

**CENTRAL ASIA AND TSARIST RUSSIA:
A HISTORICO-CULTURAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC
STUDY (1867 to 1917)**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirement for
the award of the degree of*

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KRISHNA GOPAL TYAGI



**CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES DIVISION
CENTRE FOR SOUTH, CENTRAL, SOUTH-EAST ASIAN
AND SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067
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जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067

Central Asian Studies Division
Centre for South, Central, South-East Asian
and South-West Pacific Studies
School of International Studies

Tel.: 6107676, 6167557
Ext. 2350, 2363, 2594
GRAM: JAYENU
Fax : 91-11-6165886

19 July, 2001

CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled "**Central Asia and Tsarist Russia: A Historico-Cultural and Socio-Economic Study (1867 To 1917)**", submitted by **Krishan Gopal Tyagi**, in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy (M.Phil)** of this university, is, to the best of our knowledge, his own work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.


Prof. K. Warikoo
(Chairperson)
CHAIRPERSON

Centre for South, Central, South East and
South West Pacific Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067


Prof. K. Warikoo
(Supervisor)

Centre for South, Central, South East and
South West Pacific Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

DEDICATED

TO

MY PARENTS & GURUDEN

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KRISHAN GOPAL TYAGI

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PREFACE

Extending from western Siberia in the north to Afghanistan and Iran in the south, from the Volga and the Caspian Sea in the west to China in the east and covering a vast territory of 40,00,000 sq. kms, Central Asia, is situated in the heart of the Asian continent. It was in the middle of the nineteenth century, that Russia after its defeat in the Crimean war, expanded southward towards the Caucasus and Central Asia. The Central Asian people were then under the misrule of the feudal Khans living in extreme conditions of economic and social backwardness. With the onset of the colonial rivalry between the two European powers - Russia and Great Britain, Central Asia became a pawn in this 'Great Game'. Interestingly the ambitions and interests of both these imperialist powers converged in Central Asia from two opposite directions.

By 1867, Russia had extended its physical and administrative control over most part of Central Asia, Tashkent being the seat of new Governorate General of Turkestan. Tsarist Russia reigned supreme in Central Asia till 1917, when Soviets assumed power after the success of October Revolution. The half century of Russian rule over Central Asia has been of great historico-political significance. The socio-cultural and political dimensions of this period have attracted the

scholars. The Soviet historians and scholars have portrayed Russian presence in Central Asia positively as a means of development of this backward region. On the other hand, the western historians explain the history of Central Asia under Russians with negative consequences sketching the Tsarist rule in Central Asia as exploitation of natural resources and suppression of local culture.

Since Central Asia is in extended neighbourhood of India with centuries old cultural and economic ties between the two regions, there is curiosity among Indian scholars about the socio-economic and cultural history of modern and contemporary Central Asia. It is in this context that this study seeks to explore and analyse the historico-cultural and socio-economic conditions in Central Asia during the Tsarist Russian regime (from 1867 to 1917).

The main concern of this work is to trace the influence of Tsarist Russia and its administration on the society, culture and economic conditions of Central Asia during this period. This work also analyses the extent and pattern of exploitation and development of the region during that period.

The introductory chapter analyses the causes of the Tsarist Russian takeover of Central Asia and the Russian campaigns in the region. This chapter also deals with strategic, economic and political

interests of Russia in this region, throwing light on the process of consolidation of Tsarist power in Central Asia.

The second chapter, "Russian Administration" analyses the relation between Governor-Generalship of Turkestan and local authorities of Central Asia. It traces out the role of Tashkent Governarate with Tsarist government as well as the native local authorities and briefly summarises the various changes introduced by it in the administrative structure.

The third chapter, "Economic Development" examines the role of Russian authorities in economic development of Central Asia in terms of developing industries, communication, agriculture etc. It also discusses the extent of exploitation by Tsarist and local authorities in Central Asia.

Russian impact over Central Asian culture and society is analysed in the fourth chapter titled "Cultural Impact". This chapter also traces the process of development in culture, education, society, literature, language and folklore in modern Central Asia.

Finally, the last and fifth chapter rounds up the conclusions of this study.

CHAPTER - I

TSARIST TAKE - OVER OF CENTRAL ASIA

Central Asia comprises the former Soviet Central Asian Republics of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan extending from Western Siberia in the north to Afghanistan and Iran in the south, from the banks of the Volga and the Caspian Sea in the west to China in the east. The region covers a vast territory of 1,500,000 sq. miles.¹ Central Asia has been of fundamental importance in the history of Eurasia. Having been a region of unstable frontiers, the balance of power between its own population and the surrounding states has determined its political status. This area was a zone of triangular contest between Britain, Russia and China during 19th and early 20th centuries, which has been romanticised as the 'Great Game'.²

Central Asia's relations with Russia has often been projected in an over simplified manner, having disproportionate dose of anti

¹ R.A.Pierce, *Russian Central Asia, 1867-1917* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), p.5.

² K.Warikoo, *Emerging Order in Central Asia*, *World Focus*, (3-4 March-April, 93: 3-5 and *Central Asian Society, History and Culture*, *Central Asian Survey* 12(4); 1993: 413-584, (Series of Articles) (ISN 2238), p.7.

Tsarist rhetoric. The historical, cultural and socio-economic aspects of these relations have generally been ignored. It is a fact of history that the Trans-Caucasian and Central Asian region have had relations with Russia over a period of more than a thousand years. Already by the end of 12th century Russia and the great steppe region formed a single ethnographic unit. In the Volga-Ural region, the Russians, Tartars and the Bashkirs had developed a common culture and life style. In its relations with Central Asia, Tsarist Russia was cautious. It made full use of its old economic ties and largely relied upon the Tartars of Kazan as representative of European influence in Turkistan (Central Asia).

Pre-Tsarist Period

Before the incorporation of Central Asia into the Tsarist empire, political power was enjoyed by the Khans. From distant times there were two Khanates in Central Asia - Bukhara in the basin of Zeravshan and Khiva on the lower Amu-Dar'ya. At the end of the 18th century a third Kokand Khanate emerged in the Fargana Valley. These Khanates did not have particular boundary of state.

Most part of Central Asia was inhabited by the nomadic peoples, the Kazakhs who lived in the steppe region, and the Kyrghiz who were closely related to the Kazakhs in terms of language, ethnic composition, social organisation and economy. As regard the

Turkmen, most of them carried on a pastoral economy, while some practiced agriculture in the oases. The Uzbeks, who constituted the main part of the settled population of Central Asia, were concentrated in the Khanates of Khiva and Kokand and the Emirate of Bukhara. Tajiks, a surviving Iranian group, occupied the valleys and mountain districts of the Pamir region. Besides these groups, there were also a number of smaller ethnic groups in region, e.g. – the Turkic, Kara Kalpaks, Turkic Taranchi, Jews, Tartars, Indian traders etc.

All Khanates were backward feudal states. Nomadic elements followed the class system strongly. The population subsisted mainly on cattle breeding, horticulture and agriculture. Cotton was not grown on large scale and its quality was not so strong. The towns were centres of primitive industry, especially weaving and the trade. The plentiful natural resources included gold, silver, copper, iron ore, lead and oil, but their exploitation was primitive and prices were excessively high.

In the first half of 19th century, people were subjected to heavy taxes which hindered economic development. The fiefs often appropriated not only the surplus produce of the farmers but even their household requirements. Farmers' exploitation was completed by the usurers. The condition of industry was poor and backward. There were internal rivalries among the nobility of Bukhara, Khiva and

Kokand aristocracy which further contributed to the economic backwardness of Central Asia. As a result, there used to be anti-feudal popular risings during this period. The most important revolts were those of the Uzbek tribe; of Kitaykipchak in Bukhara in 1825-6 and 1855-6, in Tashkent in 1814 and in south Kazakhstan in 1856-8. Pre-revolutionary authors, preaching in favour of the Khanates, drew people's attention to the fact that "through bloody despotism and superstition ... the splendid Transoxiana, once regarded as the cradle of mankind, has been brought to the sorry dilapidation which is the present Khanate of Bukhara".³ A visitor to Khiva reported: "the condition of the Kara Kalpaks is beggarly, their apparel consisting literally of rags. Some have nothing to protect the upper parts of their bodies from the scratching sunshine. Children are almost all naked ... Their tanes are not fixed ...The Khivans take from them everything they can".⁴ Kokand was no better.

Level of corruption was high in the officialdom and administration. Judicial system was controlled by the Amirs and Beks and cruel punishments were inflicted arbitrarily. Feudal oppression

³ N.A., Khalfin, *Russian's policy in Central Asia, 1857-1868*, London, 1946, p.13.

⁴ *ibid.*, p.13.

and extortion by money lenders held up the growth of handicrafts and agriculture. Feudal fragmentation, continued mutually destructive wars and internal struggle of various national groups obstructed the economic development of these Khanates.

Trade of Central Asia with Russia existed on tribal-clan system. The main occupation of these peoples was cattle breeding and horticulture. Cotton was produced on low scale and inferior quality. Bukhara, Kokand, Tashkent and Samarkand were the main centers, of handicraft production and trade from where cotton and silk cloth produced by craftsmen was sold in different countries of the East and also in the Russian Empire. The territory was fertile in natural resources, but the extraction of valuable minerals on a small scale was responsible for their higher cost as compared to that of the minerals imported from Russia.

Russia's relations with Khanates were existent from long back. In the latter half of the 16th century, eight missions from Russia had visited Central Asia; During the 17th century twelve Khivan and thirteen Bukharan missions visited Russia.⁵ These Russian missions collected valuable information about the region. In the 17th century a

⁵ D.Kaushik, *Central Asia in Modern Times*, Moscow, 1970, p.31.

large number of Uzbeks from Bukhara and Tashkent settled in Siberia, among whom there were traders, peasants and artisans. The Russian government gave them several concessions in the Orenburg, Astrakhan and Bashkir regions.⁶

In the first half of the 19th century Russian industry was rapidly expanding, so that there arose the need of foreign markets. Textile industry based on cotton developed. However, metallurgy, industry moved behind that of western Europe. "In the 1830's Russian flax and linen cloth exports to the USA decreased sharply owing to British and German competition, and at the same time British, Swedish and North American metals and metal goods gained ground from Russian exports to the west. The only safe market for Russian manufactured goods was Central Asia. It bought textiles, dressed leather etc., and by the middle of the century as much 60 percent of all Russian metal exports went to Asia, and mainly to Central Asia".⁷

It was in these circumstances that efforts for developing Russia's trade with Central Asian region started being made. To consider these problems Tsar Nickolas I appointed a special committee in 1836. In the same year, General A.I.Vergin advised that

⁶ *ibid.*, p.32.

⁷ Khalfin, n.2, p.15.

regular trade must be established with Central Asia in order to make up for Russia's losses in European trade.⁸ In 1843 the *journal of manufactures and trade* wrote: "With the growth of the population the demand for our commodities will increase from year to year and the dependence of Khiva and other settled peoples of Central Asia upon Russia will grow proportionately. Cast iron and iron, to date anyhow, have been obtainable by Central Asia from Russia alone. Their produce, namely cotton, cotton goods, various agriculture products etc., the Khivan can sell only to us. They can not sell it to Persia, Bukhara or Afghanistan and they have to dispose of it in order to obtain essential goods from Russia. Thus in the matter of trade the Khivans are completely dependent on Russia".⁹

Before the Tsarist takeover of Central Asia, Britain and USA had started penetrating Chinese markets thus reducing the Russian trade in the region. Many experts like G.P.Nebolsin, G.I.Denlevsky, Chikhachov, Y.V.Khanyakov and P.I.Nebolsin argued in favour of developing Russia's trade with Central Asia.¹⁰

⁸ *ibid.*, p.15.

⁹ *ibid.*, p.15.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.16.

Another important question in front of Russian rulers was the British expansion in Asia and particularly towards Central Asia. After the First Afghan War, Britain secured political influence over Afghanistan and the British Resident D'Arcy made Herat the centre for further activities in Central Asia. The British started study of Turkistan region. Under various ostensible activities, British agents like Meer Issut Oolah [Mir Asadullah] (1812), W.Moorcraft and D.Trebeck (1819-25), Alexander Burnes (1831), D.Wood (1837) and others visited Central Asia to collect intelligence for evolving the future British policy in this region. British emissaries also visited Khiva, Kokand and Bukhara, where they engaged in preliminary survey and interaction. Some officers of the British army surveyed the Hindukush passes later penetrating into the Uzbek state of Central Asia. Mohan Lal, a Kashmiri Pandit, who accompanied them in their mission has recorded lot of information in his travel account of Central Asia.¹¹ All these circumstances and the forward policy of British in Afghanistan and Central Asia aroused serious concern in Russian ruling circles.

¹¹ Kaushik, n-4, p.34.

Tsarist Russian Expansion towards Central Asia

Though there is a evidence of Russian advancement towards South-East from the time of Tsar Ivan the great, but the main Russian expedition to Central Asian Khanates were sent in first half of the 19th century. Since Central Asia was sendwitched between the Russian and British empires, its politics was greatly influenced by the Anglo-Russian policies in Asia. Both empires were persuing interests their in Central Asia from two opposite directions. Various factors that precipitated the Russian takeover of Central Asia are summed up below.

Strategic Factor

As in the world history, each imperialist autocratic state has had an ambition to expand its territory and then influence the society, culture, and politics of the newly acquired region, Tsarism too was not an exception. Tsars had clear envisioned Russia's role for Central Asia after the defeat of Russia in Crimean war in 1856. Now the center of gravity of Russia's foreign policy shifted from East Europe Central Asia. Instructions sent in 1858 by A.Gorchakov, Foreign Minister of the Russian Empire, to the Russian Ambassador in London, Brunnow, reflected this policy change.¹² These instructions laid down

¹² *ibid.*, p.41.

as the main object of Russian policy as “the strengthening of influence of Russian industry, trade and culture in Asia.”¹³

Russian policy in Central Asia was also based on strategic considerations, to counter British more in the region. Central Asia provided a vacuum which Russia did not allow it to be filled by the British. Establishment of Trans-Caspian Railway also had strategic consequences in Central Asia. Now the center of Russian foreign policy, military operations and economic activity shifted to Turkistan in order to counter British forward moves in the region, and also to establish Russian authority in Central Asia.

Economic Factor

After its defeat in Criemean War, the economy of Russia came down. Russian had to face serious economic crisis in 1857. Exports from Russia declined by 11 percent and industrial production slumped.¹⁴

In such a deteriorating economic situation Russian business and official circles felt that for any revival of prosperity, must postulate the acquisition of new markets abroad had become necessary. Advancement towards Central Asia and growth of trade

¹³ *ibid.*, p.41.

