

NOTAS HISTÓRICAS Y GEOGRÁFICAS

Artículos

Socio-economic and cultural-political situation of Kyrgyzstan in the late 19th – early 20th centuries

/

Situación socioeconómica y político-cultural de Kirguistán a finales del siglo XIX - principios del siglo XX

Gulnora Anarbaeva

Jalal-Abad State Universit, Kyrgyz Republic

anarbaevagulnora872@gmail.com

Gulzhamal Toktogulova

Jalal-Abad State Universit, Kyrgyz Republic

g.toktogulova@outlook.com

Moimol Zhusupova

Talas State University, Kyrgyz Republic

m-zhusupova@hotmail.com

Bolotbek Isakov

International University named after K.Sh. Toktomamatov, Kyrgyz Republic

b_isakov@outlook.com

Batma Nazarbaeva

Kochkor-Ata College named after B. Osmonova, Kyrgyz Republic

bnazarbaeva@hotmail.com

Recibido el 28 de marzo del 2025 Aceptado el 3 de abril del 2025

Páginas 317-338

<https://doi.org/10.58210/nhyg663>

Financiamiento: Se financió con recursos propios.

Conflictos de interés: Los autores declaran no presentar conflicto de interés.

Licencia Creative Commons Attribution Nom-Comercial 4.0 Unported (CC BY-NC 4.0)
Licencia Internacional



Abstract

This study aims to identify the main factors that influenced the development of Kyrgyz society, further political and cultural processes in the region, in particular the colonialism of the Russian Empire and internal social transformations. One of the central aspects of the study is the transition of the Kyrgyz population from the traditional nomadic way of life to semi-nomadic and sedentary. This transition was caused by the need to adapt to new economic conditions associated with the introduction of new economic relations and the increasing number of Russian migrants. Simplification of traditional forms of economy and introduction of new technologies contributed to the change in the way of life of the local population. The process of consolidation of the Kyrgyz society associated with the struggle against the repressive policy of the Kokand Khanate and its subsequent overthrow is highlighted. The reasons why Kyrgyzstan, first in the north and soon in the south, came under the rule of the Russian Empire are explained; the relations of the Kyrgyz with the neighbouring empires – Qin, British and Russian – are considered separately. The significance of cultural changes that took place in the region under the influence of numerous migration flows from the densely populated provinces of the central part of the Russian Empire, and how these changes affected cultural and economic activities in the region,

was also explained. The study examines the impact of the First World War and the revolutionary events of 1917 on the political and social situation in the region, which contributed to further strengthening of national liberation movements and political instability.

Keywords: Colonization, Urbanization, economic activity, nomadic lifestyle, consolidation.

Resumen

Este estudio tiene como objetivo identificar los principales factores que influyeron en el desarrollo de la sociedad kirguisa, los procesos políticos y culturales posteriores en la región, en particular el colonialismo del Imperio ruso y las transformaciones sociales internas. Uno de los aspectos centrales del estudio es la transición de la población kirguisa del modo de vida nómada tradicional al seminómada y sedentario. Esta transición fue causada por la necesidad de adaptarse a las nuevas condiciones económicas asociadas con la introducción de nuevas relaciones económicas y el creciente número de migrantes rusos. La simplificación de las formas tradicionales de economía y la introducción de nuevas tecnologías contribuyeron al cambio en el modo de vida de la población local. Se destaca el proceso de consolidación de la sociedad kirguisa asociado con la lucha contra la política represiva del Kanato de Kokand y su posterior

derrocamiento. Se explican las razones por las que Kirguistán, primero en el norte y pronto en el sur, quedó bajo el dominio del Imperio ruso; las relaciones de los kirguises con los imperios vecinos —Qin, británico y ruso— se consideran por separado. También se explicó la importancia de los cambios culturales que tuvieron lugar en la región bajo la influencia de numerosos flujos migratorios de las provincias densamente pobladas de la parte central del Imperio ruso, y cómo estos cambios afectaron las actividades

culturales y económicas en la región. El estudio examina el impacto de la Primera Guerra Mundial y los eventos revolucionarios de 1917 en la situación política y social de la región, que contribuyeron a fortalecer aún más los movimientos de liberación nacional y la inestabilidad política.

Palabras claves: Colonización, Urbanización, Actividad económica, Estilo de vida nómada, Consolidación.

Introduction

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the territory of Kyrgyzstan was under the considerable influence of the Russian Empire, which entailed profound socio-economic and cultural-political changes. This period was decisive in the formation of modern Kyrgyz statehood and national identity. The introduction of new economic relations, the growing number of Russian settlers, administrative reforms and changes in the traditional way of life of the local population created preconditions for significant transformations. At the same time, these processes had an ambiguous impact on Kyrgyz society; on the one hand, they promoted modernization and infrastructure development, on the other hand, they caused tensions between the local population and the settlers, and aggravated the issues of preserving cultural identity (Malikov, 2020).

The study has revealed the relationship between the external colonial policy of the Russian Empire and internal social transformations, which is important for understanding the contemporary political and cultural realities of Kyrgyzstan. In addition, the study of this period allows us to analyse how the changes that took place more than a century ago influenced the development of national consciousness and political movements in modern Kyrgyzstan.

In the work of R. Grousset (1970), the author gives a detailed characterization of the traditional way of life and trends of cultural and social development that were characteristic of the steppe peoples of Central Asia. For a long time, the Kyrgyz were under the rule of the Kokand Khanate, and the foundations for the rebellion that destroyed the Khanate were laid in the reign of Sherali Khan. The study by H. Şen (2021) is devoted to a detailed analysis of the Kokand Khanate during the reign of Sherali Khan (1842-1845), which is an important and under-researched period in the history of Central Asia. The author has provided an in-depth overview of the political situation in the khanate, in particular internal conflicts and external threats, which had a significant impact on the development of the region. One of the key aspects of the work is the analysis of the Kokand Khanate's interaction with neighbouring states such as the Russian Empire and the Bukhara Emirate. The author has scrutinized Sherali Khan's

policies in the context of international relations, which has provided a better understanding of his strategy of rule and the reasons for his political decisions.

R.S. Rakhmatovich (2022) examined the liquidation of the Kokand Khanate by the Russian Empire and the establishment of the Ferghana region, as well as the formation of a colonial system of administration. The author analysed the consequences of this process on the social, political and economic structure of the region, highlighting how the colonial administration changed traditional ways of governance and affected the lives of the local population. N. Pianciola (2020) analysed the development of the illegal opium trade between Turkestan and Xinjiang between 1881 and 1917. The author analysed how this trade contributed to the formation of a unique border region where economic, political and social interests of different parties intersected. The opium trade not only created new economic networks but also changed the dynamics of relations between local elites, traders, and international powers such as the Russian Empire and China. N. Pianciola (2020) showed how these processes influenced the formation of the modern border between Central Asian countries and China, emphasizing the complexity and multi-layered nature of this region in a historical context.

