

Socio-economical Transformation and Stratification of the Bukharan Society (1860-1920)

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Abstract

As the Central Asian States turned into the colony and protectorate of the Russian empire, tangible changes occurred in the social sector. For instance, economic transformations were done which in turn influenced the process of social stratification. Peculiarities of Bukharan society, which clearly express Central Asian traditional social order and its social changes are substantial issue to be researched, since this is regarded as an unsolved problem of the social history of Central Asia. With the establishment of capitalist relations in Bukharan society, the role of personality began to take shape on such criteria as private property, investment, profit, enlightenment, together with previous class rights and preferences. The importance of this article can be seen in the analysis of peculiarities of changes that took place at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries in the Bukharan society.

Keywords

Central Asia, Bukharan Emirate, Traditional Society, Capitalist Relations, Economical Transformation, Social Stratification

Introduction

After analyzing the period, area and approaches of the researches devoted to the history of Bukharan Emirate, it became clear that the social stratification was not investigated systematically. For example, in various Russian and foreign publications of the 19th and early 20th centuries (*H. Vamberi, D. Logofet, V. Krestovsky* and so forth) the population of the Bukhara Emirate was mainly divided into estates on the basis of ethnicity and tribalism, however, description of Bukharan society and its structural and social division was not discussed in detail. In these studies, socio-political crises of the Bukharan society were exaggerated. Similar views expressed in the subsequent researches (*A. Semenov, N. Kislyakov, P. Ivanov*, etc.). It should be noted that most of these views were largely influenced by the ideology of the Soviet regime and as a result Bukharan society was viewed through one sided class distinctive and biased approach. Moreover, the social strata of only few areas was studied, while neglecting the formation of new layers of social setup at other places. In several recent studies of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), while, many issues pertaining to Turkistan society were discussed, however, the consequences of social transformation of Bukharan

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Emirate were not studied in detail. Therefore, the present study is focused to work on the gaps mentioned above so as to bring its relevance to the region.

A wide range of sources have been addressed to reveal the problem truly. Data for the present study has been taken from many sources like the National Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan (Tashkent, NA RUz, Fond I-126 - of *Kushbegi of Emir Bukhara*; Fond I-3 – *Politicheskii Agent Rossiyskoy imperii*), Archives of the Russian Federation (Moscow), including the Russian State Military Historical Archive (RG VIA-*Rossiyskiy gosudarstvenniy voyenno-istoricheskii Arkhiv*), Foreign Policy Archive of Russian Empire (AVP RI – *Arkhiv vneshnepolitiki Rossiyskoy imperii*). Moreover, the works of *Ahmad Donish*, *Sadriiddin Ainiy*, *Abdurauf Fitrat*, *Fayzullo Hodjaye*v, alongwith, Russian works and local periodicals (*Bukhoroi Sharif*, *Turon*) etc. have been used. It should be noted that the study has mainly focused on the socio-economic changes and their consequences on Bukharan society. However, changes in the administration of the Empire and the position of government servants during this period are excluded, since these need elaborate and separate investigation.

After becoming a protectorate¹ of the Russian Empire in 1868, significant changes were witnessed in the socio-political and economic life of the Bukharan Emirate. For instance, along with the preservation of traditional relations in socio-economic life; commodity-monetary relations of the new era, capitalistic relationships in urban and rural life, construction of factories, railroads were done, having a considerable impact on the structure of society.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the population of Bukhara Emirate accounted for approximately 2.5-3 million people.² This figure reflecting growth, resulted from many factors like changes in the political, social and economic sphere, particularly, consolidation of several regions within the emirate,³ the rise of migration, as well as creation of Russian settlements. Thus in 1912, the economic report submitted to the government of the emirate by the *Nasrullabiy Kushbegi* informed that the emirate included 26 *viloyats* (regions) and 11 *tumans* (districts).⁴ At the end of the 19th century, Russian settlements such as Bukhara (Kogon), New Chorjuy, Karki, Termez, Amirabad, Farob, Saray to serve railways, and sand ports appeared.

Changes in the Structure of the Rural and Urban Population

Considering the ethnic composition of the Bukharan society, it included Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmen, Kyrgyz, Karakalpak, Jewish, Persian, Afghan, Hindu and other ethnic groups. Moreover, the population during the period under review was 65% sedentary, 15% semi-nomadic and 20% nomadic,⁵ which was divided into peasants, nomadic cattle-breeders urban people, artisans, merchants, civil servants and military personals. During this period, agriculture and animal husbandry was a major occupation of the people of Bukharan Emirate. Therefore, 85% of the population was engaged in farming and cattle breeding, 10% in trade and handicraft, and 5% in permanent farming.⁶

Since, the main economic activity of the population of Bukhara Emirate was agriculture and cattle-breeding, therefore, irrigated farming was spread across Zarafshan, Kashkadarya oasis, the upper and middle reaches of the Amu Darya (Kulob, Vakhsh, Gissar). Moreover, rain-fed agricultural pattern was prevalent in the mountainous areas of

East Bukhara. Though the information about the total number of *dehkans* in the emirate during 19th century is lacking, however, some researches show that the *dehkans* made up 85% of the population, but only 15% of them owned land.⁷

At the beginning of the 20th century, the total cultivated and irrigated land was 2,250,000 desyatina, in which *mulki hurri holis* lands accounted for 10.2 %, *mulki khiroj* lands -15.2 %, *vakf* lands – 24.6 and *amluk* lands made up 50%. *Dehkans*, who accounted for about 85% of population owned only 15.2 % of the land.⁸ Therefore, Dehkans, who were landless or in possession of small quantity, rented state lands, *mulk* or even *vakf* and paid 1/3 and 1/5 of the harvest as rent.⁹ At the beginning of the 20th century, the capitalistic relations in land ownership began to appear in the far flung areas of the emirate (eastern and southeastern parts). Fayzullo Khodjayev said:

The Russian capital, which occupied Central Asia, made tremendous changes in the economies of Turkestan and Bukhara, particularly, in the social structure through occupation of the territory with all its banks and trading offices, purchasing raw materials from *dehkans* and supplying manufactured products the Central Asian markets.¹⁰

Development in trade (domestic inter-regional and foreign trade), contributed to the growth of farming and the specialization in inter-regional economy. As a result, Zarafshan oasis, Karshi, Guzar were specialized in cotton production, whereas, the eastern part of the emirate (Gissar, Kobul and Baljuvon *bekliks*) specialised in grain production, with the result, the region became a major wheat producer and supplier for not only eastern and western Bukhara, but also for Khiva and beyond. For example, Saroykamar exported over 100,000 pounds of wheat, 100,000 pounds of cotton and ten thousand pounds of other crops.¹¹ During this period, the Bukhara Emirate was the second largest cotton-growing centre in Central Asia after Turkistan. According to Massalskiy V., in 1892, 1-1.2 million pounds of cotton were produced in the emirate.¹²

It should be noted that the primary focus of Russian Empire was to take raw materials. Therefore, Bukharan economy was developed to the level of supplier of raw material only.¹³ Moreover, small scale industrial enterprises in the Emirate of Bukhara were established for primary processing of raw materials. Such economic policies were aimed at the supply of raw materials to the factories in the center of the empire, as well as the export of finished products to domestic and foreign markets. As a result of this, production increased in Bukhara.