¹⁴ Khalfin, n-2, p.24.

with other Eastern countries like China and Central Asian Khanates would restore Russia's military and political prestige and enable her to increase pressure on her main rival, Britain. Tsar Nicholas I started giving concrete shape to old economic ties with Central Asia. He appointed a special committee in 1836 to examine various suggestions about developing Russian trade relations with Asia. The members of this committee were Ministers of Foreign Affairs War and Finance. A.I. Virigin (Minister of Tsar's Administration) sought establishment of close economic relations with Central Asian Khanates. G.I. Danilevsky, who visited Khiva in 1842 proposed to develop Russian trade with Central Asia.¹⁵ Although the proportion of Central Asian trade to the whole foreign trade of Russia was still insignificant in the fifties of the 19th century (being little more than 2.5 percent), it had a bright prospects for further growth.

In the second half of 19th century, all Russian administrators, politicians and intellectuals supported this view of Russia's policy towards Central Asia. Yu A. Gogmeyster, a distinguished economist of bourgeois liberal persuasion, voiced this opinion in 1857 in an article entitled Views of the industry and trade of Russia. He was a friend of

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.33.

Knyazhevich, the Minister of Finance, and in the late 50s and early 60s was the Director of the general office in the Ministry. In his article, Gogmeyster pointed out that Russia's Asian trade was growing much faster than her trade with Europe. "Half of all our exports to Asia consist of manufactured goods, of which only an exceedingly small quantity goes to Europe". The acquisition of Central Asia would be very beneficial to Russia (particularly for the cultivation of cotton there) and she could organise shipping on the Syr Darya to Tashkent and Kokand. Gogmeyster also believed that Central Asian Khanates "could exchange its commodities with Russia", if only their internal condition could be improved. But Russia, he emphasised "could not bring about the reform of the barbaric system that bedeviled those states without having first conquered them".¹⁶

Central Asian raw materials attracted the attention of Russian industrialists as well. An important textile manufacturer, A. Shipov emphasised the importance of the cotton industry in the Russian economy and the role of Central Asia as a potential source of this raw material".¹⁷ As a follow up, Tsarist administration passed a charter of the company and set up factories for the manufacture of articles. So

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.24.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.25.

the economic factor played an important role in the Tsarist takeover of Central Asia.

Political Circumstances

Russian politicians and military men had also begun to feel concerned regarding British penetration in Central Asia. Their calls for certain action to guarantee Russian trade and to raise Russian respect among the Asian peoples was, linked to the growing tendency to use the Russian presence in Central Asia as a diplomatic lever by threatening to advance towards India in order to minimise the British opposition to Russia at the Turkish straits. This diplomatic game between the two empires continued for about a century. Thus, Russia went wholehog for acquiring new territory in Central Asia and to push the British away from her markets in the region Russia also was keen to strengthen its control over the territories already conquered.¹⁸

Russian Campaign in the region

Expansion of Russia towards trans-Caspia started early, but systematic campaigns began in the second half of the 19th century. Russia's Foreign Minister Gorchakov appointed Kovalevsky as Director of the Asian Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

¹⁸ Kaushik, n-4, p.50.

Under his supervision an all inclusive study of the neighbouring countries was made thus preparing the way for the expansion of Tsarist Russia into Central Asia. Commercial, political and intelligence missions were sent in 1858 to Iran, Khanates of Central Asia and Kashgar. The three Russian missions (of N.Khanykov, N.Ignatyev and Ch.Valikhanov) though different in form (Khanykov headed a scientific expedition, Ignatyev an official diplomatic mission and Valikhanov went as a Muslim trader), had the common objective of making an intensive study of the prevailing political and economic conditions in neighbouring countries.¹⁹ These mission collected valuable information about Central Asia. In 1861 Major General Tsimmerman reported on the condition in the Kokand Khanate. He recommended increased pressure on the Khanate to permit increased circulation of Russian commodities in the Central Asian market.

Encirclement of the Kazakh Steppe

In the 50's of 19th century Russian advancement into the steppe moved towards a climax. General V.A. Perovosky's disastrous winter march against the Khanate of Khiva in 1839, undertaken to settle scores with that slave trading state and to counter the extension of British influence into Afghanistan, showed the need for advance

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.33.

bases.²⁰ During the late 1840's, small forts were established in the steppe south of Orenburg-Turgai and Irgiz in 1845, and Ramisk on the Aral Sea, in 1847.²¹ These forts were enough to store supply materials and for controlling the Kazakhs.

In 1853 Russian forces from Orenburg led by Perovsky, made their way from Raimsk 450 miles up the Syr Dariya to take the Kokandian fort of Ak Mechet.²² Following this, two forts were established and two steamships brought from Europe. At the same time with the advance party from Orenburg came an advance of Tsarist military from Semipalatinsk to the north east. Between 1850 and 1854 the lands south of the Ili river were occupied and the town of Vernyi (now Almaty) was founded.²³

Russian military operations in the summer of 1864, had won Russia the city of Turkistan, then Chimkent and also put an end to the sovereignty of the Khokand Khanate over southern Kazakhstan.²⁴

²⁰ Pierce: n-1, p.18.

²¹ *ibid.*, p.18.

²² *ibid.*, p.19.

²³ *ibid.*, p.19.

²⁴ Edward, Allwarth (ed.), *Central Asia - A Century of Russian Rule*, New York, 1967, p.131.

The Khan fought against Russian military and Emir of Bukhara also was in favour of this defeat of Kokand. Russia stood to gain from this enmity between the Kokand Khan and Bukhara Emir. Russian action closed the gap between the two forked instruments of the expansion and Kazakh Steppe came near to the line of Russian forts. On November 21, 1864, Prince A.M. Gorchakov, the Russian Foreign Minister, addressed to the powers his well-known circular note in which he justified the Russian conquest in Central Asia citing Russia's need to protect her borders against lawless tribesmen.²⁵ After addition of Orenburg Kirgiz oblast, Siberian Kirgiz oblast and Semipalatinsk oblast, the new territory extended from the Aral Sea to Issyk-Kul which was organised as the oblast of Turkistan in 1865. This territory was put under the Governor Generalship of Cherniaev, who had both military and civil powers in his hands. Charniaev followed a wise policy of non-interference in the native affairs of Beks. After some time Tsar, the Khan of Kokand was also defeated and all powers were now vested in the hands of military governor.²⁶

²⁵ Pierce, n-1, p.20.

²⁶ Pierce, n-1, p.20.

Victory Over Bukhara

In 1865, General M.G. Charniaev's attention was drawn to Tashkent problem. Charniaev emphasised that it was impossible for Russia, after his ill-started attempt in the autumn of 1864, to maintain her position in Central Asia and especially the existing frontier with Kokand, if Tashkent were not conquered.²⁷ Charniaev was of the view that inspite of Mullah Alim Qul's recapture of control in Tashkent, Russia would have to defend her supporters there against the "Bukharan class".²⁸ On April 29, 1865 Charniaev defeated a force of Kokanadians at fort Naiz-bek located near the Chirchik River, which was the key to the irrigation system of Tashkent.²⁹

Now Charniaev organised his force and launched an assault on Tashkent on June 14, 1865. Entry was gained through a point, which preliminary survey had determined to be weakest. By June 17, 1865 the city had surrendered.³⁰ Before surrender there was a situation of famine and draught in Tashkent. The casualties of Russian forces were lesser then Kokandian forces. As soon as A.K.Abramov

²⁷ Allwarth, n-24, p.132.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p.132.

²⁹ Pierce, n-1, p.22.

³⁰ Allwarth, n-24, p.135.

(Commander of Russian Army) entered the city, Charniaev issued a proclamation designed to soothe the populace, promising respect for the Islamic faith and local customs. One year exemption from all taxes was also announced. All these measures calmed the local population.³¹

The Emir of Bukhara now chose to take the advantage of hitting his weak and traditional rival-Khan of Kokand. With a little effort, the Emir captured the main cities of Kokand and Kodzhent. Relations between the Emir of Bukhara and the Russians were critical, and all their negotiations proved fruitless. Regarding these circumstances, Charniaev ordered the arrest of Bukharan merchants on Russian soil, and Bukharans detained a Russian embassy. When Emir refused to return the Russian envoys, Charniaev again started the armed campaign in January 1866. He led his troops against Dzhizak, a Bukharan fortress and trading center north east of Samarkand.³² Dzhizak was the key to power over the entire Zarvshan river valley,³³ as it was the chief population centre of the Emirate. General D.I. Romanovskii, who succeeded Charniaev, continued the Russian

³¹ *ibid.*, p.135.

³² Pierce, n-1, p.24.

³³ *ibid.*, p.24.

campaign against Bukhara. Instead of moving on to Samarkand, Romanovskii was determined to drive a wedge between Kokand and Bukhara,³⁴ and moved up to Syr Darya into the Kokandian territory. On May 14, 1866 the Kokandian fort of Nau fell without resistance and on May 24 the city of Khodzhent was taken by Russian army.³⁵ Khudayar Khan acknowledged himself as a vassal of Tsar and he gave the permission to Russians to trade in his territory. In August 1866, General N.A.Kryzhanoskii, the Governor General of Orenburg arrived in Turkistan, assumed command and prepared for a new campaign.³⁶ He led his troops against the fortress of Ura-Tube, which he captured on October 2, 1866.³⁷ In yet an another campaign he took Dzhizak.

In 1867 the Governor Generalship of Turkistan was established with its headquarters at Tashkent and General K.P.Kaufman was appointed as the first Governor-General.³⁸ In March 1868 Emir Muzaffar-Eddin of Bukhara declared a holy war (*ghazawat*) against

³⁴ *ibid.*, p.24.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.24.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p.25.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p.25.

³⁸ Kaushik, n-4, p.45.

the Russians.³⁹ In April 1868, encouraged by the Tsarist government, Kaufman, who had earlier enjoined upon the Emir to leave the banks of the Zarafshan rushed his forces for to an attack on May 1, 1868 with the emir's armies having fallen back, Kaufman conquered Samarkand almost without a shot.⁴⁰

The peace treaty, signed on June 30, 1868, between Russia and Bukhara gave Russia all the conquered territories: Khojand, Ura Tube, Dyzzakh, Katta Qorghan and especially Samarkand, Bukhara became a state under Russian suzerainty. Zarfshan was in 1872 finally annexed to the Russian empire.⁴¹

Campaign against Khiva

With Bukhara and Khokand, having been incorporated into the empire, now Russia turned its attention towards Khiva Khanate. The situation was all the more difficult there, as the Khan of Khiva was also trying to play a leading role in a anti-Russian campaign in Central Asia.⁴² At first, General Kaufman had tried peaceful negotiation with the Khan of Khiva, but it was clear that annexation of

³⁹ *ibid.*, p.45.

⁴⁰ Allwarth, n-24, p.142.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, n-24, p.142.

⁴² Allwarth, n-24, p.143.

Khanate was necessary to consolidate the Russian conquests in Central Asia General Kaufman assembled multiple forces, involving the armies of the three surrounding regions, in all some 13,000 men and about 50 cannons for the Khivan campaign.⁴³ During their advance on Khiva, the imperial troops encountered hardly any resistance, and on May 29, 1873 the capital was taken over.⁴⁴ On August 12, 1873, the Khan signed a peace treaty without arguing the conditions imposed by Russia.⁴⁵ Khan of Khivan acknowledged himself "the docile servant of the emperor of all the Russia's".⁴⁶ The treaty with Khiva was a typical colonial treaty resembling those imposed by the Western powers on China. This treaty also gave economic concessions to Russia in the Khanate.

Annexation of Kokand

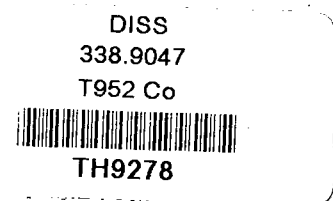
All three Khanates, Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand functioned like vassal states of Russia till 1873. In these three states Kokand was in the most unstable condition. Khudayar Khan, the ruler, was unpopular. In 1875 another, a more general revolt took place against

⁴³ *ibid.*, p.143.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.144.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.144.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.145.



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the Khan. The Khan, abandoned even by his two sons, who joined the insurgents, quit his capital with his harem and his treasures taking refuge under the Russian Tsar. The insurrection was crushed by the Russian troops and Kokand was formally annexed to the Romanov Empire.⁴⁷ Khudayar's eldest son Nasar-Eddin was proclaimed the new Khan. This annexation was made by Kaufman's on his own responsibility, under the broad military and diplomatic powers which he possessed. The Tsar's authorisation arrive until later.⁴⁸

After this occurred another rebellion by natives under the leadership of Pulat Khan. On October 27, 1875, Major General Skobelev's force arrived in Namangan and bombarded the portion of the town occupied by the rebel forces and stormed it.⁴⁹ The natives fled and there were several dead. On January 8, 1876, after a week long bombardment, Andizhan fell and rebel leaders surrendered. The Russians continued the pursuit of Pulat Khan. During this time, Nasar-Eddin had remained under Russian protection in Khodzhent. In January 1876, Nasar-Eddin received a deputation from Kokand

⁴⁷ Joshua, Kunitz, *Dawn over Samarkand, Rebirth of Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1943, p.23.

⁴⁸ Pierce, n-1, p.35.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.36.

inviting him to throne.⁵⁰ He started moving with his force dodging the force of Pulat Khan. Now Russians decided to take Kokand Khanate and occupy it. On February 19, 1876, the anniversary of his accession to the throne, the Tsar signed an order for the annexation of Kokand to Russia as an oblast bearing the ancient name of Fargana. Skobelev was appointed the first Military Governor of the new territory.⁵¹

Annexation of Turkmenistan

The Trans-Caspian military district formed in 1874 was placed under the charge of Major General Lomkin. In 1877 Lomkin made an attempt to occupy the Tekke fortress of Kizil Aravat, 200 miles east of Krasnovodsk, but he had to retreat in the face of stiff resistance.⁵² Another effort was made by Lomkin in Geok-Tepe in Akhal Oasis, but the Turkmen warriors forced him to retreat. Now General M. Skobelev was sent to defeat the Turkmens. A special railway battalion was formed and keeping pace with the progress of the campaign proceeded the construction of the Trans-Caspian railway. At Krasnovodsk a distillery was established. Finally an attack was launched against the

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.37.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.37.

⁵² Kaushik, n-4, p.47.

