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Diplomová práce

Everyday life of Central Asia in the second part of the XIX-th century

Každodenní život ve Střední Asii ve 2. polovině XIX století

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Abstract

The goal of this thesis is to try to pull together a multidimensional description of everyday life of Central Asia in the second part of the 19th century. The emphasis of the study is put on gender, class, social and ethnic specifics of population of Central Asia, as well as divide between nomadic and settled, urban and rural segments of the existing nations.
In separate chapters the daily life is described according to the major spheres: economy (production), household, education, leisure, etc. Special attention is paid to the status of women of Central Asia.

Key words: Central Asia, Central Asian economy and society, Central Asian crafts and arts, Central Asian women, Central Asian nomads and settlers.

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PREFACE

Daily life of inhabitants of Central Asia is a big subject, which includes material culture, standards of living, housing, domestic interiors, clothing, food, amusement and work, and other important and different segments of daily life. These objects enclosed that people from the first day of living till death. Daily life is situated on the edge of social and cultural history. Main goal of historians and scholars is to draw near and observe routine life of common, ordinary people, their day-to-day life and work, festive rituals, day-to-day activities, daily reality of their lives. All these festivities were accompanied by different practices diverse by region, by group of people, by gender. Some aspects of everyday life, especially, ethnography materials, traditional customs, labour and class struggle in Central Asia were studied in depth and highlighted. Events of daily life such as weddings, funerals, traditional games, free time amusement, rituals, above all, these objects of daily life which were accustomed, were developed very closely in works of historians. There are subjects of ethnography and folklore studies. Activities of daily life, which were not accustomed, manners, routine or banality of private life is in the centre of interest of scholars who works in the field of daily life history.

Social historians define material culture as the objects of daily life and the meanings that possessors, users and observers invest in them. On one level the objects of daily life are stable over time. Food, shelter, furnishings, clothes are common to all people. On another level such objectives vary enormously across different time periods, among different groups, and in different locations. They change drastically in terms of quantity, content, variety, and what their different forms signify to users and observers. For example, certain items of clothing have existed for centuries, like shirts, head covers, gowns. But new apparel articles like long trousers for men, traditional female shirtwaist or gowns, and underwear for everyone, and modification of old ones, along with styles that changed for time, region, policy and other different reasons, make clothing highly variable.

While speaking on material culture it is very difficult to separate a term of standards of living from daily life topic. The concept of standard of living is difficult to define and impossible to measure with any degree or precision. Numerous factors influence it, and those that seem favourable or unfavourable to one person might have an opposite effect on another. Standards of living are relative; they admit of no absolute measure, and comparisons between those of one society or community and those to another are always difficult and sometimes impossible.[1] For any one person a satisfactory standard of living is that which he or she has come to expect.

Historians recognize food and diet as significant aspects of social history, providing important insight into the material and cultural conditions of everyday life. Serious scholarly investigation of diet, ingredients, and rituals of consumption progressed rapidly over the last decades of the 20th century.[2] Concurrently, other historians, influenced by the work of cultural anthropologists, and ethnographers, began to explore the social importance of food and rituals of food consumption. Historians recognized food's symbolic importance and examined the production and consumption of food as expression of social solidarity and stratification. By the late

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[1] STEARNS, P.N. *Encyclopedia of European Social History from 1350 to 2000*, *volume 5*. New York: 2001. p. 451

[2] STEARNS, P.N. *Encyclopedia of European Social History from 1350 to 2000, volume 5*. New York: 2001. p. 487

1970s and early 1980s, those interested in the history of food and diet employed a variety of different approaches. Purely quantitative methods, favoured by some early practitioners, gave way to looking at cultural contexts. Building on knowledge of the history of the family and women's work, historians made the family meal, including preservation and preparation of food, a new focal point of study.[3] Cookbooks, recipes, menus and other gastronomic texts offered new avenues of research. New perspectives continue to proliferate. Given the centrality of food to most societies, historians turned their attention in the 1980s and early 1990s to researching the construction of social identity trough dietary choices and culinary techniques in different countries and among different classes. Food and culinary techniques, as distinct expressions of ethnic or cultural identity, have a long and complex history that has only begun to be examined.[4] Historians have also focused much new research on sites of consumption, such as public plays, teahouses and public banquets. Research past and present food, diet and rituals of consumption continue to enrich understanding of the history of everyday life.

Shelter from the elements has always been the second essential of human existence after food, and there is a good archaeological evidence for some form of shelter from a very early date in human prehistory. House and their interiors provide a rich picture of the lifestyles of their inhabitants. They also represent the social relations of the people that designed them, built them and used them. Housing is interesting because many material aspect of the house play important roles in the cultural construction of class, gender and individual identities, and in dividing boundary between public and private.[5]

From the ancient world trough medieval period, till today, dress signaled social status. In different societies and different time periods ranks, belonging to certain ethnic, social, gender group was accorded the monopoly of certain colours. As well items of formalized attire were associated with specific social and political positions. Although apparel varied from region to region, the function of certain garments as social markers remained consistent.[6]

Animals and pets, or attitude of society toward them also can be a subject of everyday history. Approach toward animals played an important role in building of a sense of social identity. It is interesting to look to attitudes to animals between rural and urban people. Relation of people and animals in the meaning of "useful" and "useless" also indicate on society structure and, of course, was influenced by historical, religious, economical factors.

Toys and games are tools of play, and play is a large part of lifestyle. Playthings have helped the small and powerless child to overcome the frustrations and conflicts of adult life trough imagination. Still toys and games have never been exclusively for children. Playthings also convey messages from the older generation to the younger. Changes in toys and other playthings can reveal much about changes in the experience and meaning of childhood and how the boarder cultural and material

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[3] STEARNS, P.N. *Encyclopedia of European Social History from 1350 to 2000, volume 5*. New York: 2001. p. 497

[4] STEARNS, P.N. *Encyclopedia of European Social History from 1350 to 2000, volume 5*. New York: 2001. p. 497

[5] STEARNS, P.N. *Encyclopedia of European Social History from 1350 to 2000, volume 5*. New York: 2001. p. 461

[6] STEARNS, P.N. *Encyclopedia of European Social History from 1350 to 2000, volume 5*. New York: 2001. p. 483

world shaped youth. Before modern industrialization, childhood was brief and play was not encouraged by parents. Especially for children of peasants and craftspeople, toys were rare. Very often the young made toys for themselves in moments of freedom from control or work out of gourds, bits of wood, or animal parts. Trough the toys and games is possible to explore about childhood in the Central Asia in the second part of 19th century and to reveal approach of parents, prevailingly mothers or other female members of family to children.

Aspects of daily life mentioned above have a common attribute: material outline, while, entertainment, rest, recreation or even process of working are sets of activities during which person use some material subjects, but also, a knowledge, talent, skills, fantasy, something what are not material. Such activities varied from region to region, from style of live, for example, nomad, rural or urban. Inherently this is also part of everyday life.

The flow of daily life by time being was changed intensely especially in the 19th century, which brought rapid changes to social, traditional, political and daily life history of Central Asia. In the 19th century Central Asian region was impacted by growing power of Russian Empire, by its incursion to region of Central Asia and following political and military struggle of Russian and British empires. This strategic rivalry and conflict for supremacy in this region was called by British term Great Game. The classic Great Game period is generally regarded as running approximately from the Treaty of Gulistan of 1813 to Anglo-Russian convention or Entente of 1907. The term "The Great Game" is usually attributed to Arthur Conolly, an intelligence officer of the British East India Company's Sixth Bengal Light Cavalry. This term was introduced into mainstream consciousness by British novelist Rudyard Kipling in his novel "Kim".[7] Since then the term started being used by British press whimsically from the end of 19th century and till First World War.

The second part of 19th century is attractive because of huge amount of travel books to this region; information available due to the reason of the history being quite recent and the fact that Central Asian region was in the centre of political events (Great Game). The 19th century was a time when meanings of old and new, modern and traditional, local and international, own and alien were diffused. The time of change is most suitable and useful for subject of daily life. Changes beginning in Europe influenced all sides of life in Central Asia. Now, with the new points of view to intersection of the "west" and the "traditional", approach to this theme can be dismissive or acceptable, changes of the 19th century are still actual and influence today history and development of societies in Central Asia.

The period of 19th century is interesting also because in this certain region we see an example how nomads, without central power and dwellers, who actually lived in centralized and urbanized societies, met each other and how their coexistence looked like. Of course, it is very interesting how the people of one nation, but of different state or urban/nomad belongings realized their own identity and what kind of philosophy of life or system of views and thoughts they had.

Travel books of that period give a plenty of information. 19th century was a period rich to new travels and exploration of territories about which Europeans did not know much due isolations of Central Asian states and people from a global centre of history. 19th century was a significant time when travels were carried by larger

[7] *The Great game* [online]. Wikipedia, 2000 [cit. 2008-02-09]. Was taken from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_game

groups of people who had a specific interest in travel to this or that certain region. Due to new technical inventions travel has evolved from an expensive and long procedure to a more popular one and available to wider groups such as women, scientists and for everyone, who were interested in travel. All these people tried to leave a documental confirmation or testimony about travel and all things, which happened to them during voyage. Travel books, guidebooks, maps or memories are the important and valuable source of information about daily life in Central Asia in the second part of 19th century. At the same time information from travel books can be obstacle for objective research of daily life because were written by foreigners and they wrote about everything what excited their interest. In the course of studying this information attention should be paid to those particulars such as who was the author, from what kind milieu they came from, what kind of information could influence the author, how trustful his/her interpreter/s were, in what kind of society author was and finally, what were the main goals of the author behind writing a book.

While mentioning travel books it is necessary to mention literature used for this thesis.

First of all, this thesis is using the books of the travellers to Central Asia in the 19th century as a primary source of information about the issues discussed in this work. Among the most significant of such sources are the travel books written by Khanykov, Vambery, E. O'Donovan, H. Lansdell, and H. de Blocqueville. The importance and scientific value of these works as the source of information lays in the first-hand experience of their authors who visited the region in 19th century and were able to observe the described events and trends, as well as collect the information, conduct primary research and interview the people they met.

However, these eyewitness accounts of the situation discussed in the present study required certain verification for credibility and objectivity of the information's sources. Most of these books were not meant as pieces of scientific work but rather narration of the impressions and observations made in a way randomly as a by-product of the authors' primary mission. Among the techniques used for this purpose was cross reference and cross examination of the facts and information in the mentioned sources against each other to rectify similarities. It was an important for the purpose of this study to take into consideration that these works could contain some inaccurate details. For example, Vambery in his books mentioned, that he could not make notes during his long journey in Central Asia, otherwise he was considered as a suspicious person. Not all authors were not a real scholars, I do not have information about their knowledge of local languages (except of Khanykov and Vambery, of course). Some of them had local interpreters and were accompanied by a person or a servant. Especially escort assigned from local administration could misguide or even provide an author with misleading information.

As an obvious value of these books is the fact, that their authors were Europeans of different nationalities: Khanykov was a Russian, Vambery a Hungarian Jew, Lansdell was a Briton, while O'Donovan was an Irish, and H. de Blocqueville was French. A fact that everyone was from different country with different milieu can be an important factor while comparison hold. Otherwise their origin, differed from ethnicities of people, they described, can be also a negative, because, without a good knowing of cultural and historical background it is difficult to be an objective and be unprejudiced behalf own origin and milieu.

Another group of literature used in thesis are general history books on history of Central Asia. As a good example I can mention a book '*History of civilizations of Central Asia*' of six volumes. This book was prepared, sponsored and published by

UNESCO by composite authors. Volume 1, 5, and 6 were used for thesis. General historical books on history of Bukhara, Central Asian states, by Muminov, Becker, Holdworth, Masson were very useful. M. Holdworth and S. Becker have special works on history of state formations of Central Asia in the 19th century. On Tajiks and Tajikistan Gafurov's book was used. Tajiks inhabited Bukhara, Samarkand and other Central Asian towns from the ancient time. Therefore history of these towns despite of their location in today Uzbekistan, should be studied as unite Uzbek and Tajik historical points of view. History of Turkmenistan was used for historical information.

On cultural life of Central Asia is very valuable was a book of Barthold. J. Kaltner published a very interesting book on arts and craft of Central Asia.

Big amount of ethnographical works was used for thesis. Among them works of Braginsky, Yazliev, Zolotnickaya, Agadzhanov were used in thesis.

Works of F. Braudel and S. Faroqhi are not about Central Asia at all. But these books were used, mainly, for outlining main segments and patterns of thesis.

Sukhareva's works were used for chapters on Central Asian production and job organization in medieval towns of Turkestan. These books were very productive for me.

Main goal of this thesis is an attempt to describe everyday life in Central Asia in the 2nd part of 19th century. History of Central Asia always was tumultuous. History of the 19th and 20th century is not exception. During the long period of time history was written from position of power, therefore it seems interesting for me to look at history from position of usual person. In my thesis I will try to describe how life looked like in the 19th century, what were the jobs and professions of inhabitants of Central Asia, what kind of amusement they preferred more. Here it is important to notice, that religious side of everyday life is not the object of thesis. I will try to describe routine life of people in Central Asia, very important will be to find some points of daily life which does not look old or obsolete even today. To understand how daily life, work, amusement, attitude to other people and different events will be the main goal of this thesis. It looks very important for me to realize these things, before not only rulers or powers changing our world and way of thinking, sights and opinions are originating from a society, whose part is a human being with its everyday life.

1. THE REGION AND DEFINITION OF CENTRAL ASIA

The Central Asian region consists of the following states: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Central Asia is located in the centre of Eurasia. The western border of Central Asia is the Caspian Sea, on the east Central Asia spreads to Chinese borders. Russia is the northern neighbour of Central Asia; Iran, Afghanistan and China form the south-southeastern part of border.
A chain of mountains encloses Central Asia from the south and the east, while the Caspian Sea is a natural border to the west. Mountains Kopet-Dag with northern Iran, Hindu Kush of Afghanistan, the Pamirs in the south and Tien Shan create a natural border with China to the east. Upland massif is blocking moisture flowing in from the Indian Ocean through India and Pakistan, therefore approximately 60 % of the territory of Central Asia consists of desert land. Well known are Karakum (Turkic: "Black Sand") and Kyzylkum (Turkic: "Red sand") that cover up large areas of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Most of the desert land is not acceptable for agriculture with the exception of the area along rivers. Amu Darya and Syr Darya are significant river systems that provide the Central Asian states with valued and much needed water from high mountain borderlands. Therefore land use in Central Asia is strongly limited by the desertlike conditions prevalent throughout the region. The availability of water resources led to the extensive use of irrigation in agriculture. Agricultural production is dominated by cotton monoculture. The area planted by cotton in Central Asia grow rapidly after the tsarist Russian conquest (the reason being, a shortage in cotton export to Russian textile industry due to the American Civil War 1861-1865), the expansion continued under Soviet rule until the Central Asian republics became independent. One consequence of such heavy development of the cotton monoculture has been a serious level of environmental damage. Industrial activity is as unevenly distributed as natural resources. Most significant Central Asian mineral resources are located in the foothills of the major mountains, especially along the western slopes of the Altai Mountains, in the shore of the Caspian Sea (oil), or gas resources in the deserts.

Central Asia occupies an area almost of 4,000,000 square kilometres, or almost half the area of the United States.[8] The biggest area is Kazakhstan's with 2,724,900 square kilometres and population 15,300,000 million people.[9] Kyrgyz Republic has a surface area 199,900 sq km and population 5,200,000.[10] The biggest population rate is in Uzbekistan with 26,500,000 people.[11] Turkmenistan has a second

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[8] *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, volume 15*. Chicago: 1994. p. 701

[9] *Kazakhstan* [online]. The World Bank group, 2008 [cit. 2008-01-28]. Was taken from: http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/DATASTATISTICS/0,,contentMDK:20535285~menuPK:1192694~pagePK:64133150~piPK:64133175~theSitePK:239419,00.html

[10] *Kyrgyz Republic* [online]. The World Bank group, 2008 [cit. 2008-01-28]. Was taken from : http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/DATASTATISTICS/0,,contentMDK:20535285~menuPK:1192694~pagePK:64133150~piPK:64133175~theSitePK:239419,00.html

[11] *Uzbekistan* [online]. The World Bank group, 2008 [cit. 2008-01-28]. Was taken from: http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/DATASTATISTICS/0,,contentMDK:20535285~menuPK:1192694~pagePK:64133150~piPK:64133175~theSitePK:239419,00.html

biggest territory[12], but the least amount of population. Tajikistan is the third largest populated republic of Central Asia.[13]

Orientation scheme:[14]

	Area	Population
Kazakhstan	2,724,900	15,300,000
Kyrgyz Rep.	199,900	5,200,000
Tajikistan	142,600	6,700,000
Turkmenistan	488,100	4,900,000
Uzbekistan	447,400	26,500,000

Arid and semiarid climate contributes to the unequal population distribution in Central Asia: most of the people of the region are concentrated along the banks of the major river systems and oasis or foothills of the mountains from ancient times till today.

During the Soviet times Kazakhstan was not considered part of Central Asia.[15] Kazakhstan, however, has physical, cultural, and geographic qualities as other Central Asian countries mentioned above. For example, the native language of Kazakhstan is a Turkic language similar to that of Kyrgyz Republic, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Two very close words exist in the Russian language that serve as a defining term of Central Asia: *Srednyaya Aziya* (Middle Asia) and *Centralnaya Aziya* (Central Asia). The term Srednyaya Aziya i Kazakhstan (Middle Asia and Kazakhstan) was used in official policy and science for creating divergence between Soviet Socialistic Republics and other countries of the region, which were not in socialistic axe. Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkmen and Uzbek languages are part of the Turkic group of the Altaic language family. Tajik language is an exception from this line and is a member of the Iranian language group within the Indo-European language family. Slight discrepancy between Central Asian states is the ethnic origin of Tajiks, who assign themselves to Iranian people, the descendants of Aryans, on the other hand population of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are considered to be descendants of nomadic Turkic and Mongol tribes.

The most important factor of Central Asia is however, its unifying mark of common culture and history. Central Asia has experienced countless nomadic invasions by a variety of different peoples, most notably the Arabs in the 8th and 9th centuries and the Mongols in the 13th century. In the latter half of the 19th century Central Asian region was invaded by tsarist Russia. At the time of Russian conquest, Central Asia was defined as *Turkestan* (or Turkistan). The Central Asians had no national status under tsarist Russian administration. Initially the Bolshevik government created the Turkestan Autonomous Republic. In the middle 1920s, conforming to the idea that a multiethnic Soviet Union should be national in form and socialist in content, Turkestan was abolished as a political unit and replaced by separate republics representing some large ethnic groups in the region. The 20th and

[12] *Turkmenistan* [online]. The World Bank group, 2008 [cit. 2008-01-28]. Was taken from: http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/DATASTATISTICS/0,,contentMDK:20535285~menuPK:1192694~pagePK:64133150~piPK:64133175~theSitePK:239419,00.html

[13] *Tajikistan* [online]. The World Bank group, 2008 [cit. 2008-01-28]. Was taken from: http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/DATASTATISTICS/0,,contentMDK:20535285~menuPK:1192694~pagePK:64133150~piPK:64133175~theSitePK:239419,00.html

[14] Data was taken from official site of World Bank Organization: http://www.worldbank.org/

[15] Средняя Азия и Казахстан-Srednyaya Aziya and Kazakhstan in Russian

30th of the previous century were very important dates in the sense of creation and assessment of these new state formations. In the year 1924, October 27th Turkmen Soviet Socialist and Uzbek Soviet Socialist republics were established on the base of abolished Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which was initially part of Russian Soviet Federative Socialistic Republic (Russian SFSR).[16] Territories of former People's Soviet republics Khorezm and Bukhara were mostly divided between Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic (Turkmen SSR), Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (Uzbek SSR) and Tajik Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Tajik Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was part of Uzbek SSR from1924, but five years later on October16th, 1929, was transformed to Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic and became a separate republic of Soviet Union.[17] Kazakhs and Kazakh territories was known as Kirghiz from tsarist times. Kirghiz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (was a part of Russian SFSR) was established in 1920 and only after 1925 was renamed to Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and on December 5th 1936 it became a union republic under a name Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)[18]. Kyrgyz Republic after victory of Bolshevik revolution in the1919 was initially founded as Kara-Kirghiz Autonomous Oblast, later on, in the 1926, autonomous oblast became an autonomous republic in the structure of Russian SFSR and finally, in the 1936 it was equal Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic of USSR.[19]

The period from the Bolshevik revolution to 5th of December 1936 was a long, difficult, tumultuous, and important period of creation of new state formations on the territory of Central Asia. This period influenced not only new formatted states and new citizens in the last century, but to this day influences political, economical, social, ecological and human processes of contemporary independent states of former Soviet Union; and their relation not only to their direct neighbours, but whole world. According to the encyclopaedia Britannica within the broad concept of Central Asia as defined above, there is in terms of historical geography a more precisely delineated Central Asian heartland consisting of three adjacent regions, collectively referred to by 19th century explorers and geographers as Russian and Chinese Turkestan.[20] The first of these regions is so called Russian Turkestan, which take in Transcaspian (to the east of Caspian Sea) and Transoxanian regions. Transoxania or Mawara an-Nahr ("that which lies beyond the river"), is an area between the rivers Amu Darya and Syr Darya. Ancient Greeks called Amu Darya Oxus; from this ancient term scientists call this arid, semi desert country Transoxania. Major urban centres of this region are Bukhara and Samarkand, where existence of population cultivated and maintained oases, proved by archaeological exploration and rich cultural and historical remains from the very early times. Here is a proper to point out that due to incorporation of Central Asia to international political sphere of that time, there were for example, Turkmen and Persian Khorasan. To this day there are Kazakhs, Tajiks, Turkmens, and Uzbeks living in Iran, Afghanistan, and China. All this happened because of intervention of other powerful countries to this region, especially in the 19th century. Of course, Turkmens were settled down in countries such as Syria, Iraq or Turkey before, but it was 19th century and the so-called Great Game when people

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[16] *Great Soviet Encyclopedia, volume 26*. New York, London: 1977. pp. 484, 652
[17] *Great Soviet Encyclopedia, volume 25*. New York, London: 1977. p. 284
[18] *Great Soviet Encyclopedia, volume 11*. New York, London: 1977. p. 502
[19] *Great Soviet Encyclopedia, volume 12*. New York, London: 1977. p. 481
[20] *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, volume 15*. Chicago: 1994. p. 706

from one nation become part of different countries and remained thus split and separate for years. Not only Central Asia was affected in this way, similar situation happened on the other border of Caspian Sea, that is Russian and Persian Azerbaijan.[21]

The second is region extends northward from the upper reaches of the Syr Darya to the valley of the Ili River, lying between the Altai Mountains and the Tien Shan, known to the Turks as Yeti Su, the "Land of Seven Rivers", hence its Russian name - Semirechye.

The third region centering on the Takla Makan Desert is often referred to as Kashgaria, from its principal urban centre, Kashgar. This region is characterized by small oasis settlements as Khotan, Yarkand, Aksu and Kashgar. These settlements served as way stations on the famous Silk Road between China and the West. Here we see an attempt to describe Central Asia as a bridge between China and other countries, as it was in ancient times, when Central Asia connected China with the West, through its landmass and nomads.

Despite the various definitions of Central Asia's exact composition not one of the definitions is universally accepted. Nevertheless, there seems to be several, general descriptions about Central Asia. Different other definitions of Central Asia are proposed by different groups of people, scientists, politicians and organizations. The use of the term 'Central Asia' in scientific literature has a long history of its own. First it was used simply as synonym of the terms 'High Asia', 'la Haute Tartarie' or 'l'Asie interieure' and some others widely used in European literature on Asian history and geography or in travel stories – to denote the central regions of the continent with no references to the geographical boundaries of the area concerned.[22] Well-known German geographer and traveller Alexander von Humboldt was first who attempted in the first half of the 19th century to define the boundaries of Central Asia.[23] Not all scholars were in agreement with geographical boundaries proposed by Humboldt. Nikolai Khanykov, Russian orientalist and explorer of Central Asia suggested that the absence of flow of water into the open sea might be considered as good criteria for establishing the geographic boundaries of Central Asia. His own view to Central Asia was therefore broader than that proposed by Humboldt. More specifically, Khanykov included into the area the entire region of Eastern Iran and Afghanistan, lying beyond the southern limit of Huboldt's Central Asia.[24]

Another German geographer Ferdinand Richthofen analysed definitions of Central Asia and offered division of Central Asia to two types of natural region: 'central' and 'peripheral'. By Central Asia or Inner Asia he meant territories with Altai Mountains in the north, Tibet in the south, Pamirs in the west and the Khingan Mountains in the east.[25]

In Russian scientific literature of the last quarter of the 19th century the meaning of the term 'Central Asia' was most significantly discussed in the book *Turkestan* by Ivan Mushketov, a prominent geologist and traveller. He acknowledged

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[21] GOMBAR, E. *Moderní dejiny islámských zemí*. Prague: 1999. p. 355
[22] DANI, A.H., MASSON, V.M. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 1. The Dawn of civilization, earliest time to 700 B.C*. Delhi: 1999. p. 477
[23] DANI, A.H., MASSON, V.M. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 1. The Dawn of civilization, earliest time to 700 B.C*. Delhi: 1999. p. 477
[24] DANI, A.H., MASSON, V.M. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 1. The Dawn of civilization, earliest time to 700 B.C*. Delhi: 1999. p. 478
[25] DANI, A.H., MASSON, V.M. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 1. The Dawn of civilization, earliest time to 700 B.C*. Delhi: 1999. p. 478

Richthofen's contribution, but noted that eastern and western parts of Inner Asia have so much common in their geological origin and natural features, that to relate one of them to the category of 'central' and the other to 'peripheral' did not have much sense. Differing from Richthofen on the geographical limits of Inner Asia, Mushketov was, however, in favour of retaining the name 'Central Asia' for the eastern part of the area (i.e. for Richthofen's Central Asia). For greater Central Asia he suggested two names: either 'Inner Asia', which was only used sporadically earlier, or 'Middle Asia' (Средняя Азия /Srednyaya Aziya in Russian), the term which was widely used in 19th century Russian literature as a synonym for Central Asia.[26] Mushketov's *Turkestan* summed up an almost century-long discussion on the definition of the term 'Central Asia'.

For example, UNESCO uses much wider definition for Central Asia than others. In the book prepared, sponsored and published by UNESCO, called *History of civilizations of Central Asia,* volume 1, called 'The dawn of civilization: earliest times to 700 B.B' by composite authors including Ahmad Hasan Dani, Vadim Mikhaylovich Masson and others we find the following statement in appendix called "A note on the meaning of the term 'Central Asia' in this book":
"To avoid any misunderstanding concerning the *cultural* definition of Central Asia, the Final Report of this Meeting reads that the area in question covers 'territories lying at present within the boundaries of Afghanistan, the western part of China, northern India, north-eastern Iran, Mongolia, Pakistan and the Central Asian Republics of the USSR."[27]

Authors by giving such a wide definition to Central Asia have very solid foundation for that: materials presented in the book threw light on the history of Central Asia, defined for the first time as one geographical, historical and cultural unit, covering its prehistoric and protohistoric periods. Archaeological material as artifacts of daily life, tools and weapons, pots and pans, dress and ornaments, as well as many other items excavated and explored in this huge area has a big common identical characteristics. Surely, there was a cultural interaction and interchange between peoples of Central Asia with civilizations of Mesopotamia and Elam at one side and the Chinese civilization on at the other. But time range of this work is the second part of the 19th century, when another political, cultural, economical conditions existed and when evidently national delimitation was available. However controversy on this point of definition of Central Asia did not cease and the term itself continued to be understood and used differently till today. While delimiting various parts and regions of Central Asia it should be remembered that the history of the peoples and the civilizations they created is the main subject of capital works as a *History of civilizations of Central Asia* sponsored and published by UNESCO. In case of this work today geographical boundaries and national delimitation should be regarded.

This could be developed further and reach a definition that would include the historical aspect as well but in my thesis I will chose the definition of Central Asia as a group of former Soviet republics: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Territories of countries named above composed state formations of Central Asia in the 19th century and it is clear, that incorporation of

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[26] DANI, A.H., MASSON, V.M. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 1. The Dawn of civilization, earliest time to 700 B.C*. Delhi: 1999. p. 479
[27] DANI, A.H., MASSON, V.M. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 1. The Dawn of civilization, earliest time to 700 B.C*. Delhi: 1999. p. 480

other states as Afghanistan, Persia, China or Russia just depreciate the main goal of the thesis. Another reason for this is that history of the states of Central Asia is still blank or not well-known to public in comparison to history of Persia or Russia. Including the partial regions of Afghanistan, Iran, India or Mongolia can complicate this writing by enormous account of historical, political, social, cultural and geographical information. On the other hand, in the 19th century Kazakhs, Kyrgyzs, Tajiks, Turkmens and Uzbeks were a unit allied by religion, same geographical zone, similar political independence from big countries as Russia, Persia or China, and, of course, similar language, except Tajiks. Though, it is important to notify that in the second part of the 19th century urban population of Transoxania, especially, dwellers of Bukhara could be bilingual.

2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2.1. Central Asia in the nineteenth century

Extending eastward from the Caspian Sea, the Central Asian plain is forbidding desert relieved only by fertile but scattered oases along rivers fed by melting snows of the lofty mountains to the southeast and east. And yet, despite nature's niggardliness, Central Asia has in centuries possessed one tremendous advantage – its location. Situated at the north-eastern limit of that part of the Old World where man first invented the techniques of agriculture, animal domestication, and metalworking, and subsequently created the first urban and literate societies, Central Asia was an early participant in these revolutionary developments.[28] After the diffusion of civilization westward and eastward, the most convenient overland routes linking the Mediterranean world, India and China let through Central Asia. As long as these routes remained the principal arteries of trade and communication among the three main centres of civilized life, Central Asia was assured a leading role in world history.

Three important events at the beginning of the 16th century permanently altered the course of Central Asian history. Most significant was Portugal's opening of the direct sea route from Western Europe to India and China, which took over Central Asia of it's strategic and commercial importance. At the same time the area was invaded by the last of its nomadic conquerors, the Uzbeks, whose arrival brought about a decline in material well-being and cultural activity. The final blow was the assumption and acceptance of Iran and Safavid dynasty to Shia as an official and state doctrine, whereby Central Asia was cut off from direct contact with the orthodox Muslim world of the Near East.

Uzbeks, who in the 14th and 15th centuries inhabited an area between the Ural and the lower part of Syr Darya River, owed a loose allegiance to rulers descended from Shaiban, a grandson of Chingiz Khan. During the first decades of the 16th century one of these rulers, Muhammad Shaibani-khan, conquered all of Central Asia as far as the Iranian Plateau and the Hindu Kush. After his death in battle against the Persians in 1511 his successors founded two khanates in the ruins of his conquests – Bukhara and Khorezm.[29] Khorezm became known as Khiva after the capital was transferred from Kunya-Urgench to Khiva in the 17th century. When the Shaibanid dynasties came to an end in Bukhara in 1598 and in Khiva in 1687, political disintegration was added to economic and cultural decline.[30]

The century preceding the Russian conquest was marked by political consolidation and economic revival under new dynasties in the two old states and by the emergence of a third Uzbek khanate. In Bukhara members of the Mangit tribe served as ataliks (title) from1747 and succeeded the last Ashtarkhanids on the throne in 1785, taking the sovereign title of emir.[31] The founder of this dynasty was a

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[28] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 3

[29] BOSWORTH, C.E., et al. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition, volume IX*. Leiden: 1997. pp. 428-431

[30] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 4

[31] BOSWORTH, C.E., et al. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition, volume VI*. Leiden: 1991. pp. 417-419

Rakhim Mangit who managed to dispatch previous weak dynasty from direct ruling, thus representatives of Ashtarkhanid-Janids dynasty played only nominal role in the life of Bukhara, and to keep an independence from Iran, whose ruler Nadir Shah conquered Bukhara in 1739-1740.[32]

In Khiva members of the Kungrat tribe ruled as inaks (title) from 1763 and khans from 1804.[33] The Mangit and Kungrat dynasties were each rulers until 1920. In the Fergana valley, traditionally a part of Bukhara, a hundred years of increasing autonomy culminated at the end of 18th century in the emergence of the independent Khanate of Khokand.

In Bukhara and Khiva the first half of the 19th century witnessed the strengthening of the royal authority at the expense of the Uzbek tribal aristocracy. For example, Muhammad Rakhim I of Khiva (1806-1825) confiscated the nobles' lands and distributed them to his loyal supporters.[34] Emir Nasrullah (1827-1860) undermined the power of Bukharan aristocracy by creating a professional standing army and appointing Persian slaves and Turkmens to high government office.[35]

19th century was crucial for the history of Central Asia. In the nineteenth century three state formations existed on the lands of Central Asia: Khanate of Khiva, Emirate of Bukhara and Khanate of Khokand. Ruling dynasties of these states established by the end of 18th century, enjoyed a certain degree of stability, symbolized by renewed use of traditional enthronement ceremonies. All these states throughout the period, still exhibited the age-long characteristics of the area. The oasis populations had their intensive agriculture, town life, trade, organized crafts and beginnings of home industries; the adjacent nomad and semi-settled peoples, made up of small units each with strong inner political coherence, still had no permanent overriding political loyalty or constant affiliations. As compared with the previous two hundred years, this led to internal centralization and administrative strength, and to some institutional cohesion; it did not produce stable boundaries either with each other, with Persia, with Afghanistan or Russia.[36]

The external political relations of the Central Asian states can be considered: first in relation to each other and to the nomad and semi-nomad peoples, both within and adjacent to their borders, second, in relation to neighbouring Afghanistan, Herat and the Persian territories and Ottoman Turkey and third, to so-called "Great Countries" as Russia and Great Britain. Eventually, of course, Russia overwhelmed and engulfed this region; the definitive boundaries with Afghanistan and Persia were drawn by Russia. The administrative boundaries of Bukhara and Khorezm were settled by Russia (Khokand disappeared altogether) and the treaty relationships entered into with Bukhara and Khorezm specifically forbade either of them to carry on external relations.[37] It was not only the Central Asian states, which had no stable frontiers; none of the countries surrounding them had them either. Persia disputed

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[32] MUMINOV, I.M., et al. *Istoriya Bukhary*. Tashkent: 1976. pp. 123 -124

[33] BOSWORTH, C.E., et al. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition, volume V*. Leiden: 1986. pp. 391-392

[34] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 5

[35] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 5

[36] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 1 also BARTHOLD V.V. *Istoriya kul'turnoi zhizni Turkestana.* Leningrad: 1927. p. 112

[37] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 2

Khorasan and Herat not only with Khorezm but also with Afghanistan. The later in addition disputed Balkh, Gissar, Kulyab, Badakhshan and the Pamir regions with Bukhara and Chinese Kashgar. Chinese Turkestan had increasingly frequent Muslim minority movements supported from Afghanistan and Khokand, if not necessarily by the ruler himself, at any rate by powerful and adventurous hakims, such as Muhammad Yaqub, beg of Tashkent, who nominally acknowledged Khokand's overgovernment.[38] It is true that Russia had no firm frontier either, but Russian Empire had the sense of frontier and throughout the century made efforts to establish "lines", defined and held by military posts.[39]

The internal areas of conflict were the settled lands of Merv and Chardzhou between Khiva and Bukhara; Khojent, Ura-Tyube and Karategin between Bukhara and Khokand; and the lower Syr Darya between Khokand and Khiva. The main nomad and semi-settled areas, whose people did not regard themselves as subjects to anyone, were those of the Kazakhs, Turkmens in Transcaspia, running diagonally from south-west to north-west. The changes in internal boundaries – the breaking-off or adhesion of regions from one khanate to another – though at first sight kaleidoscopic, have coherent significance. It is nearly always the same regions (vilayets), which change hands and allegiances – the ones that tip the local balance of power and rock established stability. The reestablishment of internal political stability in Bukhara and Khiva was accompanied by substantial economic revival. Urban life flourished again, irrigation system were repaired and expanded, and in general the economic welfare of Central Asia in the 19th century considerably surpassed the level of the previous century. Compared with Central Asia of the 15th century, however, or even with its Muslim contemporaries, Turkey and Persia, Central Asia in the mi-nineteenth century remained at an extremely low level, culturally and economically.[40]

The Soviet dismemberment of the Bukharan and Khorezmian republics and subsequent redrawing of the boundaries of Soviet Central Asian republics in 1924 was carried out extremely thoughtfully and was based on scrutiny of political history and administrative records as much as on ethnographic considerations. The new boundaries did much to split up and weak up potential trouble centres. But course of time and detailed studying of political history of this region show that rear and real plans and aims of Soviet government not always were based on clean intent to organize and establish firm, right and peaceful state borders. Especially in the last two decades Central Asian and international scholars by studying and paying a great attention to this topic, have been trying to highlight this historical event from the different point of view and add important and valuable thoughts and conclusions.

