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NEW BUKHARA: AN “ISLAND” OF RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA

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NEW BUKHARA: AN “ISLAND” OF RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA

This paper is devoted to the characteristics of the city of New Bukhara, the “capital” of the Russian settlements in the Bukharan Emirate. It was originally established as a station on the Trans-Caspian railway but soon transformed into the Russian business and cultural center in the Emirate. It had specific status being a Russian enclave in the Bukharan Emirate which was *de jure* an independent state. However, the information on this city is contradictory. Some visitors stated in their notes and memoirs that it was a large city with well-developed infrastructure, others characterized it as a little settlement, “a poky hole” without any common features with towns of Russia and Europe. According to other materials New Bukhara was the real administrative center of Russian settlements in the Bukharan Emirate, while others state that it was only the residence of the Russian diplomatic representative in the Emirate. The author analyzes legal documents, other official information, notes from travelers and another contemporaries to establish a view on the real New Bukhara, to answer the question on status of New Bukhara in the Bukharan Emirate and in the Russian Empire.

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Introduction

On May 15, 1888 the station on the Trans-Caspian railway near Bukhara, the capital of the Bukharan Emirate, was opened. Bukhara was. From this date, the history of New Bukhara (the city of Kagan in Uzbekistan today) began. Built originally as a railway station with maintaining infrastructure, it soon became the residence of the Imperial Russian political agent – the official diplomatic representative of the Russian Empire to the Bukharan Emirate. As the agent was a key figure of Russian Imperial policy in Bukhara, it was logical to consider New Bukhara the center of Russian settlements in the Emirate (the others were Chardjui, Kerki and Termez), which were established in 1880s and 1890s and inhabited by Russian troops to protect the borders of the Emirate from Afghan and British aggression. There was, however, no any official act on Russian settlements in the Bukharan Emirate, and their status was not well defined. The reason for the absence of the legal regulation of the status of the Russian settlement in many respects was the contradiction among the Russian central authorities on the policy in Bukhara: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, represented in Bukhara by the Russian political agent, was in conflict with the Ministry of Military Affairs, which controlled troops there. That is why, for a long time, the status of New Bukhara and other Russian settlements in the Emirate was undefined.

Scholars have studied the economic development of New Bukhara, and its political and cultural influence on the Emirate. Little attention however has been paid to its legal status and to its image as a city in the eyes of Russian, European or Central Asian contemporaries. Meanwhile, this question is important because it gives an understanding of the specific status and role of New Bukhara in the Russian policy for the development of the Bukharan Emirate (so called “frontier modernization”) and the problem of the sovereignty of the Emirate and its rights (or their absence) as a territory of Russian settlements. This paper analyzes the information from the inhabitants of Bukhara, Russian and Western officials and travelers, the city’s development and opinions on the “Russian” (“Western”) or “Eastern” nature of the city. Legal acts and other historical documents are also analyzed to clarify the legal status of New Bukhara in the Emirate and in the administrative system of the Russian Empire.

We consider New Bukhara to be a very interesting example of the specific understanding of sovereignty in Central Asia during the imperial period, and an analysis could help to identify the forms of relations between the Russian Empire and the Bukharan Emirate which, despite its formal independence, had close ties with the imperial authorities.

City or a “poky hole”?

At first New Bukhara was only a settlement of railway men to maintain the railroad station near the capital of the Bukharan Emirate. The first travelers who visited just after opening the station in 1888 were not impressed. British journalist George Dobson wrote that after arrival at the station he had to pass a night in the uncoupled carriage (“house-car”) as there was about ten miles to the capital and the station had only a few uncomfortable shanties and restaurant booths.² The Russian traveler and publicist Esper Uktomskiy who visited New Bukhara in 1889 also said that there were only several railroad employees, two or three shops (“lavka”) and several “squalid huts” for Persian loaders.³ British statesman George Curzon, who traveled around Russian Central Asia at the same time, mentioned that several Bukharan merchants also settled not far from station.⁴

When New Bukhara became the residence of the Russian political agent it began to transform into a city with houses and streets, industrial and commercial enterprises, services and local government.⁵

In the 1890s several transport offices, shops and stores, a postal telegraph office, a church (at the residence of political agent), a school, courthouse building, a branch of the State Bank and a custom-house were built.⁶ At the beginning of 20th century the population of New Bukhara grew to 3,000, most of them were Russian officials, merchants, soldiers (the Trans-Caspian railway battalion), Central Asian nomads. Gin works and a savings bank were established.⁷

