitation is low.[11] Most of Central Asian regions barring Qazakhstan get water either from *Syr Darya* or *Amu Darya* or its tributaries. The *Amu Darya* is the largest river of Central Asia.[12] River *Amu* was so frozen in the winters that if Persian writers are to be believed even the cavalry caravans could passover it. The Panj or *Pyandzh* constitute the border between Central Asia and Afghanistan. The *Zarafshan* and *Kashka Darya* are supposed to be the main tributaries of *Panj* in *Amu Darya*, which flows, northwestward and eastward separately before draining into southern Aral sea.[13]

The *Syr Darya* flows westward out of the Tian Shan, which forms Central Asia's eastern border with China to Farghana Valley encircled by mountains. From Farghana it suddenly turns on 90^0 towards north through the extreme southern portion of Qazakhstan and meets in the northeastern part of Aral Sea.[14] Most of the rivers used to change their course frequently. Both *Amu* and *Syr* suddenly turned and moved another direction much to the chagrin of its inhabitants. *Qarasu*, though called *Ab-i Rahmat* was just a small river. Zarafshan River, as the name denotes was "gold scattering", which facilitated good cultivation.

Irrigated agriculture in the south and surrounding, heavy and light industrial and mining activities in the north

constitute mainly the economic activities of Central Asia. Under soviet rule Central Asia supplied cotton textile along with coal and minerals to most of the countries outside the region.[15] Cotton was the "white gold", which attracted the cupidity of Russia to have its hold over this region. During Czarist rule and thereafter in soviet rule this sector witnessed much development. To enjoy more benefits, the remote areas were linked by railway lines, which started during Czarist rule and continued in soviet period.

So far as production of industrial crop is concerned Central Asia had it in abundance. Besides, the industrial raw materials, Central Asia was rich in mineral resources like coal, iron ore, copper, lead and zinc, which are found in foothills and intermountain basin in the eastern part of Central Asia. Heavy industries mainly concentrated in north-eastern Qazakhstan and the areas are Tashqand in the foothills of the Tien Shan. The minerals especially iron and coal proved to be backbone of the economy of erstwhile Soviet Union. Oil is found in abundance in Central Asia. The extraction of oil was first organized on industrial basis at the close of nineteenth century.[16]

The nationalities of Central Asia represent a complex mixture of various ethnic groups. There was a medley of people who trickled into Central Asia from ancient and

medieval times. Prominent among them are the *Soghdians*, the *Sakas*, the *Messagets*, the *Qaraqalpaqs*, the *Uzbegs*, the *Tajiks*, the *Qazakhs*, the Turkmen and the *Qirghiz*.[17] These people are interrelated through old ethnic ties and had therefore a number of common features in their culture, economy and way of life though with all their common efforts and joint struggle, each groups maintain its distinct cultural traits managed to determined and further defined clearly by Soviet Government on the basis of their lingual divisions. Peoples of Central Asia lived under the rule of Uzbeg Khans for over three centuries (i.e. from sixteenth to nineteenth centuries). The Khanates of Bukhara, Khiva and Khoqand were heterogeneous in their composition. From Czarist rule to the establishment of Soviet power, there emerged six main national groups in Central Asia viz., the *Uzbegs*, the *Qazakhs*, the *Tajiks*, the *Qirghiz*, the *Turkmen* and the *Qaraqalpaqs*. Besides these, there were *Uighurs* Tatars and several others of lesser importance who were settled there later on (or already lived there) viz., the *Dungars*, the Koreans, the *Slavs*, the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians.[18]

Several layers and deposits of ancient civilizations, which flourished in Central Asia, had left an impact upon its soil. A large number of relics have been unearthed by Soviet

archaeologists.[19] As had already been stated Central Asia kept on changing its time of control with its fluctuating frontiers. Historical records relating to the period before the Islamic conquests are extremely scanty. Khorezm was no more a Persian province at the time of Alexander's invasion. Soghd, the area later known as Transoxiana was still under Persian ruler and gave a stiff resistance to Alexander. Alexander annexed the territory of Achaemenid state after destroying it into the Graeco-Macedonian Empire. A considerable part of Central Asia was included in the Seleucid state after the decline of Graeco-Macodonian Empire in the Third century B.C. To say that Central Asian population comprised only "Kochevikh" or nomadic people would be wrong as most of them were agriculturists. Although dwellers of deserts, they pursued mixed economy. Due to scanty rainfall, the availability of water was always a problem. Much of the water flowing from the snow on peaks also vanished through seepage and evaporation. Artificial irrigation was therefore, the prime need and from the time immemorial canals were dug out. Medieval monarchs (including warrior Kings like Timur, Shaibani Khan and Abdullah Khan) were particularly keen to provide irrigational facilities. Obruchev, Ignatiev and Berg had described such praise worthy works of medieval rulers.

From the Talas and Jambul area of Qazakhstan and from Tashik Tash in southern Uzbekistan findings of Mousterian and of even earlier periods have been discovered. Many Central Asian tribes (like the Jeitun settlement in southern Turkmenia) were already cultivators and herdsmen in the Neolithic period. Anam culture in southern Tukmenia in the 4th millennium B.C. indicates about the cultivation of land. Ancient Khorezm had a well-developed farming and cattle breeding culture. Khorezm had also an elaborate system of irrigation. The Bactrian and Soghdian too had well-developed cultures which reached to a high-level farming and urban life. At the same time we notice infighting among different powers to rule over Central Asia. Ultimately Kushanas got success in establishing its sway over Central Asia and it was the Kushana period, which witnessed the cultural and economic expansion of Asia and the fusion of Indian and Central Asian art.

Since the decline of Kushanas up to the emergence of Arabs in Central Asia and anarchy overtook the region and infighting and establishment of one powerful state after another continued to change its political scenario. It appears that no permanent empire ruled over Central Asia for a long time, because of its ethnic and linguistic overtones. It is said that owing to their great diversity, the people of Central Asia

did not accept the usurpation of power in its early stage by the Arabs but later on, as we see in the subsequent period, the Arabs who penetrated into Central Asia in the eighth century A.D. and later on the Mongols, Russians, up to Russian revolution gave various dimensions to the region within their frame work.

The Arabs entered into Central Asia under Qutaiba ibn Muslim al-Bahli, the governor of Khorasan in the beginning of eighth century A.D.[20] His conquests continued until his death in 715, as he brought Khorezm, Transoxiana and Turkestan under the control of the Arabs. The Arabs got some stiff resistance from Iranian population of Transoxiana, Tokharistan and of the Turks, mainly the Turkish tribe of Semirechye. Turkish resistance was however, overcome but the national spirits of Iranians proved fruitful to give birth to the first Persian dynasty.[21]

The advancement of Islam and its culture found its place in Central Asia more due to the Arab traders but not through forcible conversion as is surmised. The Arab traders by their own pattern of living presented Islam as a best means of life than as a creed. Undoubtedly, the Arab traders faced the challenges by the missionaries in popularisation of their faith. Thus the proposition made by Devendra Kaushik that there was mass scale genocide and the 'Arabs spread

Islam in Central Asia at the point of sword' has no base.[22] It becomes clearer as Wheeler opines that in many parts of the steppe region where Arabs had not established their control, there too Islamic canon law, (Shariat) and customary law (adat) and to some extent the use of Arabic script were in practice among the people though some of them still retained Shamanistic rites and religious beliefs.[23] It should however be remembered that the Arab impact and Arabic language could not leave a deep sealed impact upon Central Asia. In this context, the information available in Persian sources is indeed very useful. Narshakhi had described how the first construction of a mosque in Bukhara took place and how the Muslims after Friday prayers were given two dirhams each. If Haider Dughlat is to be believed the rise of the Samanids (874-999) in the ninth and tenth centuries found the unification of Iran with Central Asia making Bukhara its centre. The entire region of *Mawaraunnahr* (Transoxiana), Khorezm, Syr Darya region, part of Turkmenia, Iran and Afghanistan came under the way of the Samanids who played a great role in the ethnic and cultural history of the area. During this period the Tajik-Persian language became widespread and during the same period poet of fame like Rudaki and Firdausi wrote their masterpieces.

The Samanid dynasty was overthrown by the Qarakhanids in 999 A.D.[24] They had established them in Samarqand and virtually controlled the whole Transoxiana until the twelfth century. The year 999 A.D. is important in the Central Asian history because it was from this very year the Turks began to maintain their hold on Central Asia until the arrival of Russians with only two gaps namely the reign of the Qarakhitai's and of the Mongols.[25] The Qarakhanid rule in Transoxiana and Semirechye coincided with the rise of Ghaznavid dynasty established by Mahmud of Ghazna having its capital at Balkh. After Mahmud his successors were overthrown from Persia and northern Afghanistan by the Seljuqids, who having their capital at Merv eventually extended their domain over Anatolia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine as well as to Khorezm and the areas along the lower course of *Syr Darya*. In 1140 A.D., the Qarakhanids were overthrown by the Qarakhitais who had established themselves in Transoxiana and Semirechye.[26] The *Qarakhitais* were new ethnic elements in Central Asia. There is a controversy regarding their origin. Some say they were of mixed origin as the name denotes that they were 'Black Chinese' (Qara Khatais) others think that they were a mixture of Mongol and Chinese. Some others believe that they were probably of Mongolian origin, absorbing Chinese culture to a

much greater extent than other nomad invaders. Early in the thirteenth century, they came into conflicts with the Mongols and were quickly overrun. By the end of the thirteenth century the Qarakhitais had disappeared.

The Mongols under Chingiz Khan destroyed the state of Khorezm Shahs during 1119-1121 A.D. A large number of Mongol troops who conquered Central Asia consisted of *Qipchaq* and other Turkish tribes who adopted the Mongol tribal names of *Qungrat*, *Kiat* and *Manghit* etc. The Mongol conquerors easily mixed in the local population and soon embraced Islam and the language of Turks.

In the fourteenth century from the Mongol tribe of Barlas there arose the great conqueror Timurlang or Temerlene (1336-1405). He established his sway not only in Central Asia but also up to Syria and China. His large-scale expeditions won him the fame and an area extending from Yelets in Russia to Kucha in Sinkiang and from Izmir (Symrina) to Delhi.[27]

Although Timur is a controversial figure as he had received both appreciations for his conquest, administrative genius executive and legislative efficiency and patronage of fine arts and condemnation for his ruthless treatment of the conquered, his descendants managed to establish better cordial relations with the local populace. Shahrukh became

the acknowledged ruler and Muslim monarch par excellence and his son Ulugh Beg carried the flag of his grandfather Timur. Thus a fine combination of Turko-Mongol and Perso-Islamic traditions emerged in Central Asia.The disintegration of Timurid Empire was hastened by the rise of new element the Uzbegs whom the Timurids[28] had themselves made a party to solve their internal internecine warfare. Once the Uzbegs saw the rich potentials of Central Asia they were naturally drawn towards it and after a few skirmishes managed to conquer it in general. The Uzbegs under Shaibani Khan occupied all the Timurid possessions in Turkestan and Khorezm.[29] Until the end of 14th century without much fighting but through a *coup de grace* the Qazakhs were merely part of the Uzbeg confederation, founded at the beginning of the century. By the beginning of sixteenth century the Uzbegs and Qazakhs further developed their distinct economic life. The Qazakhs remained half way through civilization, cattle breeders due to their geographical surroundings, while the Uzbegs began to be settled and adopted agriculture life. The Shaibanid dynasty came to an end with the death of Abdul Mumin in 1599[30] from then onwards; no firm control in the region of Central Asia is noticed for some time.

The Astarakhanids whose leader ruler Jani Beg had been driven out of Astarakhan by the Russians in mid 16th century took shelter with Iskandar Khan who gave his daughter Zuhra Begi in Marriage to the refugee king. Zuhra Begi, the real sister of Abdullah Khan gave birth of three sons namely Nazar Muhammad, Din Mohammad and Wali Muhammad and these three princes held the sceptre now when their maternal uncle Abdul Mumin was put to death. During this period anarchy prevailed in Central Asia. Independent principalities came to the fore in suburban areas while the Uzbeg tribal aristocracy seized power at the centre. Various warring tribes were busy to gain control over Bukhara and Khiva. After the Astrakhanids the Uzbeg kingdom fell into two parts at the close of eighteenth century, when the two dynasties of the *Manghit* and the *Qungrat*, having Uzbeg origin were founded. In Bukhara the house of Manghit served as *Ataliq* (father designate) from 1747 and succeeded the Astrakhanids in 1785.[31] They adopted the title of *Amir*. In Khiva the house of Qungrat ruled as *Inaq* from 1763 and from 1804 as *Khans*. Both the dynasties ruled until 1920 when they had to quit due to popular revolution. About the same time the Begs of Farghana who ruled there since the beginning of eighteenth century formed Khanate of Khoqand. This Khanate was founded by *Min* dynasty.

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CHAPTER 2

KHANATE OF BUKHARA : A POLITICAL HISTORY

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The Manghit rulers of Bukhara had left invariably an impressive mark on the annals of history and time. It is said that during the reign of Chingiz Khan the Manghit tribe made considerable advancement and were supposed to be the most celebrated among the Turco-Mongol tribes. The Uzbeg tribe of Manghit had been brought from the north-east of Mongolia by Chingiz Khan and had settled on the lower side of the Oxus and around Qarshi, a Bukharan citadel 140 miles south east of the capital.[1] The Manghits were one of the desert dwelling tribes of Central Asia. If medieval historians are to be believed, these Mangolists had formed one of the three major constituents of the Uzbeg nation who had like Qazaqs fell apart in the fifteenth century. While the Qazaqs had moved to Central Asia Manghits continued to live in the *Dasht-i Qipchaq*. Thus Manghits were one of the two most important Uzbeg tribes. The Manghits maintained friendly relations with the Uzbegs throughout the sixteenth century.[2] They established their hegemony over Bukhara towards the end of eighteenth century. They were known for their courage and bravery and notorious for their ambitious nobility. They also as is described in the sources had considerable influence over the court of Bukhara on account of their gallantry and

loyalty to the king alike. But as the events indicate that the tribal community was suddenly converted into a ruling class through a *coup de tat* and suddenly snatched the sceptre and asserted the real power[3] through Rahim Bi. While the Khanate of Astrakhanids started showing signs of disintegration in the year 1753, Rahim declared himself to be the ruler. The Manghit dynasty continued to rule over the region of Bukhara till 1920. The last ruler of this dynasty was Amir Alim Khan (1910- 1920).

The founder of this dynasty Muhammad Rahim Bi's grandfather Khudayar Bi, served as an *Ataliq* of Junaid Khan Abul Faiz. The same post was held by Muhammad Rahim's father Muhammad Hakim Bi who played an instrumental role in the peaceful surrender of Abul Faiz Khan to Nadir Shah.

Muhammd Rahim (1753-1758) was totally different from Abul Faiz Khan in his attitude towards state and approach towards nobility. He was a despot and preferred a highly centralised rule. His accession to throne if Barthold is to be believed, was facilitated by the support, cooperation and assistance of religions groups which had all along been well entrenched in the region. The highly placed groups of traders and merchants were also in his favour. Since Rahim Bi needed a very large army for the defence and for ensuring stability of the kingdom, he had committed the blunder of

imposing heavy taxes under the yoke of which they have not only groaned and petty merchants and poor artisans suffered alike due to extortion but the same taxes continued till a people's uprising in 1780 finally forced the ruler to terminate it. The author of *Gulshanul Muluk* emphasises the fact that Rahim Bi was a political strategist and had easily managed to subjugate all the 92 Uzbeg tribes so that there was no possibilities of opposition to his highly centralised rule from most of them. Yet, there were certain tribes which were still up in arms against him and who had kept him engaged in a life long tug of war for supremacy. The big landowners also posed a threat to his power. However, he was successful in suppressing these centrifugal tendencies and put down his enemies with a high hand.[4]

The efficient handling of turbulent conditions in Central Asia and the subsequent governance by Rahim Bi in the most appropriate manner shows his brilliance. From the first half of eighteenth century, the political situation in the Khanate of Bukhara started deteriorating due to economic crisis, inflationary conditions, and general slump in the urban commercial level. There were dissensions leading to internecine warfare, which had assisted Nadir Shah to seize it. The Qizilbash siege in June-July 1747 prolonged. The Persians had very fine packs of artillery, which they used

extensively. The then ruler Rahim Bi of Bukhara however put up a stiff resistance and invited all the artisans and labourers to serve as soldiers, when the Persians could not take Bukhara after a protracted siege of one month, they decided to raise it. Although Rahim Bi had made the agreement of exchange of prisoners of war, many Turks and Afghans with all their heavy arms and armaments and artillery were left behind. Rahim Bi did not belong to the ruling class; he could not hold the sceptre. Being a good warrior, he occupied Hisar, Samarqand, Urgut, Zarafshan, Kuliyab, Jizakh and Uratepe. Rahim Bi had, within three years, subdued Zimin, Panjkent, Falgar. Manghits had finally decided to place him on the throne though he was not a Chingizide to claim it. However, being a son in law of Abul Faiz Khan he was made the first Manghit ruler. Ever since Rahim Bi became the Amir and hold the independent charge of Bukhara, he had between 1757-58, introduced several reforms.

The separatist tendencies were, thereafter dealt with and the first casualty was Nur Ata Tughai Murad Burkut, chief of the Miyankal province, which was a thickly populated region of Bukhara Khanate. Rahim Bi wrested Nur Ata from Tughai Murad and the latter agreed to accept the allegiance of Bukhara. Many Uzbeg chiefs living on the border territory of Miyankal were suppressed, punished or put to death. The

ordinary folks were migrated to other places to disperse and resettle them in different corners to break their strength.

In 1753 Muhammad Rahim Bi invaded Urghut and later subjugated Shahr-i Sabz, Hisar, Kuliyab and the very next year managed to annex Khujand, Tashqand, Turkestan and other places. The successful attempts of Rahim Bi to centralise the state was conducive to progress and prosperity. The places where the internecine warfare still continued, the development in the sphere of economy and culture declined. The author of *Taj-ut tawarikh* who compiled his book in 1800 confirms the fact that gradually the kingdom of Rahim Bi flourished.[5]

An interesting feature of this period is that the local feudal lords continued to rebel at regular intervals but the poor, downtrodden, traders, merchants, artisans and scholar have found both peace and progress in a highly centralised government where law and order prevailed and consequently refused to support the rebels and abstained to respond to their call as there were no disturbances. The episode given by M. Sharif in Tajut Tawarikh is a fair proof of this attitude. In 1757 the people from far and near of all corners assembled at a place called Denau for sale and purchase of various goods. At that time the rebels under Amin Bi Yuz appeared suddenly and entered the market town from its various gates. They

plundered the bazaar and carried away the goods after killing many inhabitants. When the Bukhara army came out of barrack (citadel) they were all killed. When the army of rebel feudal lord managed to occupy the town, the entire Denau population "from *fuqra* to *sipahi*"[6] helped them to besiege the citadel. This was the signal victory of feudal lords over Bukhara garrison. But this did not indicate that the people's opinion had changed for they soon realized that separation from Bukhara brought disastrous consequences. The Amirs and Uzbeg tribal aristocracy e.g. Yuz, Keneges, Burkut, Bahrin and Sarai who had earlier been disbanded and sent to Hisar by Rahim Bi had not forgotten their humiliation with which they have been uprooted. In 1758, the death of Rahim Bi heralded a phase of unrest and continuous anarchy. These tribes could easily collect their 10,000 tribe's men and playing upon the small and big grievances of common man and upper echeleons of the society, they managed to instigate them and organised a big revolt. They assembled in the biggest mosque of the place and decided to give a deathblow to Manghit dynasty. However the "elder" (*aqsaqal*) and the representative of the Manghits, Daniyal Bi, who held the post of *ataliq* took the path of peace and while strengthening the fortifications he sent Ishaq Khwaja descendant of Makhdum Azam with nobles to open negotiations. But they did not

succeed as Ghaibullah Bi too, declined. Daniyal Bi then had to call even the civilian population and decided to put up a stiff resistance. The streets were also full of forces to check the advancing forces. The policy of centralization of the Manghits greatly served the interests of the rich magnates and the only ones to raise arms against the tyrants were the poor and the oppressed. Muhammad Sharif gives a graphic description of how these downtrodden "rose to crush their oppressors, destroyed their houses, property, burnt their buildings and brought such a devastation that only dust and smoke arose from their houses. Such was the intensity of the attack that the people even left their wives and children and sought refuge hither and thither to save their lives".[7]

Many of these Uzbeg rebels fell into captivity including the above-mentioned Tughai Murad Bi and his son. But this did not stop the spate of violence and tyranny. Soon Daniyal Bi stood against Fazil Bi Yüz who had occupied Samarqand and organised an uprising thereafter in Miyankal. Suppressing the rebels, Daniyal Bi further organised two invasions — one on Qarshi against Narbut Bi, who had joined hands with Huzara of Shahr-i Sabz. After a prolonged siege of six months the people of Shahr-i Sabz killed their leader and surrendered the town to Daniyal.

During the reign of Daniyal Bi Bukhara witnessed week administration and ugly social structure. He retained the position of Ataliq and did not claim himself as Khan and placed Abul Ghazi Khan on the throne.

After the death of Danial Bi in 1770, Shah Murad succeeded as the Ataliq of so-called Astrakhanid kingdom then headed by Abul Ghazi. As none of his uncles ventured to dispute his claim to the successorship, Shah Murad unlike his predecessors did not adopt the title of Khan but began himself to be called as Amir.[8] Shahmurad right from his youth was inclined to Sufism and spent his days in the *Khanqahs* (cloisters) and mosques in pious meditation.[9] He is said to have declined his paternal inheritance and wanted it to be distributed among those from whom it had been extorted.[10] During this period of religious meditation he wrote a book *Ain-ul Hikmat* (The fountain of wisdom). The social milieu and vicissitude, which compelled Shah Murad to assume the office of Wazir or Amir has great dimension. He however, placed himself as head of an army and drove the rebels over the frontier of the Khanate and took Hisar and Qarshi from the rebels. It naturally increased and re-established the political influence of Shah Murad who nevertheless introduced Islamic constitution in internal administration. Shah Murad's thirst for more conquest received impetus from

his splendid conquests and occupation of places. Nevertheless, Shah Murad is now seen struggling to extricate himself from the internal feuds which he had faced in recapturing of Hisar and Qarshi.[11] His sufistic outlook in this struggle helped him a lot to keep the gentry of Bukhara his strict follower.

After the big uprising of 1758, the significance and need of centralised system had become a much sought after solution in the anarchy, which disturbed the peace. Muhammad Alim Bukhari, the author of *Fath Nama-i-Sultani* writes: "the condition of Bukhara was full of distress and difficulties. The ordinary people and the poor were in a state of perpetual torture during the reign of Daniyal Bi. The army was allowed to live upon the civil population and excessive taxation completely overburdened and broke the back of the people to such an extent that they no longer could bear it. Shah Murad had to declare all the taxes abolished which were illegally extorted. The realization of the taxes like *Oluk wa Saluk* and others were thus totally prohibited. Not only *Tarkhani* was granted to some but ordinary folks were also exempted from military taxes like *Jul* etc.

Shah Murad had introduced four kinds of reforms namely financial, administrative, judicial and military. He was compelled by the recent uprisings to undertake such

reforms. Having concluded that the exploitation of agriculturists and artisans was still continuing through dubious ways, he decided to introduce monetary reforms, large-scale improvement in taxation system, judicial matters and administrative sphere.

Thus during the reign of Abul Ghazi, the full bodied silver coins of lesser weight and dimensions and of better look than those of earlier Tanga were introduced. Earlier for some time anybody could bring the silver to the mint and get its currency made against a small percentage paid to the state. This was stopped by Shah Murad. With his reforms all kinds of speculative ventures came to an end. Under his predecessors the silver coins had less silver and much more copper and monetary exploitation through frequent change in its value was also operative to earn seigniorage and also the silver, which hit hard the economic activities. Now the reforms have put an end to malpractices and progress of trade and state stability was ensured.

Shah Murad was particularly keen to abolish illegal taxes, which were against Sharia like *Yarghu*, *Baj*, *Tarh*, *Tughmal*, *Jul*, *Asaq*, *Aluk wa Saluk* and also discontinued the forced labour. However, these measures, though, beneficent and merciful told heavily upon the treasury, which was now

empty, and the maintenance of army became an impossible task.

The first administrative step taken by Shah Murad was to punish the two officers namely Daulat Qushbegi and Nizamuddin Qazi-i-Kalan both of whom had hold the office continuously during the earlier two regimes of his father Daniyal Bi and earlier also under Rahim Bi. The regional over lordship was merged with the office of Qazi and on their place was appointed a new Amir. Thus Qazis were appointed in the *tumans* and *qasbas*.

In the eastern part of Khanate, Shah Murad organised full investigations of the proprietary rights of lands. Annual measurement by *tanabs* and settlements of new peasant population there further improved the system. For better supervision of irrigation, *Mardi Waliyat* was appointed. Earlier all the canals were being managed by local feudal who appropriated all the monetary advantages from the water resources and deprived the state from such benefits of water taxes etc. Now the water taxes were received by the state.

From amongst the foremost reforms undertaken by Shah Murad in the sphere of justice was the democratic and human right being given to them that each individual, be he master or slave, rich or poor, could sue even his superior and bring him to the court if his master or even a highly placed officer

had committed an unlawful or illegal act. The legal documents and collection of juridical rules and laws were prepared by forty experts who were well versed in Sharia. The final court of appeal was the *Qazi Khana* where frequently, the Amir himself presided over the court proceedings. The cruel punishments meted out to culprits were by and large detrimental to further the crimes.

An important role was played by *Rais* and *Muhtasib* who carefully examined the weights and measures for proper arrangement of lands, Shah Murad had examined all the waqf documents and got it verified from records.

In 1786 the city and environs of Karmina openly stopped allegiance to Bukhara compelling Shah Murad to undertake several invasions to subdue Karmina followed by those against Shahr-i Sabz and Khujand. In the same year he attacked Merv and put to death its ruler Bairam Ali, though he appointed one of his sons as the ruler. During his second invasion Shah Murad occupied the Murghab river dam and ordered for its destruction. After a brief period Bairam Ali was forced to surrender and come to Bukhara. With him came a group of Merv inhabitants. Shah Murad's brother Omar Bi was appointed as the ruler of city. But soon he and his brother Fazal Ali had to leave for Bukhara. Although Shah Murad again went with his army to Merv but he could not

recover it till the dam which he had destroyed was renovated and resulted in the renewal of fresh supply of water. The dam was rebuilt in 1797.

Shah Murad tried his sword with Afghan ruler Timur Khan and could preserve the safety of the Uzbeg and Tajik population of southern region of Turkestan.

