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SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE TRADERS OF BUKHARA EMIRATE (1756-1868)

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ABSTRACT

The development of domestic and external trade relations of the Emirate of Bukhara in 1756-1868, the growth of the number of cities as major trade and economic centers opened ample opportunities for the production of qualitative and various products for domestic and external markets. The study shows that there could be met all strata's representatives of society in the Emirate, in particular the Emir, various categories of officials, the militants, big landowners, religious people, artisans, local and foreign traders who were engaged in domestic and foreign trade and poor peasants in the territory of the Emirate. They formed the main part of the urban and rural population due to their place in the socio-economic system of the emirate, their financial opportunities and the types of their business.

INTRODUCTION

Among the social composition of the population, merchants played an important role in the development of trade relations of the Emirate's cities with domestic and foreign trade and economic centers, neighboring steppes and foreign countries. A. D. Grebenkin, who lived in the XIX century, evaluated the trade activity of the people of Bukhara in his book writing: "everyone with a certain amount of free capital such as mullahs, mudarrises, aksakals dealt with trade by other people". (Grebenkin, 1872) (8:26). Specialization in trading branches and spheres had been completely formed in the activities of traders in the Emirate of Bukhara by the end of the Middle Ages, and they were divided into three categories of traders. As is seen, they were divided into a) the group of traders who were involved in international and foreign commercial relations; b) those who were engaged in regional and inter-city trade; c) as well as shopkeepers whose trade was domestic and local. The number and role of traders among the population of Bukhara played an important significance in the long-term development of merchandising in the Emirate of Bukhara. According to a survey of the city's population at that time, there were guzars in every quarter of the city where traders resided.

According to social origin, merchants were divided into strata such as big merchants and shopkeepers, and those who had a large shop in the center of the city were called "timchi." The owners of small shops were considered to be low-class traders. Next in line were small traders engaged in the sale of various products. Representatives of various strata of society could be found among those who were engaged in domestic and foreign trade and the owners of many trade and economic buildings.

The social composition of the merchant: It was obvious to see the active participation of various categories of government officials of the central administration of the Emirate of Bukhara in the trade and economic life of the city. In particular, Qoshbegi (Prime Minister) was one of the officials in the Emirate of Bukhara who connected his activities with the internal and external trade relations of the state. Under the patronage of Qoshbegi, wealthy merchants were appointed to lead large trade caravans that traveled to distant foreign lands (Agzamova, 2017). (2:171). In turn, the caravan leaders followed the instructions of Koshbegi and submitted the relevant reports to him. Besides that, the leader of the caravan was responsible for selling the goods taken from the emirate at fixed prices. In particular, the historian H. Ziyoev gave the following information about Ernazar Maksudov, who led large trade caravans from the Emirate of Bukhara during the reign of Emir Danielbi (1758-1785) and visited foreign countries as a major merchant and ambassador since he was successful in trading before Emir Daniyalbi had come to the power: "He carried goods which were worth totally 7,775 rubles to the

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palace of Russian Empress Ekaterina II in 1757. The goods consisted of 70 poods, precious stones that were worth 6300 rubles, Indian fabrics which were 1367, 9 poods and medicinal herbs being worth 108 rubles (Ziyoev, 2014). (31:32). The merchant brought to Russia precious stones such as rubies, jewels, and lapis lazuli which were worth 31,090 rubles in 1764 and 1765, due to which he attracted the attention of the empress personally. These all resulted in no customs duties on Ernazar Maksudov's trade goods. Later, the large merchant Ernazar Maksudov received the status of ambassador in Bukhara. (Ibid, P. 33.) (31:33). Therefore, on September 2, 1774, Ernazar Maksudov and his 52 companions were sent as ambassadors of Bukhara to the Russian Empire. Mulla Arab Akhun, Imam Mulla Hokim oghli, Mirza Muhammad Sharif Pansod (Colonel), Mulla Boboshov (Adviser), Kurban Khoja Yuzboshi (Captain), Kholmuhhammad Panja Bashi (Lieutenant), Mulla Sayid (Treasurer), Polatkhojabek Olimov (proporshchik), Yasaul who accompanied the ambassador served in various ranks and positions as statesmen (Ibid, P. 44). (31:44).