Before 1917 there were 730 land and yard plots, 7 gin works, oil, wine and tobacco factories in New Bukhara, as well as branches of the Moscow International Bank and the Moscow Trade Bank. Branches of Russian firms (such as “Nadezhda”, “Caucasus and Mercury”, “Eastern Society”, “Russian Society”) functioned in the city.⁸ The increase in the number of Russian and Western businessmen, journalists, and tourists in the Central Asia caused the

² Dobson G. *Russia's railway advance into Central Asia: Notes of a journey from St. Petersburg to Samarkand*. London; Calcutta: W. H. Allen and Co., 1890. P. 237.

³ Uktomskiy E. *Ot Kalmytskoy stepi do Bukhary*. St. Petersburg: Printing house of Prince V.P. Meshcherskiy, 1891. P. 201–202.

⁴ Curzon G.N. *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1889. P. 154.

⁵ Zapiska P.M. Lessara o vnutrennem polozhenii Bukharskogo khanstva i ego otnosheniyakh s Rossiei (1895 g.) / Publ. by M.A. Chepelkin. *Sbornik Russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*. T. 5 (153). Moscow: Russkaya panorama, 2002. P. 115.

⁶ Zapiska P.M. Lessara... P. 115; G.B. Nashi kolonii. *Novaya Bukhara*. Niva. 1899. № 13. P. 254.

⁷ Ahmad Donish. *Istoriya mangitskoy dinastii* / Transl., intr. and comments by I.A. Nadzhafova. Dushanbe: Donish, 1967. P. 113; Evarnitskiy D.I. *Putevoditel' po Sredney Azii ot Baku do Tashkenta v arkhologicheskoy i istoricheskoy otnosheniyakh*. Tashkent: Typolithography of successors of S.I. Lakhtin, 1893. P. 56–57; Logofet D.N. *Bukharskoe khanstvo pod russkim protektoratom*. T. I. St. Petersburg: Printed by. V. Berezovskiy, 1911. P. 279, 287; Olufsen O. *The emir of Bokhara and his country. Journeys and studies in Bokhara (with a chapter of my voyage on the Amu Darya to Khiva)*. London: William Heinemann, 1911. P. 271.

⁸ G.B. Nashi kolonii. P. 254. See also: Fomchenko A.P. *Russkie poseleniya v Bukharskom emirate*. Tashkent: State printing house of Uzbek SSR, 1958. P. 15; Tukhtametov T.G. *Russko-bukharskie otnosheniya v kontse XIX – nachale XX v. Pobeda Bukharskoy narodnoy revolyutsii*. Tashkent: Fan, 1966. P. 49.

construction of a railroad terminal, hotels (“Europe”, “France” and “New Bukhara”), guest-houses, regular coach routes from New Bukhara to “Old” Bukhara and back.⁹ Even the Emir of Bukhara himself established his own inn in the city.¹⁰

Most of the infrastructure of New Bukhara corresponded to the needs of the Russian inhabitants of the city. However, the authorities tried to attract the local population to settle or do business in the enclave. By the beginning of the 20th century. Bukharans were not afraid of the railway and began to open their own stores in New Bukhara.¹¹ Further, the Russian political agency built a palace for the Emir in New Bukhara which, according to travelers, combined elements of Western and Eastern architecture and cost 30,000 golden rubles (but it remained empty for some years).¹²

Such characteristics allow later scholars to consider New Bukhara a city.¹³ Contemporaries, however, had different opinions on the status of New Bukhara even at the beginning of 20th century. Some Russian travelers appreciated the city for its regular planning, straight streets (named after Russian political agents: Charykovskaya, Lessarskaya and Ignat’evskaya¹⁴) and expected it to transform into a large European center in the Bukharan Emirate.¹⁵ Swedish musician and traveler Wilhelm Hartevelde (who spent many years in Russia) stated that “there was nothing eastern” in New Bukhara.¹⁶ British journalist Stephen Graham compared the city, its white houses, alleys, wide streets and meadows with towns of Southern England.¹⁷

Sergey Chirkin, Russian diplomat to Turkestan (and for a short time Russian resident in Bukhara in 1917), compared New Bukhara with “some godforsaken town of the Trans-Caspian region”.¹⁸ Western tourists mentioned the low standard of facilities for visitors in New Bukhara, mentioning “primitive” hotels and preferring to stay at the home of a local acquaintance (several authors mentioned the druggist Reinhardt as a very hospitable man) or at the small number of

⁹ Olufsen O. *The emir of Bokhara and his country*. P. 350–351, 503.