Turkmens, who fought bravely. Geok-Tepe was conquered. On January 1, 1884, an assembly of the leading Turkmen figures in Mari called for its linking up with Russia, and the Oasis was organised into the Okrug of Mari.⁵³

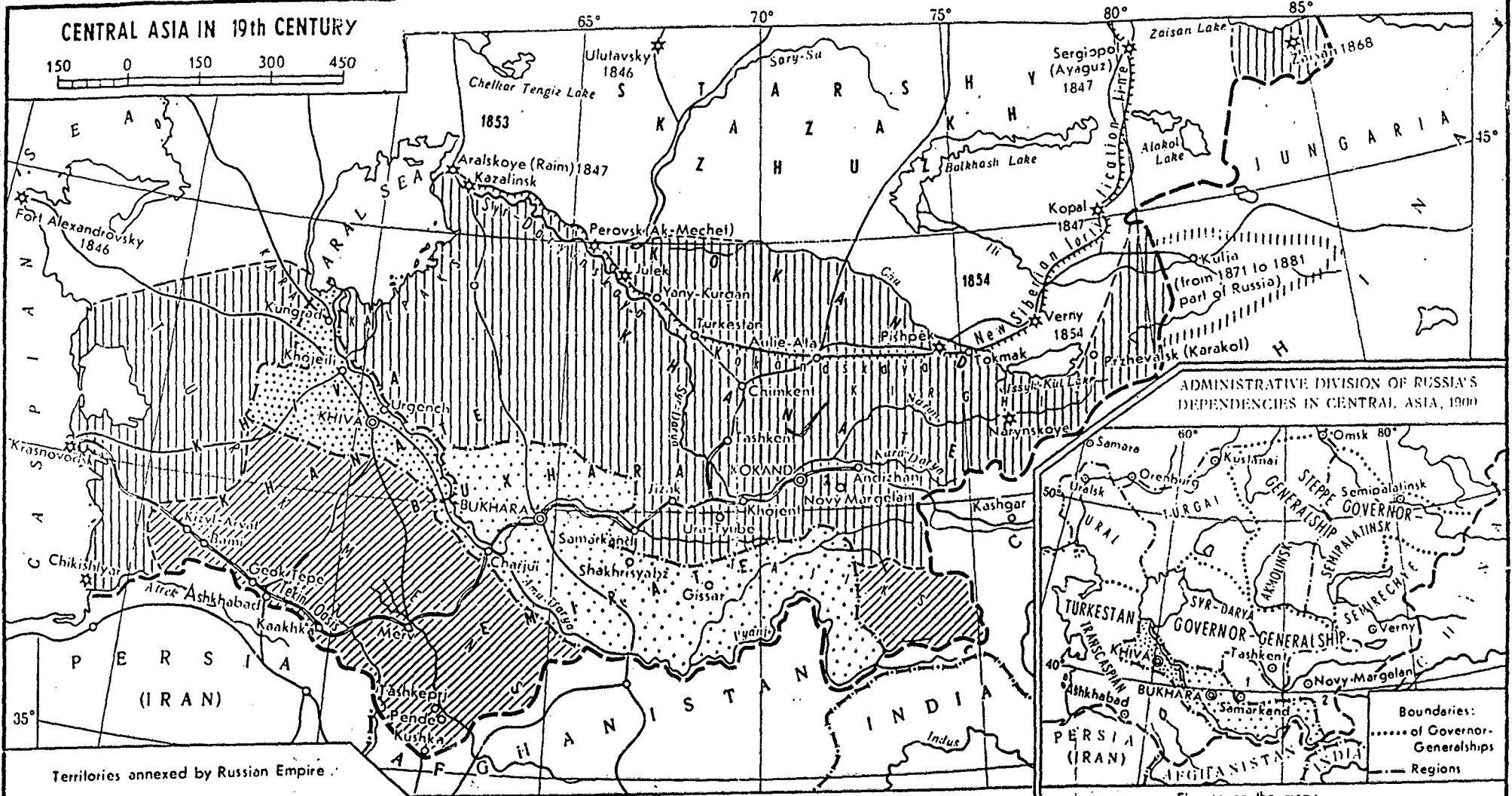
Tsarist takeover of Central Asia had both political and economic significance. As early as 1858, Ignat'ev, the Russian Military Attache in London, had stated that: "In the case of a conflict with England, it is only in Asia that we shall be able to struggle with her with any chances for success and to weaken her."⁵⁴

So Russia succeeded in taking over the vast territory of Central Asia, thereby pushing its frontiers in the south towards the British frontiers in India. Thus Russia (outmanoevred) Britain by occupying this space and placed itself in a commanding position vis-à-vis the British in Asia. Besides, Russia used its position in Central Asia to check the British advanced and their forward diplomacy in Europe vis-à-vis Russia. Besides, Russian military presence in Central Asia, close to British Indian frontiers put a great psychological influence on the British which now focussed on consolidating their position in India rather than moving beyond into Central Asia.

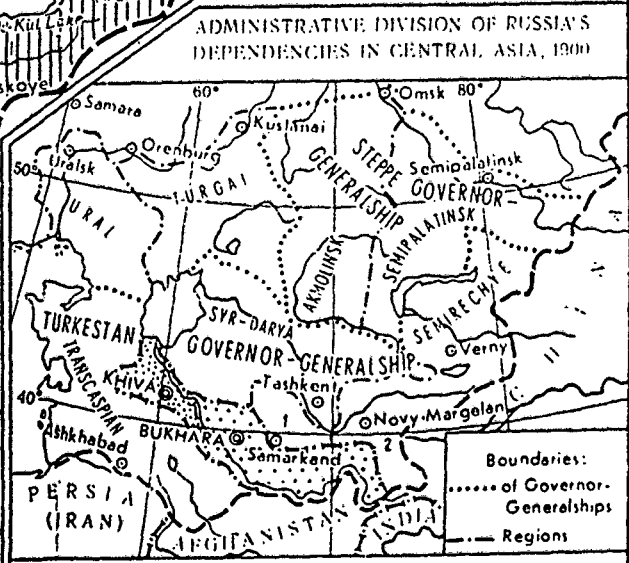
⁵³ Allwarth, n-24, p.149.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.150.

CENTRAL ASIA IN 19th CENTURY



ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF RUSSIA'S DEPENDENCIES IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1900



Figures on the map:
1 Samarkand Region 2 Ferghana Region

Territories annexed by Russian Empire:

- from 1856 to 1876
- from 1877 to 1895

Territories depending on Russia:

- of Bukhara Emirate since 1848
- of Khiva Khanate since 1873

- State frontiers of Russian Empire, 1900
- 1854 Dates of annexations
- ★ 1847 Russian forts and dates of foundation
- Russian fortification lines

CHAPTER - II

RUSSIAN ADMINISTRATION

Soon after its annexation of Central Asia Tsarist Russian empire extended its imperial administration there. Old feudal system of government in Central Asia was replaced by a new administrative structure. Tsarist government now started reorganising the occupied territories in Central Asia. Russians wanted to take under the direct control of vast area. Situation in Kazak Steppe and Turkestan was good for direct control and administration by Russian authorities. This would facilitate economic development in the area best consolidating Russian military conquest in the region. Various steps for territorial organisation of the region were taken.

The Steppe Commission

A Steppe Commission was formed by the authorities at St.Petersburg in 1865 to enquire into the needs of Russia in Central Asia's Steppe region. This Commission made a careful study of the ethnic, cultural, political and economic characteristics of the region. The commission recommended two statues for the administration of steppe and Turkestan regions.¹ Tsar Alexander II authorised the

¹ Richard A. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia 1867-1917* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), p.47.

formation of a special committee under the chairmanship of the Minister of War to consider the Steppe Commission's recommendations and to reorganise Russia's Central Asian possessions in 1867.² This special committee reported its findings in April 1867. On the basis of the Steppe Commission's recommendations, the special committee declared it necessary –

- (1) to separate the oblast of Turkestan from the Governor Generalship of Orenburg;
- (2) to establish a new unit, the Governor Generalship of Turkestan, to include two oblasts, Semirechie and Syr Daria.
- (3) to detach the southern part of the oblast of Semipalatinsk, until then under the Governor Generalship of West Siberia, and join it administratively to the oblast of Semirechie,
- (4) to draft a statute for the administration of the region based on the general principles laid down by the committee;
- (5) to make the region a separate military district;
- (6) to unite the civil and military authority of the region in the Governor General and

² *ibid.*, p.47.

(7) to leave all local affairs of the native population which were of a non-political nature in the hands of elected representatives of the natives themselves, to be administered according to local custom.³

The Kazakh Steppe was now moving from military administration to a process of peaceful development. The Special Committee recommended that a single statute be prepared for the uniform administration of the Steppe oblasts. The oblasts were divided into lesser units called *uezds*, and these were further subdivided into *volosts*.

It has been alleged by some Soviet historians and also by some western writers, that such a provincial division of the Governorates-General was carried out with the purpose of breaking down national formations.⁴

The Governor Generalship of Turkestan

The Special Committee's recommendations were approved and on July 11, 1867, Tsar Alexander II signed a decree ordering that a Governor Generalship of Turkestan be established to include "the Turkestan oblast, the Tashkent district, the lands seized beyond the

³ *ibid.*, p.47.

⁴ Geoffrey, Wheeler, *The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia* (London, 1964), p.66.

Syr-Daria in 1866, and the part of the Semipalatinsk oblast lying south of the Tarbagatai range".⁵ General K.P.Kaufman was appointed Governor General of the new territory. In 1881, there was a major reorganisation by which Semirechie oblast was taken from the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan and Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts were taken from the jurisdiction of the Governor Generalship of West Siberia. The plan for the enlargement of the Governor Generalship of Turkestan was retained, but General S.M.Dukhovskoi was appointed to fill the post originally designed for Kuropatkin.⁶

In this final phase, the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan stood as follows:

OBLASTS	UEZDS
Syr-Daria	Kazalinsk Perovsk Chimkent Aulie-Ata <i>Tashkent</i> Amu-Daria Section
Fergana	Kokand <i>Skobelev</i> Andizhan Namangan Osh

⁵ Pierce, n-1, p.48.

⁶ *ibid.*, p.51.

OBLASTS

UEZDS

Samarkand

Samarkand
Kutta-Kurgan
Khodzhent
Dzhizak

Semirechie

Vernyi
Kopal
Lepsinsk
Przhevalsk
Pishpek

Transcaspia

Mangyshlak
Krasnovodsk
Ashkabad
Tedzhent
Merv

The Steppe Governor-Generalship

On October 21, 1868, the Tsar authorised the formation of new oblasts of Ural'sk, Turgai and Akmolinsk under the Governarate of Steppe.⁷ There was a rebellion in Steppe regarding separation of the Governarate in which Russian military took hard steps. After encountering the rebellion, the army built two new forts in Steppe, Aktiubinsk and Uil'sk.⁸ In 1882 the Semirechensk province was transferred to the newly-created Steppe Governarate-General.⁹ The

⁷ Wheeler, n-4, p.66.

⁸ Pierce, n-1, p.52.

⁹ Allwarth, E. (ed.), *Central Asia - A Century of Russian Rule* (New York, London, 1967), p.52.

Steppe oblasts, as finally constituted, consisted of the oblasts of Akmalinsk and Semipalatinsk, which made up the Governor-Generalship of the Steppe, and Ural'sk and Turgai, which were governed separately and were directly subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior.¹⁰

OBLASTS	UEZDS
Akmalinsk	<i>Omsk</i> Petrovlovsk Kokchetav Akmalinsk Atbasar
Semipalatinsk	<i>Semipalatinsk</i> Pavlodar Karkaralinsk Ust'-Kamenogarsk Zaisan
Ural'sk	<i>Ural'sk</i> Lbishchensk Gur'ev Temirsk
Turgai (Government from Orenburg)	Aktiubinsk Kustanai Irgiz Turgai

¹⁰ Pierce, n-1, p.57.

Governor-Generals of Turkestan (1867-1917)¹¹

	(Period in office)
Adj.Gen.K.P.Von Kaufman	July 1867 – May 1882
Lt.Gen. M.G.Cherniaev	May 1882 – Feb. 1884
Adj. Gen. N.O.Rosenbach	Feb. 1884 – Oct. 1889
Lt. Gen. Baron A.B.Vrevskii	Oct. 1889 – March 1898
Lt. Gen. S.M.Dukhovskoi	March 1898 – Jan. 1901
Lt. Gen. N.A.Ivanov	Jan. 1901 – May 1904
Cav. Gen. N.N.Teviashov	June 1904 – Nov. 1905
Lt. Gen. D.I.Subotich	Nov. 1905 – Aug. 1906
Inf. Gen. N.I.Grodekov	Dec. 1906 – March 1908
Adj. Gen. P.I.Mishchenko	May 1908 – March 1909
Inf. Gen. A.V.Samsonov	March 1909 – Aug. 1914
Adj. Gen. A.N.Kuropatkin	July 1916 – March 1917

Governor-Generals of the Steppe (1882-1917)¹²

	(Period in office)
Inf. Gen. G.A.Kolpakovskii	1882 – 1889
Lt. Gen. Baron M.A. Taube	1889 – 1901
Gen. N.N.Sukhotin	1901 – 1906
Lt. Gen. Sakharov	1906 – 1907
Lt. Gen. Nabarov	1907 – 1909
Cav. Gen. E.O. Shmitt	1909 – 1914
Lt. Gen. N.A. Sukhomlinov	1914-1917

Russian Administration in Central Asia

Tsarist system of administration in Central Asia was of a semi-military character of government not like experienced civil administrators and officials. Writing as late as 1912, A.Krivosheyn, head of agricultural department, felt that Turkestan was “still a Russian military camp”. He saw Turkestan as “an endless sea of

¹¹ Pierce, n-1, p.307.

¹² *ibid.*, p.307.

natives” and Russian settlements in Central Asia as “still only island in this sea”. In this system Governor General served as one of the main imperial functionaries.

The Governor General exerted his authority through an office staff (Kantscliariia).¹³ This council consisted of a number of secretaries and clerks with various specialities and headed by an office director, who was the main authority of the regional administration. This body dealt with multiplicity of matters relating to personnel, taxation, communication, economy, police and many other things. It also supervised the activities of the lower administrative functionaries. Regional administration was represented by various ministries of the Central Government. Their local functions were subject to surveillance and coordination by the Governor General, but the ministerial officials were mainly responsible to St.Petersburg. This council could review problems and recommended actions, but the ultimate decisions were taken by Governor General who could over rule the body.

Various functions of the oblast government were directed through an administrative board. It covered law enforcement,

¹³ Pierce, n-1, p.65.

execution of court sentences, public health measures, construction projects, communications and taxation.¹⁴

The oblast was subdivided into several *uezds*. These were headed by an *uezd* commandant and one assistant commandant. The *uezds* were divided into smaller districts. It was headed by *Pristov* (prefect), *bailiff* (police officer) in charge of a small police and administrative force.¹⁵ This was the basic structure for administration. The Tsarist government also made use of the local elective lower village administration. The posts of *volost* (lowest administrative unit consisting of a few villages) administrators and village officials – *starshinas*, *aksakals* and *kazis* were filled through election from the natives and they worked under *uezds* administrators.¹⁶

Function of Administration

The Russia military governors were often ruthless persons, no different from British in India. Kaufman was like Dalhausie and Clive in India. They expeditiously and mercilessly crushed every manifestation of discontent amongst the people. The Russian officials

¹⁴ Pierce, n-1, p.66.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.66.