It should be noted that under new economic relations, cotton growing in the Emirate developed. Cotton growing, procurement, and primary ginning were controlled by Russian monopolies, like the Greater Yaroslavl Manufactory, the Prokhorov Manufactory, and S. Morozov Trading House and others. The result of which was the increase in productivity and capitalistic relations in *dehkan* farms, social division of the population of villages etc. On the one hand, land was put at the disposal of large landowners, and on the other hand, the number of low-income and landless *dehkans* increased. Thus, rich farms owned about 20-30 desyatina lands.¹⁴ Under their control there were irrigated lands in the highest quality, such as "*mulk*" and "*mulkihurr*", and rain-fed lands *tanho*, which could be measured as 100-150 desyatinas per person.¹⁵ In general, the attitudes of the various strata in the emirate to economic change were linked to their social

status. For example, landowners and petty aristocrats, were unchanged because they were independent and economically free. Small farmers, on the other hand, were neutral and passive".¹⁶

The *dehkans*, who had lost their lands and ran into debt, became *korandas* and *mardikors*. According to the RG VIA, the *korandas* received 20-30 coins per day during the summer months.¹⁷ The sedentary labor was usually paid partly in kind and partly in cash. Taxation was very high and almost half of the farmer's income was taxed. Thus, according to Seymour Beker, the emirate *dehkans* paid taxes eight times more than Turkestan *dehkans*.¹⁸ As a result, *Dehkans* and cattle breeders who were overburdened from taxation sold their lands to moneylenders and other rich class of society and themselves became landless, which is attested from complaints of *korandas* against *tanhodors* or *amlokdors*.¹⁹ This is further substantiated from the observations of Jadid leader, Abdurauf Fitrat, who said "... farmers will be ruined by the methods of ownership in the Bukharan offices, but they will not be able to benefit from it."

During the second half of the 19th century, on the one hand, the emirate *dehkans* suffered from the local rich and moneylenders, on the other hand, from the Russian capitalists and buyers of raw materials. In order to compensate their needs of livelihood, farmers started to cultivate cotton. Correspondingly, the landowners facilitated the cultivation like they provided tools, cotton seeds and cattle and *dehkans* were responsible for cotton growing and harvesting. Finally, the cost of cultivation was divided equally between the landowner and *korranda* and subsequently the output was also distributed between them.²⁰

In 1916-17 the economic situation in the Bukhara Emirate was in a deteriorated state, which was witnessed in a report to the Russian government in which it was emphasized that the situation in many *bekliks* was very difficult because of drought and other natural calamities. For example, in 1916, in Kitob *beklik*, a lack of harvest forced *dehkans* to use seeds for their livelihood. *Dehkans* working in rain-fed lands had to leave their homes, and their children had to work as laborer.²¹ In Karshi, economic status of the people was worst, and there was little food to survive in daily life.²² During this period, due to the lack of grain products and cattle, the population suffered heavily. Many rebellions of *dehkans* erupted due to the deteriorated socio-economic conditions. Such rebellions intensified especially in the 80's and 90's of the 19th century. They took place at Kobul in 1888, at Kelif in 1889, at Karmana in 1900, and again at Kelif and Denov *bekliks* in 1901, and Kurgantepa in 1902.²³

The reason for such revolts were many, however, the transfer of land to the concessions was the most important factor, since most of these lands were used as pastures by *dehkan* farms or cattle farms. Thus, from 1912 to 1915, 300,000 *desyatina* lands were transferred for concessions by the government.²⁴ As a result of above-mentioned causes, the *dehkans* sought ways to get rid of poverty. Therefore, they sometimes left the emirate and worked in the Caucasus and other parts of Central Asia.²⁵

By the end of the 19th century, as a result of the expansion of irrigated land in the Emirate, there was a process of settlement of semi nomadic and nomadic populations.²⁶ Cattle breeders were one of those who had to go through new social and economic processes during the period. During this period, on the one hand, a cattle breeding was

attracted to cover the domestic needs of the emirate, on the other hand, it was involved in the production of animal raw materials for Russia and other countries. In addition, along with satisfying the needs of the population, foodstuffs, carpets, rugs, dyes and various types of wool were produced and marketed.

During the period, the production of astrakhan sheep breeding was well established, especially in the Karakul *amlokdorlik* of Western Bukhara, Karshi, Karki and Kelif *bekliks*, as well as in the Kurgantepa *beklik* of East Bukhara. Similarly, large cattle breeding farms were established in West Bukhara, East Bukhara, and the stock of rich cattle breeders reached 2,000.²⁷ Subsequently, on the eve of World War, I, the total quantity of cattle in the Emirate was about 12-13 million.²

During the years between 1917 and 1920, it was found that the situation of the cattle breeders was severely hit and the number of cattle decreased, which is represented in the following table.²⁹

Table 1: Population of Cattle (1917 and 1920)

No.	Name of the cattle	Number of the cattle	
		Year 1917	Year 1920
1.	Horse	194.300	180.000
2.	Camel	51.250	40.000
3.	Cattle (cow, bull, sheep)	442.700	350.400
4.	Donkey	150.000	135.000
5.	Goat	8.350	decreased
6.	Astrakhanfur	700-800000 (before the War)	400-450000

It was reported that Karshi *beklik's* most of the animals died from malnutrition and there remained almost no people with cattle.³⁰ At the beginning of the 20th century, situation of cattle breeding had severe impact on cattle breeders. Due to the shortage of feed for cattle, people had to sell them in winter and bought back in early spring. Well-off cattle breeders sold their cattle for industrial purposes. Their farms were almost preserved, and they had hired workers to maintain them.

