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# HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

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*Heramb Chaturvedi*

MODERN HISTORY OF KARAKALPAKSTAN  
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PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN TAJIKISTAN  
*Kammuanmung Thangniang*

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## HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

**Editor : K. WARIKOO**

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While the principal concern of the Journal is on its focal area, i.e., from Afghanistan to Myanmar including the Central Asian states of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, China, Mongolia, Nepal, Bhutan and the Indian Himalayan States of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Uttarakhand and North East states; papers with a broad sweep addressing environmental, social, cultural, economic, geopolitical and human rights issues are also welcomed.

The objective is to make a scientific appraisal of the issues confronting the Himalayan and adjoining region in South and Central Asia or parts thereof, and to make specific policy oriented studies and need based recommendations as the means to promote the human, educational and economic advancement of the peoples of the region besides preserving and enriching their ethno-cultural, literary and historical heritage. Promotion of human rights, social justice, peace, harmony and national integration are the other key areas in which the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation has been active.

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*Editor's Page*

Stretching from the Caspian sea in the west to western frontiers of China in the east, Central Asia has been one of the world's oldest inhabited places. Being at the crossroads of West Asia, Russia, China, Afghanistan and the Indian sub-continent, Central Asia has been a zone of convergence of major geo-cultural regions of Eurasia. Notwithstanding their inter-ethnic diversities, the Muslims of Central Asia have been sharing common religion and culture. Through its past history, Central Asia played a key role in the dissemination of Islamic civilization. Bukhara and Samarkand have been the great centres of Islamic theological studies. During the Soviet period, the Muslims of Central Asia adjusted with the Soviet linguistic, cultural and religious policies without diluting or shifting their religious allegiance. However, Gorbachev's policy of *perestroika* and *glasnost* ushered in a new era of press freedom, political democratization and decentralization of decision making process. This gave the people of Central Asia a new confidence to assert their national and religious identity and to air their feelings and aspirations.

The disintegration of former USSR and the subsequent emergence of independent Central Asian Republics changed the balance of power in the region. Due to its geographical proximity to China, Russia, West Asia and South Asia, this region emerged as a distinct geopolitical entity stimulating global attention and interest. The Central Asian Republics which passed through a delicate stage of transformation into a new political, social and economic order, have successfully completed their transition into sovereign independent statehood. Language, race and religion are seen as the symbols of nationhood and necessary elements of cultural revivalism that has taken place throughout Central Asia. Local writers, artists and academics have been idealizing and highlighting local history and culture, which was under wraps during the Soviet period. Local languages, history and culture have been revived and promoted in each of the Central Asian Republic to consolidate their ethno-national identity and as part of the nation-building process.

It is in this context that this issue of *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies* focuses on the indigenous views of local history, be it on



Karakalpakistan, Bukhara or traditional education/*madrassah* system. The contributions of Central Asian scholars shed light on the locally prevalent view of Central Asian history and culture.

**K. Warikoo**

## INDIA – CENTRAL ASIAN LINKS *INITIAL PROBINGS*

HERAMB CHATURVEDI

### I

This paper puts together some earlier geographic, migratory, linguistic, cultural and historical studies and analyses. In fact, what drew my attention to this connection was a reading of a 'primary source' of medieval Indian history, as we call it. Mughal Emperor Jahangir's autobiography, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* provides the accounts of the 14<sup>th</sup> Regnal Year (beginning March 10, 1619 according to the Georgian calendar). He talks of the Hindu festival *Dasshera* being held on Thursday, the 24<sup>th</sup> of Mihr and, immediately following this description, he writes: "Mahabat Khan had sent apples from Bangash (Afghanistan) by runners (*dak-chowki*). They arrived very fresh and were of excellent flavour...They cannot be compared with the *Seb-i-Khub* of Kabul....or with the Samarkand apples...They say in Upper Bangash (present Afghanistan), near Lashkar dara (or Shukr-dara and the name of the village as Shinwaran. The printed text has Siwaran) there is a village called SivRam, in which there are three trees of this apple....."<sup>1</sup> This particular name of the village mentioned herein, "SivRam" naturally, raised my inquisitiveness to trace Indian or Aryan or even 'Hindu' links with Central Asia. My enquiries relate to whether these 'beliefs' which were re-christened 'Hindu' at some stage and, whom the scholars label as "Sanatan" – were they the most primate people? Aryans as we call them? These questions agitate the minds of the scholars and laymen alike.

Indian links with Greece are mentioned, analyzed and discussed in detail by Edward Pococke in his famous work, *India in Greece*<sup>2</sup> wherein, he discusses how Greece was populated by Indian migrants from Magadh.

Naturally, the only connecting-route from Magadh (present Bihar) to Greece had to be through Central Asia and especially, present Afghanistan. I am unable to prescribe to the 'colonial view' of Indian history despite not agreeing fully with Pococke's contentions and deductions about the people of Magadh migrating to distant Greece and settling there, populating the entire country. My contention is that, throughout the centuries these migrations were from all directions and, not from any particular direction to any place – as the entire land-mass was once one and together. It was only later, that the lands expanded and separated due to 'Teutonic' movements and other natural or geological reasons and factors.

## II

The book, *Buddha in Central Asia: A Travelogue* by Sunita Dwivedi,<sup>3</sup> provides clinching evidence when a reference is made of the description of the region of Central Asia by Roman historians. The term used by them is "Serindia" or 'India of the Silk'.<sup>4</sup> However, the evidences unearthed in the entire region of Central Asia by all travelers and historians point to even earlier civilization and cultural remains and these were remnants of what preceded Buddhism and its spread in these regions. The spread of Buddhism cannot be ante-dated to the period of Mauryan King Ashok: As a result, Buddhist centres arose in Farghana and in Uzbekistan along the Syr Darya or Jaxartes and, on the banks of river Oxus and its tributaries in Tajikistan, as well as, in the deserts of Karakum and Taklamakan.<sup>5</sup>

If we give credit to the pastoral people for the spread of earliest human civilization, both culture and socio-economic activities, then only we can understand the earlier hymns of the Vedic corpus: That's why only travelogues have been able to record the connectivity of the past through the ages to the present: They are able to underline while delineating older routes and connections: "Older routes came across the Oxus river from the Caspian region and from the territory that is now Uzbekistan into Balkh and also from Tajikistan into Kunduz; from India across the Indus into the Gandhara; from Persia into Heart and from China into the Wakhan. West of Peshawar (now Pakistan) in the foothills of the Sulaiman Range of the mighty Hindukush begins the famous 50-kilometre-long Khyber Pass that once nurtured the caravan route from north-western India into Afghanistan".

Tracing the *Uttarapath*, we find that the Taxila-Bamyan-Balkh road

was in ancient times the main route from India into Central Asia. One even finds the mention of “Serai Hindian” (the Hindu serai) in Bukhara across the Khyber.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, etymologically the name Bukhara itself, seems to have had its genesis in the Buddhist term, *Vihara* just as the name of the province called Bihar in India. Thus language, being the medium or vehicle of transmission of the past heritage and/or legacy has to be exploited to the full in the form of hermeneutics, philology and linguistics to unravel the links between the two different regions now, which earlier may have been the same – given that the entire earth was once a complete land-mass. That is why, in Samangan province in Balkh (Top-e-Rustam & Takht-e-Rustam) one finds “Navbahaar”, which is none else but, “...the new (Nav) bahar (Vihara, monastery) of Vajrayana...”<sup>7</sup> Central Asia was distant east and north-east of Arabia, where Islam arose. Later it spread to the Turkish region and, finally, Persia and so in the post-Prophet or Islamic era the names like ‘Kafir-kala’, ‘Kalai-Kafirnigaan’ and, Penjiket. The term, *Kafir* is used for the ‘idol-worshippers’ – who they were, is quite evident – The Hindus and the Buddhists.

Similarly, the word, “Guldara” as used in ‘Guldara Stupa’ - thankfully, it is still well-preserved in the National Museum of Afghanistan is a variant of “Gol-dwaar” or maybe “Gwaal-dwaar”? Moreover, the coins found here have “on their reverse side the images of divinities like the Buddha and Siva with Nandi bull and the trident” which signifies its pastoral links and, thus, in all probability it was latter, “gwaal-dwaar”. Similarly, the ‘ivory statue of river goddess Ganga’ is another evidence of what I have been suggesting.<sup>8</sup> It is from the ‘Naubahar monastery’ that we find a ‘7 inch sweeping brush of the Buddha, made of the plant *ka-she* (or Kusha grass)...’<sup>10</sup> Kusha grass is most venerated since the time that Vedic rituals became prevalent. The region where this ‘Kusha grass’ grew was, naturally, the region of the Vedic Aryans. Thus, the entire region of Central Asia was witness to the Vedic culture during the earlier times.

The Antiquities at the National Museum, Dushanbe consist of antiquities from Penjiket and it includes “Images of the Hindu gods Siva and Parvati and of the Four-armed Goddess riding a lion...”<sup>11</sup> Not only these two, we have further mention of five Hindu Gods which were worshipped in these regions, namely, Brahma, Indra, Mahadeva (Siva), Narayan and Vaisravana.<sup>12</sup> Traveling and describing the Southern Silk Route coming from India and Afghanistan via Termez and Denau, one witnesses in the Gissar valley sights so common in India – the practice of tree worship. One finds ‘strips of cloth (with prayers) tied to branches

and tree trunks.....(for the) benevolent spirits (residing thereon).’ Not only tree-worship but, the worship of rivers and remnants of temples found marking the reverence to the rivers are evidences of the same. We also find the presence of fire-temple.<sup>13</sup>

We find an account of Penjiket (in Tajikistan) and its ancient ruler, Divastich. It is the region of 5 settlements. ‘Penj’ is ‘panj’ denoting five as we find in the nomenclature of the term Punjab. The ruler might have been Devashish “who fought against the Islamic armies during the first quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century”. “The information provided by a traveler is significant: “The Penjiket hero would have been forgotten but for the discovery of numerous manuscripts from the ruins of the fort of Mount Mugh, in 1933, where he had taken refuge”.<sup>14</sup> Were these “maghs” the same as those who inhabited ‘Magadh’ (Bihar, India)? One may read Pockocke’s *India in Greece*<sup>15</sup> along with earlier accounts to corroborate and unravel this ancient fact. It is in Penjiket where the archeologists discovered temples where idol-worship was prevalent along with ‘images of Hindu gods and goddesses made of clay and gypsum. We get evidences to testify that “both Buddhism and Hinduism prevailed. The images of gods and goddesses depicted Indian traits. One goddess sat astride a lion, similar to the goddess Durga of the Hindus”.<sup>16</sup>

Thus both in the Rudaki Museum, Penjiket and National Museum, Dushanbe one finds, “images of the Goddess riding a lion, Siva and Parvati, Siva with a third eye, and Siva with three heads, .... Siva (Maheshvara) is seen sitting in...wilderness with his trishul or trident next to him...Parvati.....Another massive image of Siva and Parvati can be seen in the upper hall of the National Museum at Dushanbe.....(and of) Uma-Maheshvara (Siva-Parvati) sitting on the Nandi bull”.<sup>17</sup> However, with her eyes mostly on Buddhist relics, she observes that this region was in close contact with India and hence these evidences. But, a closer scrutiny reveals and further corroborative evidences might establish that the entire region was once inhabited by the earliest Aryans and hence, the traditions have continued. In India we find it as a thriving tradition where Vedic hymns are still recited by the “Saanatan Hindus” in their daily religious rituals.<sup>18</sup> It was from this region that the Aryans migrated further to the East reaching India. Similarly, the terms “Panchdeh” or “Dehsthan” in Turkmenistan are further evidences of Aryan and its vehicle or medium of expression – Sanskrit.<sup>19</sup> One finds Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and not Pali-Prakrit? Buddhist texts in the Brahmi script are found dating 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E. Naturally, being the land of the Aryans, it was the lingua-

franca of the region and for Buddhism's propagation, so early, it could be the only language of communication?

Similarly the find of 'Madustan' or 'winery' by archaeologists at Nisa is an important indicator to both the language, as well as, the use of 'Soma' (though not mentioned here) for offerings to gods and goddesses is explicit. *madd-sthan* – it means the place where one gets intoxicants or liquor as the term *madd* means getting intoxicated. This place *madustaan* is thus, naturally, winery – the place where wine is made and is a Sanskrit derivative. We soon find mention of the Rig Vedic "Soma" in ancient site Merv which had Bronze Age civilization.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the finds at Turkmenistan seem to be similar to both the Vedic and Indus civilizations. Indus like drainage system; underground furnaces; huge drinking vessels of bone tubes; and, cult figurines. Actually, the route from Caspian to the north-western regions was frequented from the earliest times as repeated references to it have been made in this and other related modern works. Similarly the 'dropping of coins' in the rivers<sup>22</sup> is a common practice prevalent in India even today and is a Vedic ritual.

The travels in Uzbekistan reveal the name "Amul" and we know, it is a Sanskrit derivative. Similarly, the sacrificial altars found at Kugai Tepe, Chilanzar Ak Tepe and at Ustrushana next to Chach could have been Vedic sacrificial altars rather than being associated to the Zoroastrian faith. However, T. Burrow asserts that the religious reforms of Zarathustra led to some remarkable alterations in Aryan practices in Central Asia, but "fire-worship and the cult of Soma are a common inheritance of both India and Iran".<sup>23</sup> Even the worship of the ancestors and veneration of their ashes and a sacrificial feast following it are all Vedic post-death ceremonies and customs, still in vogue in Hindu India. We have another reference to a new Vihara – this was also called "Nav-Vihara" which underwent change with times to become "Naubahar". Moving to Bukhara we are told about its name being derivative of Sanskrit 'Vihara' and, 'it had a temple of idols and a temple of fire'. These idols were most probably of gods of the Hindu pantheon.<sup>24</sup> While going through the accounts of Khiva city, we come across reference to 'the documents recovered from the Kalas of Khorezm (which) reveal names of inhabitants that sound similar to Indian names.' Similar names occur even in households of Toprak Kala.<sup>25</sup> This is no co-incidence. Similarly, in his monumental work Poccoke underlines the fact that all names of the lakes, mountains, cities, rivers in Greece have nothing to do with the Greek language and, has proved that they are Sanskrit derivatives.<sup>26</sup>

Not only this, travelers and scholars having not read Pococke get puzzled to find carved wooden pillars in the mosques (they must have been converted into mosques from earlier temples after the spread of Islam in the region). Moreover, we find that it “had a swastika carved on it and another one had an elephant-head motif”.<sup>27</sup> The ‘swastika’ and elephant-head (Lord Ganesha) motifs are common occurrence in temple gates of Vedic Hindus. The travelogue then discusses that, “the Siva-Parvati of Ayrtaam, was found here during excavations in 1979”.<sup>28</sup> We have a description of an ‘image on a stele found at the Kuva temple (which) shows semi-nude god. The figure is described as Kuber....’ The connection with the Aryan civilization is amply corroborated. Then, comes the most clinching evidence of “Uchchaishrava or the divine horse, arising out of the ocean during samudramanathan”.<sup>29</sup> If we read Arun’s history of ancient India, we find him locating the ‘Ksheer Sagar’, where the churning or samudramanathan took place between the demons and the gods – as the Caspian Sea.<sup>30</sup>

In the accounts of Kyrgyzstan, we come across ‘the UNESCO heritage site of Sulaiman-Too..... the carvings and paintings were related to the idea of fertility, magic treatment, sun worship and shamanism. They belong to a time when the settlers worshipped the sun, wind and the rain gods. Most importantly, the temple faced the North....’.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, in the cave shrine there, one finds, ‘rock paintings in red and black pigments, (which) point to the fact that the caves were occupied by people who used it.....perhaps for ritual worship’. Not only this, “rock engravings are found all over the mountains and inside the caves. They resemble solar signs....”.<sup>32</sup> I don’t think anything needs to be added, it is self-evidently an earlier Aryan site. In the description of the Chuy valley, the travelogue reports: “It is said in the monasteries and settlements of Central Asia (including those in the Chuy valley), Sanskrit texts were translated into Chinese, Khotanese, Tocharin, Sogdian and Tibetan.....Says Koves, not only were the monks and nuns supposed to know Sanskrit.....”.<sup>33</sup> If the monks and nuns were supposed to know Sanskrit, naturally, the inhabitants must have been well-versed in it. Thus, for propagation of Buddhism it became essential to know Sanskrit, the language of the masses. Naturally, these inhabitants were Aryans.

