

SOCIAL SUMMARY OF THE SOCIETY OF THE BUKHARA EMIRATE AT THE END OF THE 19TH - BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURIES

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| ABSTRACT | KEYWORDS |
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| This article examines the social structure of the Bukhara Emirate in the second half of the XIX - early XX centuries, traces the dynamics of changes that have occurred in the social stratification of the state against the background of a change in the political status of the emirate as a result of the establishment of a protectorate of the Russian Empire. The article also analyzes the qualitative composition of the layers and groups of the population of the Bukhara Emirate, and also contains information about their numerical composition. | Emiratee, population, social structure, class division, layer, group, settled population, nomadic population, numerical composition, clergy. |

Introduction

As a result of the aggressive actions of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 19th century. Serious political changes took place in the Central Asian region: from the captured Kokand Khanate, parts of the territory of the Bukhara Emirate and the Khiva Khanate, a new administrative unit of Russia was formed - the Turkestan Governor-General. The tsarist government formally retained the Emirate of Bukhara and the Khanate of Khiva as independent states under its strict protectorate. The Emir of Bukhara and the Khan of Khiva were deprived of the right to conduct relations with foreign states and remained independent only in internal affairs.

There are no exact data on the population of the Bukhara Emirate, since accurate statistical records have never been kept there. In the works of Russian travelers and researchers of the 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as researchers of the Soviet period, there are different points of view on this issue: in the Bukhara Emirate the population is called two, two and a half, three million people [1:187]. We support the point of view of those authors who believe that the population of the Bukhara Emirate was 2 million people. An argument in favor of this is, in our opinion, the fact that, according to the Central Asia Zoning Commission, in 1924 the population of the Bukhara People's Republic was 1,531,015 people[2:149]. If we take into account the conclusions of demographers of the 20s that the population of the Central Asian region during the years of the First World War, revolution and civil war decreased by 25% [3:208], then we obtain the above data on the population of the emirate.

As for the gender composition of the population, it is not possible to establish it at all. In the book "Turkestan Region" V.I. Massalsky wrote: "There is no information regarding the distribution of the population by gender in the Bukhara and Khiva khanates, but there is no doubt that the predominance of men, as in all Muslim countries, is observed here too" [4: 350]. This issue was not clarified in the

20s of the 20th century. in the conditions of existence of the BNSR. The materials of the above-mentioned Commission for Zoning of Central Asia stated: "The sex composition of both Bukhara and Khorezm is extremely difficult to establish and, as a rule, it is not indicated anywhere. When surveying the Muslim population, it is impossible to establish the true number of women; elders refuse to give this information. Strictly observed customs and prejudices force the local administration and the population itself to constantly hide not only the faces of their wives and daughters, not only their names, but even the number of women in the family"[2:155]. Thus, one can only, according to the information of V.I. Massalsky, assume that the male population in the emirate somewhat prevailed over the female one. In terms of nationality, the population of the Bukhara Emirate was mainly divided into Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmens, Karakalpaks, and Kazakhs. At the end of the 19th century. Europeans live in a compact population in the emirate.

In the second half of the 19th century. The Bukhara Emirate was a theocratic state with a despotic form of government. All legislative, administrative and supreme judicial power was concentrated in the hands of the Bukhara emir[5]. It preserved almost intact not only the medieval political form of power, but also the medieval class social structure. In the emirate, society was divided into classes: service (sipo) - beks, mirzas; spiritual (ulama) - ishans, hojas, seids, sheikhs, imams, mullahs; common people (fukaro) - merchants, artisans, farmers. Belonging to a certain class determined a person's position in the social hierarchy. The first and second estates occupied a high position in society and had significant both hereditary and granted privileges. A distinctive feature of the class division of the emirate was that, in addition to the social groups of sayids and khojas who were part of the spiritual class, the classes and the social layers and groups included in them were not separated from each other by an impenetrable wall. A person of humble origin, promoted to the emir's service, having received ranks and positions, fell into the "sipo" class; on the other hand, the "sipo" families, having become impoverished or having lost their position, turned into commoners - "fukaro". In the same way, people from the lower class, having completed a full course at a madrasah and received a higher Muslim education, could become qazis, imams, mullahs, that is, they entered the higher spiritual class. Precisely because classes under certain conditions could mix and a person was not absolutely closed in his own circle, a caste system did not develop in Central Asia.

The privileged "sipo" class included persons with ranks. In the Bukhara Emirate there were 13 civilian ranks and 5 military ranks. Persons who had civilian ranks received the right to special feeding at the expense of the dekhkan, while those who had military ranks received a salary. Moreover, the presence of a rank was not necessarily associated with the performance by its holder of any administrative positions or duties. Therefore, the service class included: clan nobility, large feudal lords, courtiers, officials holding positions in the administrative apparatus or in the army. In the 19th century The administrative apparatus of the Bukhara Emirate, which was previously formed mainly from the clan nobility, is also beginning to be replenished with people from the unborn part of the population; moreover, there were even frequent cases when "for business qualities and merits, Persian slaves achieved various ranks and titles" [5:14].

