

Markets in Bukhara Emirate: Management and Control

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ABSTRACT: In this article the history of management, supervision and problems of taxation of Bukhara Emirate traders of the last quarter of the XIX century - the beginning of the XX century are considered. Also, the author considers the problem of inconsistency of information on this issue in the periodicals of the colonial period.

KEYWORD: Caravanserai, tim, chorsu, bazaar, chairman, gold, coin, amin, aminona, zakatchi, zakat.

Introduction

It is known from history that from the Neolithic period onwards, as a result of the formation of the subsistence economy, market relations developed before the emergence of monetary relations. The market served as a place for meeting the economic needs of people of different levels. In the early days of the market, people exchanged what they had for what they did not have. After the formation of monetary relations, the market served as a means of communication between the state and society, determining the state financial and economic norms of society. In the past, markets were studied to obtain information about the economic and cultural status of a country. As the state and society had an interest in markets, they developed through management, control, enabling and taxation.

In the last quarter of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, in Central Asian cities, especially in Bukhara city, the concept of trade centres, i.e. markets, was unique. At that time, a trade market was divided into *a caravanserai, saroy, chorsu, and bazar*. Most Bukhara bazaars were located in the eastern part of the city centre, near the river Shahrud [2:297].

Caravanserais were usually built rectangular and square in shape and served as warehouses for goods of trade caravans from abroad. A caravanserai consisted of two-storey madrasah-style premises, the ground floor of which stored goods, while the first floor was a hotel for merchants. There were 38 caravanserais, including 24 stone and 14 wooden ones. Ten stone caravanserais belong to the treasury of the Emirate and are rented out. Depending on the location and size of the rented caravanserai, the treasury paid an annual rent of 100 to 300 gold pieces. The rest of the caravanserais belonged to private owners and foundations. There were about 150 caravanserais in and around the city for special trade and inns for arriving guests.

Timlar was built of stone and wood in the form of a long dome designed for the sale of handicrafts produced by artisans and craftsmen. Along the walls, racks of handicrafts made by the craftsmen were displayed. At one time the finest goods were exhibited under the dome of Abdullah Khan's trading armoury and there was a brisk trade.

A *Chorsu* is a market built in the form of a tall, covered half-dome, which was designed for people to enter and exit from all *four sides*. According to the author, since the flow of people was from four sides, such shopping centres were popularly referred to as four waters, i.e. *chorsu*. In our opinion, *chorsu* comes from the word "*bring more*". There was a *chorsu* in the centre of every developed town in Central Asia. *Zargaronchorsu*, built by Abdulaziz Khan, was famous in Bukhara.

Finally, if we take bazar, the word in Persian means "to bring again". At that time, a bazar was understood to be a row of covered stalls or an open-air marketplace. There were 50 such bazars, including a horse market situated outside the city walls, 1.5 km from Samarkand gates. There were 22 bazaars on the outskirts of the city where trade took place on certain days of the week.

There are 3 bread bazaars (= market), 1 grain market, 1 bran market, 2 meat markets, 1 fish market, 1 salt market, 1 firewood market, 1 candle market, 3 coal markets, 2 regular markets, 2 wet fruit markets, 2 melon and watermelon markets, 2 egg markets, 6 dairy markets, 2 butter markets, 1 drug and dye market, 5 shoe markets, 1 soft-tan market, 1 rawhide market, 2 cotton markets, 1 carpet market, fur and wool market, 1 copper and metalware market, 2 knife markets, 1 rope market, 1 horse and harness markets, 1 horse market and was 1 slave market. In addition, sellers of earthenware and basic necessities could be found all over the city.

The Bukhara Emirate markets opened at 8 a.m. after the announcement of prices, and trading activity was at its peak before noon. The price of all goods entering the market was set and controlled by the Bukhara Emir himself, except for goods brought by Russian subjects [6:183].

Trade in the Emirati markets was conducted in gold, coins and money. It was the emirate's internal currency, according to which 1 gold was equal to 22 coins and 1 coin was equal to 50 coins. According to 1820, at that time, 1 gold was equal to 16 Russian rubles and 1 coin was equal to 75 Russian shillings. There are three types of gold and coins and they are written in Persian [3:295].