¹⁶ D.Kaushik, *Central Asia in Modern Times* (Moscow, 1970), p.71.

kept aloof from the natives and treated them with distrust and contempt, as if they belonged to lower races. This behaviour was like the British in India. Russia used its authority and administrative machinery to show supremacy over the natives.

Imperialism, so far as its fundamental aim is concerned – i.e. the extortion of wealth from the exploitation of the native colonies, peoples and territories, is much the same the world over, and Tsarist rule in Turkestan was thus no different from British and French rule in their colonies.¹⁷ These colonies were used as cheap source of foodstuffs and raw materials and as closed markets for the sale of manufactured goods of the imperialist power. The local methods of agriculture and handicrafts were continued with little industrial development of the provinces. Growth of indigenous culture of the native people was stifled. The system of education, which largely consisted of reciting the Koran continued as it had done for centuries. In both Turkestan and the Steppe region local government was allowed to continue on more or less traditional lines, although it was to some extent regularised by the Russians and locally elected elders and inspectors were now liable to summary removal by the *uyezd* commandants.

¹⁷ Allwarth, n-9, p.52.

Probably the most spectacular achievement of Tsarist regime in Central Asia was in town planning and urban development. The policy was not to develop existing native cities but to create entirely new European cities which were properly planned with long straight radial streets lined with trees. In modern amenities such as shops, theatres, public gardens and water supplies they kept pace with and were in some cases ahead of corresponding European Russian cities. By 1914 most of the cities of Central Asia were equipped with electricity. This stands in sharp contrast to situation in British India, where many Indian cities, for example, Quetta, the second largest city in the British empire, were not lighted by electricity until the late 1920's.¹⁸

Roads and Communication in Central Asia were primitive before the arrival of Russians. Russians took the first step to create a system of post roads with stations provided with relief horses at intervals of fifteen or twenty miles. Second phase of communication was completed after they built the railway. The first railway was built from Uzun Ada on the Caspian to Kizyl-Arvat in 1881.¹⁹ It was extended to the Amu-Daria in 1885 and thence to Samarkand in 1888.²⁰ Some

¹⁸ Wheeler, n-4, p.70.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.71.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.71.

other link railway and motor roads were built for better transportation. Turkestan-Siberia railway linking the Central Asian system with the Trans-Siberian line were planned but it was finally completed in the Soviet time.

Another area in which Russia authorities devoted their attention was developing the irrigation system. It was elaborated by the Russians for developing agriculture. Large scale projects like the Murgab and Golodnya Step (Hungry Steppe) projects,²¹ were started in order to cover a vast territory by irrigation. During this period a many small irrigation schemes were also carried out under native initiative.

Revenue collection and its deposit into a central treasury was the main problem for Russian administration. Agricultural land was the main source of revenue and the system of land tenure was complicated as it dated to Islamic times. *Waqf* land (religious land) was without taxation. Revenues were collected by the authority of the Khans or other local rulers. In the revenue collection Russians instituted some kind of uniform system both of land tenure and taxation. Kaufman, who as an originator of the land and tax reforms

²¹ *ibid.*, p.71.

wanted to improve the living condition of people. He also wanted to equalize the burden of taxation.

Most of the *uyezd* commandants, writes R. Pierce, levied “additional taxes on the natives, usually to a degree that not only covered their normal expenses but enabled them to live in luxury”.²² That “the military administration of European Russia habitually rid itself of its worst officers by sending them to Turkestan”,²³ created problems of misrule in Central Asia.

In the Khanates all land was in theory the property of the ruler. The Khanates of Khiva and Bukhara both were typical feudal despotic monarchies. They ruled the people with the active help of a landed aristocracy and priesthood. Gifted land (*waqf*) was tax free used for religious purposes. *Kharaj* was a tax in practice, one-fifth of the value of the harvest and *Tanap* was a tax based on the actual extent of the land.²⁴ The *Zekat* tax on cattle, manufactures and finance capital was abolished in 1875.²⁵ The Russians now instituted the *Kibitka* or tent

²² Kaushik, n-14, p.71.

²³ *ibid.*, p.71.

²⁴ Wheeler, n-4, p.73.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.73.

tax, which was in reality a tax on each household.²⁶ There was widespread corruption and abuse both on the part of the native tax collectors and of Russian officials.

When Kaufman chose Tashkent as his capital, he set about organising its municipal administration to serve as a model for other cities in Turkestan.²⁷ To govern the large urban population he established an effective machinery, which was headed by a city commandant with assistant and an office staff. This was the Russian police force commander over the native police in city. There was a "town committee" which levied a tax from the native's vehicles and this tax was spent for street cleaning, bridge building, tree planting and other civic works.

Another committee was formed in 1868 to supervise the distribution of irrigation water, for which an irrigation tax was levied. These committees had not any authorisation of central government. To improve matters, Golvachev concentrated all business affairs of the Russian parts of the town under an economic administration. This body was to define the city boundaries, lay out streets, list of legal

²⁶ *ibid.*, p.73.

²⁷ Pierce, n-1, p.71.

inhabitants, levy taxes, make expenditure etc. Thus the main cities of Russian Central Asia developed in a proper manner.

Judicial Administration

Modernisation in judicial system was introduced in Russia in 1864. Various rural courts of the peasants were the lowest level of the Russian judicial structure. Under Kaufman the oblast administrative boards took over the functions of court. Military governors were given the right of cassation – the review of cases and also to overrule the decisions of a lower court.²⁸

The prosecutor was like a minister of justice in the region. He directed the court procedure and acted in criminal matters as public prosecutor. Kaufman entrusted the functions of the prosecutor to the military governors in Turkestan. The district court was the next higher court. In this body there were a chairman and two members.²⁹ It was found that Military Judicial commission, consisting of officers often unsuitable for military service because of alcoholism and other reasons, heard cases and handed down decisions.³⁰

²⁸ *ibid.*, p.73.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p.73.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p.73.

Relations between Russian Administration and Local Authorities:

With the growth of Russian capitalism, Turkestan and in a lesser degree Bukhara and Khiva were converted into a source of raw materials, especially cotton, for Russian industries. These Russian capitalists opened banks, offices and trading posts in Bukhara which developed relations between local and Russian capitalists. Now feudal and patriarchal relations among Central Asians had been changing in the capitalistic mode. In this condition the poor were becoming poorer, the rich richer, wealth being concentrated in the hands of the Russian bankers, the native money-lenders and the beys.³¹

The local nobility and the people were aware of the growing trends. The Bukhara-Russia treaty of 1868 consolidated Russia's position in Bukhara. The Emir of Bukhara was the vassal of the emperor of Russia, but he governed the internal affairs of his country. Russian administration brought about many changes in the life of its people. It brought a measure of prosperity without greatly disrupting the traditional way of life and values. It also abolished slavery in Central Asia.³²

³¹ Joshua Kunitz, *Dawn over Samarkand - Rebirth of Central Asia* (Calcutta, 1943), p.26.

³² Ram Rahul, *Central Asia An Outline History* (New Delhi, 1997), p.139.

The Russian empire was impregnable in Central Asia.³³ In this situation Central Asian rulers did not have any sufficient means and power to intervene in the affairs of Tsar's administration in Central Asia.

Before the annexation of Central Asia by the Tsarist empire, relations between the peoples and local rulers were within the feudal framework people being governed by Emir, Khan and their elected *beks*, who exploited the people through religious and theocratic fantasy. Khans of Khiva and Kokand and Emir of Bukhara, used to spend luxurious life, with the general public being subjected to poverty. Beks and tax collectors were not so honest and generally they levied extra money from peasants. In spite of this, people remained quiet and contented as they had indigenous system of rule and tradition. Though there was no modernization and quality living, natives earned their livelihood by the patriarchal system, traditional means of agriculture, trade and handicrafts.

When Central Asia came under the Russian rule, the main question was what relations the Russian government should establish with Bukhara and other Khanates. In the first place, Russia began by greatly overestimating the political and religious significance of the

³³ Curzon, G.N., *Russia in Central Asia in 1889; and the Anglo Russian Question* (London, 1889), p.399.

Emir of Bukhara in relation to the rest of the Central Asia. They described him as the 'head of the Muslim world in Central Asia' and even as 'the leader of the Muslim clergy'.³⁴ The Russian government regarded Bukhara as the principal trade mart in Central Asia and they were more anxious to establish law and order as soon as possible. Emir wished to deal directly with the Russian government rather than with local officials and commanders. Russian political agent in Bukhara occupied a position which corresponded more to that of a High Commissioner than of a Political Agent in the Indian states. Russia signed a treaty with Bukhara on the creation of settlements at the railway stations and river landing stages in the Khanate of Bukhara.

Supremacy over the natives and the exploitation were the main tendencies of Russian administration. They were not so cruel as the Britishers in India, because there was regional affinity or linkage between Russians. Russian's built new towns and developed infrastructure to educate and modernise the Central Asian peoples. However, Central Asian peoples being Muslims by faith they were generally against the Russians. Calls for *Jehad* and the Djadidist movement indicate that relations of natives and local authorities with the Russians were not so healthy.

³⁴ Wheeler, n-4, p.80.

Changes in Administrative Mechanism:

In 1875, Kaufman ordered investigation of several corruption cases in the districts where corruption was said to be most rampant. The enquiry commission was, however, asked to abstain from questioning the natives. It was to confine chiefly to inspecting the books and accounts of different administrations.³⁵ In the government of Tashkent, the defects were so obvious that Kaufman was forced to introduce a modified vision of the statute for city government. The statute provided for city Duma, elected from the populace by the direct vote of male property owners with a certain amount of wealth. This was a big change in the structure of administration. This statutory body had seventy-two members (*glasnykh*), forty-eight Christians and twenty-four "non-Christians", or natives.³⁶ This was the first and only body in the Russian administration on which natives could serve. But as the city's population ratio at that time consisted about 20,000 Russian to 100,000 natives, this was hardly a step towards popular representation.³⁷ Taxation, city expenditures and various other city affairs were the issues on which this body

³⁵ Pierce, n-1, p.79.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p.80.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p.80.

could vote. Another reform suggested by Kaufman was to have Syr-Daria oblast board for city affairs. This body consisted of the Military Governor of the oblast, Assistant Military Governor, the Director of the Governor General's office, the head of the city treasury, the Mayor and the Tashkent justice of peace.

Tsar authorised the Governor General with political powers in order to enforce strong administration in Central Asia. New administrative structure developed by the Russians, was based on the recommendations of Giers Commission in 1882. "Code of Laws of the Russian Empire" was draw-up with the help of this commission, and it was followed by General N.O.Rosenbach in Tashkent in 1884.³⁸

Ignatev Commission was formed to look into ways and means to meet the region's administration expenses from local sources of income. He stated that a simpler, more uniform and more economical administration, without being carried away either by preconceived theories or exclusively local consideration, was necessary which weighed in the favour of Russians.³⁹

Mechanical changes in administration were based on complete peace in the region, and to eliminate the feeling of Russians being

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.82.

³⁹ Kaushik, n-14, p.72.

alien conquerors and unbelievers among the native Central Asians. Russians tried to enforce principle of general equality in their administration. Russians tried to decrease the level of military rule and establish a civil rule. In this process, justices of peace and district courts replaced the local courts which had been a part of the office of the Governor General and the oblast administrative boards.

Though the conservative imperial regime tended to maintain the status quo putting to best use what was already at hand, some new solutions were embarked. A. Krivoshein summed up in his report of 1912 after a visit to Turkestan.

"The military administration has not hindered the economic development of Turkestan so far, and will not do so in the future. The Uzed commandants, the main working force in the local administration, are very well selected; the administration is in general well prepared for its immediate task. The *zemstvo* is necessary after the establishment of a Russian Turkestan but not for this establishment."⁴⁰ On the other hand there were elements of the new liberalism, applied reluctantly and with many safeguards to the judiciary and to municipal and rural government. For the natives,

⁴⁰ Pierce, n-1, p.90.

local self-government was retained but this was less from any intention of preparing them for greater responsibility than it was from a "laissez-faire" principle which would enable greater ease in the administration.⁴¹

Change in the structure of administration drafting and redrafting of statutes, resulted from an effort to create honesty and efficiency in government by legislation. Although this combination of old and new was far from perfect, permeated as it was by corruption in both Russian and native officialdom, it provided an effective system for administering, peopling and developing the region.⁴²

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.91.

⁴² *ibid.*, p.91, See e.g., Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia in 1889; and the Anglo-Russian Question* (London, 1889), p.401.

CHAPTER - III

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

During the 19th century, all the three Central Asian Khanates of Kokend, Bukhara and Khiva were economically backward feudal states with strong remnants of the much older slave-owning society. The main occupation of people was cattle breeding and horticulture. Cotton was produced in Central Asia, but its quality was inferior and productivity was low main towns were centres of handicraft production and trade. Cotton and silk cloth produced by craftsmen in Bukhara, Kokand, Tashkent, and Samarkand were sold in adjoining countries of the East and also in the neighbouring Russian Empire. Though Central Asia was rich in natural resources mineral extracting industry was virtually negligible before the Russian take over.

Turkestan in the words of Lenin, was a straight forward colony.¹ The process of capitalist development in Central Asia followed very slowly and unevenly because Tsarism and feudal regime of Bukhara and Khiva tried to preserve the feudal and patriarchal relations. Hence, the region was extremely backward and an agrarian colony of Tsarist Russia until 1917. It was one of these backward countries

¹ D. Kaushik, *Central Asia in Modern Times* (Moscow, 1970), p.66.

where "pre-capitalist relationship" still dominated.² Tsarist government carried out some economic reforms in Central Asia, which opened the path of capitalistic development in the region. Land reform, communication, administration, irrigation, taxation, etc. were the main fields which were reformed by the Tsarist administration in Central Asia. However, these reforms and development did not liberate the toiling peasantry from its feudal dependence and enslavement.

Though the cotton industry continued to dominate the economy, now the share of metallurgy and engineering in the local economy was hencefor the greater. Industrial development led to growing demand for new markets.³ Central Asia became a great market for Russian export and an important source of raw materials for Russian manufacturers. But native handicrafts met a slow and steady decline. Russian penetration broke up old order and put an end to the constant feudal wars between various Khans and Emirs which were ruining the region.

This, however, did not prevent Tsarist Russia from posing obstacles in the way of manifestation of any progressive movement

² Ibid., p.66.