In Kazakhstan too, Tamgaly is a UNESCO heritage site (on Almaty highway) belonging to the Bronze Age. Here we find that ‘the ancestors of the Kazakh people played with the rocks, worshipped nature – the earth, the trees, the animals that gave them food, clothing and daily

comforts.’ In Hindu pantheon we find every god/goddess being associated with some particular element of nature, bird, animal and tree. Similarly, at Talgar, were found a number of “Sanskrit scrolls”.<sup>34</sup> Again, we find reference to “tree-worship’, where people tie their desire and some money in a piece of cloth to its trunk”<sup>35</sup> – a practice still prevalent in India too, a remnant of the Vedic past. The traveler, at the very end of her travelogue underlines: “It was heartening to note that many Kazakhs whom I met on the Silk Road might actually be Indians settled long, long ago in Kazakh lands”.<sup>36</sup> Little do the travelers and historians dealing only with Buddhism and Buddhist sites realize that everything sounds familiar and similar to India and Indians, because in India the old Vedic hymns are still being recited at every ritual and daily prayer, whereas, the traditions survived despite the earlier cultures being eclipsed from time to time by different traditions, religions, sects and ideologies.<sup>37</sup>

### III

After having gone through some historical facts and traveler’s record, let us try to analyze the above-mentioned from different vistas/dimensions of knowledge to arrive at any logical conclusion. A very important point to be underlined at this juncture of our study is a comment made by Professor (now, late) Uday Narayan Tewari, while studying for his post-graduation in linguistics at Calcutta University in 1940-41. He recalls: “to understand the Sanskrit linguistics it was considered imperative to study Greek, Avesta, Old Persian, Vedic Sanskrit, Pali-Prakrit also”. He also asserts that it was thought that understanding of Sanskrit grammar was incomplete and incomprehensible, without its comparative study with the Greek grammar. According to him, at the Calcutta University, then, this ‘Greek portion’ was also taught by the great scholar, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, who had, himself, been a student and disciple of Professor Manmohan Ghosh, the elder brother of Sri Aurobindo (Ghosh).<sup>38</sup> Why was it considered to study Greek grammar essential to understand Sanskrit grammar, in a better way? Naturally, the earlier generations through folk memory or literary and other evidences, now destroyed or unavailable – through folk-memory knew and understood the Greek, Early Aryan and the Sanskrit (“Vedic”) connection.<sup>39</sup> This is another big pointer or indicator for any layman, searching for Indo-European connection or studying Indo-European languages. Moreover, this connection could not have been possible without interacting with/through Central Asia. Hence, a study of this



linguistic query assumes a central position in this issue.

Before discussing about this issue any further, I would like to discuss, in brief, the evolution of 'Man' as such and, then of the 'Aryans', so as to locate and unwrap the mystery surrounding the earliest traces of our present paper. It is a well-known fact that, the 'Homo Sapiens' appeared in African continent for the first time around c. 1,25,000 B.C.E., though, the first 'Neanderthal' man is said to have appeared, by say, around circa 2,00,000 B.C.E. The 'Man', as we know today, started evolving about 50,000 years ago, that is, immediately after the fourth 'ice-age'. This 'ice-age' receded only about 40,000 - 25,000 years ago and, the 'Neanderthal', as well as, 'Cuddappa' and, 'Kurnool' man had fully evolved by then.<sup>40</sup>

However, latest studies have established that the fully evolved Man appears around 12,000 – 8,000 years ago, as the c.10,000 B.C.E. marks the end of the 'Ice Ages'. The most striking feature of these developed men was their 'religious beliefs'. They were the earliest worshippers of "Surya" (Sun), "Naag" (serpant) and "Swastik" (sign). These early men were the earliest inhabitants of regions in America, Europe, China and India. By our knowledge of ancient Indian culture and civilization, we all know who the worshippers of these three objects were. On the basis of the Vedic hymns still being recited in prayers and rituals, we can claim that, these were the original Aryans.

Before proceeding any further, let us go back to our geographical evolution. We also know about the fact and, too well, that in the Eocene age, the entire region of Himalayas, Tibet and North India were under the sea. It was only in the Miocene age that, the Himalayas rose out of the Teethes Sea. It is quite natural for the people inhabiting the regions surrounding that sea and, beyond to discover the land that had just been spared by the sea for habitation, as it was alluvial rich and had greener, better pastures. In the case of north India, this was really, true. The region was 'alluvial rich' as the rain-water drifting down from the Himalayan ranges, made it so; as well as, the fact that this (Teethes) sea's water was not salty-may be another reason for its attraction for habitation.

Thus, the ancient most 'humans' - people from all directions - the South, North, East and West must have converged here over a period of time and inhabited and occupied different regions, as per their approach and convenience and other factors. This marks the beginning of the entire Indus, Saraswati and, the Ganga-Yamuna valley becoming the crucible of racial, cultural and lingual mixture. We cannot continue with the old theory enunciated, pronounced and propagated by the colonial historians

and 'Orientalist' scholars regarding the settlement of Aryans from the North-West and the Dravidians from the region of Gondwana- which, in fact, had existed even during the period of the presence of the Teethes Sea covering north India.

There must have been conflicts- but, naturally, much later on, when in their expansionist 'mode' these men of different stocks and regions would have attempted to increase their areas of settlements and expand the cultural as well as, socio-political hegemony- till then there must have been tranquil co-existence and peaceful commercial and cultural exchanges. This period, in fact coincides with the evolution of 'Man' worshipping the 'Sun', 'Serpent' and 'Swastik' symbol.

#### IV

The Aryans- who, as suggested by the noted scholar Arun<sup>41</sup> were the original settlers of the region around the Caspian Sea, as identified by the "Ksheer Saagar" of the Indian religious, literary and cultural texts. This location of the Aryans is more in consonance with the logic of migration-patterns and lingual, as well as, anthropological features. Where else would one locate the nearest land from the north India, with the Teethes Sea in its south and Caspian Sea in the north. Thus, sand-witched between these two seas, the land would have been south of the Caspian Sea. South of the Teethes Sea was the region of Gondwana. Thus, locating the earliest human settlement in this region is logical and scientifically a greater probability. Taking clue/cue from here, we can understand the settlement patterns of the earliest humans and, the manner in which, the groups migrated to different directions from here and settled at places and distant lands, which opened up for habitation after the ice-ages. Here, these earliest settlers found better lands and climate, as per their needs, convenience and aspirations. This, ultimately, led to the differences cropping up among these early Aryans, later on, because of their settlement in different regions at different periods. Thus, different regional and climatic variations aggravated these differences and they were dubbed as different races to justify 'Socio-political Darwinism' of the European colonizers of Afro-Asian continents.

Thus, the Aryans – in fact, the earliest human settlers - were sure to settle in these new found-lands, vacated by the receding Teethes Sea, sooner or later. The famous traveler and scholar, Rahul Sankratyaayan, has traced the route of these settlers from the region of their dwelling to

India. According to his thesis, these Aryans settled in the regions of Herat (around 2,500 B.C.E.), in Suwastu region, as well as, the settlement of Mittanni or Mittite Aryans in Mesopotamia – both around 2,000 B.C.E. They are said to have occupied Indus Valley around 1,800 B.C.E. and, Greece around the same time or slightly later (1,500 B.C.E.).<sup>42</sup> We may add or subtract 1,000 years while considering these dates, as per the latest findings of the on-going researches and/or excavations in various regions.

At times, oral histories as traced by the travelers in their travelogues help us in retracing the historical processes of human evolution and the march of human civilization. Thus, our dependence on travelogues as source of historical information is imperative. As such Rahul Sankratyayan is an important source, for he has recorded everything in detail and documented the traditions and oral sources of historical information.

Similarly, if, we, now consider Alexander's invasion of India in the light of the above, we can say for sure that, the Greek Aryans had through 'folk memory' retained this link and wished to meet their 'lost brethren'. This is evident from the reading of the 'Old Testament' (of the Bible) also, where we have reference to the 'lost tribe'. We should, incidentally remember that Christianity evolved in Jerusalem. Naturally, this desire of the Greeks was strengthened by 'state power', as well as, military might. Their leader/king, Alexander wished to repeat the performance and control the entire region inhabited by their ancestors as such – the earliest Aryans. As a matter of fact, a perusal of his route-map will give us an idea as to how he was covering the entire region, where the Aryans had migrated. (See the 'route-map of Aryan migrations, attached, herewith).

A few more words about the 'Aryans', at this juncture, are necessary, before proceeding any further. The 'Aryans' were supposed to be a subgroup of 'Caucasian' or 'Europid' stock of people, whom the colonial historians and scholars have termed as 'race'. This group of human-beings consisted of native speakers of Indo-European languages, which descended from the original 'Proto-Indo-European' language group. We should, further remember that, 'Europid' is a general term, as 'Eurasia' would have been a better term instead. The term "Europid" was coined by the European expansionists and colonists, who, in accordance with 'Social-Darwinism' wished to justify their domination, colonization and political hegemony. They, thus, conveniently removed the word 'Eurasians' to term it as 'Europids' to assert and underline the superiority of the Europeans, in the post-industrial phenomenon.

I have deliberately disagreed with the use of the term 'race' for the

Aryans, at this stage, though, it was used by the eminent scholar Max Muller in his *Lectures on the Science of Language* in 1861, wherein, he had referred to the 'Aryans as a 'race of people'. The term has, however, been used in its wide connotation, implying a group or even community of people consisting of various tribes and groups also. The migrations and settlements must have been at intervals, adding to the inner differences amongst them. Naturally, earlier settlers must have been more privileged and, better placed than the latter. It was the basis of 'racial discrimination', on the grounds of skin colour or texture etc. hence, the term race smells of 'apartheid' and should be shunned in modern progressive parlance. It would be more humane, rational and scientifically logical to use the term 'stock' instead of 'race' as we have argued earlier too.

Now let us analyze a few sentences to understand the term 'Aryan' and, its connotation, before we proceed any further in our study. The 'Zend (Avesta)' meaning of the term "airya" is venerable, as is corroborated by the Old Persian "ariya". Similarly, its Sanskrit equivalent "Arya", too, means 'noble'. Even in Armenian, the word, "Ari" means brave and noble; whereas, the word "Ayr" means 'man'. Thus, its connotation is, 'the noble men', the men with a difference. Some of the scholars contend that, the term "ayr" corresponds, in its wider implication- to the 'Greco-Aryan theory' of the Indo-European people. The Latin equivalent "Arianus" for "Anana" is used to denote the eastern part of ancient Persia. Similarly, the word "Iran" in Old Persian means a land inhabited by/of the Aryans. That must have been the only region from where definite evidence of inhabitation was found till then?

## V

Similarly a few words about the term 'Greeks', rather, the Greek Culture, before concluding. We must not confuse the term 'Greeks' with the region now called Greece, rather, it was the entire region, where the Greek or earliest Aryan culture dominated. Hence, it must have tended to be a 'cultural region', rather than a 'nation' or a political-state as we know of it today or in the perception of post-Renaissance European mind.

The avid traveler, linguist and scholar Rahul has discussed the relation between these earliest 'Aryans' and the 'Abhiras' (the earlier 'Sakas'). He mentions that the Greeks or early Aryans and, 'Sakas' the later Aryans or the Aryanized indigenous neighbours of the early Aryans to be exact, were inhabitants of neighbouring regions and may have originated from

similar stock, if not one. Mentioning his studies in Russia in February 1946, he recounts his investigations into the history of these 'Sakas' and, interactions with scholars and authorities on the subject, including the Director of the Anthropological Museum at Leningrad and Dr. Bairnestam. On its basis, he asserts that these 'Sakas' were the residents of the region north and north-west of the Caspian Sea, at least, during 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. and occupied the entire region till the banks of River Danube. They were, finally forced to flee, because of the 'Hunas' invasions in and around 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E. and intermingled with the Greeks and were influenced by their culture and adopted a number of their cultural traits. He also, asserts that the "Abhiras" were descendants of 'Sakas'.

One branch of these Aryans proceeded towards and inhabited the lands, now known as Greece; while the other inhabited India. There is another analogy, which should be underlined and not missed – both are 'civilization states' and, ancient cultural-centres- with more similarities than differences- which are apparent to even the naked eyes.

Since, the advent of Alexander, we have concrete evidence of written history, hence, let us now concentrate on post-Alexander history of India, to unravel, analyze and understand this evolution. I would just talk about the Aryans by their nomenclatures of Greeks and Indo-Greeks in this section-only, at intervals, reminding the readers of the linkages, if need be.

My contention here, is simply that indirect evidence too has to be taken into account and, logical deductions be made, therefrom. It is quite evident from the above account that they knew about the routes, but, Alexander, himself, must have preferred the route just undertaken, probably, because these regions were under the Greek political hegemony and domination. Thus, his own return along with the major portion of the army, by the sea-route would/might have signaled his military weakness. It would, in turn, have led to rumours of his weaknesses and slackening of stronghold, leading to confusions and raising of heads by these recently conquered regions. (For, re-appraisal of Alexander's route to India, refer to the map.)

## VI

Having talked about the Aryan and Greek connection – being people of the same stock, we may turn to throwing some light on what came to be known in common parlance as the "Brahman-centric" civilization instead

of “Vedic” culture or civilization. If the term, ‘Aryan’ signified “noblemen” as referred to above and, if, these earliest Aryans were headed by “Priest-Kings” then they were the ‘Brahma-Kshatriyas’ and with the expansion of their culture and expansion of region under political hegemony, division of duties and delineation of rights and privileges became imperative. It was then that with the growing demands, they divided their social order into the four ‘Varnas’.

We may now turn to the earliest regarded settlement of the Aryans in India. The region called ‘Brahmanabad’ is considered by scholars generally as that place. In fact, we come across important and interesting information in the book *Paninikaleen Bharatvarsha*.<sup>44</sup> It refers to the work of Panini to mention a country/place called “Brahmanak” in the extreme western region- which, in fact, was an independent or sovereign republic or “janapada”.

The afore-mentioned “Brahmanak” has been identified as “Brackhmanoi” by the Greek historians. It corresponds to modern “Brahmanabad” in the Sindh province’s central region, located 40 miles north of Meerpur Khas.

Another authority, Rajshekar in his work *Kavya-Mimansa* refers to the same place as “Brahman-vaah” and, includes it in his list of western ‘janapadas’. The Arab geographers, however, called it “Bamanvaah”, which was in local dialect, conveying the same word. Naturally some questions do arise from this assertion. Why was this region so named? Who inhabited this region and, since when? If, we probe deeper and get the answer, or, are able to get nearer to their answers, then, we will be able to solve the mystery. We can easily understand and locate the first region of India, inhabited by these people.

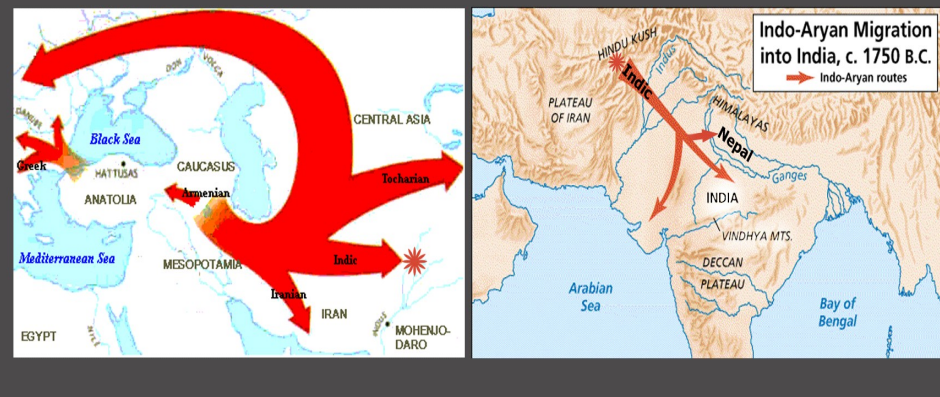
Was, this the place, or, original land or, base from where the earliest Aryan or Greek settlers entered India? We may also, recount how the first attempt to enter India, by the adherents of Islam was also made by the same route, when Muhammad bin Qasim invaded Sindh and defeated its king Dahir and subjugated this region. So this route to enter India, via Sindh, too, seems to have attracted the invaders/settlers for further eastwards expansion. They, made it their launching platform for all early entrants into India, apart from the north-western passes. With continuous warfare that the Greeks had with the Persians, this may be a possible reason and plausible explanation for their successful attempt of entry into North India from this direction/region. India, was the natural attraction, as its land were thrown open by the receding Teethes Sea. Thus, we have

the first reference to a 'Brahman' city/village/ region/republic. Logically it can be analyzed that, this was the first region to follow the 'Aryan' or 'Greek' or 'Brahman' religious belief and, has till date, retained its ancient name, because of this factor of "folk-memory".

