CHAPTER 2
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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 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.

Muhammad 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, Kuliya 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" 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 echelons 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 Manghîts 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".  

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 Yûz 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 weak 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. Shahmurad right from his youth was inclined to Sufism and spent his days in the Khanqahs (cloisters) and mosques in pious meditation. He is said to have declined his paternal inheritance and wanted it to be distributed among those from whom it had been extorted. 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. 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. 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 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. 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 Hāidar 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.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 hypocrisy 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. 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. 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. 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. 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, 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
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 along with 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 Musliman 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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. 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. 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. 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 along with 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 November 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. 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. 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, Astanqu, 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. 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 warship 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. 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) 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. 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\(^2\) 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.\textsuperscript{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
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.\footnote{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{45}

In his memoir \textit{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.
References:


4. Sami, p.7

5. Muhammad Sharif, Tajut Tawarikh, MS, IOST No.1133, f.142.


7. Tajut-Tawarikh, 158-60.


10. Ibid.,

11. Vambery, 351.

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.


14. For detail see Katira p.37.


16. Regarding his religiosity the contemporary writers as well as later writers have similar view. See Ahmad Makhduum Danish,


18. Ibid., p.592.


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.


24. Ibid.,


29. Ibid., p.218.

30. Sami, p.25.


32. Ibid., p.401.

33. Becker, p.41.

34. Ibid., p.47.


37. Sami, p.107; Becker p.196.


41. Ibid., p.207.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., p.208.

44. Ibid., pp. 282-83.

45. Ibid.