³ N.A., Khalfin, *Russian's policy in Central Asia, 1857-1868* (London, 1946), p.49.

industrial, general economic and commercial development of these territories.⁴ The socio-economic changes and the development in indigenous economy of Central Asia carried out during the Tsarist Russian administration were reflected in the development of industry, trade, communications, railways, irrigation agriculture and also in taxation systems. These are detailed below:

Industries and Trade

As already stated, after its annexation by Russia, Central Asia was converted into a raw material supplying base for the metropolitan industries. The Russian bourgeoisie allowed a raw material processing industry to develop in the region. It was in its own interest and involved no competition with it. To meet the needs of the Russian textile industry for cheap domestic cotton, the Tsarist government paid great attention to cotton cultivation and encouraged it at the expense of wheat and other cereals production. The area under cotton cultivation grew from 13,200 hectares in 1886 to 597,200 hectares in 1914.⁵ Cottage industries were effected highly by Russian economic development. The growing demands of Russian industry

⁴ G.N., Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia in 1889, and the Anglo-Russian Question* (London, 1889), p.401.

⁵ D. Kaushik, *Socialism in Central Asia* (Bombay, Calcutta, New Delhi, Madras and Bangalore, 1976), p.55.

were leading to the shifting of the production of grains and cereals in favour of cotton. At the same time Russian manufactured goods were rapidly displacing locally produced textiles and other consumer goods.⁶ This situation was not conducive for the development of indigenous products in Central Asia.

Mining of gold, copper ores, lead, silver, coal and oil were started by Russians in Central Asian region in the 19th century. Early mining operations were carried on in a primitive and wasteful manner. Only ores from the richest deposits were taken. Manual labour mainly Kazakhs were chiefly performed. The development of mining began rapidly through the introduction of foreign capital. Several foreign companies, including the powerful Nobel group, acquired rights at the Emba Oil field.⁷

Beginning in 1874, various Russian firms purchased the oil springs on Cheleken Island from the Turkmen and began production at high costs. During construction of the Tashkent - Andizhan Rail Road, oil was discovered at Chimion in the Fergana Valley. Russians built a ten kilometer pipe line.⁸ Refined oil was transported back to

⁶ G.Wheeler, *The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia* (London, 1964), p.157.

⁷ R. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia, 1867-1917; A Study of Colonial Rule* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), p.192.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.193.

Fergana, where the main industrial establishment of Central Asia were located.

Coal mining was famous in Central Asia in 19th century. By 1866 the Russians were aware of Turkistan's coal resources, that is even before the capture of Tashkent, when a Russian expedition discovered some layers of coal fifty miles from Chimkent. In 1869, 1,608 tonnes were extracted by the Russians.⁹ There was high transportation cost, and coal extracted was of low grade. In 1910 Coal deposits were known to be found in all the oblasts of Turkistan, but they were generally of low grade. In Samarkand oblast, coal was mined at 14 pits, some 3,500,000 poods (38,500 tons) being extracted annually.¹⁰ The development of coal mining was an important factor in Russian and Central Asian economy because coal was used in the melting of ores. Attempts at gold mining were also made. Gold was found in all the oblasts of Turkestan, and in Bukhara.

The industrial activity of Central Asia during the imperial period was limited mainly to light industry devoted to the processing of agriculture products. The Steppe towns, particularly those along the Trans - Siberian Rail Road, developed slaughter houses, tanneries,

⁹ Ibid., p.193.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.194.

tallow rendering works, wool-washing plants and soap plants in connection with the meat industry, and flour mills and distilleries which were dependent on the locally grown grain. The rapid growth of these facilities gave old towns such as Omsk and Petropavlovsk a nearly constant boom during the two decades prior to 1914, although they accounted for less than one percent of the total industrial and working force of the Russian empire.¹¹ Out of 157 cotton ginning plants operating in 1911, 109 were owned by local firms and 48 by Russians firms. Flour mills, tanneries, and cocoon drying plants made up the remainder of the processing industries in Turkestan.¹²

During this period Central Asian trade was dominated the by the Russians importing raw material. Before the Rail road, camels, carts, and horses were the means of communication in the trade between Russia and Central Asia.¹³ With the building of Trans-Caspian, Trans-Siberian and Orenburg-Tashkent Rail roads the communication system improved drastically. Grains and cattle of the steppe and cotton, fruit and other products of Central Asia turned into major items of export.

¹¹ N.A. Khalfin, n-3, pp.49-51.

¹² R. Pierce, n-7, p.197.

¹³ D. Kaushik, n-5, p.56.

Although the trade between Russia and Central Asia appeared to be mutually beneficial, Central Asia nevertheless remained more dependent and in a less advantageous position. Development of rapid and easy means of communication led to growth in trade thereby assisting in the economic development of both Central Asia and Russia.

Communication and Transportation

The development of communication and transportation facilities played a major role in the consolidation of Russia in Central Asia. In early times, Central Asia had been the link between East and West, but political changes, intervening huge deserts and shifting of main trade routes left the region isolated. At the time of the Russian conquest, the great expanses of desert and steppe between Turkestan and Russia cut off the region. This situation was partly mitigated in 1869, when Turkestan was connected with the rest of the empire by telegraph,¹⁴ but the pressing problem of transportation of mail, goods and personnel remained.

Road Communication was developed through the post roads. The first system of post roads was organised in 1864 by General Charniaev by connecting the newly conquered towns of Aulie - Atta

¹⁴ R. Pierce, n-7, p.182.

and Chimkent.¹⁵ As early as in 1866, there were 55 post houses and 239 teams of horses were in use on the post road from Chimkent to Orsk.¹⁶ In the Governor General ship of Kaufman postal service improved greatly. Supervision was improved and additional stations and horses were added. Mail service was also begun. Such as established post system operated with relative efficiency over a variety of routes until 1917.

The railroad being a new and rapid means of communication was introduced by Russian in Central Asia. Railway construction was an important part of Tsaris Russian's economic policy. From a strategical point of view Transcaspian Railway to check the British designs in Central Asia. The Russians built several railways in Central Asia, but they were deterred by the hostility of the native population from building a railway station in the city of Bukhara, known throughout the East a "Bukhara the Holy".¹⁷ The first Railway was built from Uzun Ada on the Caspian to Kizyl-Arvat in 1881, and from there it was extended to the Amu-Darya in 1885 and thence to

¹⁵ Ibid., p.182.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.182.

¹⁷ E. Allwarth, *Central Asia, A Century of Russian Rule* (New York, London, 1967), p.59.

Samarkand in 1888.¹⁸ The line reached Tashkent in 1898, but Tashkent itself was not connected with Orenburg and thus to Russia until 1906.¹⁹ Apart from the extension of the line to Andizhan in 1899 and the building of a branch line from Merv to Kushka on the Afghan frontier in 1898, this was the sum total of railway construction during the Tsarist regime.²⁰ Several important projects, including the famous Turkestan-Siberia railway linking the Central Asian system with the Trans-Siberian line, were planned, but not carried out until the Soviets implemented it.

The beginning of railway construction in 1886 and the creation of Amu-Darya flotilla in 1887 considerably increased Russian influence in Central Asia which was largely owing to the presence of Russian railway workers and other technicians. The rail road facilitated the colonization of some of the best lands of Central Asia. Strategically it was directed toward what was considered to be the most dangerous spot in case difficulties should ever arise with the British and China. Rail roads opened up the region, connected its products with external markets, and brought about modernization in

¹⁸ G. Wheeler, n-6, p.71.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.71.

²⁰ Ibid., p.71.

many fields.²¹ The region was also bound more closely to the rest of the Russian Empire, regardless of the will of the Central Asiatic peoples. Great numbers of Russian workers were drawn to Central Asia in proportion to the development of railway building, local industry, and the exploitation of mineral resources.

The imports of Russia from Central Asia increased at high rates. It played a key role in excluding Britain from the markets of Persia, as from those of Central Asia. To quote Lord Curzon, "Russia, whose motto is 'War to the knife', is attaining a marked success; and that to this success the Trans-Caspian Railway is contributing in no slight degree."²²

The Russians constructed 3,377 kilometers of railway line and 14 railway repair workshops and depots which employed a total of approximately 24,000 workers.²³ The introduction of railways marked the beginning of the end of economic seclusion of the different regions inside Central Asia and also the end of isolation of the whole of Central Asia. But the influence of railways on the internal consolidation of the different regions was yet negligible. Nevertheless,

²¹ R. Pierce, n-7, p.189.

²² G.N. Curzon, n-4, p.290.

²³ D. Kaushik, n-1, p.72.

it was a new phenomenon which opened up great prospects for the future of this region. Communications and transport were two legs of Russian Empire which helped Russia to have firm grip over Central Asia and also facilitated the economic development of both Russia and Central Asia. Through the railway Tsarist Russians established a new instance in history as the British did in India by G.T. road.

Agriculture

Economically, the population of Central Asia was dependent on agriculture. Most of the land was worked by peasants as share holders and generally they were so heavily indebted that they remained in virtual serfdom. At the time of the Russian conquest, Central Asian agriculture was either on a subsistence basis or confined to the local market.²⁴ Rice, Wheat and other serials were the main crops. Central Asian melons, fruits and vegetables were famous. Silk and cotton were virtually the only agricultural products exported. Sericulture combined both agriculture and house hold industry. Cultivation of cotton, brought from India by way of Persia was even more ancient.²⁵ Farghana Oblast became one of the main centre supplying cotton to Russia. Area sown to cotton in Farghana

²⁴ R.Pierce, n-7, p.163.

²⁵ D. Kaushik, n-1, pp.58-61.

rose from 14 percent of the land farmed in 1885 to 44 percent in 1915.²⁶ That in 1884 about 810 acres in Central Asia were sown with American cotton, and by 1890 no less than 158,992 acres, underscored Russian determination to develop cotton cultivation as rapidly as possible.²⁷ General Annen Koff in a paper on the commercial importance of the Trans-Caspian Railways gave the figures of the cotton production in Central Asia as follows.

Bukhara	2000000 pouds
Khiva	500000 pouds
Khokand	300000 pouds
Amu Dariya	500000 pouds

Total	3300000 pouds

Cotton exported via Orenburg before the construction of railway was as under:-

1883	603000 pouds
1884	626000 pouds
1885	668000 pouds

(62 pouds = 1 Ton = 1000 kilograms)

²⁶ E. Allwarth, n-17, p.271.

²⁷ Ibid., p.275.

After the construction of railway, the development in cotton production was as follows:

Bukhara	122,000 bales
Khiva	57,000 bales
Tashkent	180,000 bales
Total	----- 521000 bales -----

[Bale = A package of cotton]

(Source: G.N. Curzon, "Russia in Central Asia in 1889; and the Anglo Russian Question" London, 1889, pp.405-407).

The consumption in Russia of cotton grown in Bukhara, Khiva and Khokand was steadily increasing although the great bulk of this cotton was not suitable for spinning the finer yarn. The staple was both short and irregular, the fiber rather dry and weak, and the cotton imperfectly cleaned.²⁸

The high tariff on cotton imported from abroad enabled the Russian administration to obtain higher prices in the internal market. Russian policy was to levy equal taxes on land under cotton cultivation and for other less remunerative food grains. This gave an incentive for cultivation of cotton making it the main cash crop of agriculture. The land of Uzbeks formed the heart of the Central Asian

²⁸ G.N. Curzon, n-4, p.407.

cotton belt, though cotton was also grown in southern Kirgizia and in other parts of Central Asia.

But the introduction of cotton as the main cash crop did not change the feudal character of the Central Asian economy.²⁹ The independent peasantry rapidly lost most of their land under the usurian terms of credit and became share croppers. A new exploiter entered the scene when the metropolitan capital began to finance cotton cultivation through local firms. The credits advanced to the *dehkans* bore an extra-ordinarily high interest rate which was charged by the cotton purchaser who acted as a sort of middle man between the industrialist and the cotton producer. The middle man who obtained credit from private banks and cotton firms at the rate of 8 to 9 percent interest, advanced it to the cotton producer at a much higher rate of interest.³⁰ The indebtedness of the peasants forced them to sell their land to the *bais* to meet their debt obligations. However, cotton cultivation had an important role in the economic development of Central Asia under the Tsarist administration.

Some other crops grown were wheat being the most important, rye, oats, barley, millet, sorghum and rice. Most of the grains could

²⁹ D. Kaushik, n-5, p.56.

³⁰ Ibid., p.56.

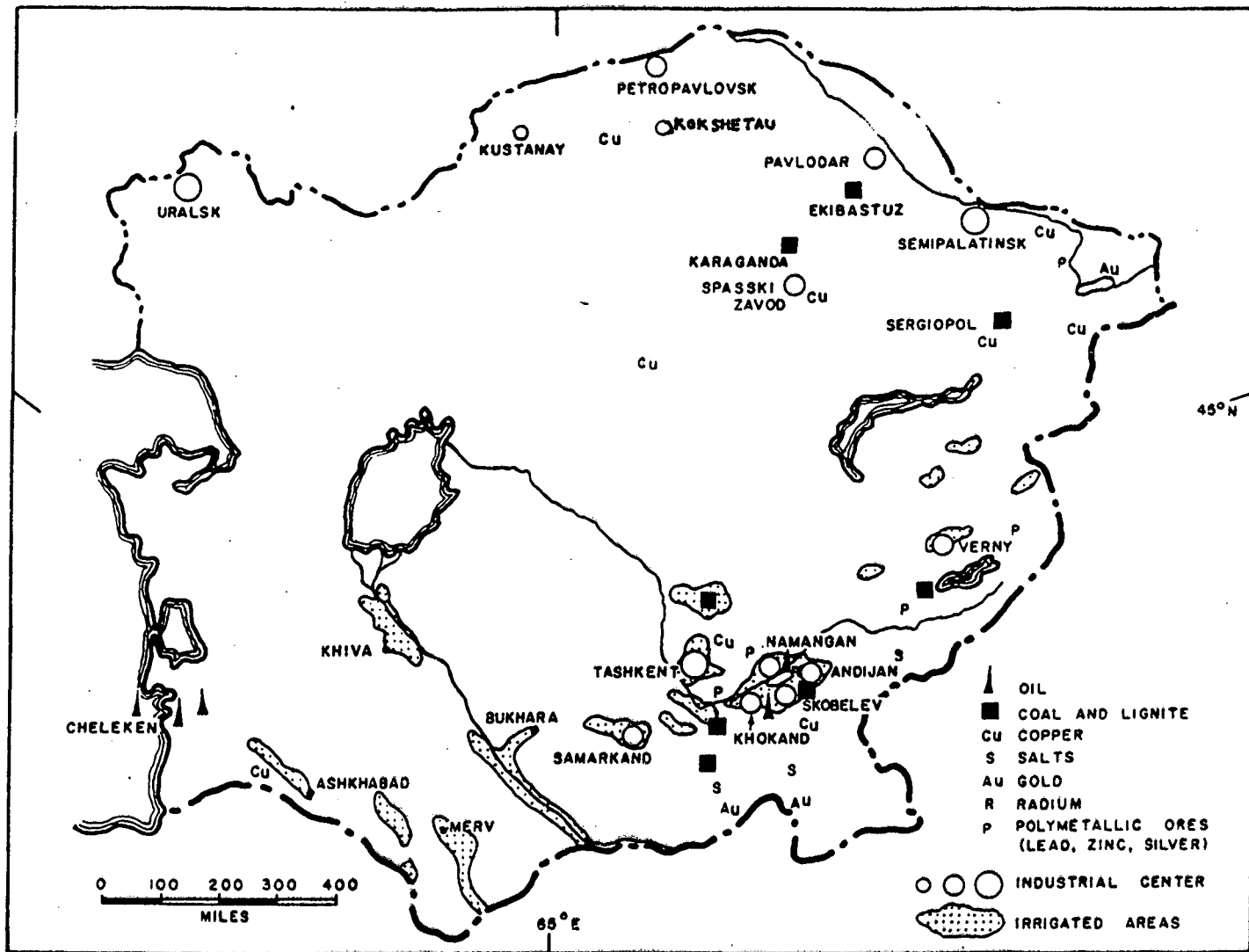
be grown on *bogara*, the native term for unirrigated land. "In the 1890's the Russian government began to experiment with the growth of Chinese" dry "rice, which required less water than other varieties." These experiments gave excellent results and the population soon began to cultivate this type of rice.³¹ Fruit growing like cotton production advanced rapidly under Russian rule. Several kinds of fruits and nuts grown in Turkestan for local consumption and small quantities were sent abroad. Sericulture also developed, so much so by 1914 Turkestan produced about 100,00 poods of dry cocoons and Trans-Caucasia about 274,000 poods.³²

The development of wine making also grew at high rate, as Russians planted grapes in Samarkand and other places. Russians operated the wine presses and cellars with natives supplying the grapes.³³ Central Asian agriculture advanced considerable in all fields during the period of imperial rule. New markets were established to sell agricultural products. On the whole agricultural growth in Central Asia gave a boost to local economy.