There is an interesting indication, which may be probed further. We all know that, *Yug Puraan*<sup>45</sup> is one of the best indigenous source book, discussing about the Greeks. It says that, there was a two-fold societal



### Aryans Migration to Nepal



division and, the Greeks were referred to as ‘Brahmanas’. As spelt out earlier too, the two-fold division of the Aryan society, later on became four-fold and then further categorization took place. One would conclude that these earlier studies and their results are pointers/indicators to suggest that ‘Greeks’ were of the ‘Aryan’ stock, who had migrated to west from the Caspian Sea region and were also called ‘Brahmans’ in some texts. Moreover, the earliest Aryans were the ‘Priest-Kings’ or Brahman-Kings or ‘Brahma-Kshatriyas’, propagating their faith and also willing to defend it. Thus, they were adept in the use of *both Shaashtraas* (Canons/religious texts) and *Shashtra* (weapons) to help them in creating socio-religious-political hegemony and propagating the *Vedic* beliefs.

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## MODERN HISTORY OF KARAKALPAKSTAN

T.A. AMEMOV

The period of independence has led to a splash of genuine interest of the people in their own history. Considering the original value of each period of domestic history, the powerful stream of interest is focused on the period of modern history. A phenomenon of national consciousness tenaciously keeps in the memory the names and events of this epoch within which the big files of archival materials are stored in the central archive of the Republic of Karakalpakstan, which is waiting for the researchers to reveal their whole content and value.

At present, there are a number of activities and research works on various aspects of the life of our society. Therefore, on the agenda there is the issue of the continuation of vigorous activities on research and finding out and including them in the scientific network of the new scientific data about the history of Karakalpakstan.

On the one hand, the modern history of Uzbekistan, is the history of gaining independence and development of the state of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Therefore, the reference point of newest history of Uzbekistan is the year 1989, which closely concerns with the events of 1980s – the last decade of the Soviet totalitarian system. These were the years of dangerous events for Uzbekistan, as the events were based on the policy of the administrative command system, which had nearly gone bankrupt and caused considerable damage almost in all spheres of social life, ignoring national, economic and social interests of Uzbekistan. The socio-economic and ecological situation, living standards of the population, worsened firstly, due to the monoculture of cotton growing. Getting over such a complicated period in Uzbekistan is characterized with the coming into the political arena of such a leader of the new generation in the name of Islam Abdiganiyevich Karimov, who with his competent policy defended the interests of the republic. It was possible to safeguard our country from

political and economic collapse and of internal and external conflicts. As a result, Uzbekistan was declared an independent state in 1991.

On the other hand, the modern history of the sovereign state of Uzbekistan coincides with the new stage of development of the whole mankind in the new world order. And the newest history of Uzbekistan as an integral part of the modern history of the world is closely bound with global events of present time. The importance of the study of modern history is directed at true judgement of events, directly influencing the modern life. How are these events important historically and how they make sense, what is the role of politicians, what are the main possible scenarios of development in these events and how are they connected with modern processes? Here are some of the questions to which modern history could answer. Besides, as modern history is closely connected with the present epoch, it generates enormous material allowing to see tendencies connected with future.

In the present stage of the development of historiography, modern history functions as a scientific discipline. New historical concept are elaborated, specific peculiarities of the newest historical events are pointed out by means of new approaches. The historical past of Uzbekistan is estimated afresh and evaluated from the new point of view by the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. All the aforementioned facts predetermine a great role of the newest historical events in the life of Uzbekistan and Karakalpakstan in the same way. The modern history of Uzbekistan and Karakalpakstan is closely connected with other social-political disciplines-politology, sociology, economics, ethnology, archeology, psychology etc. Nevertheless, the aim of modern history is a complex analysis of social, economic, political, spiritual processes during the present period of the development of Uzbekistan.

On the other hand the deterioration of ecological situation and Aral Sea tragedy has been outlined in Uzbekistan. In these circumstances the process of establishing social movements and political parties, and other informal organizations has begun.

In the modern history of Uzbekistan the study of the phenomenon of Islam Karimov as a political leader of the new generation, important. The social-economic and political processes on the eve of gaining Independence, efforts and measures of authorities of Uzbekistan on overtaking the crisis promoted the establishment of the institution of Presidency. The first reformatory steps of I.A. Karimov as president of independent Uzbekistan got wide national support. The synthesis of national and universal values

in the formation of democratic society in Uzbekistan had an important significance. Strengthening and development of the moral spirit of people is the most important task of the state and society in Uzbekistan. The relation of masses to our great ancestors and historical figures in the years of independence has changed considerably. Celebration of birth anniversaries of brilliant public figures of the past and ancient cities began as international traditions.

The modern history of Karakalpakstan is the welter of complicated problems, each of which requires its theoretical and methodological comprehension, adequate decision of whole series of original problems.<sup>1</sup>

The problem of studying the history of economic development of Karakalpakstan during the period of independence deserves attention. A number of young historians, unfortunately don't master the methods of economic analyses enough, so, they can not evaluate the quality of economic indexes. The problem of the formation of original scientific social history of Karakalpakstan in the period of independence is actual. In the contemporary stage there constantly appear new groups with particular status and interests in our society. In order to define the border between the new and newest times, we needn't overestimate the only event (though it is the widest one) but the totality of phenomena and processes testifying the qualitative changes in various branches of social life.

Evaluating the essence, significance and the main importance of independent development of Uzbekistan, we consider it proper to divide the modern history of our country into the following stages.

The first stage: beginning from 1989 up to 1991, is characterized by the appearance of a new leader I.A.Karimov, with coming to head of an idea of independence, confirmation of the state sovereignty and incredible efforts on overcoming the crisis following the collapse of the USSR.

The second stage: during 1991-2000; It is a transition period from first stage of reforms upto the formation of the basis of national stasheship and towards socially oriented market economy. As a result of the choice of "an Uzbek model of development" in a historically short term the former Soviet administrative command system was reorganized and reliable legislative basis for the formation of a national state was established. The structures of the state government, social and public institutions were formed to carry out the transition to market economy.

The third stage: from 2001 until 2010 is a period of active democratic renewal and modernization of the country. The main task of this period

was a step by step transition from the powerful state to a powerful civil society. There continued the process of democratization and liberalization of all branches of political and economic life, establishing the state and society, strengthening of independent judiciary, supporting human rights and freedom, heightening the political and social activities of citizen based civil society.

The fourth stage: of the modern history of Uzbekistan began from 2010. In this stage there took place the deepening of democratic reforms and modernization of the country. The concept of further deepening of democratic reforms and formation of civil society was elaborated in the country. The historical document reflects the development of broad scale reforms for the democratic renewals in the development of the country which began after gaining independence. This stage is characterized by the establishment of legal basis of reforms on further democratization of the state power and government by means of reforming the judiciary, media providing freedom of speech, with the development of electoral legislations, deepening the democratic market reforms and liberalization of economy.<sup>2</sup>

The historians, philologists, lawyers, medicos, economists of the Republic of Karakalpakstan elaborated in 1997-2000 the Modern History of Karakalpakstan under the guidance of academician S.K.Kamalov, the third chapter of which dealt with the period of independence.<sup>3</sup>

Venerable scholars and academicians S.K. Kamalov, J.Bazarbaev, T.Eshanov, Professors B.Shamambetov, A.Qurbaniyazov, N.Ayimbetov, B.Bazarbaev, and the scientists of middle generation T.Madreymov, J.Sagyndykov, J.Aytmuratov, R.Bazabaev, took active part in its preparation. Steady conservatism, skepticism and intelligence of the older generation and optimism of the younger ones helped to create such a thorough work on Modern History of Karakalpakstan.

Its publication was the turning point in the development of historiography not only for historians but for the whole society during the years of independence and sovereignty. The authors created the work as "the beginning of an enormous cause of re-establishing the original history of the people and revealing their importance and place in the world civilization". The authors were eager to give novelty to the material which had been published and to interpret facts and documents that were unpublished. The peculiar point of this publication which is conditioned by the feature of the new epoch, is that due to the variety of authors, ideal world outlooks have been embodied in it. Nevertheless, the work makes

an impression of being the example of wholeness, running into several editions in the academic publishing traditions. Researchers worked on shedding light on various problems of the period of the newest history in their monographs. Thus, a definite summary on the development of the historical science in Karakalpakstan has been made. A great number of conceptual problems on the Modern History of Karakalpakstan have been elaborated in this book.

A deep historical analysis of the key problems of native history of the second half of the 19th upto early 21st century, has been made. This has helped us to ensure the original ideal methodology to demonstrate virtuous mastery of historiographical concepts and factual materials, evaluate the quality and depth of comprehension of the native history on the stage of proclamation of sovereignty of the Republic.

The publication of the academician S.K. Kamalov's books<sup>4</sup> shows that the origin of Karakalpak ethnos and the establishment of their statehood belongs to a number of fundamental problems of first grade importance. Nowadays the newest researches of native historians makes possible to deepen the back ground of this process in chronological order. The history of Karakalpakstan must be written taking into consideration the problems. The main priority in deciding all cardinal problems must be given to the facts of inclusion of the common-Turkish history. Here the absence of special monographs on the Modern History of Karakalpakstan was compensated by the scholars-historians by including in it the special chapters and parts from their own dissertations of the Doctor of Science History.

Dr. Ya.A.Abdullayeva states that during the years of independence, great attention was paid to the cause of protecting the maternity and childhood in the complex and systematic way.<sup>5</sup> Her dissertation provides facts, demonstrating great successes gained in the period of Independence in raising the conditions of women in family and society.<sup>6</sup> In Karakalpakstan there are functioning four political parties in which 40-50 % percent women take part. At the same time, as Ya.A. Abdullayeva points out, there are some cases where the old tradition of paying *khalym* for brides remains partially and some husbands treat their wives badly.

In the fourth chapter of his dissertation for doctor's degree, a well known historian M.Kh.Saribayev points out that president I.A.Karimov in his speech stressed the necessity of changing Soviet imperial system and overcoming its cotton monocultural policy. He stressed on economic

independence and sovereignty of Uzbekistan.<sup>7</sup> Karimov made all efforts to prevent the repression and to rehabilitate innocent victims of the Soviet power as a result of the cotton case and for neutralization of ecological woes of the Aral sea catastrophe.<sup>8</sup>

Dr. R.J. Urazbayeva in the 4th chapter of her doctoral dissertation analyzes the process of reforms in the system of education in the Republic of Karakalpakstan in the period of independence.<sup>9</sup> Comparing the case with the previous period R.J. Urazbayeva points out that during the years of independence there occurred cardinal changes in the system of public education of the Republic of Karakalpakstan in which now function two basic higher educational institutions KSU, NSPI and for (filials) branches of Tashkent HEI.<sup>10</sup>

Analyzing all the three doctoral dissertations and monographs we can point out that any original scientific history needs historical comparative analysis, i.e. historical parallels and analogues. At the same time, definite conventions should be observed. Modern history gives the material for endless comparison and analogies.

During the period 1995-2012, there existed a Specialized Council on Defending candidate's dissertations at the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography of the Karakalpak Branch of Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan. There were defended 55 candidate's dissertations, including 15 dissertations which dealt with modern history. Young scientists tried to compare the Soviet history with the period of independence. The investigations carried out by B.M. Bekimbetov, A.Kh. Saribayev, B.B.Utemuratov are devoted to the Aral sea problem, establishment of industry and agricultural farms in Karakalpakstan in the modern stage.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless these works can not completely reverse all the details and facts of the situation, causes and historical events, economic life and ecological future of Karakalpakstan. The next group of young historians of Karakalpakstan has chosen problems of culture, education, sports, medical care.<sup>12</sup> The history of sciences of Karakalpakstan has also been studied comparing the two epochs.<sup>13</sup> The comparative analysis reveals the advantages of these branches in Karakalpakstan in the period of independence.

It may be stated that following Ya.A. Abdullayeva, women's problems have been researched again in the candidate's dissertation of Z.B. Kallibekova in which she filled a gap in the contemporary historiography. She asserts that women of the period of independence would have to take advantage of their rights by taking active part in all branches of social life.

She particularly highlights the contribution made by women in education and science in the Republic of Karakalpakstan.<sup>14</sup> G.I. Khodjametova developed the cases in the work of J. Aytmuratov dealing with the musical culture of our nation.<sup>15</sup> G.I. Khodjametova and B.A. Koshanov jointly published a monograph on half a century history of musical culture of Karakalpakstan.<sup>16</sup> Z.B. Esnazarova's dissertation is devoted to the study of the History of Nukus, the capital of the Republic of Karakalpakstan. The young historian pays particular attention to enormous contributions made by historical-political figures as N. Japakov, K. Kamalov, A. Dosnazarov, S. Kamalov, B. Tatibayeva and D. Eshimbetova, A. Saytova, A. Uteniyazov, T. Kayipbergenov, I. Yusupov, G. Khojaniyazov, S. Khaniyazov, G. Ubaydullaev, J. Bazarbaev, O. Khalmuratov and many others.<sup>17</sup>

Thus by the efforts of historians the study of modern history of Karakalpakstan has been made. Within the framework of official historiography, new facts have been collected based on current archival documents, stating original points of views, adopting non-traditional approaches. The head of the state pointed out it is necessary to restore our real history, to arm our nation with this history. To arm again and again with the history".<sup>18</sup>

The years of independence and sovereignty have conditioned the splash of real interest of people in their own history. Taking into consideration the value of each period of native history, one can state that a powerful stream of interest is centered on the period of new history. The phenomenon of public consciousness tenaciously keeps in their memory names and events of this epoch, for which the archives of the Republic of Karakalpakstan and neighboring regions need to be consulted by researchers.<sup>19</sup> In the modern stage of development there have been a number of activities related to various phenomena and events in the life of our society. These facts encourage historians of our republic to join together for carrying out investigations on the native history.

Presently our historians need support of authorities in continuing researches, as the historiography of our times is experiencing a peculiar theoretical and conceptual evolution. Avoiding monological explanations of historical acts (events and movements) and mastery of its pluralistic interpretation has become its only quintessence. These positive peculiarities of historiography are developing among the scientific researchers. The methodological changes observed in history include the new focus on



ethnogenesis, ethnic history, anthropology, history of stateship, national liberation movements (events, leaders) etc. The new history of Uzbekistan and Karakalpakstan is comparatively a new direction in historical science. Accordingly these do not have a complete institutional character. These are not identified as a complete special scientific discipline with their separate teaching-methodological aids. This gap needs to be removed as soon as possible.

As modern history is the history of independence and building of the new state, its point of beginning is the period of fall of Soviet system and its fallout. Topics of research on the problems of modern history need to be broadened. Aids and methods of researches need to use the possibilities of historical modeling and broadcasting and organising in Nukus regional and international conferences.<sup>20</sup> It is commendable that symposiums have been organized jointly by Institute of History, archeology and ethnography KKB AS RUzb, Urgench state university, Karakalpak state university. Nukus state pedagogical institute for the coordinating regional researches and establishing scientific cooperative relations.

The political history of our country is one of the less studied problems in the Modern History of the Republic of Karakalpakstan. It is not possible to carry out researches of this kind without studying the memoirs of the state figures of the Karakalpakstan of the last decades of the 20th century.<sup>21</sup> Only after that, one can understand and explain the thoughts and deeds of those individuals who lived and struggled for the sake of their ideals. The problem of evolution of the modern state elite has not been studied.

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**MISSION TO TURKESTAN**  
*THE MEMOIRS OF COUNT K.K. PAHLEN, 1908-1909*

MAKHMUDOVA NIGORA BAROTOVNA

ABSTRACT

**Abstract:** *The article deals with one of the historical sources Mission to Turkestan: Being the Memoirs of Count K.K. Pahlen, 1908-1909 that reflects the history of colonial Turkestan at the beginning of the 20th century. The memoirs belong to the Imperial Senator, and investigator Count K.K. Pahlen. After the establishment of the Soviet government in Tsarist Russia, Pahlen emigrated to Germany and in 1922 during his short visit to his relatives in Finland Not long before his death, (he died in 1924) he dictated by memory his recollections and impressions of the journey to Turkestan in 1908-1909 in German language. Consequently the memoirs were translated into English by N. Couriss after 40 years and in 1964 they were published in London. The introduction to the memoirs was written by Richard A. Pierce, the professor of Queen's University in Ontario. The memoirs of the Senator significantly enrich the facts and events written in his official reports on the investigation of Turkestan Governor Generalship.*

**Keywords:** memoirs, Sharia, Adat, investigation, Senator K.K.Pahlen, Turkestan, marriage, family, investigation reports, manuscript.

The Tsarist Senator Count Pahlen, who investigated Turkestan from 1908 to 1909, left a well documented history of colonial Turkestan in early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is a historical source that reflects upon the history of the country during that period, in addition to 20 volumes of reports on the investigation of Turkestan. This source is his memoirs called *Mission to Turkestan: Being the Memoirs of Count K.K. Pahlen, 1908-1909* in which he describes his impressions of the trip to Turkestan in 1908-1909 in connection with his Senatorial inspection. This work significantly enriches the facts and events written in his official reports.