AMIR HAIDAR (1800-1826) :

Amir Haidar succeeded his father Shah Murad in 1800.[12] This period also coincide with the establishment of British colonialism in India. Although Shah Murad had designated his son as his successor as heir apparent (Katta Tura), customarily in Central Asia the nomination had seldom been honoured hence he had to face his uncle's claim to throne and subsequently of succession[13] which was ruthlessly suppressed by him though two of his uncles namely Umer Bi and Fazil Bi became the first casualty and were put to death while Muhammad Bi, the third one sought asylum in Khoqand. There were two reasons in favour of Amir Haidar. He was supported by the people of Bukhara on the issue of his succession because his father's religious bent of mind and love and attraction towards mysticism had played a significant role in his popularity, secondly it is interesting to note that Amir Haidar perhaps belonged to the family of Saiyids and enjoyed the high status of being a *Sadat*. To

emphasise and exploit it the prefix Saiyid was attached to his name, which had not been used by previous rulers. He began to be called Saiyid on account of his maternal connections and hierarchy.[14] It is not very difficult to presume how much political privilege he must have got by using this epithet Saiyid.

Since inception of his kingdom Saiyid Amir Haidar began to exploit the circumstantial possibilities and concentrated upon the territorial expansion. By 1804 he subjugated the provinces of Urateppe, Khojand and Tashqand. In the same year he sent his ambassador in the court of Czar of Russia. It seems that he wanted to consolidate his empire to gain more and more political privileges. The relation of Amir of Bukhara with his counterparts as that of Khiva and Khoqand had never been cordial. It is evident that the situation was not very favourable for him from the beginning. The accession of Amir Haidar on the throne of Bukhara heralded massive mass uprisings, feudal infighting and internecine warfare, which was a common feature whenever a change of authority was noticed. Many chieftains in the vicinity declared their independence, several others joined hands to fight against their neighbours to extend their domain at each other's expense. In 1800, the Turkomans of Merv rebelled followed by a similar rebellion of Turkmen in Karki

at Amu Darya. Apart from these, the tribal population of Miyankal also gave a really tough time to the new aspirant of throne, Amir Haider. Soon the internal unrest was further increased due to the Khoqand army of Alim Khan from Uratepe who were so far the vassals of Bukhara. The invasion of Khoqandis on Jizak, Zamin, Peshagir and Urmitan soon followed from the west and south also the emirate of Bukhara felt threatened. In 1804 the Khan of Khiva Iltuzar also ravaged the cities and villages but they were defeated at Amu. After this, to Merv where Amir's brother Din Nasir Beg, Amir Haidar sent an army under the command of Niyaz Beg Parwanchi who destroyed the *Sultanband* dam and due to complete lack of water people died thirsty and Din Nasir fled with his family to Zarafshan Valley. Most of his people also ran away except 200 Turkoman families were left behind. In 1825 Merv was again conquered by Khiva. However every time the *Sultanband* was repaired thereafter, twenty channels flowed and finally Murghab changed its course.

In the spring of 1815 Omar Khan of Khoqand sent an army from Turkestan under the command of Tashqand generals. The town was easily subjugated and the next morning plundering was done. After this venture, a chain of mutual wars and series of invasions on each other between Khoqand and Bukhara started. Continuous wars were bound

to tell upon the economy and peace of Amir Haidar's kingdom. As per norm of the region, the burden of each war fell upon the shoulders of taxpayers who had to pay taxes like *Zar-i lashkar*, *Nambardar* and even forced labour like Hashr-o bigar-i qala. If the chronicler Mohammad Yaqub is to be believed "the income of Amir Haidar through his resources far exceeded that of his father but his expenditure surpassed all limits of overspending". Such a situation brought a series of uprising of people who were groaning under the heavy yoke. During 1821-25 arose Miyankal rebellion raised by Chinese, Qipchaqs, Qaraqalpaqs and others who drove out the local rulers and occupied Kattaqurghan, Chilek, Yangiqurghan and a number of others. Amir had to leave the place for quite some time. It was only in 1825 when the strength of the Chinese Qipchaq ebbed low and their defence for the downtrodden really exhausted them that the Amir managed to wrest from them, two frontier forts Chilek and Yangiqurghan. A written agreement had to be given by the Amir that the rebels would not be reprimanded. The remaining territories also were thereafter given back to the Amir. However, this revolt of 1821-25 had left an indelible stamp upon the psyche and political condition of Bukhara. The capacity of paying the taxes fell at once and the rich Miyankal region — desolated and ravaged by the defenders

of human rights lost its original lustre and prosperity. Since most of the time, the energy and resources of the ruler were wasted in defensive measures, attention could not be paid to the betterment of people's condition or improvement of country's economic or cultural status.

He was never found lacking in courage and timely action. When the Khan of Khiva, Iltuzar Khan had ravaged suburbs of Bukhara, which was apparently a challenge to his authority, he had in order to maintain the faith of people on him took avenge of their woes. He sent thirty thousand Uzbeg under the command of Muhammad Niaz Beg who emerged victorious, as Khan of Khiva had lost his life while crossing the *Amu Darya*.[15]

It seems that the Amir of Bukhara followed the Perso-Islamic and Turco-Mongolian traditions of enlightened despotism and had never allowed anyone to question his authority. In this context they were supposed to have no qualms about kingship knows no kingship and like other medieval counterparts they had killed those who came in their way, be it his own relative or anyone else. The social and religious outlook of Amir Haidar was more or less a replica of his father. On the issue of tolerance and supremacy of mysticism he never hesitated to assert as he had imbibed these ideals from his father. He too used to lead a very simple

life and influenced by mystic ideas of *fuqr* he preferred life of abnegation and abstinence more religiously than his predecessor.[16] His administration was by and large on the same lines as that of his father. The economic and social contacts and political relationship of Bukhara with Russia had been very old which further gained momentum during the reign of Amir Haidar. The Russian travellers in their accounts have criticised the social formation of Bukhara and made certain comments in this regard, which do not seem to be correct. In his court he used to preach on religion and its practices. In his material life he was strict to religious code of conduct.

On administrative and political reforms the period of Amir Haidar was a confluence of many innovations. During his regime the state of Bukhara was divided in seven *tumans* (provinces) for the sake of administrative efficiency[17] where *Hakims* were appointed for each province and his own deputy was appointed additionally to keep a check. Each province had many other subdivisions. In the smallest unit in the village called *deh*, the representative was chosen by themselves, called *aqsaqals* (white beards). The election of *aqsaqals* was generally for life long. The duties of *aqsaqal* were to resolve the internal feuds of villagers and extend protection by providing force. Out of this service he got one-

tenth of the total production of land. The Amir of Bukhara at this time had the strength of well-equipped 40,000 cavalry a number that had never been heard before. Hence, Bukhara under Amir Haidar witnessed the growth of Islamic learning and at the same time the social and cultural outlook had been more or less varnished by the teachings and priorities of religion.

It appears that during the reign of Amir Haidar Bukhara had maintained its external relation with Russia as it is evident that in retrospect few dignitaries also visited Bukhara in 1820 represented by Neigri[18] alongwith small military personnel. They were warmly welcomed by the Amir and exchanged pleasantries. The establishment of external relation shows the ambition and political maturity of the Amir. This, on the one hand helped him to maintain a sustainable relationship with other countries and on the other it enhanced the influence of the Amir due to a next-door ally however optimistic thought may be. During the reign of Amir Haidar, there were continuous wars. The court chronicler Ahmad Danish writes in his *Risala* that "the reign of Amir Haidar presents the picture of feudal times when there were internecine warfare as a rule". Amir Haidar's regime is characterised by incessant external and internal battles which occurred every three to six months as a routine happening.

The same author says, "While the wars were going on, Amir Haidar sat in the assembly of *Ulema* and discussed with them religious questions." The version seems to be both incorrect and biased in view of the fact that Amir Haidar was brave, sober, courageous and God fearing. His sense of duty to protect his subjects was perhaps stronger than his yearning for intellectual or religious pursuits.

After the death of Amir Haidar, his third son Nasrullah ascended the throne in 1826 after getting his two elder brothers namely Husain and Umar eliminated. It was due to this act of stranger cruelly the Amir Nasrullah was called by the people "Amir Qassab" (Amir Butcher).

AMIR NASRULLAH (1826-1860)

The reign of Amir Nasrullah considered to be important on account of multifaceted development that Bukhara witnessed during his reign. Writing about Nasrullah Vambery quotes an Uzbek proverb "the princes of the time are the mirror of their time".[19] This proverb had been used by Vambery to describe the reign of Nasrullah which was crippled by boundless hypocracy and unscrupulous tyranny associated with the chance of succeeding to the throne which does not appear to be correct as the events indicate that the elder brothers and successor of Haidar died within three months of his succession and after him his younger brother

Umar had proved as a weak ruler.[20] There is a good deal of controversy about the succession of Amir Nasrullah. The European writers of the later period say that it was obtained by hypocrisy, treachery and tyranny.[21] However, it is evident that his succession was neither a cool affair nor was it devoid of internal feuds. During this period he was in the cobweb of inner uprisings and daring revolts, which he faced from his own accomplices. He is seen struggling to occupy the seat of Amir of Bukhara from the humble position of governorship of Qarshi, which he had now held. As he had to face threat his authority from Umar Khan, his uncle, who had taken hold of the situation. Same was the case with Ayaz Khan and Hakim Khan who were in league with Umar Khan. But as soon as Nasrullah entered in Samarqand the doors were made to open for him at the behest of religious groups. As all the claimants to the throne remained evasive to challenge him, he was ultimately enthroned on the famous blue stone (Koktash) where every Amir since Timur had been conventionally crowned.[22] Since then a triumphant progress had been seen throughout the realm of Amir Nasrullah. After his accession Katta qurghan and Karmine were ceded to his domain. On being inspired by his early success he invaded and captured Bukhara on 22 March 1826. Although the people of Bukhara who gave a stiff resistance to Nasrullah for forty days, the

hunger and want of water ultimately placed them into the hands of Nasrullah.[23]After the capture of Bukhara Nasrullah had to face in cold-blooded war or murder on the banks of Oxus in which three of his younger brothers along with many of his rivals were killed,[24] and this had made Nasrullah to enjoy undisputed possession of state and power. Even after joining full control over the kingdom Nasrullah had to appease his followers and subjects whose faith he had recently lost due to large scale killing of his rivals and opponents and who were to be won over through generosity, justice and excessive shower of gifts. The loving submission of people was not hard to seek.

Amir Nasrullah is said to be kind to only two groups, the army and the religious groups. He was, however, most ruthless towards the Uzbeg nobility whom he put to death mercilessly. His main objective was to unite and bring under his sway the entire region. Shahr-i Sabz was still enforcing semi-independent status. Earlier in the reign of Nasrullah's father, there did exist friendly relations but as soon as Nasrullah came to power, the ruler of Shahr-i Sabz declared independence. To add to the trouble, many landholders out of fear ran away and sought refuge in Shahr-i Sabz and thus anger against Nasrullah increased when they were constantly ignited. Although Amir undertook several expeditions against

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Shahr-i Sabz and its refugees but local population and the besieged put up such a resistance that the Amir had to return after patching up a hurried peace. It was only in 1856 that the Amir could take Shahr-i Sabz and Kitab presumably not only by he succeeded in conquering it but also won the land of its ruler's sister in marriage which further strengthened his position. Since Nasrullah's ambitions to conquests and extension of domains could be satiated and fulfilled only through invading and occupying neighbouring territories (as no external feat was possible), he thought of invading Khiva and Khoqand. Khoqand came next in his plan and there he was successful. The Khanate of Khoqand was then ruled by Khan Muhammad Ali who claimed his descent through the female line of Babur. In this war of struggle against Khoqand he got the aid and support of the Persian soldier named Abd-us-Samad Khan. The cause for his aggression against Khoqand was the fortress of Pishagar which was said to have been erected by Khoqand ruler on his (Nasrullah's) territory and ultimately its destruction was demanded by Nasrullah. But Muhammad Ali, the Khan of Khoqand refused to comply with the order and thus he was attacked by a strong force under the command of Abd-us-Samad Khan.

To his good fortune, the nobility, tribal aristocracy and religious groups have all joined hands against the Khoqand

ruler despite latter's successive victories. They invited Nasrullah whose task was, thereafter made easier. Since the wars had to a great extent destroyed the prosperity of Khoqand the political as well as economic condition deteriorated considerably. The clergy and the military aristocracy were particularly annoyed with Muhammad Ali whose rule of past two years had totally unnerved there. Consequently, a popular uprising of people broke out and right at that moment, Nasrullah's army appeared on the scene. Khoqand ruler had to submit, patched up peace and had to surrender Khujand. Again after two years, a massive rebellion arose in Khujand. Again after two years, a massive rebellion arose in Khoqand when the palace of Khan Muhammad Ali became the centre of attack. In 1842 Amir Nasrullah reached there subjugating all the places on his way. Soon Muhammad Ali and his other relatives of far and near were caught and killed. Khoqand was, thereafter easily annexed to his Empire. Further, they occupied Tashqand also. After assigning the territory to his deputy, Nasrullah returned to his capital.

Three months later in the summer of 1842 — there was a severe opposition to Nasrullah and there broke out a rebellion in protest against the extortions and excessive revenue and taxes demanded by the deputy of Nasrullah.

Although all the rates of taxes were fixed and these had already been paid by the people, an extra demand of one fourth of produce in kind over and above the paid amount had ignited the people. The Qipchaqs and the nomads of Farghana were also invited by the Khoqandians. With their assistance Khoqandians managed to place Alim Khan Shir Ali a first cousin of Amir Ali on the throne. The deputy of Nasrullah managed to flee to Bukhara alongwith others of the Bukhara garrison but those who could not were beheaded. Immediately, a strong wall was raised round the city of Khoqand to protect it from invaders. Seeing this, Amir Nasrullah personally went to besiege Khoqand. The siege protracted for forty days. When the situation became difficult for the Bukharans Amir opened negotiations with Shir Ali as the population of Khoqand had now come forward for the defence of their town. To make the matters worse news arrived that Allah Quli Khan of Khiva had invaded Bukhara. Khujand fell to Khoqandians followed by fall of Tashqand.[25]

Another significant feature was that after his initial victory, Shir Ali was so delighted by the timely and result oriented assistance of the Qipchaq Musulman Quli that he appointed the latter as the Chief of Qipchaqis and Mingbash commander of thousand (hazare) of the army.

As soon as Nasrullah received the news of uprising in Farghana, he rushed to the place. Musulman Quli also reached there and started exhorting and encouraging the people there to challenge and bravely face the Bukharans. In such a situation gradually Musulman Quli became so strong and powerful as to overshadow even his benefactor Shir Ali. In 1845 when Musulman Quli had gone Osh to deal with Qirghiz, certain Uzbeg chiefs who were angry both with Shir Ali and Musulman Quli, opened negotiations with Alai Qirghiz and invited Murad, son of Ali Khan, from Uratepe and declared him Khan, as Murad had earlier secretly helped Uzbeg amir Nasrullah. Shir Ali was killed and his palace was occupied, sons were arrested and Amirs were ordered to personally come with presents but a wide section of population was unhappy particularly because the new Khan declared himself to be the deputy of Bukhara king.[26]

After 32 expeditions, it was evident that Nasrullah's policy of aggression and subjugation had not paid him much. The constant fighting against Khiva is the example in question. On the one hand, Nasrullah is found to have bitter and hostile relations with Khiva throughout his reign, on the other the petty states of Balkh, Andkhui and Maimne on the southern frontiers were the objects of his constant aggression.

The reign of Nasrullah is characterised by external and internal fears. Both England and Russia had a mutually suspicious relations, which followed English policy of "Russophobia" and "cry to save India" by England. Alexander Burnes had been sent by the British to Afghanistan, Meshed and Bukhara whose unofficial visit was according to some, proved futile.[27] On the other hand Russia was equally ambitious and keen to establish commercial relation with Bukhara and gain favour from Nasrullah. In this attempt major Bataniev was sent by Czar Nicholas to Bukhara in 1840 with two objectives — first to establish a good business relation and conclude a treaty of commerce. Second, to maintain friendly relationship with the Amir of Bukhara to pose a serious threat over the political hegemony of England. In this war of struggle for having close relationship with Bukharan Amir, England sent his agents too, in 1842 with the task of uniting the central Asian Khanates in alliance against Russia. But being rejected by Khiva, Khoqand and Bukhara foiled her attempt. In June 1842 British agents, Connolly and Stoddart, who were remained captive had been brought out to die in Bukhara.[28] This naturally increased the sense of hatred of England against Bukhara and its Amir. But it is said that Nasrullah had nothing to do with the execution of two Englishmen as it is said that they were put to death at

Abd-us Samad's instigation, a close accomplice of Nasrullah who had a sense of hatred against the British.[29] It seems that Amir Nasrullah was much inclined towards Russia than England but he had sensed the threat from both against Bukhara.

In the global perspective, Amir Nasrullah's position was far from enviable, with the industrial revolution to the onset of big game; Central Asia's importance had considerably increased. Masson who had worked as spy had started his journey by sea in 1830-33 and had reached India and visited Lahore and Kabul.

AMIR MUZAFFARUDDIN (1860-1885)

Syed Muzaffaruddin succeeded his father in 1860.[30] He had been spend his early years at Qarshi in order to learn the art of governance as his father had done earlier. Ever since the days of Chingiz Khan and Kebek Khan. Qarshi was supposed to enjoy an extra ordinary position as the oldest but the first seat of Mongol Empire. It was also widely accepted as a stronghold for military training. Nasrullah had appointed his son Muzaffar as the governor of Karmine which was also a politically sensitive place and was often faced with unrest and anarchy owing to its belligerent population and also due to over ambitious nobility and military aristocracy and their continuous conspiratorial activities. Muzaffar served there as

governor for 18 years from 1842 to 1860 until the death of his father. Apparently, he seems to have recommenced the struggle with the rebels of Shahr-i-Sabz where the banner of revolt had been immediately set up just after his accession. The immediate concerns of Muzaffaruddin were to regain the confidence of princely class and to cherish the dreams of universal conquest.[31] That is why he started his campaign against Shahr-i-Sabz and Khojand in 1863. The state of affairs in the Khanate of Khoqand had been continuously changing. In early 1860s Mulla Khan, younger brother of Khudayar Khan who had voiced against the Russians was named Khan of Khoqand with the support of Begs of Orateppe. Khan Khudayar being disgusted fled to Bukhara and sought help from Amir Muzaffar. In turn as a measure to reinstate Khudayar, Muzaffar assassinated Mullah Khan with the help of Qipchaqs. However, Qipchaqs disapproved the choice of Muzaffar to install Khudayar but favoured his younger brother Shahmurad on the throne who ruled there hardly for four months. This change infuriated the stubborn Muzaffar. So he decided to proceed against Khoqand with great display of force in 1865.[32] He sent forward his commander in chief with 4,000 strong men and Muhammad Hasan Beg with thirty guns with a plea not to return unless the place was conquered. On the other hand Qipchaqs also

declared themselves to be ready for all eventuality. This estrangement however, brought success to Muzaffaruddin. At the same time this campaign also amounted to a loss of hundred lives from both sides. The whole episode resulted in the division of Khoqand into two parts. The eastern part of this Khanate extending from Osh to Mahram fell in the hands of Qipchaqs while the northern part from Orateppe to Tashqand was subjected to the realm of Khudayar Khan who made his residence at Samarqand with a view to be in the close contact of his protector Muzaffaruddin. Muzaffar's policy of conquest might have been justified having based on idea of a general alliance against the foreign invader. But the later events indicate that Muzaffar had proved to be incapable of forging an alliance and to oppose the common enemy. It is said that Muzaffaruddin would have greatly succeeded only by the usual call of holy war or the common cost of ousting an intruding outsider but he failed in capitalizing over the call of Jihad, or exploiting the xenophobia and the sense of hatred amongst his people against Russia.

Russia had been keenly interested and was continuously trying to hold its sway over the Central Asian Khanates since early nineteenth century. He had chosen two different ways—the main channel, through diplomatic mission and secondly through waging wars. From 1839 onwards after the

failure of Perovski's expedition Russia looked backed to realize her mistake and hence changed her base of operation from south-east of the sea of Aral to the banks of Jaxartes. This well thought out change of base however, brought Russia some success as might be seen from her advancement in the territory of Khoqand. Excluding the period from 1853-56, which might have been the period of favour and relief for Khoqandians, Russia had concentrated all her forces in Crimea. Since 1839 to 1865 we see some stray incidence of Russian advancement in the territory of Central Asian Khanates. It was the period when Muzaffar had put some obstacles in the way of occupation of Russian army. After having been over joyous by the aforesaid development that took place in Khoqand Muzaffaruddin sent a letter to General Chernaiev ordering him to evacuate the conquered territory or else he would be in case of default, compelled ultimately to wage a holy war against Russia. But the Russians were however unmoved. In the mean time Khoja Najmuddin was sent on a friendly mission to Czar perhaps to explore the possibilities and prospects. But he was arrested and thrown into prison. In retaliation, the ruler of Bukhara also kept the Russian subjects in prison. However, the war between Bukhara and Russia that had broken out over Khoqand ended on 18 June 1868 with the treaty signed by Muzaffar at

Qarshi.[33] Muzaffar had to forge an alliance with other Khanates and also with Afghanistan to check the Russian advance. Here it may be mentioned that Afghanistan and Bukhara had been on very cordial relation since Muhammad Afzal Khan, the elder son of Amir Dost Muhammad of Afghanistan married his daughter to Abdul Malik Khan, the eldest son of Muzaffar. The peace treaty that was signed by Muzaffar allowed Russia to annex the already conquered territories of Jizakh, Khojand, Orateppe Katta qurghan and Samarqand. Moreover, it further allowed Russia to establish cantonments at Karmine, Qarshi and Charjui. This treaty also provided mutual free trade between Bukhara and Russia and Muzaffar gave his consent to appoint trade agents in Bukhara and other towns of his Emirate. After occupying the lands from Bukhara the new proprietor i.e. Russia declared Zarafshan, to be a district and later Samarqand was also made a province of Russian Turkistan. The Russian government even got a control over the waters of Bukhara. Russia however, did not interfere in the administrative set up of Bukhara and had left the Amir to rule at his own will. Muzaffar later on grew further friendly with Russia with whose support he attacked the Begs of Shahr-i-Sabz, Kitab and Qarshi in 1870.

The virtual submission of Muzaffar to Russia was not liked by his young and energetic nineteen year old son Abdul Malik Khan who alongwith his supporters Zorabek and Bababek of Shahr-i-Sabz rose in rebellion against Muzaffaruddin. Muzaffar sought Russian help against his son who stood firm on his way. With the support of Russia Abdul Malik Khan was defeated and subsequently Qarshi was conquered on 21-23 October 1868. Eventually Abdul Malik fled to Kabul via Khiva and finally to Kashghar where he died in 1909.[34]

The treaty between Bukhara and Russia did not affect its economic and political systems. In spite of being "independent" and enjoying "sovereign authority" poor Amir could not dare to go on his way against the will of Russia. It is interesting to note that the Russian political agency was established in Balkh on 12 Novebmer 1885 with Colonel Nikolai Cherikov as the first Russian Resident agent. It was claimed ironically enough that the agent left the Amir of Bukhara to rule the country autocratically. Cherikov who belonged to Asiatic department of Foreign office also served there till 1889. In fact the establishment of Russian political agency in Bukhara with the appointment of Russian political agent however, transformed entirely the basic structure of the government and also the nature of relations between Bukhara

and Russia. The later events further prove that the developments that were taking place in due course of time were merely the completion of the process of dominance of Russian protectorate over the Emirate.

ABDUL AHAD (1885-1910)

The fifth and youngest son of Muzaffaruddin succeeded as Amir of Bukhara on 1st November 1885.[35] Here it may be pointed out that before the succession of Abdul Ahad, Bukhara had already been transformed into Russian protectorate. However, barring several important departments Russia had by and large adopted the policy of non-intervention. The new phase in which Abdul Ahad ascended the throne was marked by the establishment of Russian presence in Bukhara. It is said that the new phase of relations begin from St. Petersburg's decision in 1885 to build the Central Asian railroad. While visiting Central Asia in 1882, Lord Curzon gave a new dimension of last expiring chance of freedom. He was of the view that iron rails were laid across the Khanate to switch their freedom and establish suzerainty of Russia. St. Petersburg was eagerly interested to ensure secure Muzaffaruddin's cooperation in constructing Central Asian railroad. The intention of seeking cooperation from Muzaffar was based on twofold policy — one, Muzaffar was to be persuaded to pay for the construction of railroad across

Bukhara, second, if that proposal was not likely to materialism it was decided to cede the public land without charge. In addition to that it was also intended to extract money and resources from Bukhara in hiring labours and buying acquiring building materialise. However, it is ironical that on the one hand, Russia claimed to have declared not to interfere in the internal life and political structure of the Khanate on the other it compelled the Bukhara government to accept all the commands directly or indirectly given to the Khanates so called authorities under the subjugation of Russian Government. It was a fact that Cherikov executed the mission despite Muzaffar's opposition. As happened in all the countries, where imperialism reigned supreme that the Mother country dictated the terms to serve her own interests, Russia too, convinced and assured Muzaffar of all its cooperation, unsolicited advises, and support and to defend Bukhara against apprehensions of attack and the imagined fears from Britain. The protection from hostility of Kabul real or presented was also enough to compel the Amir of Bukhara to concede the demands of Russia on the pretext that it should not be made public to avoid and repercussion on public relations of Bukhara.

However, this situation continued before Abdul Ahad who remained at the mercy of his Russian masters. In the

hour of need, when claimants to the throne could make the situation difficult for Abdul Ahad he was supported and accompanied by General M.N. Annenkov, the builder of Central Asian railroad who gave public notice of Russia's support for the prince's succession. Abdul Ahad was in Karmine at the time of his father's death.[36] The death news was not made public owing to the fear of popular uprising, unrest, anarchy, disorder, and rebellion once the news was broken. It had almost been customary in the Islamic world and so in the Khanate of Bukhara. Due to absence of any law or custom of succession, the war of succession always ensured or the successor designate had to face challenges from different corners before succeeding and ascending to the throne. In this regard Abdul Ahad was fortunate enough that except for his elder brother Abdul Malik, no one was there to challenge his authority and the succession was smooth also because of Russian support. Abdul Ahad personally was clever enough as he had acquired some administrative experience and political stratagem during his governorship period when he had been in Karmine from 1871-1885 dealt well with situation. On ascending the throne he had taken care of removing immediately all the hurdles on his way. He had married off Abdul Malik's wife who had no children. To pacify another rival, his uncle, Astanqul, he had bestowed

upon him the rank of Qushbegi and the Begi of Hisar, thus nipping in the bud any possible threat from his future rivals.