A. Rovshan (2023) studied the activities of political organizations in Russian Turkestan in the early twentieth century. The author analysed the process of formation of political organizations in the context of growing nationalism and colonial pressure and how they influenced political and social processes in the region. A. Rovshan (2023) also examined the interaction between local leaders, the Russian administration and international forces in the context of the struggle for national autonomy. K.A. Shakhlo (2021) investigated the introduction of the military-administrative system in the Ferghana region, in particular the system of volost administration. The author analysed how this system affected local self-government and socio-political relations in the region. The study examines the changes in administrative structures after the annexation of the region to the Russian Empire, as well as their impact on the life of the local population.

K.H. Behzod and V.T. Shakhnoza (2021) investigated the issue of resettlement policy of the Russian population of the European part of the Russian Empire to the territory of Turkestan. The authors analyse how the resettlement affected the socio-economic conditions in the region, including changes in the agrarian sector and social structure, and also examined the role of this policy in the colonial strategies of the Russian Empire and its consequences for the local population. A. Morrison (2014) analysed the role of peasant settlers within the Russian Empire's colonial policies in Turkestan from 1865 to 1917. The author explores how peasant resettlement was used as part of the Russian Empire's civilizational mission, which included attempts to integrate and modernize the territories through agrarian reforms and cultural influence.

The research shows that the colonial policy of the Russian Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries significantly changed the socio-economic and cultural-political development of Kyrgyzstan, leading to new social transformations in governance. However, the impact of cultural changes on national identity and ethnic relations requires further study. The aim of this paper is to deepen understanding of the processes that shaped Kyrgyzstan during this period. Tasks included analysing the

impact of colonial policies, the interaction of ethnic groups and the factors behind modern political movements.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The study relied on archival documents from both the tsarist (Statistics of the 1897..., 1897) and Soviet eras to analyse the complex transitions in Kyrgyzstan's political structures and land use (Krausse, 1900). These documents represented key sources for understanding the transformations that took place in the region under the influence of Russian and Soviet colonial policies. Records from Russian and Kyrgyz sources were used to provide a comprehensive analysis of cultural change.

An important element was the reports of the Russian administration, which detailed the Russian Empire's cultural policies of Russification and the establishment of Russian-language schools in the region (Palen, 1910). These educational reforms were examined through analyses of Kyrgyz resistance to Russification, as well as their acceptance of modern educational structures. Considerable attention was paid to how local communities responded to such initiatives, thus revealing the contradictory effects of these reforms on the cultural identity of the Kyrgyz population.

An important aspect of the study was the use of archival data from the Russian administration to understand how the reforms affected traditional educational systems.

Additionally, documents from early Soviet educational institutions that combined Russian and local language instruction were used (Decree of the All-Russian..., 1918). These documents allowed us to assess the degree of integration of the Kyrgyz population into the new educational and cultural system introduced by the Soviet authorities. Soviet educational institutions played an important role in promoting collective ideals and Soviet ideology, which was a key element in the transformation of Kyrgyz society.

For socio-political analysis, a critical examination of Soviet propaganda materials and political pamphlets from the early twentieth century was conducted (Lesnoy, 1937). These sources served as an important tool for understanding how Soviet ideology was disseminated among the Kyrgyz and how it was used to reinforce the power and legitimacy of the Soviet state in the region. Propaganda played a key role in forging a new identity based on collective values and socialist ideals.

The key methodology of the research was based on the integration of qualitative and quantitative data to provide a holistic picture of the transformations in Kyrgyz society. One of the approaches used in the study was 'triangulation', which means verifying the validity of the results through the use of different types of data and sources. These included not only archival documents and administrative reports, but also census data, political pamphlets, propaganda materials, and memoirs. This approach significantly reduced the likelihood of errors and inaccuracies in the interpretation of facts.

Thus, the triangulation of data, including a combination of archival documents, propaganda materials and memoirs, allowed the study to comprehensively assess the transitional processes in the political, economic and cultural aspects of Kyrgyzstan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

RESULTS

The transition of Kyrgyz tribes under the control of the Russian Empire was a complex and ambiguous process in which economic, political and cultural factors were intertwined. In the face of external threats, such as pressure from the Kokand Khanate and China, submission to Russia was a forced measure for a good deal of Kyrgyz. However, despite the promised protection, Russia's political and economic influence turned Kyrgyzstan into a colony. The history of northern Kyrgyzstan's accession to the Russian Empire, which began with requests for subjection, is a vivid example of how the region gradually lost its independence (Derviş, 2022). In 1862, the Salibagish tribes occupying lands in Kemin petitioned for Russian subjection. In 1864, the nomadic Kyrgyz tribes of the Middle Tien-Shan, in 1864 – the tribes of the Northern Tien-Shan and Sayak tribes of the Tien-Shan claimed Russian allegiance. Under the leadership of Manap Keldibek, 10,000 Sayak families accepted Russian subjection. However, it would be wrong to claim that the entire population of northern Kyrgyzstan voluntarily wanted to become Russian subjects. The colonial taxation policy of the tsarist regime soon proved that this was indeed a new yoke. However, it was a necessary and timely measure, as the Kyrgyz people had no other choice at that time. Thus, helping the tribes of northern Kyrgyzstan to fight against the Kokand and Chinese conquests, the Russian Empire gradually subjugated northern Kyrgyzstan by 1870. Despite the fall of the Kokand Khanate, the Kyrgyz did not weaken both economically and politically; they became a colony of the Russian Empire. The Kyrgyz who were part of Tsarist Russia were subordinated to three different administrative and territorial units, Semirechenskaya oblast, Syrdar oblast, and Fergana oblast (Madiev, 2020). Kyrgyzstan's desire to become part of the Russian Empire was manifested in the colonial policy pursued by the tsarist government in 1891 (Tursunova, 2024).

According to the Steppe Regulations (1891), all lands used for nomadic pastoralism were to become state property (Goremykin, 1903). As beneficiary landowners, the Kyrgyz were obliged to pay land tax to the new owners, the state, for grazing and cultivation. The residential areas of the Kyrgyz were divided into grazing (zhayyt) and wintering (kishtu) lands, and a procedure was established for their joint use. These land use rules were favourable only for large pastures with large numbers of livestock. In addition, pastures and agricultural land were distributed among individual peasants depending on the number of livestock they owned (Daudov et al., 2018).

In southern Kyrgyzstan, plain lands were first divided between private mulyk and madrasa wakkami owners. Between 1896 and 1905, Russian peasants were forbidden to move to Turkestan due to a growing shortage of irrigated land for arable purposes and growing local discontent (Jacquesson, 2020).

Despite this, the spontaneous influx of peasant population from the overpopulated central regions continued unabated, with 2,700 families settling in Semirechye alone in 1902 (Table 1). Although the peasants who moved to Kyrgyzstan obtained land by taking land from the Kyrgyz, there are several positive consequences of such migration. In particular, from 1895 to 1905, Ukrainian settlers improved the irrigation system, resulting in a 25 per cent increase in crop yields. Moldovan settlers made a great contribution to viticulture: 620 dessiatinas of vines were planted in Pishpek district alone. When the First Russian Revolution broke out in 1905, the tsarist government

began to regulate resettlement in Semirechye. To regulate this issue, special resettlement districts were created – Semirechensky and Syrdarinsky – which by 1906 had attracted 40,000 settlers to the Semirechensky district, 27,000 to the Syrdarya district, and 4,000 to the Fergana district. Land confiscation from the Kyrgyz was particularly common during the Stolypin agrarian reform period; in 1907 alone, 289,000 hectares of fertile land were allocated to settlers in Kyrgyzstan (Aidaraliev and Madaliev, 2023).