The memoirs were dictated by K.K. Pahlen in 1922 in German language during his short trip to visit his relatives in Finland. By that time it had been 13 years since his stay in Turkestan. These years were marked with the downfall of his successful career and huge personal losses. Furthermore, during the flight of the Pahlen family from revolutionary Petrograd in October 1917 all his travel notes and a great number of photographs that had been taken during the inspection of Turkestan's provinces were lost. During the last years K.K.Pahlen could rethink many things and have a more objective approach to what he had seen in Turkestan. He dictated his memoirs out of his memory and they were not complete and as Pahlen himself admitted that these "may contain some inaccuracies in such matters as topography and the description of Islamic practices". But this fact does not diminish the value of memoirs as a historical source on studying the materials of Senatorial inspection of Turkestan under the supervision of the Senator Count K.K. Pahlen.

The manuscript of the memoirs had been kept in Pahlen's family for 40 years. But at the beginning of 1960s, the Central Asian Research Center in London showed interest in it and decided to publish it. The details of K.K.Pahlen's biography and work had been clarified and the manuscript was translated into English by N. J. Couriss. The memoirs were published in 1964 in London. The introduction to the memoirs was written by Richard A. Pierce, professor of Queen's University in Ontario.<sup>1</sup> K.K. Pahlen's children Countess Margaret Pahlen, Mrs Helen Pahlen Wooley, Mrs Marie von Kaull and Nikolas Pahlen provided invaluable assistance in the preparation of the manuscript for publication.

The memoirs of K.K. Pahlen consist of introduction and seven parts: (I. Tashkent; II. Samarkand; III. Bukhara; IV. Fergana; V. Transcaspia; VI. Khiva; VII. Semirech'ye) and publisher's notes. They contain a vivid and colorful description of the nature of Turkestan region, Pahlen's observation of the behavior of local people and administration officials. The memories give the reader new information on the economy of the region, its history, cultural life, the system of administration as well as information on the Emirate of Bukhara and the Khanate of Khiva, the vassal states.

Differing from the dry reports on the results of the investigation, the memoirs are written in another style which is softer, more lyrical and contain a sharp critique of the local administration and central bodies, especially Colonization Administration. The personality of the Senator is seen more vividly through his writing. We can see the image of not only

the official who is truly devoted to the Empire, but also an educated and broad-minded person.

K.K. Pahlen speaks out his personal opinion about the low professional level of a large number of people in Colonial Administration inwardly calling them the managerie of fawning officials.<sup>2</sup> At the same time he notes that fortunately not all the officials were like this. He had a conversation with some officials who had served under the first Governor-General K.P. von Kaufman. They were highly educated professional people, loyal to the Russian Empire. They knew two or three foreign languages and many of them mastered local languages very well. However, "after the death of General Kaufman things changed. A long line of distinguished generals, brave in war but feeble as administrators filled the post of Governor-General. They were used as tools by their subordinates, and because of their standing with the sovereign, were able to obstruct attempts to introduce a centralized policy directed from the capital."<sup>3</sup>

K.L. Pahlen was dispirited at the realization that the authority of the region rested in the hands of unworthy people. He writes that many times he thought that, "how easy it would have been at that time to give these industrious people the leadership they needed, and gradually introduce them to civilization, instead of allowing this wonderful opportunity to founder on the rocks of bureaucracy and idleness in the chancelleries of St. Petersburg and Tashkent. Suggestions and reports submitted by the most competent officials or others acquainted with local conditions were all either turned down, filed, or bitterly resisted".<sup>4</sup>

During his trip to Turkestan K.K.Pahlen observed domestic life of the region and despite his firm beliefs of a colonizer about civilization mission of Russia in Turkestan, he started thinking about the real role of European people who arrived there in the fate of local population. "As I looked around at the assembled guests, I found myself wondering what we Europeans had brought this land, apart from perhaps a little ease and a few technical means of livelihood. Were the people happier before the Europeans stepped in? Was the advent of the soldier, the European engineer and technician to engender a ferment of disintegration destined eventually to destroy the souls of the people together with their ethical and moral standards? In the course of my tour of inspection I pondered much over this problem. I felt that in addition to my other duties I ought to try to understand the basic principles of the native's outlook on life, study the workings of his mind, and assess the changes which this contact with another civilization had brought about. In turn I was brought to

examine the whole problem of Mohammedanism in Central Asia".<sup>5</sup>

This is the reason why K.K.Pahlen paid significant attention to the ethnographic peculiarities of the region – the lifestyle of local population, traditions, clothing, and manners. He talked to Muslim spiritual leaders and made notes of these meetings in his memoirs. Many things that he had seen were admired by him and many things surprised him. Because his approach to evaluation was from the position of a European man. He did not realize that it was simply another civilization as developed as a European civilization.

The first thing that surprised him was the architecture of houses. In his memoirs he wrote: "At first sight there is something odd about a Turkestan village to a European, the absence of pointed roofs giving the impression of a place destroyed by fire so that only the walls survived; an impression soon dispelled, however, by the sight of inquisitive women jostling each other on the flat roofs".<sup>6</sup>

While Pahlen observed local population, he admired the richness and mottle of their clothing, but most of all he admired their nobleness and honor as well as manners which were the same in the behavior of proudest mullah or Beg and a shepherd boy; he admired respect and reverence of the young towards the elderly which was noticeable in each gesture of theirs. In Pahlen's opinion this kind of behavior could be achieved only through strict instillation of these values from childhood. He considered that this function was perfectly carried out by the education at Muslim *madrassahs*.

Travelling to provinces Pahlen often visited these schools, as he was interested in the organization of educational process in them. He was surprised at the monotony of teaching methods, which were based on learning prayers and sayings of the Prophet. But at the same time he was impressed by the effectiveness of academic or as he said "universal" method of teaching, through which the knowledge acquired by a student would remain in his memory throughout his life. In his memoirs Pahlen mentions learning the code of behavior, which had to be learned by heart for many years. As a result of this process the behavior of the student unconsciously corresponded to these rules. "Naturally, the rules of politeness in East and West differ greatly and are typical of their respective cultures. In the East they are founded on respect of the young for the old, whereas our Western ideas are unknown. They teach the art of self-restraint, a valuable asset in a world where tempers are quick".<sup>7</sup>

Having analyzed his observations on customs and lifestyle of local

population that were strictly based on religious norms K.K. Pahlen honestly admitted: "We Europeans may be inclined to regard the precepts which govern the life of a Muslim at every step as nothing but a collection of meaningless rules, but a little reflection will show that every one of these rules is founded on an essentially Mohammedan conception and the application of Mohammedan ethics".<sup>8</sup>

In his memoirs Pahlen mentions his meeting with "an exquisite and extremely gifted mullah", who was well educated, had mastered Russian language, who had been in Paris, Algeria, Morocco and Constantinople. He didn't write the name of this *mullah* in his memoirs but in all probability it is Makhmoudkhoja Behbudi, one of the outstanding *jadid* enlighteners, as the article about their meeting was published in "*?urkestanskaya tuzemskaya gazeta*".<sup>9</sup> Behbudi founded one of the first new method schools in Turkestan region and K.K.Pahlen was one of the first imperial officials who paid attention to this new reform in national schools of the region. Senator K.K.Pahlen was practically the first researcher at the beginning of the 20th century who studied the establishment and work of new method schools and presented brief but valuable information about them to society. He writes that "New method direction, the prevalence of which in native schools, the Regional Administration and Educational Authority were completely unaware, deserves serious attention".<sup>10</sup> New method schools, which became popular among progressive part of population were maintained by private individuals. In the process of the investigation it became evident that organizers and teachers at new method schools were mainly Kazan Tatars. Education at new method schools was directed "to strengthen the idea of greatness and might of Islam, to inspire a noble desire to serve for the union and revival of the Islam...in spite of religious differences".<sup>11</sup> In the course of the investigation at one of the schools the member of the commission asked pupils: "How many of you are Sunnis and how many are Shias?" The answer of pupils was rather interesting. They said: "Why do we need to know about it? All of us, both Sunnis and Shias are equal. There is no Sunni or Shia among us".<sup>12</sup> At new method schools Senator Pahlen could see the power that could unite and put an end to infightings in the East and reunite in its aspiration to educate all the progressive people of the time.

During his trips K.K.Pahlen was interested in the history of the region, particularly in the history of its cities. He showed great interest in the history of Tashkent, especially in the fact that this city could survive inspite of being the scene of repeated wars, chaos and meaningless extermination



for hundreds of years. "The fact that it is still inhabited or that rudimentary forms of civilization managed to survive can only be explained by the natural wealth of its soil". With surprise Pahlen wrote the words of a Dutch engineer who accompanied him in his journeys and who told him that, "geological survey he had made of the main canal supplying Tashkent with water from hills proved that it was at least 3,000 years old".<sup>13</sup>

K.K. Pahlen showed great interest in the personality of the great leader Timur. He writes: "That Tamerlane's stupendous victories should have impressed the Western world, is hardly surprising. He was described as a cruel and ruthless tyrant by his enemies and those who had reason to fear him; his intimates spoke of him as a genius, a supremely talented military leader and an able administrator. This latter description would appear to be nearer the truth if we judge him by the monuments he left behind, by the skill with which he administered his domains, and by the realm he bequeathed to his descendants. The mosques he built and the ruins of the mighty aqueduct which once brought water to Samarkand still stand today, more than five centuries after his death".<sup>14</sup> Remembering his visit to Timur's mausoleum K.K.Pahlen writes: "The grave of the mighty conqueror, shorn of any splendor of the golden ornaments of precious stones so favoured in the East, is as unpretentious and simple as was his personal life... . These traits explain the preservation in Central Asia even today of the memory of Tamerlane's ideals, of the great tasks he strove to accomplish and the results he achieved, coupled with memories of his mighty feats of war, his astounding victories and the enormous booties he levied".<sup>15</sup>

Many pages of the memoirs are devoted to the detailed and thorough description of the nature of Tashkent oasis, suburbs of Samarkand, Fergana valley, vastness of Semirech'ye and the lake Issyk-Kul. But the only thing that irritated Pahlen and the officials who accompanied him was the badness of roads. He wrote: "The worst roads in West Europe are better than anything one meets in Turkestan".<sup>16</sup>

In the memoirs of K.K. Pahlen there is a lot of information about Turkestan: about richness of Fergana valley,<sup>17</sup> about unique lands of Semirech'ye, where a special kind of Artemisia grows, the seeds of which are used for the production of valuable medicine santonine and for which in the region there was going on a bloody fight;<sup>18</sup> about Cossacks who settled in Semirechye, about their work, household and problems<sup>19</sup> and many other things.

Pahlen's impressions of the meetings with the Emir of Bukhara and

the Khan of Khiva are also interesting. In Bukhara Pahlen and officials who accompanied him in his journey were met with "customary oriental pomp" by the heir and his suite. The meeting took place in the summer residence of the Emir in Kermine. On behalf of the Emir Abdullah Bakhadir Khan, the Senator Pahlen was awarded Bukharan Order. They were driven to the Emir's residence in landau and the riders' mounts were Arab bred. This visit of Pahlen to Bukhara was covered in "Turkestanskaya tuzemskaya gazeta":<sup>20</sup>

During his visit to the Emirate of Bukhara, Pahlen became interested in the income of the Emir seeing the splendor of the Court of Emir. In his memoirs he writes: "Then for the first time the known amount of his income was revealed to me: a deposit of 40 million roubles in shares and securities in the Tashkent branch of the State Bank, huge accounts in the banks of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and cases full of gold and silver in his Treasury in Bukhara. In addition there was the revenue, quite impossible to check, from loans advanced at exorbitant rates of interest to his Bukharan merchants, and even abroad. ... The Emir was credited with being one of the best judges of diamonds and turquoise in the world. Quite obviously he was one of the world's richest men, and one of its greatest capitalists. This wealth was all of fairly recent origin, and had been amassed after the Russian occupation of Turkestan and because of the protection he had gained as the result of our orderly administration. ... Thus a continuous flow of money kept pouring into the treasury, where it stayed, as there was virtually no expenditure, the only drain upon it being occasioned by the ruler's withdrawals to meet his personal requirements."<sup>21</sup>

Pahlen visited the Khan of Khiva as well. Khiva made a great impression on him as one of the most beautiful cities of Turkestan and looked as a huge garden. In his memoirs Pahlen describes the palace of Khan and the reception organized in his honor with awe: "From the outside the Khan's palace rather resembled the Kremlin in Moscow, but once through the main gate in the outer wall one was confronted by a large number of carved ebony columns that supported the terraces of flat-roofed buildings. A fountain of spring water occupied the centre. The rose garden was quite wonderful and was tended by a German..." According to the words of K.K. Pahlen the Khan was very "aristocratic-looking". He was wearing a black silk kaftan and all his Russian decorations. The Senator learnt that the Khan's two favourite hobbies were rose growing and falconry. During the reception the Khan wanted to present Pahlen one of his choicest stallions but Pahlen refused

this gift saying that in the course of investigation he himself would commit government officials to trial for accepting unsolicited gifts. Therefore, the Senator and Khan agreed that Pahlen would accept as a gift a ceremonial sword and ayataghan, which were inset with precious stones. Later Pahlen returned this attention of Khan by sending him a collection of the choicest rose buds from Tashkent. The senator stayed in Khiva for only one day.<sup>23</sup> His visit was also covered in *Turkestan'skaya tuzemskaya gazeta*.

The last province Pahlen visited during his travel to Turkestan region was Semirech'ye.... Pahlen wrote about this province in his memoirs: "The Russians call this province 'The land of the Seven Rivers'. It might equally well be called 'the Land of Milk and Honey' for it is a region lavishly endowed by nature.... But for the hunter this stretch of the country is a veritable Eldorado".<sup>24</sup> Agriculture, livestock, beekeeping and fruit growing were well developed in Semirechye.

But on this wonderful land senator K.K. Pahlen faced serious problems, caused by colonization policy of the Tsarist government. "For as long as the emigration movement was sporadic and undirected from St. Petersburg all went well, the settlers being anxious to adapt their own ideas of farming to local customs. ...They built their villages, learned the local art of irrigation and lived on the friendliest terms with the natives, to whom they duly paid their annual rents".<sup>25</sup>

These emigrants were the first wave of uncontrolled emigration. They contributed to the strengthening of friendly relations with local population. But the colonization of the region that started under the direction of Colonization Department determined the emergence of new authority completely independent from Governor-General, the Provincial and District Officers. This new authority started to settle the region by diametrically opposite principles that violated the land ownership rights of local population. New settlers started to occupy lands, driving away its previous owners. K.K.Pahlen writes that he received a great number of letters of complaint from Kyrgyz population that lived in Semirechye against Colonization Department which carried out the colonization of lands there. Pahlen writes: "I found it heart-breaking to listen to the tales of woe of those wretched people, who were being evicted from their homesteads. ...They simply failed to grasp how government officials of that same Tsar could now be bent on depriving them of the land they had "brought to life" by irrigation of their fields and their zimovki".<sup>26</sup>

These activities of the Colonization Authorities in Turkestan that lasted for 15 years aggravated the relationship between Russian settlers and local

population. When Senator paid a visit to that region, he had the impression that, "the region rebellion was not far off, and it was only fear of the bayonets which prevented the situation from exploding into revolt".<sup>27</sup> This aggravation of relations between Russian settlers and local population worried the Senator. All these problems were thoroughly reflected in 430 pages of his special tome *Pereselencheskoye delo v Turkestane* which was included in his report.

The facts given in this article which were taken from the memoirs of K.K.Pahlen, only outline more interesting problems and matters, while there are many new and less known facts and details on the history of Turkestan region at the beginning of 20th century. Bringing the article to an end, we may say that throughout 40 years after the territories appropriated from the people of Central Asia were included into Russian Empire and new administrative unit-Turkestan Governor-Generalship was formed, the administrative system of Turkestan region management constantly changed. A more comfortable and mainly an effective system of managing new lands rich in natural resources was sought. This system would allow maximum exploitation of these lands for the interest of monopoly taking into consideration their remote and marginal position.

The inspection of K.K.Pahlen was the next stage in this process. It was supposed to present the government the materials that would answer the questions as –how to modernize the system of colonial administration of Turkestan region in accordance with political and economic reality that had changed at the beginning of the 20th century and what to do in order to realize a global idea of Tsarist government– to create a new "Russian Turkestan" on the rich margin of the Empire, colonize the region with "strong Russian people"; was it worthy to pass the subordination of the region from the Military Ministry to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This explains why the experienced manager and economic executive Senator Count K.K. Pahlen was sent to Turkestan for investigation and the scale of the inspection conducted by him in the region.