³¹ R. Pierce, n-7, p.171.

³² Ibid., p.173.

³³ Ibid., p.173.



Irrigation, mining, and industry, 1910. The sizes of circles designating industrial centers are in proportion to the value of production.

Irrigation

Before the advent of Russians, there existed indigenous system of irrigation channels in Central Asia constructed with primitive tools and maintained by the joint labours of the village communities. The skills for construction and maintenance of such systems was according to old and indigenous. In all these countries water has been more important than land, and whoever control led water wielded power over the land.³⁴ Russians understood well the importance of such power, while forming their economic policies. In a land dependent on artificial irrigation, the state thus secured absolute control over the peasant. In such lands intensive cultivation of small-holdings was the rule.

However, Russian irrigation engineers seemed to have had little conception of the dangers of water logging and saltpetre which surfaced, in a flat riverain country under a tropical sun, when water is brought to it and the fall is insufficient for natural drainage.³⁵ In their weirs and dams the Russian engineers set their breaks much too loosely, as compared with the old brick walls of indigenous canals,

³⁴ Olaf Caroe, *Soviet Empire* (New York, 1967), p.198.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.200.

which had held for centuries.³⁶ In the 19th century a perennial irrigation system on the Amu-Darya was constructed by Russians.³⁷ The Russian engineers of that time had much to learn both as regards original canal construction and the remodelling of old works.

Tsarist achievements in irrigation were the only two major projects which were completed - those of the 'Golodnaya Steppe' and on the Murgab River.³⁸ Russian administrators and economists were well aware of their shortcomings in this matter and in 1912 a vast irrigation programme was planned which would have made possible the cultivation of an additional 12,500 square miles of land.³⁹

As per tradition, thousands of natives were employed without pay on the project for irrigation work in Central Asia. Much dirt was moved, but to no avail. The projects proved to be a great burden on the local population and were full of engineering difficulties. "In 1879 it was finally abandoned. The natives give the empty ditch the

³⁶ R. Pierce, n-7, p.176.

³⁷ Olaf Caroe, n-35, p.200.

³⁸ G. Wheeler, n-6, p.2.

³⁹ Ibid., p.3.

strongest pejorative at their command, calling it "pig canal" a project undertaken by Cherniaev failed by drainage problem."⁴⁰

From 1867 to 1972 only two major irrigation projects were completed in Russian Central Asia, one in the Hungry Steppe and the other on the Murgab. Neither of these fulfilled the original hopes of their designers or the great expectations of those who had worked for encompassing the entire region under irrigation.

Reforms in Taxation and Land Tenure

Prior to the colonial reform in land tenure, the native land tenure system was conditioned by the nature of the large family organisation. The nomad population moved as a unit, "and the grazing lands for the stock raising were held in common."⁴¹ The nomad life was community life. In sedentary way of life, the private ownership of the means of irrigation and land did not exist. The land theoretically belonged to the rulers, and it was given only for the property (*Miulk*) lands and *Waqf* lands were held tax free. But after the introduction of Tsarist reform vis-à-vis the land system, the principle of hereditary private property in land was firmly established. Land could not be sold or bequeathed in accordance with the wishes

⁴⁰ R. Pierce, n-7, p.176.

⁴¹ R.R. Sharma, *Soviet Central Asia: A Marxist Model of Social Change* (Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, 1979), p.205.

of the individual owner.⁴² On the other hand, the land of nomads was transferred into state property. Water rights were also regulated by law, undermining the traditional custom of collective use.

Land, water and animals were concentrated in the hands of feudals and kulaks. More than sixty five percent of the total number of peasant households in Turkistan were land less peasants (*batraks*).⁴³ The private land of the Khan and other feudals in Khiva comprised two thirds of the total irrigated and fertile land; state and Wakf land, one seventh and land under the ownership of peasants, only one tenth.⁴⁴ "*Kharaj* and *Tanak* taxes were reduced to its original one tenth. Later in 1870, the two taxes were combined into a land tax based on the yield from the collection of both taxes in 1869, which was a good harvest year. The Zekat tax on cattle, manufactures and capital was abolished in 1875. The Russians instituted the so called *bibitka* or tent tax which was in reality a tax on each household."⁴⁵

The simplified system of land tenure and taxation introduced by the Russians were strongly criticised. There was widespread abuse

⁴² Ibid., p.215.

⁴³ D. Kaushik, n-1, p.67.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.67.

⁴⁵ G. Wheeler, n-6, p.73.

and corruption both on the part of the native tax collectors and of Russian officials.⁴⁶ New land settlement was introduced in Central Asia on the recommendation of Pahlen commission in 1908.⁴⁷

After the Russians declared all land to be state property, in Central Asia as indeed it was already according to Central Asia custom, they ordered that all occupied or cultivated tracts belonged to the persons who actually worked the land.⁴⁸ The decree, transforming many tenant farmers and share croppers into hereditary owners, has been regarded as "one of the most progressive steps taken by the colonial Tsarist regime."⁴⁹

Thus the Central Asian economy before the revolution was an economy dominated by feudal relations of production. Lenin spoke of Turkestan as one of those countries which did not succeed in advancing along the path of capitalistic development and which had no "industrial proletariat" of any significance.⁵⁰ This, however, did not negate the process of the birth of capitalist relations in colonial

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.73.

⁴⁷ R. Pierce, n-7, p.147.

⁴⁸ E. Allworth, n-17, p.281.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.281.

⁵⁰ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 3 (Moscow, 1966), p.243.

Central Asia.⁵¹ While it is true that the region had not undergone the entire path of capitalist development with the introduction of railways and processing industries for agricultural raw materials, the local economy developed. However, the people of the region continued to suffer under the two fold oppression of the colonial administration and "their own" feudal rulers and *beys*.

⁵¹ G. Wheeler, n-6, p.164.

CHAPTER - IV

CULTURAL IMPACT

The ethnic composition of Central Asia is rather complex, comprising of ancient tribes of Uzbeks, Turkmens, Tajiks, Kirghiz, Kara-Kalpaks and Kazakhs. Apart from being relatively large in number, these peoples inhabited definite territories, possessed their own distinct languages, culture and ways of life. The Tajik belonged to an Iranian origin and spoke a language of the Iranian group. Others, i.e., Turkmens, Kirghis, Uzbeks and Kazakhs were of Turko-Mongol origin.¹

Prior to the Russian conquest, the culture and political life of the peoples of Central Asia did not differ greatly from the settled and nomadic peoples in other parts of the Muslim world.² At that time Central Asia was divided into three native Khanates of Kokand, Bukhara and Khiva. The Khanates were backward. The impact of Islamic culture and the religious institutions was more profound on the settled people than on the nomadic tribes which retained pre-Islamic traditions. But just before the October revolution the entire

¹ R. Vaidyanath, *Formation of the Central Asian Republics: A Study in Soviet Nationalities Policy, 1917-1936* (New Delhi, 1967), p.4.

² G. Wheeler, *The People of Soviet Central Asia* (London, 1969), p.93.

Central Asian society was divided into two historical formations: (1) The sedentary peoples with relatively developed socio-cultural institutions and (ii) the nomadic peoples with tribal traditions. While the Uzbeks and Tajiks were predominantly settled people, the Kazakhs, Kirghis and Turkmens were nomadic people with low literacy rate. The sedentary population was itself divided into two antagonistic racial groups (a) natives and (b) the Russians. The natives in turn consisted of following social groups (i) the traditional feudal elite, (ii) the religious elite (iii) the traders and artisans (iv) the peasants and (v) the industrial workers. The Russians were divided into three classes : (i) the ruling class (ii) the Russian workers, and (iii) the newly settled Russian peasants.

In Central Asia, joint family was the basic social unit. Among the nomads the large joint family amounting to clan had ceased to be the economic unit in the 6th century, but they retained their customs and traditions. The sedentary peoples of the region had the same practice till the middle of the 19th century. The joint family usually consisted of only two generations. Among the both nomadic and sedentary people, the authority of the head of the family was paramount, which used to regulate such matters as marriage, the allotment of property and family duties.

The Central Asian economy was based on agriculture, handicrafts and trade. The people of the region had a developed culture. They lived in towns and villages and were engaged in daily works. Long before the Russian people had accepted Christianity, Islamic culture had reached a high degree of development in Central Asia, although it had barely begun to have any effect on the Steppe region. After the overthrow of the Turkicized Mongol Timurid dynasty by the Uzbeks, the peoples of Central Asia were not exposed to any foreign cultural influences until the coming of Russians. Islamic and Iranian culture exercised important influence over the minds of the people. and this in the absence of anything which could be called cultural regimentation.³ In the Tsarist period Russians came into Central Asia with their culture. This led to a clash between indigenous Central Asian Islamic and the Russian culture. Whereas the former was conservative, latter was moderate. Russians influenced Central Asian culture but slowly and not on a broad scale as was done by the Soviets.

Generally the period of Tsarist Russian rule in Central Asia did not achieve anything significant in the field of culture. However, a few developments in the fields of culture, education, society and folklore

³ G. Wheeler, *The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia* (New Bond Street London WI, 1964), p.182.

are important to be noted here. The Russians faced a problem of reconciling the overrun Central Asian population to foreign domination. Multinational Russia had already faced this situation many times. The conservative culture of the Moslem peoples, their militant traditions, their uncompromising attitudes where questions of faith were concerned, their numbers, and their ties with the rest of the Islamic world, all worked against their ever wholly accepting infidel Russian rule. They were not only difficult to assimilate, but they had to be dealt with carefully, lest their generally passive resistance flare into active opposition which could jeopardize large areas within and on the borders of the empire. Russians sought to overcome this problem through a policy of "Russification".⁴ Following table reflects the extent of Russification of the population in the old Steppe territory during this period.

	1897	1911	Increase
Total population	2,465,000	3,835,000	1,370,000
Russians	493,000	1,544,000	1051,000
Percentage of Russians	20 per cent	40 per cent	77 per cent

Under these circumstances Russian culture impacted on Central Asian culture in various fields through spread of modern education, Russian language and literature, art and culture.

⁴ R. Rierce, *Russian Central Asia 1867-1917* (Berkley and Los Angeles, 1960), p.204.

Education

By 1880, whole of the Steppe Region and Turkestan except for the two Khanates of Bukhara and Khiva had passed under Russian rule. Yet not more than 1 percent of the Muslim population was literate and at the time of the Revolution, it was not more than 3 percent.⁵ This data shows the backwardness of the Central Asian Muslim in the field of education. Because of their primitive way of life and their situation, the people of Central Asia got attracted to Russian culture. Russians opened some secular schools and other cultural institutions in Turkestan. The first Russian school was opened in Samarkand in 1870.⁶ After a lot of efforts by General Kaufman a number of native students enrolled themselves in Russian schools. Their popularity declined with the years, due to the exclusion of Muslim religious education while as Christian religion was taught to Russian students.⁷ In order to attract native children to schools, Russian native schools were established. Such a schools was established in Tashkent in 1884 at the initiative of one Gani, a rich

⁵ G. Wheeler, n-4, p.198.

⁶ D. Kaushik, *Central Asia in Modern Times* (Moscow, 1970), p.75.

⁷ Ibid, p.75.

Uzbek.⁸ More schools were opened and according to available statistics there were 89 of them in Turkestan by 1911, and 157 schools were in Steppe Region by 1913.⁹ These schools did influence the educational standards and lifestyle of Central Asian peoples.

Other type of schools was the New Method schools [*usul-i-djadid* (New-method)], which were set up by the Djadidists, i.e., the adherents of the new method. The movement for the new-method schools was born in Crimea, Caucasia and the Volga region towards the end of the 19th century, by a Tatar bourgeois nationalist - Ismail Bek Gasprinsky.¹⁰ However, the number of old schools (madrasas and maqtab) in Turkestan, was still far greater.

Year	Old maqtab and Madarsahs in Turkestan
1894	6,445
1913	7,665
1917	7,665 (plus 92 new method schools)

(Source: D. Kaushik, "Central Asia In Modern Times")

Year	Town	Russia-Native School	New Method School	Pupils
1910	Tashkent	8	16	-
1911	Kokand	2	8	162 and 530
1910	Turkestan	89	1	-

(Sources: G. Wheeler, "The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia, New Bond Street London WI, 1964).

⁸ Ibid., p.75.

⁹ G. Wheeler, n-4, p.201.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.202.

These new method schools did not change the old cultural and educational pattern in Turkestan. This was essentially a modernist movement. The primary object of the *jadid* school was to bridge the gap between orthodox Muslim tradition and modern life's requirements.¹¹ They were established in larger towns where they were much more successful than the Russian native schools. They attracted considerable number of the Tatar settlers there, partly because they were recognised as Muslim schools yet they broke to some extent with tradition.