¹⁰ Curtis W.E. *Turkestan: The heart of Asia*. New York: Hodder & Stoughton, George H. Doran Co., 1911. P. 123; G.B. Nashi kolonii. P. 254; Geyer I.I. *Turkestan* / 2nd ed. Tashkent: Printing house of the Turkestan Association of printing, 1909. P. 207; Olsuf’ev A.A., Panaev V.P. *Po Zakaspiyskoy voennoy zheleznoy doroge. Putevye vpechatleniya*. St. Petersburg: Printing house of M.O. Wolf association, 1899. P. 149.

¹¹ Nikol’skiy M.N. *Blagorodnaya Bukhara (Stranichka iz skitaniy po Vostoku)*. St. Petersburg: Printed by P.P. Soykin, 1903. P. 47; Norman N. *All the Russias: Travels and Studies in Contemporary European Russia, Finland, Siberia, the Caucasus, & Central Asia*. London: Heinemann, 1902. P. 288.

¹² Bookwalter J.W. *Siberia and Central Asia*. Springfield: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1899. P. 471; Curtis W.E. *Turkestan*. P. 125; G.B. Nashi kolonii. P. 255; Olufsen O. *The emir of Bokhara and his country*. P. 574.

¹³ See: Fomchenko A.P. *Russkie poseleniya v Bukharskom emirate*. P. 15.

¹⁴ First three Russian political agents in Bukhara were: Nikolai V. Charykov (1886–1890), Pavel M. Lessar (1890–1895) and Vladimir I. Ignat’ev (1895–1902).

¹⁵ Olsuf’ev A.A., Panaev V.P. *Po Zakaspiyskoy voennoy zheleznoy doroge*. P. 148–150.

¹⁶ Gartevel’d V.N. *Sredi syuchikh peskov i otrublennykh golov. Putevye ocherki Turkestana (1913)*. Moscow: I.A. Maevskiy’s Press, 1914. P. 94.

¹⁷ Graham S. *Through Russian Central Asia*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916. P. 30.

¹⁸ Chirkin S.V. *Dvadsat’ let sluzhby na Vostoke. Zapiski tsarskogo diplomata*. M.: Russkiy put’, 2006. P. 281–282.

“European” houses.¹⁹ The “eastern image” of New Bukhara was strengthened by the number of locals – merchants, craftsmen, railway station workers, nomads, etc. Russian and western travelers mentioned the dirty streets and aqueducts (aryks).²⁰

In our opinion such contradictory characteristics and evaluations of New Bukhara reflect its unclear status in the Bukharan Emirate and in the Russian Empire.

The Status of New Bukhara in the Emirate

The legal reasoning establishment of other Russian settlements in the Bukharan Emirate (in Chardjui, Kerki and Termez) was in the Russian-Bukharan Friendship Treaty: the Russian Empire, as protector of the Emirate, was committed to guard its borders from foreign aggression – especially from British India and its satellite Afghanistan. That is why such settlements, in fact, were fortified cities with Russian garrisons.²¹ The situation with New Bukhara which was not a frontier settlement, as it was situated in the center of the Emirate near its capital, was absolutely different.

Formally the reason for the establishment of New Bukhara was the opening of the Trans-Caspian railroad station. According to Nikolai V. Charykov, the first Russian political agent in Bukhara, Emir Abdul Ahad (1885–1910) during the negotiations on the railroad construction in the Bukhara “expressed a desire that the Bokhara railway station should not be nearer than six miles to the city itself” because of his subjects’ fear of the railroad. As a result, a land plot, a distance of seven miles from the Emir’s capital, was chosen and given by the Emir to Russia as a gift. This land transmission was fixed by the agreement of Charykov and the delegate of the Emir in July 1885.²² This agreement became a precedent for building other Russian stations in Chardjui, Kerki and Termez. It was fixed by a special “Protocol of additional rules” («Протокол дополнительных правил») from June 23, 1888 between Emir Abdul Ahad and Nikolai O. Rosenbach, Governor-General of Turkestan (1884–1890). This protocol was an appendix to the Treaty of 1873 and contained general rules on acquiring land plots for stations and settlements

¹⁹ Geyer I.I. *Turkestan*. P. 206–207; Olufsen O. *The emir of Bokhara and his country*. P. 442, 503.