In the end, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The sources of studying the investigation of senator K.K.Pahlen and its role and importance in the process of perfection of administrative system of Turkestan region management and solving the problem of its subordination to the Military Ministry or to the Ministry of Internal Affairs were 20 tomes of reports about the results of investigation which were published in 1910-

- 1911 in St. Petersburg and Senator's memoirs *Mission to Turkestan: Being the Memoirs of Count K.K. Pahlen, 1908-1909* published in English in 1964 in London. Both the sources complement each other and present valuable information on the history of Turkestan region during colonial period;
2. The memoirs of K.K.Pahlen are an important source for studying the revelations and mysteries of the history of colonial Turkestan at the beginning of the 20th century as they were written by the "former senator", emigrant, the person who was free from political and ideological pressure of Tsarist power ;
  3. Being published in England in 1964, the memoirs showed a real picture of Russian Turkestan to the European intelligentsia.

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# LOCAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF BUKHARA EMIRATE AT THE END OF NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

MASALIEVA OLTINOY MASALIEVNA

## ABSTRACT

*This article surveys the Bukhara historiographical school. At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and in early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Bukhara Emirate was well-known for its scientists and personalities, revivalists, poets, painters, calligraphers and others. Creating historical and literary works, at the same time they continued outstanding traditions of the Bukhara historiographical school. In that period such intellectuals as Azim Somiy Bustoniy, Mirzo Salimbek, Afzal Makhdum Pirmastiy, Muhammad Ali Baldzuoni, Ne'matullah Muhtaram, Mulla Abdurakhman Tamkini Bukhari, Sayyid Muhammad Nosir, Sharifdzan Makhdum Sadri Ziya, Khishmat Mir Muhammad Siddiq Bukhari, Mulla Gaybulla Mirkhordi, Khamid Baqokhudza Ogli, Abdullah Khodza Mukhtorkhodza Mufti, Sadridin Ayni and others lived and worked.*

*At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and in early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries historical, literary, biographical works were created in Bukhara Emirate in Persian-Tajik languages and they're of great importance for reflecting rich ancient history.*

**Keywords:** *Bukhara emirate; Bukhara historiographical school; historical literature; manuscripts; Manghits.*

It is known, that Bukhara was called since 1533 (according to some sources in 1557) as Bukhara Khanate. It was ruled by Shaybanids from 1533 to 1601, Zhanids (Astarkhanids) from 1601 to 1756 and Manghits with the name of Emirate from 1756 to 1920. At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and in early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries Bukhara Emirate was well-known for its scientists and personalities, revivalists, poets, painters, calligraphers and others. By creating historical and literary works, at the same time they continued outstanding traditions of the Bukhara historiographical school. They were

not confined in this sphere.

Miscellaneous scientific investigations have been carried out by historians and orientalists of Uzbek history on the history of Bukhara. But there are a lot of problems to solve. According to specialists of that period “by representatives of the Bukhara historiographical school more than 50 historical, literary and biographical works were created. Major portion of these works weren’t investigated deeply by our scientists and translated into Uzbek. Particularly though *Khashmat* of Muhammad Sadik ibni Muzaffar, son of Khamid Baqakhodja, *Sadri Ziyb* of Muhammad Sharof and works of other authors were known to scientists, they weren’t investigated specially and from scientific viewpoint”.<sup>1</sup>

To our way of thinking, there could be several reasons for not deeply studying the works of Bukhara historiographical school’s representatives. One of them is a depression of the historiographical traditions after establishment of Soviet system and liquidation of Bukhara Emirate in the 1920s. Particularly the alphabet was changed twice in the Soviet period. At the same time from the 1930s, national intellectuals who knew Persian, Arabic, Turkish and written languages were suppressed ruthlessly. Manuscripts and lithographic books in Arabic were also destroyed. In spite of this, a scientific heritage was protected.

Our research showed that in that period such intellectuals as Azim Somiy Bustoniy, Mirzo Salimbek, Afzal Makhdum Pirmastiy, Muhammad Ali Baldzuvoni, Ne’matullah Muhtaram, Mulla Abdurakhman Tamkini Bukhari, Sayyid Muhammad Nosir, Sharifdzan Makhdum Sadri Ziyoy, Khishmat Mir Muhammad Siddiq Bukhari, Mulla Gaybulla Mirkhordi, Khamid Baqokhudza Ogli, Abdullah Khodza Mukhtorkhodza Mufti, Sadriddin Ayni lived and worked.

Above mentioned intellectuals who directly participated in and witnessed the events of that period have endowed to Bukhara historiography. One of the important sides of those works is direct testimony of their authors in the events of that period. For example Mulla Azim Somiy was first of all a clerk, then a personal clerk (*munshi*) of Emir Muzaffar. Mirzo Salimbek held several authoritative positions and was an observer at Turkestan Governor Generalship, Sadri Ziyoy was a supreme Qazi of Bukhara, Khishmat Mir Muhammad Siddiq Bukhari and Muhammad Nosiriddin were sons of Emir Muzaffar.

In 1921 Sayyid Muhammad Siddiq, Said Muhammad Nosir, as members of the society *Andzumani tarix*, Muhammad Sharif Sadri Ziyoy, Muhammad Salimbek, Abdurauf Fitrat participated and their main goal

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was to study the Bukhara fortress (architecture).<sup>2</sup>

It is emphasized that state affairs in Bukhara Emirate were administered in Persian and Tajik languages. At the end of the 19th and in early 20th centuries historical, literary, biographical works were created in Bukhara Emirate in Persian-Tajik languages and these are of great importance for reflecting upon rich history. Information about the administrative system of Bukhara Emirate, history of Bukhara Emirs, economic life of Khanates, tax system, relationships with neighboring countries, characteristics of districts in Emirates, religious problems, inner political, economic situation of Bukhara Emirate after the occupation of Central Asia by Russians was provided in their works. In their activity historiographical traditions of the Middle Ages were kept.

Life, activity as well as rich scientific heritage of Sadr Ziyo, a representative of Bukhara historiographical school has been studied insufficiently. Sadri Ziyo was one of the famous person of Bukhara, and he was a statesman, poet and calligraphist (1867-1932). In some works, name of Sadri Ziyo was mentioned as Mirzo Muhammad Sharif, Muhammad Sharif Makhdum, Qadi Sharifdzon. Ziyo was his penname. He was a son of Abdushukr Sadr, a supreme *Qazi* of Bukhara (he died circa 1888-1889).

Originally, he was a *Qazi* in Dzandar, Karki, Qarshi, Gijduvan districts of Bukhara Emirate. Later he was a supreme *Qazi* of Bukhara Emirate. After a coup d'tat in Bukhara Emirate, he worked in different enterprises in Bukhara National Soviet Republic.

It may be emphasized, that there are no generalized works of Sadri Ziyo, his life and activity, scientific heritage in Uzbek. Several articles about his library's table and diary were published.<sup>3</sup>

*Sadri Bukhara* was published in Tajik by academician Muhammadjon Shukurov in Dushanbe. By that author in Teheran *Ruznoma* of Sadri Ziyo was published in Persian<sup>4</sup>. In 2002, in Teheran *Tazkore ashor* of Sadri Ziyo was published by the same author.

According to a son of Sadri Ziyo, M.Shakuriy (Shukurov) scientific and literary activity of Sadri Ziyo was diverse. A house of Sadri Ziyo was the center of intellectual gathering. Ahmad Donish, Shamsiddin Shahin, Rahmatulloh Vazeh, Mufti Akrom (Domulla Ikromcha), Mirzo Hayot Sahbo, Mirzo Asim Somiy, Sadridin Ayniy, Abdulvohid Munzim, Ahmadjon Khamidi and others were protected from various assaults and aggression<sup>5</sup>. Sadri Ziyo possessed a big personal library. A catalogue of his personal library was published in 1999 by historians Sh. Vohidov and



A. Erkinov in France<sup>6</sup>, and in 2007 in Russian<sup>7</sup>.

According to M. Shakuriy, it was known by the investigation of Sahobiddin Sodiq, who studied scientific heritage of Sadri Ziyo, more than 60 works of Sadri Ziyo were assaulted and currently only eleven volumes of his works exist and most of them were written by Sadri Ziyo in beautiful calligraphy<sup>8</sup>. In the articles and books of historian Sh. Vohidov, more than 70 works of Sadri Ziyo's were mentioned<sup>9</sup>.

His works *Muntahob at-tavorih*, *Risolai salotin va shakhriyoron*, *Zikri salotin mangitiya*, *Majmuai tazkor at-tavorih* (collected articles and histories), *Ro'znoma*, *Navodiri Ziyoiya* (rare sources of Sadri Ziyo), *Zikri Salotin va podshokhi Amir Olimkhon holui*, reflect upon political, social and economic issues.

Sadri Ziyo wrote much about events, which he heard or was a witness. For instance, a manuscript described travel of Bukhara Emir to Russia, relationship between Bukhara and Afghanistan, samples of his own declarations and other events of that period. In 1904, the book was found in disjointed situation and it was called *Osori Ziyaiya*.

His works mostly were in historical, literary characteristics, and gave precious information about literary and historical heritage of Bukhara Emirate in the second half of nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. In the manuscripts fund of the Oriental Institute of Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan *Majmuai tazkor* is kept under the number of 2193. It was written by Sharifjon Makhдум Sadri Ziyo in Arabic and Tajik languages. *Majmuai tazkor* is a work containing precious information on Central Asia and neighboring countries, history, literature and other spheres of science:

This collection consists of following items:

1. Russian-Tajik dictionary,
2. Copy from *Al-maqamat Abul Baqa* of Jami
3. *Khadi az-zoiriyn* of Nosiriddin bin amir Muzaffar,
4. *Risola dar bayoni shakhri Nurota*
5. Copy of *Alam al-Akhhbor* and correspondence with Khorun ar-Rashid about Alouddin Attar
6. Abdulqodir Jiloniy and his followers, his letters and biographical information.
7. *Muntahobi salotin va shakhriyoron*.
8. *Muntahob at-tavorih*.
9. *Muntahab dar ta'yin va tabayyuni baladi mashkhura*.
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12. Short history of Genghis Khan and his successors
13. *Silsilai salatini Uzbeki Genghisiya.*
14. Short history of Afghanistan.
15. Russia and history of its principedom.
16. History of Bukhara city, *Bukhara history* of Narshakhi.
17. *Risolai khattotini nastaliqi.*
18. *Tazkirai shuaro'i mutaqaddimin va salatini mu'asirin.*
19. Biography of Farabi, Ibn Sino (Avicenna), Nosiruddin Tusi and others.

The work was written in nastaliq 1342-1347 AH (1923-1928-29 AD), in 459 pages. Pages 179a-207a of the work briefly reflect upon the period of Abulkhayrikhon, the last Emir of Bukhara – Olimkhon and establishment of Soviet government in Bukhara. All state and administrative issues were written in the manuscript. An author wrote on page 231a: "About occupations of Uzbek sultans and officials from Genghis Khan period. Officials and tribes and other rulers were divided into four groups..."<sup>10</sup>

Orientalists D.Valiyeva and A.A. Semyonov in 1948 printed a treatise of Mirza Badi' Devon. Originally it was copied from a collection made by Sharifdzon Makhdum. Subsequently this treatise was attached to a complete edition of *Majma al-arkam*<sup>11</sup>.

Some information about water sharing among districts is also given in the manuscript. For instance, it pointed to the water supply to Karmana, Shofirkon, Komot and Somjin, Khayrobod and other districts. It also provided information about *madrassah*<sup>12</sup>. In the 248a-269b pages of the manuscript it gave information about *Risolai khattotini nastaliqi*, i.e. calligraphists who wrote in nastaliq.

There are two copies of Sadri Ziyov's *Ruznoma*. They are kept in the depository of Oriental Institute of Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan. The ordinal number of the first one is 2277 and the second is 1304. They resemble *Tazkori ashor*, *Tazkiratul khattotin* and other works of Sadri Ziyov.

*Ruznoma* is one of the biggest works of Sadri Ziyov, containing more than 500 pages, written by the author's hand. It is an autographic work. The reason that it is called *Ruznoma* was that the work mentioned day-to-day events which began from the period of Domullo Abdushukur, father of Sadri Ziyov, i.e. 1304 AH (1889 AD) until 1368 AH (1929 AD). Thus the

work describes the events from childhood of the author until his death. And the work was unfinished. The book of Sadri Ziyoy was printed in Teheran by Muhammad Shakuriy with a foreword and appendix in Persian. Muhammad Shakuriy used a copy No. 2277 and it contains 512 pages, each page having 13 lines, in a volume of 19/10 cm.

In the introduction of the book it gave information about Sadri Ziyoy and his *Ruznoma*, i.e. biography of Sadri Ziyoy, about his father, Abdushukur qadi, works written by Sadri Ziyoy, as well as about research on *Roznoma*. According to M. Shakuriy, *Roznoma* and other some important works of Sadri Ziyoy were burnt down in the disaster in Karshi<sup>13</sup>, as they were burnt down by the order of Emir.

M. Shakuriy stressed that Sadri Ziyoy wrote about *madrassahs*. He insisted that according to Sadri Ziyoy there were 223 mosques in Bukhara, 360 *gouzars* (*makhalla*) and each *gouzar* had a mosque. A. Semenov wrote that he insisted there were 360 mosques in Bukhara. New research proved that according to O. Sukhareva, who investigated Bukhara, there were 217 *gouzars* and total number of mosques was 219. At last an author arrived at a conclusion that Sadri Ziyoy's number of 223 was a fact and true<sup>14</sup>.

On the 37<sup>th</sup> page of *Ruznoma*, poems of Sadri Ziyoy were few and 7 *ghazals*, 3 *mukhammas*, 3 *qasidas*, 2 *marsiyas* (commemorations), 4 *rhubais*. His 130 couplets described other poets. According to M. Shakuriy his son Rustam Shukurov translated *Ruznoma* into English<sup>15</sup>. Sadri Ziyoy was a famous writer, who wrote about *wazirs* and his *Hikoyati Barmaki va Abu Ali Ibn Sino va Mir Alisher Navoi* was famous. According to Kholida Ayniy one of his works *Navodiri Ziyoiya* (a rare source of Sadri Ziyoy) was not studied well. It gives information about the political and cultural life of Bukhara at the end of the nineteenth century.

Historians-scientists Sh. Vohidov and Z. Choriev wrote that *Navodiri Ziyoiya* (Unicum Ziya) collection consists of 5 separate works. These are *Tarjimai kholi muallif va abovu ajdodi* (Biography of an author and his ancestors), *Tazkirat al-vuzaro* (Tazkirah of wazirs), *Sababhoi inkilobi Bukhara* (Reasons of Bukhara revolution), *Latoifu mutoyibi muallif va muosironi* (Fiction of the author and his contemporaries), *Tazkirat al-khumaka* (Biographies of ignoramus)<sup>16</sup>.

Sadri Ziyoy was a famous anthologist, and he wrote a number of anthologies: *Tazkirai shuaroi mutaqaddimin* (Anthology of previous poets), *Tazkirai ash'or* (Tazkirah of poems), *Shuaroi mutaahhirin* (Following poets), *Fuzaloi mutahhirin* (Following intellectuals), *Zikri chand nafar ulamoi dar*

*okhir* (References of some intellectuals), *Tazkirat ul-khukamo* (Sadi's tazkira), *Risolai khattotini mutaqaddimin va mutaahhirin* (Treatises of previous and following calligraphists), *Zikri khattotoni nastaliqi* (References of calligraphists of nastaliq writing).

One of the anthologies of Sadri Ziyo is *Tazkori ashor* (Anthology of poets). It was written during 1322 AH, and was prepared in 1325 AH (1905 AD). It was enriched with new data and later some chapters were added. Previous edition included characteristics of more than 200 contemporary poets and the last edition included more than 69 poets.

While Emir Nasrullo ruled in Bukhara, his son Emir Muzaffar was the governor of Karmana. After the death of Emir Nasrullo, he ascended the throne and ruled Bukhara during 1860-1885 AD. Emir Muzaffar had many sons and Sayyid Muhammad Nasir was one of them. In old historical sources, his name was mentioned as Nasiriddin al-Hanafi al-Husayni al-Buhari or as Muhammad Nasir Sayyid Nasiriddin Sayyid amir Muzaffariddin. He was the senior brother of Amir Abdulahad (reining in 1885-1910 AD) and the uncle of Olimxo, the last Emir of Bukhara. Nasiriddin's life is little investigated. He was a pretender for a throne and for this reason he spent all his life in the Bukhara palace. He had his own fortress and library.