During the years of World War-I, domestic animals were also exported to Russia for war movements and other needs, which on the other hand increased the need for cattle in Turkistan. While giving an explanation, the governor of Samarkand said that the cattle was defective, and the cattle could not be bought. On the other hand, it was made obligatory for local authorities and government servants to bring and sell black cattle in Samarkand.³¹ It should be noted that World War I and the revolutions in Russia isolated the emirate from the outside world, thus, decreasing its productive capacity. For instance, the cotton harvest in 1919 fell by 20% compared with 1913. Moreover, the prices of crops also declined dramatically. For example, in 1917, one pound of cotton was sold at the price of eleven rubles, and in 1919 it was 1r/80 pounds; and the price of one pound of wool decreased from six rubles to two rubles, and one Astrakhan fur from seven rubles to one ruble.³² In the 1917, it was revealed that most of the cattle died resulting from drought and malnutrition in Chirokchi *beklik*, and left only in the amount of 1/6, out of which 300 were horses, 800 were cattle and cows, about 10,000 were sheep and goats, 160 were camels and 200 were other kinds of animals.³³

At the beginning of the 20th century, in the Bukhara Emirate, the majority of labor force was craftsmen. However, the introduction of industrial goods to the Emirate of Bukhara affected the production of local handicraft. In a message from Bukhara to Petersburg in 1910, it was reported that from Russia to Bukhara 21 million rubles worth goods in 1907, 23.5 million rubles in 1908, and 25 million rubles in 1909 were sent, and the continuous imports of Russian goods led to the decline of local handicraft industry.³⁴ In 1913 through Central Asian railway stations 24990 thousand rubles worth goods were imported to the emirate, out of which 49% comprised fabrics.³⁵ In eastern mountainous regions of the emirate, where Russian goods were hard to find, local handicraft goods remained significant. By 1914, Bukhara produced 100,000 pounds of silk, which was 50% of silk production of whole Central Asia. Moreover, it is reported that in 1917, the number of craftsmen in Central Asia was about 60,000, out of which 42% in Bukhara alone.³⁶ In the 1917 economic report of Bukhara, it was reported that the performance of craftsmen was worsening.³⁷ For example, in 1917, in Kitob *beklik*, silk and woolen weavers completed only 1/3 of production in comparison with the year 1916. Although they continued to deliver high-quality products, however, there was no profit at all.³⁸ Another example can be of the tanners of *Baljuvon beklik*, whose number made up 100, but could make only 10 products during the whole year and shoemakers (*kavushduz*, *etikduz*, and *makhsiduz*) who also accounted for 100 made 100 pairs of boots, and 200 pairs of *kavush* and *makhsi* for market.³⁹ Indeed, craftsmen could earn only from their meagre income, this can be understood well from information received from Shahrizabz region. According to it, "... *sarrojs* bought *qish*⁴⁰ worth 60,000 sums, then they sewed *lijom* which was sold for only 44,000 sums. Shoemakers bought leather for 90,000 sums and sold *kovush*, *makhsi* and *etik*, worth 70,000 sums. 30,000 sums worth material left and the profit was only 1000 sums, which was spent for daily food.⁴¹ Steelmakers were not able to buy copper and iron because of high price, and they had to earn for living through repairing old things. Hence, according to this information it is clear that as a result of new commodity-money relationship, the conditions of craftsmen deteriorated. Subsequently, due to the crisis of several local industries, craftsmen left their jobs and turned to hired work. Working hours together for their masters could fetch them with bare subsistence. In this regard, weavers went on strikes in the city of Bukhara in 1908, 1911-1912, and 1919.⁴²

Table 2: Prices of Food Items

No.	Name of the food	Price (rub. kop.)	Amount (pound)
1.	<u>Flour:</u>		
	1-quality	4 r. 6 kop.	1 pound
	2-quality	3 r. 70 kopecks.	1 pound
	3-quality	2 r. 90 kop.	1 pound
	Flour (on mill)	2 r. 70 kopecks.	1 pound
	Wheat	4 rubles.	1 pound
2.	<u>Sugar:</u>		
	Lump sugar	9 r. 70 kopecks.	1 pound
	Sugar	8 r. 80 kop.	1 pound
3.	<u>Rice</u>	7 r. 90 kop.	1 pound

As in the Turkestan region, the Emirate's economy also suffered from massive devastation resulting from large scale famines. Subsequently, during World War-I, prices hiked and as a result added fuel to the fire. The prices of major food products in Bukhara during 1916 and 1917 are given in table 2.⁴³

It is reported that the famine was regular in Bukhara,⁴⁴ i.e., in 1917, 1918 and 1919.⁴⁵ The situation was same in Turkistan as well. Although, Russian authorities claimed that, "at least 100 million pounds of wheat should be imported from Russia to Turkistan and Bukhara, but in Russia, crop fields were cut, and it is hard to get good harvest".⁴⁶

In 1918, the hunger in the emirate was caused by the Bolshevik policies in the economic sphere. After intensification of civil war in Russia and struggle against Bolshevik regime in Turkistan along with economic emergency measures "military communist policy" was developed by the Soviet government. This policy seemed to be aimed at supplying the population with food, who were suffering from hunger caused by general destructions. It was also aimed at direct exchange of goods out of market, which was carried out with economic and military violence, and the policy was intended to provide food to "red army" at the front and the working class that was "master" of the Soviet government and Bolsheviks regime, but not to famine ridden people.⁴⁷

For this purpose, in December 1918, at the meeting of the Council of Commissars of the Turkestan Republic, it was revealed that there was scarcity of food, except rice and cotton oil in the republic at that time, and it was decided to import cotton oil in the emirate twice as expensive taking into account the reserves of these two products. Similarly, with the consent of the Council of Commissars, 5-6 wagons of rice were exchanged for 10-12 wagons of wheat.⁴⁸ Exchange of such products as coal and leather was also mentioned in the agreement. Despite the importance of wheat as a source of living, forced exchange of products was continued with its responsibility put on Bukharan government. Thus, due to the economic policy of the Russian Empire and the capitalistic relations, which entered Bukhara, the process of stratification intensified and the social transformation occurred in the traditional society. In part, the social division of the population of villages resulted in the appearance of landless *dehkans* and progress seeking large landowners. The migration of additional *dehkans* who needed seasonal work, and craftsmen worsened and a local bourgeoisie class emerged. Especially, major changes took place in the life of the *dehkans*, craftsmen, cattle breeders, etc, who were directly or indirectly involved in the new commodity-money and production relations of rural and urban life. Some of them while losing their property, became workers or *khorrandas* who occupied part time or hired work. This was primarily a social, economic and demographic breakdown of professions in a traditional society.