Table 1. Population of Kyrgyzstan

Year	Population, thousands of people	Urban	Rural	% of total urban population	% of total rural population
1902	480.9	75.6	405.3	15.7	84.3
1913	863.9	105.8	758.1	12.3	87.7
1926	1,001.7	122.3	879.4	12.2	87.8
1939	1,458.5	270.1	1,188.4	18.5	81.5

Source: compiled by the authors based on Y.U. Ustagaliyev and D.R. Aitmagambetov (2023).

Analysis of the table shows a significant increase in the population of Kyrgyzstan from 1902 to 1939. In 1902, the population was 480.9 thousand people and by 1939, it had increased to 1,458.5 thousand people. However, the proportion of urban population first decreased from 15.7 per cent in 1902 to 12.3 per cent in 1913 and remained stable at 12.2 per cent in 1926, before rising markedly to 18.5 per cent in 1939. This increase indicates the acceleration of urbanization during the period of Soviet industrialization. The rural population, although growing in absolute numbers, decreased its share of the total from 87.8% in 1926 to 81.5% in 1939. The data thus reflect important changes in social structure associated with rural-to-urban migration and the development of urban centres.

By 1914, the indigenous population had lost more than 4 million hectares of agricultural land. The Tsarist conquest of Kyrgyzstan did not initially lead to significant changes in Kyrgyzstan's traditional economy. Livestock farming was still the main means of subsistence. Meat and dairy products were the main foodstuffs. Leather, wool, and hides were used for subsistence farming. The land in Kyrgyzstan was most suitable for seasonal livestock farming. Cattle were grazed on sunny slopes in spring, moved to high-mountain pastures in summer, and brought down to wind-protected valleys near water sources in winter. In other words, large-scale animal husbandry was traditionally practised in the region. The productive forces developed slowly and naturally, and the tools of labour were outdated and primitive (Malikov, 2020). As a consequence, Kyrgyz nomads could not procure sufficient fodder in winter, and in low-snow years they usually suffered from starvation.

Cattle fattened in summer were grazed in Tebenek in winter. Despite this, the majority of the population did not attach much importance to settled farming or agriculture, and traditionally continued nomadic animal husbandry. For example, 80.7 per cent in Karakol were engaged in animal husbandry (Abdrakhmanov, 1916), while in southern Kyrgyzstan this figure was lower: for example, in Osh and Kokand provinces,

65 per cent of the Kyrgyz population were engaged in nomadic and semi-nomadic agriculture. The Kyrgyz predominantly raised sheep, goats, elk, cattle, yaks, and camels (Rovshan, 2023).

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Kyrgyzstan experienced industrial development. The development of mineral deposits intensified, and small enterprises began to emerge to process agricultural raw materials. However, industrial development was hampered by patriarchal-feudal relations that dominated the social life of Kyrgyzstan. At the same time, the economic policy of the tsarist government also hindered development (Bektursunov, 2022).

Russian capitalism sought to use Kyrgyzstan only as a source of cheap raw materials. As a consequence, Kyrgyz industry focused on primary processing and cottage industries. Traditionally, Kyrgyz handicrafts can be divided into two types: women's handicrafts and men's handicrafts. Women's handicrafts included fine needle sewing of *koshma*, woven *palases*, bedspreads, embroidered curtains and canopies, various jewellery (*zholbo*, *kircho*, *tichgich*, *chachuish*, etc.), fur and fabric products, and carpet weaving was common in the south (Uktambek et al., 2023). Russian settlers made bridles, harnesses, yurt frames, tools, and other items necessary for everyday life. Jewellers made jewellery. Blacksmiths forged metal parts for weapons, tools and harnesses, horse harness and many other necessities of nomadic life (Mattiyeu, 2024).

Handicrafts were mainly used in the region where they were made, and only a small part was exported to other regions for exchange or sale. During the second half of the 19th century, small villages began to appear. Businesses also appeared, for example, the first tannery was built in Pishpek in 1880. Pishpek quickly became the centre of the leather industry. In 1885, there were already five tanneries in the Pishpek district. Three of them belonged to Kyrgyz merchants (Mamashev, Bikeev, Uzbekov) (Aitmatov, 1988).

From the 60s to 90s of the 19th century, the mining industry began to develop in Kyrgyzstan. The first commercial coal mining started in 1885. The Russian bourgeoisie tried to take the initiative in developing the mineral resources of Kyrgyzstan. In the 1880s, interest in the region increased. Russian entrepreneurs took full control of coal and oil production in the Tash-Kumyr and Mailuu-Suu fields. In 1898, coal mining began at the Kyzyl-Kiya mine. In other regions coal and oil deposits were discovered, for the development of which foreign entrepreneurs created various joint-stock companies (Antwerp, London). These companies stood at the origins of the Kyrgyz mining industry and made a significant contribution to its formation and further development. At the same time, the industry as a whole had low growth rates and low productivity. The main reasons for this are that the enterprises and workshops of the developing industries employed mostly unskilled labourers, in particular the urban and rural poor, migrants and farmers (Belafatti, 2019).

Working conditions were very difficult and wages were often low. By the end of the nineteenth century, large urban settlements had formed in Kyrgyzstan. These settlements gradually developed into commercial and residential centres. New towns and commercial suburbs (Russian-Ukrainian, Dzhungan, Uzbek, etc.) were mostly built on the site of the former Kokand fortress or near it. Such cities were Tokmok and Pishpek, at first these cities were formed as military and administrative centres, later

they developed as urban settlements. At the beginning of the 20th century, a large flow of various migrants (peasants, merchants, and entrepreneurs) poured into these cities (Şen, 2021).

In Central Asia, border towns such as Pishpek, Osh and Karakol became centres of trade and new industries. As a result, small towns played an increasingly important role in the social, political and cultural life of Central Asia. However, in 1897, the urban population was only 7.4 per cent of the total population of Kyrgyzstan. Most of the urban population consisted of artisans, small traders, various servants and hired labour. Since the end of the 19th century, trade relations between Kyrgyzstan and Russia have developed again. This was facilitated by the conquest of Central Asia. The whole region became a source of cheap raw materials for the industry of Imperial Russia and a market for industrial goods. In order to pay taxes and buy necessary industrial and handicraft goods, the inhabitants of the region were forced to sell part of their grain, livestock, and livestock products. All this was a necessary condition to break the vicious circle of subsistence economy (Cao, 2024).