The clergy occupied a special place in the social structure of the society of the Bukhara Emirate. The highest clergy consisted of hereditary families of Seids (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad), Khojas (descendants of the first four "righteous" caliphs), as well as theologians, lawyers, Sharia experts, and madrasah teachers. Various dervish orders, led by Ishans, were of great strength. According to Muhammad Yusuf Munshi, their power was stronger than the power of khans and emirs.

For many, the number of their followers - murids - often reached tens of thousands, and they all represented a kind of brotherhood, united by blind submission to the single will of their mentor. Huge lands, shops, caravanserais were concentrated in the hands of the ishans; there were even a kind of dynasty of ishans[6:65]. A significant number of the clergy consisted of ordinary clergy of parish mosques and its lower stratum - the custodians of numerous mazars and professional preachers.

In the Bukhara Emirate, the clergy made up about 1% of the population[7:81]. F. Khodjaev wrote about the clergy: "This is a well-trained, competent army, well organized, disciplined and, in addition, possessing large material resources, waqf lands"[7:82]. In the Bukhara Emirate, in the early 20s of the XX century. The Bukhara Waqf Administration had 278,500 tanaps of land at its disposal[8:98]. The clergy had a strong influence on public policy; they had judicial power, the exclusive right to interpret Sharia law, draft legal decisions, the entire sphere of education, spiritual and religious power. The service and clergy classes were at the top of the social ladder of the khanates and constituted their class and financial aristocracy, exempt from taxes.

The bulk of the emirate's population belonged to the third estate - "fukaro", which bore all the burdens of the tax burden. It was represented by such segments of the population as merchants, artisans, farmers, and urban service population. In the general mass of layers of the third estate, merchants occupied a higher social position; when addressing them, the word "honorable" was added. This layer in the Bukhara Emirate was quite significant. Since ancient times, the emirate had extensive trade relations, was a crossroads of trade routes of East and West, "the focus of Central Asian caravan trade"[9:512]. The vast stratum of merchants was divided into various groups depending on the scale of trade operations and areas of activity. There were large merchants engaged in wholesale trade (saudogar), shopkeepers (dukondor) were engaged in trading in shops, and there were a lot of peddlers. Certain groups related to the organization of the trading process also participated in the trading process: brokers - intermediaries in concluding trade transactions; competent, well-trained clerks - clerks (mirzo), which all major merchants had; intermediaries when purchasing goods on credit (kosydy); and there were also a significant number of people serving caravanserais and shopping arcades. In addition, trade was very often carried out by artisans who had a workshop-shop in the bazaar, in which they themselves sold their products. It is precisely because of this that it was practically impossible, due to the lack of a clear division of trade and production functions, to even approximately determine the number of merchants, artisans and handicraftsmen.

Bukhara merchants traded astrakhan, cotton, cocoons, fabrics, carpets, gold embroidery, medicinal plants; Khiva merchants exported cotton, astrakhan, leather, carpets, and jewelry. Among large merchants there was a certain specialization in the trade of certain goods. Thus, in the Bukhara Emirate, karakul was traded by Ubaidullo-Khoja Nasreddin-bai, Abdurauf-Korvon-Boshi, Khoja Jurabek, known in Russia and even in Western Europe by Khoja Jurabek Arabov, Yusuf-bai and Mumin-bai Mukumbayevs; cotton - Mullo Abdurahobi Pasha, Domullo Sharifi-kichiri and others [10:242]. Bukhara merchants conducted extensive trade, primarily with Russia. For example, in 1882, they brought goods worth almost 7 million rubles to the Nizhny Novgorod fair, which amounted to 3% of the total number of all goods brought to the fair that year[11:65]. It was merchant capital that formed the basis for the creation and development in the emirate at the end of the 19th century. industrial production, and a national commercial and industrial bourgeoisie began to form from large merchants. Handicraft production was of decisive importance in providing the population of the emirate with tools, household items and food products, and the participants in this process - artisans - occupied a

significant place in the economic life and social structure of feudal society. They were located mainly in cities and large villages. The nature of the settlement of artisans and the location of industries on their territories were not accidental: they were determined either by historical traditions, or expediency, or professional or family ties.

In the Bukhara Emirate, handicraft production has received significant development. Due to the favorable position of the emirate on caravan trade routes, it was a commodity production here, which contributed to its complete separation from agriculture. The emirate's artisans were characterized by deep specialization of production based on manual labor. "Bukhara artisans," wrote the famous ethnographer O.A. Sukhareva, "had many options for tools and devices for certain operations. But still, the hands were decisive - their dexterity and skill, which still cause admiration today" [10: 230]. The largest center of handicraft production in the emirate was the city of Bukhara, where artisans and their families made up more than 25% of the townspeople [10:190]. In the middle of the 19th century. In Bukhara, there were about 100 separate branches of craft, of which the most significant were the processing of metal, cotton fiber, silk, leather, the production of clothing, food products, and household items. A significant number were craftsmen engaged in construction work.