Bukharan Society at the beginning of the 20th Century

a) Workers' layer: It was a layer of local workers formed in the Bukharan Emirate by the end of the 19th century? If so, how did it appeared and in which areas? The questions have not yet been answered. In previous part of this paper, the changes that occurred in the emirate, have been analyzed along with its influence on the life of people. In this part, the layer of local workers that emerged due to these changes, will be discussed.

Indeed, at the beginning 20th century, seasonal and permanent workers were

formed, who had to do additional or fully hired seasonal work, losing their traditional profession for livelihood. Moreover, a new Strata of workers was formed in Bukhara, which were employed in modern industries, railways and other building projects.

After launching a railway project (1880-1899) for Central Asia, the Russian government wanted to extend it and create new networks. Therefore, motivated by political and economic factors, the government set its goal of connecting the South-West and South-East regions⁴⁹ of the Bukhara Emirate with the Central Asian highway through railway. The Russian government began to build a railway, firstly, because of its interest in the Bukhara economy, since the southern part of emirate was rich in natural resources, and secondly, because of the military's strategic importance. Construction of the railways was primarily driven by a great deal of labor force, so it was extremely important to involve the local population. In particular, cheap labor in the colonial territories was easily available which is attested by a report of 1887. The report stated that, "the existence of cheap labor in the construction of the Trans-Caspian railway was confirmed as an experiment."⁵⁰ In a letter from a Bukharan railroad engineer to *Kushbegi*, it was stated that *mardikors* (workers) were expected to be send from Kalif province. In due course, in the letter sent to the Kalif's governor, *Kushbegi* mentioned that he required timely sending of laborers and timely payment of their wages.⁵¹ It should be noted that these railway workers were mostly *dehkans*, cattle breeders and craftsmen, who had to work for daily living, which was described in following words,⁵² "Our requests for food, wood and hot tea were always directed to ourselves, for one *cub sarjen*,⁵³ we are given 50 kopecks a day. Working in these conditions is not sufficient even to maintain our family".⁵⁴

It can be inferred that all members of the national team of workers experienced difficult conditions and suffered from severe hardships, which affected their health and social status.⁵⁵ It should be noted that, there were around 7,000 people employed in the construction of the Bukhara railway, out of which 500 were Russians, Iranians and Tatars, and the remaining 6500 were people of Bukhara.⁵⁶ The workers in the Bukharan railroads, who suffered from shortage of wages, inadequate salaries and other problems, organized rebellions in 1916.⁵⁷ Under these circumstances, many of them had to leave their workplaces.

After analyzing the composition of workers in the industry, it can be concluded that, most of them were seasonal workers. The main workers in the industrial enterprises were Russians, supported by a small number of local workers. The local workers were mainly *dehkans* and craftsmen, who came to the city in the hope of better living. Thus, according to a report, only 20,000– 21,000 people among workers were *khorandas* and *kosibs*, which made up only 0.7% of the work force.⁵⁸ The working day lasted 14-18 hours, with a monthly salary ranging from 30 to 60 *tiyin*.⁵⁹ Unlike Europe labor discrimination can be explained by the absence of labor laws, on the one hand, and the absence of the working society and organizations that could protect the interests of these workers.

It is well known that many cotton producing factories in Bukhara Emirate and Turkestan worked seasonally. By the end of the season, workers returned to their villages. Therefore, each year large groups of people from the Qorategin, Darvoz, Qulob and other *bekliks* (regions) of the emirate went to work in Turkestan and especially in the Fergana valley.⁶⁰ Due to the increasing need for livelihood, such social groups became hired

workers. Fayzullo Hodjaev noted that, as a part of the semi-proletarian group, the number of craftsmen, carpenters, water carriers, cobblers reached more than 10,000.⁶¹ The author also noted that agricultural workers and unskilled farmers were several thousand, most of whom were in the regions of Bukhara, Garm, Kulyab, Chorju and Karakul. In the capital of Bukhara and other cities of the emirate, there were potters, weavers, gunmakers, *tunukasozs*, smiths, miners, soap makers and other workers. However, in Bukhara alone, weavers accounted for 1500.⁶² So, the changes in economic spheres to more or less shaped the layer of workers.⁶²

The discrimination in rights and the problems faced by the working people of different nationalities, rose more demands pertaining to their interests. In fact, as a result of immigration of Russian workers, the outlook of local workers changed. Thus, based on common interests, these workers were actively involved in subsequent democratic movements. The first Russian doctrine of 1905-1907 had a positive impact on the democratic movements in the Bukharan Emirate. In this regard, for the first time in 1905, Bukhara participated in strikes organized by local workers and put forward a reformed vision for protecting the interests of the working people.

b) National bourgeoisie. At the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Bukharan society stepped into modernization.⁶³ The features of modernity included industrial enterprises and factories, communication lines and facilities, urban development, etc. First of all, such transformation was the result of the formation of new social groups and their role as leaders in the socio-economic and cultural life in the emirate.

The social structure of the society included national bourgeoisie⁶⁴ with modern thinking and advanced intellect, who had such privileges as mobility, entrepreneurship, education, and they had a great influence not only on their own group's status, but on the whole nation as well. At the beginning of the 20th century, the position of a person in society in the emirate, besides their traditional rights and privileges, was determined by criteria such as capital and private property. Table 3 shows the social stratification of Bukhara society in the early twentieth century.

As a result of the development of commodity-money relations, the role of the national bourgeoisie, who tried to alter commercial science was especially noteworthy. The basis of the national bourgeoisie was a specific group of proprietors, who were active in capitalistic and new commodity-monetary relationships, and consisted of Uzbek, Tajik, Jewish and people of other nationalities. Their social backgrounds included merchants, industrialists, landowners, craftsmen, who were actively involved in the capital, private property, trade, manufacturing (industry, handicrafts) and agriculture. Fayzullo Hodjaev said, "the number of large independent merchants in the Emirate is considerable, and the main trading people are mostly Russian engineers and agents of Russian firms and banks."⁶⁵

Investments that came through the offices of commercial banks were largely focused on financing the producers. These loans going through the disposal of landowners, cotton profiteers, cotton-ginning farmers turned into moneylenders, not banks. These processes resulted in the increase of the moneylenders among local bourgeoisie. The wealthy among them created their own business and trading houses.