In fact, Kyrgyz society in this period was divided into two social strata (groups), one was wealthy landowners, manapas or bai, the other was made up of artisans, peasants, traders, and nomads. Before the Russian conquest of Kyrgyzstan, the titles of manapa and bai were hereditary and passed from father to son. After the conquest of Kyrgyzstan by the Russian Empire, the status of the manapa changed. The administration of the new Kyrgyzstan was entrusted to the colonial administration. In order to create a reliable social pillar to govern the new territory, the colonial administration brought the manapas to its side and allowed them to serve as elders. At the same time, there were changes in law and social relations. As a result of the development of commodity-money relations, subsistence farming was relegated to the background by the end of the 19th century. A manufactory class began to form among the most developed manapovs and bais – owners of small oil mills, tanneries, and wool processing factories. They were attracted by the concentration of trade, growth, and intermediation. For example, Ozbek Boshkov owned a herd of several thousand sheep and a herd of horses and was active in the livestock trade. The number of wage labourers gradually increased in Kyrgyzstan. Most of the rural poor worked for Russian kulaks, Kazakh zalogs, Uzbeks and Dungans. Others were forced to work for minimum wages in small enterprises and coal mines (Behzod and Shakhnoza, 2021).

The colonial policies of tsarism, unlimited and numerous taxes, various taxes and levies by the fiscal authorities increased people's discontent and created hatred towards the colonial regime. At the same time there was a rapid social stratification, in the course of which the colonial power of the government began to grow rich at the expense of the impoverished Kyrgyz, and with it the bai who supported it, numerous land selections, rapid increase of taxes created a tense situation, which resulted in the uprising of 1898, nicknamed the Andijan uprising.

The uprising, in which peasants not only of Kyrgyz origin but also Uzbeks and Tajiks took an active part, was directed against the tsarist dictatorship. On 17 May, Uzbeks, and Kyrgyz from Andijan, Margelan and Osh counties, led by Muhammad Ali Khalif and Mullah Sabir Sufiyev Tesli and artisans set out for Andijan in two groups of more than 200 people, joined by other groups on the way, bringing the total number to

12,000. On 18 May, they attacked the military garrison but suffered casualties. About the same time, popular uprisings began in various parts of the country. The tsarist authorities sent punitive detachments into the rebellious areas. 3,000 rebels were arrested, and 777 death sentences were handed down, most of which were commuted to hard labour, but only 18 were carried out; most of those arrested were Kyrgyz by nationality (Table 2). Although the rebellion ended in defeat, it was a serious blow to the Tsarist government (Azamjon, 2021).

Table 2. Victims of the Andijan uprising

Nationality	Deceased	Wounded	Arrested	Executed	Sent to hard labour
Russians	20-30	5-10	0	0	0
Kyrgyz	250-300	100-150	500	15-18	360
Uzbeks	50-100	20-30	50-100	3-5	20-30
Other nationalities	10-20	20-30	30-50	0	20-30

Source: compiled by the authors based on A.S. Krausse (1900).

The Tsarist government failed to respond to this uprising and learn a valuable lesson. The uprising was poorly organized and armed, which led to its defeat. It was the first major national liberation movement of the indigenous peoples of Kyrgyzstan after the full establishment of state rule in Central Asia by the Russian Empire. It was directed against the ever-increasing colonial oppression, industry, and settlement of Kyrgyzstan by Russian settlers. It was also directed against the domination of tsarist officials. The uprising dealt a serious blow to the foundations of the colonial system in Central Asia (Penati, 2022). The majority of the indigenous population of Semirechye and Syr Darya expressed solidarity with the rebels and supported them. The uprising became a powerful stimulus for awakening national consciousness, deepening dissatisfaction with the colonial power and creating conditions for further struggle. The next decisive stage of the popular anti-colonial movement in Central Asia came in 1916 (Morrison, 2017).

The First World War between the imperialist powers, which began in the summer of 1914, could not but affect the situation of the colonial peoples of tsarist Russia. All countries participating in the war were interested in victory. Because all the countries involved in the war tried to gain an advantage by maximizing the use of their domestic resources and the wealth of their colonies. As a consequence, economic development slowed down all over the world, economies fell into decline. The looting nature of the war brought new hardships and deprivations to the population and led to irreparable losses. Mass mobilization of the able-bodied urban and rural population and mass mobilization of the rural (Russian-speaking) population led to a sharp decline in productive capacity (Rovshan, 2023).

All of this led to a reduction in cultivated areas and a decline in agricultural production. For example, in Pishpek and Karakol provinces, grain yields fell by less than half after 1916. Imports of other goods also ceased. The ethnic composition of Kyrgyzstan changed significantly after its conquest by the Russian Empire (Akchurina,

2019). Among those who settled in Kyrgyzstan were the Kyrgyz themselves and their neighbours from the Kokand Khanate – Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kipchaks and Turks, ethnic groups from European Russia, such as Russians, Ukrainians, Germans, Tatars and Bashkirs, as well as migrants from Eastern Tenir-Too settled in Kyrgyzstan.

The new ethnic situation that emerged in Kyrgyzstan in the early 20th century led to qualitative changes in the cultural processes taking place there. During this period, Kyrgyz traditional culture began to establish indirect and close ties with European (Russian) culture. Of course, at first, they were mostly manifestations of external cultural ties and took some time to establish.

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, Kyrgyz and other Muslims sent their children to religious schools and madrasas. In 1883, there were 41 schools with more than 390 pupils in Osh province, and in 1914 there were 229 schools (33 of them female) with 3,170 pupils. According to the data of this period, in 1913 in 21 counties of Pechersk uyezd there were 59 schools and 3,170 pupils. The schools were attended by a wide variety of ethnic groups. For example, in 1908, the Yukbir school in Tokmak enrolled 200 Kyrgyz, 36 Tatars, 30 Uzbeks, 9 Dunhuans, and 5 Uyghurs (Azamjon, 2021).

The subjects of study at school were not only religious subjects, but also the basics of geography; in the early 20th century, the so-called ‘new method’ (jadid) of Islamic reformers, which accelerated the learning of Arabic in the native language of the people, was spread in schools (Sumarokova, 2015). The number of madrasas, Islamic institutions of higher education, increased sharply. In 1892, there were seven medical faculties in Southern Kyrgyzstan, and in 1914, there were already 88 educational institutions in Osh province alone (Kamalov, 2019). These schools taught Islamic law, mathematics, Arabic grammar and taught other subjects. Madrasa graduates had the opportunity to become muftis, khoja, schoolteacher and madrasa teacher (mudaris), and could also be appointed to other positions (Zhumanaliev, 2003).

At the beginning of the 20th century, cultural and educational institutions (libraries, museum-reading rooms, etc.) began to be established. The Muslim reading-room in Karakol, opened in 1908, regularly received Tatar and Russian magazines. About 30 Kyrgyz became the first readers of the Tokmok library, opened in 1912. The official newspaper *Turkestan Vedomosti*, published in Tashkent since 1870, began to circulate in Kyrgyzstan. Literate Kyrgyz subscribed to Tatar, Uzbek, and Kazakh newspapers and magazines (Pianciola, 2020).

Beginning in the 1970s, basic medical facilities were established in Kyrgyzstan (first military hospitals, then paramedic stations for the local population): In 1900, a city hospital was established in Osh; by 1913, there were four city hospitals and two rural hospitals; by 1914, there were two rural hospitals in Kyrgyz Republic. The colonial authorities were not interested in the health of the Kyrgyz, and the health of the Kyrgyz people was of secondary importance to them (Bektursunov, 2022).