The procedures in the Emirate's domestic markets were overseen by an official acting as Rais. The following information is given in "Turkistan Collection": "Rais informed the city and regional administrations about the amount of various trade goods sold on merchandising days (markets throughout the Emirate were open on particular days of the week), their prices and various events held on merchandising days". "Every merchandising day, Rais personally informed the local population about the prices of various goods sold in the markets". (Enpe, 1878) (6:177). This means that Rais had a high position in the social structure of the Emirate's merchants and they were appointed by the Emirate's authorities and took personal responsibility for the amount of goods, their prices and appropriateness of scales in domestic markets. Representatives of the royal family of the Emirate's government usually relied on the financial support of large merchants to deal with trade. The role of the representatives of the ruling dynasty and the upper stratum in the economic life of the Emirate included many powers besides their commercial activities. They owned many commercial and handicraft buildings, caravanserais, markets, and so on, along with large plots of land that occupied large areas, the sources of big revenue such as having the right to levy taxes such as zakat and customs tariffs from domestic and external trade.

In particular, Bukhara merchants sold karakul skins at the New Palace of Emir in the city that belonged to Emir, and cotton and its raw at the Old Palace of Emir. The sarai of Koshbegi was used by Iranian merchants as a hotel, and Devonbegi Rajabbek's sarai was used as a warehouse for local merchants. (Demezov, 1843) (4:59; 12:105) Religious leaders also played an important role in the political, socio-economic and cultural life of the Bukhara Emirate. Religious officials were the largest real estate owners in the Emirate's cities and the builders of commercial and economic constructions. The sources on Bukhara that reflect its XVII century history provide interesting information about it. The sources depict that the Sheikhs of Joybor, who had a large influence in the Bukhara Khanate, bought and owned many types of real estate such as farmland, houses, caravanserais, markets - tims, trade complexes, trade stalls, shops and mills. Besides that, there were built markets covered with roofs, shops, stalls, caravanserais, and baths by them. (Ivanov, 1954) (10:63) Furthermore, along with the sheikhs of Joybor, other

representatives of the clergy owned certain types of real estate during this period. In particular, A. Burns, a British officer who had a good relationship with one of the local tea traders in the Bukhara trade caravan in the XIX century, said: "He is a khwaja and at the same time he is a merchant and a priest". (Burns, 1848). (3:79) Most of the population of Bukhara city consisted of traders. Their role in the economic life of the emirate was incomparable. Merchants made up a large part of the population not only in large cities, but also in villages and districts that were slightly smaller centers. Traders were divided into several groups according to their position in society and financial opportunities. This was also an indicator of specific division into strata in society among the population dealing with trading. (Agzamova, 2017) (2:175) During that period, *economic specialization* was completely formed in all regions of the Emirate. This is seen in the variety of products produced in the agricultural oases located in the valleys of its major rivers and streams, as well as products of nomads and various handicraftsmanship.

Majority of the Emirate's population lived near water sources in the 19th century. In particular, historical sources state that 300-350 thousand people lived in Zarafshan valley, 500 thousand souls in Kashkadarya oasis, and 200 thousand ones in Surkhandarya oasis, and they were mainly engaged in agriculture. Local farmers who dealt with peasantry either sold or bartered their agricultural products such as cotton and silk raw, yarn, wheat, barley, millet, oats, rice, various fruits, vegetables, melons, watermelons, pumpkins, beetroots and etc. for the goods of artisans in rural and urban markets. As a result, some local farmers became not only growers of agricultural products, but also processors and retailers of them. In particular, the Russian traveler V.N. Khanikov noted that there were specialized bazaars in the sale of agricultural products such as cotton, silk, wheat, barley, oats, millet, bran, fresh and dried fruits, melon and watermelon markets in Bukhara, as well as he recorded the data on prices in them. (Khanikov, 1843) (12:125-140) Nomadic herders living in the steppe and desert areas of the Emirate were also actively involved in trade. The direct trade of cattle-breeders with agricultural oases and cities which were the trade and handicraft centers was a tradition in the economic relations that was continuously going on since the development of the nomadic cattle-breeding in ancient times. Mutual trade relations and exchange of products were studied by orientalist P.P. Ivanov. According to him, "the rapprochement of nomadic peoples with the population of local areas had influence on further developed economic relations". (Ivanov, 1958) (9:63, 10:50) The participation of nomadic pastoralists in domestic and foreign trade relations of the Emirate is also characterized by a high level of their activity in providing the service system of trade caravans. This can be seen in the example of them to be the guide of trade caravans, to rent, to sell or to have service for caravans with horses, camels and donkeys, participating in guarding and securing caravans, interpreting and other activities. (Khazanov, 2000) (13:337-338). The emirate had special markets for livestock, which were mostly built outside the city center, especially in nearby villages, provinces and districts. The seasons had impact on the prices for livestock in domestic markets. Livestock were much cheaper in the spring months and their price doubled in the summer and winter seasons. For example, the most expensive animal in the market was horses, which cost 50-156 gold coins in spring and 100-300 gold coins in summer and winter, and the cheapest domestic animal was a goat costs 6 to 12 tenges respectively.