After introducing the raw material processing industry in the Emirate, those who

Table 3: Traditional Layers and Stratification

		<i>Social hierarchy</i>	<i>The reputation of an individual or group defined criteria</i>
TRADITIONAL LAYERS AND STRATIFICATIONS	<i>The upper estate</i>	Emir of Bukhara and his relatives	nobility, power and political authority, inheritance, social and economic status, social rights and privileges, etc.
	<i>Administrative and military servicemen</i>	upper class: vuzaro, umaro, standing at the top of the state, with great social rights and privileges.	genealogy, status in the hierarchy (political, social, etc.), legal or hereditary class rights and privileges, etc.
		middle class: administrative and socially supported by the state, military commanders, etc.	legal or hereditary class rights and privileges; political, social, economic status, social mobility, etc., occupied at the hierarchical level.
		middle class: administrative and socially supported by the state, military commanders, etc. lower class: employees, clerks, etc. from the lower echelons of the central and local government system.	
	<i>Religious representatives layer</i>	clerics, members of the sect, various categories of clergy, etc.	genealogy, political, social, economic status, legal or hereditary class rights and privileges, etc.
		<i>Citizen-ship</i>	farmers, ranchers, merchants, artisans, etc.
	<i>New layers</i>	New owner-representatives of the national bourgeoisie: investor, business owner categories: landowners, merchants, artisans and others. New intellectuals-teacher, student, publisher, writer and others. workers-industrial, railway, seasonal and others.	capital, private property, income, education, profession, experience, etc.
The lowest link the poor, the needy, and so on.			

linked their capital to local industries appeared. Local authorities mainly invested in cotton, grains, oil production, mining and other industries. In the early 20th century, more than 10 out of existing 40 different industrial enterprises in the emirate belonged to such local businessmen as M. Mansurov, Mustafa Khoja, Kayupov, G. Mirjonov, X. Matjunboev, I. Shamsutdinov, Jamoliddinov, M. Fuzaylov, and the government of the emirate. Almost 25-30% of the emirate enterprises belonged to the national bourgeoisie, and the rest belonged to Russian bourgeoisie.

In the Bukhara Emirate, initially, the largest investors were Bukharan Emirs. For instance, Amir Abdulakhadhkhon did a lot of sales to increase his income. According to Emir's words, he was third in the world in terms of astrakhan fur trade (1st place was J. Arabov).⁶⁶ Unfortunately, in many sources, this information was confused by Emir Amir Alimhan.⁶⁷ Amir Abdulakhadhkhon was honored as a large shareholder in the Russian financial sector. The Emir's contribution to the Russian state banks amounted to \$ 27 million, rubles of gold and private commercial banks with a rate of 7 million rubles.⁶⁸

The emirs, who were active in economic relations, invested heavily in trade, railway companies, and industrial enterprises owned by Russian and foreign firms. In 1920, the Emir of Bukhara participated in trade firms and enterprises in the amount of 38,612,500 rubles in cash, in joint-stock companies with a half-share of 62,151,288 rubles. In total, his turnover was 10,076,788 rubles.⁶⁹

Local capitalists took the steps to develop and improve various industries in the emirate, so as to raise the value of local raw materials in the world market. They even tried to overcome the obstacles in this way. H. Shamsutdinov and I. Matjonboev, who wanted to cultivate cotton in the Termez, Sherabad, Baysun, Kurgantepa and Kobodiyon bekliks, noted: "In addition to personal benefits, our main aim was to introduce new methods in this sphere, to collect cotton harvest in time and to improve cotton production."⁷⁰ At a meeting in New Bukhara in April 1912, along with owners of Russian banks, firms, factories operating in the emirate, representatives of local bourgeoisie (factory owners and traders): Mansurov, X. Shamsutdinov, K. Azizov, Latifhuzha and Ubaydulla Kasymkhojaev, J. Arabov, N. Yoqubboevs, makers G. Abdulvasikov, U. Qalandarkhodjaev, A. Boltabekov, T. Safabekov, managers of Bukhara government factory: M. Boriboyev, N. Abdurakhmanov voted for suppling *pakhtakors* with small credits, replacing *tanob* instead of *hiroj* tax.⁷¹ Here it is necessary to note that local businessmen thought that it would be better to replace the rent with the tax on the property.⁷²

By the 19th century, although there were not much local bourgeoisie, however, large, medium and small-scale representatives, including merchants, factory owners, major tradesmen, landowners, intermediaries, and others were among them. According to documents of the AV PRI, a list of more than 60 members of the national bourgeoisie of the Bukhara Emirate in 1917, who were involved in Astrakhan fur and cotton trade, was presented by *Kushbegi* of Emir.⁷³ In addition to neighboring countries, Emirate's merchants had been trading with such countries as Germany, France, Italy, and even America. Merchants who were trained in the commercial sphere consistently became specialists in their profession. Among them, for example, in Bukhara, there were 100 large traders with an investment of 20,000-50,000 rubles, more than a dozen traders and

industrialists with an investment of 100,000 to several million rubles.⁷⁴ It should be noted that at the beginning of the twentieth century, not only the progressive part of the intellectuals, but also among the national bourgeoisie, the number of supporters of large-scale economic and cultural reforms in the society had grown.

After the October Revolution, when the Bolshevik regime was established, economic policy, aimed at eliminating private ownership, promoting public-state ownership in all spheres of economic life, and decentralizing management of the national economy, was intensified. In the Bukharan emirate, as in Turkistan, the process of nationalization of industrial sectors had begun. It was informed in the telegram from the center to New Bukhara in 1918 that private entrepreneurs should not operate cotton business.⁷⁵ The nationalization policy led the national bourgeoisie to a more difficult economic situation. In addition, taking all types of products back from merchants was done by government prices.

c) New intellectuals. In the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, the leading intellectuals in the Emirate of Bukhara were formed, who proved the necessity of eliminating the social, political and economic backwardness; and worked for enlightening people, and the need for reformation of the society. Among these intellectuals there were such representatives as priests, teachers, students and other layers of the society, including those who worked in government departments. The views of these intellectuals mainly focused on the elimination of the illiteracy that existed among all the layers of the population, reforming the old system of education, putting an end to old and unhealthy habits.⁷⁶ In his work, Paolo Sartori said that they especially criticized religious fanaticism and traditional habits that might lead to wasting money.⁷⁷ The consequences of economic changes in the Emirate of Bukhara, were clearly visible in the lives of ordinary citizens. For example, the obsolescence of the management system and changes in the economic sphere have put the trade community in a difficult position. Therefore, Khodjaev noted that the Jadids represent the interests of the advanced part of the merchant class⁷⁸.