The conquest of Kyrgyzstan by the Russian Empire coincided with the flourishing of the traditional culture of the Kyrgyz people. At the same time, the influence of Russian culture created conditions for further development of Kyrgyz economy and culture. The first steps of transition from large-scale farming to intensive agriculture were also made.

However, colonialism brought new problems to Kyrgyzstan and neighbouring regions. These included conflicts between social classes, increased ethnic oppression, the destruction of centuries-old traditions and religious conflicts. Despite the reactionary policy of the colonial authorities, which, in fact, was aimed at displacing the peoples who had been living here for a long time. Representatives of the reformist circles of the Volga-Urals (Tatars, Bashkirs) continued to develop the process of cultural and spiritual reconciliation of the peoples of Kyrgyzstan. They were able to do a great job of disseminating the achievements of Kyrgyz culture, and during this period the culture of Kyrgyzstan underwent radical changes. The foundations for further development were laid.

The socio-economic, cultural and political situation in Kyrgyzstan at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries was characterized by significant changes due to colonization by the Russian Empire. According to the 1897 census, the Kyrgyz population totalled about 1.5 million people. At the same time, from 1868 to 1917, more than 150 thousand Russian peasants settled in the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan, which significantly affected the traditional way of life of the Kyrgyz (Statistics of the 1897..., 1897).

After 1900, the number of Russian migrants continued to grow. It is estimated that by 1916 their number exceeded 100,000, particularly in areas such as Talas, Osh and Jalal-Abad. The settlers were predominantly engaged in agriculture, while the local Kyrgyz remained in traditional forms of farming – nomadic cattle breeding. As a consequence, conflicts over land arose as Kyrgyz lost access to traditional pastures and cultivated lands, and competition for resources became more intense, especially during drought or bad harvest years. Socio-economic changes were accompanied by changes in cultural and political life. Kyrgyz national consciousness began to form against the background of these processes. The first national organizations appeared, such as Turan, which aimed to protect the cultural rights of the Kyrgyz. Education, which began to develop actively during this period, became an important factor for the formation of a new identity; new schools founded under the auspices of the Russian authorities opened their doors to Kyrgyz youth, but at the same time their programmes often did not reflect the traditional values of the Kyrgyz people (Malikov, 2020).

In addition, in 1905-1907, the first revolutionary uprisings in the Russian Empire took place, which also affected the Kyrgyz. A good deal of Kyrgyz began to realize the need to protect their rights and cultural values, which led to the formation of political movements. By the end of 1910, about 25% of Kyrgyz intellectuals participated in various political organizations fighting for autonomy and social rights (Kenensariyev, 2012).

As a result, the socio-economic and cultural-political situation in Kyrgyzstan in the late 19th – early 20th century was very complicated. The process of colonization by the Russian Empire led to significant demographic changes, economic transformations and the formation of new cultural and political identities. These processes had serious consequences for Kyrgyz society, which were felt even in the following decades (Graham, 1916).

The news of the victory of the February Revolution reached Kyrgyzstan in early March 1917. By then, the trade union had been established on an international basis and

its programme included protecting the interests of workers, raising the political consciousness of the Kyrgyz people and establishing democratic principles in Kyrgyz society. The union defended the interests of indigenous peoples and ordinary people and united the poor and middle peasants of the Pishpek region. During this period, Kyrgyz began to dominate the regional committees, which led to the idea of creating the Kyrgyz Mountain Region. On 3 May 1917, a telegram arrived in Pishpek announcing the fall of the tsarist regime, and on 6 March, the first Kyrgyz congress of working delegations was established in Kyzyl-Kie. Thus, in Kyrgyzstan, as elsewhere, a three-party system was established, which inevitably predetermined the struggle for unity. In Pishpek and other administrative centres, 18 political organizations, public associations and groups of various kinds were established. The victory of the armed uprising in Petrograd contributed to the establishment of Soviet power in Kyrgyzstan in December 1918 (Klopfenstein, 2024).

Talas was the first region in northern Kyrgyzstan to establish Soviet power, and in 1919 the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Republic was established, which included several Kyrgyz regions. The establishment of Soviet power in the centre and locally provoked armed resistance from the overthrown elites. The war began in late 1918 and lasted until late 1920. In southern Kyrgyzstan, the civil war was primarily fought against the Basmachevo. A massive influx of volunteers into the Red Army began. So-called peasant armies were formed near Andijan and Osh provinces to fight against the Basmachevo. On 7 December 1919, an uprising broke out in the village of Belovodskoye, led by the Left SRs. The Soviet power was overthrown, and its representatives were hanged. However, already on 29 December, the district was cleared of counter-revolutionary elements. In order to strengthen Soviet power in Turkestan, the government organized the Turkestan Front on 14 August 1919.

M.V. Frunze was appointed commander-in-chief and communication between Tashkent and Russia was restored. Later, however, a new counter-revolutionary coup took place in the city of Naryn and the command of the 23rd regiment stationed there was seized. Soviet leaders were killed, and 47 party members and Soviet workers were arrested. Tsarist rule was proclaimed and preparations for operations against Tokmak and Pishpek began. On 16 November, after fierce fighting, the rebels were defeated. The remnants of the rebel forces fled to China; by the end of November the counter-revolutionary forces were completely cleansed in the Naryn region and Soviet power was restored. Thus, the civil war in Kyrgyzstan ended at the end of 1920.

After the defeat of the uprising, a policy of war communism was introduced in Kyrgyzstan, which consisted of actually taking from the peasants all the surplus food necessary for the peasants, sometimes even more, to cover the cost of maintaining the army and workers. The Civil War required extraordinary measures such as state monopolies on essential foodstuffs and consumer goods, rationing, labour conscription, high prices and the imposition of *prodrazverstka* to take agricultural produce from the rural population.

Military communism stemmed from the new government's desire to last until the world revolution, as it later turned out it stemmed from the task of bridging the great gap between the urban and rural economic systems. However, the urban-rural divide

had already emerged before the First World War and was exacerbated by the inability of cities to supply necessary goods in exchange for agricultural produce.

In 1919, the Turkestan Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic (ASSR) was established, which included several regions inhabited by Kyrgyz. The Kyrgyz Autonomous Republic was established in 1926-1929. The first constitutions of the republics were adopted, which guaranteed their statehood. However, the republics were autonomous and sovereign; in 1936, a new constitution of the USSR was adopted, which recognized the republics as equal, and in 1937, the Kyrgyz ASSR was transformed into a union republic. The new economic policy of the Soviet government in Kyrgyzstan, due to its specificity, required the rescue of refugees fleeing the 1916 uprising and the solution of agricultural problems that affected the vital interests of the majority of the population. As a result of these measures, the population of Karakol and Naryn provinces increased by 195 per cent and 45 per cent respectively, and by April 1920, a total of 300,000 Kyrgyz and Kazakhs had returned to Semirechye. The next stage of agrarian reform in Kyrgyzstan was land and water reform. In Kyrgyzstan, 326,000 hectares of land were designated as state land. On this land, collective and state farms were established, some of which were given to landless peasants. The peasants began to use their wealth for their own needs. Peasants were given building materials at low prices or even free of charge to build houses and organize their households. As a result of land and water reforms, the Kyrgyz began to move en masse to a sedentary lifestyle.