Abdul Ahad's era is supposed to have served as the confluence of two seas, the medieval, and the modern and bridged the two worlds. He remained orthodox Central Asian despot at home differing from his father who gave more attention to his own self than to political problems of governing his country. Unlike his father Abdul Ahad visited Russia and he said to have been impressed by the Russian progress and development, which tempted him to adopt methods of education and culture. Abdul Ahad was credited to have introduced many innovations both in administrative, social, and cultural life. He wanted to give new way of life to his compatriots through the western impact on his own country. He installed the electric lights on the road and furnished his Vila and palace in the European style. He used to entertain the Russian guests at dinner with European tunes. These innovations, however, did not affect the life of Amir, which totally remained a traditional one. In 1892-93 Abdul Ahad visited Russia at the invitation of Alexander III and in 1896 he visited Moscow on the occasion of Nikolas' III coronation.[37] He was the only Amir who made several visits to Russia and by the end of 1890's he was seen visiting Russia in an elegant car presented to him by Nikolas II.

Abdul Ahad seems to be very generous in presenting gifts to Russian officials. He had donated enormous sums to Russian schools. During the Russo-Japan war, he presented a war ship to the Russian navy. The rationale behind Abdul Ahad's frequent visits to Russia and his generosity towards Russian officials should be seen in a different way. In due course of time, Abdul Ahad had been successful in establishing apparently a posed model of independence, as it was evident that during his visit to St. Petersburg he received the honours, which were accorded to a visiting head of the state. Russia further raised Abdul Ahad's prestige by granting him a series of favours through high orders. Abdul Ahad's independent status was confirmed and his despotism gained weightage as the influence of political agent was minimal during his time. It is interesting to note that Abdul Ahad used the good offices of the political agent if and when he required it for the preservation and unflinching assertion of his authority. He always and specially invited the political agents of Russia whenever he needed them and gave them audience and offered them regal hospitality in an year at Karmine which was far from Russia with much fanfare only on a few occasions under the most formal circumstances. Abdul Ahad was successful in fostering and continuing (though not without much difficulty) virtual independence of

Bukhara that in 1907 the famous French journal remarked Bukhara as effected principality — an example of the triumph of the Muslim reawakening over Russian imperialism.[38]

Abdul Ahad is also credited to have started the economic and social reforms in Bukhara. The state's income was estimated at seven to eighteen million roubles in a year. Apart from revenues Amir also derived a large income from the commercial activities. It is said that during Abdul Ahad's reign Bukhara had become the world's third largest trader in qaraqul wool and it also owned three cotton-ginning mills. Those who have not used the Persian historical raw material may tend to accept the criticism that Abdul Ahad did not pay any attention to public health. It is also said that though he employed a Russian doctor for his court but did not provide the facility of medical service to his subjects. Owing to lack of these medical services, good physicians, hospital facilities and sanitation many chronic diseases began to Bukhara. Abdul Ahad himself was said to suffer from *rishta*. In this context it should be noted that in Bukhara as the evidence in Persian sources reveals, the medical facilities and the hospital services were available in the most well planned manner. The Khwajas of Naqshband used to maintain many free hospitals and distribute free medicines. The royal hospitals were being also financed by the city metropolitans.

This should also be remembered that the disease of rishta was common in Bukhara as Jenkinson, the sixteenth century traveller had given its details and the hygienic conditions during Abdul Ahad's time, had nothing to do with this disease which was caused by the unclean water and was widely spread centuries earlier. In the field of social reform Abdul Ahad acquired a good reputation. He formally abolished slavery on his succession. He closed the underground prison in Bukhara.

In the first decade of twentieth century Bukhara witnessed during Abdul Ahad's reign many reform movements under western influence. During his times, there arose a revolutionary movement under the glow of first revolution in Russia in 1905-07, and the revolt of Young Turks in 1908. These movements brought in their wake political and cultural awakening of the Turko-Tatar people.[39] The introduction of modern trends in society gave a new lease of life to moral and the societal values and an impetus to the revival of old traditions including the emancipation of women. Despite his numerous valuable contributions to the society, Abdul Ahad too, was criticised by his contemporaries and he was faced with influential group which, included intellectuals, poets, scholars etc. Like many others of his age the same dilemma of duel doctrines i.e. the demands from the

conservative sections of society for sticking to the old pattern and also the circumstantial needs of newly emerging exigencies of old order to yield place to new. The most vehement and famous from amongst those critics was Ahmad Makhdum Danish (1823-1897)[40] who had not only criticised Abdul Ahad's reign but also argued that the Amir should have been more careful as his accountability at this juncture was under shadow. He did not properly plan or cater to the needs of his subjects. For Danish, Russia served as a role model and useful source of knowledge for his motherland. He advocated that the education in the madrasahs of Bukhara should be modernised with all new subjects of *Ulum-i-Zahiri* and *Ulum-i-Batini*. They further added that history, literature and the natural and exact science be taught alongwith the traditional sciences as part of the curriculum. This entire programme of modernisation came to be known as Jaddisim. The reform movement, which started in the beginning of twentieth century, did not make much headway till 1905. However, during the course of time Abdul Ahad was reluctant to accept these demands of the reformists. They however, succeeded, in inspiring the peoples of Bukhara during the lifetime and after the death of Abdul Ahad in 1910. Nevertheless, during that period, the Jadidists had not really succeeded in the full blossomed reawakening of the

commoners as they hardly got themselves organised till his death.

From 1885-1910 the internal life of Bukhara passed through many vicissitudes and received continued cultural and political shocks. There were new waves of reforms and the period of metamorphosis was coming to an end with new dimension. With the onset of the new era, Bukhara's physical isolation no longer deterred its path of progress. Bringing in an influx of insiders educated aboard the place now thronged with the reformers clamouring for new dawn.

AMIR ALIM KHAN (1910-1920)

Born in 1880 Saiyid Mir Alim was the son and heir designate of Abdul Ahad.[41] He succeeded his father without any hassles, opposition from kinsmen, threat to his authority or internecine warfare, which was unusual Amir of Bukhara and unlike his predecessors, Amir Alim Khan was more modern and is said to have close connection and familiarity with Russian way of life than his father. Ever since his childhood, he had admired Russian culture particularly after he had attended the Nikolavaski's Cadet Corps in St. Petersburg for some years during his young age. He had developed a liking for literature and had built his own personal library with books on different disciplines though predominantly of Russian authors. He is also said to have

frequently visited Russia and was a benefactor to Russians as he almost always espoused the Russian cause. During early years of his reign he had originally decided to follow the Middle path, which seemed to be safest and practical both as it brought a kind of understanding between the orthodox religious groups and the reformists. During his reign he pursued the policy of appeasement, while on the one hand he had asked the political agents to suppress the newspapers published by the Jadids in 1912[42] and took the utmost precautions not to allow the scholars who were ultra-revolutionary or hot reformists, though he favoured to be introduced in his state in a balanced manner and moderate ways only. Yet he was not a propagandist and avoided high level politics. He did not endeavour to close the schools which were being run apparently secretly though their existence was widely known, Saiyid Alim however, is credited to have issued numerous decrees for a number of reforms which were aimed at eliminating corruption under his government. Unlike his father, he prohibited the giving of presents to the Amirs and civil servants by the people. He had also forbidden Qazis to accept any extra amount over and above their legal fees to which they were entitled. To him goes the credit of increasing the salaries of soldiers and officials. The aforesaid reforms in the internal life of

Bukhara were announced in a manifesto that was issued on 7 April 1917. These reforms however, added to the popularity and influence of Amir. The efforts of Amir bore fruit and, therefore, naturally left a good impression on the Khanate and also on Russia. Amir Alim also ordered the *Qazi Kalan* to investigate in the abuses and corruption if any, thus spreading in madrasahs. Since there was brisk Russification and the motives of Russians were suspected, opposition to this attempt fast mounted forcing the Amir to abandon this decision.

After the outbreak of World War I and during its course, the scenario somewhat changed. The activities of Jadids and their reform movements received a setback due to suspension of their programmes, as they were suspect in the eyes of Russia. Amir Alim Khan however, demonstrated his loyalty to Russia by donating several million roubles. It is said that in September 1916 he had himself gone to Russia and presented the gift of one million roubles to Emperor.[43] This step was rather daring on the part of Alim Khan as he belonged to a country where impact of Turkey was immense and deep rooted and after Khalifa of Turkey's proclamation of holy war against the Allies it was binding upon all and sundry. Yet even at that difficult stage and precarious moment, the Government of Bukhara stood firm and pursued

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a friendly policy by suppressing all opposition and going out of his way to pursue the policy of conciliation and not of force with Russia. The unflinching loyalty shown by him through this method of giving money had to be justified and it was said that the measure was undertaken to remove, which Russia might be having that the Bukharans were in any way treacherous or were in league with the rebels or were the leaders of the reform movements. Amir Alim signed a treaty with Soviet Turkistan on 25 March 1918 with a clear intention to gain independence. He also established diplomatic relations and good connections with Afghanistan and British government in India. Amir Alim Khan now tried to extricate himself from the clutches of the defeat of counter-revolution in Siberia and Central Asia in 1919-1920 where the youths of Bukhara posed a serious threat against the Amir.[44]

The capture of Bukhara by the Red Army troops under General Michael V. Frunze on 21 September 1920, left Amir Alim in a deplorable condition. He, however, got success in leaving Bukhara alive and escaped to Dushambe in the west Pamir Mountains. The state of Bukhara was now left under the total control of Young Bukharans who established *Bukhara Khalq Shorlar Jamhuryati* (The Bukhara People's Soviet Republic), which got recognition from the Soviet

Government in Moscow on 6 November 1920. Amir Alim Khan who was now under serious threat, fled to Afghanistan on 5 March 1921. At least for some time, the expelled ruler now fugitive in Afghanistan Alim Khan had encouraged resistance in Bukhara through *Basmachi* counter revolutionaries who were rallying under the cry of Turkestan for natives.[45]

In his memoir *Tarikh-i-Huzn-o-Milal-Bukhara*, Amir Alim Khan's history, his dilemma of accountability to his people and to the mother country alike is very well depicted and shows how the Amir, despite his talents had to leave his Empire in an alien hand.

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10. Ibid.,
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12. Vambery has given the year of death of Amir-i Masum 1802, Vambery p.360. It seems not correct as other sources give the year 1800.
13. Skrine & Ross p.208.
14. For detail see *Katira* p.37.
15. Skrine & Ross, p.209, Rahul Sankrityayana, *Madhya Asia Ka Itihas*, Vol. II, Patna, 1957, p.591.
16. Regarding his religiosity the contemporary writers as well as later writers have similar view. See Ahmad Makhdum Danish,

Mukhtasar-i az Tarikh-i Salatin-i Khandan-i Manghitia or Rissala, Stalinabad, 1960, pp.26-28, Skrine & Ross, p.208, Vambery, p.362.

17. Rahul Sankrityayana, p.591.

18. Ibid., p.592.

19. Quoted in *History of Bukhara*, p.365.

20. Risala, p.29, Skrine & Rosse, p.212.

21. Regarding his method to obtain the throne Persian and English writers alike agreed that the throne was usurped after much bloodshed. It is said he got killed nearly 27 persons who came in his way. He used various means of killing: by giving poison and putting to death by sword. See A Vambery, *History of Bukhara*, pp. 365-366, *Risala*, pp. *Khatira*, pp. 38-39, Kunitz, p.18.

22. Koktash was a blue stone in Samarqand. Here the Amirs of Bukhara were regularly crowned. The coronation ceremony is said to be in this manner. A large piece of white cloth was spread upon the ground, and on this new Amir had to take his seat. Then four of the principal dignitaries of the Khanate lift the cloth by its four corners, and rising it high in the air, placed it upon the sacred stone, Meakin, p.247.

23. Vambery, p.366.

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CHAPTER 3

STATE AND ECONOMY UNDER THE KHANATE

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Central Administration

In this chapter an attempt is being made to discuss at length the state and economy under the Khanate of Bukhara. Bukhara as we have seen earlier had been an isolated kingdom surrounded by deserts, villages and piedmont platforms. In the medieval world, however, the place occupied an important place as it was situated in a geographically better location and against the barren deserts like *Chul-i Bukhara* or *Badiya-i Bukhara, Aq qum, Qaraqum* and *Ha Darvesh* deserts. It presented a contrast with its fertile lands, pleasant places like Kani Gil and rich agricultural and mineral resources. Romanticism was attached to the land due to its grand ancient past, majestic historical remnants and a horde of good and reputed theologians, poets, scholars, men of learning, experts on jurisprudence, scientists and artisans. Besides the Khanate of Bukhara had held and maintained Central position on account of its character, which it exhibited since the downfall of Abbasids as a custodian and protector of Islamic heritage, and was, therefore called as *Qubbatul Islam* or the abode of Islam and *Balda-i-Fakhra* (Pride of the town). Bukhara also became the resting place and a rendezvous for the merchants and

travellers. It emerged over the centuries as a centre of extensive commerce. Lying on the Silk Road, it served as a crossroad for carvans. Bukhara is supposed to have been blessed with an exuberance of the production of the soil. As a prosperous and populous centre of excellence for arts and sciences it attracted the attention of neighbouring and remote nations.

The Khan of Bukhara was supposed to be a sovereign despotic and autocratic in words and deeds.[1] He enjoyed supreme power over his subjects and the ruling elite alike. Unlike the Afghans in Roh and Kabul where monarch was merely "primus intersperses", the Central Asian sovereigns claimed "ownership of delegated divine authority." This however, does not mean that he could wield unbridled and undue might as his own authority had limitations of Sharia. He was commanded and guided by the religious supremos — the leaders of Naqshbandi saints. The ruler was bound to abide by the constitution of monarchy, which was more or less dominated or determined by the laws of Qoran. With the end of Mongol hegemony, the usual Mongol royal title "Khan, Khaqan or Qaan" fell into disuse. Now the rulers adopted the Islamic title of "Amir" or "Mir". The Amirs of Bukhara used the title of Amir-ul-Muminin[1] (commander of the faithful)[2] also, presumably because the term was

recommended by the Islamic regulations. It appears that the Khans of Bukhara looked upon themselves and acted as head and custodian of the religion. Nevertheless they paid humble respect to the *Khalifat-ul-Muslemin*, the Sultan of Turkey. The Khan was supposed to be guided by the law in all his acts. It is said that the ruler's private expenses were met from a number of sources like city *taxes*, *mal*, and *kharaj* from the *mamlakai sultani* etc.

The office of the Khan in Bukhara was hereditary in nature with absolute and autocratic power that was fully in accordance with *shariat* (canon law) and *A'dat* (customary law). The office of *diwan* (the council of ministers) and other government officials were directly appointed by Amir and held office during his pleasure. It is to be noted that even village functionaries were responsible and accountable directly to him. Apparently, it seems that most of the institutions, terms, nature and characteristics of Emirate were governed not only by purely Perso Islamic but by Turko-Mongolian traditions.[3] Influenced by the similar pattern of hierarchy, the constitution more or less remained the same; the foundations of which had been laid down over the centuries by the predecessors from Sassanids onwards.

The Central structure of the government of Bukhara rested on an edifice of several pillars like *Shaikh-ul-Islam*

(head of the clergy), *Qazi-Kalan* (the supreme judge), *Qushbegi* (Chief Minister), *Divanbegi* (finance minister and treasure), *Shahwal* (foreign minister). This structure and form of the government was led by the ruler himself who was supposed to supervise various department, various organs of the government according to their status and function.[4]

In Bukhara the Shaikhul Islam was the Chief religious counsellor of Amir. His office was supposed to be the most influential in the Emirate. Besides that there was Qazi Kalan who was a high clerical official in charge of justice and education in the Emirate. The Qazi Kalan presided the ceremonies that were held in Masjid-i-Kalan (great mosque) of Bukhara, where the Amir used to hold his Friday prayers. He also administered justice in the light of Shariat and Adat. The Qazis (judges) and Muftis (expert on the Sharia), who assisted the Qazis were directly appointed by Amir after being examined in the laws of Islam. After being appointed they were posted in different towns to manage civil and judicial affairs. They decreed punishment for criminals. Drinking of wine and smoking of tobacco were prohibited in Bukhara and were considered as criminal offence. The *Qazis* and *Muftis* both were perhaps subservient and responsible to *Shaikh-ul-Islam*. The legal cases related to marriage, divorce, maintenance, inheritance and other personal matters were

also decided by the Qazi Kalan. As he was associated with all affairs of worldly and religious services, he was supposed to supervise the matters concerning the education and look after important centres of learning like the madrasas (seminaries) known as the Qushbegi and Divanbegi madrasas in Bukhara. The students who took their education in those madrasas were supposed to be eligible for clerical jobs of the government of the Emirate as Qazis, Muftis, Mudarrises (professors) etc. During the entire period of Emirate the madrasas of Bukhara were not only famous throughout Turkistan but were also a rendezvous of students from far-flung areas.[5]

The Qushbegi stood next to the Shaikh-ul-Islam. The Amir exercised his function on the advice and with the help of divan (council). The Qushbegis were supposed to supervise the work of central government and to act as Wazir, the chief minister, and advisor of the Amir. The Qushbegi was supposed to be the official guardian of state treasury and jewels. Qushbegis were also expected to supervise the work of the provinces and also guide the Begs (governors) of the Emirate. In civil matters Qushbegi was the first minister of Amir and came next in rank and position to the Amir. It appears that the Qushbegi possessed great influence and they were supposed to be the chief architect of the structural form of government in Bukhara. Since they were the chief

representatives of the rulers, they were to accompany the king all the time. They lived in Ark (fort) and were not allowed to leave the Ark when the Amir was absent from Bukhara as they had to hold the fort in his absence. We have also references about the Qushbegis of Qarshi, Karmine and Hisar. The Qushbegi of Qarshi/Karmine acted as Wazir, the minister of Katte Ture (crown prince). The Qushbegi of Hisar functioned as a Beg of Begs in Pamir country, where the Amir was not influenced and his powers were somehow limited. But it is interesting to note that the Qushbegis of Qarshi/Karmine and Hisar were not as independent as that of Qushbegi of Bukhara.[6]

The financial establishment of the government of Bukhara was under the charge of Diwan begi, popularly known as *Khazanchi* (finance minister). He was also the *Tamghachi* (the keeper of the seal) of Amir. The position and place of Divanbegi in the official hierarchy was indeed extremely important as he lived with the Amir at his palace of Sitarmahshar, situated about three miles from the city of Bukhara. It appears that to some extent and in certain respects, the position of Diwanbegi was more powerful than Qushbegi as he used to be often more close to the Amir for he was the supervisor of finances holding the purse. In financial matters, the government of Bukhara used to levy taxes both

in cash and in kind on both movable and immovable properties. The duties of collecting the tax mainly on movable property were assigned to *Zakatchi Kalan* (chief controller of zakat) who was subordinate to the *Diwanbegi.*[7]

The bulk of state revenue came in the form of land revenue. In Bukhara there were four kinds of land. First Milk that was rent-free land bestowed on successful generals by the Amir, second *Mulk-i-Khiraj* that was land-paying revenue from a 7½ of its produce. Third, *Dasyak*, that was land paying one-tenth of its produce. Fourth the *Waqf*, land which was essentially for the maintenance and establishment of religious charitable institutions. In theory the Amir was the owner of all lands in the country. In each town there was an official called *Rais* (chief) whose work was to examine weights and measures in markets. Besides, each village had its *Aqsaqal* (the white beard). These Aqsaqals or *Muisafedan* were elected by the people. Their main work was to be in constant contact with the people and investigate into and redress their grievances. This was the unique feature of the structural form of government in Bukhara as we do not find any such reference in other form of government for appointing a person for being in contact with the people. Along with the *Mirab* (chief of water)[8] who used to distribute and channellise water on payment basis for every village, the

Aqsaqal was also in charge of administration of the *aryks* (canals).

The army of the Emirate of Bukhara was under the command of *Topchibashi* (commander of artillery).[9] The topchibashi also held the post of Minister of war and was independent of Qushbegi. The half of the army used to live in their own houses and managed their own food and clothes. The other half of the army was supposed to be regular soldier and lived in barracks. Apart from that, there were volunteers who offered their armed services in case of an emergency. The *Sarbaz* (infantry) was the nucleus of military system, consisted of both the regular army and the militia. The *Sipah* (cavalry) was the decentralised formation of army who had to keep their houses. The Sipahs in the Emirate showed their loyalty to the individual Begs.

The Amir of Bukhara was addressed, as noted above, as Amir-ul Muminin and was addressed and referred to as *Janab-i-Ali* and *Hazrat-i Ala*. The Russians used to address the Amir as *Vysokostepenstvo,* (Your Highness the Eminent one). Then it was replaced by *Svetlost* (Illustrious). By the beginning of the new century he was addressed as *Vysochestoo* (Highness).

The high officials of Bukhara were either from Persian slaves or *Fuqara*, that is persons who were poor or of no

account. Apart from the above-mentioned officers of the highest rank and title, in Bukhara there was *Ataliq* (Ata father; Liq designate) father designate who was also called as *Atabeg* (father chief) and was more of a Major dom than a regent as is sometimes made out to be the Ataliq served as centre's nominee in the provinces. They held the position of regent also. The *Parvanchi* (master of ceremonies), *Toqsababashi* (chief of the standard) *Mir Akhor* (master of the horse),[10] *Mirzabashi* (chief secretary) *Qaraulbegi* (chief of the guards) were other important officers whose assignments were conferred by the Amir upon the persons who actually held the office. Occasionally, this official title was conferred upon those who did not actually accept this position but were to be distinguished by the king through honorific titles. More often than not these titles were conferred upon the persons (honorary or otherwise) who happened to be near and dear to the Amir.

The titles like *Toqsababashi*, *Mirzabashi*, *Qaraulbegi* were conferred upon begs of lower ranks. Besides, there were some special titles for the people who looked after the Amir's watch, his books, his boots and his food and water as well. Among these there was *Dastarkhanchi* who served food to the Amir's guests. Apart from the above-mentioned officials and persons at the Amir's court, there were some

more persons of ranks who were invariably the basis or at least a part of court politics and durbar. One of such category of officials was *Mehrem Begi* (chamberlain) whose number was decreased or increased according to the circumstances. They were sent to various provinces as commissioners on extraordinary occasions. Next came the *Odadchi* (doorkeepers), *Baqaul* (provision masters) and *Salamagasi*, whose work was to offer the salutation to the Amir on return of public procession. These officers and functionaries in the court of Bukhara existed nominally under the Amir and in many cases it was left vacant.[11]

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

For the better administration and smooth functioning of government the Khanate of Bukhara was divided into several begliks (provinces). The number of begliks was not same all the times but it fluctuated during the course of time. There are varying references regarding the number of begliks. Lansdell[12] gives the number as 29 but does not give any detail. According to Skrine and Ross[13] there were 36 begliks. Becker[14] had given the number as 27, as there were 16 begliks in western Bukhara namely Nur Ata, Qaraqul, Qabaqli, Charjui, Burdaliq, Kerki, Kelif, Qarshi, Chirakchi, Kermine, Ziauddin, Khatirchi, Yakkabagh, Shahr-i Sabz, Kitab and Guzar and 11 in central and eastern Bukhara

namely Sherabed, Baisun, Hisar, Deh-i Nau, Qurghan tube, Baljuwan, Kulab, Qabadian, Qarategin, Darwaz and Shughnan - Roshan. In *Khatira* the number given is 28. But he had given the name of only 20 begliks. Surprisingly in western Bukhara the Begliks of Qarshi, Chirakchi, Kermine, Ziauddin and Khatirchi are missing. In central and eastern Bukhara the beglik of Sherabad is missing. Baljuwani, however, gives only a list of main cities. He writes: the main cities of Bukhara included Charjui, Kerki, Kelif, Qarshi (also called Nasaf), Kermina, Nur Ata, Ziauddin, Khatirchi, Ghuzar, Shahr-i Sabz (Kesh), Kitab, Yakkabagh, Chiragchi, Jamchi, Shirabad, Baisun, Dhanu, Sarasiya (Sarjui), Hisar, Qarategin, Darwaza, Baljuwan, Kulab (Khutlan), Qurghan tepe, Qubadiyan.[15]

It seems that the people and territories were divided on the basis of their language and these lingual divisions were accordingly given various names. The Beg's of Tajik speaking areas were called the Mir.[16] A town and villages around it were the nucleuse of the beglik. The size of the beglik increased or decreased depending on the will of the Amir. The Begs were delivered almost all the authorities in his domain over his people except the power of capital punishment. Usually the favourites and relatives of the Amir could find a birth in the begliks. Generally the

responsibilities of important begliks were often given to the sons of the Amir. For instance Muzaffaruddin had been a Beg of Kermine during his father's reign. Similarly Abdul Malik, the eldest son of Amir Muzaffar was the Beg of Qarshi until 1868. Simultaneously Amir's other sons were also looking into the affairs of smaller towns like Charjui, Hisar, Kermine, Guzar, Qarshi and Chirakchi. Abdul Ahad was also the Beg of kermine since 1871 till his accession to the throne.[17] The Amir often used to tackle the matters of far flung begliks such as central and eastern Bukhara by appointing one of the begs who was given higher authority over other Begs. Further he was bestowed with the right of death sentence unlike other Begs. Some of the begliks were of greater significance not only for Bukhara but also for its neighbouring areas in Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Persia. The Beg of Charjui was considered to be one of the highest in rank from among all other Begs. He was assigned the duty to look into the matter of marches with Khurasan. Charjui got its importance, as it happened to be the station of Amu Darya Flotila during Russian period. Qarshi was supposed to be the second most important city of the Emirate. It was Charjui, which happened to be the seat of crown prince (katta tura) till the reign of Amir Nasrullah.