²⁰ G.B. Nashi kolonii. P. 255; Olufsen O. *The emir of Bokhara and his country*. P. 502.

²¹ Zapiska P.M. Lessara... P. 112. See also: Fomchenko A.P. *Russkie poseleniya v Bukharskom emirate*. P. 12, 16; Tukhtametov T.G. *Russko-bukharskie otnosheniya v kontse XIX – nachale XX v.* P. 47–48. As the period of 1870s–1900s was a final stage of so called “Great Game”, i.e. Russian-British rivalry in the Central Asia, such frontier settlements protected not only Bukharan, but also (and even more) Russian interests in the region.

²² *Glimpses of High Politics: Through War and Peace, 1855–1929: The Autobiography of N.V. Tcharykov, serf-owner, ambassador, exile*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1931. P. 198. See also: Chirkin S.V. *Dvadtsat' let sluzhby na Vostoke*. P. 283; Chernov O.A. *Diplomaticheskaya deyatel'nost' i istoricheskie vzglyady N.V. Charykova*. Samara: Povolzh'e State Social-Humanitarian Academy Press, 2010. P. 61–62. Charykov also mentioned that soon Bukharans weren't afraid of railroad, and long distance to station became inconvenient for local merchants: it caused building special railroad branch from New Bukhara to the capital at own expense of Emir.

by Russian authorities and subjects from the Emir.²³ This document, of uncertain legal effect, did not regulate the relations of such settlements with the Emirate and gives grounds to consider them Russian enclaves on Bukharan territory without any legal connection with the Emirate authorities. A striking example of the independence of New Bukhara from the Emirate is the building of a postal telegraph station in the city without any special permission from the Emir.²⁴ Later Abdul Ahad from time to time complained and entered into correspondence with Russian authorities on mass migrations from the Empire into settlements without coordination with him.²⁵

Building New Bukhara station became a plausible pretext for Russian political agency to move there from the one of Emir's palaces in the Arc (the fortress in the "Old" Bukhara). This action was a demonstration of the Emirate's independence and the unwillingness of Russian diplomats to intrude into Bukharan policy.²⁶ In fact, the agent's move did not decrease his influence on Emirate policy, especially foreign policy.

From 1888, all foreigners visiting Bukhara, had to arrive at New Bukhara station and get special permission to travel into the Emirate from the Russian agent; they dealt with Russian customs officers, not Bukharan ones.²⁷ The political agent remained a judge the "Old" Bukhara when accused or victims were Russian or European.²⁸ Russian contemporaries and scholars, not without a reason, consider the activity of the Russian political agents as attempts by the imperial authorities to modernize the administrative system of the Emirate.²⁹

This uncertainty of New Bukhara towards the Emirate gave Russians advantages but also caused problems. Property rights for granted land plots caused a strain in the relations between Russian inhabitants and the local population: formally these lands were given to New Bukhara by the Emir as the supreme owner of all land in the Emirate, but local communities also considered these plots their own property and were outraged by their transfer.³⁰

²³ See: G.B. Nashi kolonii. P. 254; Logofet D.N. *Strana bespraviya. Bukharskoe khanstvo i ego sovremennoe sostoyanie*. St. Petersburg: Printed by V. Berezovskiy, 1909. P. 218–221.

²⁴ Zapiska P.M. Lessara... P. 113.

²⁵ Logofet D.N. *Bukharskoe khanstvo pod russkim protektoratom*. T. II. St. Petersburg: Printed by V. Berezovskiy, 1911. P. 175, 191.

²⁶ *Glimpses of High Politics*. P. 191; Logofet D.N. *Bukharskoe khanstvo pod russkim protektoratom*. T. II. P. 182. See also: Curzon G.N. *Russia in Central Asia*... P. 152; Curtis W.E. *Turkestan*. P. 121.

²⁷ See: Curzon G.N. *Russia in Central Asia*... P. 154; Geyer I.I. *Turkestan*. P. 205–206; Olufsen O. *The emir of Bokhara and his country*. P. 79, 105, 114.; Rickmers W.R. *The Duab of Turkestan: A Physiographic Sketch and Account of Some Travels*. Cambridge University press, 1913. P. 111. According to O. Olufsen, as the Russian political agent was an actual councilor of Emir, Russian commanders of garrisons in other settlements were the same councilors of local Bukharan governors – begs.