(Obruchev, 1868) (17:110). Brokers had a special role in the development of trade in domestic markets of the Emirate of Bukhara. (Sukhareva, 1962) (25:15) Brokers were the “inseparable main owners” of domestic markets and trade stalls, without whom buyers, especially nomadic steppe dwellers and villagers who came to urban markets, could not sell or buy anything. The priest Budrin, who was in Bukhara in the early 19th century, said of brokers and wrote “Brokers always mediate in the purchase of various goods and goods. There are a lot of them in Bukhara and you cannot buy anything, not only expensive, but also small objects without them”. (Turkestanskiy sbornik, Vol .239. 1880) (21:27). Brokers actively participated in the retail process of the markets of Bukhara. In particular, they could be always found every merchandizing day in the purchase and sale of livestock. According to approved Bukhara report: “The broker received from 5 to 10 tenge for one animal from a buyer who came to the market to buy livestock. He started bargaining with the seller, holding the seller's hand tightly, giving him 5-10 tenge as collateral that had been given by buyer and increasing 1-2 tenge to it. When the price reached the expected price, the broker finished the sale agreement by shaking hands with the seller and the buyer. The broker then charged the seller and the buyer for 3-4 tenge for the service instead of the 1-2 tenge established by law. Until the seller and the buyer had paid the broker this amount, the broker made 1 or 2 more bargaining in the market”. (Timofeich, 1868) (26:174) This means that the brokers tried to negotiate between the buyer and the seller on the price of the goods being sold and charged a certain amount for this work.

Coming to the middle of the XIX century, various branches handcraftsmanship became widely developed. They were divided into craftsmen, such as weavers, tailors, goldsmiths, weavers, jewelers, blacksmiths, potters, steel makers, coppersmiths, rekhtagars (made objects of bronze), leatherworkers and shoemakers, depending on the products they made and they ran their business separately. Craftsmen were not only producers and sellers of products that were necessary for the daily needs of the local population, but also traders who supplied the domestic market with various trade goods in the Emirate of Bukhara. There were 10-12 thousand skilled masters with textile looms in the city of Bukhara and the surrounding villages, including alocha (type of cloth with coloured stripes) maker Usto Qozoqjon, Usto Hafiz, Usto Nosir, Usto Mominjon aksakal, bakhmal (type of cloth - velvet) maker Usto Ashur, Usto Khonkhoja, Beqasab (type of cloth) maker Usto Nurullaboy, Usto Mirzo Karim, buyra (an item made of special plant which is thin and long that grows in shallow water laid under the carpet) maker Usto Rahmatullo who formed a group of artisans that gained a good reputation among the local population. (Qilichev, 1996) (20:5). As a result of the development of trade relations in the Emirate, there appeared individuals among the traders who had taken up the wholesale trade of certain types of goods. These include merchandizing agents in the cities of the Emirate of Bukhara in the XIX century who were engaged in the production of fabrics and textiles, fuzalotfurushes who were wholesalers of metal products, wofurushes who dealt with wholesale of ceramics. (Tursunov, 1991) (27:126). Artisans produced products that were in demand not only in domestic but also in foreign trade in many cities and villages of Bukhara Emirate. For example, the fabric made in the village of Zandana near Bukhara and known in Iraq, Persia, Kerman, India and other places for its quality and was called “Zandaniychi”. (Abu Bakr Muhammad

ibn Ja'far Narshakhiy, 1993) (1:22). Samarkand paper that was widespread in the East and the West in the late middle ages. (Khabibullaev, 2007) (11:160-162) Bukhara silk fabrics, carpets made of silk and wool and other handicraft products must be emphasized. In the sources written by Russian orientologists, ambassadors and travelers who visited the Emirate of Bukhara (Florio Beneveni, 1983; Veselovskiy, 1884; Meyendorf, 1975; Demezov, 1983), (18:78; 29:40; 14:115-116; 4:96) it can be found interesting information about artisans and traders of different nationalities. In particular, the Persians (Sattarova, 1994) (22:58-59) who immigrated from Iran and lived in Chukur mahalla in Bukhara were artisans who made sweet halva, while the Persians who lived in Waqf quarter were very skilled in the production of various confectionery products from various fruit juices. They traded their products at the confectionery market in Shikastabandon guzar of the city. Besides, Afghan masters Nosirkhan and Sherikkhan were engaged in military arsenal production and Jewish masters dealt with dying regularly supplying the domestic market with their products. (Galkin, 1861) (7:51) According to the Hungarian traveler A. Vambery who was in Bukhara in 1863, the number of Indian traders from the Indian cities such as Shikarpur, Multon and Bombay in the Emirate of Bukhara was more than 5,000, and they traded in every city of the Emirate (Vamberi, 1874) (28:330).