There is no authentic data about his family and children. However, a historian Komilxon Kattaev in his treatise *Maxdumi A'zam and Dahbed* writes that Maxdumi A'zam mentioned the works *Tuxfat ul-zo'irin* by Nasiriddin Husayni Bukhari and *Ravoih ul-kuds* by Maqsud ibn Nasiriddin Husayni al-Bukhari. The initials say that the author of *Ravoih ul-quds* was the son of Nasiriddin Husayni al-Bukhari himself. The book of the eastern manuscripts says that Nasiriddin's son, Arabxon, married the daughter of Emir Olimxon and lived in the palace.

According to Mirza Salimbek, prince Sayyid Mir Nasir Khan Tura was the tenth son of Emir Muzaffar. For some years he was with his father and in his journeys was a part of the Highest Suite. Emir assigned him a district. But a little bit earlier, Emir Muzaffar died. After accession to the throne of Sayyid Emir Abdulahad Khan, the prince lived in the highest arch and lived his life for the service of science and knowledge. He couldn't keep himself apart from reading books. Emir Nasir Khan collected a lot of books, wrote several works, and some of them were published (in lithography). He read all along and composed books. He had adult sons and a number of grandchildren. All of them were well, honored and respected in Tsar's homes, holding different occupations<sup>17</sup>.

In 1920 after the overthrow of Bukhara Emirate, Nasiriddin Muhammad became a member of the society *Anjumani tarix* (Assembly of Historians). Some members of this union were Hoji Mulla Abdurauf Afandi, Sayyid Muhammad Sidiq, Domullo Muhammad Mufti and others. Sayyid Muhammad Nosir having greatly contributed into study of the history of the Bukhara Emirate devoted all his life to science.

The book by Nosiriddin ibn Muzaffar *Tuxfat ul-zo'irin* together with the book by Sadr Ziyoy *Majmuai tazkira* is stored in the manuscripts fund of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Academy of Science of the Republic of Uzbekistan under the number No. 2193. This copy is not rewritten completely. The used handwriting is nastalik in Persian language having 20 pages. The book contains the most valuable data about the sacred and great persons buried in Bukhara and its neighborhood.

*Tukhfat uz-Zoirin* by Muhammad Nosir was published by the method of lithography in Bukhara<sup>18</sup>. The work was studied by investigators in many scientific works and some dissertations were prepared on it<sup>19</sup>. "Bukhara part" of this work was translated into Russian with a foreword and comments in the *Document de travail de IIFÉAC* (April 2003) of French Institute of Central Asian research. Some data exists on *Qunuz al atqiyo* and *Osor us Salotin* of Sayyid Muhammad Nosir<sup>20</sup>. The book by Sayyid Muhammed Nosir *Taxkikoti ark Bukhara salotinu amiroi* written in 1921-1922 AD is also stored in the Oriental Studies of the Academy of Science of the Republic of Uzbekistan under the number No. 19. The manuscript gives historical data about the Childuhtaron mosque, about hotels and chapels during the reign of Shoh Murod and Amir Haydar. The manuscript is written in Persian language and consists of 42 pages. *Taxkikoti ark Bukhara* of Sayyid Muhammad Nosir was translated from the Persian language into Uzbek and Russian and was published<sup>21</sup>.

Another book by Sayyid Muhammad Nosir – *Asari as salotin* is kept in the treasury of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Academy of Science of the Republic of Uzbekistan under the number No. 1422. In the introduction to the manuscript, there is a date of 1322 AH. It means that the author started to write his book in 1904 AD. The completion date of the book is not known. The copy that we used lacks last pages. This book consisting of 54 pages is also written by handwriting nastalik in the Persian language. The book begins with traditional prayers. And Sayyid Nosiriddin Sayyid Amir Muzaffariddin, the author, writes that he read many old books and while writing the history of the Bukhara Sultans he used the following books *Ravzat us-safo*, *Tarixi Muqimxoniy*, *Tarixi Vojiz*, *Tuxfai*

*xoniy, Tarixi Muin, Majmuai Qozi*. The book itself consists of three parts. The first chapter is devoted to the history of the Shaybonixons. It begins with a narration about the state affairs of the Abulkhair.

The second chapter describes the history of the Ashtarkhoniyy who ruled in Movarounnahar after the Shaybonids. That fact is ascertained that the Ashtarxkhoniyy were also named *Joniy*. The article begins with their reference as Joniykhon ibn Yarmuhammad ib... xon ibn Chavoqkhon ibn Muhammadkhon ibn Baxodirkhon ibn Qutlugbugakhon ibn Chingizkhon". The third chapter is devoted to the history of Mangit dynasties. The article begins with listing of names of the Mangit Amirs, who ruled Buhara-i-sharif: the first-Muhammad Rahimkhon, the second-Doniyol otaliq (the tutor of the successor to the throne, i.e. the son of the governor), the third –Amir Shahrudkhon, the fourth –Sayyid Amir Haydar, the fifth-Sayyid amir Husaynkhon, the sixth-Amir Umarkhon, the seventh- Sayyid Amir Nasrulloh Bahodurkhon, the eighth-Sayyid Amir Muzaffarkhon, the ninth-Abdulahadkhon, the tenth-Amir Muhammad Olim Bahodurkhon.

Mir Muhammad Siddiq Bukhari ibn Amir Muzaffarkhon was one of the sons of Amir Muzaffar. His pseudonym was Hishmat. There is no authentic data about his life. Hishmat in his book No. 2663 wrote that he heard from his parents about his birthdate. He was born in 1281 AH (118b page) i.e. 1864 AD. Authors of the catalog (CVR) affirmed that Khashmat at Olimkhan (1910-1920) was free. According to Ayni he was held in captivity at Olimkhan. Sadriddin Ayni wrote that Hishmat was the youngest brother of the Bukhara Amir Abdulahad. He spent 35 years of his life under home arrest and in the year 1920 emigrated to Afghanistan.

According to words of Mirza Salimbek the ninth son of Lord (Emir Muzaffar) Sayyid Mir Siddiq Khan Tora in the period of his father ruled in Chardzuy region. Before the death of Emir Muzaffar Khan, according to the highest decree he along with his helpers came to Bukhara to meet with his father. Not long after Emir Muzaffar died in the Highest Arch. A successor of the throne, Abdulahad Khan was informed about the incident who immediately left Kerman district and sat down on the throne. He granted to his brother, prince Sayyid Mir Siddiq Tura a good court in *Khauz-I Dasturkhanchi*, providing him a big salary and allowances. Above mentioned prince, was not worldly wise and engaged himself with science and praying to Allah. He invited scientists, ulemmas, readers of Koran for discussions and benefitted from the conversations. He collected a number of books from different branches of sciences and theology, became an

excellent scientist and possessed immense knowledge. He wasted no moment in his life. From 1336 AH for 33 years he conducted his noble life and remained satisfied and tranquil.

Hishmat was a poet, literateur, author of several annals unfinished but providing valuable literary-historical data. Mir Muhammad Siddiq was not only the writer, but was also interested in astrology, which is mentioned in his book *Majmuai zoija ahkomi nujum* (The Book of Destinies by the Zodiac). The books written by Mir Muhammad Siddiq ibn Amir Muzaffar are: *Devooni Hishmat*, *Daftari musavvadai Hishmat* (The Book of Hishmat's Sketches), *Nomai Husravon*, *Mazhmuai Zoizhai ahkomi nuzhum*, *Mazhmuai al-bayoz* etc.

*Devooni Hishmat* (The Collection of Hishmat's verses) was written at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and in early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It includes ghazals, *mukamas* (i.e. the poetic stanzas consisting of five hemistiches), odes and other manuscripts. Its handwriting is nastalik and consists of 48 pages.

*Nomai Husravon* (The Letter of Governors), is an anthology in verses. It gives data on governors reigning since 1495 AH up to the time of author's life and engaged. The author started to write this work in 1892-1893 AD and finished it in 1913-1914 AD. Its handwriting is nastalik and comprises 75 pages. *Mazhmuai Zoizhai ahkomi nuzhum* (The book of Destinies by the Zodiac) was written in early 20<sup>th</sup> century and is of 115 pages. *Mazhmuai al-bayoz* is a literary-historical collection, written at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and has 259 pages.

The books rewritten by Hishmat are: *Maohofi zhavohiri Alloh saho*. (Its author is Mir Huseyin bin Muhammad al Husayni an-Nishopuri. It was rewritten in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in 10 pages); *Manokibi shayh Holid Ziyovuddin an-Naqshbandiy al-Muzhaddidi Kodiri* (The description of Sheikh Halid Ziyavuddin Nakshbandy al-Muzhaddidi Kadiri) etc. According to Baljuvoni, "musical school was opened in the yard of Mir Muhammad Siddiq Khashmat and Fitrat Effendi was made the chief of this school"<sup>18</sup>. Works and copied books of Khishmat are stored in the treasure of Oriental Institute of Academy of Sciences in Tashkent. On 179b-182a pages of one of Khishmat's book, kept under the No.2663, a catalogue of his books is given. It also gives the price of books. According to information of Sh.H. Vahidov, Mir Siddiq was a statesman, poet, sponsor, bibliophile, historian and possessor of great personal library. According to preliminary data about 1,000 volumes of manuscripts and lithographic works in different languages were stored in his personal library. About 60 works are associated with the name of Mir Muhammad Siddiq and he was as an

author copyist, compiler or editor-in-chief<sup>19</sup>.

Khamid Baqokhodja ogli (birthdate - the end of 1870s – early 1880s , death date is unknown). The anthology of Nematulloh Mukhtaram states that he was smooth-tongued and eloquent and Bukhariogli was a penname of Khomid Khodja Qadi Baqokhodja. Life, historical works of Khamid Baqokhodja ogli have not been studied up to date. Data about him is available in his own works. He was a son of Baqokhdoja, a *Qazi* of Kerki city during the Emirhood of Muzaffar. After the death of his father, he lived in Bukhara. According to *Tanzil-al-amsol fi zikri bayoni al-ahval*, “a son of Baqokhodja *Qazi*, Khamid in his childhood studied in Attor’s *madrassah*, and shared the room with a *mahdum* (worker) in the southern part of *madrassah*”<sup>20</sup>. Mother of Khamid Baqokhodja was also a supporter of learning and it could be understood from these words: “my mother was looking for resembling books, but he couldn’t find the copy”<sup>21</sup>

One of his known historical books – *Muntahob-I tarihi amironi Mangit* (Selected works of history of Mangit Emirs) was written in 1350 AH (1931-32 AD). Another work was *Tanzilal-al-amsol fi zikri bayoni al-akhvol* (Examples for stating circumstances). Both his works were about Bukhara Emir’s history and were written in Persian.

*Tanzilal-al-amsol fi zikri bayoni al-akhvol* was also written by author’s hand. Completion date of this work was the 6<sup>th</sup> of Sha’bon 1346 AH, i.e. 29 January 1928. It was written in the fast nastaliq, and included 661 pages in the size of 17 x 21.3 cm. In dark blue hardcover, it is stored in the Oriental Study Institute of Academy of Sciences under the No. 602. *Tanzilal-al-amsol fi zikri bayoni al-akhvol* consists of 4 chapters. It was begun with these words: “In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful, he is Aziz (respected) and Aliy (Supreme) and His Mercy hides sins of sinners. A thousand different lines are not enough for the description of His Mercy...”.

First chapter describes the childhood of an author, knowledge (3b-92a p.p.). Second chapter gives details about the lives and activities of thinkers, Sheikhs, scientists, a short history of Manghit dynasty, inner situation of Bukhara Emirate from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> up to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, occupation of Central Asia by Russian’s Tsars (92a-253b p.p.). Third chapter is about the endeavor of the author to be chairman and renunciation of this occupation (253b-414a). In writing this work, the author relied on S. Ayniy’s *Tarihi amironi Mangitiya*, participants, eyewitnesses of events and verbal messages. As R. Kholiqova wrote, “the second part of *Tanzilal-amsol*” was about “lives and conditions of thinkers,



Sheikhs, scientists: Russian conquests in Maverannahar and Bukhara” and gave new facts and data. In the 116b and 166b pages of the work, Khamid Khodja Baqoev wrote about Russia’s policy in Central Asia and gives information about participants and witnesses of events<sup>22</sup>.

Mirzo Azim Somiy Bustoniy’s life and activity (1838-1914), who lived at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was studied by some scientists<sup>23</sup>. Mirzo Azim Somiy Bustoniy was an author of the following works: *Mirot ul-khayot* (A mirror of life), *Insho, Tuhfai shohi* (Shah’s gift), *Tarkihi salotini Mangitiya* (Manghit rulers’ history), *Dahmai shohon* (Tombs of Shahs) etc. One of his works *Tarkihi salotini mangitiya* (Manghit rulers’ history). There are a number of manuscripts of the *Tarkihi salotini Mangitiya*<sup>24</sup>. An orientalist, L.M. Epifanova translated into Russian *Tarkihi salotini Mangitiya* (Manghit rulers’ history).

Another work of Mirzo Azim Somiy Bustoniy, *Tuhfai shohi* (Shah’s gift) was written in 1319 AH (1901 AD). The work was written in Persian-Tajik, and included a period of the last years of Ashtarkhoni Subhan Qulikhan (1680-1702) up to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Inner situation of Bukhara, Bukhara-Russia War and National Liberation movement among the population are described in the work. Both *Tuhfai Shohi* (Shah’s gift), *Tarkihi salotini mangitiya* (Manghit rulers’ history) of Mirzo Azim Somiy Bustoniy were dedicated to the history of one period, i.e. to the period of Emir Muzaffar. Political and economic condition of Central Asia just before its occupation by Russia, Bukhara-Russia relationship, as well as Samarkand’s conquest, some events in Bukhara Emirate during Russia’s occupation are given in this work. But according to I. Adilov, a calligraphist, Abdulfattah in nastaliq copied it on 24<sup>th</sup> Rajab, 1348 (AH), 27 December, 1929. It comprises 299 pages.

Mullah Abdurakhman Tamkini Bukhari (birth date unknown, died 1336 AH, 1917 AD) was one of the intellectuals of that period. He was a teacher at Dar ash-Shifo *madrasah* in Bukhara and also a poet. In *Matali al-fahira va matlab al-zohira* (Fortune and external problems of Bukhara), a historical-geographic work, data from legendary prophet Idris till Bukhara Emir – Olimkhon as well as Bukhara city and its districts, gates, alleys, caravansaries and others were given<sup>24</sup>.

Based on the above-stated we can conclude that historians made significant contribution to historiography of Bukhara. Deep study of their lives and work and acquaintance of readers with their literary works are the actual task and have special value in studying the history of Bukhara Emirate.

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# THE EDUCATION SYSTEM OF THE 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY BUKHARA KHANATE

ANVAR KANDAKHAROV

## ABSTRACT

*This article deals with the development of cultural and socio-political life of Bukhara Khanate in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It throws light on the education and development of students in educational institutions, contribution of thinkers and cultural personalities in Bukhara Khanate.*

**Keywords:** *Madrassah, mosques, schools, Khan Period, thinker, Timurids, Shaybanids, education, religion, sufism, Yassaviya, Nakshbandiya.*

There was a desire for independence of individual rulers and rising political delimitation in Timurid state at the end of 15<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 16<sup>th</sup> centuries to the collapse of powerful state. Unlike the last generation of Timurids, Sheybani Khan resisted the separation of state, aspired to keep power and integrity of the country. The awful social and economic conditions, the poor situation of the labor class of the population facilitated the victory of nomadic Uzbeks in Sheybani Khan's campaigns. Difficult economic situation provided the impetus to the clergy and intellectuals to support Sheybani Khan.

The period of Khan began at the time of coming to power of Sheybanids in Central Asia. Bukhara Khanate differed from other Khan periods with its schools, *madrassahs*. Main scientific center of the Khan period was Samarkand. Here along with secular sciences the main directions of Islam, *khadis*, theology, a science about laws of Sharia and other areas of religious knowledge were deeply studied. Hasankhuzha Nisory, a thinker of the 16<sup>th</sup> century repeatedly argued – “Many scientists lived and worked in this city. And now Samarkand is also the scientific center. Local masters were engaged in real science”.<sup>1</sup> Value of the city as

center of science and religious knowledge remained till the last centuries. The *madrassah* of the city and its activity had great value.