²⁸ See: Matveeva N.V. *Predstavitel'stvo Rossii v Bukharskom emirate i ego deyatel'nost' (1886–1917 gg.)*. Abstract of Ph. D. Diss. Dushanbe, 1994. P. 18–19.

²⁹ See: Gubarevich-Radobyl'skiy A. *Ekonomicheskii ocherk Buhary i Tunisa. Opyt sravnitel'nogo issledovaniya dvuh sistem protektorata*. St. Petersburg: V. Kirshbaum's Press, 1905. P. 177; Olufsen O. *The emir of Bokhara and his country*. P. 1–2.

³⁰ Zapiska P.M. Lessara... P. 115.

The non-intervention of the Emir's authorities in life of New Bukhara affected its administration and private life, but not business activity. Russian representatives negotiated with the Emir's officials on the problem of the dual status of the Russian industrial and trade enterprises in New Bukhara and other Russian settlements. Russian diplomats insisted on the complete independence of Russian enterprises in New Bukhara as the city lived according to Russian law. The Bukharan authorities paid attention to the export of Russian goods from settlements to the Emirate and their taxation. An additional problem was the enterprises which were founded in Bukhara (and paid taxes), but after the establishment of New Bukhara moved there: the Emir did not want to lose income from them.³¹ Such problems were not solved legally until the end of the Russian protectorate over Bukhara and the liquidation of Russian settlements there.

One field of legal relations regulated between the Emirate and New Bukhara was the production and circulation of alcohol. No doubt, attention to this production was connected with the prohibition of alcohol in Islam as "Bukhara the Noble" was considered a stronghold of Islam in Central Asia, and its monarch had a title of "master of true believers" ("amir al-muminin").

The model for the legal regulation of the production and circulation of alcohol in New Bukhara was Highly approved opinion of the State Council of the Russian Empire "On establishing special rules for Turkestan to open public houses" («Об установлении для Туркестанского края особых правил открытия питейных заведений») from July 14, 1887.³² On June 25, 1889 several acts were issued: Highly approved "Rules on the trade of strong alcohol in the Bukharan Khanate" («Правила о торговле крепкими напитками в Бухарском ханстве»)³³ and approved by the Governor-General of Turkestan "Rules on the number, kind and distribution of shops for the trade of strong alcohol and the approval procedure on the opening of such shops" («Правила о числе, роде и распределении мест торговли крепкими напитками и о порядке выдачи разрешений на открытие означенных мест торговли») and "Rules on wine-making in the Bukharan Khanate" («Правила о виноделии в Бухарском ханстве»)³⁴.

As mentioned, there were several wine factories in New Bukhara, which belonged to Russians, Georgians, Armenians and even the French.³⁵ According the Rules of 1889 (and to

³¹ Zapiska P.M. Lessara... P. 115; Logofet D.N. *Bukharskoe khanstvo pod russkim protektoratom*. T. II. P. 206–207.

³² *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii*. Sobranie tret'ye. T. VII. St. Petersburg, 1889. № 4519. P. 268–269.

³³ Names "Bukharan Emirate" and "Bukharan Khanate" used by Russian imperial officials and scholars as synonyms, but the first one seems to be more correct as a formal title of ruler was emir.

³⁴ See: Logofet D.N. *Strana bespravnyi*. P. 225–234.

³⁵ Olufsen O. *The emir of Bokhara and his country*. P. 500. See also: Fomchenko A.P. *Russkie poseleniya v Bukharskom emirate*. P. 15.

earlier Bukharan tradition) wine-making was permitted for the individual needs of non-Islamic inhabitants and could be sold to “infidel” subjects of the Emir with paying all prescribed taxes and duties. The Rules also prohibited the production and selling of alcohol by Bukharan Muslims even if they moved into New Bukhara and became Russian subjects. In general, these Rules corresponded to “Special Rules for Turkestan”: the production and circulation of alcohol was completely prohibited for Muslims in Bukhara, and in New Bukhara it was prohibited for Islamic subjects of the Russian Empire in Turkestan. The necessity of issuing Rules can be explained by the specific relations between the Bukharan Emirate and Russian enclave on its territory.

The Rules on the production and circulation of alcohol in Bukhara were not international agreements (unlike the Treaty of 1873, the Agreement of 1885 and the Protocol of 1888), but acts of Russian imperial legislation. It shows closer connections between New Bukhara and the Russian Empire than with the Bukharan Emirate. Nevertheless, we cannot state that the legal status of the city in relation to the Empire was well-defined.