There were also large caravanserais such as Mirzachul, Nogay, Filkhona, Hind and Badriddin (Meyendorf, 1975) (14:100) of foreign traders of Afghan, Indian and Tatar origin in Bukhara city that served for the development of domestic and foreign trade and increase the personal means of traders. In particular, large Tatar merchants such as Murtaza Ismailov, Suleyman Nazirov, Mukhamet Yusupov, Asaf Inozemtsev, Gubay Musin, Abdulla Utyamishev, Musa Maksutov brought a large amount of goods from Bukhara to Russian Empire and benefited huge income. For example, in 1808-1809, Kazan Tatar traders took only cotton fabrics and karakul skins from Bukhara that was worth 800,000 rubles (Djurabaev, 2014) (5:155). Writing about Bukhara, the priest Budrin said, “Apart from its own population, almost all of whom are traders, there are many traders from neighboring countries. Markets, stalls and streets are always very overcrowded, especially in the mornings” (Turkestanskiy sbornik. Vol .239, 1880) (21:22). Sarrafs who dealt with exchanging various currencies also played an important role in the economic life of Bukhara city. In particular, according to Russian traveler P.I. Demezov, there was “Chorsu-i Sarrafon (Centre of Usurers)” in Bukhara in the first half of the XIX century. (Demezov, 1983) (4:58) According to another author, I.V. Vitkevich, trade was also carried out there, and mainly Indians who were engaged in currency exchange and usury hosted there. (Vitkevich, 1983) (4:98-99). The sarrafs (usurers) were also included in the social composition of the merchants, since they also had their own market, caravanserai, and residing quarters. According to the information written in the nineteenth century, the structure of merchants also include shop owners who had shops in various cities of the Emirate and dealt with trading independently, shop renters who sat and traded their own product paying rent in shops of rich merchants, sellers who sold items of daily demand and those who walked with goods in their hands. (Tursunov, 1991) (27:126). Another group of merchants consisted of persons who waked the suburbs and small towns on certain market days. They bought some products and raw materials from rural markets in cash or by barter, and then sold them in urban markets. These were merchants who, after

accumulating a certain amount of capital from their trade, would buy or rent a shop and borrow the goods of the wealthy merchants in the city to sell there. Since the large merchants of the Emirate engaged in various trade deals to carry out large-scale trade, they hired knowledgeable mirzas (clerks) who were well versed in accounting and writing. (Sukhareva, 1966) (24:237) All wholesale merchant in the Emirate's domestic markets had several junior clerks who were given their duties in the workplaces. For instance, one of them was the trustee of his master, who was responsible for accounts with his master's regular customers, received money, placed cash in money chests, and fulfilled the treasury obligation. The mirzas, who worked with wealthy merchants, were paid large sums every month. A special role was played by a *qassid* (an Arabic word that means a middleman), that is, intermediaries in the development of trade in the Emirate of Bukhara (Sukhareva, 1966) (24:238). The *qassids* mediated between the merchants and the buyers in the timely repayment of the money for the goods traded in debt. In particular, in that period, the largest traders in Bukhara traded with merchants of different districts, lending them their goods for a certain period of time without registered documents, that is, without a receipt.

Russian traveler N. Stremukhov explains the trade as follows: "People in Bukhara are reluctant to buy various goods in cash and borrow them for a short or long period of time on the condition that they pay in parts. In Bukhara, traders hold the trade by lending goods for a certain period of time without any paperwork only when a government-appointed broker's personal presence is provided" (Stremukhov, 1875) (23:667). This means that professional *qassids* (intermediaries) in Bukhara, who undertook to collect the debts of large traders on time, also took an active part in trade relations. Women also had a special right and position in the social structure of the merchants of the Emirate of Bukhara. Although the aristocratic and wealthy women of the cities were not personally involved in the trade, they were large real estate owners like some officials. They also occupied the most influential positions in the economic life of the city being the owners of large tracts of land, trade and craft facilities which were shops, stalls and other types of property. This can be proven by archival documents on real estate donated in favor of large mosques and madrasas in the Emirate of Bukhara in the late XVIII and XIX centuries. It became clear from these official documents that a group of aristocratic women voluntarily donated their lands, houses, shops and other types of property for some political and economic reasons in favor of large mosques and madrasas in Bukhara.