The structure of beglik administration was a replica of and modelled on the line of the central government. Each Beg was the highest executive and judicial authority in his province. He was given free hand to appoint his officials. Naturally his choice fell upon his favourites and relatives. On the death or recall of a Beg the entire administration automatically was ceased to exist till the new Beg took the charge. The Beg punished the people as per his own will. Of course, capital punishment was executed only by the order of the Amir. The Begs maintained their own courts, their own functionaries like Diwanbegi, Zakatchi, Qazi, Rais, Mirakhore, and Mirzabashi etc. Henry Lansdell states that the Beg's official staffs consisted of about fifteen men, some of whom were Mirzas (secretaries); others were Jigits while others had no specific duties Diwanbegi was the highest rank while Donbashi was lowest in rank in beg's administration. Other officials were called by the following names: Ishanbashi (head of the religious order), Dadkhah; (the officer who brought the petitions) Yuzbashi (the sadah or the centurion), Mirzabashi (head of the secretaries), Chehragassi (chief of the page boys), Jaybatchi, Qaraulbegi (chief of the body guard), Bakaul (chief of kitchen), Sharbatdar (who served the drinks), Darban, Shaghaul (army officer, messenger) and Ullaitchi.[18]

The Beg was collecting taxes on behalf of the Amir as instructed by him.[19] He also made presents to the Amir. The value of the presents varied according to the wealth of the Beglik. To meet the demands of the Amir the Begs had to collect different taxes from the people and the required amount thus collected were sent to the Amir. The balance was kept by the Beg since he did not get salary.[20] He was responsible for the maintenance of the military, the police, the overseers of irrigation and other necessary public works. He was also supposed to supply certain number of troops to the Amir as and when required. If the Amir visited a beglik he used to stay in the palace of the concerned Beg and the Beg was under obligation to supply food and fodder to Khan's followers and to manage the expenditure of his paraphernalia. To maintain good relation and to ensure Amir's favours, a Beg was sometimes forced to please the higher central officials through presenting princely gifts.[21]

The Amir used to receive the prescribed number of presents from each of his beg in the form of horses, robes, silk etc. twice in a year. The Beg of Baisun is reported to have given his last tribute on 16 April 1920 in the form of following items:

- 70 horses with silver-plated harness and stirrups set with turquoise,

- 100 robes of honour; two each of satin, silk gold brocade, cashmere and cotton;
- 500 pieces of silk material;
- 5000 Tanga of gold and silver;
- 25 silver girdles set with turquoise;
- 100 bitumen each of rice, millet, wheat and barley;
- 50 transport camels;
- 2 dasir of unminted gold and
- 5 dasir of unminted silver.[22]

The Begliks were subdivided into smaller units called Amlakdari[23] (fiscal units). It varied in number according to size ranging from two in the case of Burdaliq to twenty in the case of Hisar. The incharge of a district was an Amlakdar who was appointed by the Beg. Here too, the choice was automatically restricted to relatives and favourites of the Beg. It also had its Zakatchi, Qazi and Rais. His job was purely related to tax collection. The lowest administrative unit of the government was Qishlaq (village). It was looked after by Aqsaqal (the white beards) whose main duty was to look into the management of water distribution from the Aryks (canals).

ARMY ORGANIZATION

The Bukharan army and its organization had been appreciated and criticised both with equal vehemence by the contemporary writers and the modern commentators in detail. The reasons for this sharp contradiction are evident. On the one hand the proverbial gallantry and adventurism of the Central Asian soldiers was highly admired and on the other the existing limitations of the army with all their age old weapons and middle aged tactics had to be condemned for its restrictive influence. The sources present a clear-cut picture of merits and demerits of the Bukhara army. A closer and critical study therefore seems having supremacy over other Khavates in military power but it is equally true that it was lagging behind in the latest weaponry, modern techniques and European arms.

One of the highest officers of the military aristocracy in the Emirate happened to be the most powerful chief called *Tuvachi*. Bukhara had its own army under the *Topchibashi*[24] (commander of artillery) who happened to be the minister of war also in the warfare ministry. Moreover he had independent charge like that of Qazi Kalan in the sphere of Justice and was not answerable to any one except directly to the Amir. The military force of Bukhara was usually recruited from the different districts of the kingdom. The military force

consisted of about 20,000 horses and 4,000 infantry with 41 pieces of artillery as reported by Alexander Burner.[25] Arminius Vambery reports that the number of standing army in the kingdom was 40,000, which could be raised up to 60,000.[26] But he had expressed over the number presuming that there is an exaggeration as the Amir of Bukhara during the campaign against Khaqand is seen to have never led more than 30,000 men and whenever needed he had to recruit additional auxiliary force on payment of heavy charges.[27] In this context, the evidence of Buljuwani is extremely interesting and informative. In his book *Tarikh-i-Nafi* (compiled in June 1927) Buljuwani had dedicated a small chapter on the army and equipments of warfare. He had given a very interesting account of the Bukhara soldiers. He says:

"The organisation and strength of Bukhara army was apparently less strong and as compared to other states much small in number and light armed as it reached to a total numerical strength of 20,000. Yet these soldiers were choicest, bravest experienced and extremely gallant, adventurous warriors and had all the equipments of war necessary e.g. they had 400 *top,* 100 Playmnt, 50,000 *tapancha militiq*. "At another place he says that in each city there were additional forces, amounting to 300 to 1000 men. In certain *baldas* even artillery and incendiary equipments

were also available."[28] It was only after the Russian conquest that the army was organised in a more proper form. The entire army was divided into seven categories, namely *Topchi*; *Atli Qazaq*; *Shafsaka*; *Tarsaka*; *Arab Bachcha*; *Turk* and *Sarbaz*. Some of the *firqas* (groups) of these last two formed the bulk of infantry whereas all others were cavalry detachments. The Atli Qazaqs were also called *Qaranska* (*Qarauna*). Another group was called *Sherbachgan*. The detachment of the *Shafsaka* and *Tarsaka* amounted to ten thousand. The twenty thousand armed Turcomans were appointed to guard the city and the *wilayats*. The Russians had doubled the salaries of the army personnel, as they needed their wholehearted support for the consolidation of their conquests.

Buljuwani had, however, specifically mentioned that "the Bukhara army lacked only one quality the political stratagem without which all it's worth and bravery coupled with a spirit of enthusiastic patriotism was meaningless. Although in ancient and medieval times, Bukhara was a majestic state with a grand past, now a days it had, like many other states fallen on bad days due to lack of political understanding. Alas, that our forces do not possess that political wisdom which is the essence of the existence these days."[29]

The army of the Khanate consisted of mostly Manghit soldiers. The Amir is also reported to have taken into military service the men from *Tekke* and *Sarik* tribes at an expense of 4,000 Tilla per annum.[30] We also find a description of troops called *Iljari*[31] (Militia), which was formed of dependants and servants of the government. The registered troops or otherwise were paid in grain while their chiefs had land assignments. Each soldier had been receiving eight Bukharan mounds of grain annually. In grain, wheat barley, juwari urzun were generally distributed among them.[32] The infantry troops to received the same allowance. It is interesting to note that they used to come into the fields on horse back and were called *Khasa Bardar*.[33] The *Sarbaz*[34] (infantry) served as the nucleus for both the regular army and the militia. The *Sipah* (Cavalry) were the most decentralized one. From amongst the various troops that had been working under the Amir each detachment was led by a Chief and the troopers showed their loyalties to their respective Begs (Chiefs) instead of being devoted to the Amir. The horsemen used to fight with traditional arms like swords, sometimes with long knives and heavy spears about twenty feet long with a short blade. The lances were manufactured from different pieces of wood (generally of willow) and had an 'unwieldy' appearance.[35]

Cannons, the most important weapon for the military of that time were cast locally and made of brass. Modern arms like small firearms, though small in number were made in Hisar. Hisar was also famous for its knives. The gunpowder of the country was good for the Military purposes.[36] In the last quarter of nineteenth century the Amir imported from Russia breach-loading Bredan rifles, which had been in use in the Russian army until 1890.[37]

The organization of the army in the Emirate was modeled more or less on European lines during the period of Amir Nasrullah under Abdus Samad's advice. He organised a corp of soldier in European fashion. This system of military organisation which was introduced for the first time with modern techniques and latest fashions was reported to be a contribution of certain Usman who was a fugitives Siberian Coassack.[38] During his tenure he introduced the Russian field manuals, the Russian words of command, Russian discipline, Russian uniform and even Russian music. Not only all the words of command of the Bukharan army were in Russian language, but also even the uniform of army had the Russian look and Russian style e.g. cut trousers, long boots, dark coats with shoulder flaps and a fur cap.

There were no hard and fast rules for the army. All the soldiers were enlisted and served on certain days in a week.

When the duty was over they no longer work their uniform and used their traditional dress and pursued their civil occupations.[39] The majority of the army was stationed in the city of Bukhara. Besides this, there were garrisons at Charjui, Qarshi and other towns and on the frontiers with Afghanistan, Persia and Khiva.

The infantry units formed the standing army that was paid directly by the Amir. They were also used as personal bodyguards and occasionally they were stationed at a particular place to perform special duties too. It is stated that Czar Nikolai II (1893-1917) honoured Amir Abdul Ahad with military ranks such as Ataman (General) of the Terek Coassack army, one of the Coassack regiment.[40] The Amir was maintaining a hundred strong body guards of Coassacks.[41] The Amir also often selected body guards from his soldiers.

As has already been mentioned, the Amir had a large standing army consisting of infantry, cavalry and artillery. But so far as its modernization is concerned it had no match with the European army. So it seems that the Bukharan army was medieval in character as it used to fight with traditional arms like swords, lances, spears, and knives.[42] The army paid little heed to fire arms as reported by different contemporary travellers.[43] It is quite obvious that Bukharans

were totally unfamiliar with the modern war methods and new techniques that were used in Europe. They had not paid any attention to fast moving changes taking place around and had not cared to look back at their weaknesses or correct their errors even at the time of distress when the Russians were penetrating in northwest of Central Asia. It seems that the army organization under Emirate had not been changed since sixteenth century. Fazil Khan who was in Bukhara in the year 1811-12 tells us that Bukhara had an army of 80,000 to 100,000[44] but it seems that there is no truth in his account regarding the number of army, as the later travellers do not corroborate it. Mohanlal who visited Bukhara nineteen years later and was critical of the Bukharan army he reports that they fought with javelin and were unable to fire on horseback. Further he reports that there were about sixty pieces of cannons in the Bukharan army but none was qualified to use them.[45] Mohanlal's account is further strengthened by Alexander Burnes, Vambery, Lansdell and many others. They reported that the cannons were lying neglected in the citadel since long and probably handled by the Russians only who were the captives of the kingdom. Regarding the weapons used by the Bukharan troops Lansdell reports that it was out dated.[46] It is quite possible that the state of Bukhara, backward on the military system may have

bought the weapons and artillery and as often happened in India, the outdated and outworn material may have been supplied to them. A. M. B.Meakin who was in Bukhara in late eighties and again in 1902, reports that there were no specific rules and regulations regarding the recruitment of the troops.[47] There was no age of retirement for them. Once a man entered the army he could remain there for his whole life. Gustav Krist also reports that Bukharan army was ill equipped and poorly uniformed. There was rare drill, and also no discipline in the army. The men were free to live at home. They come for drill occasionally and whenever they wished to quit the force, simply they give up their muskets and uniforms and went around looking after their business.[48] Regarding the weakness, mismanagement and lack of modern war technique and equipments in Bukharan army, many writers like Rostenko (1870) Stremoukhov (1874), Captain Arandrankov (1880) and Captain Putiata (1883) expressed similar views.[49] After the acceptance of Russian over lordship, Russians were of the view that Bukharan army should be reduced. Finally in early 1890's reduction in the size of Bukharan army was emphasised by the Russians. After the establishment of Russian Custom Frontier on the Amu Darya, Abdul Ahad was obliged to reduce the number of his troops from 15,000 to 10,000 under Russian pressure.[50]

It appears that the Amir had 12,000 army as the last Amir Alim Khan reports in his personal memoir *Khatira Hai Amir Alim Khan*.[51]

As pointed out by travellers in their intentional standard, yet the Bukharan Army had its own peculiar characteristics and praiseworthy traits even the contemporary European writers had stressed, records that the Bukhara Army suffered from several drawbacks particularly if judged by modern standard. Notwithstanding the face that the Bukharan army was devoid of modern weaponry and even oblivious of latest development, it is indeed a marvel to see how these braves faced the invaders and that the conquest of Bukharan towns was not an easy job for the Russians. They had resisted gallantly and defended manfully the towns of Jizak, Smarqand and Zerabulq height. It is better to conclude in the words of Krist "If the Amir had armed his men with these (modern) weapons in good times, who knows? He might still have been master of the country."[52]

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The external relation of Bukhara with other countries appears to be more meaningful and effective than with the other Khanates around it. We have very scanty references of foreign relation of Bukhara with other countries like Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan China, Russia and India. So far its

relation with other Khanates like Khiva and Khoqand is concerned it is said that it was merely a political one that Bukhara almost engaged herself with other Khantes for political suzerainty. It appears that among all the three khanates of Central Asia Bukhara assumed its supremacy on religious ground and by virtue of being the protector of Islamic heritage which sends an immediate message to the Amir of Bukhara that their sister Khanates should also acknowledge her and pay allegiance to Bukhara on account of the dispensation of the duties accorded by Sultan of Turkey whom all the three Khanates including the other populace of Muslim in the world acknowledge as their *Khalifa*. But the bone of contention remained there among the khanates and it is interesting that the bond that should unite them with Constantinople did not make much headway. It is also to be noted with surprise that the Amirs of Bukhara were seen at war with Khiva and Khoqand from time to time for just political reasons. It is said that the wars carried on by Amir Nasrullah with Khiva and Khoqand were to organise an alliance to contact their common formidable enemy — ussia. But in fact Khiva and Khoqand were regarded as the constant enemies of Bukhara. The relation of Bukhara with countries like Turkey, China, Afghanistan, Persia and Russia was somewhat different from its internal scenario as there was

hardly any score of reference about animosity in the relation with the above-mentioned countries. The relations of Bukhara with Turkey was more religious than political. As it was the practice in the middle ages, the Sultan of Constantinopole was regarded as the Chief of Religion and Khalifa. Upon the Amir of Bukhara was bestowed the rank of rais (the guardian of religion) from the Khalifa. The courtly functions were held annually in gorgeous fashion, but the duties were enumerated there religiously. Although the Sultan had no political influence over Bukhara or on the other Khanates but the Khans themselves were in the habit of associating themselves with Rum or Turkey. The farmans (royal orders) of Khalifa, but in either case Bukhara did not entertain any serious threat from the other Khanates on account of its significance as a centre for religious affairs and also due to its military efficiency. Apart from chiefs of Khiva and Khoqand, the chiefs of Shahr-i-Sabz and Hisar also did not acknowledge its allegiance to Bukhara. Despite all these thornful rivalries and occasional outbursts, Bukhara continued to maintain its edge over other Khanates as Khoqand was reeling under the continual dissention between Qipchaqs, Qirghiz and Qazakhs. Similar incidents of mutual disharmony leading to disturbances occurred in Khiva. It seems almost ironical that three sister principalities of Central Asia continued to wage

war against each other. Had they been united, they would have been a power to reckon with and a great hindrance to intruders if any. Instead of providing security, peace and prosperity to their subjects, they wasted their strength energies and resources in sheer, reckless and avoidable conflicts.[53]

Despite its close proximity with Persia, Bukhara like Khiva occasionally had interchange of ambassadors. The relation were affected clearly by one purported reason is age-old sectarian dispute. Being followers of Naqshbandiya silsilah of Sunni sect Bukharan's much trumpeted "Rafzi" card, against Persia a Shia state often assisted them in mobilising forces at home and support from Turkey. The relation was further embittered by traditional rivalry and clash of interest between two antagonist Iranian and Turanian races. Apparently, the Khanate had little political apprehension from Persia as they deemed Persia powerless to defend her frontiers. According to Vambery "Tartars affirm that God gave the Persians head (understanding) and eyes but no heart" (courage).[54] Yet the Persian courage had been highly admired by several others. The disgraceful defeat and utter destruction due to unavoidable circumstances had dealt with the Turcomans, brought to prestige of Persia, which was defeated and denigrated in the expedition of Merv. There

were long standing rivalries between the Turanians and Persians. Centuries of mutual fighting left no love lost between the Persians and the populace of Bukhara. There were constant prolonged siege, looting and plundering and night inroads organised against them, which were called *alaman*. They were caught and sold into slavery. Sometimes the degree of severity in hostility was lessened as was seen during the regime of liberal qushhegi of Nasrullah. Bukhara and Persia also struggled over Khorasan. Nadirshah (r.1736-45) himself a Qajar Turk took even Khiva and Bukhara. Even later Persia claimed over Merv and Qarshi. Despite this it is surmised that "the Persians in Bukhara even the slaves had liberty to own the property." A Persian slave could purchase his freedom and raise his position even to an extant as find ministerial birth in the government. The Qushbegi of Amir Muzaffar was said to be a Persian slave.

Relation between Bukhara and China were not extensive. The exchanges of embassies were not reciprocal. Though the Amirs of Bukhara did send envoys to Kashghar the Chinese on their side were never inclined to go as far as Bukhara. The Uzbag merchants of Bukhara traded with Yarqand but the Chinese ventured into central Asia as far as Samarqand and Bukhra. Historically China had close relation

with Andijan (Farghana) and Soghd. During Nasrullah's time embassy was deputed from China to seek the assistance of the king into maintaining peace on the fronties from the inroads of Khoqand.[55]

The early Manghit Amirs are said to have maintained good relations with Afghan rulers. It is also evident that a good number of Afghan people were residing in Bukhara. Danial Beg had tried to establish and retain friendly relations with Afghan ruler Ahmed Shah Abdali. Either due to sectarian affinity (as they both belonged to Sunni Hanafite sect) or owing to their mutually beneficial proposed plans, Ahmad Shah wanted to give some sort of help to Shah Murad. So Timur Shah, son of Abdali sent an army under the command of Lashkari Shah to help Shah Murad. In 1786 a battle on this question was avoided merely because both the rulers were of Sunni sect. In the same years the blind Shahrukh sought help of Bukhara against Agha Muhammad, a Turcoman leader. Amir Haidar is stated to have matrimonial relations with the ruler of Kabul. He had married the daughter of Shahzaman. In 1839, when English succeeded in dethroning Dost Muhammad and subsequently installing Shah Shuja on the throne, Dost Muhammad alongwith his family members fled from his country and took asylum in Bukhara. But due to wicked and treacherous role of Bukharan Amir,

Nasrullah, Dost Muhammad had to return to Kabul via Shahr-i-Sabz and Khulm.[56] As the English were in league with Afghanistan, Nasrullah had apprehension against Afghan rulers. This fear continued till the time of Amir Muzaffar when the latter got the news of the death of Dost Muhammad, he was so much pleased with this news that the messenger who carried the news was given reward of one thousand Tangas from him. On the same day, a feast was ordered to be organised. The question of accepting Russian protectorate had further changed the situation. When his elder son Abdul Malik revolted against him and fled to Afghanistan to take shelter and consistently continue his efforts till his rivals were defeated with Russian help. Again we are told that the last Amir Alim Khan got the military help from Afghanistan and finally took refuge there after being dethroned by the revolutionaries.[58]

An extensive trade relation had developed between Bukhara and Russia from sixteenth century when Russian Czar conquered the Muslim Tatar khanate of Qazan on the middle Volga river in 1552 and Astrakhan in 1556.[59] There were twenty four embassies sent by the Central Asian rulers to the Czar. Anthony Jenkinson was despatched to Central Asia to explore the possibilities of trade there. Although Jenkinson lived there for two years (1556-1558) no trade

prospects were recommended by him. The merchants of Bukhara carried their goods to Astrakhan and Qazan and visited the fairs in Nizni Novogord in Central Russia, Orenburg and Troitsk on the border of west Siberia.[60] Bukhara and other khanates of Central Asia sent their emissaries to Czar Ivan to ask for a 'free road to guest'. Commerce was the major concern of the emissaries from the Central Asian khanates to Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Russia had reciprocated positively though Russian merchants had not traded with Central Asia during the period. From the time of Peter the Great (1689-1725) embassies were sent to Central Asian states with the aim of opening Persian trade route to India via Central Asia.[61] It was this policy that led Empress Catherine (1762-96) to establish a frontier from which trade was to be conducted with Bukhara and the other Khanates. By an Ukaze of 9 May 1780, Russia permitted the Muslim pilgrims of Central Asia to travel through Russia[62]

A brief account of mutual commercial settlements would not be quite out of place here as the process was gradual regular. In 1750, the arrival of Khan Qaif, envoy Shirbek in Orenburg, the Foreign Office Collegium not only sent rich presents to Qaif but also the request to despatch large groups of merchants. In 1753 came Daniel Rukavkin to

Khiva and Bukhara with a large caravan of merchants and left behind his exploratory account. In 1757,1761 and 1763 again Khivan envoys came to Oren burg and Astarakhan, the last of these insisted for incessant annual despatch in April and August to carry from Mangishlaq and Khiva, valuable merchandise to Astarakhan. In 1774 Bukhara envoy Irnazar Maqsud received the permission to carry on trade in the region of Caspian Sea. After this, Bukhara got the privilege to go to Mecca through Russia. In 1771 again Mendiyar Bekchurin's embassy arrived, which had also compiled and left a detailed description of towns, products and merchandise of Bukhara and the events during their stay.

It was in 1783-85 that Bukhara envoys reached Russia and in 1783. A Khivan embassy also arrived. Again after a decade in 1793, the Khivan ambassadors Allaberdi and Dost Murad who requested that an eye physician be sent to Khiva for the treatment of blind Khan Fazil Bi. Soon a physician mayor Blankenagel was sent though he could not do his job successfully and had to be returned though during his sojourn he has compiled a useful account. With the mayor was sent another Khivan envoy with the request for an eye specialist and also for reducing certain goods in the export. In ninety's (90's) the Tashkent Khan also turned towards Catherine II with a request to send certain specialists to open near

Tashqand, the mountainous "Rudnikh" Preskov." Russian government directed to Tashkent two specialists, Burnasheva and Paspelova in 1800.

On 29th June 1803 commercial caravans were sent to Russia, though it could not pass through Syr Darya due to enmity of Khiva. Similarly another officer Subhan Quli could not reach there in 1809 for the same season. In 1819 again the embassy under Muravyev reached Khiva. The account left by him is extremely important for the trade relations. In 1820 a trade mission was sent to Bukhara under Negri, Mendorff, Eversmana and others to conclude a kind of trade pact. The accounts left by them are indeed useful. They had brought rich presents for the Khan of Bukhara. In 1825 the caravan led by Siolkovsky was way laid. Not only their merchandise was plundered but Russian peasants, fish sellers, soldiers and others were reduced to slavery by Khivans. In 1830 Bukhara Khan sent to Russia envoys with request to accord assistance to remove Khivan attitude. Russia had, thereafter sent to Bukhara in 1834 Orientalist Demezon who had reported about the details of war. In 1835 came to Bukhara Viktovich. Officers were dispatched to Bukhara to procure release of the slaves. Since then the Russian subjects ceased to be sold as slaves in Bukhara. In 1838 when a mission with twenty persons, one elephant, Kashmiri shawls and some Russian

prisoners were sent by Bukhara as a token of amity, the relation between Russia and Bukhara were improved and became cordial.[63]

Since the Khivans had been continuing their enmity and thereby disturbing the Russo-Bukhara trade, all the Qazakh traders found on the soil of Russia were arrested alongwith their goods. Khan Allaquli is said to have advised Bukhara some kind of pact against Russia but Amir Nasrullah declined it and sent a friendly embassy to Russia. On 30th October 1839 two experts Kovalevski and Gregory were sent there but they could not do much.

At this stage, the increasing English commercial empire in India and other places started creating apprehensions around. The "Big Game", "Russophobia" and "Cry to save India" had begun. The balance of power in the region was fast transforming and changes were taking place in the mutual relations of Persia, Kabul, Central Asia and India. In 1839-40 the Orenburg Military Governor V.A. Perovski marched towards Khiva with the permission of Czar Nicholai I. Perovski belonged to that class of Russian bourgeoisie, which was connected with trade and interested in carrying on trade with Central Asia. The unsuccessful aggression of Perovski on Khiva in the summer of 1840, Allah Quli had to return to Russia 424 Russian captives and sent to Petersburg

envoys with the promise of friendship and assurances that no sale purchase of Russian shares would be done thereafter till the Russian policy of aggression in Central Asia.[64]

After the subjugation of Central Asian regions one by one by Russia and finally with the defeat of Bukhara in 1868 this relationship changed. Although the Russo-Bukharan treaty did permit Bukhara a kind of free administration but only after accepting the position of a protectorate. During the reign of last three Amirs i.e. Muzaffaruddin, Abdul Ahad and Alim Khan the bond of relationship between Bukhara and Russia was that of the former being loyal and in subjugation. From then onwards more or less the same situation continued with a caution of their own prestige in mind. Muzaffar remained loyal to the Russians throughout his whole regime. But his loyalty was more out of expediency rather than love for Russians. This view is strengthened by serious reservation of N.P. Stremoukhov about Muzaffaruddin's reliability and adherence to alliance. According to Stremoukhav the policy of the Amir was guided by the apprehension of neighbouring countries.[65] Indeed, Muzaffar was not ready to compromise with the idea of surrendering his own rights and authority. He is reported to have successfully resisted Russian pressures regarding abolition of slavery, slave trade and postal communication.

Further, on the issue of telegraph he took nine months to give his consent.[66] To show his eagerness to stretch the hands of friendship with the protectors as is seen in 1883 Abdul Ahad was sent to be present on the occasion of Alexander III's coronation in which he is said to have presented an amount of 1000,000 rouble in gold.[67]

Muzaffar's successor Abdul Ahad had accepted more influence from the Russian atmosphere as he had visited Russia many times. It is said that during his reign European visitors were entertained in European fashion. Under his influence several of Begs had acquired the European furniture though it was a rarity in those days. Abdul Ahad was only nine year old when his father had agreed willy nilly to sign the treaty with the Russians. Even at that young age Abdul Ahad was keenly interested in the matter and anxious for this treaty, as he was ready to accept the new order of things. His love for greener pastures was so intense that it is said, after 1896 he visited Russia almost every year.[68] Amir Abdul Ahad seemed to exhibit his championship in the cause of Russia as he donated large sums to Russian schools in Tashqand and New Bukhara.[69] During Russo-Japanese war he presented the Russian navy with a warship. By all these repeated measures and sincere activities many Russian

officials were convinced of the sincere efforts of Abdul Ahad.