The Soviet Union also introduced a policy of Likbez (eradication of illiteracy). For this purpose, in 1922 in Jalal Abad, a regulation on the organization of short-term pedagogical courses for the training of pedagogical personnel was developed. In May-June 1923, a 3-month short-term pedagogical course was opened in Jalal-Abad, where 50 cadets were accepted. In 1924-1925 academic year, a one-year pedagogical technical school was opened on the basis of teacher training courses in Osh. In 1925-1926 academic year, the one-year pedagogical technical school was transformed into a three-year pedagogical technical school and in the same year was named Osh-Jalal-Abad Pedagogical Technical School. It is now known as Toktomamatov International University.

Also with the purpose of liquidation of illiteracy earlier in 1923, the pedagogical institute was created, which in 1993, was named Jalal-Abad State University named after B.Osmonov; as a structural element appeared Kochkor-Ata College and in 1920, the pedagogical college was founded, which later became Talas State University. In 1944, Zoovettekhnikum was opened, and the society was replenished with the necessary personnel for that time, today its building houses the Faculty of Science and Technology of Jalal-Abad State University. In 1948, a two-year teaching institute was opened in Jalal-Abad city, which existed till 1955, and this educational institution prepared a lot of pedagogical personnel for the society, and its material and technical base during the period of liquidation promoted further development of Jalal-Abad Pedagogical College. On the basis of historical facts, it is written that in 1993, Jalal-Abad State University was opened on the basis of this educational institution.

DISCUSSION

The late 19th – early 20th century was a turning point in the history of Kyrgyzstan, marked by significant changes in the socio-economic and cultural-political spheres. The expansion of the Russian Empire's influence over the territory of Kyrgyzstan entailed profound transformations that affected the traditional way of life of Kyrgyz society. The colonial policy pursued by the Russian Empire included administrative reforms, changes in land ownership, resettlement of Russian peasants, and the introduction of new economic relations that significantly changed the social structure and economy of the region. These processes were accompanied by increasing urbanization, which in turn led to the formation of new social classes and the development of urban infrastructure. At the same time, the Russian colonial authorities tried to integrate the local population into the new political and cultural reality, which led to a mix of traditional and new cultural practices. This was a source of both social tension and the growth of national consciousness among the Kyrgyz population. An important component of this process was the gradual formation of political movements aimed at protecting the rights of the Kyrgyz people and preserving their cultural identity.

In addition, an important aspect was the study of cultural and political processes that influenced the transformation of national identity, cultural influences and political reforms in the region. The conclusions of the study are consistent with the findings of other authors and expand the understanding of cultural and political transformations of the late XIX – early XX century. Thus, A. Aidaraliev and M. Madaliev (2023), in their study on the formation of the socio-political essence and independence of Kyrgyzstan, emphasize the significant influence of colonial reforms, which dramatically affected the transformation of national identity and statehood due to the contradictions that existed between the local population and the Russians. This is consistent with the findings presented in the study, which demonstrate how the colonial policy of the Russian Empire influenced the socio-political transformations in Kyrgyzstan.

S. Jacquesson (2020) examines the role of the Manas epic in the context of cultural heritage between China and Kyrgyzstan. The importance of cultural heritage in the struggle for national identity and independence during the period of colonial reforms is confirmed. The study demonstrates how colonial policies influenced the preservation and transformation of cultural traditions. The study supplements the author's conclusions with the important fact that culture was the thing around which people within an ethos were united, and the story of Manas acts as a legendary epic for the Kyrgyz people, showing their speciality in fighting against enemies. A. Morrison (2017), in a review of a book on the 1916 uprising in Russian Central Asia, made a thorough analysis of the social and political conflicts that arose under the influence of the colonial policy of the Russian Empire. The author's assessment emphasized the importance of understanding the colonial context for studying conflict dynamics and social change in the region. The findings of the current study support these conclusions by demonstrating how colonial policies contributed to the formation of new social and political structures in Kyrgyzstan. Thus, the study has provided a more detailed picture of the complex interrelationships between colonial practices and social dynamics in

Central Asia, allowing for a deeper appreciation of the socio-economic and political transformations of the period under study.

A. Malikov (2020) investigated the Russian Empire's policy towards Islamic 'sacred lines', which demonstrates approaches to the management of cultural and religious elites in Central Asia. This experience reflects similar processes in Kyrgyzstan, where the Russian administration implemented its administrative structures, influencing local social and cultural institutions. The author emphasized the importance of interaction between the colonial power and local elites, which was also characteristic of Kyrgyz lands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The author in his work missed an important point of the relationship between the economic and religious situation, as the situation in the 20–30 years of the twentieth century showed that religion in the region directly depends on the level of economic stability.

In the study of O.B. Mattiyev (2024), the author paid attention to the Afghan community in the Samarkand region, examining its influence on the socio-economic situation and politics of Turkestan in the late 19th – early 20th century. The author examined the adaptation of Afghans in the region, their interaction with other ethnic groups, particularly the Kyrgyz, and their influence on the local economy. However, his study is limited to a narrow focus on the Afghan community without covering the broader ethnic and cultural processes in the region, which reduces the completeness of the analysis of interethnic relations.

G.B. Tursunova (2024) points out the strategic plans of the Russian Empire in the Syr Darya region. The study focused on the empire's economic initiatives, such as irrigation projects, and their impact on the integration of the region into the empire. However, the work was flawed in that it pays little attention to the social and cultural impact of these initiatives on the local Kyrgyz population. The study is macroeconomic in nature and does not fully reveal the impact of imperial policies on the daily life of the Kyrgyz.

A. Aidaraliev and M. Madaliev (2023) emphasized key aspects of the socio-political formation of Kyrgyzstan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The authors focus on the complex processes influenced by Russian colonization and highlight the impact of colonial policies on the social and economic structure of Kyrgyz society. In particular, they describe how Russian policies of land redistribution, new taxes and administrative reforms weakened the traditional economic system and increased social stratification.

This study has addressed the development of Kyrgyz intellectuals who sought to resist colonial policies and preserve national identity through political and cultural mobilization. This study analysed similar processes, focusing on the social structure of Kyrgyz society, whose changes were brought about by colonial policies. The economic changes that led to the decline of the traditional nomadic economy and the disruption of the system of self-government were analysed. In this aspect, the conclusions coincide with those of A. Aidaraliev and M. Madaliev (2023) and A. Kaliev (2023). Both studies emphasize that the social and political changes caused by colonization strengthened national consciousness and contributed to the formation of Kyrgyz intelligentsia. However, in the work of A. Aidaraliev and M. Madaliev (2023), the authors pointed out

political processes, while this study focused on both political processes and cultural and demographic transformation.