The Status of New Bukhara in the Russian Empire

According to Pavel M. Lessar, second Russian political agent in the Bukharan Emirate, New Bukhara and other Russian settlements in the Emirate were equated with towns of Turkestan in respect of their administration.³⁶ Such a vision was, in fact, an idealization of the real situation. The status of Russian settlements in the Emirate was not so simple and reflected problems in the relations between different imperial authorities.

The internal life of New Bukhara and other Russian settlements was regulated by special “Rules on the administration, economy and accomplishment of settlements near the railway stations Chardjuy and Bukhara” («Правила об управлении, хозяйстве и благоустройстве поселений близ железнодорожных станций Чарджуй и Бухара»). This document was an appendix to the above-mentioned Protocol of 1888 and was also approved by the Governor-General of Turkestan Nikolai O. Rosenbach.³⁷ It determined the administrative structure of Russian settlements, the credentials of the local government and its financial provision. Points 1–2 of these “Rules” gave full authority over Chardjui to the local “military commander” (“воинский начальник”), who was equated to the chief of the district (“уездный начальник”) in the Russian Turkestan. For New Bukhara, full authority there was “temporally” given to the Russian political agent. According to point 3, law and order was provided by policemen recruited from the military in Chardjui and by a militia from local civilians of New Bukhara. The

³⁶ Zapiska P.M. Lessara... P. 115.

³⁷ Logofet D.N. *Strana bespraviya*. P. 221–224. See also: Fomchenko A.P. *Russkie poseleniya v Bukharskom emirate*. P. 18.

military commander in Chardjui and the political agent in New Bukhara had at their disposal one deputy elected by locals and one representative of the Bukharan government who were in charge of the economic development of settlements (point 4). They had to maintain all roads, sidewalks and aqueducts and provide sanitary and fire prevention regulations (point 7). The local budget was made up of special duties: 1) a single payment of 5 kopecks from each sq. sazhen of land plots (1 sazhen = 2 m 13 cm); 2) annual real-estate tax of 1% of its value or 10% of income derived from it; 3) special taxes for trade, handcrafts, carrier's trade, etc. (point 8).

Some points of these "Rules" had references to imperial legislation; this reflected the integration of New Bukhara and Chardjui into the legal space of the Russian Empire. For example, building was regulated by the Construction Code («Строительный устав») of the Russian Empire (point 6), rates of taxes for handcrafts were determined on the basis of Art. 32 of "City and rural economy" («Устав о городском и сельском хозяйстве»), taxes for carrier's trade carrying – by special Highly approved opinion of the State Council from June 9, 1887 (point 8), etc.

It would seem that Chardjui and New Bukhara had equal status in the administrative system, but the "Rules" gave the leading position to the military commander of Chardjui, and the political agent was something like his adviser.³⁸ This was no wonder, as the "Rules" were established by the Governor-General of Turkestan who was also the commander of the Turkestan military district and controlled all the troops in Russian Central Asia (including garrisons on the territory of the Bukharan Emirate). He attempted to get administrative control over all the Russian enclaves in the Emirate by giving authority over them to his immediate subordinates. The political agent was a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and consequently was not under direct control of the Governor-General. Nevertheless, during the first period of activity of the Russia political agency (up to the end of the 19th century) political agents were, in fact, representatives of the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs and of the Governor-General of Turkestan.³⁹

Opening the first-class custom-house in New Bukhara with a manager at the head, according to the Highly approved opinion of the State Council "On organizing of custom

³⁸ Danish traveler O. Olufsen visited Bukhara at the end of 19th c. characterized military commander of Chardjui as "district governor", see: Olufsen O. *The emir of Bokhara and his country*. P. 570.

³⁹ Tukhtametov T.G. *Russko-bukharskie otnosheniya v kontse XIX – nachale XX v.* P. 39. It's interesting to mention the case of 1892, when regular Bukharan embassy went to St. Petersburg, the Governor-General of Turkestan baron Alexander B. Vrevskiy (1889–1898) organized its reception not at New Bukhara, the residence of the Russian political agency, but in Chardjui, see: Turaev Kh. "Ruznama-yi safar-i Fitiburkh" kak istochnik dlya izucheniya russko-bukharskikh otnosheniy kontsa XIX veka". *Obschestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, 1989. № 3. P. 54.

authority in the Central Asia” («Об устройстве таможенной части в Средней Азии») from June 6, 1894,⁴⁰ meant equating New Bukhara with other provincial centers of Turkestan.