2.2. The emirate of Bukhara

Emirate of Bukhara existed from 1747 to 1920. Bukhara from sixteenth century became a capital of Shaibanids state and played very important role in economical and political life of the state. Possessing of Bukhara meant possession of whole khanate, throne and all country.[41] In 1739-1740 weak Bukhara khanate became

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[38] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 2

[39] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 2

[40] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 6

[41] MUMINOV, I.M., et al. *Istoriya Bukhary*. Tashkent: 1976. p. 113

a scoop for Nadir-shah. He kept previous dynasty of Ashtarkhanids-Janids and demanded from Bukhara material and human contribution. Between them was young chief of Uzbek tribe Rahim Mangit, who lately, in 1747 was a founder of new dynasty. His third descendant, Shah Murad (1785-1800) finally deposed Ashtarkhanid-Janid's lineage, assumed title emir.

The Bukhara Emirate in the middle of 19th century comprised of valleys of the Zeravshan, Kashka Darya and Surkhan Darya, the upland vilayats in Eastern Bukhara of Kulyab, Darvaz, Karategin, Baljuan, the right bank of the Amu Darya with the vilayats of Karshi and Kerki. There was an outer ring of administrative units, some disputed with Khokand, some on the boarders between Bukhara and Persia, some disputed with Khiva.

Accurate figures on the population of Bukhara did not exist before the late 1920's, since the emir's government felt no need for such data and the inhabitants regarded with suspicion any attempt to collect statistical information. All figures must be regarded as only rough guesses. Bukhara's population at the close of the 19th century was usually estimated at 2,5-3 million.[42] If Bukhara had little geographic unity, it had even less ethnic homogeneity. The population contained some 55 percent Uzbeks, 33 percent of Tajiks and 10 percent Turkmen.[43] Town population was mixed and included Indians, Bukara Jews, Persians etc.[44] Of the khanate's total population, 65 percent was sedentary, 20 percent seminomadic and 15 percent nomadic.[45] Between 10 and 14 percent of the population was urban.[46] By far the largest town was the capital, with 70,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. Next in order were Karshi, with 60,000 to 70,000, and Shahrisabz and Chardzhou, with 30,000 each, followed by a dozen towns in the 4,000 to 20,000 range.[47] The Uzbeks were concentrated in the Zaravshan and Kashka-Darya oases and in the river valleys of central Bukhara. The Tajiks formed local majorities in the mountains of central Bukhara and were the sole inhabitants of the mountainous eastern region. The Turkmens constituted a majority along the Amu Darya as far upriver as Kelif. Several thousand Kyrgyz lived in eastern Karategin. Persians, Jews and Indians were present in every important town. The population of Bukara was almost exclusively Muslim, the only exceptions being the numerically insignificant, although commercially important, Jews and Hindus. Among the muslims the great majority were Sunnites, but among the Tajiks of central Bukhara there were many Ismaili Shiites, and in the east the entire population was Ismaili.[48]

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[42] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. pp. 6-7, also HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 3

[43] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 3

[44] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 3

[45] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 7

[46] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 7

[47] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 7

[48] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 7

Bukhara was an autocratic state, ruled by a hereditary monarch an accordance with Muslim religious law and custom. To meet the problem of governing a relatively large and populous country, where the settled districts were separated from each other by deserts and mountains and where communication was slow, especially in the central and eastern regions, Bukhara had developed both a highly organized central administration and a large degree of provincial autonomy. At the head of administrative complex stood the kush-begi (chief minister), to whom, by the second part of the 19th century, was entrusted much of the actual business of running of the state.[49] He directed the secular and civil branches of the central government, supervised the provincial governors, and administrated the capital district. Subject to kush-begi were the divan-begi (finance minister and treasurer) and his subordinate the zakatchi-kalan (chief collector of the zakat, the tax on movable property).[50] Other important officials in the central government, independent of the kush-begi, were the kazi-kalan (supreme judge), who had charge of all religious affairs, justice, and education, his subordinate the ishan-rais (chief of police and supervisor of morals) and the topchi-bashi (war minister and commander of army). Each of these officials, from the divan-begi to the topchi-bashi, functioned directly in the capital district and indirectly in the provinces through a network of subordinates. All of the above officials were appointed by the emir and were directly responsible to him. Their respective jurisdictions were not precisely defined, which permitted the emir to retain firm control. Even the kush-begi, whose powers were extensive, could do nothing without the emir's knowledge, no matter how trifling the matter in question.

Emirate of Bukhara was divided into a capital district and provinces. Bukharan emirate was composed of principalities, called vilayet, ruled over by hakims or begs (the holders of this title as territorial rulers must be distinguished from the holders of it as members of the families of khans), who maintained relations with the emir. Heads of local administration had virtually all authority of emir except the power of life and death. Begs were appointed by the emir from among his relatives and favourites, his own sons usually served as beg in some of the more important begliks.[51] The begs ruled as petty princes, maintaining their own courts and troops. The emir often attempted to control the distant begliks of central and eastern Bukhara more closely by naming one of the begs viceroy, with authority over the other begs in the area and the right to impose the death penalty. Some scholars convey that such an administrative unit, as vilayet did not exist, instead of this, it was town of Bukhara as a capital district and a fluctuating number of begliks.[52] In Bukhara vilayets were sub-divided to tumens or begliks under a beg from among the local ruling families. Each beglik was ruled by a beg (known as mir in a Tajik-speaking east). Each beglik had its own zakatchi, kazi and rais, responsible to their respective superiors in the capital. The numerous provincial officials, each with separate line of responsibility, were supposed to check each other's abuses, but the system more often worked just the opposite, with the kazi, rais and zakatchi acting in collusion with beg for their mutual

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[49] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. pp.7-8, also HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 9

[50] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 8

[51] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 8

[52] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 8

profit. Tumens were sub-divided into smaller administrative units known variously as kents or amlakdars (in Russian amlakdarstvo), which as well as being tax-collecting units were above all water administrative ones. Each district was administrated by amlakdar, appointed by the beg from among his relatives and favourites, and its government repeated in microcosm the structure of the beglik, with its own zakatchi, kazi and rais. The amlakdar, however, was purely a tax collector, with none of the other governmental functions of the beg. At the lowest level of government, each kishlak (village) elected its own aksakal or mirab (elder), who had minor duties and was subject to the administrative hierarchy. The aksakal or mirab was the executive functionary, but also the most important local person, as being in closest contact with the people and in control of the administration of irrigation channels.

None of the more important members of this vast bureaucracy received a salary. The dignitaries of the central government depended on the emir's charity, in the form of estates and other gifts, and on the fees and fines that their offices enabled to collect from the populace. Each provincial official retained for his own use the amount of tax revenue he considered necessary to maintain himself and his court in their customary style and forwarded to the emir. The administrative hierarchy was the almost exclusive preserve of the Uzbeks. A striking exception was the office of kush-begi, which from the second quarter of the 19th century until 1910 was always bestowed on a Persian slave or descendant of slaves.[53] In this way the political power of the Uzbek aristocracy was diminished, and the complete dependence of the kush-begi on his royal master was assured.

The emir's relations with vilayets were conducted through the hakims. Although the rulers of Mangit dynasty made serious attempt at centralizations, nevertheless the emirate even at its core was hardly a homogeneous nation-state. The process of centralization went on throughout the century, often overlaid with external wars and internal rivalries, but in the end it was overtaken by Russian domination. The districts of Gissar, Shahrisabz and Kitab were particularly self-assertive; the hakims of Darvaz, Karshi and Karategin, too, did not remit regular taxes to the emir at Bukhara, but presented only periodic "gifts".[54]

Military organization was in transitional form. The sipah (cavalry) was the most decentralized since the cavalry levies were raised locally by the individual hakims and their loyalty was to their chief. They were raised as necessary, received no maintenance and inadequate pay consisting of annual amounts of wheat and oilseed husk, some clothing and a small sum of money. They owned their horses and horse-furniture; horses which fell in service were replaced by emir. The sarbaz (infantry) comprised both local militia and the element of regular army, in that some infantry units formed a standing army, under a commander appointed by the emir and equipped and paid by latter. They were used as garrison troops, personal bodyguards and as units, which could be detailed for special duty. The topchi (artillery) again were a fairly regular formation, commanded by a more permanent, almost professional, officer, responsible directly to emir.

Besides the secular and civil hierarchy, there was a semi-official clerical hierarchy, headed by the kazi-kalan. He appointed the muftis, experts on sharia

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[53] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 9

[54] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 4

(Muslim religious law), who were often called in on legal cases. The muftis usually doubled as mudarrises (professors) in the madrasahs (seminaries or colleges). Kazis, muftis, and ulemas (theological scholars) were almost always drawn from the social class composed of the saiyids (real or imagined descendants of the Prophet's daughter) and the hodjas (descendants of the first three khalifs). This clerical body, together with the hereditary social class from which it sprang and the mullas (learned men who did not necessarily hold clerical posts), formed a powerful group with a vested interest in the defence of tradition and religious orthodoxy.

The customary taxes were levied both in kind and cash. The latter were of two principal kinds – the zakat or zekat on merchandize, movable property and cattle, and the tanap on land property. In addition there was an intermittent levy imposed on a locality or village which was assigned to the administrator or court functionary and its incidence determined by him. Additional taxes were imposed by emir for campaigns and other extra purposes and were met with greater or less resentment. The land tax formed the bulk of the income of the emir's treasury. Gradations varied from one-tenth of the yield to one-fifth; on certain waqf lands it was one-third.[55] Certain landlords were altogether exempt. Only in some districts was the tax levied in terms of a money sum per area unit. The tax, even was levied as a percentage of harvest and was payable predominantly in money. Calculations were based on winter and spring Bukhara prices – i.e. when they were at their maximum. This was hardest on the poorer peasants since they were nearly always forced to realize their produce in the autumn, both through need and through lack of storage facilities.

Land throughout the Bukhara emirate was the pre-eminent commodity and sign of wealth. Land was what wealthy merchants sought to acquire, what officials, soldiers and servants whished their services to be recognized in, what the emir handed out as rewards to individuals, what pious men left to religious organizations. Titles and rights to land were governed by adat or customary law, markedly localized and passionately clung to. Land tenure in Bukhara emirate consisted of state lands, waqfs as religious lands, mulk and tankhwah – land in private possession.

At the end of the century (i.e. when Bukhara was already under Russian tutelage) the Bukhara annual cash budget was reckoned at around 5 to 6 million rubles.[56] The currency was tila and the tanka. The khans minted their own coins, the last of Bukhara mint being those of 1877. Bukhara was included in the Russian customs and postal boundaries in 1895, while Russian coinage and banking facilities became officially valid in 1892.

Russia's entry, Russian conquest of Central Asia and establishment of protectorate will be described in latter chapters.

2.3. Khanate of Khiva

Khiva and Bukhara in the 19th century were quite similar and in the same time quite different. Both were autocratic, Muslim states composed of a variety of ethnicities. In each country Sunnite Uzbeks were in majority and consisted the political and social elite. Bukhara, however, was the larger, more populous wealthier and more urbanized. On the other hand, Khiva enjoyed the geographical unity and

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[55] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 9

[56] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 10

compactness that her larger neighbour lacked. The khanate of Khiva consisted of a single oasis and as much of the surrounding deserts as her rulers could control. Khanate of Khiva originated from the Khanate of Khorezm, which was established in 1511 and was ruled by representatives of Qungrats dynasty, claiming legitimacy in their descent from the Chingizkhanids. The heart of Khiva Khanate was of course ancient and well-known capital of Khorezm, old Urgench, but the shift in the course of Amu Darya caused transfer of capital to the small town of Khiva. This state lay within borders of historical region of Khorezm. The southern part of the oasis, which was the most densely populated and intensively cultivated, was the economic and political centre of the country. In the far north was the Amu Darya river delta, covered by an almost impenetrable growth of thickets and reeds and crisscrossed by the countless mouth of the great river. Khiva's population in the late 19th century was probably in the neighbourhood of 700-800,000 people, of witch 72 percent were sedentary, 22 percent seminomadic, and 6 percent nomadic.[57] About 60 percent of the population lived in the southern part of the oasis. Only five percent lived in towns – less than half the figure for Bukhara – and the towns themselves were much smaller than those of Bukhara. Sizeable permanent populations existed only in capital, with 19,000, and the commercial centre Urgench, with a mere 6,000.[58]

Despite geographical unity, Khiva was no more ethnically homogeneous than was Bukhara. The Uzbeks constituted a majority of close to 65 percent in Khiva and Turkmens formed a large minority of about 27 percent.[59] The Uzbeks dominated the important southern part of oasis, while seminomadic Turkmens occupied the southern and western fringes. In the north two other Turkic groups, the seminomadic Karakalpaks, constituting about 4 percent of population, and a slightly smaller number of nomadic Kazakhs, were concentrated respectively in the delta and on the north-western edge of the oasis. Karakalpaks lived in the north at Kungrad and at Amu Darya delta and practiced a mixed sedentary agriculture, divided between crops and cattle. The nomad Kazakh cattle-breeders stretched from Kunya Urgench (old Urgench) to the east and north. Seminomad Turkmens carried on cattle economy with subsidiary agriculture. In religion Khiva was almost exclusively Sunnite, Shiites and non-Muslim minorities being nearly nonexistent. The khan of Khiva exercised the same autocratic powers as did the emir of Bukhara. But Khiva's administrative structure, while basically similar to Bukhara's, manifested important differences, which reflected the geographic differences between the two states. The effort of successive khans to establish authority over the Kazakh and Turkmen people brought the clashes both with Khokand and with Russia, since the latter was trying to do the same thing on a wide though somewhat haphazard scale.

Khiva differed from Bukhara and Khokand in that it did not consist of principalities with strong local and separatist traditions (with the exception of Kungrad witch was often quite autonomous), and for that reason and because it was smaller and isolated by deserts, the problem of creating a compact and viable state was made easier. On the other hand, the towns exhibited intense local loyalty; the

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[57] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 10

[58] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 10

[59] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 10

names of four at least being derived from that of their leading family.[60] Because Khiva was a small and compact state, its central government was able to hold a virtual monopoly of power, leaving a minimum of delegated authority in the hands of the provincial administration. Formal organization and differentiation of functions, however, were weakly developed.[61] The Khivan divan-begi was roughly equivalent to the Bukharan kush-begi, but he usually served also as commander of the army and collector of zakat. The southern and northern halves of the country were administrated by the mehter and the kush-begi, respectively, whose power was limited to the collection of taxes. In general, the functions and powers of any dignitary depended more on his personal relationship with the khan than on the particular office he held. Khiva also had a kazi-kalan and a clerical hierarchy, but they excercised much less influence than did their counterparts in Bukhara.[62]

Khiva was divided into a capital district and twenty begliks. The begliks were governed by hakims, whose power was much more limited than those of the Bukharan begs; in addition there were two districts, each ruled collectively by several naibs.[63] In Khiva the ethnic minorities enjoyed a system of autonomous local government quite unlike anything in Bukhara. Within each beglik the Turkmens, Karakalpaks and Kazakhs were ruled by their own tribal elders, who were subject directly to the khan rather than to the local Uzbek hakim.[64]

Merv and Khorasan were the two objectives of Khiva's outside campaigns. The first occasioned clashes with Bukhara; the latter did not cease until Khiva's virtual annexation by Russia. The boundary was never established between Khiva and Persia, but was drawn eventually between Russia and Persia in 1894-5 and confirmed by the comprehensive treaty of 1907 along the southern edge of Russia's Transcaspian possessions.

In general, the oasis country was prosperous with small walled cities and had seemingly recovered from the devastations of the Mongol conquest.

Sedentary population carried on an irrigated cultivation in which crop rotation was practiced and developed. There were over two million acres of agricultural land; irrigated land was heavily fertilized and carried two crops annually (a grain crop plus a fodder or melon crop). The northern districts grew wheat and millet; the southern, wheat, cotton and mulberries, as well as fruit, including melons and watermelons. Towards the end of the century about 44 percent of the cultivable land was under food crops and about 32 percent under cash crops. Hay and lucerne were grown and used as winter fodder so that apart from the wholly nomad Kazakhs, the Karakalpaks of mixed farming habits did not rear their cattle entirely on grazing. Irrigation channels were maintained by compulsory peasant service. The canals were fed from the water resources of the Amu Darya; there were six main canals from 70 to 160 kilometres in length. Water wheels were worked by draught animals. Large scale of irrigation

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[60] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 22
[61] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 10
[62] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 11
[63] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 11, 348
[64] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 11

works were undertaken from time to time by the khans. Fishing was an important subsidiary food supply, both from the Aral Sea and the river delta.[65]

The army of Khiva khanate was made from some 1,000-1,500 regular khan's bodyguard, a mixed foot and horse militia raised for campaigns and a Turkmen horse militia. By such an arrangement there was eight times more cavalry than infantry, including a number of "falconers". Soldiers were paid in grain; the Turkmen's liability for military service was considered as an exemption from tax.

Land tenure adjustments were similar to those in Bukhara and Khokand, except that certain features were more accentuated.[66] The proportion of "gift" lands – handed over by the khan to his servants and thus free from all tax – was very high. Soviet historians estimate that as much as half of the agricultural land belonged to the khan and to the beneficiaries under his gift. Waqf lands are estimated at 45 percent of all irrigated lands. Land tax was levied at three different rates, depending on the size of the holding. The tax in kind (diak) was gradually being replaced by a tax in money (salgyt), though both existed simultaneously throughout the last quarter of the century. Landless peasants were automatically included in the bottom group for tax. They formed 31 percent of the total in some areas, ranging down to about 15 percent in others. The landlessness was masked by a wide range of sharecropping arrangements, which at the bottom of the scale was nothing else than personal service to the land-owner. Land-hunger, land-tax and the exigencies of the obligation to the land-owner caused sporadic peasant uprisings in Central Asian states. Peasant craftsmen in the villages sold their products or their services to their neighbours and received payment usually in kind but also in cash. It was common for all Central Asia. In the town craftsmen formed a guilds. Certain crafts were highly organized and there existed communities of metal-workers, hide- and leather-workers, potters, rope-makers and rug weavers. With introduction of Russian, European goods craft production began to decline, notably that of dyers and potters.[67] Tradition and rituals were jealously maintained within the guilds; these took on semireligious character with observances going back to pre-Islamic days. Some of these survived far into the Soviet period and were described by a contemporary Soviet ethnographers.

Internal trade in the khanate was not so well developed as in Bukhara.[68] It was done on fixed market days in the towns. External trade was with Afghanistan, Persia and Russia.

In 1873 khanate became a Russian protectorate; in the year 1920 khanate was abolished and replaced by Khorezm Peoples' Soviet Republic. In 1924 this republic was formally incorporated into the Soviet Union. Today this region is a part of Uzbekistan and partly Turkmenistan.

2.4. Khanate of Khokand

Khanate of Khokand is located within borders of modern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and south Kazakhstan. Shaybanid Shahrukh II, head of Uzbek

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[65] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 23

[66] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 23

[67] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 24

[68] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 24

tribe Minglar established an independent principality in the western part of Fergana valley. Small town Khokand became a capital of new state formation. One of the cities of Khokand Khanate was a Tashkent, now a capital of Uzbekistan. The khanate of Khokand existed as such from 1798 to 1876, under khans of the Ming dynasty. The Fergana valley was its kernel, made up by the vilayets of Margelan, Andizhan, Khokand and Namangan, with a population of some three quarters of million. The expansionist objectives of its 19th century rulers were the vilayets of Ura-Tyube, Khojent, Osh, Tashkent and at times that of Turkestan. At Ura-Tyube and Khojent these ambitions clashed with those of Bukhara emirs. From 1850s along all these lines of expansion Russia became all-powerful and all-embracing adversary, until finally the khanate disappeared as a political entity in 1876; first, as a result of its defeat at Ak Mechet' to the Russians and subsequently by being taken by the cities of Turkestan, Namangan and Tashkent. The khanate was finally incorporated into the governor-generalship of Turkestan as the Fergana Province. Alim-khan in 1798 had inherited from his father, Narbuta, an independent and more or less centralized kingdom. He took the title of khan and felt himself ready to challenge supremacy in the region of the Emir of Bukhara. He captured Ura-Tyube, Khojent and Tashkent. Within the khanate itself, Alim's efforts to establish a strong dynasty made him ruthless and exterminating relatives and potential rivals. His repeated campaigns and consequent extractions of money and men, together with a more than usual, or perhaps merely more successful, ruthlessness, earned him a name for cruelty and harshness among his contemporaries.[69] His successor, Omar khan, benefited to some extent by what Alim had achieved, and though he still had to kill rivals in order to hold his throne, he nevertheless also used embassies and pilgrimages.[70] His campaigns were directed against the Kazakh semi-nomads in the north-west steppe and in defence of the southern caravan route to Kashgar. Omar took a title of Emir el Muslemin and struck coins showing himself with traditional insignia of his head. He is described as "taking on the airs of Timur" and his reign saw the peak of Khokand's territorial expansion, and the establishment of a seemingly centralized and stable state machinery of judicial and administrative civil servants dependent on khan.

During the conflicts with Bukhara, the people of Fergana valley did not wish to accept a ruler from Mangit dynasty and preferred to collect around a ruler from Ming dynasty.[71] Another problem, internal one, was with Kipchaks (a powerful sub-group of the Uzbeks, occupying the north part of Fergana valley). There was a latent rivalries between Kipchaks and the old-established, very much Persianized city whose populations broke out into an overt struggle for the control of Khokand and of the khanate's administration. The Uzbek Kipchaks had for some generations been turning over to settled agriculture; they still maintained their sense of unity and the heads of their great families had been pressing for administrative and political powers with ever increasing insistence as against the established administrative hierarchy. The Kipchaks had their first triumph in Khokand in the early 1840s, established young Khudayar as khan, with a Kipchak regent and removed former Persianized administrators. Chroniclers report that the Kipchaks through ignorance burnt books, cut down poplars lining town streets and failed to keep up the water courses.

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[69] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 6

[70] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 6

[71] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 6

Tashkent, as well as Khokand, had an internal upheaval in 1846 when the artisans rose against the hakim who had imposed supplementary taxes on gold coins, leather and draught animals. Khudayar reasserted Khokand's authority over Tashkent, marched in and replaced the hakim. Another disruptive element was provided by marches into Chinese Turkestan in support of risings by Muslim minorities, which took place almost every decade during the middle years of the century. These expeditions varied in success. In every instance, however, the Chinese re-established their authority.

During the reigning Madali Khan good buildings, including a bridge and a spacious and clean bazaar were erected. According to information of a Russian traveller Khokand, built around the year 1700 was a city of 80 thousand people with 600 mosques and 15 madrasah where about 15 thousand students were taught.[72] Besides the Sarts (old-established town dwellers) there are Uzbeks, subdivided into Kipchaks, Kyrgyz, Kara-Kyrgyz and Karakalpaks. The khanate export wool, fruit, hides, silk, opium, indigo; opium and silks are imported from Bukhara, and opium, pottery, silver, Chinese silks, felts and carpets from Kashgar. Factories make silk and cloths in Namangan, Khokand, Margelan and Khojent. Mining could be developed, but was not.

The administrative systems of Bukhara and Khokand were very similar and description of one does reasonably well for both.

The Khokandian military formations were more irregular still than those of Bukhara. They were raised and paid by the begs of the individual cities and gave allegiance only to them. The Khokandians, however, were very much tougher as enemies, both in their resistance to Russia and in regional wars.[73]

On the eve of the Russian conquest Bukhara, Khiva and Khokand were classic examples of traditional or pre-modern societies: the khanates' economic, social and political systems, their technology and the intellectual attitudes of their rulers showed no qualitative change from the tenth century.[74] In all three khanates throughout the 19th century religious lands (waqf) and private lands (mulk and tankhwah) increased; a substantial proportion of the latter was exempt from taxes as well as some of former, which meant that any inordinate or sudden increase in either of them increased the burden of obligations on other land.

In the 19th century Uzbek or even Turkmen settlement was progressing very rapidly, with the consequent increasing pressure on irrigated and more easily cultivable lands. By the end of the century rather less than one-fourth of the population in each of three khanates remained nomad.

Central Asia's contacts with the outside world, excluding Russia, were confined to infrequent diplomatic exchanges with Ottoman Turkey and, even more rarely, with Persia and China. With Russia, Central Asia had a long history of contact, but it was always limited in nature and produced no significant cultural interchange.[75] Huge part of historians agree that Turkestan in the 19th century in compare with the Middle Ages was a most backward part of Muslim world; but despite of this,

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[72] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 8

[73] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 11

[74] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 11

[75] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 11

Bukhara, for instance, kept its previous fame as a theological centre and attracted students not only from Turkestan regions and districts, but also from Volga river basin.[76] Fergana district also in economic and intellectual life of Turkestan got an eminent place during the ruling of Khokand khans, which did not have before and was able to keep this position even after the Russian conquest. Furthermore, architectural aspirations of Khiva khanate should not be discarded only because a general evaluation of the Turkestan in the 19th century so poor. For example, complex of Itchan Kala, the inner town of Khiva is included in the World Heritage List by UNESCO since 1990[77]. As well as this, several outstanding structures as the Djuma Mosque, the madrasahs and two magnificent palaces built at the beginning of the 19th century by Allah Quli khan should be taken notice of.

[76] BARTHOLD, V.V. *Istoriya kul'turnoi zhizni Turkestana.* Leningrad: 1927. p. 123
[77] http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/543, from 27.02.2008

3. RUSSIA'S ENTRY AND CONQUEST OF CENTRAL ASIA

3.1. On the eve of conquest

Central Asia was one of the last territorial captures of imperial Russia. Russia's advance started with the Kazakh lands. Russian military and political entry to this region started as early as in the 18th century. Penetration into the Kazakh steppe was gradual and carried out by Cossack communities and Russian troops.

Central Asia and the area comprising the European Russia have been in intermittent contact with one another since remote antiquity. Regular exchange of commodities by the means of caravans across the steppe dates back to at least the 8th century A.D. and was very developed during the periods when the Khazar kaganate and the Golden Horde ruled the steppe (the 8th to 10th and 13th to 14th centuries, respectively). In the latter period the connection was political as well as economic, for appanage Russia constituted the northwest, and Khorezm the southeast, march of the Golden Horde. After the decline of the Horde in the late 14th century, the trade continued on a smaller scale. Bukharan and Khorezmian merchants brought their goods to Kazan and Astrakhan for sale and further-shipment to Moscow and occasionally reached as far as to Nizhnii Novgorod[78].

Russia's conquest of the Kazan and Astrakhan khanates in 1552 and 1556 cleared the way for its direct communication with Central Asia across the Kazakh Steppe. The year after the fall of Astrakhan khanate both Bukhara and Khorezm sent embassies to Ivan IV to request a permission to trade freely within Russia. In 1558 English adventurer merchant Anthony Jenkinson visited Central Asia as Moscow's first official ambassador to that region. He returned to Russia the following year accompanied by envoys from Bukhara, Khorezm and Balkh[79]. Thereafter diplomatic relations were maintained at irregular but frequent intervals.

Commerce was the major concern of the embassies from Central Asia in the 17th century. Bukharan and Khivan merchants maintained an active trade, carrying their goods to Astrakhan, Samara, Kazan, Nizhnii Novgorod, Yaroslavl and Moscow itself. Almost no Russian merchants, however, traded in Central Asia. Bukhara and Khiva were extremely suspicious of strangers, particularly non-Muslims, and Central Asian merchants jealously guarded their monopoly of the profitable carrying trade to Russia. Moscow's embassies during this period had two principal aims: liberating Russian slaves (mostly fishermen and merchants captured by Kazakh and Turkmen raiders near the Caspian Sea and subsequently sold into slavery in Khiva and Bukhara) and after the middle of the century, collecting information about trade routes to India. Russia's efforts were equally unsuccessful on both counts.

The reign of Peter I marked a temporary change in the character of Russia's relations with Central Asia. Peter hoped to take an advantage of the "time of troubles" in Bukhara and Khiva to reduce these states to dependence on Russia, with the ultimate aim of opening a Russian trade route to India via Central Asia. Twice during the first decade of the 18th century the khan of Khiva, as a tactical move in his country's traditional rivalry with Bukhara requested and received a nominal overlordship of the Russian tsar. The gesture was a formality without real significance and did not prevent Peter from sending an armed expedition against Khiva in 1717,

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[78] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 11

[79] HOPKIRK, Kathleen. *A traveller's companion to Central Asia.* London: 1993. pp. 14-16

intending to persuade the khan to recognize Russian suzerainty and permit stationing of a Russian military guard in his capital at his own expense. The attempt was a failure, and the entire expedition was slaughtered by the Khivans.[80]

After Peter the Russian government abandoned his policy of direct penetration of Central Asia in favour of the more traditional goals of improving trade relations, freeing Russian slaves, and opening a trade route to India. Although the trade increased, Russia failed to make any progress on the other two points. Russian slaves in Central Asia included colonists and soldiers captured by the Kazakhs along the newly established Orenburg fortified line. During the 18th century Russia's attention was focused on the pacification of these Kazakh nomads, who were nominally Russian vassals but who continued to raid both the Russian frontier and the trading caravans plying between Russia and Central Asia.

Between 1824 and 1854 Russian troops effectively occupied the Kazakh steppe, placing the entire steppe for the first time in history under the rule of a sedentary society. The Russian advance greatly aggravated Russo-Khivan tensions by raising the problem of the two powers' conflicting claims to authority over the Kazakhs between the Caspian Sea and the lower Syr Darya. To the old issues was also added the problem of Khiva's harsh legal discrimination against the Russian merchants who were just beginning to penetrate Central Asia. In an effort to resolve these problems by force, Russia launched a second attack against Khiva in 1839-1840. The attempt was even less successful than that of 1717, for the expedition failed even to reach Khiva because of difficulties of terrain and weather. Rightly fearing a renewal of Russian offensive, the khan of Khiva in 1840 surrendered a number of Russian slaves and prohibited his subjects from raiding Russian territory or purchasing Russian captives. In 1842 the khan agreed on paper to demands presented to him by Russian missions in 1841 and 1842, but his promises were never fulfilled.

Russia's aims in Central Asia in the 1840's and 1850's were both political and economic. Bukhara and Khiva had to be persuaded to refrain from any hostile actions against Russia, including possession of Russian slaves and granting asylum to Kazakhs fleeing from Russian justice. Khiva in particular had to cease its intrigues among the Kazakh subject to Russia and its attacks on caravans along the Syr Darya, while demolishing the forts that had been built along the river to support such attacks. In the commercial sphere Russian merchants had to be allowed to trade freely in Bukhara and Khiva on a basis of equality with native merchants. The khanates were to guarantee the safety of the persons and property of Russian merchants, levy no excessive duties, permit unhampered transit of goods and caravans across Central Asia into neighbouring countries (such as Afghanistan and Kashgar), and allow Russian commercial agents to reside in Bukhara and Khiva. At the end of 1850's Russia added the further goal of free navigation on the Amu Darya for Russian ships. None of these aims were realized until both Bukhara and Khiva had been beaten in battle and forced to submit to Russian tutelage.

Not having any pretensions to authority over the Kazakhs of the steppe, and serving in addition as Russia's principal trading partner in Central Asia, Bukhara remained on fairly good terms with Russia as long as the latter confined its activities to steppe. Russia's relation with Khiva and Khokand, however, were inextricably involved with the problem of her quest for security against the nomads on the southern fringes of the steppe, over whom both Khiva and Khokand claimed jurisdiction. The establishment of a Russian fortress at the mouth of the Syr Darya in

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[80] MASSON, M.E., et al. *Istoriya Turkmenskoi SSR, vol.1.* Ashkhabad, 1957. pp. 419-420

1847 brought Russia into direct physical contact with Khiva and Khokand for the first time and quickly led to the first instance of Russian territorial aggrandizement at the expense of the Central Asian khanates – the conquest in 1853 of the Khokandian fortress of Ak-Masdjid (Ak-Mechet') on the lower Syr Darya.

Russian troops now stood on the threshold of Central Asia. As long as the Russian frontier lay in region inhabited by nomadic Kazakhs, a halt in Russia's advance and the demarcation of a stable and secure boundary was very unlikely. The task of definitively pacifying nomad raiders who were free to flee across the border to sanctuary in a part of the desert controlled by a foreign state would have been difficult under any circumstances. That the foreign states in question, Khiva and Khokand, were sympathetic on religious, ethnic, cultural and political grounds to the nomads rather than to Russia made the task virtually impossible. A further Russian advance was inevitable.

During the years 1853 to 1864 the groundwork was laid for Russia's conquest of Central Asia. For most of this period Russia's major problem in Central Asia was frontier defence. The system of fortified frontier posts that had been established in the first half of the 18th century, stretching in an unbroken arc from the mouth of the Ural River to the upper Irtysh, had been superseded in the mid-nineteenth century by a new, as yet incomplete frontier at the opposite extremity of the Kazakh steppe. In the west the recently formed Syr Darya line extended from the mouth of that river only as far as Ak-Masdjid (Ak-Mechet'), renamed Fort Perovsk. On the east the New Siberian line stretched from the Irtysh down to the Ili River. Between Perovsk and the Ili remained a gap of almost 600 miles. From the Aral Sea to the Ural River was no frontier at all – only scattered Russian forts.

The question of closing the gap between Perovsk and the Ili and establishing a single continuous line of forts from the Aral Sea to the Irtysh was first raised in 1853 by General G.Kh. Hasford, governor general of Western Siberia. St. Petersburg, deeply involved in the crisis preceding the outbreak of the Crimean War, would authorize only the extension of the New Siberian line across the Ili River. Vernyi was therefore established in 1854 as the new terminal point of the line. In 1858 General A.A. Katenin, governor general of Orenburg, revived the issue. He protested to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the status quo was untenable and the unification of the frontier lines and occupation of Turkestan and Tashkent were necessary for the stability of Russia's borders in Central Asia. Katenin further proposed that after the capture of Tashkent a military expedition be launched deep into Bukhara in order to regularize relations with that khanate. The new emperor, Alexander II and his foreign minister, A.M. Gorchakov – both of whom were cautious men in international affairs – rejected Katenin's proposals. Preoccupation with the emancipation of the serfs during the first years of the new reign undoubtedly played an important role in the decision again to postpone an advance in Central Asia, as did a desire to avoid antagonizing Great Britain so soon after the disastrous Crimean War.