The new intellectuals played an active role in the socio-political and cultural life of Central Asia and were the most intelligent and the first generation of advanced intellectuals.⁷⁹ Among them, educators such as Ahmad Donish started to reform the old system and spread democratic principles, and later, these ideas were developed by Sadridin Aini, Abdulvohid Munzim, Mirkomil Burhanov, Usmonkhoja Pulatkhojaev, Khalykhoji Mehri, MullaVafo, Abdurauf Fitrat and others. F. Hodjaev's main aims and tasks in the spiritual and cultural life included,⁸⁰ the struggle against religious extremism by spreading new secular-religious literature and publications; establishing new schools based on modern methods of the western model instead of pure religious, sophisticated schools; reaching freedom of the press; secular education for the youth; tax reduction, the elimination of misusing of power that had led people to the poverty in economic and administrative spheres.

Unfortunately, these intellectual actions towards democratic changes were at the center of attention of "*kadimchilar*", who opposed them. According to the RG VIA, in 1910, political groups in Bukhara were divided into three groups: conservatives (*kadimchilar*). Young people of Bukhara and Russian progressive supporters. The

conservatives, or *kadimchilar*, were the largest group, originated from clergymen, and had a strong influence among the masses.⁸¹ Adeb Khalid mentioned that "*kadimchilar*" or "*usul-i kadimchilar*",⁸² were a specific part of the intellectuals, who were primarily interested in preserving the old system and procedures, and the traditional education system.

It is known that the ideas of democratic renewal of the Turkestan region, adopted at the conference in Fergana in 1917, aroused great interest among the liberal intellectuals and scholars, who took an active part in the modern democratic system, by which the fanatical segments were angered. They spoke on behalf of Islam and strongly opposed any attempt to carry out democratic reforms in society. This conflict between the advanced Jadid intellectuals and the non-intellectuals of Turkestan had led to their division, which was reflected in the formation of the Shorai Ulema Society, which split from the Shorai Islam in mid-June 1917.⁸³

The conflict between the advanced intellectuals and the fanatical forces in the emirate lasted until the last days of the emirate. The first conflict between the progressive group and the fanatical forces took place in 1908. While the first group, led by Ikram Domla,⁸⁴ argued that the new method schools were beneficial to the development of the people and the country, the second group, led by Mufti Abdurazzaq, argued that the new method schools were harmful to religion and the state.⁸⁵ However, the emergence of national leaders with the spirit of democracy and unification of all Muslims subsequently allowed these organizations to work together.

There are several reasons why fanatical people oppose new method schools. For instance, firstly, teaching was conducted in a non-Muslim way (i.e., sitting at a desk, reading and writing, etc.), secondly, in spite of religious teachings, the teaching of sciences such as arithmetic, geography, etc. were primary part of the syllabi. Thus, leading to the division of intellectuals in Bukhara society, whose spiritual and enlightenment views contradicted each other. This contradiction was of great concern to the progressive intelligentsia, particularly, Abdurauf Fitrat's pamphlet "Debate" spoke about this situation and lamented over the division of people into two groups and noted its catastrophic consequences.

The contribution of Jadids can be gauged from the fact that in 1911-1912, there were 57 New Method Schools in the emirate. Among them, the schools of Mirkomil Burhanov, Usmonkhodja Pulatkhodjaev, Khalidhoji Mehri were the best, and special attention was paid towards the teaching of Russian in the school of Mulla Vafo.⁸⁶ It is noteworthy that the New Method (Jadid) schools, which operated despite the difficult conditions in the emirate, in a short period managed to lead the people from backward imaginations to an open world. In particular, such schools in a short time became popular even among the advanced part of the various strata. Even evening classes were organized for adults, as well as traders from Bukhara, who traded with the Russians and felt the need for such schools. In this way, the business community tried to increase their literacy in their native language and Russian. In 1914, when the situation worsened and the New Method Schools were closed, representatives of the major merchants invited some teachers to their homes.⁸⁷

The Jadid emphasis on education is evident from their questions and answers. It is

reported that they were questioning in a way like "when we look at our history, we can see that we were followers of the scientists, wise people, but now we have become other people. What should we do for this?" It was emphasized that "we need knowledge, morals, commerce, industry, occupation and all the things that are required for all humanity ... Then we have our illnesses in our spiritual lives and it is time to address to those who could cure these illnesses".⁸⁸ By this Jadids proved the possibility of solving economic problems through reforming the education, language learning, producing local production in the regions, solving cultural and educational problems.

The youngest part of the emirate's educated population was madrassah students. At the beginning of the 20th century, madrassas' *tolibs* were divided into two groups in terms of their views. However, most of the students of the madrassah joined "*kadimchilar*" group. They supported the "traditional educational system" and the existed rules under the "influence" of their mentors. In most cases, the power of the *mullabachalar* masses was used by the majority of the "masters" from the priests' stratum.

Thus, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Bukhara Emirate's intellectuals were divided into two groups. Some were supporters of the old regime, and the others were for the reformation and modernization of society. The role of the second group of advanced intellectuals was significant in the development of the Bukhara society, which was deeply rooted in disorders in the administrative system, abuse and religious calmness. These advanced intellectuals, later transformed into Jadids, who started to raise the society in its spirituality, and implement democratic changes. They fought for education of young people who could meet the demands of science and education. Jadids, who turned their operation from education to politics under the name of "*Yosh Bukhoroliklar*", later promoted the goals and objectives of the society and its restructuring.

Notes and References

1. The result of the Russian-Bukhara agreement of 1868 and 1873 revealed that the authority of the Emir was preserved by proving that the Russian government was not intending to occupy the emirate. The Bukhara Emirate lost its status as an international subject of law, but preserved certain sovereignty and internal independence. Such a semi-colonial estate is characterized by the old administrative and tax system, legislative and judicial matters and other social and political rights. In September 1873, according to articles 15, 16 of the agreement signed by Emir of Bukhara, in 1884 at the emirate the Emir's representative was also appointed as a diplomatic political agent of Russia. This post and the apparatus attached to him was called the Russian political agency. The Emir's government was forced to consult with a political agency on issues of relations with Russia and other countries and important domestic policies. RGVIA. F. 400: *Glavniy shtab Aziatskaya chast*, op. 1, d. 878, ll.14 and behind of 15.
2. In the 70's of the 19th century, the Eastern Bukhara region was reigned on the basis of inheriting, and consisted of independent and semi-independent colonies. From 70 to 90th, these territories were all conquered by the Emir of Bukhara with the help of the Russian government. Sherabad, Sarijui, Baysun, Kulob, Kurgantepa, Baljuvon, Karategin, Darvoz, Gissar, Denov and Kobadiyan were located in East Bukhara, which was part of Emirate. After defining the borders of Pomir in 1895, the territory of the emirate enlarged including Shakhnon and Rushon, the eastern part of the West Pamir, and Vakhan, northern part. East Bukhara and Western Pamir were mainly mountainous areas. //Xalfin N.A. (1975). *Rossiya i Bukharskiy emirat na Zapodnom Pamire (konse 19 – nachalo 20v.)*. Moskva: Nauka. p.77.
3. These include Chorjuy, Karshi, Ziyovuddin, Gissar, Shakhrisabz, Guzar, Karmana, Kitab, Denov and