Obviously Saiyid Alim Khan seems to be more familiar with the Russian way of life than his father. He is reported to spend four years in Nikolaevski Cadet Corps in St. Petersburg.[70] Alim Khan had developed an interest in Russian literature and was fond of the books written by the Russian authors. Like his father he too, was a frequent visitor of Russia. He was always ready to show his eagerness for Russian cause. During wartime he donated Russia with several million of roubles. Again in September 1916 he presented the emperor a gift of one million roubles. During the period of revolution in Bukhara the White Guards, (Czarist loyal army) was in league with the Amir on every possible fronts as may be seen during the course of revolution till the overthrow of Amir's power in Bukhara.[71]

ECONOMY

The state of Bukhara in traditional outfit had been by and large agricultural. A mixed economy in the Farghana Valley, Khwarazn and other places, growth of production of cotton, commercial crops irrigated lands and new and improved towns provided a new look to its cities and villages with cattle breeding and domestic handicraft industry. In the spheres of economy Bukhara was supposed to be almost

depended on agricultural products. In Bukhara wheat was said to be the most important crop for domestic consumption followed by cotton, rice, barley and alfalfa.[72] The western Bukhara that happened to be the richest agricultural area was dependant on irrigation. It is said that the Zarafshan valley was known for cotton production and sericulture and it had almost attained the central position for its production. The area of western Bukhara had also been famous for its fruits mainly apricots, grapes and melons,[73] While the valley of Kashka Darya (Qarshi and Shahri-i-Sabz) produced such a surplus that the grain could be shipped to the capital. The areas around central Bukhara were full of greenery due to adequate rainfall and thus it had excellent farmlands and pasturage. It appears that in the above areas the production of wheat, barley and other cereals were in abundance and rearing of cattle was also a source of wealth. The grain was sent to the capital of Khanate and Guzar, which happened to be the chief central market. Besides, flax was an important secondary crop. While in the southern districts significantly in Sherabad Beglik, cotton was supposed to be grown on irrigated land.[74] The eastern region of Bukhara being largely covered by the mountains was not agriculturally so advanced like central and western areas but some of these, however, were self-sufficient like Qarategin, Kulab and Baljuan. Many

regions were devoid of good agricultural possibilities for lack of water resources scanty rainfall and several other reasons. Due to insufficient land for agriculture and inadequate production Darvaz imported grain from Qarategin, Kulab and Baljuan. It appears that on account of shaky agricultural condition, the inhabitants of Qarategin and Darvaz particularly in winter season were bound to seek employment in the central and western Bukhara that were agriculturally self sufficient areas and in the neighbouring districts of Farghana.[75] So far as the trade and commercial activity was concerned Bukhara and Qarshi happened to be leading industrial centres.[76] They are known for producing primarily silk textiles, pottery, linseed oil, metal goods and hyde. Bukhara and Qarshi were also the prominent places for internal and foreign trade. The eastern part of Khanate also lagged behind in commerce and trade. As the roads in the western begliks were in bad conditions, the commercial activities were mainly carried on through camel caravans. In the areas like Qarategin, Darwaz and Shughnan-Roshan the brisk trade was not possible due to lack of cash nexus. The remotely located and mountainous regions were having slow and less developed commercial contact with other parts due to their barter system.

The development of trade and commerce in Bukhara may be classified into two distinct phases. The commercial activity of Bukhara extending from 1800 to the Russian conquest will be taken up in the first phase and in the other phase, the aftermath of Russian conquest followed by the construction of central Asian railroads, which had left its impact on Russo Bukharan trade will be discussed.

It seems that the state of Bukhara had been playing a leading role in ascertaining trade links with Russia long before its conquest of Central Asia. However, the Soviet historians and particularly Russian explorers have tended to describe the economic condition of Bukhara in most horrid hues when whole of Turkestan was passing through a dark phase and its economic condition was poor and standards miserably low, before the conquest of Russia. It appears that it was a denial of fact or a deliberate attempts to under rate the socio-economic level and the prosperity of Bukhara. So far as the trade and commerce was concerned, it is evident that the agricultural and commercial life of Bukhara was well organised and exceedingly brisk as is proved by the details furnished by Barthold and others. Bukharara's progress is very clearly depicted through its construction of irrigation canals, new towns for commercial purposes and exchange in men and commodities with Russia and other countries. It is

significant to note that the Turkestan textiles were much in demand all over Russia long before the Russian occupation of Central Asia. It is, however, also important to note down in this regard the value of exports to Russia was much more higher than its imports to Bukhara between 1827-1837. The material which the state of Bukhara exported to Russia consisted of raw cotton, qaraqul skins, wool silk, hydes, dried fruits and carpets while from Russia the imported materials were inexpensive textiles, pottery, hardware, sugar, paper, tin, fur, mercury, candles, kerosene, metals and manufactured goods.[77] The Russo-Bukharan trade had been completely in the hands of Bukharan merchants before the Russian conquest. It seems significant that after being protectorate of Russia the volume of trade in Bukhara had been scaled low after 1870. The apparent corollary was the deduction of Bukhara and it was soon seen that Tashqand had been replaced by Bukhara as the commercial capital of Central Asia. While Russian merchants diverted their focus of attention on Russian Turkistan, it appears that between 1868-1880 the trade between Russia and Bukhara had not been risen above the level of just 1,000,00 roubles. This, however, shows that before the Russian conquest Bukhara had achieved 2,000.000 roubles in trade with Russia but this

position gradually declined after 1870 and achieved amount had only been half of the previous one.

The beginning of Central Asian railroad project commenced by Russia with an avowed object of multifarious superiority, had altogether adversely affected the Bukharan trade.[78] As in India and in other countries, the "private enterprise" of Railways was started in Russia also "at the public risk". The main purpose of railroad project by Russia said to have been commenced with two main objectives. To make the Khanate of Bukhara more accessible to Eurpoean Russia, for supply of raw material and second to develope the Khanate as a big market for finished goods. However, despite these changes the Russo-Bukharan trade had absolutely remained small. It is said that the majority of Bukharanas did not even minimum or enough purchasing capacity and, therefore, they naturally had very little interest in foreign goods of luxury though the necessaries of life were still much in demand e.g. metal goods, tea sugar and kerosene. It appears that the production in Bukhara was mainly for domestic consumption except cotton and qaraqul fur. The railroad project had naturally left no good impression upon the Central Asians whose reaction to this new "giant" which devoured their resources and deprived their brethren even from the petty job of "guides" was indeed not very

favourable. Both Obruchev and Igniatev had recorded how these railroad construction had destroyed their irrigational cannlas, demolished the dams, which could not be repaired. Even the poor were deprived of their jobs.[79] This could hardly assist in or contribute to promoting Russo-Bukharan trade exclusively to western begliks although they were accessible from the railroad and known for cotton and qaraqul production. The central and eastern part of Bukhara remained economically poor and isolated on account of not being linked properly with other parts and internal custom duties that were levied by the provincial authorities. On account of transportation cost and heavy custom duties, the Russian cotton prints were sold as much as double the cost in Qarategin and Darvaz than in other parts of the Khanate. It may be pointed out here that since the conquest of Russia it was alleged that the interest of Russian merchant in Bukhara were not properly safeguarded as no consideration was shown to them by the government, and the government of Russia had adopted an apathetic attitude towards the interest of the merchant class. This, however, does not seem to be entirely true. As elsewhere, here also, it was not an unmixed blessing. As the events indicate during the early years of Russian conquest, there were indeed two or three Russian commercial representatives in Bukhara and a single Russian

company, which had its permanent branch in the khanate in the name of freight transportation office opened in 1880. But since the commencement of railroad this situation had been drastically changed. We, however, find twenty big Russian merchants, nine large trading firms and five transportation companies which had been established in Bukhara until 1887. This railroad project had also opened the doors not only to Russians but also to Americans, French and Jewish merchants.[80] It appears that in 1905 the Amir of Bukhara at the behest of Russian political agent had levied surtax on qaraqul furs bought by the foreigners in order to protect the interest of Russian merchant in particular and Bukharan merchants in general. It should also be noted that the Russo-Bukharan Friendship Treaty of 1873 was supposed to open new doors so far as the interest of Russian merchants were concerned. Although the Russian merchants in Bukhara complained about non-observance of the treaty in 1875, the Russian traders however complained that they were bound to pay ten percent total duty as contrary to 1873 treaty where 2½ percent zakat had to be paid accordingly. Consequently it was observed in 1884 by N.V. Charikov that if the post roads were extended from Kette Qurghan to the Bukharan capital and effective postal services were established between Bukhara and Russian Turkistan it will greatly benefit the

Russian traders.[81] Further, to promote the trade of Russian merchants in Bukhara Colonel D.N. Logofet urged the government vociferously to improve communications in the Khanate i.e. extending telegraph lines throughout the country and building of railroad from the capital to Qarshi, Karki and Termiz. Logofet also objected that the Treaty of 1873 was being violated by the Bukharan government and they should be allowed to buy land and build factories. Slimilarly in 1906 Governor General D.I. Subbotich and in 1908 K.K.Pahlen had categorically criticised the Bukhara government for their negligence towards the interest of Russian merchants and traders. They were of the view that the Russian goods were being arbitrarily taxed by the native authorities and this act was tantamount to the violation of 1873 treaty even after the lapse of thirty-five years.[82] Pahlen was of the view that Russian goods were deliberately subjected to various kinds of extra taxes like zakat etc. and the merchants were being compelled to use the official bazar weights. It was further complained that the Bukharan authorities not only collected the legal zakat but also the aminana tax. It is however, interesting to note that such was the plight that St. Petersburg finally had to intervene and therefore the War Ministry instructed Governor General N.I. Grodekov to look into the matter and to stop any measures for abolition of zakat in

Termez if necessary or negotiate with the Amir in this matter. It was finally assumed however, that the collection of zakat in Termiz was sanctioned by the Treaty of 1873. Consequently in 1909 the War Ministry directed Governor General A.V. Samsonov that he should pursue the Amir of Bukhara that barring zakat other commercial taxes levied by the Bukharan government on Russian merchant should be abolished. Pahlen further reported that the development of trade had been otherwise affected due to such double taxation by the administration. He further goes on to say that the assessment value of the Russian goods in Bukhara was unfair as the merchants were usually forced to bribe the authorities for obtaining favourable assessment. Pahlen, out of anger and anguish proposed the abolition of zakat and said that throughout the Khanate there should be Russain tax on Russian business activities. However, despite the persistent resentment by the Russian merchants the Bukharan authorities continued to collect the zakat and the situation remained unchanged as late as 1916 when the Russian merchants filed a petition that zakat should be abolished, as it was the clear violation of Article 7 of 1873 treaty.[83]

The extent of Bukhara's trade relations with other countries may be said to have been wide and of substantial value. Bukhara carried on extensive trade with India,

Afghanistan and Persia. However, it appears that the value of Bukharan trade relation with other countries had been suppressed and discouraged by Russia owing to vindictive nature towards the Khanates specially Bukhara. In the same way it was also alleged that Russia not only took considerable pains to suppress Bukhara's trade relation with India but somehow it also managed virtually to close the trading outfits of England into Bukhara. It may be assumed that before the Russian conquest, Bukhara had extensive trade relation with Russia, India and other Central Asian countries. After being a Russian protectorate considerable decline in the commercial activity of Bukhara is noticed. It is said that Russia in her imperialist pursuit far surpassed the English and other foreign goods in the market of Bukhara. In order to capitalize and monopolize the Bukharan market the coming of foreign goods were either forbidden or heavy duties were levied barring tea, muslin and dyes imported from India. However, it appears that by this policy Bukhara became the ultimate victim and suffered heavy loss in trade, which, said to have been declined by fifty percent in the period between 1881-1884. This situation further worsened after coming of the railroad, which gave impetus to Russia in taking advantage over English goods in Bukhara and other countries. It is however, significant that despite the 1881

restrictions, Bukhara imported considerable qualities of Indian goods exclusively green tea which is said to have been preferred by the inhabitants of Bukhara over to the Black Russain or Chinese tea. However, we find a subtle decline in import of Indian tea between 18881-1887. Further, it is also noted that in 1882 Bukhara imported 80,000 puds of Indian tea while in the year 1887 it was only 70,000 puds. It however indicates that after 1881 the volume of trade in Bukhara would have largely been affected by the imposition of restriction by Russia and finally railroad project proved instrumental in the collapse of Bukharan trade.[84]

Since the construction of railroads Russia had been able to enhance its share of the Bukharan total foreign trade to its favour. It is said that in 1887 Russia had improved herself to get 83 per cent of Bukhara's export while Bukhara imported 63 per cent Russian goods in the same year. As against this, considerable decline in Bukhara's imports from India during the years 1895-1905 is noticed on account of Russian aggressive policy regarding trade and protective tariffs to the Amu Darya. It is said that Bukhara faced almost 75-80 per cent decline concerning its imports from countries other than Russia particularly India on account of above mentioned restrictions. The statistics of trade shows that Russia's tariff policy was so harsh that it gave a deathblow to Bukharan's

import from India and other countries. We however find that Bukhara imported Indian goods in the year 1887 worth of 5,5000,00 rouble while by 1913 it was totalled only 8000,00 roubles.[85]

The beginning of twentieth century brought the development of competition between Indian and Chinese tea so far as the Bukharan imports were concerned. It seems that since 1900 when the tariff on low quality Indian tea was doubled and was brought at par with the Chinese tea, consequently paved the way for Chinese import by sea via Suez Canal and the straits in Batum, thence by rail and watered via Baku and Krasnovodsk to Bukhara. In 1895 the imported goods from India to Bukhara gradually declined and consequently in turn gave advantage to Russia which is said to have accounted for 88 per cent of Bukhara's export and 89 per cent of her import during the preceding years of revolution. [86]

The development of trade and agriculture in Bukhara was more or less monopolized by the Russian merchants and somehow it appears that the growth of trade with Russia had adversely affected the native craftsmen. However, it is said that the trade relations with Russia had virtually benefited the merchants and cotton producers of Bukhara.[87] Although they suffered heavily due to the establishment of Russian

trading firms after 1886. However, the merchants of Bukhara made themselves capable of coping with the new situation. They managed to hold the carrying trade and established a strong link between the cotton producers and the Russian buyers.[88]

Gregory who happened to sojourn in Bukhara during the middle of 18th century speaks about cottage, industries and the dadani system (putting out) with praises of the excellent, handicrafts produced by the Bukharan artisans. He further says that although there was at the time only one large manufacturing factory, there production was indeed good as silk, cotton and paper produced here had no parallel in the surrounding regions. Under Rahim Bek, the silk parchas, *barakht* were woven at home. The "manufacturing factory" mentioned by Gregory was in fact the royal workshop attached to the palace and the court. The Russian explorers still emphasize that there were no specialist expert handicraftsmen. The Russian merchant, Rukavkin had criticized the commercial system in 1753 saying that there did not exist rules and regulations in the demand and sale of pieces. Similarly Ephremov who visited Bukhara towards the end of 18th century found that there were excellent pieces of silk parchas, *barkht* and *atlas* produced whereas nice gold thread embroidery or silver work shows has nice handicrafts

did exist. The situation did not change in the nineteenth century. The memoirs of Nazarov, written in 1813-1814 show very clearly how populous, prosperous and full of commercial exchanges Farghana was. There were hectic economic activities and brisk trade in cities like Farghana and Tashqand. Out of total export of goods from Bukhara to Russias cotton formed 75% of its strength. In 1840-1850 the total earnings from the export of cotton to Russia for Bukhara amounted to no less than seven million rubles.

The nomadic population prepared their dresses and shoes and warm boots, the *Qarakul* fur coats and *Urmaq* from the skin of their cattle. The destructions in the first half of eighteenth century and beginning of nineteenth century had considerably affected the trade. After the annexation of Qazakhstan to Russia, certain new handicrafts started appearing in the market. The trade with Russia further augmented after Russian occupation of Central Asia when a gradual increase is remarkably apparent. From 1758 to 1760 there was an annual export of 2500000 silver roubles and from Russia to Central Asia, it amounted to 288000 silver roubles and in return 24000 roubles. In 1792 different goods to Russia from Central Asia amounted to one million four hundred thousand silver roubles and goods worth one million one hundred and thirty thousands roubles were exported to

Central Asia. In 1830 annual import from Russia reached two million five hundred thousand roubles and the return amounted to two million roubles. In the mid nineteenth century annual export to Russia was four million and return was only three million. Between 1840-50 the Uzbeg Khanate brought to Russia the cotton amounting to seven million silver roubles. In the beginning of 19th century metal from Russia to Central Asia was forbidden.

Cotton was supposed to be the most valuable product of Bukhara. The amount of export was accounted for one third of the total product to Russia. The quantity of cotton that was exported to Russia during the last years of 1870 and early years of 1880 was amounted to 4,000,000 puds.[89] It appears that since 1887 Russia perused a policy of Tariff protection with clear intention to encourage the production of cotton in Central Asian Protectorates. This new policy of tariff protection proved beneficial to Russia in multi-dimensional way so far as the production of cotton in Central Asia (particularly in Bukhara) was concerned.[90] The new policy of tariff protection and opening of Central Asian railroad simultaneously had somehow benefited Russia with regard to cotton production as it had expanded four fold between 1880 and the beginning of the next decade. It is said that Bukharan share in cotton production was about

1,000,000 puds. The coming of World War I further enhanced the production of cotton in Bukhara and other Central Asian Khanates as on account of war the foreign source of supply to Russia had been cut down. Bukhara's cotton export during the war was accounted to double reaching 2.6000,00 puds.[91] Despite the two ample incentives that was provided by the Central Asian railroad and the World War I, Bukhara and the other Khanates did not show any steady growth in the cultivation of cotton. The reason as had been ascertained by the Russian Inspectors report in 1904 says that this development took place due to inefficient irrigation system, oppressive taxation system, and finally the Amir's lack of interest in rectifying this situation.[92] The meeting of the representatives of Russian industry that was held in 1908 also claimed that the major hindrance to the rapid development of cotton culture in Bukhara was the oppressive tax system. In this report it was said that until the value of land was assessed for tax purpose by the government official the peasants of Bukhara were not allowed to harvest their crops. Consequently the peasants preferred to cultivate coarse native cotton, which required less water, but they could not compete with the American cotton, which were of high quality and share in demand in Russia.[93] However, it appears that the American cotton that was introduced into Russian

Turkestan in the first half of 1880s had also been used by the Bukharan peasants. The seeds of American cotton were given to Amir Muzaffar by the Russian government but the attempt to grow proved to be unsuccessful in 1888. However, the native cotton was exclusively cultivated and on account of the report submitted by the political agent in 1913 it might be assumed that the cultivation of native cotton was still larger than the American cotton.[94] Henceforth between 1913 to 1916 the production of cotton in Bukhara was increased by 76 percent despite the fact that the total cultivated land of cotton had never been increased by five percent. It is, therefore understandable why the Central Asian population felt uneasy and greatly troubled when the food crop was replaced by cotton and the starvation, deaths, famine and hunger overtook the population. The imported stuff e.g. of American cotton was forced upon the Central Asians though it was stated that the value and demand of American cotton in Central Bukhara had "somehow increased" during World War I. Here it may be pointed out that Russians owing to replace the foreign imports insisted that the Amir of Bukhara in 1915 should purchase seventeen Wagonloads of American cotton and on a set price it must be distributed to the peasants. It appears that Bukhara with regard to cotton production never developed the exclusiveness in one crop economy as

compared to other Khanates. Apologists say that in Bukhara less than five percent of the land was planted under cultivation for cotton production as compared to 50 per cent in wheat for domestic consumption during the first decade of twentieth century and similarly in Zarafshan Valley which contained 80 percent of the total cotton production, 25 per cent of the sown area was used for cotton whereas 40 per cent of the total area was reserved for wheat production.

It is assumed that Bukhara did not pay considerable attention to cotton production on account of lack of Amir's interest. The other domestic product particularly wheat in Bukhara outranked cotton in both production and size of harvesting. It may be said that the cotton production was to some extent merely raised by small peasants as a better source of income rather than the specialized cotton producers who concentrated more upon other produce.

The fact, however, remains that with the onset of Russian imperialism, the growth and development of modern industry came into existence in Bukhara, which flourished all the more on account of introduction of railroad project. The large-scale intentional investment in Railway construction seemed to be exacting as a "private enterprise at public risk". Obruchev records the hue and cry of people over the destruction of irrigational system caused by the Railway

construction. How the new measure had given a deathblow to the bread earning of the guides is amply highlighted by Igniatev, Berg and Obruchev. The large-scale production of cotton in Bukhara also paved the way for the establishment of local industry mainly devoted to processing raw cotton and extracting oils from the seeds. Until World War I the industrial development in Bukhara was confined mainly to the Russian settlements and the areas where the railroad had been introduced and the industries were owned and maintained predominantly by the Russians. Here it may be pointed out that the opening of two steam powered cotton ginning mills in 1889 and 1890 at Charjui and New Bukhara respectively were owned by the Russians.[95] This new development may be amounted for the decline of old native hand operated machines as in the first decade of the twentieth century almost nine mills had been opened in the Khanate of Bukhara and three of them were opened in New Bukhara. In the same decade further eight mills were also opened and exclusively owned by the Russians, out of which nine were opened in New Bukhara, four in Charjui and one each in Karmine, Qizil Teppe, Qaraqul and Termiz.[96] During the second decade of twentieth century we find the establishment and existence of more cotton mills in Bukhara. It is said that in 1913 there were twenty-six cotton-ginning mills in

Bukhara out of which nineteen were owned by Russians, three by Russian Tatars, three by the Amir of Bukhara and one by a Bukharan merchant. In 1913 we also find the establishment of two oil-processing mills in Bukhara one each in New Bukhara and Charjui. It is significant to note that under the shadow of World War II the momentum of growth of industrial development had not come down. During 1916 there were thirty-five cotton-ginning mills in Bukhara out of which the Amir owned four apart from three oil processing mills. The rapid industrial development which had been facilitated mainly on account of railroad projects in Bukhara witnessed for the first time an establishment of cotton ginning mills beyond the Russian settlements at Jilikul on the lower Wakhsh river in central Bukhara in order to serve the new cotton-producing region.[97]

The establishment and existence of cotton industries and oil processing mills in Bukhara under the aegis of growing Russian influence were mainly for serving their own interest. The railroad project had been a continuous process. Apart from that, we also witness the establishment of minor industries in Bukhara in the early twentieth century. It may be pointed out here that during the second decade of twentieth century various industrial enterprises that were not connected to cotton processing including a winery at Qaraqul,

several cigarette factories, a match factory, soap factory and printing shop at New Bukhara, a wood processing mill at Charjui and flour grinding mill at Karki besides oil depots that were being maintained by the Noble intgerest at New Bukhara, Charjui and Karki. Termiz and Sarai. It appears that all the factories and industries that were opened established and maintained were predominantly owned and manned by the Russians. It seems that the unskilled labour for the above works were being drawn from Bukhara and other Khanates. The number of workers has been above thousand from Bukhara as was estimated in 1905. The factories that had been opened later were unlike other cotton industries, small and employed usually less workers as their numbers did not increased more than 30 to 35. In 1908 Count Pahlen who had made a random sampling about the conditions of workers says that the majority of those workers were ill equipped and the mills were being run without technical requirements. He also criticized bitterly the owners of these factories and industries who did not take care about their workers' safety and no steps were taken for maintaining hygienic conditions. Pahlen charged that the steam boilers had been installed without being tested and even first aid was not made available to the workers. Pahlen was of the view that the ongoing problem regarding the workers' pitiable

conditions was because of the fact that the serious communication links were not being maintained between the workers and owners. Pahlen, however, recommended some suggestions to assuage the painful feelings of workers. Amongst these was that there should be the establishment of factory inspectorate in Bukhara government general as early as in 1895. But it is difficult to judge that his suggestions were ever followed.[98]

It appears that the Russians who were being active in industrial undertakings were supposed to be unsuccessful in operation particularly in gold prospecting and mining in the provinces of eastern Bukhara. Therefore on 24 February 1894, the Governor General of Turkestan ordered that the foreigners must be excluded from gold prospecting and mining. He further suggested that it would be in the interest of Russia that all gold mines were to be sold to the Bukhara government. Henceforth it is said that during 1896 to 1917, the Amir of Bukhara persued a flexible policy towards the Russian gold prospectors and thus he gave thirty-six concessions to them although they were never operative. The local authorities of Bukhara had been in direct clash with the prospectors in order to protect in interest of native prospectors that is why it seems that the orders of Amir regarding concessions to gold prospectors and miners had

never been followed. The most persistent prospector of that time was Zuravleo Pokovski who after being neglected by the local authorities sought the protection of political agent the begs of Buljuwan and Hisar. On his repeated requests the secretary of political agency Baron A. A. Cherkasov was appointed to investigate the matter and the report that he submitted on November 10, 1906 went entirely against the wishes, efforts, intentions and works of Pokovski. The secretary of Political agency charged in his report that Pokovski exploited the workers, was a defaulter, and somehow successfully managed to mislead the local authorities of Bukhara. The report further says that Pokovski undermined the interest of Russia and went against its policy towards Bukhara.[99]

Thus it may be pointed out that the economic development of Bukhara, its trade, industry and agriculture had been shaped in such a way and its mechanism had been planned in such a way that somehow or the other it served the purpose of Russian interest. The immediate outcome of this policy was that it enhanced the Russian capital and augmented resources, which were being reinvested in cotton processing and other industries in Bukhara. Russian entrepreneurs discovered many other such sources of gain in Bukhara during the last years on the eve of the revolution

e.g., forms of concessions in the field of agricultural land for irrigation and cultivation. That was usually out of reach from the railroad zone and Russian settlement from the Amir. It is said that during 1912 to 1915 the Russian entrepreneurs had gained almost 3,000,000 desiatinas from Amir that was almost over one percent of the total area of Khanate. The approval of concessions indicates the weaknesses of government and throws light on the policy of profit and power that proved stronger than considerations.

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CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE, LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE, LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

It is indeed a puzzle how the region of Central Asia, which had once topped the Islamic world in the efflorescence of science, literature and learning all of a sudden, fell from the apex of grandeur to the nadir of illiteracy, corruption and evils of degenerating economy. They have been described as the people who were "living on margins of world history". The Russian explorers like Obruchev, Berg and Igniatev and travellers like Polovtsoff, Vambery, Burnes and several others had painted the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the "Dark Ages," devoid of any good cultural or social achievements. The society said to have been characterised by conservative influences, which retarded the development of art and culture. In the Uzbeg Khanates, the political situation was tense. During second half of eighteenth century to the first half of nineteenth century, the ruling elite is said to have kept the common folks under the yoke of tyranny and subjugation. Exploitation and extortion was intense. The extent of dogmatist and the unchallengeable position of the religions authorities had further restricted the modernisation[1]. Polovtsoff had also given a very dark picture of the social life.

A careful study of the Persian sources however reveals that a somewhat different situation did exist. It is interesting to note that the medieval historians like Ibn-i Khaldun and others have highly appreciated the excellent and rich progress in the sphere of fine arts. The later chroniclers also eulogize the grand contributions made by the men of learning and fine arts. Yet they only confirm that the ruling elite had lost the sense of political wisdom and did not try to learn stratagem.[2] They also write that the influence of religious groups had all along been very strong. In his memoir, Amir Alim Khan writes that the ruler had to abide by religious norms and forms.[3] The "latest trends in society were nowhere clearly visible and the country still seemed to be backward."[4] However, *Chou Je Kua* categorically says that even women had come forward to fight for their rights. They worked shoulder to shoulder with men folk to bring about their desired reforms and in this process they often resisted the commands of their family to sit back at home and not to join reformists.

While conceding that Central Asian social and cultural arena had few black spots such as retrogressive impact of adherence to age old custom, initial resistance by some to change, lack of awareness of modern thought and culture and fast developing science and technology. No Renaissance or

Industrial Revolution could touch "the land of Timur", like other Asian territories, Central Asia had also suffered under the yoke of Russian imperialists. All the evil effects of colonisation had destroyed its peace, prosperity and populousness. Its original potentialities had been eclipsed by the Mother Country's self-seeking administration. Under such circumstances, the backwardness of the country is understandable. The intentional records produced by the Russian explorers have given exaggerated reports of the mal-administration and retrogression but not only the Persian sources by and large contradict them but writers like Chou Ju Kua have provided the other side of the picture.