But at the cusp of the 19th and 20th centuries Governor-Generals were changed every two-three years, and control over the Russian settlements in the Bukharan Emirate *de facto* transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the person of the Russian political agent which became a higher position in comparison with the military commander of Chardjui. Sergey V. Chirkin characterized the political agent in 1910s as “governor” of all Russian settlements on the territory of the Emirate.⁴¹

This leading position was emphasized by his judicial authority which was fixed in a set of legal acts issued 1887–1909. According to Higher command “On submission of crimes and offences committed by Russian subjects on the territory of Bukharan Khanate to the Russian political agent” («О подчинении преступлений и проступков, совершаемых русскими подданными в пределах Бухарского ханства, ведению местного Российского политического агента») from May 27, 1887, the political agent became something like a justice of the peace acting on the basis of the corresponding articles of the “Statement on administration of Turkestan region” («Положение об управлении Туркестанского края») of 1886.⁴² A higher judicial level was the court of Samarqand province (oblast’). On May 9, 1889 the Highly approved opinion of the State Council “On the establishment of the position of justice of the peace in the city of New Chardjui⁴³” («Об учреждении должности мирового судьи в городе Новом Чарджуе») was issued, and this justice was also under the supervision of the political agent.⁴⁴ In New Bukhara, the political agent had the right to sentence to convicts death. Esper Uktomskiy described the trial of three local inhabitants who robbed a jeweler and killed the Jewish clerk: according to Russian imperial law, the political agent sentenced the killer to hanging, and the sentence was carried out the next day.⁴⁵ Later, as mentioned above, the judicial authority of the Russian political agent was spread over non-Islamic foreigners on the territory of Emirate – according to the Highly approved opinion of the State Council “On changing the competence of legal cases of the justice of the peace in the city of New Chardjui and the Russian political agent in Bukhara” («Об изменении круга ведомства по судебным делам мирового судьи в городе Новом Чарджуе и Российского политического агента в Бухаре») of March

⁴⁰ *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii. Sobranie tret’ye. T. XIV. St. Petersburg, 1898.* № 10774. P. 434–435.

⁴¹ Chirkin S.V. *Dvadsat’ let sluzhby na Vostoke.* P. 273.

⁴² *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii. Sobranie tret’ye. T. VII. St. Petersburg, 1889.* № 4498. P. 257.

⁴³ New Chardjui was a name of railway station and garrison settlement in the Bukharan city of Chardjui.

⁴⁴ *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii. Sobranie tret’ye. T. XI. St. Petersburg, 1891.* № 5994. P. 200–201. See also: Becker S. *Russia’s Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865–1924.* London; New York: Routledge, 2004. P. 112–113.

⁴⁵ Uktomskiy E. *Ot Kalmytskoy stepi do Bukhary.* P. 165–170.

15, 1893.⁴⁶ In 1907, two additional offices of justice of the peace were established in New Bukhara and one in Chardjui and, in 1909, in Kerki (with authority in Termez). The higher level in Samarqand, however, was so far from these justices that the Russian political agent had full control over all of them. According to Dmitriy N. Logofet, a military officer who spent many years in the Bukharan Emirate, political agents abused their power and often pronounced their judgments based on their own opinion, ignoring imperial regulations.⁴⁷

Logofet, in his book “Land of Injustice” («Страна бесправия») of 1909, criticized the activity of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Bukharan Emirate and, in particular, its representative, the political agent. His information on the mistakes of Russian policy in the protectorate stimulated discussions on strengthening the role of the Governor-General of Turkestan in the Emirate and Russian settlements. Governor-General Pavel I. Mischenko (1908–1909) summoned an assembly to discuss Logofet’s book, and one of the questions discussed was the status of Russian settlements in the Bukharan Emirate.

Mischenko noted the uncertain status of New Bukhara and other cities and recommended the political agent Yakov Ya. Lyutsh (1902–1911) to ask the central imperial authorities to assign him “commander of the province” over Russian settlements. As most of them were residences of Russian garrisons, the political agent as their commander should submit to the Governor-General of Turkestan (commander of the Turkestan military district), not his direct authorities in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. But Lyutsh understood the purposes of Mischenko and offered a counter-claim to establish the position of “head of the province” as his assistant.⁴⁸ As a result, the previous status of New Bukhara and other cities remained unchanged, and the political agent *de facto* maintained his leading position over them.