- Yurchi, Khatirchi, Baljuvan, Sherabad, Chirakchi, Nurota, Sarijuv, Baysun, Kurgantepa, Kulyab, Yakkabog, Karki, Kobadiyan, Kelif, Usti, Burdalig, Darvoz and Karatapa *viloyats*, as well as Gijduvan, Konimex, Sultonob/Pirmast (together), Karakul, Vobkent, Zandana and Romitan, Poyonrud/ Shakhriolom, Khayrobod, Vangazy, Yangikurgan and Nakhrikora *tumans*. This administrative territorial division included the lower part of the present Zarafshan oasis (upper and middle parts of Zarafshan were included into the territory of Russia), the Kashkadarya, Surkhandarya oasis, the eastern part of the Emirate such as Chorjuv, Karki and other regions near the Amu Darya River, Gulob, Baljuvon, Gissar. RG VIA, F. 400: *Glavniy shtab Aziatskaya chast*, op.1, d.4458, ll. 5-9.
4. Kislyakov N.A. (1962). Patriarhalno-feodalniye otnosheniya sredi osedlogo selskogo naseleniya. Bukharskoye Khanstvo v konce 19- nachale 20 v. - Moskva-Leningrad. p.20;
 5. Halikova R.E. (2006). XIX asr ikinci yarmi - XX asr boshlarida Rossiya-Bukhoro munosabatlari tarikhi. Tashkent. p. 67-70.
 6. Khakimova Z.K. (1991). The peasantry of the Bukhara Emirate v konse XIX – nachale XX vv.. Tashkent. p.23.
 7. Documents to the history of agricultural relationship in Bukhara Khanate. (1954). Podbor dokum., perevod, vved.i prim.Chekhovich O.D. Vip.1. - Tashkent. p.7.
 8. The *tanho* was the property given to the 16th century for state services. The *tanhodor* had no inherent right in the jurisdiction of the courts and had no private ownership of the land, but had the right to earn a living from the area of the crop, namely, the victim. Tanho was mainly given military and service secrets for certain services, sometimes given to him or her in the form of pension. In the 17th-19th centuries, when the individual owner died, he or she or another special khan's order was referred to another person. In the period of the Mangit era belonged to such categories of land, caravanserais, mills and other properties.// Abduraimov M. (1961). Voprosi feodalnogo zemlevladieniya I feodalnoy renty v pismax Emira Khaydara. - Tashkent. pp.10-11; Catalog Sredneaziatskix jalovannykh gramot. (2007). OWZ Halle (Saale). pp. 93,105.
 9. Khakimova K. 3. (1991). “b”. p.16.
 10. Hodjaev F. (1932). K istorii revolyutsii v Bukhare I natsionalnogo razmejevaniya Sredney Azii. Izdanie 2-e. Tashkent. p.12.
 11. Glovatsky O. (1930). Revolyutsiya pobejdayet: ekonomicheskiye politicheskiye predposilki Bukharskoy revolyutsii v 1917 -1920gg. SanktPeterburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie. p. 44.
 12. Massalsky V.I. (1892). Xlopkovoye delo v Sredney Aziii I yego budushiye. Sankt-Peterburg. pp.140-141RG VIA,F.400, op.1, d.1152, l. 13, 14.
 13. *Desyatina* - a unit of measurement of 1.09 hectares.
 14. Hodjaev F. (1932). “a”. p.15.
 15. Iskandarov B.I. (1970). “a”. p.40.
 16. RG VIA,F.400, op.1, d.1152, l. 12
 17. Pylov A.I. (2005). “a”. p44.
 18. NARUZ, F.I-126, op.1, d.947, ll. 5, 7, 8, 10.
 19. Фитрат А. (2010). Tanlangan asarlar: 5 jild. Ilmiy risolalar. Tashkent. - p. 176.
 20. *Banki dehkoni*. //Bukhoroyi sharif, 17 aprel, 1912. № 32.
 21. NARUZ, F.I-126, op.2, d.421, l. 10.
 22. Ishanov A.I. (1955). “a”. pp.20-21.
 23. Ishanov A.I. (1955). “b”. p.21.
 24. Glovatskiy O. (1930). “a”.p.10.
 25. Tuxtametov T. G. (1977). Rossiya i Bukharskiy Emirat v nachale 20 v. Dushanbe. p.88
 26. Krestovskiy V.V. (1887). V gostyax u Bukharskogo Emira. – Sankt-Peterburg. p.86.
 27. Tuxtametov T.G. (1977). “a”. p.90.
 28. Hodjaev F. K. (1932). “b”. p.114.
 29. NARUZ, F.I-126, op.2, d.328, l. 41.
 30. Rashidov U., Rashidov U. (2013). Bukhoroning Rossiya bilan iktisodiy va siyosiy munosabatlari tarixidan (1900-1925 yy). Bukhoro. p. 17.
 31. NARUZ, F.I-126, op.2, d.328, l. 3.