Among them are Bibi Otin who endowed 1,5 tanob lands from her property in Komot district, outside Hisor in Ancient Bukhara, 1 palace and 5 mills in Muiy. Tobon quarter Bukhara city, Kursiyaoy who donated 2 shops and 1 oil mill with balcony in Chahar Baqqalli guzar of Samarkand Darvaza mahalla of the city, Ziynatbegim who endowed two wooden shops in the Kurpafurush (Bedding) Market, and Oyjonbegim who donated two chintz shops in Taqi Sarrafon for waqf in the eye of witnesses. (NAUz.f.I-323, op.1, d. 49, 83, 134, 453) (16). The activities of women working in various fields of handicrafts in the economic life of the Emirate of Bukhara were also noteworthy. Typically, medieval artisans created a variety of products based on the labor of themselves and their family members. In the process of such production, the labor of women in the family had a special role. (Agzamova, 2017) (2:191) This situation was evident in the areas where labor of

women was in high demand in the product preparation. In particular, in order to increase the beauty and elegance of the product, women participated in its processing. They used their labor for embroidery and decoration of various garments. Writing about Bukhara, a Russian traveler E.K. Meyendorf mentions that "even leather collars, belts, linings and other things" were decorated by women embroiderers. (Meyendorf, 1975) (14:117). Many of the types of fabrics produced in the late Middle Ages were the product of women's labor. Women were mainly involved in the weaving process of various fabrics from yarn and silk. One of the sources of the second half of the in one of the sources of 18th century, it was stated "all women in Bukhara participate in the weaving of yarn". (Mir Izzat Ulli, 1957) (19:206) Besides, writing about military uniforms in Bukhara, it was noted "some of them were made of embroidered fabric or semi-silk fabric woven by Bukhara women which is adras". (Ibid, P.206) (19:206) Another area of handicraftsmanship that women did independently was sewing clothes. In the markets in Bukhara where clothes were sold offered a wide range of products such as gowns, robes, shirts, waistcoats, belts, duppis and other garments made by women's labor, a huge trade was ran.

In Bukhara, the lowest stratum of traders included caravanserai securities and guards who were responsible for keeping the caravanserais and stalls clean and tidy (Sukhareva, 1966) (24:245). Their main income was the share of the caravanserai owners, which was derived from the trade deals made in the caravanserais. The social structure of those who were engaged in foreign trade also plays a significant role in the study of trade relations. The attention of neighboring and foreign centralized countries to the development of mutual trade also played an important role in the development of foreign trade and economic relations of the Emirate, as well as the production of goods for the market. According to the analysis of historical sources of the late Middle Ages, foreign trade relations were conducted mainly in the following three forms during researched period:

- Trade conducted by private traders;
- Trade relations conducted by special representatives of the rulers;
- Trade relations that were conducted when the ruler sent gifts and presents to each other. (Yuldashev, 1964; Nizomiddinov, 1966) (30:76-77; 15:16)

Private traders constituted the main part of traders in the emirate and usually traded with the products in high demand for the extensive needs of the local population. The trade, carried on by special merchants who were part of various embassy missions, took into account the needs of the ruler and his relatives, palace officials, and other influential figures in the country. Since special traders traded duty-free, this trade was beneficial in every way to the Emirs and officials. The third type of trade took place in the form of rulers' sending gifts to each other. In addition to performing political duties, ambassadors were also key figures in the trade that was ran by sending gifts, and no customs duties were levied on these products. However, there was required to be very attentive to ensure that the amount of gifts sent to be equal. The development of foreign trade and economic relations in Bukhara Emirate created ample opportunities for the formation of another group of commissioners in the structure of traders. (Sukhareva, 1966) (24:237) In particular, the commissioners bought goods for export to Russia from different parts of

Central Asia at the expense of a large official or trader in Bukhara and received a certain percentage of the total amount. The services of commissioners were widely used in the trade of cotton, yarn and karakul leather in the Emirate, which were exported in large quantities to Russian Empire every year.

Conclusion

Various forms of trade that was one of the foundations of economic life were very developed in the cities of the Bukhara Emirate. They had a well-developed domestic trade in which the inhabitants of the cities and the surrounding villages traded in goods and raw materials that were necessary for daily life. The interrelationship between handicrafts and trade led to the further development of trade activities, the strengthening of internal social stratification among artisans and traders, the active involvement of other social strata in the trade process. Furthermore, along with domestic trade, transit and foreign trade were also developed in some cities of the emirate which were major trade centers. As a result of their development, cities such as Bukhara, Samarkand and Karshi became major centers of the Eastern commercial world. Their economic opportunities expanded and influenced effectively the development of other centers.

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