The urban artisans of the Bukhara emirate retained the medieval guild organization of the craft, which firmly supported the norms and procedures that were uniform for each professional corporation on the basis of "risol". Rural artisans did not have such corporations. The Central Asian artisans for the most part had a two-member system of production relations: the master - "usto" and the apprentice - "shogird" (and the apprenticeship was long), but there was also a three-member system: the master - "usto", the hired master - "halfa" and the apprentice - "shogird". The two-member system was common in such crafts as blacksmithing, confectionery, shoemaking, etc., and the three-member system in weaving, iron foundry, and partly gold embroidery. Wealthy Bukhara "usto" of the late 19th - early 20th centuries. was also a potential source of the emerging national bourgeoisie.

In addition to merchants and artisans, in the cities of the Bukhara Emirate there was also such a social layer as the city-serving population. It included: water carriers, street cleaners, bathhouse attendants, teahouse attendants, hairdressers, healers, as well as numerous servants for rich people. They also had their own corporate professional associations. This layer did a lot of work, creating urban infrastructure.

At the bottom of the social ladder of the Bukhara Emirate were the farmers - the largest stratum, accounting for more than 90% of the population. All land in the khanates was distributed into categories: 1) privately owned, exempt from taxes (milkov); 2) privately owned, subject to land tax (haraja); 3) granted to religious institutions (waqf); 4) state (amlakov). Dekhkans owned kharaj and partially amlak lands (for which they paid tax-rent), but mostly amlak lands were granted by the emir and khan to the "sipo" class, turned into hereditary possessions and transferred by right of inheritance. Of almost all the lands suitable for farming, farmers owned 15.2% [8:96] of land in the Bukhara Emirate and the main producers were not farmers - land owners, but farmers - sharecroppers who rented land from the emir, feudal lords and clergy, they paid various taxes and carried out numerous duties. The average plot of a dekhkan farm in the emirate ranged from 1.5 to 2.5 tanaps of land [12:34-35]. Nevertheless, the region provided itself with the necessary food products and exported some agricultural products abroad for sale.

At the end of the 19th - beginning of the 20th centuries. Industrial enterprises for the primary processing of raw materials are beginning to be built in the emirate. They were built both by Russian entrepreneurs

and local ones. At the beginning of the 20th century. in the Bukhara Emirate there were 35 cotton gins, 3 oil mills, 3 intestines, 1 wool ginning factory, 10 brick factories[13:4-5]. As you can see, cotton gin plants predominated, and they were built mainly in Russian settlements. During the same period, representative offices of large Russian companies and branches of Russian banks were opened, and commercial and industrial joint-stock partnerships were created together with local owners of large capital.

All these innovations entailed a process of changes in social relations and the social structure of the emirate's society: the formation of a national commercial and industrial bourgeoisie began from large merchants, landowners, and khan's officials. Among the largest representatives of the national bourgeoisie in the Bukhara Emirate were Asadov, Mukhamedzhaev, Tyurakhodzhaev, the Arabov brothers, the Vadyaev brothers, and others. The bulk of the local bourgeoisie was engaged in trade, intermediating with Russian procurement firms and selling Russian industrial products. There were also a small number of entrepreneurs involved in the construction of enterprises.

Industrial and railway construction also led to the beginning of the process of creating local industrial workers in the emirate. But since the technical equipment of these industrial enterprises was extremely low, the vast majority of them worked seasonally and did not use machine engines that required qualified personnel, the bulk of their workers were seasonal migrant workers who did not have any working qualifications and performed menial, auxiliary work. They could only be considered industrial workers conditionally. Visiting Russian workers worked as skilled workers at the enterprises.

Due to the lack of statistical data, it is not possible to establish the number of both local entrepreneurs and industrial workers in the emirate. One can only assume that the number of both of them was still very small.

Thus, the Bukhara Emirate at the end of the 19th - beginning of the 20th centuries. was a typical despotic state with a class structure of society and a corresponding system of privileges. The despotic regime was supported by influential and conservative forces - the landed and serving aristocracy, and the Muslim clergy. The productive forces of society were represented by artisans, handicraftsmen, farmers, and traders, who bore the entire tax burden.

The objective process of historical development could not help but affect these seemingly frozen societies. Under the influence of the processes taking place in the neighboring Turkestan General Government, the Bukhara Emirate during this period gradually began to be drawn into the orbit of its new socio-economic relations. The development of trade with Russia, the beginning of the construction of industrial enterprises, the creation of branches of Russian banks and representative offices of large trading firms, on the one hand, contributed to the stronger subordination of the khanates of Tsarist Russia, the increased invasion of Russian capital into various aspects of their life, and the strengthening of the Russian presence in them through the growth of migration waves of Russian subjects; on the other hand, they contributed to the beginning of the process of penetration of new capitalist relations into the society of the emirate, which determined the formation of new social groups corresponding to them - the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, industrial workers, and a new national intelligentsia. But due to the prevailing class relations, these processes developed extremely slowly in the Bukhara Emirate Khanate.

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