Central Asia was devoid of geographical barriers and exposed from all sides to nomadic invaders, its vast lands welcomed all newcomers with open heart. There were followers of Buddhism, Judaism, Manichaenism, Hinduism, Christianity, Zoroastriasm, Taoism and all other religions, which had their followers in all areas. Even during the reign of Timur they carried their idols with them when on march with the army. With the onset of Sufism and the beginning of Naqshbandi silsilah, the atmosphere further changed as the message of Sufi brotherhood and love dominated the scene. Although the Uzbegs were more inclined towards Sufi saints of Naqshbandi silsilah,[4] they had allowed them to be strong

enough to be power behind the throne. The situation did not change much in the Bukhara Khanate. The ancestors of Uzbegs were friendly with the Muslims and their predecessors like Batu, Barake Uzbeg Khan and Kebek were all inclined towards Islam. Even in later years this religious group remained well entrenched in Central Asia though they shunned from rigid dogmatism. It was only in the nineteenth century, that they sought refuge and security in the precincts of Sufi saints.

Since its inception the social fabric of Bukharan society had been almost plural. The influence of Islam had been undoubtedly the most durable cultural impact on Central Asia, particularly Bukhara up to the establishment of Soviet regime. It is evident that Islam was widely accepted in Central Asia not only as a religion and way of life but also became popular due to its social values, which survived and embraced all invaders before the coming of Russians. Despite constant efforts of "Russification" and imposition of Russian language and culture, only a small number of people were drawn towards Russian culture during Czarist regime. The Russians on the other hand did not demonstrate their fear and hatred towards Islam openly but as a matter of fact they more or less have had shown tolerant attitude towards it.[5] It is interesting to note that the openly contemptuous Russian

attitude towards Central Asian culture and way of life had not been able to eradicate their deep rooted values and Islamic influence on the people and society.

The Khanate of Bukhara was regarded as almost exclusive centre of Muslim culture and people. Although there were a considerable number of Jews and Hindus but they were numerically insignificant. From amongst the Muslims, majority had followed the orthodox Sunni creed. But in central and eastern Bukhara there were population of Shia Muslims and majority of them were of Ismaili sect.[6] The state was autocratic in nature and was ruled by hereditary monarch apparently in strict accordance with Muslim religious law and custom. On political front the state had a highly organised central administration alongwith semi autonomous provinces. The officials of the central administration did not come under the purview of salaried class. They were usually given land grants estates, *inam* grants or merely the subsistence allowance in the form of *ulufa*. It is however, opined that the officials depended more often on the fees and fines that they collected from their subjects from time to time. The provincial officials were entitled to collect money from their assignments in the form of tax revenue necessary for their own maintenance and for their customary style of upkeep in court.

In every province the king had his own share of revenue, which was called *Khassa* realized from the choicest lands. This amount was forwarded honestly to the Amir. There were Khassa, Diwan or state lands also to the Amir revenue of which was used for maintenance of court, for expenses of harem etc. In Bukhara the clerical body alongwith the hereditary social class and the mullahs formed a powerful groups in order to defend their tradition and religious orthodoxy.

Before the Russian conquest the social and cultural life of the inhabitants of Bukhara did not differ much from the peoples of other parts of the Muslim world. The state of Bukhara and its mechanism, these system of administration, land tenure and the taxation was more or less on the line of Perso-Arab administration of Transoxiana.[7] The system of justice was on the basis of Islamic law but some time it was also guided by the customary laws (adat). Even since the Arab conquest and inclusion of Central Asia as a province of Abbasid Dynasty, there came to stay a highly centralised Perso-Islamic well-organised administrative machinery which continued even till the 19th century with minor changes or adaptations necessitated by local exigencies. The Sufi Islamic culture and Perso-Islamic institutions marked the social and cultural life of Bukhara. It is, however, evident that in almost

all spheres of life of the Bukharan people, society was under the direct impact of Islamic institution. The society that was divided apparently on two social groups is said to comprise settled people and nomadic tribes. But it appears that before the Revolution the whole social set up of Bukhara was transformed into two distinct historical formations — (a) the sedentary people who had sometimes much developed socio-cultural institutions and (b) the nomadic people who used to live in accordance with their tribal traditions. The formation of social group were further accentuated with the division of sedentary people into two more distinct racial groups (a) natives (b) Russians. The former itself consisted of many other social groups (i) the traditional feudal elite (ii) the religious elite (iii) the traders and artisans (iv) the peasantry (v) industrial workers. While the latter was divided itself into two classes (i) the newly settled Russian peasants (ii) the Russian workers.[8]

So far as the family and its establishment is concerned we find the system of joint family in Bukhara as the basis of social unit. In both the social groups — sedentary and nomadic, the patriarchal regime prevailed. The head of the family was considered to be an authority and his decision regarding various aspects of life like marriages, allotment of property and family duties was supposed to be final. During

the second half of nineteenth century the sedentary people in Bukhara were in practice of keeping the property in common, but the later decades witnessed that they got rid off their earlier practice and the practice of dividing the family property started taking place after the death of their family heads. But we also find some references about the division of property even in the lifetime of their family head. Both Polygamy and monogamy are noticed but it is evident that the social elites of Bukhara used to practice polygamy. It appears the poor or economically backward people used to practice monogamy just because of their poor economic condition. But, both the rich and the poor had to pay the *kalym* (bride price).[9] It seems that the practice of *kalym* in Bukhara had some social base and it was being practiced in lieu of *mehr* (dower), which had religious obligations in marriage. On the whole it may be said that the Bukharan family system was almost patriarchal. The system of joint family was the social basis and it had played an important role as the members of the family were closely connected. In the joint family system the position of mother was equally important as she was supposed to instil the traditions of the family into child's mind and in the process of socialization was expected to uphold and penetrate the values of religion, culture and society into youngsters' minds. It is also to be noted that in

the upbringing of their children, the families wanted the child to act in accordance with the rules and regulations of society and if they failed to do so actions were taken against them.

Following the tradition of marriage of family members both exogamy and endogamy were practiced. It is said that nomadic population mostly practiced exogamy but in this practice they took special care that a man must marry a woman who belonged to *Ahl-i-kitab* (Revealed religion).[10] But the practice of Muslim girl getting married outside was forbidden. The sedentary people used to follow the practice of endogamy. The institution of marriage in Bukharan society was held to be so important that it was necessary for the boys and girls getting married to be of same social and economic status. It was perhaps in accordance with the Islamic concept of *Kufu* according to which both party should be of equal status but exceptions were there and it was not considered to be binding in all cases.

So far as the performing of festivals are concerned the people of Bukhara used to perform mainly the three festivals with zeal and dedication and religious fervour. At the end of Ramazan (the holy month of fasting) they used to celebrate *Idul-Fitr* (*Kichik Bayram* or *Ramazan Hayit*)[11] as the particular day marked the end of Ramazan. The second festival, which they celebrated, was *Idul Azha* (*Qurban*

Bayram). The festival of *Id-ul-Azha* signifies the essence of sacrifice. Hence this festival was subjected to commemoration of Prophet Ibrahim's willingness to sacrifice his son Ismail as directed and in accordance with the wishes of Allah. The third one was *Mavlud* (anniversary of the birth of Prophet Muhammad). Almost all Bukharan people celebrated this particular holiday as a festival.[12]

Before the Russian conquest of Bukhara, the languages that were being spoken there included Persian and Turkish, most of the inhabitants being bilingual. These were the offshoots of two main lingual families (i) Ural Altai family represented by Turkic and (ii) Iranian languages of the Indo-European family. The Chaghtaian language prevalent in Transoxiana was a dialect of Turkish, which had the privilege of being the language of rich Turkic literature, which flourished in the region from fifteenth to seventeenth century. It was said to have been in dominant position until the twentieth century. During the Czar's Government, the government attitude towards the language and its use was said to be indifferent. The Russians used to carry on their official work in their own language and they were not supposed to study or learn the vernacular language.

The art and literature that developed in Bukhara during this specific period could serve as an index of the mindset of

the people. The development of the literature may be classified into two distinct categories. At first there were oral traditional literature that was associated with the nomadic people. The second was written literature mainly associated with the sedentary people. The land of Central Asia had already given excellent experts in the sphere of medicine, philosophy, logic, literature mathematics, historiography, astronomy, exact sciences, botany, zoology, chemistry, physiognomy etc. It is significant to note that in Bukhara philosophers and men of learning, historians, and poets were valued highly acknowledged and their acknowledgement clearly indicated the interest and understanding of the people of Bukhara about philosophy and literature.

The development of literature during the first half of nineteenth century in Bukhara had preferred to continue the classical literary tradition. Since this period was under the cobweb of infighting among the Khanates and characterised by prolonged disturbances great political upheavals. On account of this, the development of literature seems to be somewhat less as compared to earlier periods yet there were rich treasures of historical works and references of oral literature like ritual songs associated with weddings, funerals and examples of long epic poems. The literary history of Bukhara altogether transformed during the second half of

nineteenth century and up to the establishment of Soviet regime. It is surmised that after the establishment of Russian hegemony over Bukhara, the indigenous literature ceased to exist.[13] However, the works produced during the second half of nineteenth century prove that the growth of literature in Bukhara was highly developed and all the forms of literature, prose, poetry, historiography are found equally progressing. A closer look at the literary pieces shows that there were two distinct ideological compositions. In the first phase of the growth and development of literature it seems that the influence of Russian culture and literature was all pervasive. The other side was gloomy under the influence of prevailing uncertainties, the clash between two forces — the package of modernism and progress wrapped in the imperialist cover and the indigenous tenor sharpened by the losing battle. Jadid Movement which also derived its reformist ideas failed to remove the gloomy mood and inspiration,[14] from Russia a swift change may be seen creeping gradually in the literary genre of Bukhara after Russian invasion. It is said that the patriotic mood of literary epics collapsed among local intellectuals after mid nineteenth century,[15] though these reflections are seen flickering both in prose and poetry. Historiography developed considerably. The unusually interesting chronicle of Muhammad Saleh, the son of Qara

Khwaja had beautifully summed up the events between 1847 and 1853 and had narrated analytically how Russians managed to occupy Central Asia. In Khiva the continuation of Mir Khond and Khwand Mir's history written in late nineteenth century is also valuable. Muhammad Mir Alim Bukhari's *Fathnama-i Sultani* has very useful details about system of taxation and included the historical description up to 1826. Shir Muhammad Moonis compiled a history of Khans of Khiva and Bukhara. Muhammad Reza had further extended the account of Moonis up to 1872 at the request of and in collaboration with Agahi. The works of Reza and Agahi are not only prose pieces but a piece of art with nice illustrations, Hakim, Khan Tura's *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh* is another valuable history written later but containing the account of first forty years of nineteenth century. Besides, the works, like *Tarikh-i-Shahrukhi*, *Tarikh-i Salatin-i Manghitia*, *Hudud-ul Hikma*, *Tarikh-i Bukhara*, *Tarikh-i Nafi*, and Memoirs of Amir Alim Khan etc. are really very valuable. There were several novels written during the period.

It would, therefore, be wrong to presume that the literature and its development in Bukhara before and after Russian conquest were mainly under the orbit of poetry. It is however, to be noted that the poetic development of this era

in the form of literature was quantitatively (though not qualitatively) more numerous and more or less flourished and was nurtured by the then tensions within the purview of political dimensions. We have the names and the accounts of a number of poets and their contributions in literature. These guide us in determining and understanding the different aspects and varied forms of literature. In order to get a better understanding about the literature, it is inevitable and indispensable to go through Sadruddin Aini's book *Namuna-i-Adabiat-i-Tajik*[16] and Wazeh's description *Tohfat-ul-Ahbab fi Tazkirat-ul-Ashab*. In the long chain of poets in Bukhara (to be discussed separately), we have Mirza Muhammad Sadiq who happened to be a court poet of Amir Haidar (1800-1826) and was considered to be a follower of tradition of Bedil school.[17] From among his contribution the masnavi, *Dakhma-i-Shahan* (Sepulchre of Shahs) happened to be his master piece, a work of splendid nature that was written in 1785.[13] Though this book does not cover the period of our study its study is essential as it throws light on the state of affairs of Bukhara Amirs of the time. In Khiva, under Khan Muhammad Rahim II was written the famous work "the collection of 30 court poets — the *Rah-i Firuza*". Another famous poets Ahmad Tabib (pen name Tabibi) had earned a great name for himself for his excellent poetry. He was a follower of Navai

and used to say, that, "all of them love and follow him (Navai) but none is as talented as Great Navai." Two poets of this period namely Fazli and Mashraf had contributed two separate volumes with the name "*Majmua-i Shuara*". In Khoqand in the beginning of nineteenth century arose the talented democratic poet Makhmur who had very openly criticised the feudal system and the exploitation being perpetrated by the feudal lords and nobles. His poems are full of expressions of sympathy with the miseries of people. In his *Mukhammas*, his famous work "*Khapalak*" is considered to be one of the best pieces of classical Uzebeg literature. Another democratic poet of Farghana was Gulkhani who had very nicely drawn the caricature of different classes of people like Sultan, royal officials, Sufis, Saiyids. Junaidullah Makhdum Haziq comes next to Mirza Muhammad Sadiq. R. Hashim[18] considered Makhdum Haziq as a fine poet of Amir Nasrullah's reign. In the first half of the nineteenth century Haziq migrated from Heart to Bukhara. *Dastan-i Yusuf-o-Zulaikha* was considered as best work of Haziq. It is said that the masnavi entails some reformist ideology and was supposed to be written under the influence of reformist tendencies.[19] Beside masnavi, it appears that Haziq had also left some important works but that have been either lost or are not extant.[20]

An era of enlightenment that overtook Central Asia in the middle of nineteenth century produced many significant poets and writers in Bukhara. Ahmad Makhdum Danish born in Bukhara in 1827 AD was one of them. Danish himself was a well-read man and acquired proficiency in different fields of education. Apart from poetry and music he also served as a court astrologer.[21] Although he was not much patronised or favoured and was unable to achieve worldly gains and high esteem by the fundamentalists on account of his moderate ideas, he was supposed to be an asset to the empire which he served. Danish was sent to St. Petersburg thrice as an ambassador of Bukharan Amir[22] mainly due to his scholarship and vast knowledge, despite the opposition from the group of theologians. During his visit to St. Petersburg he came across with the real picture of Central Asian society that was reeling under poverty and backwardness. It is said that the journey to St. Petersburg played an instrumental role in shaping his reformist ideas and he pledged to work for the betterment of the people and for accomplishment of his project, he assembled a group of intellectuals like Shaheen, Sauda and Asiri etc. around him. This so-called group of intellectuals, inspired by the reformist ideas plunged themselves into revolutionary activities and came into clash with government. Danish was of the view that the Amir should be a servant of

people and therefore, he must undertake all possible efforts for the well being of his subjects. He visualized that suppression and atrocities are the factors for an undeveloped society.[23] He was of the view that everyone has the right to be educated on modern lines. In the pursuit of modernity and modification Danish held the view that the Russian language should be the medium of instruction in order to get acquainted with the cultural and educational development. Danish had the privilege to present the notion of Tajik-Russian friendship in the field of art and literature. He also held the view that for a civilized society it is essential that everyone should be equal before the eyes of law irrespective of social status and political privilege. However, Ahmad Danish could not get success in evolving society according to his dreams on account of political and social constraints.

Among the various literary works of Danish *Nawadir-ul-Waqae* is supposed to be one of the best, as this work covers all his lofty ideas and ideological theories. This work was written between 1875-82. In *Nawadir-ul-Waqae* he had taken up people's day today problems and miseries. Danish had suggested Amir Muzaffar that in Bukhara a canal should be dug out to overcome the problem of water faced by the people. In the said book Danish looked to be impressed and

influenced by the Russian language and culture. It appears that under the influence of modern trends, Danish used to suggest that the Amir of Bukhara should make some advance on Russian lines. In his book he encompasses all aspect of Russian life and further more he throws light on the importance of science and technology that had been developed in Russia at that time. From ideological point of view the importance of another book *Tarjumani-i-Hal-i-Amirani-i-Bukhara-i-Sharif* comes next to *Nawadir-ul-Waqae*. It is said that Danish himself did not suggest the title of his second book and therefore it was to be known as *Risala* and *Tarikhcha*.[24] In this treatise Danish has condemned and criticised the Amirs of Bukhara and their system of governance.[25] During his last span of life Danish had written two more books, which were considered as religious in nature. The first one was *Namus-ul-Azam* and the second was *Mirat-ad-Din*.[26] Danish had extra ordinary literary skills and he strongly advocated the idea that any literature is written in simple form would leave long lasting effect.

In the literary history of Bukhara Abdul Qadir Khoja Sauda comes next to Ahmad Danish. Sauda was considered as a literary genius of Bukhara who was born in 1823. The annals and other literary sources written in between latter half of the 19th century and first half of twentieth century

describe Sauda as a promising poet, philosopher, painter, musician and possessor of many other good qualities. The *Namuna-i-Adabiat-i-Tajik* has also thrown light on Sauda's poetic genius and literary skills.[27] It is said that Sauda had also visualized the despondent and sadist attitude of the Bukharan Amirs towards their state and subjects as and when he was compelled to work under them. He not only castigated the officials of Bukhara but also the class of theologians on account of their rigid and imbalanced attitude and behaviour. We do not find any specific collection of works of Sauda but rare references of his works on different forms of literature may be found though it was made available after his death. After going through his rare collection it may be ascertained that like other poets of the erstwhile Turan, he too was under influence of Bedil's style. In the later period of his life the style of Sauda in poetry presents particularly a clear change from Bedil's style. This deviation indicates that Sauda wanted to keep himself in close touch with the ordinary people and their grievances. It is also said that Sauda had composed slang's at the behest of Amir.[28]

Shamsuddin Makhdum Shaheen entertains substantial place in the lineages of poets in Bukhara. Shaheen who was born in 1859, attained special significance on account of his poetic value and personal calibre though it was short lived.

Since 1889 Shaheen is said to have developed close connections with the court. During his short span of life he had left behind some invaluable works both in prose and poetry. Among his collected works *Badae-us-Sanae* is considered as the most important, which was written during the last years of his life. This work consisted of proverbs, advices for line of actions regarding way of life and criticism. In 1888 Shaheen wrote a remarkable masnavi *Laila Majnu*. In this masnavi, Shaheen symbolically talks about the position and condition of women in the erstwhile society. In this work he depicted his heroine as different from another woman who enjoys her marital status in society. Through this Shaheen had categorically made critical assessment about the position of woman in society. This masnavi was supposed to be a dedication to his beloved wife who died before Shaheen. It is said that through his poetry by which Shaheen had attained significant position was nothing but an index of social and political conditions of his state and its mechanism.

Sadruddin Aini (1878-1945) was considered as one of the most celebrated poet and thinker that Bukhara had ever produced. His philosophy on art and literature may be divided into two distinct phases that had developed before the Revolution and gloomed after it. His contribution regarding literature and poetry was supposed as a link

between the two worlds. Aini is said to have spent his early days in Bukhara in utter poverty and helplessness. Despite all odds against him, Aini got himself engaged in study and creativity. During his period of struggle in Bukhara, like other students, he too believed that the rule of Amir had divine origin and nature. Since the beginning of his early life he came across the hard realities and saw the true picture of Bukharan Emirate, which were totally against the faith, and dreams of Aini; he owed much to the transformation of his thought and action. Like other poets Aini too got himself associated with the Jadid movement. Consequently he continued to strive for the betterment of schools and system of education. He became member of a secret society called *Talim-i-Tiflan*.[29] The most remarkable achievement of the Jadids was their perception cultivated through minute observation and an idea that in order to make a civilized society it is necessary that talents of able persons be used in the right direction. For them educating people and elevating them up to the mark is a theoretical issue and political and economic necessity, hence it was a moral duty. It is said that Aini alongwith Mirza Abdul Wahid Munzim being under the influence and guidance of Jadid ideology had taken pains to open a new method school in the early decades of twentieth

century at the latter's house.[30] Aini had attempted the similar effort in 1901 but failed miserably.

Sadruddin Aini was considered as a prominent advocate in castigating Bukharan Amirs attitude. Ever since his association with the Jadid Movement, Aini became the victim of Bukharan Amirs and for that matter he was forced to leave Bukhara several times. In his book "History of Manghit Bukharan Amirs", published in 1920 he describes the undemocratic attitude of the government. In one of his *marsiahs*, that was considered one of the best literary works in the whole history of literature in Tajikistan, he lamented over the system of government in Bukhara and held it responsible for the death of his brother that occurred in 1918. Aini was such an accomplished poet that he not only got himself acquainted with the development in his own country but the occurrences and happenings in other countries also may be seen from the variety of poetic verses which he had written from time to time.

In his marvellous piece of work *Namuna-i-Adabiat-i-Tajik*, Aini praises the people of Tajikistan for their splendid nature, humble behaviour and great sense of culture. Aini is said to have believed that prose in comparison to poetry is more powerful weapon in describing the events and manipulating the minds of the people. Aini is also credited to

have taken great interest in the development of prose writing. Apart from having indulged in social and political activities, it was the genius of Aini that produced such a marvellous and splendid work in Tajik literature. Aini is also honoured to write first and foremost novel in Tajik language. In most of his works he had mentioned the various dimension of people's life, their cohesion, social utility and mode of necessity, their sorrows, happiness and pains etc. In his autobiography that was supposed as the last supper in the literary life of Aini, he recalls the happenings of his entire life. The voluminous work makes one to understand about Aini's philosophy, his literary skills and the way of his struggle in shaping his own life through the thick and thin of the phase of political turmoil, and revolutionary movements which had influenced the celebrated author and accomplished poet who transmitted these ideas to posterity.

JADID MOVEMENT

The Jadid movement in Bukhara started in the second half of nineteenth century. The term Jadidism literally refers to the "Progressivism" and denotes educational reforms and the cultural and political awakening of the Turko-Tatar people. The process of modernization and gradual shifts from medieval way of life and thought to newer and greener pastures had started in Central Asia under the impact of

Turkish reform movements. The entire programme of social and cultural reform with the focus on education and system of instruction was to be used in the reformed schools. The political and social awakening through press and elevation in the status of women were the main features of the movement, which came to be known as Jadidism. The so-called Jadid movement was spearheaded under Ismail Gasprinskii[31] as this newspaper; *Tarjuman* (the interpreter) founded at Bakhchisarai in 1883 became the voice of supporters of Jadid movement. The movement, which started on a low key and on a limited scale initially, seemed to engulf the entire region within a short span of time. In Bukhara, the reading of newspapers in public was prohibited earlier and messages could not be otherwise spread far and wide so easily. When a number of newspapers were introduced, "down over Samarqand" was soon noticed.

There is a great deal of controversy regarding the nature and origin of the Jadid movement. It is said that Jadids confined themselves to the cultural demands of Pan-Islamists as they did not have taken interest in the development of class-consciousness in Central Asia.[32] Here, it may also be pointed out that the Jadids are also blamed for double cross — on the one hand they supported the Czarist rule and on the other they appealed to help the Amir of Bukhara.[33]

It also seems irrelevant as espoused by some historians that the Jadid movement was progressive in nature[34] and may be compared with the reform movements in the field of society and education being launched in India, led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and others. However, it may be said that somehow the Jadids had the influence of Young Turks and in this way the influence of nationalism in India and Persia altogether on Jadid movement may not be totally rejected.[35] It appears that the Jadidists got a proper and fertile atmosphere for the development of their activities through continuous exchange of ideas due to frequent visits of students, travellers and merchants between Central Asia and Turkey.[36]

So far as the origin of Jadid movement is concerned it originated and developed in a very crux situation. It appears that apparently the Amirs of Bukhara during the specific period were not at all happy with the Czarist regime. Ironically enough, it was they who were in forefront to establish their loyalty by visiting Russia during Russo-Turkish war as may be seen from the personal visit of Abdul Ahad Khan to Russia in 1905. The socio-political condition of Bukhara at that time had paved the way for Jadid movement as the gentry and common men were not at all happy with the Amir's mechanism. This situation, however,

may well be understood from the writings of the poets like Danish, Shahin, Sahba, Aini as has been discussed in detail in preceding pages. It is said that the advent of railroads in 1885 and the establishment of printing press in 1901 had ignited the ground for revolutionary activities in Bukhara in the form of Jadid movement.[37] The seed of Jadid movement was sown in Bukhara under the patronage of Tatar reformist especially under the guidance of leaders of Pan-Turkism like Ismail Gasprinskii and Abdur Rahim Ibrahim. The Tatar newspapers like *Tarjuman*, *Ulfat*, *Heyat* and *Irshad* played an important role in propagating and substantiating the revolutionary ideas.

A new era began in the history of Jadid movement after the establishment of number of schools on modern lines. A new system of imparting education was established as *Usul-i-Jadid*, the term originally applied to the system of instructions used in the reformed schools.[38] In the beginning of twentieth century, the pace of reform of Bukharan reform movement was slow but the events of 1905-1908 gave rise to the movement with defined perceptions. It appears that the effect of revolution on Bukhara was to encourage the native liberals who were said to influenced and inspired by the political awakening of Muslims of Russia since 1905. It is significant to note that since 1905 the Bukharan reform

movement was exclusively meant to establish new method school on the pattern of these of Gaspiranskii and other Russian Tatars. It may well be understood from the fact that *Tarjuman* and other journals were being read with great interest and it gained wide circulation in Bukhara after 1905. Under such encouraging situation Gasprinskii is reported to meet Abdul Ahad and urged him to open a new method school under the patronage of state for both Bukhara and Tatar children.[39] Amir Abdul Ahad had rejected the idea under pressure from the theologians. In October 1908 the first new method school exclusively for Bukharan peoples was reported to be opened and in order to equip the students with text books, a society of "Bukhara the Noble"[40] was founded. The activities of the Jadids by establishing new method schools got set back by the end of 1909 when under the pressure and hostile attitude of the theologians the government succeeded in closing first the Bukharan and then Tatar school. This situation further worsened when the enrolment of Bukharan students to the new method school was totally prohibited by the order of Amir. Up to 1914 it is said that about half a dozen new method schools had met the same fate and reported to have been closed in the same manner.