During that war the Central Asian problem had taken on new dimension in addition to frontier security. The new danger was rival British influence in the area. Anxiety lest Central Asia be denied to Russia by Britain dated back to 1830's, when British agents had first penetrated Bukhara and Khiva. Britain withdrew in 1842, however, after his defeat in the First Anglo-Afghan War and the torture and execution of two British agents by the emir of Bukhara.[81] In 1854 St. Petersburg's fear were reawakened by the activities of Turkish envoys, who attempted to ally the Central

[81] HOPKIRK, Kathleen. *A traveller's companion to Central Asia.* London: 1993. pp. 43-45

Asian khanates with the Porte against Russia. Turkey's plans were frustrated by the ancient antagonisms among the local powers, but two years later Russia was again disturbed by reports of British agents in Khokand, Khiva and among the Turkmens. Equally disturbing were conquests achieved in northern Afghanistan at Bukhara's expense in the late 1850's by Dost Muhammad, the emir of Kabul, who had been an ally of Britain since 1855. In the year following the conclusion of the Crimean War the weakness of Russia's position was borne out when Britain applied pressure to Persia, forcing her to evacuate the independent state of Herat and grant commercial privileges to British traders.

Colonel N.P. Ignatiev responded to these events with a proposal for the extension of Russian political control to the Amu Darya. He emphasized the diplomatic and economic advantages to be gained from such a move: only in Asia could Russia fight Britain with any hope of success, and only in Asia could Russian commerce and industry compete successfully with those of other European states. In 1858 was Ignatiev dispatched to Khiva and Bukhara to attempt to settle Russia's differences with those lands and to strengthen her influence at the expense of Britain's. At the same time the famous orientalist N.V. Khanykov was sent to Afghanistan to convince the Afghan princes of Russia's desire "not to weaken khanates, but to strengthen as much as possible; we wish to prove to them that our own interest demands the erection of a bulwark against England's drive for conquest".[82] Yet neither of these diplomatic missions solved the problem of British rivalry in Central Asia. In January 1860 St. Petersburg again received reports of increasing British influence in Afghanistan and Anglo-Afghan pressure on Bukhara.

Two personnel changes in 1861 set the stage for the resumption of Russia's forward movement toward the oases of Central Asia. D.A. Miliutin became a minister of war, and Ignatiev, now a general, took over the direction of the foreign ministry's Asiatic Department. Both were strong advocates of military conquest in Central Asia. The actual decision to renew the advance came about in an unforeseen manner. In late 1861 General A.P. Bezak, the new governor of Orenburg, proposed the immediate unification of the Syr Darya and New Siberian lines and the occupation of Turkestan and Tashkent. Bezak's proposals were tabled. Something more forceful than words was necessary to persuade the conservative emperor and government. Only exploration of the region between the terminal points of the two frontier lines by reconnoitring expeditions was merely authorized.

In June 1863 Colonel M.G. Cherniaev, General Bezak's chief of staff and commander of one of these reconnaissance missions, violated his instructions by occupying the fortress of Suzak and declaring it under Russia's protection. Cherniaev's bold move proved to be the catalyst that St. Petersburg needed. Instead of censuring Cherniaev for disobeying orders, Miliutin justified the capture of Suzak to Gorchakov on July 7, 1863, calling it a step toward the unification of the frontier lines. The Minister of War argued that a unified frontier would be more economical to maintain and that the possession of Central Asia would be a valuable diplomatic lever against Britain. The foreign minister had been persuaded by what he termed "the successful activities of Colonel Cherniaev without special expenditures".[83] The forward policy championed by the military party (Miliutin, Bezak, Ignatiev) had prevailed over the conservative approach of the ministries of finance and foreign

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[82] KHALFIN, N.A. *Rossiya i khanstva Srednei Azii*. Moscow: 1974. p. 303
[83] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 17

affairs. On December 20, 1863, the emperor instructed Miliutin to proceed during the following year to the unification of the Syr Darya and New Siberian lines.[84]

Within nine months the emperor's order were carried out. One detachment advanced from Perovsk and took Turkestan; another, setting out from Vernyi under Cherniaev, captured Aulie-Ata. On September 22, 1864, Chimkent fell to the combined forces of the two detachments. Russia's long-time goal had been achieved: a unified frontier based on a fertile region had supplanted the two dangling lines of outposts in an arid steppe. Cherniaev was made a major general and given command of the new Khokand line, subject to the authority of the governor general of Orenburg.[85]

Although the objective of frontier security had been achieved, the traditional causes of Russia's dissatisfaction with the khanates had not been removed, nor had the threat of British influence. An indication of future events came only five days after the fall of Chimkent, when Cherniaev, without any authorization from his superiors, marched on Tashkent, the largest city and the economic centre of the khanate of Khokand. The occupation of Tashkent was not necessary for the establishment of a unified frontier and thus had not received St. Petersburg's sanction. After news arrived that Cherniaev's attack had been unsuccessful and his forces had withdrawn, Gorchakov reacted by requesting the emperor on October 31, 1864, to order that no future change be allowed in the Russian frontier and that any idea of further conquest in Central Asia be renounced.[86]

3.2. Economic motives for the conquest

Cotton was the most important economic link between Russia and Central Asian khanates on the eve of conquest. By the 1850's the Russian textile industry had developed to the point where it produced its own yarn and thus depended on imports of raw cotton.[87] Russian textile manufactures had previously depended on British yarn. Central Asian cotton found a ready market in Russia: in 1860, 31 percent of the total value of Russia's imports from the khanates consisted of raw cotton.[88] At the same time the Russian textile industry was rapidly developing not only as a consumer of raw cotton imports but as a producer of cotton goods for export, of which about 95 percent was marketed in Asia. In 1860 manufactured cotton goods accounted for 53 percent of the total value of Russia's exports to the khanates of Central Asia.[89]

Until the American Civil War the United States was Russia's largest single supplier of raw cotton. When the war and the Union blockade of Confederate ports disrupted American cotton exports, Central Asia assumed greatly increased importance as alternate source of supply. In 1862, the first year in which the effects of the war fully felt, the price of Central Asian cotton on Russian market had tripled

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[84] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 17
[85] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 18
[86] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 18
[87] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 21
[88] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 21
[89] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 21

since 1860; by 1864 had doubled again.[90] Raw cotton accounted 85 percent of the total value of Central Asian exports to Russia in 1864.[91] Even after the end of the American Civil War, Russian cotton imports from Central Asia continued to increase in absolute terms, although their relative importance declined as imports from America resumed. Russian exports to the khanates also experienced a striking increase as the Russian frontier advanced. Between 1863 and 1867 the annual value of Russia's exports to Central Asia more than tripled, and the khanate's share of the Russian export trade to all Asia rose from 22 to 42 percent.[92]

Russia's increased dependence on Central Asian cotton after 1862 and the benefits accruing to Russia's export trade from the progress of Russian arms are undeniable facts.[93] It is also clear that at least some groups in Russian industrial and commercial community were anxious to have the government act on their behalf in Central Asia. The khanates' discriminatory treatment of Russian merchants had long been a major point of contention and was not resolved until after the conquest. Russian manufactures and traders in the late 1850's began to complain regularly to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the khanates' discriminatory duties, which kept all trade in the hands of Central Asian merchants. In 1862 when cotton from the khanates acquired the new importance for Russian industry, direct government intervention in Central Asia was warmly advocated in such influential journals as M.N. Katkov's *Russkii Vestnik*.[94] Early in the same year fifteen leading Moscow merchants petitioned the Ministry of Finance to open a consulate in Bukhara for the protection of the interests of Russian subjects.

Although Central Asian cotton had acquired a new importance for Russia on the eve of the conquest, and considerable sentiment existed for an advance into Central Asia to protect and promote Russian manufacturing and trading interests, the influence of these factors on policy formation was minimal. The history of the discussions leading up to the conquest and of the conquest itself indicates that neither in the capital nor among the military commanders in the field were economic considerations of much importance.

Actually, Russia was spurred on in Central Asia by a whole complex of motives – the quest for a secure frontier, the provocations offered by unstable neighbours, the fear of being excluded from the area by Britain, and the temptations of diplomatic leverage, economic profit and military glory.

3.3. Conquest and establishment of protectorates

Up to close of 1864 Russia's territorial acquisitions in Central Asia had been made entirely at the expense of Khokand. Bukhara's interests were deeply involved in anything affecting Khokand, because Khokand was traditional rival and especially since the khan of Khokand Khudayar, had become in 1863 the emir of Bukhara's

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[90] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 22
[91] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 22
[92] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 22
[93] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 22
[94] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 22

vassal and brother-in-law.[95] Tashkent, which was Bukhara's only rival among Central Asian towns in size and commercial importance, quickly became the focus of conflicting Russian and Bukharan ambitions. Thus began three difficult years of Russo-Bukharan hostility and armed conflict.

In early 1865 St. Petersburg adhered to the Central Asian policy proclaimed publicly by Foreign Minister Gorchakov. With respect to Khokand proper, or the Fergana Valley, Gorchakov interpreted this policy as strict nonintervention. Nonintervention in the internal affairs of the khanates so long as the latter proved peaceful and compliant was to remain the guiding principle of Russia's policy until 1917.

The foreign minister's sketch of Russian policy was intended for the guidance of Major General M.G. Cherniaev. Cherniaev had been appointed military governor of Turkestan Oblast, which was formed on February 12, 1865. Cherniaev carried through the campaigns of Pishpek and Auliye-Ata along the north-eastern line, then advanced into Khokand proper and captured Turkestan and Chimkent. This brought the Russians up to bekstvo of Tashkent, which was one of the key points of Bukhara's interests. Cherniaev's orders were not to precipitate matters by besieging Tashkent. However, he saw a strategic opportunity to do so, and entered and captured the city in 1865 with very little loss of life. His occupation of the city, in contrast for instance to Skobelev's of Namangan and Andizhan in 1875, Geok-Tepe in 1881, was fairly peaceful and free of reprisals.[96] After that Cherniaev's plans were to conquest Khojent, the city very close to the entrance to Fergana valley; Khojent had very strong economic and strategic importance. But Khojent was taken up by Bukhara emir's army, who had a military conflict with Khokand that exact time. Emir Muzaffar, who had his own interest in Tashkent sent delegations to Major General Cherniaev with demand to clear up Tashkent and pull away to Chimkent; and in the same period to St. Petersburg for a consecrating Russian goals in khanate of Khokand. Cherniaev after getting Muzaffar's demands ordered to arrest all Bukharan merchants with their stuff in Turkestan oblast and sent a report to governor general of Orenburg to extend these measures to whole Russian empire. Emir of Bukhara vice-versa ordered to arrest all Russian merchants with their stuff resided that time in Bukhara and Russian delegation finding that time in Bukhara too. Cherniaev for supporting his demand started to move to Jizak with his military unit, but his operation failed and for carrying through such a major operation contrary to instructions, Cherniaev was recalled to St. Petersburg. His military and administrative career was broken and he took up law and journalism.[97]

Although Cherniaev was officially disgraced for overstepping his instructions and taking Tashkent, nevertheless the Turkestan province was formed in 1865 out of the Orenburg governor-generalship and the newly captured territories. The Russian advance continued, and the ever-disputed bekstvos of Khojent and Ura-Tyube were annexed, which brought Russian wedge right into the riverline territories and separated Bukhara from Khokand. Major General Romanovsky designated to Cherniaev's place was successful to knock off Bukharan troops from Tashkent in the battle of Irjar and gradually took Khojent, fortress Nau, Ura-Tyube and Jizak.

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[95] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 25

[96] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 58

[97] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 58

In 1866 a treaty of peace was offered to the emir of Bukhara. The treaty had a character of ultimatum. According to the treaty the emir of Bukhara had to admit all Russian conquests in khanate of Khokand, Russian merchants got the same privileges as Bukharan and emir of Bukhara paid a military contribution to Russia. In 1867 the Turkestan governor-generalship was formed from Turkestan province and the bekstvo of Khojent and Ura-Tyube, and General K.P. Kaufman became the first governor-general. He continued Russia's effort to ensure her supremacy and in the next year entered Samarkand and Katta-Kurgan. In 1868 a first territorial treaty with Bukhara was concluded, whereby Russia kept the Zaravshan valley (i.e. Samarkand and Katta-Kurgan). According to this treaty the emir of Bukhara accepted all Russian conquests in khanate of Khokand, owed to pay a contribution of 500,000 rubles, Russian merchants got the right of free trade in Bukhara, Bukharan authorities had to provide safety for them; also: Russian merchants could freely use the territory of Bukhara for transit to other countries, Russians could open commercial agencies anywhere in Bukhara, one of the articles was abolishing slave-trading in Bukhara.[98] This left Khokand virtually with only the Fergana valley, ruled by Bukhara candidate Khudayar khan. The uneasy situation lasted for five years, was interrupted by two fights with rivals for the khanate, the last put down with the help of Russian troops. Finally, in 1875, a formidable rising against Khudayar arose in Khokand, and turned into a "holy war" against Russia. Russian forces were sent in to restore order at Khudayar's request. They were commanded by Lt.-Col. Skobelev, who took Namangan and Andizhan, after very fierce resistance and protracted guerilla fighting, and finally entered Khokand. In 1876 the Khokand khanate was abolished, the whole of Fergana valley was incorporated into the governor-generalship of Turkestan as the Fergana province, and Skobelev was appointed its Governor. There was considerable resistance, armed risings, and short but extremely brutal reprisals carried out by General Skobelev, who advocated a policy of breaking resistance by an overhelming display of force and then using generous and paternal measures.[99]

Russia's penetration from the north-west was supplemented by a renewed effort to stabilize the Transcaspian region. This was undertaken from the Caucasus and began with the establishment of Krasnovodsk in 1869 as a fort and harbour on the south-east coast of the Caspian sea. The promoters of an energetic Asian policy had long realized that Khiva was the key to the intractable situation of Persia, Khiva and Russia and the Turkmens in southern Transcaspia. They urged as a justification for action Khiva's intransigence concerning Amu Darya navigation, her inability to control the Turkmens and Khiva's use of captured Persians and Russians as agricultural slaves. Gorchakov, however, did not wish to be precipitate in the matter, pending negotiations with Britain on a possible demarcation of spheres of influence, begun by Lord Clarendon in 1869 and foreshadowed in Queen's speech of February 1873, whereby the Syr Darya was taken as the dividing line between British and Russian interests.[100] Russia's special envoy count P.A. Shuvalov on the news on preparation by the Russians of the Transcaspian campaign explained to British Foreign Office, that this was a punitive expedition and that according to official orders Khiva must not be annexed. Gorchakov himself had in fact voted against

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[98] MUMINOV, I.M., et al. *Istoriya Bukhary*. Tashkent: 1976. p. 162
[99] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 59
[100] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 59

annexation, as opposed to the majority of the Council of State, including the Grand Duke Michael, viceroy of Caucasus. The Khiva campaign, planned by General Kaufman, was undertaken in May 1873. It was based on a four-pronged advance (from Turkestan, Krasnovodsk, Mangyshlak and Orenburg) and involved 13 thousand men. The two latter columns, under General Verevkin, besieged Khiva from the Shah gates; in the meantime, Kaufman, with the Turkestan column, approached from the other side. He entered into negotiations with the khan and prepared for a triumphal entry to the city, ordering General Verevkin to join him. The latter only partially carried out these orders and called on the Khivans to open the Shah gates. This Khivans refused to do, so that Verevkin entered the city by storm just as Kaufman was about to effect an entry by surrender. The khan fled to the Turkmens, but surrendered to Kaufman three days later.

The treaty with Khiva drawn up at the khan's surrender restored him to his capital but established an advisory council of seven members, four to be appointed by the Turkestan governor-generalship. The khan's foreign relations were in future to be conducted only through Russia; these included commercial as well as political concessions. All major measures of internal policy required confirmation of the governor-general of Turkestan. In addition, the territory on the right (north) bank of Amu Darya (inhabited mainly by Turkmens and Kazakhs) was incorporated directly into the Turkestan governor-generalship as the Amu Darya province. Eight clauses dealt with commercial arrangements, very favourably to Russia. Persian slaves were to be repatriated. As a distinction in status, the khan was referred to as "the humble servant of the Emperor of Russia" in contrast to "his Eminence the Emir of Bukhara" used in the case of the Bukhara treaties of 1868 and 1873.

In the following year the Transcaspian province was created out of the territory between Khiva and the Persian border. This had been the traditional ground of the Turkmens, some of whose clans had intermittently acknowledged fixture to Khiva.[101] The province formed part of the Caucasian military region and came under military administration, subordinate to the viceroy of the Caucasus. This was done partly in reaction to the renewed pressure from the business and trading community since it would shorten caravan routes to Bukhara, Herat and Kabul by some 900 kilometres, and partly in extension of the activities of the Caucasian viceroy since the general pacification of Transcaspia and the building up of Krasnovodsk in particular had been an objective of Caucasian policy. The Turkmens, however, had little intention of accepting a peaceable and prosaic way of life under Russian domination, though some of the clans had asked for Russian overlordship as recently as 1865.[102] In 1877 Kizyl-Arvat (today Serdar) was occupied by a Russian border force and two years later, in 1879 the Akhal-Teke campaign was undertaken by General Lomakin against the main oasis stronghold of Teke Turkmens. The Russians were defeated.[103] But in January 1881 General Skobelev (who had served under Lomakin) renewed the attack and broke Turkmen resistance after slaughter at Geok-Tepe. Thereafter Russian sovereignty and administration were established; until 1891 the province remained under the Caucasian military district and army command. A civilian province, as part of the Turkestan governor-generalship, was not created until 1898.

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[101] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 60

[102] YAKUBOVSKII, A.Y., et al. *Ocherki iz istorii turkmenskogo naroda i Turkmenistana v VIII-XIX vv.* Ashkhabad: 1954. p. 359

[103] YAKUBOVSKII, A.Y., et al. *Ocherki iz istorii turkmenskogo naroda i Turkmenistana v VIII-XIX vv.* Ashkhabad: 1954. p. 361

Russia's advance along the Persian border ended with the occupation of Merv in 1884.[104] This was actually brought about without bloodshed by an agreement between P.M. Lessar and Ali Khan. But it was this action, which revived, in full force both informed and popular indignation and anxiety in Britain, since Merv was the nearest point to the Persian border and to Herat yet reached by Russia. Merv was at the crossroads of the Mashad-Bukhara and the Herat-Khiva routes; its occupation revived all the latent fears of an approach to India from the Caucasus – a much more possible fear than any approach from Orenburg along the vast land lines of Turkestan. As far as Khiva was concerned, the firm Russian hold over Transcaspia effectively cut the khanate off from all borders other than those controlled by Russia.

This definitive entry into Transcaspia meant for Russia the need to replace the "open" frontier by a firm border with Persia. This was effected by stages in the Russo-Persian treaties of 1869 and 1881, and the telegraph line and railway agreements of 1879 and 1890. The 1869 treaty confirmed sovereignty of Persia up to the Atrek river and declared that Russia did not intend to construct any forts there. It did not confirm the Shah's request for "an assurance that the Russian authorities would in no way interfere with the affairs of Yomut Turkmens, and of those living on Atrek and Gurgan rivers".[105] The 1881 treaty drew the boundary in detail, along the Atrek river and along the southern edge of the Ashgabat valley. It provided for the non-interruption by Persia of the water supply from the headwaters of the Akhal, and for the improvement of trade routes between Akhal and Khorasan. It forbade the supply of arms either by Persia or by Russia to the Turkmens and appointed Russian agents to keep tranquillity among the Turkmens "in the districts contiguous to the possessions of the high contracting parties".[106]

The establishment of a Russo-Afghan border was inevitably a far more complex manoeuvre, since it involved India and Britain, as well as three successive emirs of Afghanistan and their relations with Persia (over Herat) to the west, and China (over Kashgar) to the east. Essentially the problems for Russia were the same as those discussed after the Crimean War: now that the borders were no longer those of Afghanistan with Bukhara or Khokand but with Russia; the need to secure markets; the possibility of improving Russia's status in Europe through oblique pressure on Britain in India. The Anglo-Russian relations in Asia were at their most interlocked over Afghanistan. This took six Anglo-Russian boundary protocols, much detailed work on headwaters and crop irrigation, and occupied the years 1884-1895, it was nevertheless achieved, in spite of one major political incident at the Panjeh oasis (March 1885), which marked and marks Russia's and the Transcaspian railway's most southerly point on the Afghan border (including the bridge over the Amu Darya at Kushka). In the years 1885-1888 the Amu Darya frontier was also the scene of recurrent minor clashes between Bukhara and Afghanistan. At the end of 1885 some Bukharan Turkmens raided the Afghan frontier and carried away several flocks of sheep. At Britain's insistence Russia prevailed upon the emir's government to have the stolen sheep returned.[107] Afghan troops several times penetrated left bank of the

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[104] YAKUBOVSKII, A.Y., et al. *Ocherki iz istorii turkmenskogo naroda i Turkmenistana v VIII-XIX vv.* Ashkhabad: 1954. pp. 363-364

[105] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 61

[106] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 61

[107] BECKER, Seymour. *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva in 1865-1924*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968. p. 136

Darvazand and crossed the Amu Darya into Kulyab. Peace was preserved, however, and the most important result of the prolonged Anglo-Russian tension in Central Asia, after demarcation of the Russo-Afghan boundary, was the strengthening of Russia's military hold over Bukhara and Transcaspia.

The two treaties with the emirates of Bukhara and Khiva did not end the organizational story of Central Asia. A series of administrative and politico-administrative measures taken in the fifty years prior to 1917 had cumulative effect on integrating Bukhara, Khiva, the border khanates and the Fergana valley more fully into the administrative and economic life of the Russian Empire. First, the politico-administrative measures: by the treaties (which surrendered foreign relations to Russia), Russian troops were to man posts in the frontier khanates, although several of these under the Russo-British-Afghan delimitation agreements and the Russo-Persian agreements were in fact in Bukharan territory. This meant dual control; with the best will and understanding in the world, in the frontier khanates of the Pamirs it was impossible to separate clearly what pertained to the emir as "internal administration" and what to the officer in charge of the border garrisons, particularly since local inhabitants were inclined to invoke his authority (and through him that of the Russian Political Agent in Bukhara) to defend them against Bukharan tax demands, as well as threatening to leave the khanates and cross over into Afghan territory. This kind of situation lasted for ten years in the khanates of the western Pamirs.[108]

Economic measures facilitated fuller integration with Russia. The building of the Transcaspian railway was undoubtedly the chief of these. This began from Krasnovodsk on the Caspian shore, and ran through the emirate, creating a "railway track zone" of Russian settlement at first mainly connected with railway works and maintenance, but gradually expanded into a more general trading and semi-industrial community. In 1888, formal conditions for the administration of this zone were drawn up between Russia and the emir. The Russians inhabiting it enjoyed extra-territorial rights, and the Political Agent in Bukhara became their administrative head, under the general supervision of the Turkestan governor-general.[109] Agreements of 1889 and 1893 defined and circumscribed the agent's juridical functions and laid down procedure for cases involving Russians and subjects of the emir. In 1892 the Russian customs boundary was moved to the Afghan border and in 1895 the whole of Bukhara was included within the Russian customs line. In the same year the khanate was included in the Russian postal union, and Russian postage stamps were introduced.[110] The customs line protected Russian firms in Bukhara markets not only against the penetration of British goods via Afghanistan, but also the Russian-carried tea trade against teas from India. However, under the customs regulations, the emir was allowed to import two and half million rubles' worth of goods free of duty. The railway, of course, enormously reduced the cost of transport of merchandise to and from Russian markets; freight charges were soon low. This immediately stimulated cash crop-agriculture in the emirate, not only cotton, but karakul, hides, fruit and silk. Agricultural credit banks and producer cooperatives were introduced. Russian coinage was made legal tender throughout Bukhara and Khiva in 1892; Russian banks opened

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[108] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 63

[109] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 65

[110] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 65

branches in the main towns. About ten Russian banking firms gradually acquired controlling interests in raw cotton production.

The trade clauses of the Khiva treaty gave Russian vessels the right of free navigation up the Amu Darya and caused Khivan and Bukharan merchants to have their craft licensed by Russian licensing authorities. Russians could also establish wharves and warehouses and were free from zakat, the tax on merchandise and trade tools and animals. Russian transit trade was also to be free of tax, thus anticipating in Russia's favour in the case of Khiva the inclusion of the khanate in the Russian customs boundary. Khivan towns were also opened to Russian trade agents by the treaty, and by 1900 branches of several large Russian trading firms were established there. In 1901 Bukharan and Khivan coinage was officially linked to Russian coinage. Cossack fishing settlements sprang upon the Aral shores and in the Amu Darya delta, similar to those on the Caspian. Apart from that, there was not much Russian settlement in the old oasis parts of the khanates, or any sizeable Russian business communities in the towns.

4. CULTURAL BACKGROUND, LIFE AND EXPRESSIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

4.1. Indigenous schools

Primary schools in Central Asia were commonly called 'maktab'. Primary schools in Central Asian cities, their educational programmes, characteristics of pupils and teachers, way of teaching were not unusual or distinguished from the same primary schools in the Ottoman Turkey or even in Europe. Primary schools of Bukhara, which were well described in multiple sources, along with materials about maktabs in other places of Central Asia, offer a good example of common educational establishments across Central Asian urban places, including even semi-nomadic or nomadic settlements which are so distinct from town.

There were more than 200 mosques in Bukhara in the second part of the nineteenth century. Few of them served as main mosques. Others had a status of neighbourhood, or a quarter mosque. Educational centres such as primary schools (maktab) and upper schools (madrasah) were as a rule an integral part of the mosques. Generally there was at least one, but sometimes several mosques in each neighbourhood; a madrasah was essential part of a mosque, and therefore sometimes mosques were also referred to as madrasahs. Usually, a primary school – maktab, a madrasah and a mosque were one symbiotic complex. The buildings of these entities were either very close to each other, or located in one place facing each other.[111] A maktab was always built as a separate building, only boys were allowed to attend these schools. If a town quarter was big, or a certain mosque or madrasah was popular among the town dwellers, the school building could be quite big. For example, Shahi-Akhsi quarter's maktab had two storeys: summer lessons took place on the upper floor, during winter time the lower floor was used for studying purposes.[112] Maktabs for girls existed in some neighbourhoods as well; otherwise classes for girls were held in a house of a female teacher.[113] Usually, wives of imams or male teachers of maktabs founded these special maktabs for girls. First of all, female pupils were taught to read Koran.[114]

Maktabs were usually put in special separate buildings with a dome roof. They were built at the same time with the mosques. Due to the smaller proportions than mosques with the dome roof, maktab buildings were stout and could resist to time flow much longer than mosques. Till today a building of maktab can be older than an adjacent mosque, which could be renovated or even changed over during centuries. If a quarter did not have its own primary school, the children of this district usually visited maktab in a neighbouring quarter.[115] In some cases primary school could be

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[111] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Kvartal'naia obshina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary*. Moscow: 1976. pp. 77, 89, 97, 98, 100, 105, 111, 113, 124, 125

[112] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Kvartal'naia obshina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary*. Moscow: 1976. pp. 242-243

[113] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Kvartal'naia obshina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary*. Moscow: 1976. p. 266

[114] MUMINOV, I.M., et al. *Istoriya Bukhary*. Tashkent: 1976. p. 186

[115] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Kvartal'naia obshina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary*. Moscow: 1976. pp. 80, 83, 85, 188

attached to a public place, like a teahouse.[116] There is an account of such kind of an arrangement for a teahouse in Eshani-pir quarter where did madrasah students commonly gathered for classes on the ground floor of the teahouse, while a maktab was on the upper floor of the same building.

A traveller called Henry Lansdell visited Central Asia in the second part of the 19th century. He gives the following description of a primary school in Bukhara: "As we taking a morning ride during the Saturday of our stay at Bokhara, I inquired the meaning of a sing-song noise that proceeded from a house we were passing, and learned that it was a school. We dismounted immediately, and, entering, found therein from 25 to 30 scholars, of ages from 6 to 13. It was a good example of one of the *maktab* or lower schools, just as in the *medresses* we had specimens of the upper schools, of Central Asia. Both are usually attached to the mosques, and maintained on the *waquf* or foundation; but if the schools are not so maintained, there are kept up partly at the expense of the people generally, and of the parents of the scholars. The teachers of the lower schools are usually chosen from among the inhabitants of the district in which the school is situated… The building we entered was small and simple enough – a single room roofed with a dome, having several doors instead of windows, and niches around for shoes, clothes etc. On the floor, and parallel to the walls, were raised benches, about 14 inches apart, consisting of beams of wood 10 inches high. The pupils sometimes sit on these, or, as we saw them, on the ground, their books resting on the beams. Tables or desks are none. The pupils sit with their faces toward the centre of room, in the direction of the teacher, who is in the middle of them… The floor is usually covered with plaited reed mats or simple straw. I asked how much the scholars paid, and found that their fees were partly tendered in kind, and by way of presents… In these lower schools the most unsophisticated simplicity reigns. There is no division into classes, but by the side of one scholar sing-songing the alphabet is another learning the verses of Khoja Hafiz, or not less loudly reading the Koran. In the school we entered they all read together, swinging their bodies backwards and forwards, though one boy was permitted to read alone for us to hear. I asked about school hours and holidays, and found that the boys are present from six in the morning till five at night, with an interval of two hours at noon. They go on, moreover, all the year round except Fridays and a week at each of the three Muhammadan festivals. On Thursday each pupil usually bring his teacher a specially prepared cake, and on that day also the studies close at noon, the teacher, before dismissing his pupils, examining their nails, and banging their heads with a book if there are not found clean. But Thursday is also the day for paying off disciplinary scores. Thus, if a boy has played truant, some of his fellows are sent in search, and, on bringing him back, the culprit is laid on the floor, his feet lifted in a noose, and he is bastinadoed, the right of giving the first blow belonging to his captors, as reward for finding him. On Thursday, too, the teacher usually shows them the attitudes of devotion, and concludes by reciting a prayer."[117]

Wish to study something, to get skills in reading and writing for their children was natural and ultimate desire for parents not only in towns, but also in the countryside or in the semi-settled areas. Henri de Couliboeuf de Blocqueville, a French officer in the service for Persian army as a photographer and a draftsman,

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[116] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Kvartal'naia obshina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary*. Moscow: 1976. p. 75

[117] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. pp. 120-122

during one of the military campaigns against the Turkmen of Khiva in 1860 was taken captive by the Turkmens and spent in their custody 14 months.

He was able to monitor very closely their customs and traditions, family life, daily life and routine. In the year 1866 he published a book about his adventures among the Turkmens with his own photo, sketches and drawings. His book is an enormous source of information on cultural history and ethnography of the peoples of Central Asia. He noted that children till ten or twelve did not work. In summer time parents used children as assistants in the fields and gardens, but in winter tried to compensate for their job by teaching them. "A person, who teaches children to read and write called "Molla". For their job, depending on material status of each family, they got some gifts, certain amount of cereals, fruits, onion or even some money. Every pupil has a slate-board over which a child writes alphabet or doing homework. While memorizing they wipe writings on slate-board. Parents are earnestly interested in the checking their offspring homework' and stuff they have to memorize. Especially women feel to be proud by seeing their children able to read and write. Men endeavor day by day to read and understand books of poems they brought from Bukhara or Khiva. Part of these books is written in the language different from the Turkmen. Turkmen mollas to improve their education spent a few years studying in madrasahs of Khiva or Bukhara. They even wanted to learn French with me. When they see that I am writing about my adventures they are assembling around me, trying replicate precisely what I wrote and ask me to teach them and their children some things."[118]

The layout of the madrasah, which was developed before the 19th century was determined by its function as a closed higher-educational institution where the ulama (Islamic scholars) were trained. As a rule, madrasahs had a court-yard with two or four aywans (arched portals) on the axes which were used for classes in the warm season, a tier of cells on one or two floors and darskhanas (lecture rooms, auditoria) in two or four corners; there was also a mosque for the daily namaz (prayer). The main façade had a high portal and there were two or four minaret towers at the corners of the building, which were not however true minarets, but simply architectural forms. This plan is to be found in a number of variations in madrasahs built during the 16th and up to the 19th centuries.

Theological studies were picking up in the major Central Asian cities, but especially in Bukhara. Bukhara was a reputable centre of the Muslim theological studies. There was a quantity of madrasahs, where not only Bukharan, but also students from all corners of Central Asia, Tatar students, even students from different parts of Muslim world studied. Therefore Bukhara had the biggest amount of different types of madrasah than any other Central Asian town.[119] Russian orientalist N.V. Khanykov, who visited the emirate of Bukhara in 1841-1842 among the Russian delegation led by K.F. Butenev,[120] left an interesting note in his book on madrasahs not only in Bukhara, but other urban places of the Emirate of Bukhara in his work "Description of the Khanate of Bukhara" which was translated to English under name "Bokhara: its Amir and its people", and published in London in 1865. "The medressehs, or colleges, of Bokhara, are not remarkable for their fine architecture, although some, as that of Zergheran, have the front wall ornamented with coloured

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[118] DE BLOCQUEVILLE, H. *Turkmenlerin arasinda.* Ankara: 2000. p. 53

[119] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 70

[120] KHALFIN N.A. *Rossiya i khanstva Srednei Azii*. Moscow: 1974. p.299

tiles. They usually consist of a four-cornered or square building, having in the centre a court of a similar shape, sometimes planted with a few trees. The edifice consists of two stories, of which the students occupy the second floor, and the first destined for the lectures. The total number of Medressehs at Bokhara, as there are set down in the deftar or registers of the Amir, on which the grants to them are entered, amounts to 103. Of these, the following sixty are reckoned the principal: 1. Madrasah Kukaltash has 150 cells. The emoluments of the mudarris (professors) amount to 360 tillas… 2. Medresseh Miri-Gareb has 110 apartments and each student there has five tillas per year. 3. Medresseh Mirza-Ulug-beghi, with eighty rooms, and the students receive three tillas and a-half.…" In total Khanykov provides sixty names of main Bukharan madrasahs in his book.[121] He provides some details on the student body: "The number of the students in these medressehs varies. In 1840, when the Amir granted them part of the zakat, or the tithes, at the distribution of the money it was ascertained that the number of the students ammounted to 9,000, or 10,000."[122] Khanykov also visited Samarkand and described in detail the madrasahs of this town: "There are three medressehs in the town, erected by Timur; 1. M.Ulug-beghi; 2. M.Shirdar; and, 3. M.Tilla-kori; there are placed according to the cardinal points of the compass, the last to the north, the one before, to the east, and the first to the west, and are divided by two streets, crossing each other at right angles. These medressehs consist of grand four-cornered edifices, which formerly had fine high minars at the corners, now, however, nearly ruined. The porcelain walls are wrought in mosaic, and attract the eye by their variegated colours, not void of taste. Above the entry of the medresseh Shir-dar, is a well-preserved representation in mosaic, of two animals, somewhat resembling the figure of lions.

The handsomest medresseh, but also the smallest of the three, is that Tilla-kori; it has likewise suffered more than rest.