Role of schools and *madrassah* was invaluable in strengthening position of Islam among the population, study and teaching of secular sciences and religious knowledge, in the formation of spiritual condition of the population in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as well as in the previous centuries. It may be emphasized that a large number of schools and *madrassah* which provided education were science and education centers in various cities and centers of Khan periods of Central Asia. These were established with a purpose of providing education to people. In these *madrassah* it was possible to meet not only inhabitants of this or that center, but also a number of people of other villages and centers of other Khanates besides representatives from foreign countries who were eager to acquire knowledge. It is important to pay special attention to the data of Zayniddin Vosifi of the 16<sup>th</sup> century about ten students from Khurasan, who suffered in terrible frosty and "hungry" winter of 1504 in Samarkand.<sup>2</sup>

Representatives of various sectors of society of the Middle Ages wishing to enrich their knowledge came to Central Asia. One would find the governor, officials, learned intellectuals and other sections of society among them. Speaking about the best reader of Koran, the founder of a dynasty of Sheybanidov Mahomed Sheybanikhan, a 16<sup>th</sup> century thinker Mahomed Solikh said: "There was no reader equal to him in reading righteous words".<sup>3</sup> According to information given by the 16<sup>th</sup> century historian, till fully gaining Maverannakhr, Mahomed Sheybanikhan "he was trained in Bukhara in the art of reading Koran for two years".<sup>4</sup>

During the 16<sup>th</sup> century life was at high level in Bukhara, Samarkand and other cities, which were not only political and economic centers, but also remained the centers of cultural life. The higher school of Muslim theologians - *madrassah*, occupied a leading place in cultural life. Sheybanids built many new buildings for *madrassah* and mosques. Such buildings were constructed in Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Balkh and other cities, some of them existent till now. According to experts, architectural art of these structures was based on the architectural traditions of the past and even more was developed. Only during Abdulla Khan-II reign new buildings were built and over 500 buildings, mosques, *madrassah* were reconstructed.<sup>5</sup>

Many sources state that the mosques and *madrassah* of the Timurids did not lose their value and for the following centuries they continued to serve as education centres. The *madrassah* were erected in Samarkand by

Mirzo Ulugbek who continued to train students in secular knowledge in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Mahomed Olim Shaykh mentions in his work *Lamakhot*. Shaykh Hudoydod Valy during his student's years was in Samarkand and passing by Ulugbek's madrassah wished to be trained there "... once in Samarkand passing by Ulugbek's madrassah I witnessed the work of students of this madrassah on astronomy. I listened to them with interest and envied them".<sup>6</sup> From the aforesaid it is clear that Shaykh Hudoydod Valy being the scholar of religious doctrines, was also fond of secular sciences. It deserves special attention that Ulugbek's *madrassah* continued to study secular sciences.

The history of *madrassah* of the Khan Period where traditional principles of training reached the good results, dating back to X century. *Madrassah* studied the problems of higher education and paid great attention to preparation of administrative personnel, persons in legal and educational systems. *Madrassah* were called by the names of their founders, and *madrassah* in villages were called by the name of villages situated and were generally situated near market squares.<sup>8</sup> On the completion of construction of *madrassah*, it was transferred to the trustee of religious-educational establishment, which had the right to use the income of this property, but had no right to sell it.

In this ancient and majestic city of Bukhara, the people understood value of science and education, Governors, officials, priests and merchants wishing to immortalize their names in history constructed mosques, *madrassah* and chapels.

Europeans also admired the development of architecture and culture during those ancient times in the Bukhara Khan Period. In the middle of 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Shaybanizada Abdullakhan ruled Bukhara, English traveler Antonio Dzhenkinson who visited the city said: "construction in the city went promptly. Over 200 students were already trained in recently constructed madrassah of Mir Arab, near one of nine ponds providing drinking water to the population of the city, Labi Havuz madrassah rapidly developed Kukaldosh". On the bank of Labi Havuz, which was visited by Jenkinson together with his friends, was erected a majestic chapel near *madrassah* Nodir Devonbegi. Travellers admired the fact that at the center were constructed ponds, whereas in Europe the center of such structures was square with ponds nearby.

In the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the cities of the Khan period of Central Asia, schools and *madrassah* were the main centers of the development of both religious and secular knowledge and served the cause

of education of population. These centers, thanks to diligence of representatives of various layers of the public served, the development cultural and spiritual progress of the population in the Middle Ages. So we can draw conclusions and see the culture of Bukhara Khanate in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The creativity of material culture was enormous.

During the Timurid and Sheibaniov periods, the social status of clergy in the socio-political life was high. Representatives of Sheybaniov's dynasty enjoyed the authority of well-known sheikhs and representatives of clergy in the implementation of domestic and foreign policy of the country. For example, Muhammad Sheibanikhan considered his instructor a prominent representative of the order of Shaykh Mansur's Yassaviya.<sup>9</sup>

The social, economic, cultural and political transformation was carried out by Sheybany Ubaydullakhan and Abdullakhan II had with full support from Makhdumi Ajzam Dakhbedi, Shaykh Valy Hudoydod, Kosim Shaykh Azizon and Zhuybor's Khoja (Khoja Islom and Khoja Sady). As compared to other religious figures, the influence of Khojas Dzhuybar was high. They held high situation, authority and influence as they claimed the origins, on paternal side to Prophet Mohammed, and on the maternal side to Chingiz Khan's and Dzhuchi. They had enormous wealth and land which was comparable to Khoja Akhror. As historian Hafiz Tanish writes, one of the Khojas Dzhuybar Khojas, Sady was the instructor and adviser of Bukhara Khan Abdullakhan II. He had an enormous influence on the political events of the time and was directly involved in them. Abdullakhan II did not start any serious business without Khoja Sady's approval.<sup>10</sup> This can be explained by the fact that Khoja Sady had high socio-political situation and in every possible way he supported Abdullakhan II in pursuant of his power.

Bukhara under the Sheybanids was able to keep leading position and importance as center of Islam in Central Asia. Religious figures, Sheikhs, teachers from various regions of Central Asia gathered here and were engaged in studying various branches of Islam. The author of the work *Ubaydullaname* states: "In Bukhara and around it there were so many theologians, scholars, pious and holy men, that it was impossible to conduct their expense".<sup>11</sup> They liked to demonstrate their knowledge in teaching Sufism and divine powers. In public life of that time, along with the Naqshbandi teachings, the number of Yassaviya representatives also was great. For instance, the social status of Shaykh Hudoydod Valy (1461-1532) and Kasim Shaykh Azizon (time of death 1578) was high. Unlike adherents of the Nakshbandiya doctrine, representatives of the Yassaviya

doctrine preached a hermetical way of life and were against moneymaking, material wealth, service in public office. Though they did not interfere in the political life of the country, they worked for protection of interests, well being and peace of the people without cease.

Bukhara Khans, provided the lands of Khojas Dzhuybar with water and rich offerings. Khojas Dzhuybar had great say in the appointment of persons to a high state position or dismissal from a position. There was traditional rendering of high honors and respect to Dzhuybar Khojas from the representatives of Sheybanidov dynasty during Abdullakhan II. His decrees ordered release from taxes and fees on the property from Dzhuybar Khojas.<sup>12</sup> Badriddin Kashmiri in his work *Ravzat ar-rizvon* gave examples from Abdullakhan's II resolution from September 8, 1572 which stated: "The purpose of the present resolution is, about the property (owned lands) being in the province of Marvi Shohjahkon", the villages and sowing lands which got to his majesty Khoja kalon by inheritance. Our precise mind was concerned with the preservation of crops and villages, channels, sowing lands and other property of his majesty Khoja Sady. To release from all types of tax established on property, lands, also from collection (in favor of public institutions, army, expenses of a palace of the Khan) not to disturb honour, not to demand from them anything ... Not to demand from them property repartition".<sup>13</sup>

Representatives of Sheybanidov dynasty like the Timurids aspired to develop social, economic, cultural situation and to improve government. At the end of 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, representatives of Nakshbandy and Yassavy orders took active part in the socio-political life of the country. They were highly esteemed among the heads of the state. Their ideas and outlook rendered practical and moral help in the management of the people and their ethics. Therefore, study of the life and activity of certain Sheikhs of the Yassavy doctrine promotes complete research of socio-political and cultural life of Bukhara during that period.

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# PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN TAJIKISTAN

KAMMUANMUNG THANGNIANG

## INTRODUCTION

The introduction of liberal democracy following the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 ushered the beginning of transition in Tajikistan. The newly established liberal political system, unlike the previous socialist political system, permitted individual freedoms and allowed different political parties with varying ideologies to exist and compete for political power. Consequently, relative political pluralism emerged in Tajikistan and its prospect for transition was bright at least at this initial stage. In fact in 1991, Tajikistan was the most democratic country in the whole of post-Soviet Central Asia and one of the most democratic countries among the post-Soviet countries.<sup>1</sup> Even then, as the transition process began, it soon appeared that the transition was neither smooth nor successful.<sup>2</sup> As early as in May 1992, a civil war broke out in the country that brought large scale destruction and seriously enhanced the regime's authoritarian rule. Consequently, the newly initiated transition process came to a standstill within a short period of less than one year.

With the end of the civil war in 1997, a limited political pluralism re-emerged that opened a new opportunity for Tajikistan to restart the process of transition. The ban imposed on independent media and opposition parties was lifted and they were allowed to re-emerge.<sup>3</sup> The re-emergence of independent media such as television, radio and newspaper resulted into more open public debates about politics, albeit to a limited extent. The re-emergence of opposition parties once again ushered multiparty system in the country<sup>4</sup> and made political competition among

different political parties possible once again. Nevertheless, the post-civil war transition remained largely problematic. President Imomali Rahmon has been steadily deviating from democratic path and was increasingly turning toward authoritarian rule particularly from 2001: political opponents were suppressed or sidelined, freedom of independent media was curbed and the activities of the civil society organizations were strictly controlled. After the 2005 parliamentary elections and the presidential election in 2006, it became clear that Tajikistan was far from being democratic. Now, the regime at best is soft-authoritarian<sup>5</sup> and at the worst it is consolidated authoritarian regime.<sup>6</sup> Various factors are responsible for the unsuccessful transition to democracy in Tajikistan which can be broadly classified into three categories: weak democratic institutions, negative impact of the civil war and the lack of strong external pressures for promoting democracy.

#### WEAK DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

Democratic institutions such as separation of power, multiparty system, civil society and independent media emerged in Tajikistan as a result of the abandonment of the socialist political system and the introduction of liberal democratic political system. Nevertheless these newly emerging democratic institutions are weak and ineffective to serve as an agent of democracy.

#### WEAK SEPARATION OF POWER

The Tajik constitution of 1994 introduced American-style presidential system that separates and distributes state power into executive, legislature and judiciary.<sup>7</sup> The same constitution also embodied many elements of the Russian constitution of 1993 that vested enormous power with the president.<sup>8</sup> As a result, state power in Tajikistan is highly concentrated in the president. The president dominates the executive branch, the legislative assembly and the judiciary; and the parliament and judiciary are greatly subordinate to the president.

The president controls the judiciary by virtue of his or her right to nominate the judges of the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court, the Supreme Economic Court, the procurator-general and the military procurator. Due to lack of independent judiciary, the rule of law was weak in Tajikistan. The judiciary being subordinate to president's political

authority was used for persecuting political opposition. In politically sensitive cases, the court ruled according to the instruction of the ruling regime. For instance many of the opponent members, were selectively persecuted for crimes committed during the civil war. Between 2004 and 2005, many prominent opposition leaders were convicted to lengthy jail sentences. Eventually they were barred from contesting the parliamentary elections of 2005 and the presidential election in 2006.<sup>9</sup>

Also, the president has dominating influence over the legislature by virtue of the enormous power vested in him or her, particularly the power to appoint the legislatures and local deputies. Of the 33 members of the upper chamber of the parliament, eight members are appointed by the president and the remaining 25 are elected by local deputies who are appointed by the president.<sup>10</sup> The second chamber, in this way, is composed of almost the representatives of the president. Further, since the president can circumvent the legislative function of the parliament by ruling with referenda and decree, the parliament is ineffective to control the functions of the president.<sup>11</sup>

The power of the president has been further enhanced through various referenda; among others were the referenda in 1999 and 2003. While the constitutional amendment in 1999 extended the period of presidential term from five to seven years with one term limit,<sup>12</sup> the 2003 constitutional amendment broke the one term limit and extended the presidential term to two terms.<sup>13</sup> Using the 2003 constitutional amendment to claim that the presidential election of 2006 is the first term in office since that was the first presidential election under the new constitution, President Rahmon contested the November 2013 presidential elections. Winning with 84 percent of the vote his rule now extends up to 2020.<sup>14</sup>

By concentrating enormous power in the executive branch, the separation of power in Tajikistan in reality violates the principle of “separation of power” and “checks and balances”. Neither the parliament nor the judiciary was capable of checking or balancing the president who exercises the executive power from his move. This consequently paved the way for the emergence of authoritarian regime.

#### WEAK MULTIPARTY SYSTEM

Unlike the previous Soviet period of single party rule of the Communist Party, independent Tajikistan allowed different political parties with varying ideologies to operate in the country. Broadly, the parties can be

divided into three types: the ruling party or the party of power, the opposition parties and the satellite parties or pro-government parties.<sup>16</sup>

The government used state resources to promote its own party or parties which were pro-government<sup>16</sup> while making all possible efforts to sideline opposition parties from active politics. Opposition leaders were frequently harassed or attacked, and their workers were intimidated. Operating under difficult political environment of intimidation, the opposition parties were weak and ineffective despite the fact that they sometimes were bold and direct to criticize the government. Consequently, Tajikistan's politics has been dominated by President Rahmon's party, the *People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan* (PDPT), which enjoyed the country's resources and the patronage of the government.<sup>17</sup>

In close similarity with the Soviet rule, the government was intolerant to the opposition and was reluctant to provide free space to them for fair political competition for power. The government selectively targeted potential opposition leaders, charged them with politically motivated cases such as criminal and corruption cases, imprisoned them, and subsequently disqualified them from contesting elections.<sup>18</sup> This is evident especially in the years prior to the 2005 parliamentary elections and 2006 presidential election with the objective of ensuring victory for the ruling party. By 2003, 35 United Tajik Opposition party members were imprisoned.<sup>19</sup> In 2004, in what would greatly weaken the two main opposition parties-IRP and DPT, two prominent opposition leaders, among others, Mahmadrusi Iskandrov, chairman of the DPT, and Shamsuddin Shamsuddinov, the deputy chairman of the IRPT, were imprisoned for 23 and 16 years respectively and thus barred from participating in elections.<sup>20</sup> Major contenders of President Rahmon were removed from active politics in early 2005. Thus, the parliamentary elections of 2005 and the presidential election of 2006 were held in the absence of strong opposition forces. The 2013 presidential election also witnessed unfair refusal of opposition leaders from contesting election. In that election, Oinihol Bobonazova, the joint candidate of two opposition parties, the SDPT and the IRPT, was disqualified and Zaid Saidov leader of the newly created party, *New Tajikistan* was imprisoned for 26 years on charges of polygamy and financial criminal case.<sup>21</sup> Unfair treatment was also meted towards opposition particularly during the 2015 parliamentary elections and the condition under which these elections were conducted was worse than the previous ones.<sup>22</sup>

Besides sidelining important opposition leaders from politics on the

eve of elections, the government was also unfairly treating the opposition during election campaigns that shows that “free political competition” which is a basic tenet of democracy has been denied to opposition parties.<sup>23</sup> The government officials openly made campaigns for candidates of the ruling party, PDPT, and pressurized the residents to vote for them. In addition, they intimidated the workers of the opposition parties and prevented them from free and fair campaigning for their candidates. Moreover, the government used state-run media to promote the candidates of the ruling party while exerting pressure on independent media to restrain from voicing the views of the opposition parties.<sup>24</sup>

Weakened by the repressive rule of the government, the opposition parties were unable to make strong inroads to the parliament. In 2000 elections, only 15 seats of the total 63 were won the by opposition: 13 seats won by the CPT and 2 seats by the IRPT. The opposition share of seats in parliament sharply declined in 2005 from 13 to six seats: four seats won by CPT and two seats by IRPT.<sup>25</sup> The share further declined in 2010 parliamentary elections in which the opposition won only four seats out of the total 63 seats: two seats each by the IRPT and CPT.<sup>26</sup> Worse than before, all the opposition parties including IRPT and CPT failed to reach the five percent threshold to enter parliament in the recently concluded 2015 parliamentary elections, although the CPT at least captured two seats on single mandates.<sup>27</sup>

Interestingly, the opposition parties blamed the government for their poor performance in the elections. After every election result is declared they complained that the results were manipulated and the parliamentary seats allotted to them were far lower than they actually won.<sup>28</sup> For instance in the 2010 parliamentary elections the IRP claimed to have secured 30 percent of the votes as against the official result of 8.2 percent, and the *Social-Democratic Party* claimed to have secured 12 percent as against less than 1 percent official result.<sup>29</sup> Going by the reports of the OSCE which claimed that the elections in Tajikistan were neither free nor fair, it may be argued that in case free and fair elections were conducted, and important opposition leaders were not suppressed, the opposition’s performance could have been better and the number of seats they secured could drastically increase. In consequence, the opposition capability to check the government from authoritarian moves could be enhanced.