The rationale behind the Jadid movement was educational improvement in Bukhara in order to eliminate

illiteracy. Simultaneously its aim was also to create awareness among the people about their own rights and obligations. They soon recovered their original courage to challenge the authorities on their unjust behaviour. The arbitrary attitude of government and Amir's illegal use of state revenues were no longer seemed to justify. It was keenly felt that the needs of the country and the people were more important. The attempt to establish new method schools had been almost hampered by the government. Ultimately, the liberals of Bukhara who were exiled for their zealous activities in the context of Jadidism founded the *Bukhara Tamim-i-Maarif* (Bukharan society for the Dissemination of knowledge) in Constantinople with clear objectives to establish schools in the Khanate and to stimulate the Bukharan students to study in Constantinople. Since 1910, gradually "the clandestine activities" of liberals or revolutionaries also started in Bukhara where they had formed the *Jamiat-i-Tarbiat-i-Atfal*[41] (society for the education of children). The objective of the secret organisation had also became more political than educational in nature as it is said that the members got themselves engaged in fighting government abuses and anti-government agitation became a regular feature. The rules and regulations of the secret society were supposed to be very tough for

the newly recruited members.. Such was the acute and intense desire for continuous revolutionary activities that organisations were rejuvenated. Members of the society were very carefully recruited and screened, sworn to secrecy and total devotion to enlightenment, reform, moral purity and abstinence from alcohol.[42] All the activities of organisation were kept in strict secrecy and hardly any new recruits were initiated into society's inner core. It appears that activist of this secret society succeeded in gaining some success in a brief period. They managed to secure the support of A. A. Somov's, the political agent, and succeeded in persuading the Amir of Bukhara not to create hindrance in the circulation of newspapers like *Bukhara Sharif*, published from Moscow from March to July 1912 and the other paper Turan,[43] the Uzbeg biweekly newspaper published under the editorship of a Bukharan who had his education in Constantinople. These two newspapers openly condemned the government. At the request of Amir of Bukhara, the political agent closed the two newspapers on 2nd January 1913.

During the reign of Saiyid Alim who became Amir after the death of his father, Abdul Ahad in 1910, it appears that the Bukharan Jadid or the reform movement could not make much headway. It is said that Alim had chosen the middle path to deal with the reformist on the one hand and the

theologians on the other. Since Alim had spent his early days in Russia[44] and for that reason it may be inferred that he may have some sort of soft corners for the advocates of reform, he did not bother to close down the reformists clandestine activities and Jadid schools though their establishment and existence in the nook and corner of the Empire was widely known.

Apparently, it seems that due to irresistible pressure from the conservative section he had once ventured to ask the Political agent to suppress the Jadid's newspapers in 1912 and was also opposed to sanction grants to the new method schools to be functional openly. It seems that Mir Alim had made several attempts to eliminate the corruption in government. In his political pursuit he did some splendid task in issuing a decree in which it was reported that the Qazi's would not be accepting more than the entitled legal fees or total prohibition on the presents given to Amir, his courtiers and civil servants.[45] These measures undertaken by Alim had, however, elevated the position of Amir and somehow he became successful in restoring the faith of the people in the existence of Amir. But the events indicate that the promises regarding reforms made by Alim had remained partly unfulfilled and therefore proved superficial. It seems that the Amir who had initiated a number of reforms could no longer

sustain the pressures and finally came under the influence of theologians. Whether it was the threat to his own political existence or a call for return to the fold of religious groups to safeguard his interests in the wake of increasing Russian power, the Amir in July 5, 1914 finally ordered the closing of new method schools running in Bukhara openly or secretly.[46]

The outbreak of World War-I brought a spate of great harassment to the revolutionaries or Jadidists who had developed close connections or intimate relations with Turkey which was pitted against Russia in World War-I and which had made them a great suspect in the eyes of Russians. The Russian Government established special department of political police in Bukhara under the Governor-General of Turkistan to make searches and arrest of revolutionaries who had any connection with Turkey. The Amir of Bukhara then found himself in a very complex situation when the Sultan of Turkey against the Allied forces proclaimed the Holy war. However, the Amir of Bukhara had proved his loyalty to Russia by donating one million roubles to the Russian war effort though probably it was in anxious and forced measure of helplessness and to dispel the recently aroused suspicions of Russia.[47]

During the reign of Abdul Ahad and Saiyid Mir Alim the development of reform movement was said to be only a

humble attempt to bridge the gulf between the spirit of Islam and the modern west. It seems that the reform movement in Bukhara was a cultural progress although it had specific connections with the economic phenomenon. The leaders of the reform movement were primarily from the middle class and being the writers, poets, educators they had tried to awaken their countrymen through their efforts and by establishing contacts with Russia or Turkey. In their endeavour, the group of merchants, shopkeepers and petty officials supported them both morally and financially. It appears that the reform movement which developed in Bukhara soon started showing signs of decline as a new movement, which then was in a nebulous stage was taking shape and finally emerged to engulf Central Asia.

EDUCATION:

It is generally presumed that Bukhara and its inhabitant "seemed to be less influenced by the terms like cultural developments, social change and secular education". On the other hand it is opined "they glorified themselves with the traditional education, religious instinct and had presented a model for the people of other countries to follow. Another view stresses that by all means, Bukhara at times is said to be at par with the famous centres of Muslim world like Baghdad.

That is why it was called *Bukhara Sharif* (Bukhara the Noble) or *Qubbatul Islam* (cupola of Islam).

Here it may be pointed out that the people of Bukhara in particular and its surrounding in general had always outshone themselves in traditional religious learning and education. It is important to note that the tradition of Islamic learning and instructions went back to early medieval centuries where we find an old established oral literature, which paved the way to the development of memory and imagination. To say that during nineteenth century, Turkestan was supposed to be the 'most backward country in the Islamic world'[48] is to deny the basic fact that even in late 19th century Bukhara retained its reputation as a centre of theological education and attracted students from far and wide. During the first half of twentieth century the process of building of *madrasahs* in the Khanate was accelerated perhaps on account of improved economic conditions. The system of building *madrasahs* and *maktabs* was essentially with a view to develop the traditional education. Education in Central Asia also followed the same old pattern as prevalent in other parts of the Muslim world. This system can be classified into two– *maktabs* (primary schools) and the *madrasahs* (higher schools). The maktabs were mainly situated in mosques and were funded by both private and public hands.[49] The students in *maktabs* were

supposed to finish their early traditional education in Arabic within two to five years. In these years, they used to learn how to write by copying original text, the study of Qoran and also received some formal training in religious ceremonies.[50] It is, however, interesting to note that the so-called *maktabs* for girls were conspicuous by their near absence. It seems there was girl's education in Bukhara but on a lesser degree. Meakin during her sojourn in Bukhara visited a girl's school where about 45 students were studying. The second stage of this system of learning of traditional education was supposed to be accomplished after going to *madrasah* from *maktab*. *Madrasahs* at that time were independent and self-supporting institutions. We also find some stray examples of madarsahs funded and financed by the income from waqf (religious endowments). The faculty was composed of *mudarris* (teachers) who were paid whereas the students received meagre amount in the form of allowances from the income, which was derived from the *waqf* assignment to the *madarsahs*. The *madarsahs* were run by *waqf* lands were usually managed administered by a *mutavalli* (steward) who was responsible for all management and administration. It is evident that around mid nineteenth century the number of *madrasahs* in Bukhara had been estimated to be about 180 with 15,000 students and 1800 *maktabs* with 1,50,000

pupils.[51] The curriculum and way of learning in almost all the *madrasahs* at that time were same. The subjects taught mainly included Arabic, theology, philosophy, besides subjects like Persian, Turkish, logic, arithmetic, geometry and history. The students under the shadow of tutorial and seminar systems completed the madrasah education and training in twelve or more years. The pass outs of these *madrasahs* were supposed to be capable of Persian and Arabic teaching and giving lessons literary languages, thorough knowledge of *Qoran* and sayings of prophet besides teaching theology and through higher teaching they were producing philosophers, historians and geographers of the Muslim world.[52] It is interesting to note that the graduate of the *madrasahs* hoped to become a teacher or professor, manager of a philanthropic institution or a judge of law of jurisprudence. It should be noted with great concern that whatever is the personality of a graduate of a *madrasah* or his personal endeavour it was almost certain that in order to get a suitable place he was supposed to develop connections. But apart from his profession the graduates were expected to be the leader of thought in the community. It would not be irrelevant to quote Sadruddin Aini's testimony regarding educational opportunities, system, training and functions in the Bukharan Emirate:

"Among the students of the Bokharan *madrasahs*, Sharif Jan unquestionably belonged to the modest number who possessed beautiful penmanship, had mastered languages and grammar and loved and understood poetry. He considered himself a patron of education. Every week on Tuesday when the free evening came, the house of Sharif Jan Makhdum turned into a gathering place of poets, devotees of literature, tellers of interesting narratives and wits."[53]

Mohammad Sharif Jan Makhdum (Sadr Zeya), (1865-1931), who is mentioned in the above passage was a Tajik thinker, poet, court astrologer, diplomat and moreover, Sadruddin Aini's benefactor and teacher. Muhammad Sharif Jan Makhdum outshone himself as a historian, prolific poet and a politician as well. He compiled an anthology in 1910 of the nineteenth century Bukharan Tajik poetry called *Tazkirat ul ash'ar* (remembrance of the poems)[54] from the manuscripts preserved in his library, which was considered to be as one of the richest in the city. He had also written extensive memoirs (though unpublished) concerning political and cultural life in Bukhara during the late nineteenth century. He served as a *qazi* (judge) and held other official posts until 1917.

It is said that before the Russian conquest the graduate of the *madrasahs* were able to monopolise the administrative

posts and controlled the framework. On account of their theological background they often achieved great influence on the state and minds of the people in the nineteenth century Bukharan emirate. It may be pointed out that in 1867 when the Governor General of Turkestan established the education on traditional Muslim lines on high scale,[55] the establishment of this nature by Governorate General of Turkestan under the stewardship of Kauffman was probably made to under score the influence of Muslim education. It was generally felt that it would be nice to create Russian schools where Central Asian children should be admitted. In Kauffman's, view it was likely to give double advantage as on the one hand the Muslim children may be drawn from Muslim schools and on the other it would bring Muslim and Russian children together. In this connection a Commission was formed in 1871 and a project was started for creating Russian schools having limited number of vacancies for local children, which gradually came into force from 1875 onwards. It is evident that the attempt to create Russian schools by Kauffman with ulterior motives was not a success altogether as the local entrants in the new schools could not have been more than four to five per cent.[56] The Russians ascertained the cause for this failure as unpreparedness of the local population for the newly conceived European system of education. But Wheeler

suggests that the real cause was different. Here it may be said that the European system of education was altogether a failure because it was not in tandem or in accordance with the curriculum and subject matter of the old school and that according to Russian rule, only orthodox religious institutions could impart school curriculum whereas the Islamic tradition says that religion should not only be a part of education but it is indispensable in every walk of life. Consequently, Muslim children could not gather religious instructions in the new schools. Therefore the Muslim parents objected vociferously that a school without religious education could be called anything but not school. Another reason attributed to failure of newly found schools was the fact that it had made its base only in the urban area's population and not among nomads and rural folks. The Russian schools gained same momentum in Qazakh and Qirghiz areas which were unaffected by the Islamic educational tradition.

According to Kanffmain's system two more schools came into being. The first was *Russke tuzemnayashkola* (Russo-native school) mainly for the Muslim children with the clear objective to bring them into the fold of Russian culture through medium of their own language and with little elements of Russian language and culture. The force behind

this system was said to be Saiyid Azim, a Tashqand merchant who had trade links with the Russians and who was also an admirer of Russian culture. Another school was opened in the nineteenth century, which became a part and parcel of the Jadid Movement with the object to bridge the gulf between Muslim traditions and the requirements of modern life. It appears that the new school was soon found in competition with Russo-native schools as they were also opened in towns where they gained much success than the former.[57] This new method schools received more opposition by the orthodox clergy in Bukhara. However, it is to be opted that the first school of its kind was opened in 1908 but soon got closed in 1910 at the behest of clergy. There are some more references of opening more schools in Bukhara in the year 1912-13 but all of them were closed by the order of Amir Alim Khan in 1914.[58] The authorities apprehended the risks involved in such activities. The growing influence of Jadid Movement during the last years of Czarist regime began to take interest in the *madrasahs*. In this pursuit, the *madrasahs* were placed under official administrative and financial control. This phase was described by Barthold as an alliance between Russian conservatism and old-style Islam.[59] However, the natives remained reluctant to take educational advantages offered by the Russians. On account of their close connection

with their *madrasahs* as centres of their religious learning the Muslims shunned from the *madrasahs*. To accelerate entry of natives in newly founded Russian schools, various measures had been taken by the authorities. In this process Muslim theologians were appointed to teach Arabic language and basic principles of Islam to the students. The so-called translation method was used to get the student acquainted with the Russian language. But it did not yield any fruitful result. The Russian government was in a fix as to which local languages should be the medium of instruction. However, the regulation which was passed in 1907 says that the primary education was to be in a local language but it is worth mentioning that the four years programme that was passed in the same year by the government failed to mention the official medium of instruction and it appears that Russian retained its position as official medium of instruction.

The seed of reform regarding education in Bukhara was sown very late. Though, Amir Abdul Ahad had given some tacit support to the reformists who had insisted upon the need for reformed school. In October 1908 the Amir had authorised the creation of a reformed school for his subjects with the focus on Persian (Tajik) as medium of instruction despite opposition from theologians.[60] During Abdul Ahad's reign we find considerable debate on education. On the one

hand there were *ulema* who were having slight majority against the reformed school and on the other there were Bukharan merchants and businessmen who, being influenced by the Jadids, became capable of arguing the truth to influence the Amir on its decision. It is also alleged that in Bukhara the Russian authorities in the name of reformed schools wanted to weaken the theologians who have had great influence on the subjects in the past. It is also to be noted that the insistence on Russian language to be the medium of instruction in reformed schools was deliberate so as to reduce the influence and hostile attitude of Muslim conservatism against Russia.[61] It is said that the Jadid movement got its roots deeper and stronger with Russia's assistance and it was too conspicuous and obvious in Bukhara for a brief time. It is interesting to note that as soon as the Russian authority felt that the Jadids, in the name of education, were turning their heads towards a movement of indigenous emancipation and social reform the Russians ceased to support them.[62] In order to reform the *maktabs* of Russia the Tatar texts were used but somehow it was not acceptable to Bukhara inhabitants on account of its form and content. In this span of time, we find that there was the formation of an association by the local intellectuals called the *Shirkat-i-Bukhara Sharif* [63] (Union of Holy Bukhara) by the men like

Usman Khoja Oghli, Ahmad Jan Makhdum, Haji Rafiq, Abdul Wahid Munzim, Sadruddin Aini who led the future Young Bukharan Party to find the way for reforms in education. During his reign, Amir Alim Khan is said to have agreed to reforms and due to political implications, promised to bring about reforms in *madrasahs* and tried to preserve his power and his country's freedom through the promises of reforms. He, therefore, entrusted *Qazi Kalan* (Chief Qazi) for the fulfilment of the project. Since 1910 the Amir under the influence of theologians used to carry on measures to check and limit the instructions regarding reforms. In this period, the *Qushbegi* (Chief Minister) in Bukhara used this favourable condition to transfer the Tatar school from the capital as the Tatars were supposed to be the Russian subjects living in Emirate.[64] Henceforth under the influence of reactions all sorts of reform including *madrasah* education were abandoned during Alim Khan's reign.

During the second decade of twentieth century we find tremendous change in Bukhara's educational pattern as a spate of reforms started. In 1910 the *Jamaiat-i-Tarbiat-ul-Atfal* (society for the education of youth) was founded headed by Chief of the Union of Holy Bukhara.[65] The society had tacit relations with the secret organisation emerging out in Bukhara. It is said that the society that flourished in

provinces had increased its number outside the capital as well, though it remained only a clandestine affair. However, the impact of society on the population was great and moreover it affected the political, administrative and financial structure of the population on the religious and ethnic lines. It appears that under conservative pressure the Bukharan merchants closed down all the reformed *maktabs* but it is however, significant that the students who were under the influence of reformist ideology had deep patriotic consciousness of nationality and deep sense of humiliation with respect to Russia.

It is said that at the time of revolution only three per cent Bukhara people were literate.[66] It might be correct in the formal western sense. There was traditional Islamic learning and instruction right from the earliest days of hoary past. It is important to note that right from early nineteenth century there was increasing interest among the population in education. Early authors and later travellers write about the number of *madrasahs* and students getting education in it. Fazil Khan writes there were eighty *madrasah*, each having forty to three hundred rooms. Each room accommodated two students.[67] Alexander Burnes reports that there were three hundred and sixty six colleges in Bukhara.[68] In these colleges "students assembled from not only out of all parts of Central

Asia but students arrived from India, Afghanistan, Russia and China to study." Similar view is held by the author of 'Turkistan Solo'.[69] The number of students was reported to be 20,000. Gustav Krist records this number as 21,000. Devendra Kaushik on the authority of A.A. Gordiyenko tells "the army of mullah's in Bukhara numbered 40,000."[70] No doubt in these madrasah curriculum was mostly dominated by religious teachings, but rhetoric, oratorical art, poetry and logic were part of the curriculum. Besides cleanliness and good manner was also taken into account as told by Polovtsoff.[71] Thus to say that literacy was very low is merely denial of fact. Further keeping into view the increasing interest of populace in education in which Russian authorities and Muslim reformists both played an important role, there is reason to believe that a sharp increase in literacy as well as movements towards the introduction of higher education was bound to occur whether there was revolution or no revolution.

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CHAPTER 5

BUKHARA DURING AND AFTER RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

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The Russian revolution of 1917 was not merely a revolution, which ended the rule of Czar and allowed the revolutionaries to establish Communist Government in Russia but also it paved the way for the future revolution in Bukhara. The impact of February revolution was greatly felt and its influenced could also be noticed in Bukhara. It is evident that the seed of revolution somehow existed in the minds of Bukharan people under the shadow of Jadidism. As the Jadidis were not fully satisfied with the Amir and were disenchanted with the existing administrative and social system of Bukhara, surely they wanted certain changes in the existing structure of the government. The Jadidists, however, in the beginning limited their activities mainly to the cultural and educational spheres as still they had some faith in Amir and his God-fearing Vazirs. Under the influence of February revolution in Russia, the Jadidsts who were now being called, as Young Bukharans demanded certain reforms like fixation of taxes and organisation of *Majlis* (Parliament). The Amir soon realized the gravity of the situation and thought that before it could go out of his hand he had to think of certain concessions as demanded by the Young Bukharans.

A precautionary measure was urgently taken on 7 April, 1917,[1] the Amir issued a mandate called the first manifesto of the Amir, promising certain reforms to appease the *Jadidists* but could never implement it.

The collapse of autocracy in Russia all of a sudden paved the way for the Bolsheviks to ask for a new type of government. It heralded for Russia a period of great expectations but limited its accomplishments, in the field of imperial policy as elsewhere. Both moderates and radicals were dedicated to the achievement of equal rights for all citizens. By 20 March 1917, the Provisional Government of Russia changed the old regime and henceforth tried for the establishment of new administration. Regarding the policy towards Turkistan, on April 7, Petrograd replaced the military Government General with a civilian Turkistan Committee consisting of nine members five Russians and four natives with one Russian as chairman. The last Russian Governor General Kuropatkin had already been arrested a week earlier. The diplomatic relation of Russia with Bukhara still remained where they were before October revolution. The only change that could be seen was the change of Russian residency in place of Russian political agency in Bukhara. On March 17 at the level of local government, the new Russian regime introduced some significant changes.[2]

On March 8 Governor General Kuropatkin invited the people of the town to elect municipal Dumas of twelve to fifteen members of whom half were to be the Russians and in turn each Dumas was to elect a three to five member executive committee to look into the local affairs.[3] The four Russian settlements — Charjui, New Bukhara, Karki and Termiz responded very promptly. Surprisingly the Muslim residents of these four settlements no matter if they were Russian nationals were deprived of voting rights.[4] The executive committee took over the civil governors in New Bukhara and from the garrison commandants in the other three towns.[5] Within less than a week of overthrows of Czar Nikolas II from the seat of power the Russian population of Bukhara tried to follow the examples of their 'cousins' at home by forming extra legal soviet of workers and soldiers which were created in Charjui and New Bukhara on March 9 and 10 respectively. Soon after soldiers Soviets were organised in the garrison at Karki within a month and at Termiz by the beginning of May. They were now seen as influential source of pressure for modernisation and new reforms. With the news of collapse of autocracy in Russia, the Bukharan Jadids became more active and came to the forefront. Without wasting time, they contacted N.S. Chkheidze, Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet to pressurise the Amir of Bukhara to

grant the long awaited reforms.[6] Amir Alim Khan at the same time is seen congratulating the head of the new government, greeting and emphasising expressions of loyalty and friendship and above all hoping for the continuity of the existing relationship between Russia and Bukhara.[7]

In response to a congratulating telegram from the Jadids, the Provisional Government was only to happy to sent a dispatch to A.Ia. Miller, the representative of the former Russian government in Bukhara and to Amir Alim Khan urging him to accept the reforms demanded by the Jadids. With the assurances of support from the provisional government, the revolutionaries became assertive in their demands. The clamour for reform was so intense that Miller had to think over it seriously to got it implemented. He persuaded the Amir to issue a liberal manifesto. On April 7, 1917, the much-awaited manifesto was signed by the Amir, which was already drafted by Miller. Some of the important demands of the revolutionaries were — to declare an amnesty; to lessen the criminal punishment; to establish a printing press and to permit the publication of newspapers.

The manifesto promised removal of abuses and irregularities in the Bukharan government and its reform on the basis of Sharia and in the light of progressive and useful knowledge. The document emphatically promised judicial and

tax reforms, promotion of education and economic development. The manifesto further promised salary for the civil servants and to ensure prohibition of government officials taking bribe. The manifesto also gave assurances for self-government fore the capital city and separation of state treasury from the Amir's private wealth. A government budget was also promised and finally government allowed the printing office to produce publication of social utility and last but not the least general amnesty was also granted. Before the draft manifesto reached the Provisional Government for its approval the situation in Bukhara was becoming day by day tense. The clergy began to express their concern for the faith and the established order, which was yielding place to new. This fear was further strengthened when on the advice of Miller; Alim Khan replaced Burhanuddin, the ultra-conservative Qazi Kalan of Bukhara with man more acceptable to the Jadids and who was also sympathetic to the cause of moderate reforms.[8]

The manifesto did not satisfy the line of Jadids. Meanwhile in the afternoon of April 7, the Jadids met to discuss their future course of action in the light of Amir's apparent acceptance of all their demands. But with regard to the course of action, there arose a rift between the two groups of Jadids, the moderates and the radicals. The moderates were

not in favour of the public demonstration for which the radicals gave a call on the next day. Despite Miller's sharp warning, the radicals though in minority took the help from Samarqand Soviets and persuaded the Jadids to except the hardcore moderates to go for demonstration. On April 8 they demonstrated in the capital and soon they faced a group of counter demonstrators who were larger in number. To avoid the clash, the Jadids decided to dispatch a delegation of three men before the Qushbegi. These members were soon arrested. One of the leaders Mirza Nasrullah was ordered to be whipped 150 lashes, as a result of which Mirza Nasrullah died of the next day.[9]

The arrest of Jadids and death of Nasrullah infuriated the rank and file of the Jadids. Chaos ensued in capital and engulfed the capital on April 8 and 9. With the intervention of Miller the situation came under control on April 8 and any further demonstration was banned. The moderates now elected a Central Committee with Muhiddin Mansur as its head.[10] They blamed the radicals for the April 8 fiasco and tried to negotiate with the Amir to obtain an amnesty for themselves and asked for the legalisation of political activities in the Khanate. The Qushbegi was persuaded to take advantage of the situation, for the peace overture and appeals to the conservatives for accepting Amir's will on the

question of reform. On April 14, the Russian authorities were present to witness the Amir's sincerity. The clergy however, disrupted the proceedings expressing their apprehension of the Manifesto of April 7. Alim Khan was obliged to leave the audience chamber.[11] Though the meeting ended without any conclusive decision on the issue the two hostile groups were pacified with a troop support from New Bukhara. Thus the efforts of rapprochement between moderate Jadids and Amir's government terribly failed. Being convinced of the role of Qushbegi for 14 April episode and the suspected involvement with the opponents of reforms, his replacement was demanded by the residency. He was relieved of his duty on April 15 and was thereafter dismissed a week later. On 22 April Nizamuddin Urganji was appointed as the new Qushbegi.

Nizamuddin had an attitude of sympathy towards the conservative zealots. After being installed on the post of Qushbegi he continued to protest against the policies of Jadids, and allegedly distributed funds from the state treasury to support the reactionaries. Having enjoyed government support and full encouragement from Muslim clergy, the Bukharan mullahs became more aggressive and bold. In April they agitated against Young Bukharans and their allies. Again on June 7, they destroyed the newly installed printing

office. Having tasted the new incumbent's bitter attitude, in July, they demanded and campaigned for the restoration of former Qazi Kalan, Burhanuddin.

Being caught in a difficult situation the Amir wanted to come out of the situation successfully and to remain away from the scene. On the one hand he had apprehended full pressure from Russia for some more reforms as he had earlier complied with some of their demands to some degree, on the other hand religious zealots who were helplessly watching the predicament of Alim Khan without appreciating it now vehemently demanded Amir Alim's replacement. An awfully worried Amir was frantically looking from opportunity to leave Bukhara on health ground. While the clergy was totally unhappy with the ruler and denied to him his privilege and position as Amir the same position was not guaranteed by the Russian authorities. The Amir was left in the lurch and decided to leave for Karmine. Now Chirkin, the new Resident forced him to abandon his ideas, as the new replacement could even be worse.

Meanwhile, the effectiveness of the residency as a vehicle of influence over the Bukharan government continued to diminish. Chirkin continued along the course marked out by Miller. The Russian authorities recognized that fundamental reform would be prolonged and gradual process.

They did not want to tackle the situation with Russian troops at a time when Russian armies were engaged in German and Austrian fronts. Further they did not want the conservative elements to be alarmed by Russian forces that might lead Afghan threat on Russian Central Asia. State of confusion continued. Chirkin asked for the dispatch of new Resident. On the other hand Provisional Government was not in a position to take a clear-cut decision regarding Bukhara. The position of status quo somehow or the other remained unchanged.

On September 30, V.S. Elpatievski was sent to Bukhara as Resident. By this time due to hesitant attitude of Provisional Government, Alim was bold enough to request that the implementation of the promised reforms be put off indefinitely. This time, too, the new Resident sensed the future threat to the Amir and hence to Russia, and decided not to do anything which provoked clerical zealots. Once more Russian position in Bukhara was identified with stability of the Amir's throne. Therefore no steps were taken against the authority of the Amir and dethronement was averted for the time being. It would be wrong presume that before the seizure of power in Russia Bukhara was not having much attraction for Bolsheviks. There is no denying the fact that Central Asia had all along excited the cupidity of Russia.

Earlier Lenin many a times compared the Khantes of Bukhara and Khiva to Manchuria and Koria and France's Colonies. Point lying within the statement was that these Khantes too, should have been liberated from the capitalist exploitation that is from the clutches of respective rulers of the states. Thus, these two Khanates should have the same freedom and be separated from Russian influence as were Turkestan, the Ukraine, Poland or Finland.[12] In June 1917 at the First All Russian Congress of Soviets, Lenin's insistence was that Bukhara and Khiva must not forcibly be retained as quasi colonies.