The inside of the mosques, which belong to the medressehs, still retain vestiges of their former magnificence; the lapis lazuli, and the gilding of the walls, are still very bright in several places; and, what is more remarkable still is, that the gilding which consists chiefly of gilt-paper, stuck there since the time of Timur, has even now not lost its brightness. To the north side of these buildings, and near the gate of Shah-Zendeh, is the medresseh Hanum, built by wife of Amir-Timur. That princess, being a daughter of the Emperor of China, brought over with her from her native country into Uzbekistan, artists who ornamented this edifice with exquisitely-varnished pottery, in mosaic work. It consists of three mosques, with high domes, and is united by a four-cornered building, on the east side of which were once brass gates, with inscriptions and carvings, but which Amir-Heider caused to be melted down in order to coin money therewith. The western cupola has resisted better than the rest the tooth of time; but even here, apertures are seen, out of which bricks have fallen. A large marble table supported on nine feet, and having the appearance of two desks joined together, is placed under the dome. It faces a high window, out of which, according to tradition, the Khanum used to read the Kuran, written in large characters, and resting on the pulpit."[123]

During his visit to Karshi, a town in the Khanate of Bukhara, Khanykov described four madrasahs: "1. Medresseh Goli was first begun at the expense of a milk-woman, at the commencement of the reign of Amir Heider, but afterwards

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[121] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 105-109
[122] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 109-110
[123] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 132-134

finished by the latter: it has sixty-five rooms. 2. Medresseh Abdallah-Khan has forty rooms. 3. Medresseh Bikei was built by a common Uzbek, whom Abdallah-Khan had raised to the dignity of Bey, as a recompence for having once led back the Amir to the right road, which he had lost in a sporting party, and for having shown him hospitability, without knowing his person. This medresseh has fifty rooms. 4. Medresseh Sarai, situated in the old town."[124] Khanykov offers also information on the question of waqf and madrasah: "If the grant be made in favour of a medresseh, which is most frequently the case, the donor is obliged to specify what portion of its revenue is to be alloted for the Mudaris, the Imam, the Mutaveli, and Sufi, as well as to add that the surplus is to be distributed by right to the mullahs."[125]

In one of such kind of accounts, repots and travel books of European travellers are another source of valuable information on madrasahs in Central Asia in the nineteenth century. Lansdell provides in his book details on the students and their curriculum: "Having referred to so many Central Asian medresses I must not omit to say something about the kind of life the students in them. The composition of a college consists of the direction, the teachers, and the students. The *mutawali* look after property of the college. The teachers are called *mudarises*, meaning readers or teachers, and the students *shagirds*, or disciples. The last may be of any age from 15 upwards. No special forms, and no standard of knowledge, are necessary for admission.

The course of instruction is not limited as to time. Some of the students stay 30 and 40 years, affirming that if a bird could fly for 30,000 years in straight line, the distance it traversed would scarcely give an idea of the depth of Muhammadan learning. The prose of that Oriental calculation is that some of the students like so well their cell, in which somehow or other they can generally get a piece of bread – from the foundation, by begging, or a little work – that they do not care to leave. Students are grouped, though not sharply, in three courses. In the lower course there are taught grammar and rhetoric; in the middle dialectics and metaphysics; and in the upper, jurisprudence, which also comprises the adoration of God. The student is free to choose, and the majority takes jurisprudence, few going through the complete curriculum of study. The method of instruction is to commit to memory, and then receive comments thereon. A man who can say the Koran from end to end, or beginning at any part, can go on repeating it, is deemed a scholar, though he may be utterly unable to translate a chapter, and know nothing of Arabic. Many, indeed, study nothing but the Koran for 8 or 9 years. Of sciences based on facts, of the methods of working induction, of physics, chemistry, history, geography, the Muhammadan students hears not the name, nor of modern languages, unless it be Uzbeg or Tajik. I could not hear of such a thing in Bokhara or Khiva as an Uzbeg grammar or dictionary, though they have various books – religious, poetical, historical – printed in this language, and in Tajik, Arabic, and Jagatai Tatar."[126]

In a part of his book, which refers to Bukharan madrasahs, Lansdell provides the data on the structure, population and costs associated with their construction: "We next went to see of the medresses, or colleges: first to that called Kokol-tash for 146 students, and built, they told me, about 300 years ago, though Vambery gives the date 1426. I asked what it would cost to erect such a building in Bokhara now, and they thought 1,250 pounds. The medresse is largely supported by legacies… This medresse

[124] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 140-141
[125] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. p. 152
[126] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* Londo: 1885. pp. 290-292

was the same in form as those we had seen in Samarkand, but far less handsome, and consisted of a quadrangular building, with two stories of rooms opening on a court with a few trees and a pool of water, or fountain. The upper rooms were for students, and are sold or let to them, whilst the lower for instruction. The second medresse in importance is the Miri-arab, concerning which my notes say "114 rooms and 230 mullahs." … The natives are fond of fixing the number of their medresses at 365."[127] Lansdell gives almost similar description of madrasahs in Khiva. "My notes say "4 large medresses and many small." The medresse of Allah-Kuli was built by the present Khan's father, about 40 years ago. It is of 2 stories, and has 100 students they said. That of Kutlug Murad Inaghs about 100 students. On the square, before the Khan's winter palace, is the Medresse Madrahim, built by the present Khan, with from 60 to 70 students only. Not far distant is the most important medresse in Khiva – that of Muhammad Emin (contracted to Madamin) Khan, which they said was 30 years old. Taken in all, this was about the most complete we had seen, and gave us a fair idea of what many of the medresses in Central Asia must have looked before they began to fall into ruin. And that is not saying very much; for, to a European eye, they have a dull, unfinished, unfaced look about them that is disappointing. Their photographs flatter them. This medresse, with 130 cells, has a large quadrangular court, with a well, and is surrounded by cells fitted with hearths, where each student does his cooking – when he has anything, that is, to cook. In one I saw samovar, china teapots, and felts, but for the most part everything looked poverty-stricken."[128]

Arminius Vambery in his fundamental work 'Travels in Central Asia' pays attention to costs associated with professors and staff working in the madrasahs. "The number of colleges and their magnificent endowments are, in Central Asia, always a criterion of the degree of prosperity and religious instruction of the population; and when we consider the limited means at their disposal, we cannot but laud the zeal and the readiness to make sacrifices, evidenced both by King and subject, when a college is about to be founded and endowed. Bokhara, the oldest seat of Islamite civilization in Central Asia, is a pattern in this respect; but some colleges exist in Khiva also, and of these we shall particularly mention the following: (1) Medemin (abbreviation of Mehemmed Emin) Khan Medressesi, built in 1842, by a Persian architect, after the model of a Persian karavanserai of the first rank. On the right is a massive tower, somewhat loftier than the two-storied Medresse, but which, owing to the death of the builder remains imperfect. This college has 130 cells, accommodation for 260 students; it enjoys a revenue of 12,000 Khivan batman of wheat, and 5,000 Tilla (2,500l. sterling) in money. To give the reader an idea of this institution, I will state the manner in which this revenue is apportioned, in order to show the parties composing the *personnel*.

	Batman.	Tilla.
5 Akhond (professors) receive yearly	3,000	150
1 Iman	2,000	40
1 Muezzin (caller to prayers)	200	0
2 Servants	200	0
1 Barber	200	0
2 Muttewali, or inspectors receive a tithe of the residue is divided amongst the students, who form 3 classes		

[127] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. p. 89
[128] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. p. 288

1st class	60	4
2 nd	30	2
3 rd	15	1

(2) Allahkuli Khan Medressesi has 120 cells, and the yearly revenue of the pupils is fifty Batman and two Tilla… These medresses are the only edifices in the midst of the mud huts that deserve the name of houses. Their courts are for the most part keep clean, are planted with trees, or used as gardens. On the subjects in which instruction is given we will speak hereafter, remarking only by the way, that the lectures themselves are delivered in the cells of the professors, to groups of scholars ranged together according to the degree of their intellectual capacity."[129] Here is Vambery's description of madrasahs in Bukhara: "The Bokhariot prides himself upon the number of these colleges, and fixes them at his favourite figure, 365. There are, however, not more than 80… We may remark, that the colleges of Bokhara and Samarcand are the cause why so high an idea not only prevailed throughout Islam, but existed for a long time even amongst Europeans, as to the learning of the superior schools in Central Asia. The readiness to make the sacrifice which the foundation of such establishments supposes, may by a superficial observer be easily mistaken and ascribed to a higher motive. Unhappily, merely blind fanatism lies at the root; and the same thing occurs here as took place during the middle ages, for, with the exception of what is given in a few books upon Mantik (logic) and Hikmet (philosophy), there is no instruction at all but in the Koran and religious casuistry. Now and then, perhaps, one may be found who would like to busy himself with poetry and history, but his studies must be in secret, as it is regarded as a disgrace to devote oneself to any such frivolous subjects. The aggregate number of students has been represented to me as about 5,000; they flock thither, not merely out of all parts of Central Asia, but also from India, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Russia and China. The poorer receive an annual pension from the Emir, for it is by means of these Medresse, and its severe observance of Islamism, that Bokhara is able to exercise a spiritiual influence upon neighbouring countries."[130]

English journalist Edmond O'Donovan provides the evidence on the extent of educational system of semi-nomadic Turkmen who lived in and around fort Ak-Kala in the Gorgan river district: "Within sight are three *medresses*, or collegiate institutions, for the instruction of Turcoman students for the priesthood."[131] Same author gives an interesting information on a madrasah in Merv and ironically describes a character of a person, who could be connected to the madrasah: "At this point, too, was the *medresse* or college, presided over by a Turcoman much renowned for his erudition, and named Khadja Nefess. His academy, a large and not unpicturesque edifice of loam, was surrounded by a grove of pomegranate, jujube, peach, and willow trees. I never had an opportunity of meeting this worthy. He studiously kept aloof from me, doubtless lest his sanctity might be impaired by contact with a giaour, for he had a great reputation for holiness – whether deserved or not I am unable to say. I had heard of him at Gumush Tepe; and the Yamuds there seemed to deem him the opposite of a holy person. I believe that in his time he had been a great raider, and had amassed considerable wealth by the sale of captives seized upon the frontier of the neighbouring kingdom."[132]

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[129] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Travels in Central Asia.* London: 1864. pp. 332-333
[130] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Travels in Central Asia.* London: 1864. pp .363-365
[131] O'DONOVAN, Edmond. *The Merv Oasis, volume I.* London: 1882. p. 276
[132] O'DONOVAN, Edmond. *The Merv Oasis, volume II.* London: 1882. pp. 152-153

In the story of his childhood prominent Tajik writer and scholar Ayni (1878-1954), gives first hand account of life and curriculum at the madrasah in Bukhara, which he attended from 1889-1893. The curriculum of compulsory subjects comprised Arabic, morphology and syntax, logic, rhetoric, sciences in theological interpretation, rules of ablution, fasting, burial, pilgrimage to Mecca, of purification, alms-giving, regulations for buying and selling, slave-owning and the release of slaves, marriages and divorce and analogous sharia rules. Mathematics and literature could be studied outside. Preliminary, mainly linguistic, courses took three years and were studied with a master's senior pupils. Main courses, which covered interpretation, logic, metaphysics and law took up from five to ten years, and were done with the selected teacher himself.[133]

In madrasahs the studies were held entirely in Arabic. Uzbek or Tajik languages were used only for some minimal explanation of difficult points.[134]

The exceptional position of Islam and the clergy was of no coincidence; it stemmed from the very nature of feudal society, in which the religion and the religious nature of social consciousness had become the necessary attribute of society. First of all, the clergy had a monopoly over education. The whole system of education and upbringing, from the lowest level (the maktab) to the highest (madrasah), was concentrated in their hands. Second, the clergy also exercised legal functions, giving their class the highest level of political importance in society. They monopolized the right to interpret the law on the basis of figh (jurisprudence, understanding) of the sharia (Islamic law). The dominant position of Islam and the clergy relates in the first place to the settled populations of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to a great extent and to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan to a lesser degree. Among the nomads, however, the influence of religion on the way of life and thought both of the individual and of the society as a whole was quite superficial.

Summarising information on madrasahs in the Central Asia, it is possible to outline some characteristics:

1. Usually madrasah, primary school and mosque were a symbiosis. Some scholars pointed out, that not all madrasahs in Bukhara, for example, could exist in the classical meaning of theologian institute, but also just as a separate dormitory, or cells for students of madrasahs. Cells for students could even be built under shops, they were also called madrasah.[135]

2. Professors (mudarris or akhonds) were not present in all madrasahs. The presence of professors in madrasah was regulated by the character of waqf document, where it was specified how many professors can lecture on the premises and how they must be paid in a certain madrasah.

3. Madrasah was maintained and financed as from the state, which was represented by ruler or by private person, who was established a special foundation for this reason.

4. Madrasah in the 2nd half of the 19th century was really a theological studying centre and was not at that time a source for propagation and dissemination of modern sciences or ideas.

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[133] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century : a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 35

[134] GAFUROV, B.G. *Istoriya tadzhikskogo naroda*. Moscow: 1952. p.378

[135] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie.* Moscow, 1966. pp. 73-74

5. Madrasah's graduates could use their skills and knowledge in the state administrative machinery above all, but also as a by-product from this mass, a number of educated, bright scholars, writers, poets and public figures sprang to life.

4.2. Intellectual and cultural fermentation

In the second part of the 19th century the ethnic composition and socio-political structure of Central Asian society were rather complicated. The Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbek peoples belonged to various states. Since ancient times the peoples of the region had lived in close contact and influenced one another, developing many common features in their material and spiritual culture and way of life. An important role in this process was played by Islam, which for many centuries had been the region's dominant religion. While emphasizing the common history of the region's peoples we should nevertheless note the nature of the differences between them, in particular their various historical and cultural traditions. Some (the Tajiks, and to a considerable extent the Uzbeks) led a settled way of life, others were in transition to a settled way of life, while some still remained nomadic and began the transition to a settled way of life only in the Soviet period. These circumstances are important for any analysis and understanding of the problems of their spiritual life. Two cultures interacted, and continue to interact in the region, as components of all human culture – the settled (Iranian) culture and the nomadic (Turkic) culture.

The socio-political thought of the region's peoples of the emirate of Bukhara, the khanate of Khiva and Turkestan at that time cannot be understood without an analysis of the religion as a form of social consciousness and its place in the society. Religion dominated all spheres of life in the society and determined the nature of education and upbringing, filling people's everyday affairs, their way of life and way of thinking. It is no exaggeration to say that Islam constituted the legal system, the political and moral doctrine and the social philosophy in the emirate of Bukhara and the khanate of Khiva.

In the emirate of Bukhara, as in the Central Asian khanates, changes and innovations in the spheres of production and social relations took place extremely slowly. One generation after another tended to encapsulate the same social structures which were copied and passed on to the next generation. It was from this kind of society, however, that a great social reformer emerged. Ahmad Donish (1827-1897) was one of the reformers of the Jadid[136] movement in Central Asia. Humanistic ideas and traditions of the history of philosophy and social thought of Tajik people provided the theoretical basis for Donish's, also known as Ahmad Kalle, social philosophy. The formation of his Jadid views was undoubtedly influenced by his three visits to Russia (1858, 1868 and 1873), with the aim to study the situation there and his activities as a secretary of Bukharan delegation leaving for Russia. For Bukhara of the second half of the 19th century, the modernizing social philosophy of Donish was a theory of social importance, expressing the thoughts and aspirations of the people and aimed at the reconstruction of the country's social life. His legacy greatly influenced the

[136] The Jadids were modernizing social and political reformers who were inspired by the ideas of the European Enlightenment and subsequent European modernization. The word Jadid means "new".

ubsequent development of social thought among the Tajiks, Uzbeks and other Central Asian peoples.[137]

Progressive historian, poet and literature critic Mirza Azimi Sami (1837-1909) was a contemporary of Donish. He was a sharp social critic of the emir, his courtiers and practices prevailing in Bukhara.[138]

Mirza Siraj Hakim (1877-1914) was a young contemporary of Sami. Born in Bukhara, he travelled a great deal, visiting the Caucasus, Russia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, France and Britain. He learned about modern medicine in Europe, graduated from medical college in Tehran and practised medicine in Bukhara and Iran. Hakim wrote a fundamental work, reflecting his Jadid ideas.[139]

Tash Khoja Asiri (1864-1915) was born in the town of Khojent. Asiri was well known in the literary circles of Khokand, Samarkand and Bukhara. Asiri broached questions of daily life, education, culture and morality.[140]

Literature kept mostly to traditional moulds and was largely repetitive. In Khokand, an anthology of 25 contemporary poets was published and several compendiums of local history.[141] Barthold gives a number 75, but in fact pieces of 101 writers were included into the anthology of Khokand poets.[142] A lyrical poet from Khokand, Mukimi (1851-1903), who tried to bring literary Chagatay nearer to the popular tongue, was famous also for his satires, which were written on personal request and passed from hand to hand.[143]

Khiva, which managed to maintain an almost unbroken tradition of scholarship and history, due to its formidable natural barriers against invasion, kept the tradition of scholar and official in the person of the Mirza Bashi of the last khan, who was also a poet and historian.

The newer tendencies in literature, however, took place not only within the cities but in nomadic khanates both within and outside the overlordship of Khokand, Khiva or Bukhara. The Turkmen lyrical poet Mollanepes wrote his pieces in Turkmen using an original rhyme arrangement. He also produced a version of the epic of Zohre and Tahir. In the second half of the 19th century, Turkmen intellectual thought faced two important tasks. The first was to overcome the clan and tribal feuding and unite the Turkmens in a single nation, and the second concerned relations with Russia. The leading Turkmen poets tried to the best of their ability provide the answers to the questions raised in the course of national historical development. The writings of Turkmen Jadid Oveztagan Katibi (1803-1881) centred on the first of these two tasks. He was particularly concerned with the idea of national unity, overcoming the clan

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[137] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. pp. 190-191, also BRAGINSKY I.S. *Issledovaniya po tadzhikskoi kul'ture.* Moscow: 1977. p. 177

[138] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. p.192

[139] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. p.192

[140] MUMINOV, I.M., et al. *Istoriya Bukhary*. Tashkent: 1976. p. 188

[141] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century : a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 33

[142] BARTHOLD, V.V. *Istoriya kul'turnoi zhizni Turkestana.* Leningrad: 1927. p. 115

[143] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century : a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 33, also BRAGINSKY I.S. *Issledovaniya po tadzhikskoi kul'ture.* Moscow: 1977. pp. 178-179

and tribal feuding and creating a single national state being the factors promoting social progress.[144]

Miskinklych (1850-1907) was a contemporary of Katibi. After Katibi, creative works of Miskinklych raised the most acute socio-political questions. Miskinklych spoke with indignation about the coexistence of luxury and idleness with poverty and slavery in the society of his times. He condemned the senseless fratricidal clashes between Turkmen tribes. Turkmen poets were critical of Russia because for the most part they saw only one side – invasion and colonization.[145]

Oral epics were still sung by indigenous bards. The veteran Kazakh bard, Dzhambul, who was born in about 1846 on the river Chu, continued well into the post-Soviet era. Toktogul Satylganov, a Kyrgyz bard, was nearly his contemporary.

Manas, the fourteenth century Kyrgyz epic, was first studied and written down by the orientalists Ch. Valikhanov and V.V. Radlov. Chokan Valikhanov (1835-1865) was an outstanding Kazakh intellectual. He was born into the family of a pro-Russian hereditary khan and graduated from the cadet college in Omsk.[146] He raised an idea about the benefits of knowledge and the people's need for education. These ideas attracted the Kazakh reformist Ibray Altynsarin (1841-1889) and the founder of Kazakh literature Abay Kunanbayev (1845-1904). Altynsarin was a well-known teacher and poet, he defended secular education, indeed, he devoted his whole life to the cause of popular education.[147] Abay was a son of powerful bey, as a boy he was sent from his traditional camping grounds to study at the madrasah at Semipalatinsk, where he also studied in a Russian school and read Russian poets and writers. Abay was much influenced by such prominent Russian writers as Pushkin, Dostoevsky and Nekrasov and Eastern writers like Ferdowsi, Nizami and Nawai. He wrote and translated both verse and prose. He developed and varied Kazakh oral poetry.

Kalygul Bay-uulu, Arstanbek Boylosh-uulu, Moldo Niyaz, Moldo Klych and Togolok Moldo were popular Kyrgyz poets who played an important part in the formation of the thinking of the Kyrgyz.

Berdimurad Berdakh (1827-1900) was a famous Karakalpak poet. He witnessed several popular uprisings against the khan of Khiva. Some of these poems, particularly *Amangeldy*, were dedicated to this uprising. He devoted a special poem to the history of Karakalpaks. Much of his poetry is concerned with moral issues in social life.[148]

Who formed the intellectual classes in the Central Asian cities and where were they educated? Nearly all of the available biographies show that the indigenous publicists were educated in the first instance in the madrasahs of Samarkand, Khokand and Khiva (as contrasted to the intelligentsia of the steppes). The tradition of the educated civil servants in the emir's entourage, as well as that of ruler-scholar, was continued in the nineteenth century at least in Khiva. These were isolated cases and likely to be found in Khiva rather than in Bukhara; in the latter, intellectuals were to be increasingly found outside court and administrative circles rather than inside them. Mukimi was educated at madrasahs in Khokand, Bukhara and Tashkent. Firkat

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[144] ATAMAMMEDOV, N.M., et al. *Turkmen Sovet Enciklopediyasi.* Ashgabat: 1983. p. 114
[145] ATAMAMMEDOV, N.M., et al. *Turkmen Sovet Enciklopediyasi.* Ashgabat: 1983. p. 506
[146] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. p. 187
[147] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. p. 188
[148] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. p. 189

(1858-1909) a poet travelled and lived in Egypt, India and China, where he died; he learnt and read Russian easily, so he was able to read Russian poetry in the original. Hamzah Hakim-zadeh (1889-1929), poet, publicist and playwright of Khokand, was educated at the madrasahs of Khokand, Namangan and Tashkent. It should also be noted that the Tajik intellectuals spoke Uzbek well and Uzbek intellectuals knew Tajik, an important factor in their creative cooperation.[149]

4.3. Jadid movement

The literary and cultural activity throughout Central Asia, though it belies the general view held in the West of almost complete stagnation, is nevertheless eclipsed by the verve and promise of writers, poets and thinkers in the Tatar circles of Kazan' and Ufa and Azerbaijani circles in Baku.[150] The cultural ferment at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century was much more marked there. The Jadid movement when it reached Central Asia was a much paler and more anaemic growth both in its cultural and political strength of the Kazan' and Azerbaijani movement was due to proximity to Turkey, or, on the contrary, to the impulses of closer contact with Russian intellectual life and to Georgian or Armenian intellectual life; or to a nationalism made strong in antipathy to Russian nationalism, and intermittent russification programmes; or to cross-currents of all these is not immediately relevant to the present study. All these elements were much more remote and less pressing in the nineteenth century in Central Asia and a renaissance, for these reasons, was likely either to be derivative or else not to come to full flower until half a century later.

Kazan' and Baku were not the only places from which ideas came to Bukhara and Khiva. India was another source, and though in Muslim India cultural crosscurrents were less strong, they nevertheless existed and through cultural and historical affinity as well as geographical proximity, it is these, which were the more likely to influence thought in Turkestan. But in the nineteenth century Central Asia its effects were still embryonic. In Muslim India, the pull of traditionalist revival and that of "westernizing" inspiration is exemplified by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Iqbal, whose political and social writings were an important influence on the adaptation of Islam to the contemporary world. How much of this penetrated to Bukhara by the traditional trade route is hard to assess. Lithographed and printed books and pamphlets from India reached the bazaars of Bukhara and Khokand in relatively large numbers.[151] But it is difficult in present circumstances to weigh the direct evidence of cultural contacts. The new ideas in Bukhara appeared as tentative efforts to establish modern method schools, as intermittent struggles with the emir and the conservative Muslim clergy, while among Tatars or in Azerbaijan they (ideas) were in full flood and influenced neighbour Muslim countries.

4.4. New-method schools and Russo-indigenous schools

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[149] BRAGINSKY, I.S. *Issledovaniya po tadzhikskoi kul'ture.* Moscow: 1977. pp. 169-180

[150] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century : a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 34

[151] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century : a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 34

The realities of daily life for the Muslim peoples within the Russian empire were such that the need to reform the educational system became the cornerstone of the Jadid movement and an important issue in the socio-political life of these people. Without education there can be no social progress.

The general spiritual condition of Russia's Muslims was described by I. Gasprinsky (Gaspirali, 1851-1914) as social and intellectual isolation and total immobility in all spheres of activity. The problem of educational reform in the makatbs and madrasahs had been raised by the Tatar Jadids Abu Nasr Kursavi (1765-1813) and Shahab al-Din Majani (1848-1889), both of whom had studied in Bukhara.[152] They were opposed to the scholastic system of education and supported the inclusion of secular science in the teaching programme. In 1884 a new-method teaching school was established in Bakhchisaray (Crimea). The new-method of teaching reposed in teaching of reading and writing by the new phonetic method.[153] This was the first Russian-Muslim school to adopt the new method of teaching. The first school operating on these principles opened in Andizhan in 1889 and over the next 10-15 years nearly all the towns and large rural settlements had new-method schools. This reform spread to the emirate of Bukhara and khanate of Khiva, though resistance from the orthodox clergy and the hostility of the ruling emirs hamstrung their progress. The first such schools in Bukhara emirate were Tatar ones. New-method school was opened in Kagan (a city in the emirate of Bukhara) in 1902. The growth of the network of new-method schools for the native population, that is, Uzbeks and Tajiks, began in 1905.

Schools became both centres of new ideas, and a main bone of contention between progressives and traditionalists and between progressives and authority. Inevitably the progressives' position was complicated by the imperial issue: "new method" schools could easily be accused of disseminating an alien, i.e. Russian, culture. The "new-method" schools were often ephemeral but even so, the number of these schools was impressive. Bukhara, Khokand and Tashkent were the three main centres of reform; reformist ideas from Turkey and Gasprinsky's paper Tarjuman were used as an auxiliary textbook in schools. Together with theological literacy and sharia lessons, there were classes of arithmetic, geography, history and natural science.[154] The new-method schools were different from the traditional ones because they featured desks, separate classes, and teaching aid subjects, like globe. Due to the new phonetic method of learning languages, children could learn alphabet and basic knowledge faster. The main goal of establishing of "new-method" schools was to bring some efforts at modernization, together with certain experience, the backing of an established indigenous press and business capacity.

Another of educationalists' dream was to develop "Russo-indigenous" schools, which had a progressively devised curriculum for primary education and, after a tussle with those who supported a straight Christian missionary education, Muslim religious instruction. Sayyid Azim, a merchant of Tashkent, first proposed such schooling in 1867. The school effectively started in 1884, at first in Sayyid Ghani's house, son of the above. V.P. Nalivkin, Russian orientalist and philologist, who worked as an inspector of indigenous schools in Turkestan from 1873, became

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[152] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century*. Paris: 2005. p. 195

[153] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century*. Paris: 2005. p. 195

[154] MUMINOV, I.M., et al. *Istoriya Bukhary*. Tashkent: 1976. pp. 186-187

the school's first teacher. Despite of the fact that this school was open in the house of a rich local person, who even got some European habits and customs, the establishers of school purposely did not put any European school desks for not to malaise indigenous pupils with strange background; 39 boys were sitting on the carpets or matts with the books in their hands.[155] These schools, however, did not flourish, in spite of sincere efforts on the part of Russian educationalists, such as Ostroumov and Nalivkin, and of administrators who saw in them the main road to fruitful symbiosis. In Khiva a Russo-indigenous school was open in the 1880s. Khivan khan and notables sent their children there to learn Russian language. In the year 1885 in the Russian colleges in Tashkent, Samarkand and some others two scholarship places that effort children from Bukhara were opened and prepared, but did not bring fruitful results. The first Russo-indigenous school in Bukhara was opened in 1894.[156] The main differentiating feature of the Russo-indigenous school was that the mixed school taught the indigenous children in their native languages through the Cyrillic script. Russian was used to teach basic courses in morals, nature, human and physical geography, history and arithmetic. The mixed schools nevertheless failed to attract local students. By the end of the tsarist period, Turkestan had 40,000 students in modern elementary schools, of which only 7,000 were indigenous.[157] There was barely any interest shown in spreading modern higher education. The increase in of number of traditional madrasahs in Tashkent during the period 1876-1910, for example, from 11 to 22, and from 120 to 204 in Ferghana in the period 1892-1911 could be seen as the traditionalist response to colonial educations and efforts to assimilate local youth.[158] Even in the nomadic areas, where formal education had not spread earlier, religious schools proliferated along with secular ones.

4.5. The press and book printing

Like modern education, the press in Central Asia came into existence as an instrument of colonization and served to propagate the values and views of the colonizers. However, modern education created a modernized elite from whose ranks came the pioneers of national awakening and a reading public that was small, but indispensable to the nation-building project. From the end of the 19th century a vibrant and varied press existed outside the ambit of the administrations. The colonial administration had introduced a certain amount of printed material to Central Asia since 1870, when the government bulletin *Turkestan willayatining gazeti* (produced in Tashkent and printed alternately in Kazakh and Chagatay) was circulated. Another government bulletin produced in both the Persian and Turkmen languages was published in Ashkhabad region between 1904 and 1917.

Was there a reading public and how extensive was it? What did it read and to what extent did local writers supply for its needs? It is possible to give some pointers for an answer. First, as to the reading public. The library in Khiva had been preserved and in fact enriched by Muhammad Rahim and Russian scholars given access to its collections.[159] The Bukhara and Samarkand libraries had been greatly impoverished

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[155] BARTHOLD, V.V. *Istoriya kul'turnoi zhizni Turkestana.* Leningrad, 1927. p. 131
[156] MUMINOV, I.M., et al. *Istoriya Bukhary*. Tashkent: 1976. p. 186
[157] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. p. 564
[158] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. p. 565
[159] BARTHOLD, V.V. *Istoriya kul'turnoi zhizni Turkestana.* Leningrad, 1927. p. 118

already in Khan Nasrullah's time and Russian scholars were finding difficulty in tracing sources and restoring collections. This work of research and restoration and been taken up particularly keenly by professor N.P. Ostroumov, editor of newspaper 'Turkestanskie Vedomosti' from 1883-1917 with the collaboration of indigenous scholars.[160]

The first printing press was established in Tashkent in 1868; this by 1870, besides Russian and Arabic, printed supplements to the 'Turkestanskie Vedomosti' in Chagatay. In 1877 the first private press was established in Tashkent; both that and the official one had lithographic departments. In 1874 a Court Lithographer to the Khiva khan, Muhammad Rahim, was appointed. The lithography was run by a local printer, Atajan Abdalov (b. 1856), who had studied at a school run by Russians, and who was taught lithography by a Persian visiting Khiva in 1874-1878.[161] The first production from his press was Alisher Navoi's Khamsa. There were lithographic presses established by local lithographers in old Tashkent (established in 1906), Samarkand (1894), Andizhan (1904), Namangan (1909), Bukhara (1901). A table of presses for the period in Tashkent, Andizhan, Khokand and Namangan shows as many as 50 in some years (with a maximum of 25 in Tashkent), with a maximum total of 453 workers.[162] A report by N.P.Ostroumov of 1881 urges the need for better censorship arrangements: censorship was in St. Petersburg, which meant long delay and hampered growth. The requirement that a considerable number of copies must be deposited in central libraries and ministries was also a difficulty.

The Khiva lithographers published the Divans of Munis, Ahmad Tabib's (court physician) works, Muhammad Rahim's own poems, "as well as those of thirty others, including princes, state servants, clergy of all ranks including madrasah students", and translations from Persian. License applications give the lists of authors. The first local translation of a Russian classic was Tolstoy's What Men Live By in 1887 by Firkat, followed by some Pushkin centenary translations in 1899 by Mukimi. More translations from Russian followed slowly, including such authors as Zhukovsky and Krylov. Central Asia along with book publishing there was a trend of growth in numbers of licensed bookshops all around in cities; the leading place in this aspect was taken by Khokand and Namangan.[163] Some of those bookshops were famous across the entire Central Asian region at the beginning of the 20th century. Russian, Turkish, Persian editions, books from Bombay and Calcutta were sold there.[164]

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[160] BARTHOLD, V.V. *Istoriya kul'turnoi zhizni Turkestana.* Leningrad, 1927. p. 118

[161] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century : a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. pp. 35-36

[162] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century : a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 36

[163] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century : a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 36

[164] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century : a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 37

5. SOCIETY AND ECONOMY OF CENTRAL ASIA

5.1. Nomadic societies

Central Asia consists of a vast area where the pastoral economy prevails over the larger part, side by side with agriculture mainly based on irrigation covering a much smaller space. There are nomadic communities, pasturing their herds over large areas of grassland and desert, and which have coexisted with sedentary populations scattered in dense pockets of cultivated tracts located in oases and narrow river valleys.

Pastoralism requires a far larger area to feed a family than agriculture does. Unlike peasant agriculture in which particular plots either belonged to, or were under the occupation of, a single household, a herdsman's family could not be restricted to such a limited piece of land. Rather, it was the ownership and control over a number of particular animals that were the essential elements of the herdsman's property. The right to pasture animals in a relatively large area was normally shared with other herdsmen, usually the same clan or tribe.[165] The clan or tribe, therefore, substituted for the village, or the village community, or peasants.

The pastoral economy involves nomadism; most typically when the herdsmen in mountainous areas move from lower grounds in winter, higher in summer. In the plains of lands of northern latitudes this generally takes the form of a south-to-north movement. Such seasonal movements meant that there could be no permanent home for pastoralists, only camping grounds. The word "yurt", with its various meanings in Turkic languages down the centuries, brings out clearly the very different perceptions that the nomad has of his home: 'abandoned camping place', 'a specific kind of felt tent' and 'a community'.[166]

A factor for instability in the nomadic steppes was, perhaps, not only the growth of excess population among the nomads – so often invoked as the reason behind the nomadic invasions of territories of other nomads and of sedentary populations – but also the increasing numbers of animals so that the lands on which a tribe pastured its herds might no longer suffice. As a result not only did warfare frequently break out among the steppe tribes, but vast migrations of tribes with their herds also occurred.

People in the steppe bred horses, along sheep, camels, and cattle. As herdsmen, they all had to be skilled horsemen. In times when cavalry was the principal military arm everywhere in Eurasia, this gave the tribes the appearance of large groups of armed horsemen. The military power that horse-breeding and riding gave to steppe peoples is surely one factor which sustained the institutions of statehood in the steppes, going much beyond ordinary tribal chiefdoms.

No state can exist without resources, whether in money or in kind. In the steppes it was sheep, which formed practically standard unit of wealth.

A major obstruction to effective centralization was undoubtedly the absence of well-developed bureaucratic apparatus that could have constrained the powers of the

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[165] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 344

[166] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 344

clan chiefs. The existence of steppe statehood makes it clear that we are dealing with a fairly well stratified, hierarchical society whose relatively rough manners should not be thought of as representing any kind of egalitarianism. Steppe society must also have been stratified according to wealth that mainly depended upon the number of herd animals one owned. Below the 'free' mass of herdsmen, rich and poor, there was also a fairly large segment of semi-servile and servile populations.

The nomads of the steppes generally had the reputation of being slave-raiders; this reputation is principally associated with the Turkmens, and there are nineteenth century accounts of their being engaged in capturing slaves.[167] It should, of course, be remembered that the steppe people too were subjected to enslavement to meet the demand for slaves in sedentary societies.