For now, unable to make strong presence in the parliament, the opposition had little or no influence in the political process of the country. Specifically, the opposition were neither capable of pushing for better

democratization nor checking the government from drifting towards authoritarian rule. Clearly, this is mainly the result of the government's reluctance to provide to the opposition parties the freedom to freely participate in politics and compete for political power. This violates the principle of democracy and shakes the whole system of the existing multiparty system.

#### WEAK CIVIL SOCIETY: THE NGOS

Though the history of civil society in Tajikistan dates back to pre-Soviet period, Western-style NGOs emerged in the country only in the mid-1990s, with the active initiative of international donors, particularly from the US. The government welcomed the mushrooming NGOs in the country primarily for two reasons. First, many NGOs such as the Aga Khan Foundation were working on socio-economic development much to the relief of the people plagued with deep crises of widespread poverty.<sup>30</sup> Second, the government authorities initially did not consider the NGOs as a threat to their political power since they did not foresee that NGOs would engage in politics.<sup>31</sup>

The positive perception of the government concerning the civil society gradually changed with the spread of color revolutions in post-Soviet countries in early 2000s: the Rose Revolution in Georgia in 2003, Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004 and Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan in 2005. As a result of these revolutions, suspicions about the involvement of civil society in politics aroused among Tajik government officials. Frightened by the events, they came to realize that it was possible for the civil society to overthrow the regime even in Tajikistan, and they became critical of the civil society.<sup>32</sup>

Correspondingly, the government closely watched the NGOs and increasingly controlled their activities. The initial verbal condemnations against the NGOs as an agent of foreign countries soon turned into words of warning. Though the activities of the NGOs were not banned, strong warnings against foreign-funded NGOs were issued. On 14 January 2005, for example, the elections officials warned that any candidate found to be receiving money from abroad would be disqualified from contesting the elections.<sup>33</sup> In the same year, restrictive laws that greatly hindered the activities of NGOs were passed. It was made obligatory for NGOs to submit their financial reports to the authority. Moreover, foreign embassies and international organizations were required to inform the government about

the dates and topics of their meeting with local NGOs, political parties and journalists.

Strict rules were imposed for registration and renewal of the existing registration. NGOs thought to be threatening the regime were removed either by denial of registration or denial of renewal of registration. In 2006, the authorities denied registration to Freedom House by applying burdensome registration requirements.<sup>34</sup> Another international NGO, National Democratic Institute, which has been actively operating in the country since 2002 in building the capacity of civil society and political parties, was denied re-registration in 2008. The complexity of the re-registration law on NGOs passed in 2007 is such that one NGO was asked to submit its project report for the past seven years in order to obtain renewal of its registration.

In order to prevent the NGOs from achieving genuine political reforms, the government also directly attacked NGOs working on liberalization or democratization. In October 2012, the Association of Young Lawyers (Amparo) which worked for the rights of the orphans, the disabled, and the Tajik army recruits was shut down on account of various charges which among others included conducting unapproved human rights seminars for high school students, illegally running website and engaging in activities outside the province it is registered.<sup>35</sup> Whereas the government harshly dealt with the NGO working on politics and democratization in particular, it was soft to the NGOs working on socio-economic development and allowed them to operate under relatively free environment. Consequently, the NGOs were unwilling to work on sensitive areas like democracy-building, access to justice, and prison reforms etc. but choose to work on relatively non-controversial issues such as rule of law, training and workshops for lawyers and judges.<sup>36</sup> Due to government's tightening control, the NGOs in Tajikistan were reluctant to cross the level tolerated by the government and their activities revolved around non-political issues of socio-economic development or non-controversial political issues. Despite existing in numerous numbers, Tajik NGOs have been weak and incapable of exerting effective influence on the policies and programs of the government, particularly in matter relating to democratization.

#### WEAK INDEPENDENT MEDIA

In contrast to the previous Soviet period of state monopoly over media outlets, independent Tajikistan witnessed the emergence of numerous



media outlets owned by the state and private individuals. However, the government maintained dominant influence over media outlets, particularly over the broadcasting television which is the most important source of information in the country. Despite the fact that broadcasting television stations were owned both by the government and private, all the nationwide television stations were owned by the state alone.<sup>37</sup> In this sense, independent media refers mainly to print media or newspapers.

State-owned television stations promoted the views and interests of the government. Moreover, intolerant to criticism by independent media, the government made serious efforts to restrain independent media from raising critical issues about the government. To this end, it adopted various methods to tame independent media and to prevent them from voicing against the government. The methods included holding guidance sessions for journalists, barring access to government-run printers for newspapers considered controversial, and imposing burdensome licensing procedures for independent media etc.

The government imposed a ban on independent media during the civil war and most part of the 1990s. Following the lifting of the ban in 1999, new independent media outlets gradually emerged particularly between 2002 and 2003.<sup>38</sup> However, this was quickly followed by an attack on critical independent media by the government. In 2004, *Nerui Sukhan* and *Ruzi Nav*, the two most critical weekly newspapers in the country were repeatedly shut down<sup>39</sup> either by denying printing by state-run printing house, Sharqi Azad, or by preventing the private printing house, Jihonkhon, from printing them. The government also issued verbal warnings to the newspaper editors.<sup>40</sup> By the time the 2005 parliamentary elections were held on 27 February, all independent newspapers, independent radio and local television channels had already closed.<sup>41</sup>

Successfully sidelining the most critical independent media outlets before and during the parliamentary and presidential elections mentioned above, violence against journalists declined in the following years. However, the government remained intolerant to critical media outlets and would not allow them to voice sensitive issues such as criticizing the president or exposing corruption of the government officials. Towards this end, it continued to adopt repressive measures like intimidation, threats and opening of politically motivated cases. Examples of government's intolerance included libel case against the Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Ovoza*, Saida Ourgonova and two of its reporters in 2007 and journalist Tursunali Aliev in 2008, among others.<sup>42</sup>

In 2010, the government turned against three critical independent newspapers, including two of the three widely read newspapers: *Ozodagon*, *Farazh* and *Asia-Plus*. In January of that year, a defamation case was filed against these independent newspapers for publishing articles about a press conference held by a lawyer who protested against what he believed to be local judges' unfair sentencing of 33 businessmen.<sup>43</sup> The case was pending throughout the year and continued even in the following year causing serious disturbances to their effective functioning.

The existence of numerous independent media in Tajikistan is undoubtedly an important step towards democracy. Nevertheless, the government remained intolerant to critical media outlets and was unwilling to provide free space for them, thereby restraining them from freely printing, airing and broadcasting the views of the opposition in particular. Consequently, while critical media were sidelined, others were reduced to practice self-censorship for fear of government's retaliation. Thus independent media in Tajikistan in reality were not vibrant, thereby failing to create a condition supportive to the process of transition to democracy.

#### THE NEGATIVE IMPACT OF THE CIVIL WAR 1992-97

Triggered by the controversy over the presidential election of 1991, Tajik's first experiment with the working of liberal democracy, the civil war carried with it the image of democracy. The war claimed the lives of an estimated number of 50,000 people and displaced about 600,000 people constituting one-tenth of the country's total population.<sup>44</sup> The war also turned about 25,000 women as widows and 55,000 children as orphans.<sup>45</sup> As a result of huge destruction, Tajiks learnt a lesson from the civil war that democracy released chaos and social division, and brought pains and sufferings into the society. Thus they associated democracy with lawlessness and authoritarianism with strict law and order,<sup>46</sup> and preferred authoritarian regime over democratic regime.<sup>47</sup> Consequently, the demand for democracy was low as predictable and the acceptance for authoritarian regime was high among the people. Such negative attitude of the people about democracy was inhospitable for democracy.<sup>48</sup>

Further, as a result of the bitter experience that they had during the civil war, the people badly dislike civil war and have strong desire for peaceful society and stable government. Much to his credit, President Rahmon was able to restore and maintain peace and stability in post-civil war period. His incorporation of opposition leaders in the government

through 30 percent quota provided by Peace Accord and his ability to sideline the opposition who opposed the Accord brought normalcy in the country. By the end of 2001, four years after the end of the civil war, law and order in Tajikistan was more or less restored,<sup>49</sup> and the country was moving from war to internal stability with a functioning government.<sup>50</sup> Consequently, Rakhmon was looked upon as the best guarantor of peace and stability in the country.<sup>51</sup> The survey conducted by US funded International Federation of Election System (IFES) showed that 58% of the surveyed choose Rahmon as the most trusted figure in the country.<sup>52</sup> This signifies that despite his authoritarian nature, Rahmon was generally accepted by the people either in appreciation of the prevailing stability or because of his capability to prevent the recurrence of civil war in the future.

Another negative impact of the civil war on Tajikistan's transition was that the ruling authorities used the horror of the civil war to threaten the opposition and not to stand on their way to authoritarianism. They accused the opposition of provoking the civil war and warned them not to repeat the same in the future. In 2005, for instance, commenting on Uzbek violent suppression of mass protest, the secretary of the Tajik National Security Council, Amirkul Azimov, appreciated Uzbek authorities' action as 'timely and correct' and lamented that the civil war in Tajikistan 13 years ago too could have been avoided had the authorities at that time "demonstrated firmness and applied harsh measures to suppress a mob of extremists".<sup>53</sup> Also, in 2013 the year presidential election was due to be held, President Rahmon in his annual address to the parliament and the nation warned the opposition not to repeat the situation of the civil war with the help of external actors.<sup>54</sup> The statements clearly indicated that any attempt to overthrow the regime or mass protest would be suppressed.

#### THE ROLE OF EXTERNAL ACTORS: THE US AND RUSSIA

Russia and the US played a crucial role in the political process of independent Tajikistan. While Russia continued to play the role of protecting the authoritarian ruling regime with its financial and military might, the US the sole super power of the post-Cold War era played the role of supporting political reforms by pumping financial assistance. Whereas the former stood for and supported authoritarian regime, the latter stood for democratic regime though not wholeheartedly. The different interests and roles that these two external players played left the

ruling authorities in Tajikistan with an alternative to either choose the path of democracy or authoritarianism.

The US has been engaging in Tajikistan since the first half of the 1990s with the mission of 'democracy promotion' high on its agenda. Although it lacked interest in Tajikistan in the initial period, it soon altered its policy. Following the terrorist attack on World Trade Centre in 2001 and the subsequent war on terror in Afghanistan, the US interest in Tajikistan suddenly skyrocketed and the relations between two countries improved immensely.<sup>55</sup> Even then, despite being the chief campaigner of 'global democracy' with special attention on post-communist countries including Tajikistan, the US lacked genuine interest to promote democracy in Tajikistan. It did not use its cordial ties with Tajikistan to promote democracy and turned a blind eye to President Rahmon's increasing drift towards authoritarian rule in return for his cooperation in the war on terror in Afghanistan. This gave Rahmon a free hand to exploit the anti-terrorist campaign for domestic purposes, clamping down upon the opposition parties in the pretext of supporting terrorism.<sup>56</sup>

Further, the policy of the US to promote democracy by means of removing authoritarian leaders through mass protest popularly known as color revolution suffered backlash in Tajikistan as was the case in many other post-Soviet countries.<sup>57</sup> Frightened by the events of color revolution that swept across the post-Soviet space in the early 2000s, particularly the Tulip Revolution of 2005 in Kyrgyzstan, Tajik government became suspicious of US' engagement in its internal politics. Consequently, it slowly drifted towards Russia which unlike the US was not uncomfortable with authoritarian rulers. The blame that Tajik government threw on US for the events in its neighboring countries put the US on a diplomatic defensive throughout most part of 2005.<sup>58</sup>

It may be mentioned that while Tajikistan has been following the policy of engagement with the West, particularly the US, it has also been maintaining its relationship with Russia in even stronger terms. Russia has been serving as a provider of security to Tajikistan from internal unrest and external pressure since its independence. During the civil war the Russian army guarded the Tajik-Afghan border to check the penetration of opposition from their hide outs in Afghanistan and also fought against the opposition with the government side by side.<sup>59</sup> In the absence of a standing army of its own, the military assistance provided by the Russian army proved extremely helpful for Rahmon's regime to survive in the face of strong opposition forces. In fact, it was the assistance of Russia that

enabled Rahmon to remain in power throughout these trouble times of the civil war.<sup>60</sup>

In 2005, alarmed by the event of Tulip Revolution, President Rahmon quickly rushed to Russia for assistance. Russia assured its military assistance to deal with mass protest in case it occurs in Tajikistan as in Kyrgyzstan, thereby serving once again as the protector of Rahmon's authoritarian regime. Also at the backdrop of mass unrest in Middle East countries of Libya and Syria, Russia's concern for the stability of Rahmon's regime and efforts towards that end continued. In September 2011, military drill under the banner "Tsentr-2011" was organized by members of CSTO which was designed to prepare the participating states or Tajikistan in particular to respond to mass unrest similar to Libya and Syria, and possible spill of instability from Afghanistan after the withdrawal of NATO forces.<sup>61</sup>

Another important reason that created unfavorable condition for democracy to prosper in Tajikistan is the prioritization of security issue over other issues including democracy by the dominant external players. Both the US and Russia had a common fear of the Islamic rule in Afghanistan and its possible spill into Tajikistan and Central Asia as a whole. For this reason, they strongly felt the need for strong and stable regime in Tajikistan that would be capable of preventing the penetration of Islamic rule or political instability from Afghanistan. Significantly, Rahmon's regime was successful in maintaining political stability and was capable of resisting the spread of Islamic rule from Afghanistan. This made not only Russia but also the US relatively satisfied with Rahmon's regime. Consequently, they were determined to preserve his regime rather than dismantling it despite its authoritarian nature. The US and Russia shared the fear that replacing Rahmon with a new and inexperienced leader might disturb the existing stability.<sup>62</sup>

The influence of Russia, a staunch supporter of authoritarian regime, remained strong and stable in Tajikistan that greatly promoted and strengthened Rahmon's regime. By contrast, the US lacked strong historical, political and economic ties with Tajikistan. In addition, it lacked genuine interest to promote democracy since its strategic interest in Tajikistan and Central Asia as a whole overshadowed its concern for democracy. Consequently, there is no strong pressure from external actors including the US for democratic reforms or better democratization in Tajikistan. This makes the international environment suitable for the regime of Tajikistan to survive and consolidate rather than to enhance democracy.

## CONCLUSION

The problems hindering the transition of Tajikistan from communism to liberal democracy has been emanating broadly from three factors: weak democratic institutions, the negative psychological impact of the civil war of 1992-97 and lack of external actors' commitment and pressure to promote democracy.

First, democratic institutions such as separation of power, multiparty system, civil society and independent media which emerged soon after independence were weak. Though power is separated among the three branches of the state, it is largely biased in favor of the executive branch: vested with inadequate power, the legislature and judiciary were unable to check the executive power. Political parties were weak and lowly rooted in the society. Despite the existence of multiple political parties, the opposition parties were denied free and fair competition for political power. Likewise, the independent media outlets were neither genuinely independent nor vibrant. The government owned most of the famous media outlets and used them as its mouthpiece while putting the independent media outlets under tight grip of the state, thereby preventing them from freely publishing, airing or broadcasting the views of the opposition. Similar tight control of the state was also imposed on civil society. The civil society was weak and incapable of playing effective role in voicing or promoting people's views and interest, especially on matter relating to politics. Not surprisingly, none of the above mentioned institutions effectively served as an agent of democracy.

Secondly, haunted by the bitter experience of the civil war, the people remained fearful of the recurrence of a civil war and they were reluctant to engage in active politics. The experience of the civil war also brought negative attitude about democracy in the minds of the people. Because of the horror of the civil war, the people associated democracy with lawlessness while they associated authoritarian rule with strict law and order. Consequently, the demand for democracy was low while the acceptance for authoritarian rule was high. Thus the political culture which sprang out of the ashes of the civil war was inhospitable for democracy but hospitable only for authoritarian rule.

Finally, the Western actors particularly the US lacked genuine commitment and capability to promote democracy in Tajikistan. Unfortunately, its commitment for democracy was often overshadowed by its geopolitical interest. Moreover, its influence or capability to promote

democracy in Tajikistan has also been undermined by the presence of Russia's stronger influence. Thus, the West and the US in particular lacked interest and capability to promote democracy in Tajikistan. This allowed the ruling regime to abandon democratic reforms and incline towards authoritarian rule.

It may be pointed that whereas the first and the second problems were common in many of the post-Soviet countries, the third problem prevailed only in Tajikistan. This meant that being the only post-Soviet country to have been experiencing a disastrous five years civil war in the immediate aftermath of independence, Tajikistan has an additional challenge for its transition to democracy: people's reluctance for active political participation and competition in politics for fear of a new civil war.

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