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 caravans. 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-Muminin¹ (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. 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.

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 Ansaqal (the white beard). These Ansaqals 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 channelise 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). 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), 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. Lansdell12 gives the number as 29 but does not give any detail. According to Skrine and Ross13 there were 36 begliks. Becker14 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.\(^\text{15}\)

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.\(^\text{16}\) 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.
The Beg was collecting taxes on behalf of the Amir as instructed by him. 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. 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.

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 Amlakdari23 (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\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{25} Arminius Vambery reports that the number of standing army in the kingdom was 40,000, which could be raised up to 60,000.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{27} In this context, the evidence of Buljuwani is extremely interesting and informative. In his book \textit{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 \textit{top}, 100 Playmnt, 50,000 \textit{tapancha militiq}. "At another place he says that in each city there were additional forces, amounting to 300 to 1000 men. In certain \textit{baldas} even artillery and incendiary equipments
were also available.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Topchi}; \textit{Atli Qaza}; \textit{Shafsaka}; \textit{Tarsaka}; \textit{Arab Bachcha}; \textit{Turk} and \textit{Sarbaz}. Some of the \textit{firqas} (groups) of these last two formed the bulk of infantry whereas all others were cavalry detachments. The \textit{Atli Qazaqs} were also called \textit{Qaranska} (\textit{Qarauna}). Another group was called \textit{Sherbachgan}. The detachment of the \textit{Shafsaka} and \textit{Tarsaka} amounted to ten thousand. The twenty thousand armed Turcomans were appointed to guard the city and the \textit{wilayats}. The Russians had doubled the salaries of the army personnel, as they needed their wholehearted support for the consolidation of their conquests.

\textbf{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."\textsuperscript{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. We also find a description of troops called Iljari (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. 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. The Sarbaz (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.
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. 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.

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. 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 wore their uniform and used their traditional dress and pursued their civil occupations. 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. The Amir was maintaining a hundred strong body guards of Coassacks. 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. The army paid little heed to fire arms as reported by different contemporary travellers. 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 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. 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. 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*.\(^5\)

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.\(^5\)

**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 qushbegi 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 Bukhara. 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.\(^5\)

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. 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.

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. 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. 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. 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

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 Orenburg 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 along with 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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. 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. 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. 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. So far as the trade and commercial activity was concerned Bukhara and Qarshi happened to be leading industrial centres. 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. 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. 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 European Russia, for supply of raw material and second to develop 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 canals, demolished the dams, which could not be repaired. Even the poor were deprived of their jobs. 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. 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. 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. Similarly 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. 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.

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.

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Russia's 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 Qarakuł 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.\textsuperscript{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 multidimensional way so far as the production of cotton in Central Asia (particularly in Bukhara) was concerned.\textsuperscript{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 2,600,000 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. 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. 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. 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.  

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 pursued 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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94. The report says that there were 2000 desiatinas under the American varieties, as compared with sixty thousand puds native cotton.


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