5.2. Sedentary societies

In Central Asia agricultural areas were confined to oases and narrow river line valleys, and did not form large territorial blocks as in the great agrarian regions of the world (eastern China, the basin of river Gang, western Europe). Sedentary societies in Central Asia often had, therefore, the appearance of islands within a sea of steppes, and thus sedentary populations often coexisted as close neighbours with nomadic communities. These relationships involved ethnic differences between nomad and settlers in certain historical periods; yet often enough nomads and settlers also shared common languages because of geographic proximity, or because of the transformation of nomads into peasants. And yet despite such demographic admixtures the two societies, by their economic nature, required totally different systems of organization. Nomads, for example, needed generally to be organized in tribes, whereas settlers, inhabiting permanent villages and engaged in multiple professions, had essentially local or territorial, not tribal affinities. The fundamental unit of pre-modern sedentary society was not, therefore, the kinship group, clan or tribe, but the 'village community'.

A framework of co-operation has existed among villagers in most sedentary societies, especially when in pre-modern conditions the villages were largely isolated units of habitation. In the arid zones of Central Asia, irrigation became one important factor binding the villagers together. It is often difficult to establish how the irrigation channels were originally built; but in areas outside the great landowners' estates, the distribution of the water from these channels was usually based on village custom.

The village community did not imply any communal ownership or cooperative cultivation. It coexisted with individual cultivation, leading to peasant rights over definite parcels of land. Such a right was not necessarily a property right, since property implies not only saleability but also rent appropriation. One of the reasons for this was that the land tax in almost all parts of Central Asia far exceeded the claims on peasants by local intermediaries. Indeed it was the ruler who was often recognized as the owner of the land in Central Asia and in all states of Muslim world. In all sedentary communities of Central Asia, however there were intermediary layers of rights between ruler and peasants as well.

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[167] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 347, also LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. p. 45, also VAMBERY, Arminius. *Travels in Central Asia.* London: 1864. pp. 191-193, 317-319

The state, with its increasing ability to collect taxes, itself generated particular changes in the social structure. Ever since they came into existence, towns have depended for their existence on the surplus received from villages. The ruler's dependants and retainers and artisans, labourers and servants, who met the consumption requirements of the ruling classes, had to be fed and clothed from resources obtained from the countryside, more conveniently through tax-generated trade.[168]

5.3. Pastoral production and jobs

The geographic conditions of Central Asia (deserts, wastelands and steppes) are typified by high isolation, dryness and marked aridity, a continental climate with seasonal differences, long-term climatic variability, periodic droughts and scanty water resources, resulting in seasonal, sparse and stunted growth of vegetation with little nutritive value. The zone forms, in consequence, an extremely fragile ecosystem with a predisposition towards erosion and desertification, and in especially vulnerable to degradation from human activity.[169]

The year-round pasturing of cattle was the main distinguishing feature of the nomadic economy. In Central Asia Kazakhs, Kyrgyzs and Turkmens were nomadic or semi-nomadic by origin. Whereas the stabling system was based on bringing fodder to where the cattle were kept, the nomadic system brought the cattle to where the fodder existed. This was conditioned by the low productivity and sparseness of vegetation, the impossibility of making hay and the storages of fodder and water resources, which excluded any significant concentration of herd animals in a particular area; it was also conditioned by the seasonal nature of the yield of pastures, which necessitated periodic movements of the herds in search of fodder. A sheep annually needed a dry weight of 1,314 kg of desert fodder, 1,5 cubic metres of water and 20 ha of pasture.[170] Even vegetation was sparse, nomadic Turkmen recognized such plants for fodder as *gonurbash*, *yilak*, *durnadaban*, *ak tiken*, *ashyk oty*, *ejik*, *yovshan*, *selin* and *gamysh*.[171] The large size of pasture needed for just one head of sheep shows how low the productivity of land was and how much the herds had to be moved to exploit the land. The territory occupied by nomads was used by them for winter, summer, spring and autumn pasturing, depending on the environmental conditions. On average the length of the annual migrations did not exceed 50-100 km, although it could on occasion be as much as 1,000-2,500 km.[172] The nature of the environment and economic needs determined the composition of the herds and flocks, in which, on average, 60 percent of all animals were sheep, 13 percent horses, 12 percent cattle and 4 percent camels. Under arid conditions there was a selection of those species, namely camels, sheep and goats that needed the least amount of water for survival and were able to subsist on the vegetation specific to the arid zone. For example, whereas cattle and horse ate

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[168] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 353
[169] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 373
[170] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 374
[171] YAZLIEV, CH. *Istoriya i khoziaistvennoe razvitie naseleniia Sredenego Murgaba (XIX-nachalo XX v.)*. Ashkhabad: 1985. p. 24
[172] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p 374

only 109 of the 288 plant species of the desert zone of Kazakhstan, camels ate 148 and sheep 167.[173]

The continental climate determined the selection of species that possessed a winter grazing reflex, as found in horses, sheep and goats, while the need for rational grazing necessitated a herding instinct, also found in horses, sheep and goats. Animals of different species generally grazed separately. They had different requirements regarding the amount and quality of drinking water. Thus, for example, water containing as much as 5 or even 10 grams of dissolved salts per litre was suitable only for sheep and camels and, in short term, for cattle, but quite unsuitable for horses.[174]

The ability of animals to adapt rapid and frequent migrations played an especially important part in determining the species composition of the herds and flocks. Under the most favourable conditions, flocks of sheep could move 0,6-1,2 km in an hour when grazing and 1,1-1,5 km in an hour when being driven over grass, while cattle could move 0,5-1,6 km in an hour when freely grazing. Watering places could accordingly be 4-5 km apart for sheep, 2-2,5 km for cattle, 5-8 km for horses and 8-10 km for camels.[175] Specific strains of cattle were developed, the distinguishing features of which were a high level of adaptation to the sparse fodder resources, water shortage, climatic variations and rhythmic changes of conditions in the nomadic system, as well as the capacity to put on weight rapidly and restore energy expenditure in the shortest possible time after the exhausting winter period, intensive movements and winter grazing. Among such strains may be mentioned the coarse-fleeced, fat-tailed sheep and the Kazakh 'jabe' horse.[176]

On Central Asian cattle-breeding Vambery also provided interesting information: "In cattle-breeding the inhabitants of Turkestan concentrate their attention on three animals alone, namely, the horse, the sheep, and the camel…The horse is regarded by the Central Asiatic as his *alter ego*. Different races are met with here, possessing too different qualities and excellences. Volumes might be written to show how it is reared… The sheep is everywhere of the race with fat tails; the finest are met with in Bukhara. Its flesh is the best I have tasted in the East… Finally I must not omit to mention the asses. The finest of those of Bukhara and Khiva. Of these the Hadjis export yearly many to Persia, Baghdad, Damascus, and Egypt."[177]

The interests of humans conditioned the demand for high productivity of meat, milk, wool, leather and so on, and also for the diversified use of animals, for traction and transportation. Products of pastoralism were main goals of breeding. Milking of animals was a female job in Central Asia. Sheep, cows and camels were milked differently. Sheep were milked once a day, cows in the morning and evening, camels could be milked some times during a day with the interval of 3-4 hours. Milking process of sheep, for example, was starting at 10 in the morning and lasted until 4 in the evening. These women were further processing this milk for preservation. Women were gathering in artels by amount 15-20 people. Milking usually lasted 30-40 days. Payout for their job they got in kind: clothes, shoes and milk products. It was also a

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[173] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 375
[174] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 375
[175] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 375
[176] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 376
[177] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Travels in Central Asia.* London: 1864. pp. 420-421

custom among Turkmen breeders to give a right to use milked milk for free in the first three and last two days of milking to people who worked on this process.[178] Nomads could preserve milk products in several ways: it could be cheese, dried sour rolls or balls, called *gurt*, different kinds of curds, kefirs and so on. Actually, yoghurts were well-known to Turkic nomadic people from the medieval times. Nomads also could do a solid fat substance of yellow colour derived from milk. Drinks like ayran, kumys, i.e. made of yoghurt and water were widely popular in Central Asia.

Sheep shearing was important occupancy of nomads. Redemption was in kind. From each 10 sheep or goat they got wool of one sheep or goat. Shearers also helped underprivileged or elder people to shear their animals for no payment. Among Turkmens this kind of co-operation was called *arkalashyk*.[179] Sheep shearing was performed twice a year: in spring and autumn. Shearing of goats was only once in year. Shearing was carrying out manually by men with special shears. In the 19th century breeders hired professional wool shearers, because it was a complicated job. Professional shearer could shear up to 40-45 sheep and goats.[180]

Profession of a herdsman was very important and difficult. Profession of a herdsman needed qualifications such as bravery, cleverness, good visual skills and many others. Therefore not everyone could be a herdsman. Before becoming good herdsman a person had work as a herdsman's assistant, herded yeanling animals, and only after that became a herdsman. Profession of a herdsman was not lineal or ancestral, but there were families with professional herdsmen, but it was not a rule. Good herdsman could recognize witch yeanling belonged to which sheep, could find sheep or animals when they were scattered. Shepherd always knew how to compose a herd, could heal sick animals, and had a specific calendar, which was accommodated to their daily activities and needs. The only instrument shepherds used was a wood crook, which they made from any tree, except of fruit tree, because fruit trees considered sacred.[181] Good shepherd's crook had a price of one lamb. Auxiliary object was a special shepherd dog. Such a good-class dog was very expensive.

Among professions connected with a nomad style of life was a profession of guardians of herds and flocks. Breeders due the great amount of work usually did not have time and energy to protect herds from robbers' menace and therefore in villages was a moveable group of 20-30 raiders whose job was to protect property.[182]

Another profession, which could influence nomad productivity, was that of a well builder. Usually nomads were not good in erection of artificial water structures; there were specially educated people who were known as good well builders.[183] A breeder needing a well, generally, invited such people and was providing them with a meal during working period. For his job well builder earned money and at the end received a complete set of clothing.

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[178] YAZLIEV, CH. *Istoriya I khoziaistvennoe razvitie naseleniia Sredenego Murgaba (XIX-nachalo XX v.)*. Ashkhabad: 1985. p. 41
[179] YAZLIEV, CH. *Istoriya I khoziaistvennoe razvitie naseleniia Sredenego Murgaba (XIX-nachalo XX v.)*. Ashkhabad: 1985. pp. 41-42
[180] YAZLIEV, CH. *Istoriya I khoziaistvennoe razvitie naseleniia Sredenego Murgaba (XIX-nachalo XX v.)*. Ashkhabad: 1985. p. 41
[181] YAZLIEV, CH. *Istoriya I khoziaistvennoe razvitie naseleniia Sredenego Murgaba (XIX-nachalo XX v.)*. Ashkhabad: 1985. pp. 42-44
[182] YAZLIEV, CH. *Istoriya I khoziaistvennoe razvitie naseleniia Sredenego Murgaba (XIX-nachalo XX v.)*. Ashkhabad: 1985. p. 34
[183] YAZLIEV, CH. *Istoriya I khoziaistvennoe razvitie naseleniia Sredenego Murgaba (XIX-nachalo XX v.)*. Ashkhabad: Ylym, 1985. pp. 26-28

To sum up, the cattle-raising economy of the nomads may be characterized as diversified and quite sophisticated, almost completely self-sufficient and geared to the satisfaction of the consumer interests of the mobile population. The pastoral economy of the nomads became an essential factor in the shaping of steppe, wasteland and desert landscapes, particularly through determining the pattern of plant growth and mediating substance exchange between the various elements of the ecosystem.

The development of agriculture in the habitats of the nomads was appreciably restricted by geographic conditions, especially by the paucity of soil and water resources and the lack of precipitation. Agriculture in the steppes was therefore entirely dependent on the scope for the establishment of irrigation systems for crops. Consequently, it was always of subsidiary and secondary nature.

Two main types of pastoral economy may be distinguished: one based on the predominantly natural use of water, and the other on the use of artificial water resources. The first type was found mainly in river valleys in the steppe and wooded steppe zones, in foothill and mountain districts, and in alpine and sub-alpine pastures comparatively well supplied by atmospheric precipitation and surface run-off. The main source of water in the arid regions, in the desert and wasteland zones, was groundwater, to which access was normally secured through wells. A comparatively uniformly spaced network of wells had to be laid out, preferably no more than 10 km apart, and to a maximum of 20 km, where the minimum water stocks had to be sufficient for the daily watering of 200 cattle and horses or 500-600 sheep.

5.4. Agriculture

Agriculture played and plays an important role in the life of inhabitants of Central Asia. In the 19th century agriculture was a type of production, which could be ascribed both as nomadic and sedentary people. Nomadic people were accustomed to agriculture as auxiliary job during their pastoral productions, and job of dwellers of towns also could be agriculture, especially horticulture.

The crops cultivated in Central Asia included the three major cereals: wheat, rice and barley. The New World crop of maize (Indian corn) was also introduced during the period, though it does not appear to have become important.[184] Vambery adds two more kinds of cereals and writes: “In spite of primitive system of culture adopted, fruit and corn are luxuriantly abundant, one might even say, in many places, superabundant… Corn is met with everywhere in the three Khanats, and is of five kinds: wheat, barley, Djugheri (*Holcus saccharatus*), millet (Tarik), and rice. The best wheat and Djugheri are said to be found in Bokhara and Khiva, a genial soil; whereas Khokand is in high repute for millet. Barley is nowhere of very good quality, and is made use of, either alone or mixed with Djugheri, as fodder for horses.”[185] A new crop, also New World in origin, was tobacco, which began to reach the region in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, when it was banned in both Iran and India, though to no great effect.[186] In the early nineteenth century the tobacco grown around town Karshi was held to be superior to that of localities in the emirate of Bukhara.[187]

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[184] BRAUDEL, Fernand. *The structures of everyday life: The limits of the possible.* Berkeley, Los Angeles: 1981. p. 183

[185] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Travels in Central Asia.* London: 1864. p. 419

[186] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris, 2003. p. 377

[187] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris, 2003. p. 377

"The chief occupation of the inhabitants consists in the cultivation of tobacco."[188] Latter, Khanykov gives important information on city Karshi: "The chief plantations of tobacco are near the neighbourhood of Katta-Kurgan and Karshi; the latter is, however, preferred to the former…tobacco is sown in spring, and ripens in the beginning, the middle or the end of September, a according to the character of the past summer. After it is cut, the leaves are left on the ground for some time, to dry in the sun; there are then trod hard into woolen sacks, and so carried to market. This sort of tobacco is bought only by wholesale merchants, as it is not yet fit for smoking; customers buy only such tobacco as has been kept some years, the price depending on the length of time it has been kept. It is usually preserved in bags from one to three years"[189] Lansdell completes: "They [Khivans] grow tobacco, and sell it... but it is not good, and the well-to-do purchase that imported from Karshi and Samarkand."[190]

English traveller Alexander Burnes visited Central Asia in the beginning of 30th years of the 19th century and published his travel book in 1834. In his book Burnes gives a list of agricultural products in Bukhara and their prices. In the list he mentions wheat, barley, rice (of good and coarse quality), millet, Indian millet, chickpeas, lentils and sugar. What is of clear significance in his list is the high price of sugar in Bukhara. In 1833 at Bukhara sugar was no less than over 50 times the value of wheat. This was probably because there was practically no sugar-cane cultivation in Central Asia. Khanykov gives very interesting information: "We have shown in the preceding pages, in respect to the horticulture of Bokhara, what sources of riches the soil and the climate have bestowed on the inhabitants of the Khanat; but we cannot but come to the conclusion, that they have very imperfectly turned to account the means which nature has placed at their disposal. Thus they buy from us [Russians] sugar at high rate, when the superabundance of the grape and the mulberry is such, that they make syrup out of them. In like manner, their caravans transport chiefly raw cotton, and some cotton and silk stuffs, (which latter, by an unaccountable remissness of our own manufacturers, finds a market with us); whereas the abundance of their grape, and the different varieties of it, would enable them to furnish whole of Eastern Russia with wines, and the brandy of the grape."[191]

Cotton was pre-eminent among industrial crops. Burnes notes that the cotton plant is extensively cultivated around Bukhara and that Bukhara exported both raw cotton and cotton textiles. Laying-out underground water channels and irrigation networks in Central Asia from the 18th century onwards became possible because cotton production gave sufficient returns to render expenditure of them economically feasible. Cotton growing was, however, to receive its greatest impetus only after the Russian conquest, so that by 1900 it accounted for as much as 30-40 percent of the cultivated acreage in Central Asia.[192] Khanykov recognizes two sorts of cotton: "There are two qualities of cotton – the *Guzei-sefid*, which white and clean; and the *Guzei-mukka*, of a reddish colour. From the surplus of the seed after sowing, they extract oil, used in cookery."[193] On quality of Central Asian cotton there is contradictory information. Vambery writes in his book, called Sketches of Central Asia: "The cotton in Central Asia promises to become an important article for future.

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[188] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. p. 141
[189] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. p. 185
[190] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. p. 268
[191] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 175-176
[192] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris, 2003. pp. 378-379
[193] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. p. 184

It is cultivated in three Khanats, furnishing the material for the upper and under garments of every body, high and low, for their bedclothes, and cloth of every kind. The cotton of Turkestan is better than Indian, Persian, and Egyptian, and is said to equal the far-famed American cotton."[194] On the other hand, Russian scholar and traveller N.A. Severtsov writes that Central Asian cotton is of poor quality.[195]

The Central Asian region produced many varieties of fruit.

Khanykov was fascinated by gardens and orchards of Central Asia and devoted some chapters of his book to the description of horticulture. "The gardens or orchards of Bokhara may form a pretty correct criterion of the wealth of their owners, because every one who can afford to increase his garden, never fails to do so; there is a kind of ostentation attached to it, and as the silver poplar is the only tree which allowed to grow there, which does not yield fruit, the least addition to a garden is calculated to increase its profits.

These poplars are usually planted inside, and close to the mud walls, separating the garden from other properties, and as they attain a considerable height, and a very bushy, they screen the other productions of the garden from unwholesome effects of the cold winds.

A quadrangular pond is usually dug in the centre of the garden, from whence runnels are drawn off in all directions. Four principal paths, leading from the pond at right angles, are crossed by others, varying in number according to the extent of the garden. The intervals are under fruit-trees and shrubs, such as the vine, the pomegranate, the fig tree, the apricot, the apple-tree, the pear-tree and the Sinjid or Jegda.[196] Bokhara possesses thirteen different sorts of grapes:

1. *Khalili*, with small purple fruit.
2. *Khalili Sefid*, similar to the former, only with the fruit green.
3. *Husseini*, is of two sorts, blue and green, of an oval shape, measuring one and a half inches in length.
4. *Shikr angur*, with a round grape, of a pale green colour, passing into the yellow.
5. *Kishmish*, around small grape, of a green colour
6. *Jaus*, a large and round grape, measuring and a quarter to one and a half inches in its greatest diameter; it is of two sorts, purple and green.
7. *Maska*, at first green, but when ripe becoming almost yellow
8. *Anguri Sefid*, round and rather larger than the kishmish; this grape acquires a yellow hue on ripening
9. *Bihishi*
10. *Sahibi*, otherwise called *Herati*, from the place whence it comes; the grape is of an oval form, green, with red spots on it.
11. *Taifi*, similar the former, but entirely green.
12. *Shebergani*, purple and oval.
13. *Anguri Siyah*, like the Anguri-Sefid, only purple…

The soil chosen for the vine, consists half of clay and half of sand, a proportion which is yearly kept up… The inhabitants of Bokhara make a three-fold use of the grape:

1. They prepare a sort of syrup, called Shirini, which is made in the following manner: --They construct a large cylinder of clay, the bottom of which rests on

[194] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Sketches of Central Asia.* London: 1868. p. 246
[195] ZOLOTNITSKAIA R.L. *Po dorogam nevedomogo Turkestana.* Moscow: 1978. p. 43
[196] Jegda or Sinjid is jujube.

the ground, to which a smooth slope is imparted. In the side of vessel, at the lowest point, a small opening is made. The interior of the cylinder is well lined with alabaster. At the bottom a number of sticks are first placed, over which they spread the Khori-Shutur[197], after which they cast in two or three batmans[198] of grapes, more especially the Anguri Sefid, which they press with their feet. The juice flow through the opening in the sides of the vessel, into a copper kettle, set in the earth close to the aperture, and covered over. There it is mixed with pounded clay, which on settling carries with it all the unclean particles. The refined juice is then put into another kettle and boiled until it becomes sufficiently solid.

2. Vinegar is made in large earthen vessels called kuzi, and exposed to the sun to become acid.
3. Raisins are dried in a very simple manner. The picked fruits of the grape are spread on the terraces of houses, or on open level spots in gardens, where the sun dries them in three or four days.

The Jews press wine out of the Anguri Siyah and the Shebirgani, but that prepared from the latter soon spoils."[199]

Latter Khanykov describes such a fruits as pomegranates and figs, and that pomegranates succeed better at Shahrisabz.[200] "We saw likewise in our garden many dwarf pomegranate and fig trees, planted in what appeared like sunken beds, the muddy-looking soil at the bottom showing that it was done for purposes of irrigation. The pomegranate requires a more sandy soil than the vine, and that it be under water the whole of every tenth day. A tree springing from seed can yield fruit in the fourth year. Bokhara pomegranates are excelled by those of Shahr-i-sabz, where also is a peculiar kind with small seeds, called *bidone*, or seedless."[201]

Peaches and apricots also draw up attention of Khanykov. He mentions three sorts of peaches and three sorts of apricots, and adding "the dried apricots exported to Russia, go by the name of Uriuk."[202] The prune trees are represented in Bukhara in two spices in Bukhara: the black (*siah*) and the yellow (*zerd*). Latter he observes eight sorts of apples and two sorts of pears; quinces, writes Khanykov is used in the Central Asian kitchen and medicine: "the seeds are administered in medicine; the pulp is used in soups; minced meat is baked with them; and lastly, boiled quinces are prescribed as good against humours."[203] As a rare tree Khanykov adds cherry trees. "The cherry and peach trees did not strike me as so remarkable. The fruit of the cherry, being acid, is very little used."[204]

The district of Andizhan in Fergana, Kashgar region were famous all around the region for their vegetation and its quality and excellence. Indeed, fruit, particularly melons, formed part of the staple diet of people of Central Asia for several months of the year. Here it will be very interesting to mention Lansdell's remarks on melons: "Concerning things botanical, I had expected much in Khivan fruits, especially the melons. There is a most lucrative crop… The natives hang them in cool chambers to the ceiling, where certain sorts will keep from the time when they are ripe till the

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[197] The ingigenous shrub of Central Asia
[198] Batman is measure of quantity in Central Asia
[199] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 155-161
[200] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 161-163
[201] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. pp. 84-85
[202] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 163-165
[203] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. p. 171
[204] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. p. 83

following May… I heard of one sort, small as an apple, but pronounced very good; some are a foot and a half long… I must say that, after eating Central Asian melons, I have tasted none in English that are by comparison worthy of mention."[205] An interesting detail was that Lansdell brought seeds of five sorts of melon to England and tried to introduce them to England. These sorts were: Kitai (or Chinese), Zamcha, Kukcha, Sherin-pitchek and Alikeh. Lansdell distributed these seeds in England among friends and such organizations as a Royal Horticultural Society's gardens at Chiswick, Viscount Eversley's Heckfield gardens, Burghley gardens and even sent few of them to Florida with a wish and hope: "that English gardeners will learn how to grow these fruits. The great size and robustness of the plants may prevent their having fair play in English houses, but I have given seeds also for outdoor growth in Florida, whence the fruit could easily be sent to the London market, so that if, after all, I do not succeed in getting them on English tables, it will not be for lack of endeavour."[206]

Almonds in a locality called a Kand-i Badam in Fergana, on the other hand, were grown for long-distance trade being carried to Hormuz and India.[207] Khanykov informs that almonds to Bukhara was brought from Shahrisabz and notes that "very little oil is pressed from almonds, and that is sold only as medicine".[208]

European travellers took note of fruit productivity in Central Asia. Vambery notes: "The excellence of the fruit in Khiva has been already mentioned; and although Bokhara and Khokand cannot be placed, in this respect, in the same rank with Khiva, the following produce of those Khanates deserve, nevertheless, mention, e.g., the grapes, of extraordinary excellence (of which there are ten kinds), the 'magnificent pomegranates', and particularly the apricots, which are exported in immense quantities to Persia, Russia, and Afghanistan."[209]

Sericulture was also extensively practised in the region. European travellers founds that every stream was lined with mulberry plants; the worm was univoltine, the silk being reeled off the cocoons in June. "Among the fruit trees cultivated with great care, although not grown in orchards, we may notice the *Tut*, or mulberry tree. The Tuts are of two sorts: 1. The *Donedar*, which is properly the Bokharian Tut; and 2. The *Tuti Balkhi*, transplanted from Balkh. The grafting of the one on the others gives a third sort called *Khaseki*, the fruit of which is sweeter and more savoury than that from the two former. The fruit of tut is used in two ways – to make syrup and wine… But the mulberry tree is principally used for feeding the silkworms with its leaves. The education of the worm by the Bokharians offers some peculiarities, and differs, in certain respects, from the mode used by Europeans... It may be mentioned that the quality of the silk is much inferior to that of China, and even to the French and Lombard silks, as well in colour as in the softness of the thread."[210] Besides the emirate of Bukhara, the Khokand khanate also produced silk, though of an inferior quality. Silk was exported from Bukhara to Kabul and India.[211]

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[205] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. p. 266
[206] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. p. 268
[207] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 379
[208] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. p. 172
[209] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Travels in Central Asia.* London: 1864. p. 419
[210] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 172-174
[211] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 379

Rather uninspiring daily fare, dominated by bread and soup, was enlivened by vegetables wherever the climate was suitable. Where they could not be being grown, vegetables were often obtained from elsewhere. The vegetables introduced in Central Asia are the following: beet-root, carrots, radishes, cabbage, onions, cucumbers, peas, lentils, beans, melons, water-melons and pumpkins. Melons were differenced to two sorts: the early and latter ripen melons. Khanykov imputes ten sorts of melons to the early melons, called Pagai, and six sorts of melons of the latter season, or Bigai.[212] Interestingly enough Khanykov's mention specific "melon called *Zamucha*, which is not eaten, although it has a sweet taste. It is sown in May and in June, and the natives carry it about with them solely on account of its strong aromatic smell."[213]

Another vegetable mentioned by Khanykov is pumpkin, which in Bukhara was presented in nine sorts. Pumpkins were used for eating, as fodder for animals and for making some domestic appliances. For example, one sort of pumpkin, called Chelim-kadu, out of which kalians made, or "*Sarahi*, has the form of a decanter with a long neck… On cleaning out the inside there are dried, and used as vessels for containing oil and vinegar. *Nas-kadu*, are very small yellowish and white pumpkin, sometimes not above an inch in height; there are used for snuff-boxes, from which they derive their name. *Chup-kadi*, a large pumpkin having the form of a bottle with a small neck and broad bottom, are particularly used by Turkomans for keeping water in them."[214]

As another variation of plants for fodding animals in urban places Khanykov mentions that, "*Lucerne* is rendered an indispensable article for home consumption by the scarity of meadow-land in Bokhara. The fields on which it is grown do not require any particular culture, nor any rich manure; of grows in thick clusters, and its value is more particularly enhanced from its attaining, in the course of the same season, three times to its full growth – nay, in good soil, they mow it four and five times during the summer."[215]

Due information on agriculture used in this work mostly is from books of foreign travellers to Central Asia, we can assume that the quantity of agriculture products were more diversified in quantity and sorts. It should be also noted that big spectrum of native agriculture products was just passed over. Fruits such as orange, lemon, from vegetables: leek, garlic, spinach, pepper were widely presented in the Central Asia from the ancient times.

5.5. Urban production and crafts

Bukhara, Khiva, Merv, Samarkand, Urgench, Tashkent, Andizhan, Khokand – names of these Central Asian cities comes to mind when there is a speech on towns of Central Asia. All these cities have a century's long tumultuous, glorious and breath-taking history. The biggest parts of these towns of Central Asia were famous or played a big role in ancient and medieval political history, economics and culture. In different times they were capitals of various state formations and dynasties. Their fate was never successful or peaceful, all these towns were destroyed and rebuild again and again.

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[212] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 178-179
[213] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. p. 181
[214] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. p. 182
[215] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 185-186

The three constant factors of Central Asian political and cultural life – settled oasis communities, nomad khanates, and the threat of outside invaders – still existed throughout the nineteenth century. What was different, however, was that the Central Asian valleys and passes as well as the northern steppe route were no longer the links between China and the west, and hence Transoxania and Central Asian khanates were no longer countries where Buddhist, Hindu, Christian and Muslim faiths and Chinese, Indian, Persian, Turkic and Arabic civilizations met and intermingled. This ebbing away of the main streams of civilization coincided with the aftermath of the Mongol conquests; thus the area had to recover after these devastations, not, indeed, in total isolation from the rest of the world, but no longer as one of its commercial crossroads, or meeting places of its great religions.

There is a lot of information about cities of Central Asia, especially, Bukhara, as a biggest trade and political center of Central Asia. These materials contain descriptions of the urban places, characteristics of their dwellers, crafts and jobs of those people and bring to light different aspects of urban life in Central Asia. Russian and European travellers played an important role in the subject of studying of the history of Central Asian towns, especially Russian travellers, since Russia was a neighbour of Central Asian states. Anthony Jenkinson from the 16th century was a first European traveller left description on Bukhara. In the 18th century there were memoirs of Filipp Efremov, who visited Bukhara and left information on Bukara itself, describing army and town, their industry and their characteristics. From the nineteenth century Europeans started to be interested in the Central Asian territory from the scientific perspective due to specific reasons. If before information on Central Asia was seldom and could origin from military prisoners or accidental witnesses, in the 19th century Europeans and Russians start to explore Central Asia with specific aims and by scientific method. From the 19th century scholars and travellers names of T.S. Burnashev, P.Yakovlev, A. Burnes, Ed. Eversmann, N.Khanykov, Alexander Lehman, A.Vambery and many others emerge. By the 2nd part of the 19th century a number of travellers increased due to changes in the Central Asian states such as the Russian entry to Central Asia and following political struggle between Russia and Great Britain, known under “Great Game” name. After the conquest, accounts of travellers as from Russia as well as from Europe became enormous in comparing with the beginning of the 19th century. Not all of these travellers left a valuable source of information; nevertheless comparing information from local people and people from outside can bring fruitful results in the course of studying Central Asia’s history.

The history of the region grew more localized; the last nomad empire, that of Kalmyks, never recovered from its defeat by the Chinese in 1755 and broke up into two semi-settled entities, one on the Lower Volga in Russia. The nomad khanates actually inhabiting the region (Kazakh and Turkmen) were only of local significance. Cultural isolation was more marked than political or economic isolation, since as the nineteenth century advanced, Central Asian rulers gradually became aware of the possibilities of their strategic positions as states marginal to two expanding empires; in somewhat the same way, Turkmen or Kazakh khans contracted or broke alliances with Khiva or Bukhara, Persia or Russia according to the necessities of the moment. Trade ties with Kashgar, Persia, Afghanistan, Russia and India had never been severed; the gradual drawing in of Turkestan as a cotton supplier to European Russia provided another link with the contemporary capitalist world.

Cultural isolation, though pronounced, did not mean stagnation; the lowest ebb had been touched in the eighteenth century, and in fact the nineteenth century saw

some revival. The Mangit dynasty had renewed the life of the Samarkand madrasah, and new madrasahs had been built in Khokand and Andizhan. Khudayar khan built himself a palace.[216] Irrigation network in all three khanates were repaired from time to time and new ones undertaken in Fergana by the Khokand khans and in Khiva by the Khivan khans. Russian, other European and Persian visitors, commented on the gardens on the outskirts of cities on with admiration. This, however, was only true of the Zaravshan and Fergana valleys, Khiva and Bukhara; the town life of the Chu and Talass regions and of the Transcaspian Turkmen steppe had gone for good.

Towns of Central Asia were not governed by any specific municipal law, town halls and mayors being innovations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Central Asian towns in the 19th century were divided into quarters. But in the older times towns of Central Asia was divided to much bigger quarters or parts. The oldest way of dividing a town was only to two districts; latter on town was divided to four parts by two crossing roads or streets. Scholars from the 9th and 10th century are noticing it in connection with their descriptions of Bukhara, Merv, Herat, Samarkand, Tashkent, Shahrisabz.[217] In some towns as Tashkent this division was kept clearly, in Bukhara in the 19th century this precise planning was forgotten or disappeared under later changes in the structure of the town. The second way how a town could be built and developed was in "spheres". In the centre as usual the oldest part of the town, this centre sometimes was surrounded by a wall, and around this lay the rest of the town. This was characteristic outline for the towns established latter on or as in the case of Bukhara, it was influenced by natural development of the city and old two-four-part division of the town was forgotten. Quarters were subdivided and inhabited ethnically or professionally. Therefore by knowing of structure of quarters in the Central Asian town we can obtain information on the dwellers' jobs and professions, plus their ethnical composition.

Historical literature contains two opposing assessments of handicrafts in Central Asia: the first of these holds that handicrafts underwent a decline in the 16th century, whereas the second considers that there was a noticeable development of handicrafts, trade and agriculture.

The town always had an important position in the structure of the society. Its numerous functions included handicrafts production, for internal urban consumption and for international trade, as well as with the surrounding countryside and the steppe. The nomadic inhabitants of steppe were also important commodity producers. During the period under consideration, production developed on the basis of manual labour, and improvements in the implements in use proceeded at a very slow rate. Some of implements used by craft workers, the origins of which date back to very early times, have survived almost unmodified down to the present.

The major handicraft centres of Bukhara, Merv, Samarkand, Khiva, Tashkent, Otrar and Kashgar retained their leading positions in the period. Among those, which now came into prominence, were Khiva, Khokand, Andijan, Chimkent, Turkistan.[218] Written sources contain information on blacksmiths, turners, locksmiths, coppersmiths, cutlers, jewellers, armourers, paper-makers, weavers, dyers, shoemakers, carpet-makers, tailors, potters, builders, brick-makers, furriers, bakers

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[216] HOLDWORTH, Mary. *Turkestan in the nineteenth century: a brief history of the Khanates of Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva*. London: 1959. p. 33

[217] SUKHAREVA O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie.*. Moscow: 1966. pp. 89-90

[218] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 380

and grocers and many others. Craft workers of the leading professions frequently inhabited specialized quarters within towns. Bukhara, for example, is known to have had quarters bearing trade names, such as the quarters, of the cauldron-makers, needle-makers, potters, tanners, soap-boilers, furriers, etc. Inhabitants of Bukhara were in privileged position as dwellers of the capital; craftsmen were free from duties such as support of the irrigation system in the town, or from care about cleanness of the streets and yards of Bukhara. These obligations were put to the inhabitants of neighbouring Bukhara villages. In Bukhara communal public utilities, like bringing water by special people directly to homes, or sale of boiled water for tea, existed. According some scholars total amount of craftsmen with their families in Bukhara was 25 percent of total number of town inhabitants in the second part of the 19th century.[219]

Jewellers usually lived near the centre, whereas potters, tanners and matt-makers were located in the suburbs, close to running water; blacksmiths were to be found at the entrance to the city or town; and paper-makers and charcoal burners outside its limits.