F. Belafatti (2019) explored the nationalist discourses of Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, focusing on gender nationalism and ethnic exclusivity. In his work, the author noted that nationalist movements in these countries often used images of neomadism and a return to nomadic lifestyle traditions as a basis for creating new national ideologies. This ideology, according to the author, was closely linked to the process of constructing national identities that emphasized ethnic exclusivity and gender roles. F. Belafatti (2019) highlighted that Kyrgyz and Kazakh intellectuals actively used the rhetoric of reviving traditional forms of life, thus seeking to preserve national identity and contrast it with colonial processes. These ideas were reflected in the nationalist movements of the early twentieth century, which sought to preserve traditional culture and foundations. This study also analysed the process of returning to traditional values, but focused on the cultural and political component. The study by F. Belafatti (2019) complements this study by offering a gender and ethnic perspective on nationalism, which confirms the complexity of the processes of national revival in Kyrgyzstan. This aspect emphasizes that the nationalist movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were multi-layered and included both political and social elements, which coincides with the study's findings on the diversity of the Kyrgyz national movement.

H. Cao (2024) examined the process of integration in Central Asia through the prism of the interaction between nationalism and regionalism. The author argued that nationalist movements in Kyrgyzstan and other Central Asian countries in the early twentieth century were closely linked to regional processes taking place in the former Russian Empire. H. Cao (2024) stressed that Kyrgyzstan, being part of the common Turkic and Islamic space, was influenced by the neighbouring states, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, which had an impact on the development of Kyrgyz nationalism.

Thus, it is emphasized that the processes of regional integration and disintegration played a key role in the development of national movements in Central Asia. This aspect is particularly important for understanding the cultural and political processes that took place in Kyrgyzstan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when regional identity often overlapped with national identity. It is pointed out that cultural and political processes in Kyrgyzstan could not develop in isolation and were significantly influenced by neighbouring states and their ideologies. In this aspect, the findings are fully supported by the conclusions of H. Cao (2024) on the significance of regionalism in the formation of nationalism in Central Asia.

Conclusions

The study found that the incorporation of the Kyrgyz lands into the empire caused significant changes in the social structure of the population, particularly due to the introduction of new economic forms of economic management oriented to the needs of the metropolis. It is also confirmed that Russification and attempts to integrate the local elite into the imperial structures caused ambiguous reactions among the population, which manifested themselves in both adaptation and active resistance. It is stated that

these processes influenced the formation of the nation and became a prerequisite for further socio-political transformations in the XX century. The results obtained allow a deeper understanding of the impact of the colonial policy of the Russian Empire on the socio-economic development and cultural and political situation in Kyrgyzstan in the late XIX—early XX century.

They indicate that the integration of the Kyrgyz territories into the empire not only changed the economic conditions of the population, but also significantly affected its social structures and national consciousness. The analysis confirmed that such changes had long-term consequences, forming the preconditions for the national liberation movement and further political transformations. The results also emphasized the importance of considering historical contexts when studying contemporary socio-political processes in the region.

In order to improve the findings, it is advisable to expand the study in the future by involving additional archival sources that can provide more detailed information on socio-economic conditions and political processes in Kyrgyzstan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A comparative analysis with other regions of Central Asia will also be useful, which will provide a better understanding of the general trends and peculiarities of the colonial policy of the Russian Empire in different parts of the region. The use of modern methods of quantitative analysis and modelling of historical processes can also significantly increase the accuracy and reliability of conclusions.

One of the key limitations of this study is the limited access to archival materials, which affected the possibility of in-depth analysis of some aspects of the socio-economic and cultural-political situation in Kyrgyzstan. In addition, the lack of up-to-date statistical data and documents from that period limits the accuracy of reconstructing a complete picture of historical processes. Another limitation is the theoretical approach based on existing concepts of colonialism, which may not fully take into account the specifics of the region.

Based on the results obtained, future directions could be research into the socio-economic and cultural-political situation in the twentieth century, paying particular attention to analysing additional archival sources that may be available in the future. It is important to conduct a more in-depth study of the impact of the colonial policy of the Russian Empire on the development of Kyrgyz society, involving new methodological approaches and interdisciplinary research that includes anthropological and cultural aspects. In addition, extending the study to other regions of Central Asia and comparative analyses will provide a better understanding of the specifics of regional differences and similarities in socio-economic development. It is also important to consider current trends and the results of the latest research on colonialism in order to update and deepen the theoretical basis of the study. This will allow not only to clarify the conclusions, but also to create a more comprehensive picture of the historical processes that had an impact on the development of Kyrgyzstan and the entire region.

References

- Abdrakhmanov, Yu. 1916. *Diaries and letters to Stalin*. Frunze: Kyrgyzstan Publishing House.
<https://archive.org/details/taj-mem-083>
- Aidaraliev, A., Madaliev, M. 2023. Formation of socio-political entity and independence of Kyrgyzstan. *Lex Humana*, 15(1), 248-259. <https://seer.ucp.br/seer/index.php/LexHumana/article/view/2423>
- Aitmatov, Ch. 1988. *Articles, speeches, dialogues, interviews*. Moscow: APN Publishing House.
<https://fantlab.ru/edition62153>
- Akchurina, V. 2019. The incomplete state: Re-conceptualizing state and society relations in Central Asia. In: R. Isaacs, A. Frigerio (Eds.), *Theorizing Central Asian Politics. The State, Ideology and Power* (pp. 263-283). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-97355-5_12
- Azamjon, Y. 2021. Socio-economic changes in the city of Kokand (late 19th century and early 20th century). *American Journal of Management and Economics Innovations*, 3(9), 14-20.
<https://doi.org/10.37547/tajmei/Volume03Issue09-03>
- Behzod, Kh.H., Shakhnoza V.T. 2021. The policy of resettlement of Russians to the territory of Turkestan, turning it into a raw material base for cotton. *Current Research Journal of Philological Sciences*, 2(12), 113-21. <https://doi.org/10.37547/Philological-Crips-02-12-24>
- Bektursunov, M. 2022. “Two parts – One whole”? Kazakh-Kyrgyz relations in the making of Soviet Kyrgyzstan, 1917-24. *Central Asian Survey*, 42(1), 109-126.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2022.2071837>
- Belafatti, F. 2019. Gendered nationalism, neo-nomadism, and ethnic-based exclusivity in Kyrgyz, Kazakh and Uzbek nationalist discourses. *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, 7, 66-81.
<https://doi.org/10.23993/store.69958>
- Cao, H. 2024. Integration process in Central Asia: The interaction of nationalism and regionalism. *Journal of Politics and Law*, 17(3), 38. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5539/jpl.v17n3p38>
- Daudov A., Alimdjanov B., Andreev A., Shorokhov V., Yanchenko D. 2018. The state policy of identity in Uzbekistan during the late Soviet period and the age of independence. *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie*, 5, 146-161. <https://doi.org/10.31857/S086954150001481-9>
- Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets No. 812 “On the Unified Labor School of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (Regulation)”. 1918.
<https://istmat.org/node/31601>
- Derviş, L. 2022. A source related to the state administration of Kokand khanate: History of the Fergana khans. *Journal of General Turkish History Research*, 4(8), 671-678.
<https://doi.org/10.53718/gttad.1135450>
- Goremykin, I.L. 1903. *A Set of Laws and Regulations of the Government on the Organization of Rural Conditions and Institutions for Peasant Affairs*. S.-Peterburg: Printing house D.V. Chichinadz.
<https://archive.org/details/svduzakonenira01goregoog/page/X/mode/>
- Graham, S. 1916. *Through Russian Central Asia*. New York: Macmillan Company.
<https://archive.org/details/throughrussianc00grahgoog/page/n24/mode/2up?q=Russian+Central+Asia>

Grousset, R. 1970. *The empire of the steppes: A history of Central Asia*. New Brunswick, New Jersey, London: Rutgers University Press.
<https://www.rutgersuniversitypress.org/the-empire-of-the-steppes/9780813513041/>

Jacquesson, S. 2020. Claiming heritage: The Manas epic between China and Kyrgyzstan. *Central Asian Survey*, 39(3), 324-339. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2020.1765739>

Kaliev, A. 2023. Political identity of the Kyrgyz Republic in the era of globalization. *Bulletin of Jalal-Abad State University*, 2(55), 56-59.