32. NARUz, F.I-126, op.2, d.328, l.10.
33. AVPRIF.147, op. 486, d. 254, l. 10.
34. Ishanov A.I. (1969). Bukharsakaya Narodnaya Sovetskaya Respublika. Tashkent: Uzbekistan.p. 87.
35. Suxareva O. (1962). Pozdnefeodalniy gorod Bukhara. (kontsa XIX - nachale XX veka). Tashkent. p.151.
36. NARUz, F.I-126, op.2, d.421, l.1.
37. NARUz, F.I-126, op.2, d.421, l. 31.
38. *Sarroj* – tanner craftsman, *qish*– raw material, *lijom* – ready leather material.
39. NARUz, F.I-126, op.2, d.421, l. 37.
40. Istoriya Bukhary s drevneyshix vremen do nashix dnei. (1976). Tashkent: FAN.p.167.
41. NARUz, F.I-3, op.2, d.708, l. 1.
42. NARUz, F.I-3, op.2, d.708, ll. 7-10.
43. NARUz, F.I-3, op.2, d.919, ll. 1,2,6
44. NARUz, F.I-3, op.2, d.919, l. behind of 8.
45. NARUz, F.I-3, op.2, d.919, ll. 1,2,6.
46. AVPRIF.147, op.486, d.343.l. 241.
47. Starting from 1914 the construction of the new railway Bukhara-Termez (with the Karshi-Guzar-Kitob) was completed in 1916 before the deadline.
48. RGVIA, F.400, op.1, d.1152, l. 12.
49. NARUz, F.I-126, op.2, d.328, l. 36.
50. NARUz, F.I-126, op.2, d.327, l. 15 and back.
51. *Sarjen* - 2,134 metr.
52. NARUz, F.I-126, op.2, d.327, l. 15.
53. NARUz, F.I-3, op.2, d.449, l. 3.
54. RGVIA F.400, op.1, d.1152, l.13.
55. Tuxtametov T. G. (1977). “b”. p.19.
56. NARUz, F.I-126, op.2, d.327, ll. 1 and back.
57. Bukhara. Ethnographicheskiy ocherk. (1910). Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatelstvo O.N. Popovoy. p.38.
58. Tuxtametov T. G. (1977). “c”. pp.30-131.
59. Hodjaev F.(1926). K istorii revoliutsii v Bukhare. Tashkent: Uzbeksko gosudarstvennoye izdatelstvo. p.11.
60. Istoriya Bukhary s drevneyshix vremen do nashix dnei. (1976). Tashkent: FAN. p.175.
61. Modernization - the acquisition of some or some of the modern features, the modern way of thinking, the ideas, the ideas, the way, and the needs. // Sociologic Dictionary of Encyclopedia.(1993). Moskva: Izdatelskaya group INFRA-M-NORMA. p.187.
62. Income-generating unit as a result of trade, industry, credit, finance, and entrepreneurship. Unfortunately, during the Soviet era, this phrase was given a negative connotation based on the ideology of class propagation.
63. Hodjaev F. (1932). “c”. p.14.
64. Hodjaev F. (1932). “c”. p.14.
65. Tuxtametov T. G. (1977). “e”. pp.122-123.
66. Semenov A.A. Ocherki ustroystva centralnogo administrativnogo upravleniya Bukharskogo khanstva pozdneyshego vremeni.(1954). Materialy po istorii tadjikov I uzbekov Sredney Azii. Trudy, tom XXV. Vipusk 2. Stalinabad: Izdatelstvo AN TSSR. p.9.
67. In Semenov's book, this information was shown by Amir Abdulahadkhon on the basis of an unofficial letter sent to a diplomat officer at the General-Governorate of Turkistan in December 21, 1913. I. This information in the book of Faith is a. Semenov was quoted as saying, but Amir Alkhan was confused. Other studies quoted in her book also point to this. // Ishanov A. I.(1969). “a”. p.79; Rashidov U., Rashidov U. (2013). “a”. p.24; Gaffarof N. (2011). Formirovanie natsionalnoy burjuazii v Buxarskom emirate. *Axboru DDIH BCT (Vestnik TGUPBP)*.48,182; Perevezentseva also linked this information with Amir Alimjan, but did not quote it. // Perevezentseva T.V. (2015). Bukharian emirate pod protectorate Rossiyskiy imperii (konets XIX-nachalo XX veka). *Molodoy uchyoniy: Istoricheskie issledovaniya: materialy III-Mejdunarodnaya konferenciya*. Boiler: Buk.p.17.

68. Semenov A. (1954). "a". p.9.
69. Semenov A. (1954). "a". p.9.
70. Hodjaev F. (1932). "d". p.117.
71. NARUz, F.I-3, op.1, d.368, ll.78 and back.
72. NARUz, F.I-3, op.1, d.368, ll. 30-31.
73. The *tanob* or *tanobona* tax is 1/3 of the harvest, but in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the cave tax was levied in the form of money-bearing crops, shrubs and melons. Abduraimov M. (1961). *Voprosi feodalnogo zemlevladieniya I feodalnoy renty v pismax Emira Khaydara*. Tashkent. p.43.
74. AVPRIF.147, op.485, d.392, ll. 5 and back.
75. Ziyayeva D. (2013). *Uzbekiston shaharlari. XIX asrning ikkinchi yarmi va XX asr boshlari*. Tashkent. p.184.
76. NARUz, F.I-3, op.2, d.944, l. 4.
77. One of the most widely spread habits is tax collections, which are defined by the habits established in each region. In the 1890 HTA report, a political analyst interviewed by State Sec. OmanakulPervanchi noted that the customary taxes on the custom of the population made the life of the people worse and nobody dared to challenge the emir. // RG VIAF.400, op.1, d.1380, ll. 5 and back.
78. Paolo Sartori. (2016). *Ijtihad in Bukhara: Central Asian Jadidism and Local Genealogies of Cultural Heritage*. *Jesho* (Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient), 59, 194.
79. Hodjaev F. (1926). "a". p. 13.
80. *Istoriya obshchestvenno-kulturnogo reformatorstva na Kavkaze i v Sentralnoy Azii (XIX - nachalo XX veka)*. (2012). Samarkand: MITSAL. p. 83.
81. Adid Khalid describes the method of "old-fashioned" as the old method. // Khalid Adeeb. *The Muslim Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia*. (1998). Berkeley: California University Press. <https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view>.
82. Hodjaev F. (1926). "b". p. 13.
83. RG VIAF.400, op.1, d.3914, ll.behind of 34.
84. *Uzbekistonning yangi tarixi. Uzbekiston Sovet mustamlakachilik davrida*. (2000). "a". p.37.
85. Mulla Ikrom (1847-1925) - the only mujahedin of Bukhara, was a jaded movement. After the Haj trip to Turkey and Mekka, the Emirate publicly criticized the regime. Zandana lived in the Karakalpaktownship as a taxpayer, just because the taxpayers refused to pay taxes. In his opinion, the new methodology does not contradict Shariah principles. It was also supported by an active part of the merchants and Tatars from the emirate. Umnyakov I. (1927). *Iz istorii novometodnoy shkole v Buxare*. Moskva. p. 90.
86. Hodjaev F. (1926). "c". p. 8.
87. Gafarov N.U. (2013). *Jadidism in Central Asia in the late 20th - early 20th centuries Abstract dis. ... doct.ist. sciences*. Dushanbe. - p. 32.
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