Craftsmen were generally grouped into occupational craft guilds. Each guild was headed by a guild master, whose appointment was approved by the authorities. The guild master supervised the quality of the goods made by the craftsmen of his guild, ensuring compliance with accepted standards, was responsible for the apportioning and collection of taxes and laid down prices. Master was called ustad, but during the 16th - 19th centuries the term ustad was used mainly to denote a highly skilled craftsmen, one who passed on his experience and knowledge to his son or sons and, in their absence, to an apprentice from outside family. The master craftsman might not necessarily play a direct part in the production process, but might merely supervise it. Such craftsmen usually occupied a privileged position within their trade and tended to be wealthier than the other craftsmen.[220]

The vast majority of master craftsmen were personally engaged in the business of production and belonged to the middle and poor strata of the urban population. Jewellers, armourers, metalworkers and weavers were usually among the more prosperous craftsmen, while mat-makers tended to be the poorest. A master craftsman would have assistants and one or more apprentices. The procedure for taking on an apprentice was either for the master and the apprentice to enter into a verbal agreement or for written articles of apprenticeship to be drawn up. There might also be hired workers, who performed specified tasks for payment and lived in the master's house.[221] Some master craftsmen, usually, guild masters, brought up goods and supplied raw materials, and were money-lenders.

The guilds in Central Asia held regular meetings of a quasi-religious and social nature. Each guild had a patron called pir who was believed to have founded the guild or significantly advanced the craft. At meetings craftsmen venerated their patrons and the souls of artisans who had passed before them. Meetings began with a reading of the risala, the guild's book of rules and customs.[222]

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[219] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie.*. Moscow: 1966. p. 190

[220] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 381

[221] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 381

[222] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. pp. 667-668

Many musicians, poets, artists and historians came from the community of artisans, especially from among the better-off craft workers. They lived on what they earned from playing musical instruments, writing verses, drafting petitions and painting miniatures or from their skill as calligraphers. Such people were for the most part not particularly well-off and often relied on the patronage of town dignitaries and rulers.

There were also some craftswomen, the majority of whom were engaged in the processing of raw materials and the preparation of component parts. Sometimes, however, women carried out the entire process from beginning to end, in which case the title of their occupation was appended to their name.

5.5.1 Individual crafts

Metal-working

Metal-working can be divided into several independent branches: blacksmiths and locksmiths, metal founders, horseshoe-makers, cutlers, tinsmiths, needle-makers and nail-makers. There would usually be at least three people working in a smithy. In addition to the master craftsman who carried out the most crucial shaping operations, there would be the striker, an apprentice who worked the bellows and a master finisher. Iron-founding had two main branches: the moulding of ploughshares and the casting of various household objects. Master founders usually lived in the suburbs, and it was most unusual to find them in the town itself, because the practice of their craft required a large amount of space.[223] The output of the iron-founders consisted largely of ploughshares, wheel hubs, cauldrons and lamps, with the addition of portable pan braziers (mangals) for room heating and cooking. Domestic utensils included trays, bowls for fruits, drinks and juices, vessels for tea, pails, containers for transporting food, water scoops, braziers, containers for cups, vases, jugs, washing bowls, various household articles – vessels in which to keep change, caskets, smoking paraphernalia, snuffboxes and writing sets – pencil boxes and ink pots, lamp pots, as well as ritualistic artefacts, such as bowls for alms and incense-burners, hunting drums, etc. Specialization even in making inkwells, bells existed in the 19th century. Another important aspect of master founders' job was busy with founding of muskets and cannons also.

In the 19th century copper and bronze (or brass) production was already well developed. There is evidence to this effect from historical sources and artefacts exist with the names of their makers. Coppersmith nisbas[224] point to different towns in the region: Khiva, Bukhara, Samarkand, Karshi, Shahrisabz, Ura-tepe, Khokand, Khujand and Tashkent. In the 19th century the most well-known products were those made by embossers of Bukhara and Khiva. These were noted for high levels of artistry and expressiveness of form, their classical sense of balance and proportion and the durability of their ornamental motifs, which were fashioned using deep-embossing techniques. Similar in style to those of Bukhara school were the embossed copper goods of Samarkand. The design of Karshi and Shahrisabz work included painted backgrounds and inlays using turquoise, coral and brightly coloured glass. Products of this type were characterized by a smooth engraving style that was achieved using a

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[223] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie.*. Moscow: 1966. pp. 192, 194

[224] word signifiying relation, works as specifier

fine and delicate pattern. The vessels are complicated in outline and cumbersome in appearance. Shallow engraving and inlay were also used by craft workers in Khokand. The shape of the products, as well as ornamentation and decorative techniques applied, were richer here than in Karshi and Shahrisabz. The Khokand method involved openwork ornamentation. Embossing in Tashkent was, in terms of its artistic qualities, less prominent. The city mainly manufactured large dishware for everyday use and only rarely was it decorated with intricate designs. By the beginning of the 20th century, embossers in Fergana and later in Bukhara and Samarkand began to illustrate their wares with architectural monuments, while in Khokand they started to use fantastical creatures. It become common to wealthy townspeople to have the interiors of their houses adorned with ornamented metal utensils.[225] Coppersmithing was not a craft with separate branches, but there were some coppersmiths who specialized in the making of particular wares. For example, in the making of copper tableware, some smiths specialized in water jugs, while others made bowls, trays or small jugs of tea, belt buckles, buttons, inkwells and ornamented jug handles. Cauldrons and candlesticks were also made of copper. The best such wares were decorated with engraving and punch-work. The ornamentation was usually floral, geometric and epigraphic. Use was also made of the techniques of decorating wares by incrustation with red copper, silver and gold, predominantly by the 'cold ramping' process. Depending on the alloying additives, the copper was either red (bronze) or yellow (brass). Embossed copper products were made by craft workers trained in one of three types of expertise: coppersmiths responsible for shaping and tinning, founders who cast the vessels and parts of the total shape (handles, lid tops, spouts) and embossers who decorated the products with embossing and engraving. The techniques used in various Central Asian centres were more or less identical: embossing, engraving, and openwork. To enhance the effect of the patterns, craft workers began finishing wares by applying a punch and gauze to the background. The 19th century saw the establishment of local schools of artistic embossing in Uzbekistan.[226]

Apart from privately owned workshops there were also public workshops in the large cities and at the courts of the khans and the emir of Bukhara, making wares for court use.[227]

The armourers' craft was pursued in the cities and towns as well as the steppes, although the most important centres for the manufacture of weapons and armour were in large cities like Samarkand, Bukhara and Tashkent. Swords, sabres, daggers, pole-axes, clubs, armour and helmets were made in specialist workshops. Craftsmen made bow cases and quivers of leather ornamented with silver decorations and precious stones for the nobility and plain ones for the rank-and-file troops. Shields were made of wood covered in leather and metal plates. Chain mail and sheet armour and a helmet protected the body and head against cold steel and firearms. Part of the body and head of the horse of the richly equipped warrior was also covered in armour. English traveller Lansdell describes what he found in the Bukhara market: "In the armourer's street I secured a capital helmet of mail, a powder-flask, and a battle-exe; and in another street, some rude china inkstands and cups of local

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[225] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris, 2005. p. 630

[226] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris, 2005. p. 629

[227] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie.*. Moscow: 1966. p. 193

manufacture, which have, fortunately, come safely to England, where I presume there are unique in origin, if not transcendent in beauty."[228]

Jewellery-making

Jewellers working on commissions from the uppermost strata of society produced some magnificent works of art. From the second half of the 16th century there is 'goldsmiths' bazaar' in Samarkand; in Bukhara, at the same time, a 'goldsmiths' mosque' The court jewellers' workshop was still functioning in Bukhara late in the 19th century.[229] Gifts for the rulers of neighbouring cities and countries were also made in such workshops. Court jewellers' another output was a coin stampage for state.[230] The jewellers made extensive use of precious and semi-precious stones such as rubies, emeralds, pearls, cornelian, turquoise, jasper, fire opal, agate and rock crystal. Gold was obtained from the mountains of Fergana, and also from Taraz and Khuttalan.[231] Some jewellers specialized in making rings, others concentrated on earrings or filigree work, but there were also some who produced all kinds of ornamental jewelry for women. Separate specialization in jewellery-making was refinement of precious metals from alien materials. Cutlers and sharpers of precious and semi-precious stones were separate profession very closely adherent to jewellers, and very often worked under their purchase orders. Together with male jewellers, women, wives or relatives, worked in this field as well.[232] The jewellers knew various methods of working with precious metals such as a wire drawing, hammering, stamping, engraving, embossing, gilding, incising, niello-work and granulation. It should be noted that the granulation casting technique is an art that had been lost by European jewellers, but was retained and developed right down to the early years of the 19th century in Bukhara, Samarkand and Tashkent and among the Kazakhs and the Turkmens.[233] Rings, finger rings and amulets were also cut from semi-precious stones like nephrite, crystal and cornelian. Jewellers made richly ornamented horse trappings and saddles trimmed with openwork silver plates. The Kazakh and Turkmen jewellers made beautiful silver ornaments for women, which they decorated with granulation, niello-work, filigree and coloured stone insets. Turkmen silver jewellery, with red precious stones, coral and glass, attracted attention. Merv was the main centre for its trade.[234] Lansdell in this way described Turkmen women and their jewellery: "There were not many men at home, but, introduced by our guide, the women did not object to our entering the tents, and looking at what we pleased, including their own jewellery. Most of this latter was on

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[228] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. pp. 133-134
[229] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 196
[230] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 196
[231] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 384
[232] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 194
[233] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 385
[234] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 648

silver, but in the first tent we entered the women had a pair of gold earrings, for which she asked ten pounds."[235]

From early youth to old age, every important event or rite of passage in the life of Central Asian women was reflected in the type and choice of gold, silver and other ornaments. By and large they were divided into wedding or festive and everyday categories, although they were also determined by consideration of age, social class, etc. Girls between 3 and 7 years old were usually given silver earrings and bracelets or inexpensive coral ornaments by their parents. The set of adornments worn by brides-to-be were particularly beautiful. Larger pieces of jewellery were mainly made from silver (sometimes gilded), while gold was used to make earrings, rings and bracelets.

Classification of Uzbek, Tajik and Karakalpak jewellery is commonly based on whether a given ornament adorns the head, forehead or the temples. Generally speaking, classification of this type, albeit with a small degree of regional specify, can be applied to ornaments worn by Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Turkmen women.[236]

Weaving and textile (manufacturing, dyeing, embroidery)

The textiles of Central Asia were particularly distinctive. Even though Iranian, Indian and Chinese fabrics were exported to the region in large quantities and were very popular, the textiles of Central Asia, whose origins go way back to ancient times, never lost their originality or their own tradition. Written sources provide us with a great many names for the types of craft workers who were engaged in the manufacture and finishing of the various kinds of fabrics (cotton, silk and woolens), the names of workshops, stall and bazaars, and also lists of the textiles themselves and the articles made from them. While the production of cloth from cheap cotton thread was largely concentrated in the agricultural districts, better-quality cotton textiles with polychrome stripes were produced by urban weavers. Much of this cloth was woven in settlements near Bukhara, and Samarkand. Karbas, alacha and zandanichi were the commonest cotton fabrics and were much in demand and exported in bulk to Russia. Of the three, the most popular was karbas – a smooth fabric of interwoven linen, bleached or dyed. A relatively cheap cloth, it was snow-white or grey, but could be dyed black, blue, yellow, green, grey or violet. There was also an ancient tradition, dating back to before the Arabs, of the production of silk cloth. Written sources contain much information on production of various silk cloths in Bukhara, Samarkand, Khiva, Tashkent and other centres. Alacha, a fabric decorated with broad stripes and made from fine yarn, was manufactured in many areas of Central Asia. In Bukhara and Khokand it was made from the cotton, while in Khiva it was woven from cotton and silk. The decorative pattern and the colouring of the stripes varied according to the place of origin. The famous Bukhara alacha featured well-coordinated multi-coloured stripes of varying widths, with a dark, usually blue weft. By the end of the 19th century Bukhara alacha had ceased to be made.[237] In the 19th century Samarkand, however, good-quality alacha was the main type of woven product. In ancient times the zandanichi fabric, which originated in the village of

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[235] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. p. 497

[236] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. p. 632

[237] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 664

Zandana not far from Bukhara, was made from silk, but in the Middle Ages it had begin to be made from cotton, and in the 19th century period it continued to be a cotton-based product. Central Asia was best known for its silk and part-silk fabrics. These were adras, be-qasab, kanaus, velvet, satin, brocade and a special fabric for making kerchiefs. A fine, semi-transparent silk cloth called futa is known, but there are also references to woolen futa. Silk cloth known as tafta (taffeta) and produced by weavers was used to make turbans. Calico printers produced a cloth known as chit (chintz). Patterns were produced on cloth, including calico, by hand painting by blocks or stamps dipped in a solution of dye. Red, variegated and seven-coloured varieties of chit were known in Samarkand already in the late 16th century. Chit was made in major cities and small towns in Central Asia. Chit was resist-dyed and required a series of process carried out by specialized craftsmen. Velvet (makhmal) was in great demand for the garments of aristocrats. Magnificent smoothly woven crimson velvet was made, and was exported to Russia and other countries. It was also used for bedspreads, curtains and pillows. A special kind of raspberry velvet was made in Samarkand.[238] Damask was a costly silk fabric used only by nobility. The production of very fine transparent silk scarves was a distinctive development in Bukharan textiles. Woolen cloth, including saqirlat, a fine red wool fabric, was also produced in Central Asian cities. There was a great demand in Bukhara for a fine, transparent fabric for kerchiefs that was decorated with a printed pattern consisting geometric and floral motifs.[239]

Textile made for sale was produced in workshops by men and boys, often with the assistance of female relatives at home. Men were organized into guilds called kasabas (from kasb, profession). The women's work at home was part of a production system based on family participation.

Textiles produced in Central Asia may be classified according to a number of criteria. The most common being: the region of production, ethnic identity of the maker, time of production, function of the textile, and material of construction. Specifically Central Asian textiles can be classified according to the three main features: resist-dyed, embroidered and woven.

Dyeing played an important part in the production of textiles. Fabrics were mostly dyed with vegetable dyes, which imparted both depth and fastness. The production of vegetable and mineral dyestuff required knowledge of chemistry. The recipes for dyes were handed down from generation to generation and were closely guarded secrets. The use of dyes was not confined only to weaving; they also found application in pottery, in paper-making and in leather-production. Dyes were used to decorate wooden saddles and as cosmetics. Madder was one of the commonest vegetable dyes. Red and yellow dyes were produced from the root of the madder plant. Various shades of blue were obtained from indigo. A blue dye was also obtained from lazurite. Deep violet and purple dyes for silk and other wares obtained from baqqam wood. Orange and yellow were produced from natural saffron. A red dye for costly fabrics was made from an insect. Pomegranate bark, onion skins and tea were also used as dyestuffs.

Dye-resistant textile from Central Asia called ikat. Ikat made by a technique where sections of yarn or cloth are selectively tied and made to resist dyes. The tied

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[238] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 386

[239] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 665

areas do not absorb the dyes and therefore retain their original colour. Made in Fergana and in main major cities like Bukhara and Samarkand, ikat fabric was made into garments for men, women and children. Ikat production required the expertise of highly specialized craftsmen and their assistants and apprentices. Dyers specialized in hot and cold dyeing. In Bukhara the cold dyers were Jewish or former Jews called chalas. Evidence suggests that the hot dyers were Tajiks. Blue was obtained by a cold indigo dye bath. An excessive application of indigo created shades of purple and green. Yellow and red were obtained by hot dye baths made from flowers or insects.[240] Central Asian tie-dye (qalqai) is distinguished by the quality of exceptionally fine and soft silk used to tie and dye, and a range of blood colours and geometric motifs. Tie-dye material was used to make women's garments – head-covers, undergarments and dresses. Tie-dye is a resist-dye technique where the dyeing process is carried out after weaving, in contrast to the resist-dyeing for ikat which takes place prior to weaving. Jews specialized in the production of qalqai.[241]

The 19th century saw the widespread development of Bukhara's art of gold embroidery. A few magnificent examples from the first half of the century have been preserved to this day, as have a rather greater number of items dating from the middle of the century. Gold embroidery was done chiefly on velvet, silk, alacha and satin, using a variety of gold threads. The most widespread ornamental designs were floral compositions with small patterns spread evenly over the entire embroidered area. The overall style was one of simple, clear cut forms. These magnificent products combined the bright lustre of gold and silver patterns with the softly iridescent matt shimmer of the background, and the lively play of light-reflecting surfaces created pieces of great beauty. Metallic-yarn embroidery, or zarduzi, is often referred to as Bukharan gold embroidery. Produced in both Samarkand and Bukhara before the 19th century, it was made solely in Bukhara from the 19th century. Gold embroidery was very developed male craft. Quarter Mir-Dustum had a biggest amount of gold embroideries, that it was sometimes also called Zarduzon (gold broidery). Craftsmen could work solely, they had their own guide, also it was special court gold embroideries who got orders directly from the ruler.[242] Garments such as coats, boots and slippers, and forehead bands for women were embroidered under the auspices of the emir for the ruling class and the privileged of the khanate. Levels of rank, wealth and influence were indicated by the amount of embroidery on a garment. The application of semi-precious stones and metal plaques were further means of displaying wealth. Metallic-yarn embroideries from Bukhara are broadly classified into two groups: zaminduzi or 'ground embroidery', which covers the entire foundation fabric; and gulduzi, 'flowered embroidery', which partially covers the fabric. Embroidered motifs were often stitched over stencils of kidskin or thick paper. Foundation fabrics were typically imported or locally produced velvet and fabrics made from silk, cotton or wool.

Suzani, from 'suzan' for needle, are embroideries made in cities and villages that are recognized by particular floral designs and an abundance of red and dark pink colours of embroidered yarns. Large naturalistic and abstract flowers are predominant motifs. Suzani embroideries can be attributed to cities and towns in present-day

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[240] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie.*. Moscow: 1966. pp. 196, 198-199

[241] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie.*. Moscow: 1966. p. 201

[242] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie.*. Moscow: 1966. pp. 206-208

Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Suzani embroideries were made outside the guild organization, by girls and women for a bride's trousseau in various sizes determined by function. Output products were used for decorate the walls, to partition rooms and to cover beds. Embroideries were made and used for numerous household furnishings such as wall-niche covers, wrapping cloths, pillow cases and as a ceremonial wedding-night sheet or a prayer cloth.

Lakai and Turkmen embroidery were also widely recognized. Lakai was an Uzbek tribe, but written sources are scanty on them and the goods they made. Lakai embroideries may be recognized by a particular style of motifs and patterns. There are characterized by curvilinear forms surrounded with much visible ground fabric. The curved lines of wave-like and horn-like forms are reinforced by the use of looped embroidery stitches, chain-stitch and blanket stitch, that adapt well to curved forms. Silk embroidery yarn and a variety of foundation fabrics with different weave structures are also typical of extant Lakai embroideries.[243]

Turkmen embroideries are characterized by highly organized arrangements of abstract flowers and trees and precisely executed embroidery stitches. A type of looped stitch, the buttonhole stitch, is the most common. Girls and women used to embroider with silk yarns on locally woven silk fabric. A type of head cover worn by Turkmen women may be identified by its characteristic shape in the form of coat. Its narrow, vestigial sleeves are joined together across the back of the garment with a band of fabric, but it was placed over the head rather than worn as a coat. It is usually made from silk woven in a plain weave and embroidered with silk yarn in buttonhole stitch. Abstract floral forms are stitched mostly in dark red, yellow and white. The colour of head cover coat indicated the stage in life of its wearer. Dark blue was for young women, yellow for middle-aged women and white for older women. Embroidery was predominantly female's occupation.

All the textiles discussed above are woven, but their distinctiveness results from resist-dye or embroidery techniques carried out on cloth that was already woven. Central Asia also produced highly valued cloth patterned wit woven stripes. There was no further embellishment to the cloth. This striped fabrics, made entirely from silk, or silk with cotton, or only cotton, were, made primarily into garments. Weavers produced striped fabrics that were associated with their cities and regions. The Bukhara region was known for the production pf a multicolored fabric with narrow stripes of yellow or dark red. Samarkand was known for a fabric of yellow and blue stripes, and Khiva for cotton fabrics of narrow red, green and light purple stripes.[244]

Between the 16th and 19th centuries, the centres of Central Asian fabric production underwent rapid development and greatly increased their output. These centres were in contact with and influenced one another, borrowing various motifs, while at the same time preserving their individual traditions and uniqueness. During 19th century was an increase in the variety of fabrics and in the diversity of their design and colouring. The market for fabrics expanded, as did the volume of imports and exports, thereby making Central Asian artistic fabrics celebrated worldwide. Dazzling colours, swirling motifs and varied textures and shapes characterize the surviving textiles made in Central Asia in the 19th century. These textiles, which still

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[243] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 676, also KALTER, J. *The Arts and Crafts of Turkestan.* London: 1984. pp. 58-59

[244] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 677

today delight the eye, offer material evidence of ways of life shrouded from our understanding by the lack of available written documentation. They may yet yield a wealth of knowledge about the oasis cities inhabited by multiethnic peoples and about the semi-nomadic groups whose pastoral lifestyles have come to an end in more recent times.

Clothing manufacture

The development of clothing manufacture was stimulated by the demand for ready-made garments among the population of towns and settlements and the nomads. The garment-makers produced different types of robes as outer garments. These quilted garments, made with half-silk and cotton wadding, were bought by city-dwellers and often by nomads. Expensive robes were made of silk decorated with precious stones. Some cost a fortune. Shirts, dresses and trousers were other commonly made garments. Dressing gown or robe khalat was women specialization. Men maintained supplying of materials and distribution of ready goods. The garment-makers produced sheep-skin winter jackets, fur-coats and coats. Most sheep-skin coats were made for sale to steppe-dwellers; and a large number of such coats were made in Khiva; a special quarter of sheep-skin coats and fur-cats existed in Bukhara.[245] There were also craftsmen who were expert makers of caftans, evidently of the sheepskin-coat type, among the nomadic people. Kazakhs made splendid leather caftans that were even on sale in the large cities.[246] The outer garment of Uzbek and Kazakh nomads was a fur jacket made of red fox, otter, ermine, squirrel and sable pelts. Craftsmen also produced fur hats and skullcaps (tyubeteykas). Conical hats were made in Bukhara from karakul fleece, with a rim band of otter fur and a for-fur or lamb's wool lining. Production of Bukharan fur-hats was oriented into local market; only wealthy people could afford them.[247] Kazakh craftsmen made fox-fur hats known as malkhays, while Turkmens made tall hats known as telpeks from black and white sheep fleece. Skullcaps from different districts differed in shape and pattern. Those from Bukhara were firm and conical in shape and were made from beautiful and costly fabrics – silk and velvet trimmed with a decorated band of ribbon. Small, soft skullcaps were also fashionable for wear under a fur hat. In Central Asia that was a job of women, who produced them and latter embroidered too, especially in Bukhara female carried production, while husbands distributed them to tradesmen.[248]

The belt was an integral part of male dress and one that, depending on the wearer's social standing, might be of cotton fabric or of costly gold brocade. Gold embroidery on garments, and parts of garments, should be distinguished as an applied art. Women usually were occupied with these activities. In Bukhara were separate quarters of producers of straps, belts and girdles.[249] Gold embroidery was applied to the robes of both men and women, and less frequently to shirts for women, skullcaps,

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[245] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Kvartal'naia obshina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary.* Moscow: 1976. pp. 88-89

[246] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 387

[247] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 205

[248] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 205

[249] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. pp. 205-206

women's hats and scarves, and footwear. Such embroidered clothing was worn by khans, emirs and the higher court nobility.

Tanning

The artistic processing of leather was widespread not only among the nomads, but also in the larger towns of Central Asia. In the noisy bazaars of Samarkand and Bukhara skilful leather dressers would embroider suede hunting trousers, fur-lined leather boots, cushions, purses and men's belts while customers looked on. Horse paraphernalia was colourful and smart: saddle-cloth and leather harness were ornamented with blackened silver platelets and small bells, and studded with cornelian and turquoise. An elegant and refined tooled ornament was applied to bindings and cases for papers, which were used by theologians and scholars of the day. By the beginning of the 20th century, however, leather products had become overburdened with ornamentation and design features. Leather goods produced by the once-time nomadic peoples, the Kyrgyz, the Kazakhs and Karakalpaks, were notable for a constancy of style and adherence to traditional forms. Like clothing and horse harness, leather dishware was an essential feature of everyday life. These utensils were made chiefly for drinking fermented mare's milk (kumys). Leather drinking vessels came in a variety of forms such an enormous water-skins, medium sized, small cases for porcelain and faience cups, kettle-shaped milk pails and bowls for soured cream and jugs. Vessels used when at work, were simple in form and without any type of ornamentation. The most originally shaped and richly decorated vessels were flasks known as kookors, whose form resembled the bent horns of a mountain goat.[250] Kookors were used to transport kumys when travelling to new pastures, while another type of such vessel was used to serve kumys to guests. Kumys dishware was richly decorated with the greatest of care. Leather drinking vessels were sewn from camel skin that was noted for being robust and for maintaining its shape when being traded. Multi-layer leather was used in the manufacture of cylindrical cases in which several cups could be kept, one on the top of the other. Also common were cases shaped like a hemisphere bearing the outline of an upside-down cup. These cases were made from a variety of materials: cheegrass, thin switches of meadow sweet, juniper, walnut, leather or felt. Wooden cases were sometimes covered with leather or decorated with carvings.

Given the constant travelling involved in a nomadic way of life, leather goods were convenient and practical, and thanks to the efforts of their producers they also became magnificent examples of artistic creativity.

There were two types of tanners, those who produced shagreen leather and those who produced all other kinds of leather. Tanners were distinguished by used techniques, inhabited places and internal structure of their craftsmanship.[251] The latter category included craftsmen skilled in the production of leather soles and uppers and coarse suede. The tanners in Bukhara who produced shagreen leather lived in the city centre. Their raw materials came from the hides of asses and horses, of which they used only the part from the cruppers. Amount of craftsmen occupied with manipulation with leather was more than craftsmen, whose occupation was a

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[250] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. p. 668

[251] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie.*. Moscow: 1966. p. 202

treatment of shagreen leather. If craftsmen of latter group inhabited only one quarter in Bukhara, they colleagues from the first group created a population of three large quarters in Bukhara.[252] Shagreen leather craftsmen had a tradition of keeping of secrets of their art in the family, while other leather craftsmen had a diversified, more organized and bigger structure of their working process. They could have four or five apprentices.

Shoe-making

Shoe-making was one of the developed crafts; shoe-makers were to be found in most quarters of the city. State documents from Bukhara in the second part of 19th century pointed out shoemakers in 32 quarters of the city. Some of them made soft-soled shoes, while others made hard-sole boots and leather overshoes. Green shagreen leather was used for shoes and as facing for the corners of leather trunks. Shoe-repair was one of types of shoe-making craft in the Central Asian towns. Inhabitants of quarter Siyokor (make black) were busy with colouring of worn-out shoes with ink to black. They also sold such repaired and coloured shoes in the market, since the demand was pretty big due the Bukhara's greatness and large amount of poor people.[253]

Paper-making

Paper-making in Central Asia developed over a period of many centuries, dating from the time when paper-making skills were acquired from the Chinese in the eighth century by the craftsmen in Samarkand. During the 16th and 17th centuries paper was made in many cities of Central Asia, such as Samarkand, Tashkent and Khokand. The paper-making industry in Samarkand declined in the 18th century, but flourished in Khokand. Most 18th and 19th century manuscripts written on paper were made in Khokand. Paper was also made in Tashkent. The paper of Khokand and Tashkent was made from cotton fabric with no additions. The secret of manufacture of special quality paper was handed down from generation to generation, from father to son, over the course of many years of work in the same workshop. The high labour-intensiveness and the comparatively small amount of paper made in Central Asia meant that it was unable to withstand the competition of machine-made paper in the latter half of the 19th century. The paper making industry went into decline and ultimately perished.

Felt products

From the time immemorial, koshma (felt) was an indispensable part of everyday life in Central Asia. Unlike other materials that demanded intricate technologies, the production of koshma required almost no additional tools and retained the features of the ancient past. In the 19th century, felting was a common practice mainly among the Kyrgyz, The Kazakhs and the Turkmens. Koshma with

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[252] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 203

[253] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 204

rolled on designs, was also used in the daily life of certain parts of the Uzbek population. On the other hand, felt products made by sewing together cut-out patterns and appliqués as well as by means of embroidery, were exclusive to the Kazakh and Kyrgyz industries.

Kazakh and Kyrgyz koshma also incorporated shades of orange and crimson, and the graphic design was normally made to contrast sharply with the background, which was light or dark. Felt used in mosaic-style koshma was generally more compact, which is why it had to be processed longer. The designs incorporated three or four colours – red, dark blue, yellow or orange. It was of paramount importance that a mosaic carpet be of high quality as it formed part of bride's dowry and was never offered for sale. Mosaic koshmas, bordered and embroidered at the edges with braid, were mostly used for keeping the yurt warm. To decorate felt products, Kyrgyz craftsmen made skilful use of appliqué, using not only felt, but also leather, velvet, cloth and other kinds of fabric.[254] Among the Turkmens, felt manufacturing is the exclusive domain of women.[255]

Carpet-making

Carpet-making is one of the most labour-intensive of the artistic industries, with traditions in Central Asia reaching back to ancient times. It is carpet products from the 19th century that are most fully represented today in museums and private collections. During this period all the nations of the region engaged in the manufacture of flat-woven rugs, while it was the Turkmens, and to some extent, the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz and nomadic Uzbek tribes who chiefly engaged in knotted carpet-making.

The carpet products of Central Asia – both knotted and flat-woven – were produced for a whole range of different functions. The most common varieties included flat-woven spread rugs and short-pile runners and prayer-mats, as well as curtains for inside the yurt. Objects for everyday use made from carpet fabric were notable for their artistry and the care with which they were manufactured. These included oblong sacks suspended on cords from the walls of the yurt that were used for storing clothes, utensils and food products. Various types of carpet articles were designed for the saddle: girths, horse-cloth and saddlebags. The Turkmens placed great stress on the decorative finishes applied to the carpet used to adorn the camel that walked at the head of a wedding caravan.

In the manufacture of carpet products much importance was attached to the type of wool used, and to the dye, dying methods and weaving technique. Central Asian carpet-makers preferred long, light-coloured, soft wool taken from sheep that had been sheared in spring and which was not very coiled, was strong and had a specific shine to it. During the 19th century it was the custom in Central Asia to use durable colour-intensive dyes of vegetable origin.

In Central Asia carpet products were woven on primitive horizontal looms of two types: narrow or wide. The archaic character of the looms and related appliances contrasts strongly with the great beauty and high quality of the carpet fabrics produced on them.

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[254] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. pp. 643

[255] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. pp. 645

Over many centuries of carpet-making in Central Asia, generations of craftswomen perfected the principles of formulating and arranging designs and the choice of colour schemes common to all schools in the region. The central layout was usually framed with a patterned border. Inside the main area were design motifs that were repeated and arranged with biaxial symmetry in vertical or horizontal rows. It was only in smaller products that the design was central. Two techniques were applied when colouring designs: right-angled and diagonal. A balanced, static design was produced using the first technique, which was more characteristic of Kyrgyz carpets. With diagonal colouring, which was often used by Turkmen carpet-makers, the surface of the design acquired certain dynamism and the ornamental rhythm was particularly expressive.

Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Uzbek carpets have a number of similarities in ornamentation, layout and colouring. The Turkmen school of carpet-making developed with a certain degree of independence and consequently has little in common with the principles of carpet production found in other schools of Central Asia.

Ceramics and pottery

Craftsmen of ceramics and pottery lived in the different parts of Bukhara. The most known and populated by potters and their families were in four Bukhara town quarters. Such potter's districts existed in the all major and smaller centres of Central Asia. Pottery workshop always consisted of room for mixing potting clay and room or rooms where a kiln was located, and a storeroom. The tools of the potter have remained the same from the late Middle Ages down to modern times. They consist of pieces of broken pottery for levelling the edges of the pot, mushroom-shaped forms of various sizes, stone boat-shaped vessels for melting the glaze and pestles for pounding the glaze. Potters were members of a craft guild which is known due to the guild charters (risalas) that have survived.[256] The head of potters guild in Khiva was called kalandar, in Fergana guild leaders had a title baba or aksakal; the same terms were used in Samarkand. Usually a guild leader was elected at a guild meeting, Central Asian potters had a tradition to mark their goods by stamp.[257]

There are indications of the specialization of production. Wares of particular kind – water jars, two-handled jugs and pitchers, and glazed crockery – were the main saleable commodities made in the Central Asian workshops. Great diversity and variations in shape, colour of glaze, paints and elements of designs painted with them were marked features of the wares of master potters. The techniques of the potter underwent certain changes during centuries, especially, in the 16th and 17th centuries. Alkaline glazes became the dominant types. Cobalt oxide and the oxides of manganese, sodium, potassium, zinc and aluminium were used in painting decorations. Cupric oxide was used, but the oxides of chromium, nickel and antimony fell into disuse. Some stagnation is to be noted in the production of ceramic wares from the 18th century. It was the same process in the 19th century too.[258]

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[256] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 390

[257] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 390

[258] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie.*. Moscow: 1966. p. 222

Building

The reaction of ordinary dwellings and the palaces of rulers, madrasahs, mosques, mausoleums, fortified city walls, caravanserais, baths, bridges and aqueducts demanded different kinds of engineering skills. The terminology used to denote builders in written sources from the 16th to the 19th century is quite varied and includes specialists referred to as architects, estimators (who were also designers of buildings), plasterers, bricklayers, craftsmen who produced tiles as cladding, stone carvers, alabaster burners and carvers, art decorators, stonemasons and carpenters. Specialists in the construction of domed roofs were always renowned. Alabaster carvers had to have the high qualification common to all stonemasons, in addition to knowledge of ornamentation and its construction, and of carving techniques. Carpenters, who worked with stonemasons, carried out all work involving wood: the making of wooden parts, beam roofing and flooring, the hanging of doors and the carving of door panels and shutters.

Foodstuff processing

The processing of foodstuff for sale was widespread in the towns, and to a much lesser extent found also in the countryside and on the steppes. Flour milling was one of the most important of these industries. Water-mills also existed. In the absence of water, millstones were operated by horses and asses. Such millstones are frequently found in excavations. Many town dwellers were occupied in the making of flat cakes of unleavened bread. Usually women were occupied with baking and their husbands were engaged with bringing materials and selling goods. Some of them owned large bakeries. In these large bakeries men usually worked.[259] Large bakeries supplied the court as well. Bread-sellers had their own quarters in the towns. There were oil mills in which vegetable oils were processed in the towns. Owners of flour millings and oil mills were only workers in those mills, sometime they could hire a worker. There were also urban slaughterhouses and butcher's shops. Butchery was very developed craft. They were a lot of them in Bukhara.[260] Special professional cooks were employed to prepare food for festivities, weddings and funeral repasts. These professional cooks worked not only in towns, but in villages too. Confectioners made sweets and halva. Confectioners of Bukhara were in conviction that only their production can be called supreme and finest among sweets made in Central Asia.[261] Confectioners were separated to two groups: makers of different sorts of halva and crystallized sugar and the second one consisted of makers of candy sweets. In Bukhara in the second half of the 19th century there is only mention of 24 craftmasters of halva.[262] Specialization was made between craftsmen producing grape syrup, and much loved by Bukharans fried peas with raisins. Dried grapes, melons, apricots, grape syrup, roast pistachios and apricot kernels were prepared for sale in the villages. Before roasting of pistachios it was needed to stitch them; in Bukhara a craft for

[259] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. pp. 208-209
[260] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 209
[261] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 209
[262] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 209

stitching pistachios (Pistashikanon) was developed and this was in the two quarters: Pistashikanon in Bukhara.[263]

It is interesting to note that no district was ascribed for small markets of boiled cream. This is due to a specific outline of Bukharan food ration. Boiled cream was brought to Bukhara by dwellers outside the neighbouring villages.[264]

Small craft industries

In addition to major branches of craft production, there were a great many small craft industries. They included the making of articles from wood, and the making of spades, forks, hoops, trunks and cartwheels.