Barthold has described these new-method schools as "an alliance between Russian conservation and old-style Islam". In the field of education the contribution of these schools was very important.

The traditional system of education in Central Asia was religions based and the Russian government professed the principle that "the old Muslim school should be left alone". In 1899 the *maktabs* (lower schools) of Turkestan had a total of 44,773 pupils.¹² The teachers were recruited from among the clergy and some of them could only read but not write. Instruction consisted in teaching the

¹¹ Ibid., p.202.

¹² *Central Asian Review*, vol.VII'; *Central Asian Research Centre* (London, 1959), p.308.

Arabic alphabet, after which the pupils proceeded to study religious text written chiefly in Persian and Arabic.¹³ The pupils repeated them aloud after the teacher and no attempt was made to understand them, with the result that a pupil leaving the *maktab* after a period of five or six years was often unable even to read. We can say that, education system was similar to education imparted in mosques and madrasas in India at this time.

Higher education was provided by the *madarsa* which trained Muslim clergy. *Madrasas* did not encourage independent thinking nor did the reformed Dzhadid *maktabs*. As regards education, Dzhadid's plan was to introduce some secular instruction into the *maktabs* and at the same time to preserve their religious character. Their periodicals, *Taraqi* (Progress), *Shuhrat* (News) and *Shura* (Counsel) propagated their ideas.¹⁴ These ideas were specified by *Shura* as follows: "Those who, having mastered the religious knowledge, embark on a clerical career, should be thoroughly acquainted with the principle of religion and have a previous knowledge of secular subjects. This is particularly important at a time when the problems of marriage, divorce and inheritance are dealt with by the *Imams*. All

¹³ R. Pierce, n-5, p.206.

¹⁴ *Central Asian Review* Vol.VIII, *Central Asian Research Centre* (London, 1959), p.313.

this demands a good knowledge of disciplines such as economics and sociology."¹⁵ The "Russo-native schools were concerned with mainly training of interpreters for the local administration. They taught Russian, elementary arithmetics, history and geography as well as Muslim religious knowledge. Some *aul* and *volost* schools existed in Kazaks territory.¹⁶ These were simple and cheap schools of Russian literacy, only for the natives. These schools did not give any special education.

Literacy rate was extremely low. In Kazakhstan only 2 per cent of native population were literate; in Turkestan the figure was 1.8 per cent, with interesting local variations: In Kirgizia it varied between 1 to 2 per cent, in Turkemenistan it was but 0.7 per cent and in Tadzhikistan only one person in two hundred was literate in 1918.¹⁷

The progressive Russian culture with its museums, hospitals, theatres, schools, libraries etc. did not penetrate fully into the life of the native public. This was due to inhibiting influences of Tsarism and Russian bourgeoisie, native exploiting class of Bays, clergy and

¹⁵ Ibid., p.314-15.

¹⁶ R. Pierce, n-5, pp.207-208.

¹⁷ *Central Asian Review, Central Asian Research Central*(London), vol.VI, pp.317-319.

feudal elements. However, several Russian scholars, scientists and philanthropists contributed their lit to the upliftment of society.

Language

The languages spoken in Central Asia belong to two language families the Ural-Altic family represented by Turkic, and the Iranian language of Indo-European family. The Central Asian people had also developed script for literary use among the small educated elite. Chaghatai was the language of rich Turkic literature which flourished in the region from the 15th to the 17th century and prevailed through the 20th century.¹⁸ Up to the middle of the 19th century, when the cultural impact of the Russians first began to be seriously felt, three traditional languages symbolized a kind of common Arabic-Irano-Turkic culture. On the eve of the Revolution, only three languages had achieved any kind of literary form in Central Asia. One of these was Kazakh, which was created in the middle of the 19th century and used by such writers as Chokan Valikhanov (1837-65) and Abay Kunanbay (1845-1904).¹⁹ It particularly replaced Chagatai in the Steppe Region and was also used by the Kirgiz.²⁰ The other language

¹⁸ Olaf Caroe, n-22, p.215.

¹⁹ G. Wheeler, n-4, p.193.

²⁰ Ibid., p.193.

was literary Uzbek, which first appeared in the 18th century but by the end of the 19th century had come in vogue, and Turkmen of which examples can be found in the work of the poets Malla Azadi and Makhtum Kufi writing at the end of 18th century.

The Tsarist Government's attitude towards the local languages was indifferent. All official business was conducted in Russian and Russian officials were not required to study vernacular language. The system of traditional Muslim education was dented by the emergence of Jadid movement which aimed at creating a common Turkic language to be used by all the Turkic peoples of Russia.²¹

In the Tsarist regime the peoples of Central Asia had never been subjected to any considered linguistic policy. No attempt was made to change and regulate by legislation established languages or method of writing them. Linguistic policies were generally of two kinds. First was initiated by the government of the country in order to change or develop national language in accordance with national requirement. Second was to compel subject alien peoples either to abandon their own languages in favour of another or to change them in certain specified ways. In the seventies and eighties of the 19th century,

²¹ D. Kaushik, n-7, p.77.

several Central Asian intellectuals started propagating the Russian culture and language. They initiated the movement for establishing secular schools and reforms of the education system. In the years 1906 to 1909 *Jadidist* group published a number of newspapers such as *Taraqqi*, *Khurshid*, *Sohrat* and *Ashia* in vernaculars.²²

Before the 1917 revolution, all the peoples of Central Asia had employed the Arabic alphabet in writing.²³ The Central Asian peoples were familiar with the Arabic script and saw it as a symbol of religious and cultural ties with the larger Islamic world. A few scattered attempts to introduce the Cyrillic alphabet in the 19th century had been ineffective.²⁴ As for the language, Uzbeks had a literary language that had begun to take form in the 17th century and had evolved further during the period of Tsarist Rule.²⁵ Kazak scholars also were eager to further the growth of the literary language that had been developed by Kazak writers during the Tsarist period not only for poetry, a traditional literary form, but also for novels, a form of fiction for Kazaks." Turkic language, which could be read and understood by

²² Ibid., p.79.

²³ Elizabeth Bacon, n-21, p.189.

²⁴ Ibid., p.190.

²⁵ Ibid., p.192.

Kazaks, Kara Kalpaks and Turkomans, showed promise of becoming a lingua franca for the Central Asian peoples.²⁶ In short, no such changes in local language were introduced by Tsarist administration which could hamper the progress of local Central Asian culture. Similarly there was no wholesale acceptance of Russian culture and language by the local people.

Literature

The literature of the peoples of central Asia falls into two distinct categories - oral literature which was characteristic of nomadic peoples such as the Kazakhs, Kirgiz and Turkmens up to the 19th century, and written literature characteristic of the sedentary and urban peoples, of which central Asian language examples date back to the 14th century.²⁷ The works of such Central Asian philosophers as Ali Ibn Sina and Al Biruni are known world wide. Before the 14th century all such works were written either in Arabic or Persian.

Prior to the October revolution, literature was not much in demand in Central Asia because of low literary rate. Still, there was some literature in the region which was a translation of the Arabic

²⁶ Ibid., p.194.

²⁷ G. wheeler, n-4, p.208.

and Persian religious literature into local and Turkic languages. This literature was mainly in poetic form. But in the beginning of the 20th century several native writers, influenced by Russian literature and encouraged by the *Jadidist* movement, wrote in prose as well as in verse.²⁸ The pre-revolutionary - literary forms of novel, short story, drama and film story were in the absence of any native literature, developed according to the Russian classical literature.²⁹ Mohmud al-Kashgri's *Diwan Lughat at Turk* (Treasury of the Turkic languages), Alisher's poetic work in Uzbek literature, Makhtum Quli's Turkmen literature and Mamed Veli Kemine and Mulla Nepes are notable contributions to Central Asian literature in later half of 19th century.³⁰

Contact with the progressive democratic representatives of advanced Russian culture contributed to the development of democratic socio-political thought in Central Asia and exerted a positive influence in shaping the world-out look of many representatives of national culture and science. Notable Central Asian historians, literature, poets and writers included Ahmad Donish (Tajik historian, artist, writer and poet) and Sadriddin Aini (a leading

²⁸ D. Kaushik , n-7, p.78

²⁹ A. Guha, (ed.) *Central Asia Movement of Peoples and India's from Time prehistoric to modern*. (ICCR, New Delhi , 1970) p. 183.

³⁰ D. Kaushik, n-7, pp.76-79.

Tajic writer), Uzbek poets Farquat Mukimi, Zavaki, and Hamza Hakimzade Niyazi, Turkmen poets Seidi, Kemine, Zelili, and Mollanepes, Kirgiz bard To Ktogul Saltyganov, and Abai Kunanbaev, (Kazakh poet, educator and father of the new written language of Kazakh literature), Chokan Valikhanov and Ibrai Altinsarin (Kazakh litterateurs and educators).³¹ With this literature flowed a new stream of advanced culture in Central Asia.

The ritual songs are peculiar to individual tribes and communities and possess high poetical merit. An important collection of these songs was made by the Russian scholar V. Radlov between 1856 and 1907 and some good examples of them have been given in English by Thomas G. Winner in his book *The Oral Art and Literature of the Kazakhs of Russian Central Asia* (Cambridge University Press, 1958).³² Some of them take the form of singing competitions between men and women. The tales and legends are much more universal and often have their counterpart all over Asia.³³ Alpamush, Dede Korkut

³¹ D. Kaushik, *Socialism in Central Asia* (Bombay, Calcutta, New Delhi & Madras, 1976), p.62.

³² G. Wheeler, n-4, p.209.

³³ *Ibid.*, p.209.

and Kov Oghlu are widely known epics among all Turkik peoples.³⁴ Some of the revolutionary oral literature was composed at the time of the 1916 Revolt.

With the annexation of Kokand by Russians and the considerable circumscription of the territory, influence and wealth of Bukhara and Khiva, there was infiltration of Russian cultural influence. Poets like Furquat (1858-1909) and Ahmad Kala (1827-97) knew Russian well and were familiar with Russian literature.³⁵ Under the influence of Russian culture the Kazakh intelligentsia was roughly divided into two groups - the national traditionalists and modernist. To sum up Russian literature and culture did influence the Central Asian indigenous culture.

Society

From 14th to 18th century the process of social development was traditional based upon tribal economic and political unit in Central Asia. Family communities, according to the Soviet ethnographer Abramzon, began to break-up into 'conjugal families', that is, consisting of two generations only. Such families were united by

³⁴ Ibid., p.209.

³⁵ J. Kunitz, n-27, pp.9-15.

economic and ideological bonds and farmed in 'family unions'.³⁶ This double process of the break-up of joint families and the reunion of conjugal families into family unions was still in progress at the time of Revolution of 1917: But since the beginning of 20th century the small conjugal family predominated everywhere. Conjugal families had lost their economic significance but they retained most of their customs and traditions.³⁷

Impact of Russian administration on Steppe culture was very high. Kazak culture was disrupted by Russian administration in many ways. First, numerous taxes pushed the Kazakhs further from family self-sufficiency and barter toward dependence on foreign markets where money could be obtained by selling goods or services.³⁸ Taxes on tents weighed heavily on Kazakhs. Secondly, nomads registered as the residents of one *volost* frequently migrated to other *volost* during a part of the some year. Bureaucracy of Russian administration created many complications for such named Kazakhs. Thirdly, the new tradition of election made a problem for Kazakhs

³⁶ G. Wheeler, n-4, p.182.

³⁷ Ibid., p.182-83.

³⁸ Elizabeth Bacon, *Central Asia Under Russian Rule* (Ithaca, New York), 1966, p.98.

because they selected their head of family by traditional system, by which the aul of the family was the head of group of families.

The settlement of land tenure created another problem for Central Asian peoples. Traditionally, land was not owned. Each tribe or major tribal subdivision occupied an established territory within which its member auls had the right to migrate. Before the Russian families normally returned each winter to the same protected camp site as a fixed custom but no one owned land. Under the Russians, landlord system was developed in Kazakh steppe through land settlement.

In Turkestan until 1910 a government statute barred Russian peasants from settling on lands other than those newly brought under irrigation. In 1911 there were only 202, 290 Russians in the oblast of Syr-Darya, Fergana, Samarkand and Transcaspia, out of a total population of 5,291,152.³⁹ These consisted largely of government officials, the military, traders and entrepreneurs and with the coming of the railroad, of employees in railroad and industry. Almost all such Russians were settled in the towns and cities, in most such urban centers apart from native towns. In Bukhara and Khiva, Russians

³⁹ Olaf, Caroe, *Soviet Empire, The Turks of Central Asia and Stalinism* (New York, 1967), p.163.

were rarely found. Ultimate goal of Tsarist government was Russification of Central Asia.

It was in 1897 that a census was undertaken. The Russification of the population of the old Steppe territory during the period is reflected in the following table.

	1897	1911	Increase
Total population	2,465,000	3,835,000	1,370,000
Russians	493,000	1,544,000	1,051,000
Percentage of Russian	20 %	40%	77%

(Source: Olaf Caroe, "Soviet Empire", St. Martins Press, New York, 1967).

Hence the number of Russian increased by more than one million.

Distribution of Russians in towns and country was as follows:-

	Towns		Country		Total	
	(1000s)	%	(1000s)	%	(1000s)	%
1897	144	29	349	71	493	100
1911	282	18	1262	82	1544	100
Increase	138	13	913	87	1051	--

(Source: E.H. Karr, The Bolshekik Revolution, 1917-1923, Vol.I (London), 1950.

These figures clearly show that the Russian population of the countryside increased much more rapidly than that of the towns. The Russification of territory before the Revolution was mainly in the form of agricultural settlements. On the other hand, in 1911 a large number of the town people were Russian, percentage of Russians in the total urban population being 76 per cent.

Besides this effort of Russification by settling more Russians, the Central Asians maintained their own traditions, art and social customs. Like wise endogamy (marriage within of the tribe or clan) and exogamy (marriage outside the tribe) regulated the bloodties among the Central Asian peoples. Where exogamy was practised, a Muslim man could marry a non-Muslim woman, but a Muslim girl could only marry a Muslim.⁴⁰ Parental control in all matters relating to the family, including marriage existed in the region. Inter-marriage between Muslims and Russians was still extremely rare and in the case of Muslim girls virtually non-existent.⁴¹

Central Asian culture and society were deeply influenced by Islam. Only a small proportion of the upper class was influenced by Russian culture. The influence of Islamic religion and particularly of the clergy was great on the people, and during the Tsarist period this process continued. In 1900, it was estimated that in Turkestan there were 1,503 congregational mosques and 11,230 parish mosques with a total of 12,499 imams to minister 6,000,000 persons, that is, one mosque for every 471 believers.⁴²

⁴⁰ G. Wheeler, n-4, p.183.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp.183-84.