The passing of power to the military authorities in New Bukhara took place only in exceptional circumstances – for example, using military troops to fight disorder during the Revolution of 1905–1907.⁴⁹ The mass rebellion of natives in Kazakhstan and Central Asia of 1916 also caused the spread of Russian imperial legislation over Russian settlements and even over the Emirate in general: to protect Russian subjects and provide law and order in Bukhara, new troops were moved to the Emirate, and all Russian settlements as well as the railways on a

⁴⁶ *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii*. Sobranie tret’ye. T. XIII. St. Petersburg, 1897. № 9424. P. 126–127.

⁴⁷ Logofet D.N. *Bukharskoe khanstvo pod russkim protektoratom*. T. I. P. 336–338.

⁴⁸ *Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan*. Fund. I-2. Reg. 31. File 251/29. Digital version from the “Zerrspiegel” Internet project: zerrspiegel.orientphil.uni-halle.de.

⁴⁹ Fomchenko A.P. *Russkie poseleniya v Bukharskom emirate*. P. 34–35; Tukhtametov T.G. *Russko-bukharskie otnosheniya v kontse XIX – nachale XX v.* P. 79–80.

territory of the Emirate were reorganized into twelve military sectors.⁵⁰ It strengthened the role of the military authorities for a short period of time.

After February 1917, when imperial power in Russia fell, and the administrative system in Russian settlements was reorganized, control over them again was seized by authorities in New Bukhara: the Russian political agent was renamed the Russian resident, but it was the same official – Alexander Ya. Miller (1916–1917). Alternative authorities, Soviets, were established in Russia and in New Bukhara, where a Provincial Soviet of soldiers and working deputies was established as the supreme Soviet power over Russian settlements.⁵¹ These developments prove the close connections between the Russian settlements and the Empire and, at the same time, the constant attempts of local government to take control of other settlements. This tendency became effective in 1917, but after the October revolution, the new Russian Bolshevik authorities liquidated the protectorate system and proclaimed the independence of Bukhara, while the power in the Russian enclaves passed to Soviets (with the Provincial Soviet at the head) and their executive committees which supported the people's revolution in the Emirate in 1920.⁵²

Conclusion

The status of New Bukhara 1888–1917 is characterized by uncertainty and contradiction for which there are a number of reasons.

The first is the undefined status of the Bukharan Emirate itself within the Russian Empire. A real imperial protectorate over this Central Asian state was not fixed *de jure*, and the Empire had to pretend to observe its sovereignty and realize its own policy in Bukhara by signing international agreements with its authorities. The ruler and high officials of the Emirate abused this situation and made Russian authorities solve legal problems *ad hoc*, as with the status of New Bukhara, its inhabitants, possessions, and enterprises.

The second reason was the conflict between central imperial authorities, (such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Military Affairs, whose representatives in the

⁵⁰ *Vosstanie 1916 goda v Sredney Azii i Kazakhstane: Sbornik dokumentov*. Moscow: Academy of Science of USSR Press, 1960. P. 727.

⁵¹ Chirkin S.V. *Dvadtsat' let sluzhby na Vostoke*. P. 273, 282. See also: Genis V. Vitse-consul Vvedenskiy. Sluzhba v Persii i Bukharskom khanstve 1906–1920 gg.). *Rossiyskaya diplomatiya v sud'bakh*. Moscow: Sotsial'no-politicheskaya mysl', 2003. P. 93.

⁵² Fomchenko A.P. *Russkie poseleniya v Bukharskom emirate*. P. 54–75.

Bukharan Emirate – Russian political agents in New Bukhara and military commanders in other settlements – opposed one another and disrupted the unity of the administration of the enclaves.

Finally, the specific status of New Bukhara (and Russian settlements in the Bukharan Emirate in general), in our opinion, is deeply rooted in the political and legal traditions of power relations in Central Asia, where modern ideas of sovereignty could not be applied without taking into account regional specific features such as the complex relations of suzerainty – vassalage in many respects (political, genealogical, spiritual, etc.). The establishment of Russian enclaves in the Emirate, however, was an attempt to use European ideas of sovereignty in combination with Eastern traditions, but there was not enough time to carry it to its conclusion, therefore the status of New Bukhara was uncertain and contradictory.

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