In November 1917 in all the Russian settlements in Bukhara — New Bukhara, Charjui, Karki and Termiz powers came into the hands of Soviets.[13] In December 1917 Soviet government sent a diplomatic mission to Bukhara to make all possible efforts for the establishment of normal relation with the Amir. But the Amir did not receive the mission. On 6 December a delegation of Young Bukharans came to Tashqand and informed the Soviet authorities all about the preparation going on in Bukhara for the fast approaching revolution.[14] Further they also informed that about 30,000 armed people were expected to participate in the revolution, which was not based on fact.[15] Misled by this exaggerated account of revolutionaries in Bukhara, the Council of Peoples

Commissars of Turkistan made a wrong decision to support the people of Bukhara. On 28 February 1918 Kolesov, the Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars of Turkistan failed to estimate Amir's strength. They proceeded to Bukhara with a small army consisting of 500-600 men alongwith the support of some three hundred of Young Bukharans.[16] He and Faizullah Khojaev; Chairman of executive committee of Young Bukharans issued an ultimatum to the Amir and demanded the recognition of Soviet power and Russian settlements. Another demand was to introduce immediate reform to be enforced by an elected body from the Central Committee of the Young Bukharans headed by the Amir himself. Further, they asked the Amir for removal of his ministers and disarmament of troops. If the demands were not accepted the Young Bukharans and Kolesov had to attack the capital. Under such condition the Amir had no choice left except to fight. To accept the demands of the Young Bukharans meant to invite a civil war in the Khanate in which majority of his subject were likely to follow the frenzied religious groups. At this juncture the Amir also had the risk of a rival candidature for the throne. This time Alim was not fortunate like his grandfather in 1868 in securing Russian help. Thus he had to rely on his own force and to fan the religious feelings against the Young

Bukharans and their 'infidel' supporters. Taking this decision the Amir wanted to delay for sometimes in order to gather his forces. He, therefore, wanted to buy time and showed hesitation in accepting all the demands in one go instead he wanted to take them up slowly and gradually. As a token of compromise he replaced 'notorious' Qushbegi, Nizamuddin with Usman Beg, a man equally reactionary but less well known. Neither Khojaev, nor Kolesov was pacified with Amir's decision. On the next morning, they began their advance on Old Bukhara and reached up to one mile away from the city wall. Kolesov had under his command some 2000 men at the moment. The Amir having failed in delaying tactics adopted another trick, asking for a truce and declared his readiness to accept all demands. On this occasion the Amir issued a second manifesto,[17] which was more radical than the first one. In this proclamation the Amir was ready to give the chance of equality and liberty to all. He felt badly the need of reforms in maladministration, which was the main cause of the backwardness and ignorance of the people. In his long list of reforms, the Amir promised freedom, tax reforms, the abolition of corporal and capital punishment. Moreover he promised a democratic government. Regarding the above-mentioned items he explicitly affirmed his firm decision to implement the Manifesto.

Meanwhile, Kolesov asked for immediate disarmament of Amir's force but the Amir requested to give him three days to comply with the order. But Kolesov reduced the duration for just twenty-four hours.[18] As per the plan the revolutionaries were to send a committee to supervise the disarmament process, as just after that the Young Bukharans were to occupy the city. Subsequently the Amir was succeeded in cutting the railway line from Smarqand and at the same time he declared a holy war (Jihad) against Kolesov. During the night a five men delegation with a cavalry escort of twenty-five was sent to Bukharan capital to see the disarmament process. During the night the delegation was trapped assaulted and finally killed but two of the cavalry escorts however escaped to report the fate of their fellowmen to Kolesov.[19] Finding themselves cut off from all assistance in New Bukhara, as expected, the Russians on March 16 ordered for shelling of the city. The cannonade, which lasted thirty-six hours, brought no result at all. The ammunitions were exhausted. Soon Kolesov ordered his men to retreat towards Katta Qurghan. Owing to the fear of native government's atrocities, several thousand Russians and Young Bukharan revolutionary committee joined the retreating Soviet troops. On 19 March Kolesov stationed at Qizil Teppe completely stranded and finding no way for safe departure.

He was however, saved from being annihilated by timely reinforcement from Turkistan. Kolesov's luck was favourable as he overcame from the disaster. Fearing a massive Russian attack, the Amir sued for peace, which proved to be too heavy for him ultimately.

The Amir anyhow, signed an agreement on 25 March 1918 after two days of negotiation.[20] The clauses of the treaty had completely demobilize his army and disarm his subjects; to expel all counter Russian revolutionaries from the territory of Bukhara; to compensate Russia for the damage of railway line, pay for its reconstruction; to exchange prisoners of war with Russia; to receive Soviet Russia's representatives and to protect all Russian citizens in the Khanate; to preserve strict neutrality in any hostility between Russia and her enemies.[21] Thus was thwarted the first attempt of Young Bukharans to overthrow Amir's rule. The main reason behind this failure was non-participation of masses along with the Young Bukharans who did not take part in this unsuccessful attempt of dethroning Amir. There were still large number of people under the influence of clergy who also had faith in Amir's good administration. Another cause of failure is said to be awfully inadequate number of forces allotted to the campaign.

The Qizil Teppe Agreement, however, did not give Turkistan the necessary security as after the March event the Amir was drawn more closer to the British. In return the British promised to help the Amir in tackling the Soviet backed Young Bukharan threats to the Amir's rule. Meanwhile in April and May 1919 several hundred camels loaded with British arm reached Bukhara through Afghanistan. Again in April, the same year Amir received twenty thousand rifles and in May soldiers reaching up to eight thousand more arrived.[22] The Amir got British help in the form of her troops and instructors. The number of British instructors in the Amir's army reached six hundred by the spring of 1919. In the summer of 1919 the Amir with the support of Transcaspian White Guards and with the direct participation of British, sent an armed expedition against Karki. By July with the aid of English, Soviet power in Afghanistan was overthrown. Also it is said that on 15 July 1918 nine Bolshevik leaders were executed there.[23] Amir Alim Khan was emboldened during these months due to the arrival of British mission, which consisted of Major L.V.S. Blacker, Colonel P. T. Etherton with Lt. Colonel F.M. Bailey as its head.[24] The mission left India on April 20 and reached Kashgar on July 24. In October 1919 Colonel Bailey reached Bukhara from Tashqand and tried to prepare an action plan

against the Soviet Turkistan. By the middle of September the mission left for India, and succeeded in further ties with counter revolutionaries.

The Soviets were seen caught in the cobweb of exigencies during these days. That is why the Fifth Turkistan Congress was called at the beginning of May to organise the former Government General into an autonomous Soviet republic within the Russian Soviet republic and subsequently formally recognised the independence of Bukhara as a sign of Bukhara's restored sovereignty. It abolished the Russian customs frontier on the Bukhara Afghan border. Being hard pressed on all sides and due to insufficient military forces to deal with Khanate, Tashqand was in continuous state of alarm over the report of Bukhara's ongoing dealing with Afghanistan, Britain, and various white elements all the way from Ashqabad and Farghana to the Ukraine and Siberia.

After Kolesov's retreat the attitude of Amir became more hostile towards the opponents within the Khanate. The Young Bukharans, their sympathisers, and modern educated people who were advocates of reforms became the target of both administrative machinery and religious zealots. It is said that fifteen to twenty prominent advocates of reform were given death sentences. It is also reported that seventy persons were hanged in the beglik of Charjui after the treaty of Qizil

Tepe. The Russians, who remained in Old Bukhara after Kolesov's withdrawal too, were killed by angry mobs.[25]

The economic scene during this period was also not profitable for the Khanate. Almost nine tenth Bukharan foreign trades were hampered during the summer of 1918 to the fall of 1919.[26] Even after the restoration of communication, consumption of Bukharan cotton, qaraqul, wool, supply of cotton textiles and other manufactured goods did not return to its previous position. Bukhara lost a major market in the form of Russia. Although Bukhara once again improved her trade relations with the neighbouring countries like Persia and Afghanistan, it could not compensate the amount from which they have been deprived of from Russian trade. With a near disappearance of its sole market now cotton was no more a cash crop. This resulted in economic hardships and social unrest, which became the burden of ever increasing Bukharan army to cope with.

Due to economic crunch more taxes were levied on the peasants to feed the increasing army. Naturally it was a burden on the poor peasant masses. There were more or less fifty-five different taxes on peasants.[27] Writing about the heavy taxation a modern author comments that only 'air was untaxed' in the Khanate.[28] Owing to these heavy taxes ill-organized uprisings were seen in the Zarafshan and Kashka

Darya oases from the end of 1918 to the whole next year. In this burning situation of discontent, the revolutionaries and reformers got fertile atmosphere to alienate the masses from the old regime. This is the matter of debate as to how much the reformers were successful in their effort. In this context one thing is clear that the Amir lost sympathy of the people in the coming months.

Alim Khan despite his hostility towards Bolsheviks was in no hurry to provoke them, which could invite them to attack from Tashqand merely for the sake of Ashqabad cause. The Amir's conduct during these days (1918-1919) indicates that he adopted wait and watch policy.[29] He probably hoped and in fact made up his mind that he could be dealing with the victorious party in Russia. The Bukharan's neutrality in July 1918 event did not pacify the anxiety of Aashqand Bolsheviks, who were under constant fears in case the Soviet troops in Transcaspia suffered defeat, Bukhara was to definitely attack. Moreover, the Soviet plan of advancement towards Ashqabad was halted at the end of August by the Anglo Indian troops from Persia which came in the middle of the month at the invitation of Ashqabd. It is evident that Ashqabad was primarily concerned with the threat from the Soviet Turkestan. Surely, the British attention was focused on Trans Caucasia and the Caspian Sea. As a result of the end

of World War and with the German and Turkish occupation of Trans Caucasia the British found themselves in awkward position. Now the British seem to be hesitant in involving themselves deeply into the affairs, as now owing to the fears from opponent's side the situation was serious. Also it is obvious that without British assistance the Whites were unable to advance further. Thus the front remained static until May 1919.[30]

The first major shock the Amir received was in June 1919 when he learnt that England was withdrawing her forces from Transcaspia and leaving just a small detachment at Krasnovodsk. The evacuation of British troops had totally changed the balance of military power in Transcaspia in favour of Bolsheviks. Finding a good opportunity they began their final gradual advance towards the Caspian Sea and were successful in recapturing Marv on 23 May. By the end of 1919, the messages received from various anti-soviet fronts were increasingly alarming. On 13 September Red forces of Turkistan started moving under M.V. Frunze and demolished all except Dutov by the Aral Sea railroad station.[31] He was driven into Semirechye, the Red Army of Turkistan joined at last Red army of the Centre. Subsequently on January 6, 1920 the Bolsheviks captured Krasnovodsk, which was the last hold of anti-soviet forces. From Khivan side too, Amir Alim

Khan had not received any good news. Here Junaid Khan, a serious threat to Bolsheviks was overthrown. Junaid Khan with all his men fled to Persia. Just after his flight, the Young Khivans organised a revolutionary government.

While Russia succeeded in suppressing the revolt in Amu Darya Delta and in solving Khivan problem and being victorious wars on Transcaspia, Semirechye fronts in February and March 1920 the Russo-Bukharan relation continued to be somewhat suspicious and hostile. The events of Khiva frightened Alim Khan and now he seemed to give a number of minor concessions like giving permission to the Russian citizens of free entry to Old Bukhara and banning the import of British goods via Afghanistan. On March 30 Frunze made an agreement with the Amir to exchange diplomatic representatives and settle all outstanding questions.[32] As a result of which Tashqand later was turned to Bukhara. There were six cannons captured by Kolesov two years before. However, despite these gestures and several visits of Frunze and other members of Turkistan Commission, the influence of clergy could not be eliminated and was still strongly dominating over the Bukharan people. The first and foremost concern of the Amir was to expel Young Bukharan agitators from the Russian settlements and in fact he had less interest in introducing political and social reforms in Bukhara. It

seems that Bukhara had no intention of establishing a normal trade relation with Turkistan.

Amir Alim Khan on the one hand was showing little interest in maintaining good relation with Soviet Turkistan while on the other he tried to make a bond of friendship with the new ruler of Afghanistan, Amanullah Khan. In July 1919 Alim had requested for material support from Amanullah Khan who in response sent in October sixty military instructors, six experts in arms production and six cannons and also probably four or five war elephants.[33] In January 1920 Afghanistan established a permanent embassy in Alim's capital and simultaneously Bukhara opened a consulate in Mazar-i-Sharif. By April it was reported in Tashqand that Alim Khan had mustered 1500 Afghans with a purpose of war preparation in future against Russia. After realizing future danger Frunze warned Lenin and explained him all about the activity of the Amir and told him that the Amir was in league with Afghanistan. By the end of June however Frunze was all set to take steps against Bukhara. On 24 June he ordered the defences of Karki and Termiz and side-by-side moved one regiment by river and another by rail to Qarshi. The apparent purpose of these measures was to guard New Bukhara, Qarshi, Karki railroad but actual one was a preparation for the Amir's eviction. In the report to Turkistan Commission on

June 30 and to supreme headquarters in Moscow on July 12,it was urged by Frunze for the "immediate integration of Bukhara into the Soviet system". The possibility of giving an autonomous status and to let the Amir rule independently was considered a direct military threat to Russia and it was sure to encourage the counter revolutionaries.

Frunze was of the opinion that the Amir should be overthrown by internal revolt led by Bukharan Revolutionary council and supported by armed untis of Bukharan emigres. But he openly asserted that decisive factor would be played by the Red Army. On August 1, 1920 Frunze sent a telegram to Lenin seeking a directive on Bukharan question and problems. He proposed only two courses of action; one was to hope for the development of an internal revolutionary process and second was to wait for it or to organize revolution with outside support. To his mind the first course was very slow and so he favoured that the second one for which he had already made all possible efforts should be followed. After discussing the telegram the Political Bureau recommended the following course of action, "to take all measures essential for the protection of Russian people within Bukhara and on the borders of Bukhara; never to take initiative in attacking Bukharan territory and Bukharan armed forces; to conduct a wide agitation among Muslims against

the counter revolutionaries work of Bukhara in alliance with British agent and Russian counter revolutionaries; to create in the process of such an agitation a native army, Bukharan communists also join it; and to convert these defensive measures into an offensive only if popular revolutionary centre exists in Bukhara and asks for help."[34]

Being affected by the events of Turkistan and Khiva, the masses in Bukhara became more sensitive to revolutionary propaganda. Now the anti Amir movement started growing. By August 1920, for the revolutionaries the conditions were favourable for a second advance against the Amir. During August 16 to 19 the Bukharan Communist Party held its fourth congress at Charjui, where they reluctantly confirmed the alliance with the Young Bukharan and discussed plan for the earliest overthrow of the Amir.[35] In anticipation Tashqand sent two hundred rifles to the Bukharan Communist Party Congress to help the rebels. On 23 August the new members of Turkistan Committee who were entitled either to approve or alter the plans for the Bukharan campaign reached Talshqand and unanimously endorsed the decision already taken by Frunze.[36] On the same day the Turcomans revolted at Charjui beglik in accordance with their plan. On 25 August Frunze ordered his troops to march on the night of August 28.[37] They were asked to attack

the western part of the Khanate from their bases at Charjui, New Bukhara, Katta Qurghan and Samarqand. As per the plan all exit points were to be sealed so that the Amir and his men might not escape. Military activities were to be started at dawn at four O'clock sharp. All the plans were kept in strict secrecy.

In accordance with the plan the fight started early in the morning at 4 O'clock with the burst of first cannon.[38] On the night of 28 August, the Beg of Charjui was compelled to step down from the post in which Bukharan Revolutionary Committee played vital role.[39] The said committee very soon invited the people to take part in their struggle against the Amir and simultaneously sought the help of the Red Army. The capital was attacked by troops of different begliks. Guzar was occupied on August 31. After a desperate struggle the Red Army managed to capture Old Bukhara on September 2. The anti-Bloshevik leaders Burhanuddin and Usman Beg were arrested and put to trial, and sentenced to death in the end of the year. The three sons of amir were also arrested and sent as hostages to Moscow.[40] The Amir left the palace after having disguised himself as a carter as reported by a revolutionary to Colonel Etherton. The Amir left the city with a group of loyal troops for Central Bukhara. From there

he fled to Afghanistan finally, where he took asylum and where he is reported to have lived till his death in 1946.[41]

The victorious Revolutionaries formed a new Bukharan government on the very same day of the flight of the Amir. A Revolutionary Committee and Council of Peoples Nazirs were formed. The Revolutionary Committee and Council of People's Nazir had nine members. Almost the entire government official structure comprised only natives. Faizullah Khojaev who was most capable and prominent among the native revolutionaries was appointed chairman of the council. A full merger of Young Bukharans with the Bukharan Communist Party was announced on September 11.[42] On October 6, the First All-Bukharan Kuriltai of Soviets abolished the existing Khanate. The Bukharan people's Soviet Republic was established and the Soviet Government recognised the Republic of Bukhara on November 6, 1920. The Governments of Bokhara Republic and the Russian Soviet Federation of socialist Republic (RSFSR) entered into economic, political and military agreement on 4 March 1921.[43] The RSFSR granted a five billion rouble non-payable loan to the Republic of Bukhara. Thus ended the story of the centuries old Khanate.

Referecences

1. J. Kunitz, p.47.
2. Becker, p.240.
3. Ibid. p.240.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.;Lord Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia*, London, 1889,p.393
6. Ibid.p.242.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid. p.243.
9. Kunitz, p.148.
10. Becker, p.248.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid. p.262.
13. Kaushik, p.156.
14. Ibid.
15. Becker, p.266.
16. Kaushik, p.157; Kunitz, p.80
17. Kunitz, p.81.
18. Ibid. p.81; Becker, p.266.
19. Kunitz, 82; Becker, p.267.
20. Khatira, p.35
21. Becker, p.268.
22. *Istoria Uzbekskoi SSR* Vol.II, p.166.
23. Kunitz, p.83.

24. For the course of revolution and British interest in Central Asia see F.M. Bailey, *Mission to Tashkent*, London, 1946; P.T.Etherton, *Across the Roof of the World*, London, 1925; L.V.S. Blacker, *On Secret Petrol in High Asia*, London, 1922. Bailey and Blacker were British officers on assignment in Russian Central Asia during 1918-19 while Etherton was British Consul General and Political resident in Sinkiang during the civil war in Russia.
25. Becker, p.281
26. Ibid, p.282
27. Kaushik, p.67.
28. Victor Luis and Jeniffer Luis, *The Complete Guide to Soviet Union*, London, 1976, p.65.
29. Becker, p.275
30. Ibid, p.276.
31. Kunitz, p.106.
32. Becker, p.290
33. Kunitz, p.112
34. *Istoria Uzbekskoi SSR*, Vol. II, pp.176-77.
35. Becker, p. 293.
36. Ibid.; Abdul Jabbar A. Abdul Wakhitov, 'The Jadid Movement and its Impact on Central Asia' in Hafeez Malick (ed.) *Central Asia*, New York, 1994, p.67.
37. Ibid.
38. Kunitz, p.112.
39. Becker, 294.

40. Amir's three sons Sultan, Shah Murad and Rahim were sent to Moscow. *Khatira*, p.35,n.27; Iskandrov, p.59. Bailey, p.271. It is said that two sons of Amir worked in the USSR Government, one as a scientist. The Amir died in 1946. See John Massey Stewart, *Across the Russians*, London, 1969, p.146.

41. When Red Army entered into eastern part of Bukhara and captured Dushambe in 1921, the Amir fled to Afghanistan and reached Kabul on 5 May 1921 where he died in 1946 at the age of 65. *Khatira*, p.35., Olaf Caroe, *Soviet Empire*, New York, 1967, p.118.

42. Faizullah Khojaev, *K Istorii Revolutsii v Bukhare*, Tashkant,1926, p.76.

43. R. Rahul, ***Bukhara the Emirate***, p.32.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

In the historical and cultural scenario of Central Asia, Bukhara had enjoyed an extra ordinary position. Due to its importance, it was called *Bukhara-i Sharif* (Bukhara the Noble), and *Qubbat-ul Islam* (cupola of Islam) by Juwaini and was equated with Baghdad by many chroniclers in grandeur and splendour. It remained for centuries a rendezvous of distinguished men of letters. Such was Bukharan fame in the sphere of knowledge that Jalaluddin Rumi had called it a "mine of knowledge". Widely known and recognised for its marvellous culture Bukhara had contributed immensely in world civilization. Ibn-i Khaldun and others have highly appreciated its excellent and rich progressive approach and resultant success in the sphere of science and fine arts. The later chroniclers also eulogized the grand and laudable achievements of its men of learning's. It is indeed a puzzle how Bukhara which had managed to reach at the zenith of efflorescence of science, literature and learning fell all of a sudden from apex of grandeur to the nadir of illiteracy, corruption and evils of degenerating economy. They have been described as the people who were living on "margins of world history". The society said to have been characterized by conservative influences, which retarded the development of art and culture.

As a matter of fact Bukhara had a grand hoary past, it was an eminent centre of all kinds of finest handicraftsmen, astronomer, scientists, artists, painters, musicians, men of literature with all the concomitants of a medieval state, Bukhara retained its excellence in managing the affairs of state best reflected through the administrative structure, land tenure and taxation system which were a continuation of old practices and a fine combination of Turco Mongolian and Perso-Islamic traditions. The critics try to highlight that the rulers were guided by the age-old norms and did not follow the accepted legal and moral bindings. The Amir who was the highest authority in the pyramidical structure of state as a matter of policy, ruled autocratically and despotically. The rich landlords, powerful feudal officials and the *bais* supported and reinforced the imperial exploitative machinery in the villages. The situation could hardly change under the Manghit dynasty. During the second half of eighteenth century and the first half of twentieth century, the ruling elite is said to have kept the common folks under the yoke of tyranny and subjugation. Exploitation and extortion was intense. The extent of dogmatist and the unchallengeable position of the religious authorities had further restricted the modernization. The Russian explorers like Obruchev, Berg and Ignatiev and travellers like Burnes, Vambery and

Polovtsoff and several others opined that Bukhara was at that stage devoid of any good cultural and social attainments, anarchy prevailed. These superficial observations and one-sided presentations need reconsideration. Another view, which is widely put forward, is that in the second half of nineteenth century the Bukharan Amir had to face the Russian attacks, the brunt of which they could hardly bear as they lagged far behind their contemporary counter parts in military technology and art of warfare. They were attacked by the Russians in earlier centuries also and even then it was this drawback due to which they had no match with them. In all the battles fought between the Russians and the Uzbegs throughout the long span of several centuries one thing was clear and similar that there were less Russian casualties as compared to the Bukharans. This means that the Russian superiority of arms had contributed to their success. It is also believed that Bukharans were lagging behind in the use of all kinds of firearms. As already mentioned, contemporary writers also complained about this want. They pointed out that the negligence of Bukharans towards new military techniques and use of cannons and latest methods of warfare was responsible for it. There were no trained people to handle these cannons and artillery, if the rulers somehow managed to buy them. Beside, those who were benevolent

enough to supply the cannons against huge sums never guaranteed the quality and use of the cannons, which were supplied by them. They could have outlived their utility but for the ignorant and ambitious buyers it did not matter much. This was not the case with Bukhara only. The other sister Khanates were also similarly lacking in comparison to Russia. Thus one can say that it was the match of Asiatic Bukhara and European Russia. The defeat was a foregone conclusion. But lack of arms was not the only deficiency the Bukharan Amirs suffered from. The sources refer to the fact that farsightedness, tactics, strategy political wisdom were the qualities the Bukhara elite of those days lacked. Since both the Khiva and Khoqand Khanates were till 1850s and 1860s the next-door neighbours of Russia and could easily get the modern equipments of warfare. Could the Russians, who were themselves keen to occupy Bukhara Khanate be willing to arm their enemies arms which could and were to be used against them is altogether a different story. After three successive battles in 1868 Bukharan Amir had to sign a peace treaty with the Russians and accepted vassal status. No doubt the Amirs of Bukhara failed to sense the forthcoming danger in the innocuous friendliness of Russia, the rulers of other two Khanates also could be blamed for their folly that they could not form a joint front or a coalition against their

common enemy — Russia. It seems that in Bukhara the clergy also played a greater role. To some extent they guided the Amirs. At a time when Russians offered for peace, the Bukharan Amir lost the opportunity only due to growing pressure of zealous religious groups, who were clamouring for *jihad* against *Urus-i Bedin* (Russian infidels). The Amir had no choice but to fight against the Russians. Ahmad Makhdum Danish categorically criticised them for their repeated blunders, as they had not fully prepared themselves for the terrible battle. The civilian population and common people were innocent and totally ignorant of methods of warfare. The driving force for these gullible followers was the call for *jihad* and the only weapon they had in their hands or could afford to carry were wooden sticks. Some of them were even without such a "weapon of defence" and went empty handed.

Bukhara had many natural resources to generate wealth but they were not duly exploited. In the rural sector of agriculture, which was mainstay of Bukharan economy, no effort is seen for the development. It remained backward as it was before. The government did nothing to improve the cultivation of cotton, which ultimately turned into "white gold" of Central Asia. No doubt there was a good system of water distribution for agriculture but it is said that the "chief

discomfort of Bukhara" was water. The water of rivers was not fully used. This naturally affected the Bukharan agriculture and finally its economy. Common people were living in miserable conditions. On the contrary the privileged class had all sorts of ease and comforts. The Amir had his flourishing business and a huge amount in his private coiffures.

The Noble Bukhara, which was known for its literary and cultural activities and scientific knowledge, was now exposed to many evil practices, which crept in Bukharan society. One modern writer comments that in Bukhara of Ulugh Beg's times, people were highly learned and greatly developed. At this juncture Bukhara needed reform but the Amir was said to be "adamantly relentless". The liberal Bukharans wanted for the creation of modern society and modern way of life as they had experienced in the countries like that of Ottoman Turks or in Russia when they were out of Bukhara for pilgrimage, educational or commercial purposes. The Jadids demanded certain reforms in educational spheres only. Perhaps they viewed it as the first step to eradicate the evils of a static society. But the rigid and conservative section of society came in their way. They came down heavily on them. Even under enlightened Amirs the reforms pledged could not be undertaken as was the case

under Amir Alim Khan. It needs to be reconsidered and examined how and why these reforms could not be brought to practice. The intentions of imperialists were as much open to suspicion as their flinching faith in the potentialities of the natives whom they looked down upon as incapable of good governance. Although there was centralised administration, which gave institutional cohesion, the medieval administrative structure of Bukhara was not adequate for modern demands of the state. The Jadids were aware of this necessity but they were a handful and could hardly transform the system in a jiffy. The administrative structure of Khanate of Bukhara is said to have outlived its utility a better system of governance must have attracted them to switch over to the changing order. How efficacious it was is indeed a matter of debate for the arguments on both sides are very strong.

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