To the small craft industry bone carving can be add. The origins of bone carving in the region of Central Asia go back to early history. In the 19th century, this tradition was particularly visible in products such as sabre and dagger hilts and scabbards, as well as rifle butts. While the visually elegant national musical instruments of the Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmen, Karakalpak, Uighur and other peoples in the region are made from expensive types of wood, to this day the craft workers who make them inlay them with pieces of bone. In towns wood carving was used both in the manufacture of everyday articles as wooden chests for keeping clothes in, children's cots, small boxes, books stands, and for decorating fixtures around the home such as doors, columns, built-in wooden alcoves, etc. In Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in the second half of the 19th century, there was a fashion for many-sided decorative tables and stools catering to the tastes of the European population in Central Asian towns. By the early 20th century, Khiva, Bukhara, Samarkand, Khokand, Tashkent and Khojent became centres for the leading schools of wood carving. The technique involved in non-background carving could be achieved only by professional carvers and was considered to be a highly skilled urban craft.

Like carving, wood painting was for many years used in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in interior decoration and was likewise connected with the decoration of a variety of everyday objects. An intricate arabesque design would be applied to the printed surface of six- or eight-sided tables, boxes and other objects with a pre-traced pattern and then painted with a fine brush in vegetable or mineral dyes using bronze and silver. Usually red, green and, less commonly, blue were the colours chosen. In discussing ornamental painting, some mention must be made of a special area of activity of the naqqash (painter): the painting of everyday objects. There are two main techniques, which differ in terms of their artistic properties. The first technique involves the painting of tables, shelves, cases and boxes. The second is simple painting of widely used objects such as cradles, small household utensils and children's toys.[265]

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[263] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 210

[264] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 50

[265] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. pp. 669-673

6. DAILY LIFE IN THE CENTRAL ASIA

6.1. Status of women

Central Asian societies were not uniformly structured, and the extent of men's control over women depended not only on religion, but also on tribal custom and kinship relations. In accordance with the sharia (Islamic law), the Muslims tended to be highly patriarchal and, in public life, strictly gender-segregated; but it was the sedentary populations in most of the region who lived more in conformity with sharia, whereas the nomadic peoples largely followed their own customary practice (adat). The behaviour of women was strictly regulated everywhere; if a women dared to break the traditions of male supremacy, she and her relatives were punished.[266] A woman was expected to be, first, under the control of her father and, then, under that of her husband and his relatives or sons.

The contradiction between patriarchal traditions and the need for women's work in real life necessarily led to some conflict. A wife was almost universally considered a lower creature than her husband, usually designated "unequal" or "weak". She had no right to intervene in the men's world, although domestically she generally enjoyed a recognized status. For example, a Turkic man would seldom buy or sell without his wife's permission, and a mother's agreement was needed for the marriage of her son or daughter.

Women in Central Asia not only had their household duties but also worked in the fields. Russian traveller Khanykov noted: "Their [Uzbeks and Kyrgyzs] chief occupation consists in breeding flocks. Children all but naked are seen driving the sheep round the aul[267], while the chief sits listlessly in his kibitka, leaving all the household affairs to the care and management of the women…In the interior of the aul half naked children may be seen romping about and fighting with dogs, or else amusing themselves with thrumming on a two-stringed lute, and producing the most offensive sounds."[268] Women in nomadic society were burdened with innumerable tasks: riding, doing the housework, pitching the tents and taking them down, cooking and mothering children. Even a pregnant woman was expected to dismantle a tent and load it on to a camel; indeed, she would work on until childbirth. If a woman was ill and could not do all her household tasks, she was seen as abnormal.

Discrimination against a girl began from birth and continued to haunt her throughout her life. A girls' birth was often received as sad news and would go unmarked, while great festivities accompanied a boy's birth. It was customary at the birth of a boy to give extravagant gifts, whereas at girl's birth, a small present or nothing at all would be given. Moreover, a woman who bore only girls would be reproached or ostracized. Since in tribal societies girls would usually, upon a marriage, leave a family and belong to other communities, there were sometimes considered potential enemies, so that there seemed little point in providing them with a good upbringing. A Kyrgyz saying went: "A girl is an enemy".[269] Traditionally, a girl aged 7 or 8 was considered to be mature. A daughter-in-law was subordinate not

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[266] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 355

[267] Aul is Central Asian village

[268] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 82-83

[269] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 357

only to her husband, but also to all his male and female relatives. She had to do whatever her mother-in-law asked of her. In fact, she served a family as slave and was usually hemmed in by many petty restrictions.

The practice of seclusion varied according to region and among the nomadic and settled groups of the population. Stricter seclusion tended to occur in sedentary Muslim groups rather than among the nomadic peoples. This was connected with features of their economy and way of life. A settled woman was isolated in the inner rooms of house. Her way of life was established by tradition; even an innocent conversation with a man or the removal of the veil was seen a serious transgression against society's laws. If a man knocked at the door of her home, she could only respond by knocking in a manner to indicate that there was no man present.[270]

Arminius Vambery described and compared status of women of Central Asia with status of women in Iran and Turkey. Thanks to this we have not only description of approach to women in Bukhara, but also an interesting comparison of nexus in these Muslim countries: „It does not excite less wonder on our part when we see the men in Bokhara clad in wide garments of brilliant colour, whereas the women wear only a dress that is tight to the shape, and of a dark hue. For in the city, where the civilization has retained with the greatest fidelity its antique stamp of Oriental Islamism, women … come in for the worst share.

In Turkey the contact with Christian elements has already introduced many innovations, and the Yaschmak (veil) is rather treated as part of the toilette than as the ensign of slavery. In Persia the women are tolerable well muffled up, still they wear Tchakshur (pantaloons and stockings in one piece) of brilliant colour and silken texture, and the Rubend (a linen veil with network for the eyes) is ornamented with a clasp of gold. In Bokhara, on the other hand, there is not a trace of tolerance. The women wear nothing that deserves to be named full dress or ornament. When in the streets, they draw a covering over their heads, and are seen clad in dark gowns of blue, with the empty sleeves hanging suspended to their backs, so that observed from behind, the fair ones of Bokhara may be mistaken for clothes wandering about. From the head down to bosom they wear a veil made of horsehair, of a texture which we in Europe would as too bad and coarse for a sieve, and the friction of which upon cheek or nose must be anything but agreeable. Their *chaussures* consist of coarse heavy boots, in which their little feet are fixed, enveloped in a mass of leather. Such a costume is not in itself attractive; but even so attired, they dare not be seen too often in the streets. Ladies of rank and good character never venture to show themselves in any public places or bazaar. Shopping is left to the men; and whenever any extraordinary emergency obliges a lady to leave the house and to pay visits, it is regarded as *bon ton* for her to assume every possible appearance of decrepitude, poverty, and age… erroneous notions of morality are to be met with, more or less, everywhere in the East; but nowhere does one find such striking examples of oriental exaggeration as in the seat of ancient Islamite civilization, Bokhara. In Constantinople, as well as other cities of Turkey, there are certain Seir-yeri (promenades), where ladies appear in public. In Teheran, Ispahan, and Shiraz, it is the custom for the Hanims, *en grande toilette*, and mounted on magnificent horses, to make excursions to the places of pilgrimage situate in the environs of those cities. The tomb of the Said is the place of rendezvous, and instead of prayers, reciprocal

[270] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 357

declarations of love are not seldom made. In Bokhara, on the contrary, there is not a shadow of all this."[271]

The status of women was reflected in their traditional clothing. In sedentary Muslim societies, women usually wore the paranja from the age of 9 or 10. This meant that she was covered from head to toe. Her face was hidden under a black net, and even her infant was carried under the paranja. In contrast, due in part to economic conditions, nomadic women never covered their faces and generally led a less restricted life. Her voice could often be heard in meetings, especially on issues of common interest. Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Turkmen women rode freely in the steppes and took part in festivals. Henry Lansdell, English traveller, as a Vambery, compared Central Asian women's status and gave some precious details of them: "Turkoman women being kept less in seclusion than amongst the Uzbegs, I was able to examine their jewellery… I thought the women [Turkmen] better-looking than their Kirghese sisters, their cheek-bones not being so wide and prominent, and their features more European. Of course there are uneducated. In the last tent we visited on the Khivan side, the young wife reminded me of one of the native women of the Caucasus, who, when I entered her room, stood behind a pillar, hiding herself like a shy child."[272]

In the societies of Central Asia it was rare for anyone to remain unmarried all their lives. Marriage was arranged by parents, although young men were sometimes able to escape such arrangements if they were not to their liking, by moving elsewhere. Young girls and women had fewer options. European travellers who have visited Central Asia in the 19th century left remarks on the institution of marriage, because it was so different and unusual in their cultural background. Henry Lansdell, English traveller wrote: "When a boy reaches the age of 15, his parents seek a wife for him, who, it is preferred, shall be at least 5 years older, so that she may know how to manage his household. Betrothal among the Sarts is usually effected by means of a professional match-maker, who is consulted as to the amount and nature of the *kalim*[273] to be paid, which, besides money, consists of various articles of toilette – robes, beshmets, or under-tunics, ear and finger-rings, kerchiefs, likewise sheep, rice, fruit, etc., for the wedding feast. Of the dowry the bride is to bring with her, the husband knows nothing till after the marriage, though her father, who, according to the prevailing custom, keeps the greater part of the kalim, is bound to give his daughter a tent, and an entire set of domestic necessaries.

When the kalim has been paid and the wedding-day fixed, a money security is set aside by the bridegroom in case he should wish to divorce his wife. After this point is settled the mullah reads a prayer, and asks the bride through a closed door whether she consents to marry such as one, and, on her assenting, the bridegroom is asked the same… At the close of ceremony, the women conduct the bridegroom to the sleeping apartment, and also the bride, in whose society the man spends his first three days of married life in the home of her parents.

The bride is then brought to her husband's house, and begins her every-day and stay-at-home existence. She goes into the streets only on business, and seldom makes social visits, except now and then for a funeral or a wedding. When her husband goes out she is commonly locked up, and this want of confidence between man and wife, and the prevalence of polygamy, constantly leads to unfaithfulness."[274]

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[271] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Scetches of Central Asia.* London: 1868. pp. 170-172
[272] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. pp. 447-448
[273] Kalim or kalym is a term for a dowry in Central Asia.
[274] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. pp. 352-354

Virginity was cherished in all Muslim groups and any infidelity was punished severely: if found out, lovers would be executed. In nineteenth-century Bukhara, women suspected of having an extramarital affair would be sewn into a sack by the servants of the emir and thrown from a minaret.[275] In Khiva according to Vambery: "… women is buried up to the breast in the earth near the gallows, and there stoned to death. As in Khiva there are no stones, they use Kesek (hard balls of earth). As the third discharge, the poor victim is completely covered with dust, and the body, dripping with blood, is horribly disfigured, and the death which ensues alone puts an end to her torture."[276] The rules of divorce, except those concerning property, were designed wholly in favour of men. There were only two grounds on which women could ask for a divorce, namely cruelty or sterility of the husband; the second however was very difficult to prove. For a man, divorce was extremely easy; he simply had to utter the word talaq (divorce) three times. According to sharia and adat, male children had to remain with their father and his relatives. The sharia allowed only under-age daughters to remain with their divorced mother.

Polygamy was widespread in Muslim areas, although mainly among the rich and prosperous. The emirs and khans had large harems with many wives. The last emir of Bukhara had 112 wives and concubines.[277] In many cases polygamy was not only the "cult of masculine honour", but also served conveniently as a large household. The head of nomadic family would often send part of his herd away with his elder wife and remain in nearby pastures with his young wives or move on in another direction. The family would gather again for the winter. Almost all witnesses of polygamy wrote that the wives lived in discord among themselves. Their children took sides in the fights and quarrels. English traveller Henry Lansdell gave this information on harems in Central Asia: "I imagine it is no uncommon thing for Eastern sovereigns to suffer from scandal respecting their harems, and all the more, perhaps, because they keep them so secluded. Even M. Ujfalvy permits himself to say that, as the taking Khokand by the Russians, the Khan had 3,000 women! After this it made little claim on one's belief to be told in Samarkand that the Emir had 300. The number of 300, however, would not strike an outsider as unlikely in the face of such tales floating about as the following. I learned from a Russian judge that there was brought before him a women of ill-fame, who professed to have been an inmate in the Emir's harem. She said that when his Majesty went through the streets, the women he met were obliged to stand by the wall and lift their veils, and that anyone whom he saluted was taken to the harem, and there kept for a few months, when if not pregnant, she was given to wife to one of the officials of the court. In the other case the child had to be her only one, and she remained in the harem for the rest of her life. This story, upon the face of it, is not very likely to be true, for the women go out but little, and then it is chiefly the old ones. So contrary to etiquette is it for young women to go out, that, when necessity compels, they take a stick and creep along like old hags. Moreover, on repeating this to at least three persons in the khanate, they had never heard of it, though some of them said that the Emir's wives, after having a child, were usually given to one of his favourites.

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[275] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 358

[276] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Travels in Central Asia.* London: 1864. p. 139

[277] CHAHRYAR ADLE, IRFAN HABIB. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 5. Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.* Paris: 2003. p. 358

I found that the simple question, "How many wives has the Emir?" elicited some very varying replies. One replied, "Many"; another, "Thirty for certain"; a third said he did not know, but he supposed that at least two a week were taken by force from the people. Of course all the royal wives must be orthodox Sunnites, so that, if a very pretty Jewess be taken, she is made a Muhammadan; but no instance of this, the Jews told me, had occurred lately. This led to the question, "How are suitable wives obtained, since females in Bokhara are kept so secluded?" The first informant said, "Old wives are paid to go into families, and so discover beautiful girls, who taken to the harem, and then either allowed to return or made wives of the Emir." This statement was made, however, by an ignorant man, that the Emir asked the father's permission, and paid a handsome kalim – more, that is, than the Muhammadan law requires, which is 20 pounds for a girl, and 10 pounds for a widow. Another said that the presents or kalim that he gave were small, and that the parents thought it a grievance…

Of course these were very delicate subjects upon which to approach the Emir's messengers, especially as my conversation might be reported to his Majesty. Nevertheless, I thought it better to hear their answer to my question, "How many wives has the Emir?" They replied immediately, "Four." I said that I had heard it was 300, upon which they waxed warm, and said that as a husband I ought to know that one man would be no match for 300 wives!… "never more than four at a time!" and as to how he obtained them, the Emir had some sisters, aged wives, or other near relations, and that, when he wished to marry, they told him of girls they knew here or there."[278] Here it is possible to assume that rich men and especially rulers in the Central Asia could have at least four wives at once and a lot of concubines. Official descendant or future successor would rise from the union of ruler with his wife, who was originated from nomad tribal aristocracy or female representatives of high-ranked ulemas (Muslim clergy). Vambery described Khivan harem in this way: "The harem is here very different from those of the Turkish or Persian court. The number of women is limited, the fairy-like luxuriousness of life in a harem is entirely wanting, strict chastity and modesty pervade it; and in this respect the court of Khiva is eminently superior to all Eastern courts. The present Khan has only two lawful wives, although the Koran allows four. These are always chosen from among the royal family; and it is an extremely rare thing for the daughter of dignitary, who does not belong to the family, to be raised to this rank. The Khan, although possessing the same unlimited power over his wife as over any of his subjects, treats her without severity, and on the whole with tenderness, unless she be found guilty of any particular offence. She possesses no titles or prerogatives whatever; her court is distinguished in nothing from the other harems, but that she has more female servants and slaves about her; the former consisting of the wives or daughters of officials, the latter for the most part of Persian and a few dark Arab women. The daughters of Iran are far inferior to the Ozbeg women in personal beauty, and their mistress has no cause to fear from either of them any rivalry. As regards their intercourse with the outer world, the princesses of Khiva are far more restricted than the wives of other Eastern potentates. The rules of modesty require that they should pass the greater part of the day in the harem, where comparatively little time is lavished upon the embellishments of the toilet. And in fact, the ladies of the harem have very little leisure for idleness, since in accordance with the custom of the country it is desirable that the greater part of the clothes, carpets, and other stuffs, for the use of the prince,

[278] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. pp. 155-157

should be prepared by the hand of his wife. This custom reminds one strongly of the patriarchal mode of life of which Turkestan, in spite of its roughness, has preserved many remnants of simple refinement.

The princess of Khiva is permitted occasionally to visit the neighbouring royal summer palaces and chateaux, never on horseback, as is the general custom in Persia, but in large carriage, painted with gaudy colours, and completely covered and shut in with red carpets and shawls. Before and behind the vehicle trot a couple of horsemen, furnished with white staves. On her progress all rise respectfully from their seats and salute her with a profound bow. Nobody thinks of daring to cast a look of curiosity into the interior of the carriage; not only would this be useless, so closely is it covered, but such temerity would have to be atoned for by death, whether the object be the wife of sovereign or any subordinate official."[279]

Lansdell gave information on family life of daughters of inner circles of ruling aristocracy in Central Asia: "… the case of the Emir's daughters is not enviable. Their father marries them to Khojas, who live in the palace as play-things for their wives; but should the wife die, her property is sold, they said, and the husband turned adrift, to become perchance a beggar."[280]

Until Soviet times, the custom of levirate was traditionally followed mainly by the nomadic peoples. Buying a wife meant that she was a chattel for her husband, but also for all relatives in the clan. Her husband's relatives inherited the woman as the object of exchange after his death. The harsh conditions of nomadic life and the never-ending wars, together with the idea that women's sexuality must be controlled for the preservation of clan honour, made it hard for women to survive alone. Widows often had to agree to leviratic marriages for the sake of their children and to avoid being ostracized. Apart from the father-in-law, it was of no importance who inherited the woman: it could be her dead husband's brother, uncle or another distant relative. If there were several brothers, the youngest would inherit the wife. Sometimes, however, a widow's views on which of the eligible men she wished to marry were taken into account.[281]

The practice of sororate, meaning the right of a widower to marry a younger sister of his dead wife, was widely practised among nomadic peoples such as the Kyrgyz, the Kazakhs, and the Karakalpaks. Among settled peoples such as the Uzbeks and Tajiks, levirate and sororate were unfamiliar customs. The Tajiks, however, believed that to leave a fertile woman without a man was inadmissible: remarriages of widows were thus common.

Throughout the region, women had value in men's eyes only in relation to men and reproduction. The fertility cult in Central Asia was based on the widespread assumption that children always bring good luck and are pleasing to God. The desire to have more sons has had social, economic and environmental causes for thousands of years. High infant mortality and the need to maintain large families to support the natural economy and to wage wars may explain the fertility's cult particular popularity in Central Asia.

A woman's status in society was thus often determined by her ability to bear children. Sterile women held a marginal position. Childless women maintained the tradition of pilgrimage to numerous holy places. An entire network of holy tombs and innumerable customs were devoted to the cure of sterility.

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[279] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Sketches of Central Asia.* London: 1868. pp. 95-97
[280] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. p. 158
[281] AGADZHANOV, S.G. *Issledovaniya po etnografii turkmen.* Ashkhabad: 1965. p. 113

6.2. Health and hygiene

Central Asia had indigenous health systems before the advent of colonialism. Much superstition and many primitive methods of doctoring prevailed. Central Asian people suffered from different maladies and plagues, ophthalmic diseases, and high infant mortality rate. The colonial administration created a modern public health system, though on a modest scale and mainly for use of military and administrative personnel. Hospital for women was built in Bukhara in 1910. Tashkent had a military hospital, where civilian patients requiring special treatment, particularly those suffering from malaria, could be sent. Dispensaries appeared in Central Asia and a vaccination programme for children was started by Russian authorities.

On general scale the situation with the health system in the urban places of Central Asia was inferior. Henry Lansdell wrote in his book: "The Bokhariots have no hospitals; but apothecaries and doctors, who profess to know something of medicine, and whose chief method is to read over the patients passages from Koran. With regard to the increase of the population, men with one wife sometimes have up to 8 children, and with 4 wives, each wife perhaps will have from 1 to 3; or with 2 wives, 8,9, and 10 children in common. In Bokhara they said the mother after childbirth, gets up a week at he longest; in Khiva, after 4 or 5 days, but sometimes after 2."[282]

Russian and European travellers mentioned illnesses that have appeared in the Central Asia in the 19th century. Russian traveller Khanykov devoted a chapter in his book for enumeration of illnesses and added that almost every member of Russian delegation to Bukhara and Central Asia had complaint to different sicknesses: "This climate exercises likewise its baneful effects on men. Of the illnesses which may be called local, as arising from the combined influence of the air and the soil, we may enumerate such as the most striking:

1. Intermittent fevers are remarkable for their intensity and long duration, as well as for frequent relapses after a long interval of time… Strangers, especially, are exposed to them, a fact which we learned by experience, for none of the Russians of our party escaped the malady.

2. *Rishta* is an illness of which the symptoms are, that some parts of the body swell and fester; the patient often feels acute pains in the bones, and constant inward heat, a parched mouth, and continual thirst. Occasionally, we may even say frequently, to the great relief of the patient, the ulcer bursts, and exposes to view a small flat worm, of a whitish colour, which is cautiously seized by means of two small thongs firmly tied together, and drawn out by little and little... The number of these worms is sometimes very considerable. I was told that an inhabitant of Khiva had no less than 120 of such worms at the same time. The natives attribute this illness to the unwholesome quality of the water in their *hauz*… In order to avoid the worm, they recommended to abstain from *hauz* water in spring; … must observe the precaution of first boiling their water, as the embryo of *rishta* is said to be destroyed by the effect of warmth.

3. *Pies* is a peculiar disease – the external symptoms of which consist in a livid whiteness of the skin, appearing on the body at first in the form of a speck, which spreading more and more, at last covers the whole body. Persons attacked by it are usually weak and of a ghastly appearance. The malady is

[282] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. pp. 149-150

reckoned contagious, and a separate quarter is allotted to such as are subject to it, on the north-east side of town, called *Guzari Piesan*… They have their own mosques, bazaars, baths, colleges, and live like outcasts in Bokhara, especially on account of the belief that this disease is a chastisement from above.

4. *Mehau* is a particular disease, which chiefly attacks the neck and upper part of the chest; its symptoms are swelling and ulcers.

5. *Yarra Aughani* are blotches which appear on the faces of infants; there are very corrosive, and leave deep and indelible traces. This complaint is very prevalent among the Bokharians, and it is difficult to meet a person who does not bear some traces of it…

6. *Lapsha* is likewise a disease very prevalent in Bokhara. Strangers, as I learned, were more particularly subject to it. It consists in a total prostration of strength, without any local complaints, a strong aversion to all kind of labour, and attains often to such a height, that the patient falls into a swoon, which changes into constant drowsiness, and at length terminates in death.

Ophthalmic complaints are various, and very common among the inhabitants of Bokhara. They usually consist of the *amaurosis*, cataract, and the growth of the eye-lashes into the pupil of the eye.

Independently of the above-named diseases, there are many others, such as the *Silibisha*, consisting in constant vomiting, which lasts sometimes half and year, and terminates in the death of the patient; the *Silesihaul*, which is a relaxation of the bladder, produced by the disorderly life the Bokharians lead; *Sil*, or consumption; *Istiska*, or dropsy; *Kesali Fares*, a shaking of all the members of the body, owing, also to sensual excesses. Syphilis is diffused all over the country, and appears in all sorts of forms. Such as are attacked by it, either are never cured, or are poisoned by mercury, which the Bokharian quacks administer to their patients without mercy. We may observe, in conclusion, that the small-pox here, as is the case everywhere else, where men are either ignorant of, or unwilling to submit to the beneficent influence of vaccination, sacrifices many victims, although means by which the small-pox may be avoided are known in Bokhara, the knowledge is rarely applied."[283]

Lansdell also noted that, "…diseases from which the Bokhariots most frequently suffer are fevers, ophthalmia, leprosy, piles of various kinds, syphilis, small-pox, and the rishta. Syphilis is treated only with mercury. They practise vaccination, but it is not compulsory, and they have a "pest-house," or rather a village, where those who wish may be inoculated. A boy came on a morning, his head being covered with a thick *eczema*, to whom Sevier simply said, "Go and wash! And then come again." I was not a little struck with the account they gave of their treatment of the insane. They have a special mullah, called *Ishan*, who is brought to a man when he begins to fail, and who reads over the patient prayers from the Koran for a week or two. If this proves unavailing, the patient is taken to the Ishan's house, tied to a post, and kept on low diet for a couple of months. Thus in the Ishan's yard, not far from the Russian Company's office, in the quartal of Bokhara called Juibar, may be seen a number of these patients chained, or rather picketed, to posts like horses. As a further step there are beaten whilst prayers are going on. If a poor creature does not show signs of pain, his case is thought incurable; but if he is seen to suffer, his recovery is hoped of." [284] Lansdell also gave information on further illness: "The reading of the sufferings of Dr. Wolff, and what I had seen and been warned of in Samarkand, made

[283] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 61-66
[284] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. pp. 144-145

me specially fearful of the *rishta*, a well-known disease in Bokhara, Karshi, Jizakh, and Katte-Kurgan. It is also met with in India, Arabia, and Africa, whence with the negroes it was taken to America. This disease is caused by a worm, which develops under the skin in May and August, in the form of a cylindrical body, lengthening at the rate of about an inch in a week, and lying extended, or curled in a lump two inches in diameter. Later on, an abscess appears where the head (as is said) of the parasite lies, and through the opening thus made, especially when the surrounding skin is pressed, the end of the worm appears. Sometimes, however, the skin, lifted by means of a needle, is cut off in layers until the head of the worm is reached and grasped… Native specialists, usually barbers, insert a needle under the worm, and one end is drawn out by the fingers of the right hand, whilst those of the left press the affected part, the operation lasting from one to five minutes."[285]

On doctoring among nomads, concretely among Turkmen, Henry Lansdell left this information: "Soon after entering, our host stretched himself on the floor. Then his boy, 8 or 10 years of age, stood on him, and walked up and down his body, as if kneading the patient with the soles of his feet. This was an intended cure for a pain in the stomach I had never before seen, not Sevier, at any of the three European capitals where he had studied, so he proceeded instead to paint the patient with iodine from the ribs to the loins. For this the man seemed to be grateful, and good-fellowship progressed to such a degree that, when the time drew near for us to be moving, the three natives would willingly have stopped for the night."[286]

Important element of health system in the Central Asia was bathhouses. Bathhouses in the towns by their number, ordering and organization were evidence of the centuries in which the Central Asian town culture has lasted. Bathhouses were known in the Central Asia from the ancient times. Even examples of 16th and 17th century baths are preserved in Samarkand, Shahrisabz, Bukhara and Tashkent, and few of them are still in use today. There are heated by a system of under-floor channels, which spreads the heat uniformly throughout the premises; this also proves their ancient origin. Some versions include rooms for disrobing, hot and cold rooms, a massage room and a water closet, and all are covered by the domes that give them such a characteristic external appearance. Bathhouses were in the private or waqf property. Decisive role of building bathhouses was traditionally attributed to rulers or representatives of clergy and intelligentsia, who ordered to build this buildings or relieved recourses for erecting these profitable structures. In Bukhara in the beginning of 20th century there were 18 bathhouses, 9 of them were for men, 8 for women and 1 had male and female segments.[287] A fact that a bathhouse was a subject of waqf granted that in case of ramshackle of building, only a new bathhouse could be built in that place. Reality that female bathhouses existed shows that usage of bathhouses was common tradition for city dwellers. Bathhouses were used for ritual purposes as well. For example, before a wedding bride and surrounding her females, in a special festive style visited a bath. Bathhouses were used not only by Muslim people, but also people of other religions. The need of baths was so big, that even fear of possible vituperation from the side of some religious fanatics could not stop them. According some evidences dissenter could be accused and be beaten by a Muslim, who saw

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[285] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. p. 146
[286] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. pp. 374-375
[287] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 64, also SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Kvartal'naia obshina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary.* Moscow: 1976. pp. 72, 84, 96, 126, 144, , 190, 194, 201, 214, 219, 304

blemishing of his Muslimity in splattering of spraying water from the body of person of other faith.[288]

Khanykov described bathhouses in detail: "The baths of Bokhara consist of four compartments. The first is the ante-chamber, with carpets spread on the floor. Two or three small looking glasses of Russian manufacture are stuck into the walls. Here the visitors throw off their upper dress, before they are ushered into the second apartment, having a warmer temperature than the first. The bathers divest themselves in this room of their remaining clothes, and wrapping a lung, or bathing girdle round them, step thence into the third room, which is the hottest of the three. Here, seated on the floor, you wait until a strong perspiration comes over you, after which you pass into the fourth apartment, where you lay down with your chest on a carpet, and give yourself up to the man whose business it is to crack all your joints. But the skill of these crackers of joints in Bokhara is said to be much inferior to that of their profession in Turkey; for though I was in the hands of the most desperate of their gang, they never could make all my joints crack, which is said to be the case in the Ottoman empire. After this noisy part of operation is over, they proceed to rub you with a coarse hair-cloth, and finish by pouring cold water over you.

The *faithful* get shaved on such occasions, and then repair into the second apartment, from which they pass into the first, where the amateurs rest and sip their tea. Baths in Bokhara, as well as in Turkey, are heated from bellow, and are not very comfortable; the best I saw were those of Mis-ghiran and Basari Hoja…"[289] While being in Samarkand Khanykov did not forget to note that: "There are two karavanserais in the city, three public baths, two of which bear the name of Hamami Hoja Akrah, and the third Hamami Miri"[290]

Henry Lansdell gave also his account on baths: "On reaching the bath-house I found almost a fac-simile of a Turkish bath I had seen in Constantinople…I hid my belt in my clothes and entered the bath-room. It looked like a crypt lighted from the tops of domes, and, having placed myself on a hot stone, I had to submit to the well-known kneading and rubbing of the Turkish baths, previous to washing with water. I did not like it nearly so well as the Russian steam bath, though glad of an opportunity of good cleansing, such as we had not had since leaving Samarkand. By the time we returned to the dressing chamber, some more natives had been admitted, and they watched us with not a little curiosity as we finished our toilette and put on our European garments. A tooth-brush appeared to them quite a novelty. I am not so sure about a comb, but, as all the men shave their heads, hair brushes are to them unknown."[291]

Soap was not used in the Central Asian baths. Dirt from well hot steamed bodies wiped off with special pouch swelled on hand. Bath servants for special money could wash a client and make a massage. Massage was assumed as universal cure from different illnesses. In the end of the 19th century soap makers lived in outer part of town, because a smell of soap, which was made from the fat and grease of died animals extended to everywhere.[292]

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[288] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie.*. Moscow: 1966. p. 64

[289] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 112-114

[290] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. p. 130

[291] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. pp. 45-46

[292] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Kvartal'naia obshina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary.* Moscow: 1976. p. 85

There is a splendid illustration of question of toilet among nomads: "A Turcoman's toilet is simplicity itself. I give Dourdi's as an example… he swept the carpet on which he had been sleeping with his huge sheepskin hat, which he then proceeded to dust by banging it lustily with the heavy iron tongues. Then taking a piece of fat from the pot upon the hearth, he greased his boots with it, finishing up by washing his hands, using as soap a wood ashes from the fire."[293]

6.3. Social intercourse, lifestyle and ceremonies

Town dwellers in Central Asian were divided by profession or ethnical factor. Residents of each city quarter, irrespective of their professions or economic status formed a community or a society of a certain city quarter. Personal relations, duties and participation in mass public gatherings connected all families of a city quarter to each other. To join a community of a city quarter it was necessary to live in that quarter. Automatically, each family, which lived in a city quarter, was a member of community. Theoretically, everybody who bought a property in a certain city district became a member of its community. But in reality to move in and became a member of a local community might be obstructed or prevented from by those residents who have already inhabited that quarter. A so-called 'neighbouring right' existed regarding selling property. Neighbours or other residents of a city quarter could influence process of newcomers to their district. Therefore it is possible to assume that city quarters, and actually, villages of nomads, were close and secluded communities compounded on the basis of the same profession, very proximate kinship and alliance among the fellow residents from the same place.

Isolation of city dwellers was interfered by weddings, funerals and different celebrations. Family festivities and funerals had a collective, communal character. During wedding celebrations, which usually lasted for few days, female neighbours brought different kinds of meal, sweets and gifts. Youth and young men helped too: they prepared fire-wood, brought water, cut vegetables and made other preparations for fiestas. Such kind of help existed during funerals too. For example, in Bukhara it was a rule that family members of a passed away person did not cook for three days.[294] In such case their neighbours supplied them and visitors to the funerals with meals. This mechanism worked for all members of a quarter community. It is important to note that during funerals all neighbours had to wear mourning-costumes, as the family of a deceased. Very often weddings or other celebrations would be postponed in such situations. This is a general description of daily routine festivals and funerals among urban population and nomads in Central Asia. Engagements, birth of child, circumcisions, somebody's illness and cure, even a visiting guest brought neighbours to the house in nomad and settled community alike. Nobody could be in joy or sorrow alone in Central Asia! Taking part in communal ceremonies and festivals was a pious duty and right of every resident of city quarter or village; it was unacceptable not to come – otherwise it meant to offend a host.

A very important factor counteracted the tendency towards isolation in any given town quarter. Buyers and sellers of both sexes would meet in markets and in the shops. Everyday essentials were available not just in the centre, but in the residential

[293] O'DONOVAN, Edmond.*The Merv Oasis, volume I.* London: 1882. p. 211
[294] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Kvartal'naia obshina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary.* Moscow: 1976. p. 27

districts as well. Bakers, vendors of perishable food, vendors of needed utilities had to be near their customers. The same was true of the public baths.

Women probably visited shops of the town centre only on special occasions, but more frequently they went shopping in their own town quarter. As well as paying visits, shopping would have been one of the main reasons for leaving home, although no doubt servants and children often ran erranders. Certain shops were preferred by female customers. Markets and shops thus helped to integrate women into urban society, even if this caused misgivings among many contemporary observers.

There were also pedlars who plied their trades in residential quarters, supplying the population with ordinary foodstuffs and, particularly, water. Some pedlars no doubt distributed the news as well as wares; the extent to which they talked to housewives and servants depended on local customs and individual personalities; the potential existed, at any rate.

Retailers in the residential districts had to obtain their wares either from farmers and gardeners in the surrounding area or from wholesalers based in the town centre. The news was often diffused via such relationships, especially news concerning droughts, blocked trade routes, failed harvests and prohibitive taxes. Thus, the links between the inhabitants of each district and the local traders, as well as those between the traders and their suppliers, constituted a counterweight to the isolation characteristic of many town quarters. In this way, then, everyday trading relationship helped turn a collection of small residential areas into a town or city.