Taxes were paid in kind on products sold, such as firewood, eggs and alfalfa. Under the porch of the market there were government scales for weighing wheat, barley and rice. When weighed on the scales, the weigher took 1 to 1 ½ pounds out of every 10 pounds. A seller paid 3 coins for every box of any goods sold in the market. Livestock sellers paid 2 coins for a camel or horse sold, 1 coin for an ox or cow, half a coin for a sheep and a quarter of a coin for a goat [1:45].

Cattle were not bought in the market without the presence of a broker because their eye scales accurately estimated the real value of the goods. Furthermore, brokers had a strong ability to memorise goods. If a dispute arose with the sale of stolen goods, the broker was involved as a witness in resolving the matter. Therefore, buyers would not charge the broker 5-10 coins for the broker and after receiving this money, the broker would start the job. Bukhara merchants liked to borrow money. In the market, traders pay half of this amount in money and borrow half at a higher interest rate. When a trader borrows goods, he gives 60 coins a month, 65 coins for two months, 70 coins for six months and 80-100 coins for one year. And after this period has passed without benefit to the merchant, it remained equal to receiving money without interest according to the period for which the goods are sold. Not only did people come to the markets to trade, but also to gather information about the prices in villages 25-30 versts away. Since the prices did not change until the next bazaar, there were no sales below this price in villages 30 versts distant from the market or in mutual trade [4:177]

According to some reports, zakat was levied on the products brought to the market and this levy was of little importance as it only involved market traders who lived at a distance of 12 stones (96 versts if each stone is equal to 8 versts). from the market. Therefore, those who come from Urgut to the Chelak market do not pay anything. Charity marketers, for example, have paid whatever is due. These procedures are based on a law

known as time limit. According to the author, this regulation is very sensible because if a merchant comes from far away, he has to pay a certain amount for his goods, and from places that are not far away, his zakat will be small, because usually small amounts are brought in [5:61].

A number of officials appointed by the Emirate had the task of managing and controlling the markets of Bukhara Emirate. In the provinces or governorates, the *governor* or *bek* was responsible for all administration and control. He administered his estate through a number of his officials. Although only a few of the officials appointed in the emirate administration system had specific positions to manage the markets, most of them had important responsibilities other than controlling the market. One of them was the *rais* (= *chairman*), an official well versed in the Koran and jurisprudence. The task of announcing the prices of agricultural and livestock products, set by the Amir, was performed by the chairman on market days.

On market days, the chairman would usually visit the *bek*, where they would drink tea, eat pilaf and talk about the work. After giving information about the quantities of goods brought by the people to the market and telling them about the prices set, he would go to the market, sitting on a painted horse. In this case the chairman was accompanied by four or six servants on foot and escorted from behind. One of the servants had an *arsine*, another a scale and the third a thick leather whip. The market did not open without the chairman announcing prices. Traders were punished immediately if they did not stick to fixed prices. If he found a mistake in the merchants' units, the chairman would punish him with dozens of strokes. Since it was forbidden to smoke cigarettes and watch children dancing, the chairman personally punished those who engaged in such activities in the market. Because the chairman did these things without words, when they saw him, the traders hid their illegal goods and behaved uncomfortably, and they saw the chairman as a tyrant and a stubborn ruler [6:177].

According to other information, *amloqdor* controlled the internal procedures of the markets. From the beginning to the end of the bazaar, the owner's servants walked around with red sticks in their hands. During bazaar days, many people came to the landlord's house with complaints to settle various conflicts and problems arising from trade. From 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. at the landlord's house they solved cases for medical treatment, claiming fees and fines in money, goods and cattle. He solved problems such as when someone hit someone, someone tore someone's clothes, and a debtor who had given a loan in cooperation with the real estate judge. In those cases where a fine was to be imposed by the *amloqdor*, the *mirohur* participated as a guarantor and worked and used it to his advantage until a certain percentage of the debt was paid. At no time was money charged when the fine was imposed, because the Shariah prohibits taking interest, and because of the plight of the person paying the fine, he was given the opportunity to pay with goods equal to the amount of the fine. If the payer of the fine brought goods for 80 coins, the *amloqdor* or the judge did not assess them for more than 35 coins and immediately sent the goods to the merchant who had lent and received 40 coins. The merchant who received the goods immediately sold them on credit to another person [4:174-75].