⁴² G. Wheeler, n-4, p.186.

Tsarist policy towards Islam was inconsistent and ambiguous. From 1867 to 1900, the Russian government regarded Islam as a stabilizing and pacifying influence, and had even encouraged building of mosques. Later, justice and the agrarian system came under the authorities of Russians. Policy of indifference to religion was applied by Kaufman in the region. He did not advocate any interference with religious observance or in educational system.

The cultural interaction at the social level between the peoples of Central Asia and Russia in the early 20th century took place under conditions of a growing bourgeoisie-democratic revolution.⁴³ Contacts with representatives of progressive culture stimulated their aspiration for new secular knowledge and progressive way of life.

Impact on Art and Folklore

During this period Bukhara was the centre of arts and crafts. Not only art, music and crafts were at a high level but religious spirituality was also high. Music, festivals, religious ceremony and marriage tradition were affected slowly by the Russian culture. Bukhara was a powerful theocracy in its day. Headed by the Emir, the Bukharan clergy was omnipotent. Education, justice, domestic

⁴³ D. Kaushik n-7, p.63.

relations were in the hands of Emir.⁴⁴ Russian policy in Central Asia was of "non-interference" in the life of the region, with no efforts having been made were made to proselytise the local Muslim population. However, interaction with the progressive democratic representatives of advanced Russian culture contributed to the development of democratic socio-political thought in Central Asia and exerted a positive influence in shaping the world outlook of many representatives of national culture, science and folklore.

In the early 20th century there were many Central Asian representatives and spokesmen for enlightenment eg. Ahmed Donish (Tajik historian, writer and poet), Sadriddin Aini (Tajik writer), Uzbek poets Furqat, Mukimi, Zaki and Hamza Hakimzade Niyazi, Turkmen poets Seidi, Kemine, Zelili and Mallanapes, Kirgiz bard Toktogul Saltyganov and Kazakh poet, educationist and father of Kazakh literature Abai Kunapayev and Kazakh writer and educationist Chokan Valikhanov.⁴⁵ These scholars gave a new direction to Central Asian culture and folk lore.

⁴⁴ JOSHUA, KUNITZ, *Down Over Samarkand, Rebirth of Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1943, p.11.

⁴⁵ D. Kaushik, *Russia and Central Asia: An Overview of Emerging Pattern of Relationship*, Journal article, p.4-5.

The creative arts found expression in local architecture, ceramics, embroidery and carpet weaving but except in the first, achievements were not outstanding either in workmanship or in inspiration. During the period of relative security which followed the Russian conquest there were signs of development in all these creative arts in the practice of which the Russian authorities showed no disposition to interfere.

Drama was an important art, which came to Central Asia through Russians. Language of this art was local and performed in theatrical manner. An important dramatist was Mahmud Khoja Bekbudi. Born in Tashkent, he presented his play *Padar Kush* (The Perricide), in 1913.⁴⁶ Entertainment was provided by strolling players. The Kazakh *akyn* (bard) and the Turkmen *bakhshi* (folk minstrel) sang improvised songs with traditional musical instrument.⁴⁷

The oral literature of Tukic nomads was divided into three forms: (i) Ritual songs associated with wedding, funerals, partings, wrestling matches etc., (ii) tales and legends consisted mainly of love

⁴⁶ G. Wheeler, n-4, p.218.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp.218-219.

stories and family tales and (iii) epic poems.⁴⁸ After the second half of the 19th century, poets like Furqat translated Tolstoy's work into Chagatai.⁴⁹ In the beginning of 20th century several native writers (Hamza Hakim Zadeh) wrote both in prose as well as in verse under the influence of *jadidist* movement.

During this period, journalism also developed in Central Asia. The first newspaper that appeared in Central Asian language was *Tuzemnaya Gazeta*, its first editor being Ostroumov.⁵⁰ Prior to the Bolshevic Revolution of 1917, "writing on political subjects was subject to severe official control.⁵¹ The fine arts in the region were confined to ornamentation and carving on wood and metal. But folk and oral art flourished.

Dancing was in a developed form which was performed by both sexes.⁵² Architecture in Central Asia was in a well-developed form and it considerably influenced the development of architecture in neighbouring countries. There were no fine arts as Islam did not

⁴⁸ D. Kaushik, n-7, pp.23-25..

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.29-30.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.29.

⁵¹ G. Wheeler, n-4, p.215.

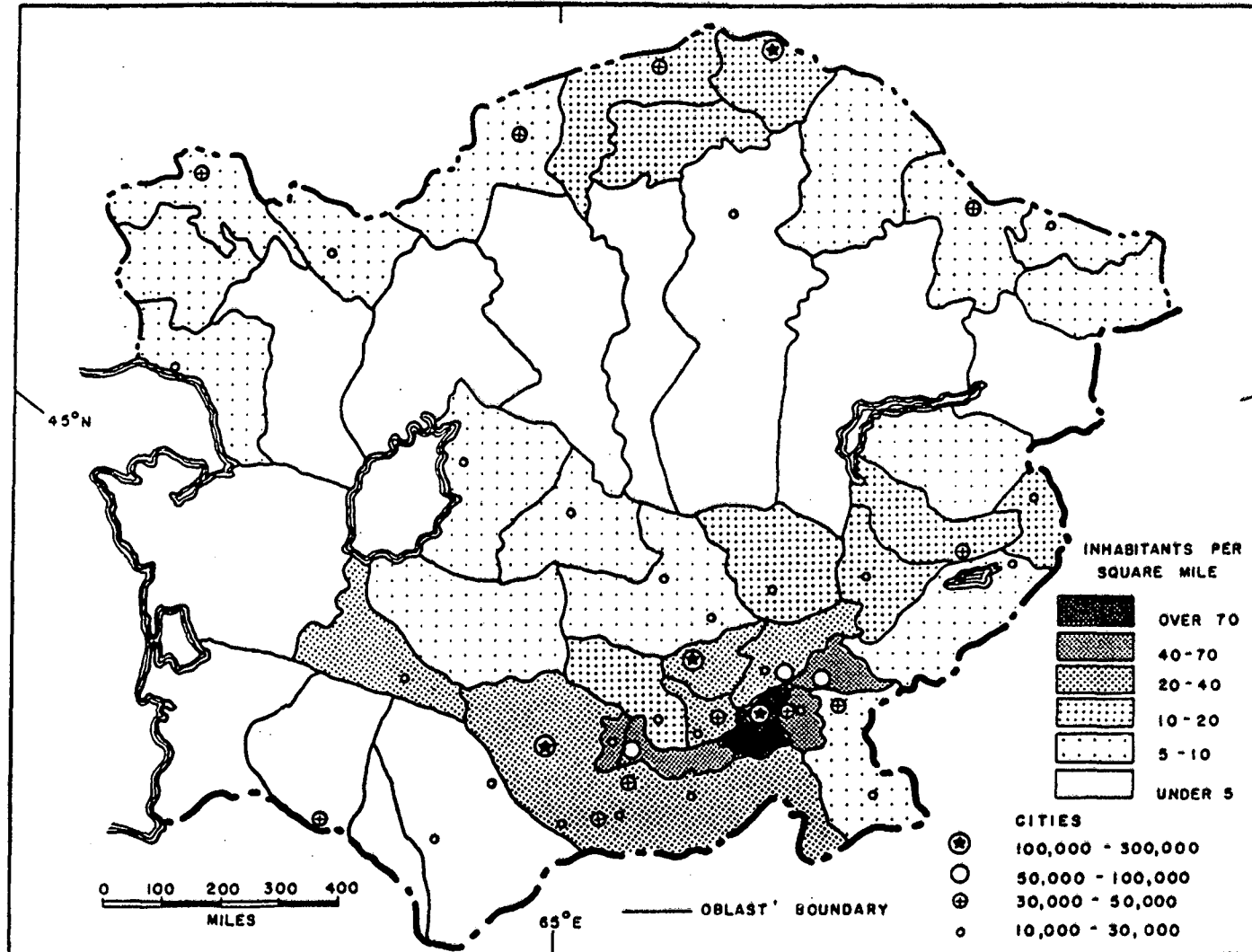
⁵² G. Wheeler, *The Peoples of Soviet Central Asia* (London, 1969), p.93.

allow representation of human form. As such painting was negligible and sculpture non-existent. Music did enjoy popularity and was more developed than in Russia. It was from Bukhara that Central Asian music had gone to Russia in 1775.⁵³

Impact of Russians over Central Asian culture was not more, because main goal of Tsarist Russia was to establish an imperialistic order for economic exploitation. Russians could not change the local religious tradition, fundamental education system and social customs in the region. They could influence only administrative machinery, judicial system and political statute wielding governmental authority. These developments, however, had a powerful impact on the local intelligentsia and resulted in a rapid intellectual awakening among the local people.⁵⁴ Contacts with representatives of progressive Russian culture stimulated their aspirations for new secular knowledge and there soon arose among them a movement for its pursuit. The cultural awakening of the peoples of Central Asia under the impact of Russian culture provided a good basis for the formation of a movement for popular enlightenment. Tsarism tried to remove cultural backwardness and Islamic domination by their political and cultural pressure, but they could not find success completely.

⁵³ Alwarth, E., *Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule* (New York, London, 1967), p.36.

⁵⁴ D. Kaushik, n-7, p.77.



Urban and rural population in 1910.

CHAPTER - V

CONCLUSION

Situated at the crossroads of great civilizations, Central Asia became an object of rivalry for supremacy between Britain and Russia during the nineteenth century. The prolonged wars with Turkey from 16th to 18th centuries over Crimea stand apart in marked contrast with more or less bloodless Russian annexation of Kazakhstan and parts of Central Asia. By the end of the 19th century following incorporation of Crimea, the Caucasus and Central Asia, Russia became a poly-ethnic, poly-confessional country having a population of 18 million Muslims, a number equal to the population of the Muslims in the Ottoman empire. In their relations with Central Asia, Russians made full use of their old economic ties and largely relied upon the Tartars of Kazan as representatives of European enlightenment in Turkestan (Central Asia).

Military expansion of Tsarist Russia towards Central Asia fulfilled the imperialist ambitions of Tsarist Russia in this region. It was the defeat of Tsarist Russia in the Crimean war, that resulted in the transfer of Russian interest from the Balkans and the near east to the far east and Central Asia. The annexationist colonial aim of the Tsarist autocracy, merger of Central Asia with Russia had both negative and positive characteristics. On the negative side, it was

absence of self rule and civil administration and consolidation of feudalism in Khiva and Bukhara. On the positive side, it was the end of internal feudal wars, development of local economy through construction of railways and abolition of slavery. The geographical contiguity of Russia and Central Asia facilitated the settlement of common Russian people in Central Asia.

This factor of unity between the Russian workers and peasants settled in Central Asia and the local Muslim workers and peasants helped the socialist revolution later on. In Indian history during the colonial period there is not a single instance of any British working as a labourer on a plantation or as a factory worker. As against this Russians worked in Central Asia as peasants and labourers in Central Asia. Central Asia became part of the all Russian market and this had a positive effect on its economic development because local products found a huge market.

Russia's extension of newly reformed legal and administrative mechanism to Central Asia, the expansion of trade, the improvement of agriculture, the beginning of mining and manufacturing, the construction of railroads and irrigation works; the building of modern cities; and the establishment of modern schools, newspapers, libraries, and scientific organisations were some significant areas of development introduced by Tsarist Russians in Central Asia. By

abolition of slavery and cruel punishment Russia expressed its humanitarian concerns.

Unlike the British in India, the Russians in Central Asia did not train a political, technological, and administrative elite; they never risked training a large body of native troops; and they undertook nothing comparable to the vast educational work undertaken in India by British missionaries. Nevertheless, even the small number of Central Asians trained in the Russian schools were exposed to European influence.

Notwithstanding several important changes in their economic and cultural life in the colonial period, the overall picture of the economic and cultural level of development of the people of Central Asia, still remained one of the dominant pre-capitalistic relations of cultural backwardness and ignorance, and of religious domination.

Production of coal, steel, oil, and other minerals had reached high levels; large hydro-electric plants and factories were built in the Kazakh Steppe, and consequently the output of grains and other agricultural products increased through the application of modern techniques. The utilization of virgin lands and large irrigation projects was started during the Tsarist period. Railway was a source of exploitation of the region's resources with the facility of transport. In the field of culture, they had a vast network of schools. Educational

system was improved by the Russian authorities. The local intelligentsia was divided into two groups, *Djadidists* (defenders of the new) and *Qudimists* (defenders of the old). *Djadidists* who were social reformers, started a democratic tradition in Central Asia. A group of Russian intellectuals known as the *Vostockniki* such as philosopher V.S. Soloviov, poets Andry Belyi and Alexander Block and historian V.V. Barthold stressed the theme of a common culture and geopolitical Eurasian entity. There were about fifty institutions in Samarkand in which *Djadidist* activities had been created.

Changes in land tenure and taxation were brought by Russians in the region during the Tsarist period. Russians abolished traditional religious tax system. The imperial government tried to cope with the problem of economic administration in Central Asia. With a sweeping reform in land tenure, Tsarists abolished absentee ownership and tenancy, and gave ownership in the hands of those who worked on the land. Taxation was cleared of the confusion which had characterised it under native rule. Central Asian agriculture was placed on a firm foundation and the way was prepared for its further development. During half a century, there was a lot of development in irrigation network. Two major irrigation projects were brought to fruition in Russian Central Asia, one in the Hungry Steppe and the other in the Murgab. The public works started in Central Asia after

1860's represented considerable achievements. Railroad finally opened the region, products of region went to external market through railway, and it brought modernization in many fields.

The family system was patriarchal, joint family system being prevalent all over the region. Joint family played an important role in the process of socialisation, as the system was based on the close relations among the members of the family. Exogamy and endogamy were the two important traditions of marriage in the region. Both polygamy and monogamy were in practice. All the rules and norms were according to Shariat, but Russian administration introduced constitutional law to some extent.

However, Russian impact over the Central Asian culture was not much because the Tsarist administration gave priority to economic exploitation. Russians could not alter or influence the local religious traditions, education system and social customs in the region. But contact with the representatives of progressive Russian culture stimulated their aspirations for new secular knowledge and there soon arose among them a movement for its pursuit. Thus, literature and language came to be influenced by Russian schools, some authors translating Russian literature into native language.

To sum up, Russian policy in Central Asia was generally marked by liberal spirit of non-interference in the national life of the

region. No efforts were made to influence the native religious and social life of the Muslim population in Central Asia. Interaction with the progressive representatives of advanced Russian culture contributed to the development of the democratic socio-political thought in Central Asia and exerted a positive influence in shaping the world outlook of many representatives of national culture and science.

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