Another unifying attribute of city quarter was a mosque. In mosques, especially in the short period between two afternoon prayers men of city quarter could stay in a mosque for communication, discussion of the latest news and problems; also, in the neighbouring mosques elections of quarter administration were held. Especially in Bukhara, where the tradition of tea-houses or chaikhanas was not developed so much as in other cities of Central Asia, men preferred to gather in mosques.[295]

According to Soviet scholar and scientist O.A. Sukhareva chaikhana played and plays an important role as a social place for gathering in all cities of Central Asia, especially in Tashkent and Samarkand and towns of Fergana valley. But in Bukhara few chaikhana were used only by guests and visitors from other cities and Bukharan people assumed visiting chaikhana as something shameful. Instead of this so-called samovar-khana existed, where only boiling water was sold.[296] This statement is partly confirmed by Arminius Vambery: “To study of their lives [local inhabitants of Bukhara] which is before the public eye, we must first pay a visit to the tea-booths, which are the resorts of all classes. The Bokhariot, and the remark applies indeed universally to all Central Asiatics, can never pass by a second or third tea-booth without entering, unless his affairs are very urgent indeed. As I before mentioned, every man carries with him his little bag of tea: of this, on his entry, he gives a certain portion to the landlord, whose business is rather to deal in hot water than in tea. During day-time, and particularly in public places, the only tea drunk is green tea, which is served without sugar, and with the accompaniment of a relish or two, consisting of little cakes made of flour and mutton suet; for the making of these Bokhara is famous. As any attempt to cool tea by blowing upon it, however urgent in

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[295] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Kvartal'naia obshina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary.* Moscow: 1976. p. 23

[296] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Kvartal'naia obshina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary.* Moscow: 1976. p. 23, also SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie..* Moscow: 1966. p. 62

account of its heat some such process may be, is regarded as highly indecorous… The Bokhariot can thus chatter away hours and hours, amidst his fellow-drinkers; for the meaningless conversations that are maintained weary him as little as cup after cup of tea which he swallows. It is known to a second how much time is required for each kind of tea to draw. Every time the tea-pot is emptied, the tea-leaves that have been used are passed round: etiquette forbids any one to take more than he can hold between finger and thumb, for it is regarded by connoisseurs as the greatest dainty."[297] In nomadic villages, where it is difficult to imagine the existence of chaikhanas, tea-drinking culture existed as well. O'Donovan, British journalist and adventurer, noted in his book 'Oasis Merv': "Every Turcoman carries with him in his pocket a small bag filled with green tea; and should be happen to call at a house where the inhabitants are too poor to afford the luxury, he calls for hot water, and produces a handful of tea for the refreshment of himself and his host. It is only among those who are well to do that sugar is even seen, and even then it is considered a luxury… Every Turcoman, when on the road, brings with him his tea bowl, which is of Chinese porcelain…The guests sit in a ring. The host, having two or three bowls before him, fills and hands them to his neighbours in the order of their seniority or dignity. The sugar – if he have any – he generally keeps in his pocket; and when he wishes to distinguish any person especially, he takes out a lump and pitches it across the ring to the favoured individual… the Turcomans, apart from their natural covetousness, being extremely fond of sweets. I recollect that, on my first arrival at Merv, I was in the habit of placing in the middle of the circle of my visitors a large bowl of broken sugar. Each guest, before filling his bowl with tea, more than half filled it with sugar; and then, taking a large handful, he put it into his pocket by way of guaranteeing a supply for the next bowl, for he knew full well that unless this precaution were observed the others would take care to seize all that remained. A Turcoman likes to drink his tea as hot as he can possibly bear it… Black tea is practically unknown among the Turcomans, nor will they drink it when offered to them, unless it be very highly sweetened. Green tea is willingly drunk without any sweetening. When the jug of tea is exhausted, the host shakes out the leaves into one of the bowls, and then, sprinkling them with sugar, proceeds to eat them, unless he favours some of his guests by sharing them with him."[298]

Another kind of amusement of urban residents rather than mass gathering can be mention of walking. Vambery noted on this issue: "They [city dwellers of Bukhara] seek to find amusements of a higher kind in excursions to the environs of the city. These are made sometimes to the tombs of the saints; sometimes to the convents of certain Ishans (sheikhs) in the odour of sanctity; sometimes to the Tchiharbag Abdullah Khan, situate near the Dervaze Imam… On the occasion of their excursions to the environs of the city, persons of wealth are in the habit of taking with them their tea-things, and a servant to prepare tea. Those who are not so well off have recourse to establishments that are to be found at these places of resort. Visitors evince just as much desire to hide themselves, where possible, in the booths, as they do to avoid encamping close to the road. As it is the approved custom to invite every passer-by, be he of what rank he may, to take some refreshment of food or drink, each host entertains an apprehension, not unjustified by experience, lest those whom he accosts, not content with returning for answer the ordinary word expressive of gratitude… That spectacle which these private parties of pleasure generally afford is

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[297] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Sketches of Central Asia.* London: 1868. pp. 172-173
[298] O'DONOVAN, Edmond.*The Merv Oasis, volume II.* London: 1882. pp. 310-312

one of no great gladness, they rather seem to produce a deadly-lively effect… where the crown of society, woman, is absent, all in vain, and never can life assume its real aspect of genuine enjoyment.

If I do not err, it is Tchiharbah Abdullah Khan that still preserves most of the characters of a public place of entertainment. It is a spot well shaded by lofty trees; a canal flows through it, to whose banks the pupils of the numerous colleges and the young men belonging to the wealthier classes, resort generally on Friday afternoons. The inevitable tea-kettle is here again in requisition, and tea is the article for which the place is renowned; but not the only one, for the combats of rams are here celebrated also. The savageness with which these sturdy animals rush against each other when irritated, the fearful shock of their two heads, particularly when they struggle to push their antagonists back, present a spectacle very attractive to the inhabitant, not only of Bokhara, but of every part of Central Asia."[299]

The use of animals was also a part of amusement of Central Asian people from the very old time. Khanykov, in his book gave an example of entertainment, which was popular not only among nomadic tribes of Central Asia: "Among the tribes who possess large herds of horses, … there is exists a game among the young people, called *kuk-bari*, which may be described as follows: --

A hundred or more riders assemble together, and having chosen one from their party, they send him to fetch a kid out of the flock belonging to the master whose guests they happen to be. The messenger, on fulfilling his errand, cuts the throat of the kid, and grasping it firmly with his right and by the two hind legs, hastens to join the party. The latter, as soon as they espy him returning from a distance, press forward to meet him, and endeavour to wrest the slaughtered animal from his grasp… The game lasts until one of the party succeeds in carrying off a large slice of the meat to his home, and in screening himself from further pursuit."[300]

Khanykov continued his overall with the festivals in Bukhara: "Meschidi Namaziya, or Namazi-gah, is a great mosque, with an immense platform before it, on which trees are scattered here and there. Prayers are read in it during the Ramazan and Kurban; at which periods the public also resort there for amusement. The whole square, between the town and that place, is covered, on such occasions, with temporary booths, in which confectioners, vendors of dried fruit, &c, exhibit their tempting merchandize to the gaze of the crowds which rush to and from; some on foot, others on horseback, or mounted on asses; some even in carts. Behind the tents and the booths, wrestlers show off their feats; races, also, are set on foot; and camels are made to fight. This game consist in the animals pushing each other with their shoulders, until one of them is thrown down, when they are separated."[301]

On adult games Vambery testified: "The favourite game is the Ashik-game (Ashik – the anklebones of sheep), which is played in the manner of European dice with the four anklebones of a sheep, and with a degree of passionate excitement of which one can form no idea… This game is equally popular with the dweller in settlements as with the nomad… Ashik player, in the heat of his passion, stakes the whole of his possessions, nay, even his wife."[302] O'Donovan's note can be added too: "… I had an opportunity of witnessing some of the Turcoman indoor amusements indulged in during the long winter period of inaction following the gathering of the

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[299] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Sketches of Central Asia.* London: 1868. pp. 173-177
[300] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 83-84
[301] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. p. 120
[302] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Sketches of Central Asia.* London: 1868. p. 110

harvest… The elders occasionally play chess, usually on a cotton handkerchief divided into squares by lines of black stitching. The squares are all of the same colour. The chessmen are of the most primitive pattern… The game is the same as in Europe, with some difference in the method of castling… They play very fairly, and even in the midst of the game make the moves with the most amazing rapidity. The spectators enter into the spirit of the game with the greatest enthusiasm, chattering and squabbling over the relative merits of the different moves."[303]

Festivals and ceremonies were pretty similar among city dwellers and nomads in Central Asia. Vambery writes: "After the chille (forty days) have elapsed, festivities begin. In the case of girl, not much is done; but if the child be a boy, even the poorest make every effort to gather round them as sumptuously as possible. Grand banquets, horse-racing, wrestling and music, are the order of day; and finally, a special celebration in honour of the birth, the so-called Altin Kabak, takes place; which consists in hanging up a golden or silver ball on the top of a high tree, and whosoever brings it down at the first shot, with either ball or arrow, gains this price, together with a certain number of sheep, and often even camels and horses."[304] In Central Asia children were allowed a very few years to devote merely to play. Vambery continues: "Girls are early taught to spin, weave, sew, to make cheese, &c.; and boys are put on horseback, and learn to ride as early as their fifth year, and are employed as horsemen in sham fights, and as jockeys in horse races in, and even before, their tenth year. It is only the more wealthy parents who give their children in charge of a Mollah. When they have learned to read, the Korantoy, or festival of the Koran, is celebrated…"[305]

However, some differences in attitude to funeral matters existed, especially between inhabitants of Bukhara and the rest population of Central Asia. According to the Muslim code, a corpse is not allowed to be kept longer than one day. Vambery described funeral traditions of Central Asian population: "[corpse] is not washed upon a board, but on a mat (buria), which is immediately after burnt; and the relations and neighbours, nay, often the whole population of the place, having wept and wailed their fill, the body is taken to be buried... The funeral feast begins immediately after the burial with a simple repast, at which the iyis (bread baked in fat) is distributed among rich and poor, and must be eaten by everybody. The feast is repeated on the third, seventh, and fortieth day after the death took place…"[306] In Bukhara a special profession and relevant district in the centre of town, called Murdashuyon (corps-washer) existed. Appearance of people of this profession in Bukhara lies in very old times. Corpse-washers created such a 'pariah' caste and could emerge only in the time, when this place was an outer part or periphery of town. As time passed the town grew bigger and the district became very close to centre of town. Characteristic to Muslims respect to property, superstition fear, unwilling to offend people, whose service will be needed to each family early or latter allowed this district to remain on its place without any changes. Corpse-washers always lived apart from others, who did not get marry them, but according to the community law of a city quarter other dwellers invited them to their celebrations and it was mutual. In a quarter with an Iranian-origin population the tradition was to avoid taking water from the same well or source of water as corpse-washers, not to eat and drink with corps-washer from one

[303] O'DONOVAN, Edmond.*The Merv Oasis, volume I.* London: 1882. pp. 198-199
[304] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Sketches of Central Asia.* London: 1868. pp. 100-101
[305] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Sketches of Central Asia.* London: 1868. pp. 101-102
[306] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Sketches of Central Asia.* London: 1868. pp. 111-112

dish or bowl, for the festivities a special meal-cloth (dastarhan) was used for guests-corpse-washers and vice versa. In another district, inhabited by the Uzbeks, the local corpse-washers could seat during festivities and eat from the same dastarhan.[307] In fact preparing a corpse for burial by the relatives and neighbours was a good. Existence of complex of thoughts that corpse is something unclean probably originates from the times of Zoroastrism.

Every joyful or sad ceremony in Central Asia was accompanied by a meal. Along with basic fruits and vegetables, milk products, meat and cereals, European travellers took a note on specific dishes in dairy of Central Asian inhabitants. There are contradictory data on indigenous meal. For example, Khanykov on nomad Kyrgyzs and Uzbeks writes: "Their meals are very monotonous, the staple article being constantly mutton. I never saw them make use of baked bread, and Kumis (fermented mares' milk) is only drunk by those who keep large herds of horses."[308] Henry Lansdell thus describes one of receptions he participated in: "The trays and dishes were so numerous that I made a note of them… Our European decimal system was represented by 10 loaves of sugar, 10 packets of tea, 10 boxes of sugar-candy, 10 trays of sweets, and 10 trays more of parched peas, pistachio nuts, natural and sugared, apricot stones, raisins of four kinds, flour cakes of grape honey and sugar, large and small cakes of bread, eggs coloured red, apples in syrup, almonds, dough-nuts of grape honey and flour, called *cantle neshullah*, and, lastly, a semi-liquid concoction of sugar and white of egg, that looked tempting…They brought us some white fish to eat, which was not bad, but rather salt, and afterwards came pilau.

When extra good pilau is desired, a chicken is cooked in addition to pieces of mutton."[309] Henry Lansdell also gave an example of food of common nomads too: "The usual food of the Turcoman is unleavened bread, the dough being kneaded in a wooden through or upon a dried skin, and then baked on the hearth by covering it up in wood embers, the simplest, surely, of all methods of cooking, and such as I saw in full force amongst my attendants, crossing from Khiva. The Turcomans also eat meal with oil or clarified butter, and I saw in preparation another kind of food called *yarma*, consisting of bruised wheat and sour milk. Melons are said to be the staple food of the Tekkes; pilau and soup on special occasions."[310]

O'Donovan, who lived among the Turkmens of Merv for five months noted this: "With the exception of some of the well-to-do classes, the Turcomans live but poorly. Their diet is ordinarily of the most frugal kind. Even among the more opulent there are few luxuries indeed. Opium, tea, and arrack, with occasionally a little *hashish* (*Cannabis Indica*), snuff, are the only extra indulgences of the Turcomans."[311] Vambery testify that not only rich people could afford drugs: "… I found two half-naked dervishes, who were just in the act of abandoning themselves to the indulgence of opium-eating when I entered. They at once asked me to join them, offering me a goodly dose thereof, and were quite astonished to hear me refuse their kind proffer."[312] Arminius Vambery also added: "The Central Asiatics make a distinction between fluid and solid spirits. The former are strictly forbidden, whilst the

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[307] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Kvartal'naia obshina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary.* Moscow: 1976. pp. 115, 167-168, also SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Bukhara XIX-nachalo XX veka: pozdnyefeodal'nyi gorod i ego naselenie.*. Moscow: 1966. pp. 325-326

[308] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 81-82

[309] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. p. 178

[310] LANSDELL, H. *Russian Central Asia, volume II.* London: 1885. p. 446

[311] O'DONOVAN, Edmond.*The Merv Oasis, volume II.* London: 1882. p. 338

[312] VAMBERY, Arminius. *The life and adventures of Arminius Vambery.* London: 1883. p.202

latter, by which all narcotics are understood, are looked upon a perfectly innocent… the various hashish-eaters in Egypt—the lovers of the comparatively harmful teryak in Persia, —all these are as nothing in comparison with the bengis (poison which is produced from the canabis indica) of Central Asia… The number of beng-eaters is greatest in Bokhara and Khokand, and it is no exaggeration to say that three-fourth of the learned and official world, or, in other words, the whole intelligent class, are victims to this vice. The Government looks on with perfect indifference, while hundreds, nay, thousands, commit suicide."[313]

In a chapter dedicated to food of Central Asia Arminius Vambery gave the same information mentioned just above, but there are few interesting details on a daily diet of Central Asian population, which is worth paying attention: "The food of the Tartars consists principally of meat. Bread, in many parts of the country, although not unknown, is yet a rare luxury. Mutton is the favourite meat; next to this goat's flesh, beef, and horse flesh; camel's flesh is least valued. Occasionally, the horse is declared to be "mekruh" by the religious, and is not eaten, but in the country little notice is taken of it… In some parts of Central Asia sausages are made of the entrails, and considered a dainty dish; but I have nowhere found…

The favourite national dish is the *Palau*, also called ash, which, though related to the pilau of the Persians and the pilaf of the Turks, by far surpasses both these in savour… The pilau, if I am not mistaken, has its origin in Central Asia, and spread from thence far and wide over Western Asia… Cooling drinks are the Airan, sour milk mixed with water, and various decoctions made of dried fruit. Coffee is entirely unknown…"[314]

6.4. Costumes and habitation

The national traditional costumes of Central Asian people were being shaped for a long-lasting period. Gradually under geographical and climate needs, religious and traditional influence, complex composition of male and female apparel was created. This complex of apparels was fixed and obligated.

Undergarment apparels as shirt tunic and trousers (pants); outer garments as two khalats (loose long-sleeved outer silk, cottonrobe) belonged to the complex of male costume. Khalat was an obligatory part of male costume as undergarment apparels. Men wore khalat even at home, to be simply in undergarment clothes was unacceptable. Very seldom, during hard work, in villages men could be in undergarment shirt and trousers.[315] For going out, even to a place, which was close to the house, at least one khalat was worn. For visiting, during the business trip or trip to town, always two khalats were worn, i.e. full male costume. In winter a wadded jacket or shirt was worn under khalat. A girdle was an important part of male costume in Central Asia. Girdles, waist ribbons, shawls and scarves were used as primary fixing and buckling elements of inner- and outer-clothing because buttons, clasps and buckles were not in use. The age of girdle's bearer influenced the colour of his waist ribbon: elders used white colour, adults – blue, youth used red, yellow and multi-coloured. Girdles had two major purposes: for everyday and ritual use. Girdles were used as an important detail of the outfit at weddings and funerals. To free up hands, girdles were usually used to carry about a variety of small objects like coins,

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[313] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Sketches of Central Asia.* London: 1868. pp. 193-194
[314] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Sketches of Central Asia.* London: 1868. pp. 117-120
[315] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Istoriya Srednyeaziatskogo kostyuma.* Moscow: 1982. p. 12

snuffboxes, etc including snacks or bread. Girdle could also be used as a towel after ritual cleanings before prayers, it could be used as a rug for prayer, or a spread for meal during journeys. In cold weather, girdle could be used as a cover for head. Ritual use of girdle or shawl was broad and meaningful. A shawl put on the neck with the ends on the chest level symbolized sorrow, grief or renunciation of vanity.[316] A waist belt worn over the clothes symbolized the readiness to work, perform duties or render services. During initiation or consecration ceremonies apprentice elevated to the status of master had to wear a waist belt. Officials and functionaries of the Emir of Bukhara had to wear a belt while being in their official capacity.[317] The ritual use of belts was, of course, of secondary importance to initial practical reasons: free flaps could constitute an obstacle for walking and working.

Regarding female clothing Vambery gave this notes: "With respect to the dress of the women, it seems as if they were still desirous than the men to avoid any approach to ostentation, luxury or smartness. When in undress, the woman wear in summer a long shirt, reaching down to the ankles… The trousers are … made of linen down to knee, and the lower part, which fits close to the ankle, is made of print, or any other coloured stuff. The women wear in winter, over the shirt, one or two thickly-wadded jackets, fastened round the loins a shawl… In the country women are allowed to move with less restraint. Married women are seldom veiled, young girls never. This indulgence, however, is only enjoyed in Khiva and Khokand; in Bokhara, even in the country, the tyrannical laws of Islamitic civilization are executed with great severity, and it is rare to meet with an exception."[318]

From this enumeration one can conclude that full female costume consisted of tunic-style dress or shirt, trousers, and different types of khalats or coats. Actually, in summer, dress and trousers were the only costume of a Central Asian female. Obligatory component of outer clothing were paranja or kerchief. Paranja was used exclusively by women who lived in urban places, nomad women worn kerchiefs.[319]

Dresses and shirts of Central Asian women have very much in common with a male shirt.[320] Cut of female and male shirts changed and had differences, but even in the 19th century there remained common details. First of all, male and female shirts and dresses were sewn from right-angled pieces of textile. Another common detail was a neck-cut. Neck-cut was mostly a horizontal one: from shoulder to shoulder. Vertical neck-cut was made for married women with children; this cut had a functional importance: baby-feeding. Horizontal and vertical neck-cuts were embroidered or adorned by laces, and beads. The clothing consisted of silk and semi-silk fabrics, and cotton fabrics. Wealthy women wore dresses of imported brocade or Chinese damask.[321] In winter velvet coats or wadded clothes were worn. Outer garment were lavishly adorned with jewellery and different ribbons. Trousers were adorned as well. Due the different length of dresses among female inhabitants of Central Asia, dress sometimes left a lot or less place of showing trousers. Therefore it was important to adorn the ends of trouser legs as much as possible.

Veiling part of clothes, or paranja, how it was called in Central Asia had one specific and distinctive trait on the contrary head-veils of other neighbouring

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[316] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Istoriya srednyeaziatskogo kostyuma.* Moscow: 1982. p. 65
[317] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Istoriya srednyeaziatskogo kostyuma.* Moscow: 1982. p. 65
[318] VAMBERY, Arminius. *Sketches of Central Asia.* London: 1868. pp. 123-124
[319] KALTER, J. *The Arts and Crafts of Turkestan.* London: 1984. p. 81
[320] SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Istoriya Srednyeaziatskogo kostyuma.* Moscow: 1982. p. 19, also SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Kostyum narodov Srednyei Azii.* Moscow: 1979. p. 78
[321] KALTER, J. *The Arts and Crafts of Turkestan.* London: 1984. p. 91

countries as Iran and Afghanistan, where veil originated from kerchief; Central Asian paranja descended from an outer coat. In the 16th century *faraja* was a term for male and female clothes in Central Asia. Gradually, this female coat, used as a cloak or cape transferred to paranja, and useless sleeves were left as a decoration detail.[322]

In conclusion it is very important to mention, that clothes of Central Asia varied due to the type of fabric used, adornments and patterns, by length, colours, cuts and forms; at the same time Central Asian costume in general was very similar and alike in different regions and had it's principal role and purpose: to protect from harsh climate conditions and be useful for everyday life activities.

Regarding habitational conditions of Central Asia it is possible to notice two kinds of houses: tent and settlement building.

Nomadic round tent consisted of the following main elements: wooden frame, felt covering and woven bands and ropes. The airing hole in the dome of tent was covered by piece of felt during the night or when it rained, and could be opened and closed from outside by means of a woollen rope. A felt curtain or carpet used as a door. Interior of tent was very colourful and cheerful. Fireplace was in the centre of the tent, the host of the tent had his place on the right-hand side of the entrance, and female part was at the opposite side. The place of honour for guests was in the middle of the rear wall directly facing the entrance. Felt and carpets covered walls and floor of tent. Knotted storage bags of different sizes were hanged upon walls and were used for different household purposes. Despite tent's considerable weight, it could be built up and dismantled with surprising rapidity even by women; tent was optimally adapted to climatic conditions.[323] Due to these reasons, from ancient times until today, nomadic tent is a favourite and often used kind of habitation of peoples of Central Asia. The clay houses with a flat roof made of poplar trunks were also familiar to the nomadic people of Central Asia and were made by them as well.[324]

Urban settlements consisted of residential houses made of clay (quite often mixed with chaff) or wood as well as other buildings and structures built from stone. From the street it was impossible to recognize whether it was a poor man's house or a wealthy man's house. Russian traveller Khanykov described houses in general in Bukhara and in Central Asia particularly: "All the private dwellings in Bokhara are built on the same plan, consisting of one or several four-cornered courts, surrounded by mud buildings, in general one story high. The inner walls are sometimes plastered with stucco; their windows have no glass panes in them; the window frames are either of wood or gypsum, and open generally into the inner court. Houses with two stories, more particularly karavanseries and medressehs, have their windows facing the street. All the houses are flat roofed. The more opulent part of the community erect awnings on the east side of their courts, on wooden pillars, to which they give the name of *aivan*, and seek refuge therein during the summer heats."[325] Wooden doors and window shutters were decorated with carvings. Wood carving was also used for decoration of the pillars of a houses and public buildings, wood mimbars in mosques and, of course, in decoration of household utensils. Most favourite motifs among

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[322] ABDULLAYEV, T.A., KHASANOVA, S.A. *Odezhda uzbekov (XIX-nachalo XX v.)*. Tashkent: 1978. p. 8, also SUKHAREVA, O.A. *Istoriya Srednyeaziatskogo kostyuma.* Moscow: 1982. pp. 44-50

[323] NERAZIK, E.E., ZHILINA, A.N. *Zhilishe narodov Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana.* Moscow: 1982. pp. 40-44, also TOLYBEKOV, S.E. *Kochevoe obshestvo kazakhov v XVII-nachale XX veka.* Alma-Ata: 1971. pp. 521, 528, 565

[324] NERAZIK, E.E., ZHILINA, A.N. *Zhilishe narodov Srednei Azii I Kazakhstana.* Moscow, 1982. pp. 179-191, 193-205

[325] KHANIKOFF. *Bokhara: its Amir and its people.* London: 1865. pp. 115-116

Central Asian carvers were vegetable-floral, geometric and mixed ornaments.[326] Very often colouring and painting were used together with carving. Furniture did not exist in houses, but different niches were used as a shelves and place for storage. The use of tables and porcelain dishes only commenced under European influence.[327]

Description of habitation of Central Asia may create an impression of an extremely poor and drab way of living. But it is possible to assume, that information received from foreigners can not be accurate and full due the different milieu of European travellers, their way of thinking and way how Europeans and Central Asians could percept a concept of beauty.

[326] RUZIYEV, M. *Iskusstvo Tadzhikskoi rez'by po derevu (konec XIX-XX vv.).* Dushanbe: 1976. p. 45
[327] KALTER, J. *The Arts and Crafts of Turkestan.* London: 1984. p. 65-66

CONCLUSION

Rapidly changing and developing economy and trade, political and social structures changing at a significantly slower pace, and even slower evolving mentalities – these were three different but closely interconnected frameworks, which constituted a unique reality in Central Asia in the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

The major impact of Russian conquest was in the economic sphere. The amount of lands opened to cultivation with new irrigation projects remained quite low during decades of tsarist rule. In this respect, a sharp contrast between the booming trade and merely developing irrigation and expansion of cultivated land was quite evident. Traditional agricultural techniques continued to prevail on vast territory, which was almost unchanged by the irrigation. Large-scale irrigation projects in Central Asia only started during the Soviet period.[328] From the variety of crops available in Central Asia, the Tsarist Russia put a particular emphasis on cotton: governor-generalship of Turkestan was the only region of the empire where cultivation of cotton was possible on a large scale due to the climate. Turkestan local cotton crops gave low yields, American cottonseeds were therefore distributed to indigenous farmers from 1880.[329] However, traditional local crops continued to be cultivated.

The Russian authorities encouraged cotton planting to ensure a steady supply of raw material to its textile industry. This had a direct consequence of destabilizing local agriculture, with the shift from food-crop mixed farming to monoculture. This standardization of plantations led to the great post-revolutionary famines, as basic foodstuffs became scarce.

With the arrival of cotton came banks, branches of big firms and all the activities associated with that sphere of economy. This meant a shift to real market conditions. A secure market existed in Russia for Central Asian cotton, combined with favourable food prices, even while food production declined in favour of cotton.

The new commercial networks and trading outlets were leading to an increase in rice, wheat cultivation.

Livestock breeding was the basis of traditional economy among the nomadic inhabitants of Central Asia, and it was also a traditional economic pattern among the sedentary populations in the oases. A pattern of trade and specialization arose in Central Asian region and turned to stockbreeding for the Russian market.

The situation in land tenure and use was complicated because of the principle that all land belonged to the ruler (in sedentary societies) or to the community (among the nomads), frequently in absence of pertinent legal documents. Land-tenure was governed by the sharia or adat. When the Tsarist law was extended to the land-tenure rules, in parallel to the traditional ones, individuals became able to buy private land.

The old and new taxes were also typical of this period. However, the consequences of the new fiscal policy were particularly noticeable among nomads. In the tax reforms, taxes were standardized and collected in cash.

The introduction of railway was a major innovation in Central Asia and was a direct consequence of the policy of making the colonies profitable. Transportation by

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[328] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. pp. 57-58

[329] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. p. 58

camel, horse, donkey or other pack animals, which had been used for centuries, was suddenly replaced by the Transcaspian railway. The construction of this railway was commissioned and brought to completion by Russian General Annenkov. There were many disputes over the final route of the track. The railway was to serve the movement of troops as well as military hardware. Consolidation of Russian conquests involved railway construction. The strategic Transcaspian railway was completed by 1888 leading from Krasnovodsk, via Askhabad to Merv and Samarkand, while a branch line from Merv to the Afghan frontier at Kushka was opened in 1898. The Orenburg-Tashkent line, which had substantial economic value, was not completed until 1906.[330] So, Transcaspian railway put together the Caspian shore with Fergana valley. This line symbolized Russian colonization of Central Asia, whence the need to guarantee the railway's security. Garrisons were posted along the right of way, in the main towns. Until the beginning of the 20th century, administration of this railway was in the hands of the military. The Turkmens were the first to be affected by the railway, followed by the populations of other regions of Central Asia crossed by it. In 1876 a journey from Tashkent to Bukhara took 26 days by camel: the train did the same trip in a quarter of the time at three-quarters of the price.[331]

In addition, the role of the railway was obvious: to react to any rebellion in the shortest possible time, to maintain the military presence, to counter British power, to introduce Russian manufactured goods into local markets, to strengthen the Russian presence in region and to turn the region into source of raw material (cotton) for Russian industry.

Regarding Central Asian towns, there was a sharp contrast between the lands formerly subject to nomadic pastoralism (where Russia settled new populations and built towns not only in the steppes but also on the desert fringes) and the heart of the irrigated lands, which, with their dense ancient urban network, saw the construction of European quarters in already existing towns. A new urbanism was created through colonialism, which contrasted with the older one and merged with it. This urban development was of great military, administrative, economic and cultural significance. Dozens of towns were set up in the steppes, following similar pattern: first there would be a military outpost, followed by growth, then the arrival shortly afterwards of colonists, and then integration into the regional economy and the economy of the Russian empire, a pattern to be found in town after town. Not only Russians, but a lot of Ukrainians, Armenians could be found in newly established parts of Russian Central Asia.

Few decades of strong Russian economic involvement in Central Asia were also a period of rapidly growing foreign investment in the Russian economy in general: foreign capital amounted to 26,5 million roubles in 1870; 215 million roubles in 1890; and 911 million roubles in 1900.[332] Foreign investment in Central Asia was concentrated in railways, cotton industry, oil sector and mining industry. Western participation in the economy of colonial Central Asia attracted a handful of foreigners to the region. This was a new phenomenon for Central Asia, a region where representatives of Western powers had never lived in the past. Russian law forbade foreigners from owning land or other property in Central Asia, although there were

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[330] EAST, W. G., SPATE, O.H.K. *The changing map of Asia.* Suffolk: 1971. p. 577

[331] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. p. 66

[332] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. p. 70

ways of getting round the rules, particularly by taking Russian nationality. Thousands of foreigners, Westerners for the most part, came for longer or shorter period or settled in Central Asia. However, there were also foreigners outside the business companies in colonial Central Asia: Western merchants, travellers, nannies for wealthy Russian families, scholars etc.

Many products and objects were actively traded towards Russia in the 2nd part of 19th century. Silk production and silk trade were a significant branch of this colonial economy. Considerable quantities of silk cloth were exported from Central Asia to Russia, while Russian manufactured cotton goods were flooding the Central Asian markets. Carpets were also actively traded to Russia. It was in 19th century that luxury trade developed in almost every town of Central Asia, especially in Bukhara and Karshi. Foreigners mostly bought jewellery, Oriental books and manuscripts, artefact works and carpets. Trade fairs have always been places of intense intercultural contact. This was particularly true during the Tsarist period, with a great increase in the number of fairs throughout Central Asia, particularly in Steppe region.[333]

Consequently, the development of colonial economy went hand in hand with the birth of reformism in Central Asia. The response to transforming economies may be traced in many sectors of local societies and communities, reformism in Islam, which paved the way for Jadidism in Central Asia, is one of responses to the changes that occurred in the heart of Muslim lands. Besides such ideological attempts to face global issues, local communities also showed a complex mixture of cultural resistance and multi-faceted adaptations to the modernity of that time. Some local entrepreneurs were able to amass great fortunes. Nevertheless, the ongoing changes provoked new questionings and revolts. Indigenous entrepreneurs helped to finance Jadid schools and newspapers, for example, Said Azimboi, a Central Asian entrepreneur created a new economic journal, *Tujjar* (Trader), in Tashkent. Alikhan Bokeykhanov (1869-1932), the founder of the Alash-Orda movement, had a financial interest in the copper mines in Semipalatinsk district. Photography and even cinema started prior to the end of the Tsarist empire. Khudaybergan Divanov (1878-1940) is considered to be the first Uzbek photographer and film-maker. It is believed that the first screenings of films and cinemas took place in Tashkent before the end of the 19th century, and in Khojent in 1905.

Many prominent personalities like the great Kazakh and Uzbek writers Abay Kunanbayev and Mahmud Khoja Behbudi grew up in a rapidly changing historical context; they were profoundly affected by the varied intercultural contacts. Too little mentioning is made of the region's scholars (with the exception of Chokan Valikhanov, 1835-65), although they were also part of these transformations: for example, the Kazakh Musa Chormanov (1818-84), Muhammad Salih Babajanov (1832-71), Muhammad Seidalin (1837-1902) and others. Some of these prominent historian-ethnographers were also active members of the local branches of the Russian Imperial Geographic Society.

In the beginning of the 20th century Central Asian region was in such a bad situation due to proliferation of bureaucracy required to maintain these new crown lands and a fact that Turkestan was a byword for corruption were main reasons of Tsar Nicholas II in 1908 dispatching Count Pahlen to the Turkestan region with

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[333] CHAHRYAR ADLE. *History of civilizations of Central Asia. Volume 6. Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century.* Paris: 2005. p. 73

sweeping powers to investigate all aspects of administration and to prosecute offenders. Pahlen, a Baltic aristocrat of German origin was a liberal, enlightened, energetic person. For a year he and a hand-picked group of assistants toured the province systematically, examining the books, interviewing both civil servants and native elders and making exhaustive notes[334]. His final report ran to 20 volumes. He also wrote a book called 'Mission to Turkestan'. Although he succeeded in rooting out a good deal of corruption in the Turkestan administration—the Governor-General had to resign—his broader recommendations were quietly ignored. Thus Central Asian region lived and developed until the First World War.

At the end of the 19th century, the non-Russians, so-called, *inorodtsy*, were faced with a refusal to recognize their military capacities on the part of the colonial authorities, which poisoned relations between the communities. To avoid teaching them how to use weapons, they were excused from military service. Exclusion was a so-called cavalry 'Savage Division' which was completed of Muslim inhabitants of Caucasus and members of Turkmen Teke tribe from Akhal region of Transcaspia. This cavalry division had an exclusive position in Russian Imperial Army. But Russian empire would remember its inorodtsy in 1916, when it was engaged in the First World War. Calls for mobilization would then be placarded in every town and village, but, instead of conscripting future soldiers, it was labourers that were needed. All these inorodtsy were given spades to dig ditches and do road maintenance in the district where army was operated. This policy of segregation was the last straw in a resentment that had been building up for years. It took hold in the steppes oases of Turkestan. The revolt of 1916 was a turning-point in this period of Central Asian history.

During the 20th century the Bolshevik revolution, Russian Civil War, Basmachi movement, Second World War, Soviet era and collapse of Soviet Union, formation of new Central Asian independent states and followed after that smaller regional national conflicts ran on the territory of Central Asia. Is it possible to assume, that all this political turmoil did not bring a positive or wholesome effect to the states of Central Asia. Political, economical, cultural and social development of Central Asian states is still in progress.

[334] PAHLEN. K.K. *Mission to Turkestan.* London: 1920. pp. 14-16, 44-46

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