According to most information on the history of the Emirate of Bukhara, the *amloqdor* ruled an *amloqdor*, which was an administrative-territorial division. Amlok is a territorial unit combining several villages into a section, and each section consists of several *amloqdor* in administrative relations. An *amloqdor* usually controlled one or sometimes several manors. He was appointed by the *bek* and was subordinate to the *bek*. The main task of an *amloqdor* was to collect taxes and dues from the population and submit them to the *zakyatcha* and *bek*. The *amloqdor* performed the count of that year's harvest, important affairs or minor works through his subordinates and elders. He used his subordinates to transmit orders. The *Amloqdor* was entrusted with the task of discussing petty quarrels, reconciling conflicting parties, punishing them as he saw fit or imposing fines in his favour. He arrested criminals until they were handed over to the detention centre in the city [6:178].

According to information about the eastern regions of Bukhara Emirate, all markets of Khisar district were given to the 3 Aminonachi (tenants). The same *aminochis* (renters) rented the markets of Hisor, Karatog, Khanago, Gazi Malik, Shoriyan, Akkurgan, Regar and Sofyan. It was his job to ensure the cleanliness and accuracy of the weights in the markets. He paid 50,000 coins (7,500 rubles) annually for begging from the rents of the aforementioned markets. Of the remaining two tenants, one paid 70,000 coins (10,500 rubles) and the other paid 13,000 coins (1,950 rubles) annually. The tenants had a large staff of servants to oversee the market sales. Outside markets or villages, trading could also take place. In order not to lose sight of the transactions outside the markets, the tenant's agents worked like blind men [1:45].

According to sources providing information on the western districts of Bukhara Emirate, the task of collecting market tax was performed by zakat. There were two chief zakatists in the western region of the emirate, one of them administering the territories of Karmana, Nurota, Khatyrchi, Ziyaaddin (Fort Dabus), Kattakurgan, Panjshanba, the villages of Mitani and Yangikurgan (Dushanbe). The residence of *Zakotchi* is in *Khatirchi*. The second collector of Zakat collected taxes from the markets of Samarkand, Urgut, Penjikent, Chelak, Jizzak and Ora-tepa. The residence of *Zakoja* was the city of Samarkand. In some towns the Zakatist had permanent proxies in their territory, while in other towns these people came only on market days.

The Chief zakatchi of Khatirchi had 10 proxies, one (permanent) in Karman, one (incoming) in Nurot and one (permanent) in Kattakurgan who travelled to Panjshanbu, Mitani, Yangikurgan and other points. The chief Zakatist in Samarkand had 15 men, one (going) in Urgut, two in Penjikent (going to collect Zakat in July or from sheep transported from Hisor), four (permanent) in Chelak, one large and six small (permanent) in Jizak, one each in Zamin (going out and going away), three (permanent) commissioners in Oratep. The chief zakat collectors presented *koshbegi* tax numbers, which could be collected in advance. This was a unique method of trade. For example, the chief *zakatshi* of Khatirchi received from his territory 20,000 coins a year - 4,000 rubles or 1,000 gold pieces; the chief *zakatchi* of Samarkand gave 40,000 coins - 8,000 rubles or 2,000 gold pieces [5:61].

Conclusion

Thus, the trading markets of Bukhara Emirate did not consist of one type of trading places, but developed in their own way. The caravanserai can be compared to today's wholesale market, trading palaces to the exhibition of fine industrial goods, khorasu to supermarkets with amenities at all times of the year, and finally bazaars to market stalls selling food and necessities. But if one analyses the information on the control and management of markets, conflicting views emerge. For instance, the author, referring to the eastern regions of the emirate, reports that the bazaar belongs to the *Zakat* collector and that *Zakat* is paid on each product sold, while the author, referring to the western regions, reports that markets belong to the *Zakat* collector and sellers pay *Zakat*. According to the information provided by Enpe, the chairman together with his apparatchiks controlled the internal procedures of the market, while according to the information provided by Timofeich, the market was controlled by the owner.

The issues of control, management and taxation of markets in the Bukhara Emirate will be clarified by studying local sources and administrative documents of the time based on the method of comparing all sources.

Resume

Bukhara Emirate markets: governance and control

This article describes the history of management, control and taxation of merchants in the Bukhara Emirate during the last quarter of the 19th century and the early 20th century. The problem of contradictory information of the colonial period is included in the scope of the article.

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