Kamalov, A. 2019. Links across time: Taranchis during the uprising of 1916 in Semirech'e and the "Atu" massacre of 1918. In: A. Chokobaeva, C. Drieu, A. Morrison (Eds.), *The Central Asian Revolt of 1916: A Collapsing Empire in the Age of War and Revolution* (pp. 227-255). Manchester: Manchester University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526129437.00019>

Kenensariyev, T. 2012. *History of the colonial policy of the Russian autocracy in the provinces. Economic policy of Russia in Kyrgyzstan in the 2nd half of the XIX century – beginning of the XX century*. LAP Lambert Academic Publishing.
<https://my.lap-publishing.com/catalog/details/store/tr/book/978-3-8484-1082-8/%D0%B8%D1%81%D1%82%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%8F-%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B0%D0%BB%D1%8C%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B9-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B8%D0%BA%D0%B8-%D1%80%D1%83%D1%81%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE-%D1%81%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%B6%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%8F-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%BE%D0%BA%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%85i>

Klopfenstein, M. 2024. Tashkent has gained sad glory: The death of Vera Komissarzhevskaya and the limits of Russian culture in late imperial Turkestan. *Quaestio Rossica*, 12(2), 403-421.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/qr.2024.2.885>

Krausse, A.S. 1900. *Russia in Asia: A record and a study, 1558-1899*. New York: H. Holt and Co.
<https://archive.org/details/cu31924023035722/page/n1/mode/2up?q=Central+Asia+in+Russian+Empire>

Lesnoy, L.V. 1937. *The 1916 Uprising in Kyrgyzstan*. Moscow: State Social and Economic Publishing House. http://militera.lib.ru/docs/da/sb_vosstanie1916-kirgyzstan/index.html

Madiev, F. 2020. The Khoqand Khanet politic-economical relations between Tsar Russia and Qing China. *Journal of Human and Social Sciences Research*, 9(4), 88-96. <https://doi.org/10.15869/itobiad.789969>

Malikov, A. 2020. Russian policy toward islamic "sacred lineages" of Samarkand province of the Turkestan Governor-Generalship in 1868-1917. *Acta Slavica Iaponica*, 40, 193-216.
<http://hdl.handle.net/2115/84141>

Mattiyev, O.B. 2024. From the history of Afghans of Turkestan (in the example of Samarkand region. 1868-1917 years). *World Bulletin of Social Sciences*, 33, 1-7.
<https://scholarexpress.net/index.php/wbss/article/view/4017>

Morrison, A. 2014. Peasant settlers and the "civilizing mission" in Russian Turkestan, 1865-1917. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 43(3), 387-417.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2014.941166>

Morrison, A. 2017. The revolt of 1916 in Russian Central Asia. By Edward Dennis Sokol. Foreword by S. Frederick Starr. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016. *Slavic Review. Interdisciplinary*

Quarterly of Russian, Eurasian, and East European Studies, 76(3), 772-778.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/slr.2017.185>

Palen, K.K. 1910. *Report on the revision of the Turkestan region, carried out by the Highest order by Senator Hofmeister Count K.K. Palen. The resettlement case in Turkestan*. Saint Petersburg: Senate Printing House. <https://www.academia.edu/38893772>

Penati, B. 2022. The Elusive zemskii sbor, or: Taxation without representation in Russian Turkestan? *Journal of Central Asian History*, 1(1), 1-36. <https://doi.org/10.1163/27728668-12340001>

Pianciola, N. 2020. Illegal markets and the formation of a Central Asian borderland: The Turkestan-Xinjiang opium trade (1881-1917). *Modern Asian Studies*, 54(6), 1828-1875.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X18000227>

Rakhmatovich, R.S. 2022. The abolition of the Kokand Khanate by the Russian Empire and the formation of the Fergana region and the formation of the colonial system of government. *Central Asian Journal of Social Sciences and History*, 3(9), 1-5.
<https://cajssh.centralasianstudies.org/index.php/CAJSSH/article/view/443>

Rovshan, A. 2023. Political organizations of Russian Turkestan at the beginning of the 20th century. *Oriente Moderno*, 102(2), 166-191. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22138617-12340291>

Şen, H. 2021. Kokand khanate in period of Shir Ali khan (1842-1845). *Journal of General Turkish History Research*, 3(6), 319-330. <https://doi.org/10.53718/gttad.932819>

Shakhlo, K.A. 2021. Military-administrative system introduction in Fergana region: Volost government system. *Central Asian Journal of Social Sciences and History*, 2(1), 15-20.
<https://cajssh.centralasianstudies.org/index.php/CAJSSH/article/view/50>

Statistics of the 1897 All Russia Census. 1897.
<https://archive.org/details/Statisticsofthe1897AllRussiaCensus/FirstGeneralCensusOfThePopulationOfTheRussianEmpireIn1897SamarkandOblastRsl01003955955/page/n9/mode/2up>

Steppe Regulations. 1891. <https://www.booksite.ru/fulltext/1/001/008/106/275.htm>

Sumarokova, O.L. 2015. *Language policy in the Turkestan region*. Bishkek: KRSU Publishing House.
<http://lib.krsu.edu.kg/uploads/files/public/9490.pdf>

Tursunova, G.B. 2024. Strategic goals of the Syrdarya region of the Russian empire (early 20th century). *Ethiopian International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 11(5), 232-235.
<http://www.eijmr.org/index.php/eijmr/article/view/1503>

Uktambek, S., Ganiyev, A., Osman, B. 2023. Central Asian studies during colonial, soviet, and independence periods: A literature review. *Al-Shajarah: Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC)*, 28(1), 97-117. <https://doi.org/10.31436/shajarah.v28i1.1596>

Ustagaliyev, Y.U., Aitmagambetov, D.R. 2023. The first famine in Kazakhstan under Soviet rule: Historical and demographic aspects. <https://rep.enu.kz/bitstream/handle/enu/9278/75-89.pdf?sequence=1>

Zhunushaliev, D. 2003. *The time of creation and tragedy of the 20-30s of the XX century*. Bishkek: Ilim.
https://st-l.akipress.org/st_bilimlib/7/d0712530aa01d9c47182862400ef83ba35c14b62.pdf