

From Patrimonial Recognition to Hybrid State Decoration: A Phase Model of the Transformation of the Bukhara Emirate's Award System, 1868–1920

Utkirov Abdulaziz Fakhridin ugli

Independent Researcher, National Pedagogical University of Uzbekistan named after Nizami, Tashkent, Uzbekistan

Corresponding Email: utkirovabdulaziz@gmail.com
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-2801-3575>

Abstract. This article reconstructs the transformation of the award system of the Bukhara Emirate between the treaty settlement of 1868 and the abolition of the Emirate in 1920. Existing scholarship has established the inventory of Bukharan orders and medals but has treated the shift from traditional courtly recognition to European-style decorations largely as a descriptive sequence. The present study addresses three problems left open by that literature. First, it supplies an operational definition of “modernization” for award institutions, specifying seven testable criteria, and evaluates the Bukharan case against them; the system satisfies three criteria fully, two partially, and two not at all, which supports the narrower characterization of a form-led modernization without full institutional rationalization. Second, it distinguishes five mechanisms through which Russian influence could have operated and grades each against the surviving evidence; consultative reference to St Petersburg, dependence on Russian-mediated manufacture, and reciprocal diplomatic conferment are documented, whereas morphological resemblance and elite socialization remain inferential. The Emir’s enquiry of 16 June 1894 concerning decorations for women, and the negative response of the Russian ministries, is identified as the clearest documentary instance of imperial gatekeeping over Bukharan award policy. Third, the article proposes an explicit four-phase transformation model patrimonial recognition, post-treaty adjustment, institutional layering, and bureaucratic expansion and specifies the political mechanism driving each transition. A typology separating insignia of office, honorific investiture, diplomatic gifts, material remuneration, and formal decorations is introduced to replace the undifferentiated notion of a single “reward system,” and a twelve-dimension comparison with the Russian imperial order system is presented. The evidence indicates a recipient gradient in which the highest classes were directed outward toward the Russian imperial house and administration while the lower classes served internal functional constituencies, although the surviving corpus is itself biased toward Russian-held material and this asymmetry is stated as a pattern in the record rather than as a complete account of conferment practice.

Keywords: Bukhara Emirate, Award System, Institutional Isomorphism, Source Criticism, Social Stratification.

1 Introduction

One of the more consequential institutional innovations in the government of the Bukhara Emirate during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the introduction of orders and medals as formal state awards. Before this development, recognition of service was expressed through gold-embroidered robes (*zarbof chapan*), ceremonial knives (*kard*), staffs (*asa*), charters of appointment (*yarliq*), and gifts in kind and coin. From the early 1880s, in a polity that had by then become a protectorate of the Russian Empire, these practices were joined though not replaced by graded, wearable, standardized decorations of recognizably European form. The Emirate thereby acquired an award repertoire that operated simultaneously in two registers: the patrimonial idiom of the court and the bureaucratic idiom of the modern state.

The transformation, the modernization, and the object inventory of this system have attracted a substantial literature. D. M. Jamolova has examined the reformist and traditionalist currents within which court practice was contested [1]; M. Muzalevskiy has produced the fullest catalogue of Bukharan decorations under Russian

suzerainty [2]; I. G. Spasskiy situated the Bukharan orders within the wider corpus of foreign and Russian orders before 1917 [3]; A. Mirzairov published the first accessible descriptions of several medals in the Uzbek press [4]; O. A. Klichev reconstructed the correspondence between the Russian Political Agency and the Emirate [5]; L. I. Dobrovol'skaya catalogued the insignia of members of the imperial house held in the State Hermitage [6]; and A. Zamonov has synthesized the institutional history of the Bukharan state [7]. Collectively this work has settled a great deal: which decorations existed, roughly when, in what materials, and in a number of instances to whom they were given.

What this literature has not settled is the analytical question. To state that the Bukharan award system was “insufficiently studied” is not, in itself, a research problem. The problem that remains open is of a different kind, and it can be posed in three parts. The existing accounts assert that the system was modernized without specifying what would count as modernization and what would count merely as adoption of a foreign ceremonial vocabulary; they attribute the change to Russian influence without distinguishing the mechanisms through which such influence might have operated or testing them against evidence; and they treat robes, charters, staffs, gifts, coins, orders, and medals as members of a single evolving “award system” without stating the criteria that make these heterogeneous practices commensurable. The consequence is a historiography rich in objects and poor in explanation.

1.1 Contribution of this Study

This article makes four contributions, each directed at one of the gaps identified above.

- a. An operational definition of award-system modernization. Section 2 specifies seven criteria statutory codification, hierarchical grading, rule-based eligibility, standardized manufacture, bureaucratic registration, extension beyond the court, and separation of honour from material remuneration against which any award institution can be assessed.
- b. A mechanism-based test of the Russian influence hypothesis. The analysis identifies the archival exchange of 16 June 1894, in which the Emir enquired of St Petersburg whether decorations for women existed and received a negative determination from the Ministries of War and Foreign Affairs [8], as documentary evidence of consultative reference and imperial gatekeeping. This moves the influence claim beyond inference from chronological proximity, while also delimiting what the evidence does *not* establish.
- c. An explicit four-phase transformation model. replaces the catalogue format with a periodized model patrimonial recognition, post-treaty adjustment, institutional layering, bureaucratic and diplomatic expansion and identifies the political driver of each transition, anchored to dated treaty and administrative junctures.
- d. A typology of recognition practices and a systematic comparison.

1.2 Research Questions

- a. RQ1
Against explicit criteria, to what extent does the Bukharan award system between 1868 and 1920 satisfy the conditions of institutional modernization, as distinct from the adoption of a foreign ceremonial form?
- b. RQ2
Through which mechanisms, and with what evidentiary support, did the Russian imperial award system act upon Bukharan award practice?
- c. RQ3
What model of transformation best accounts for the sequence of observed changes, and what political mechanism drives each transition?
- d. RQ4
What does the recorded distribution of awards across recipient categories indicate about the relationship between decoration, administrative rank, and political proximity to the Emir?

2 Conceptual Framework

2.1 What Would Count as Modernization?

The term “modernization” is used in the faleristic literature on Bukhara as a description of outcome rather than as an analytical category, and it carries a directional implication that requires justification rather than assumption. Classical modernization theory associated the term with functional differentiation, the displacement of personal by impersonal authority, and the rationalization of administrative procedure [9]. That framework has been criticized for treating tradition and modernity as mutually exclusive stages, when in historical practice the two coexist and interpenetrate [10]. The Weberian distinction between patrimonial authority, in which office and

honour flow from the personal grace of the ruler, and legal-rational authority, in which they flow from codified rules applied to defined categories of person, is more useful here because it identifies a specific, observable difference rather than a stage [11].

Four rival interpretations of the same empirical change must therefore be held open. The first is *modernization* proper: an internally driven rationalization of the award institution. The second is *institutional borrowing* or policy transfer, in which an institutional form developed elsewhere is imported, with or without its underlying logic [12]. The third is *mimetic isomorphism*: under conditions of uncertainty and status asymmetry, organizations model themselves on those they regard as legitimate and successful, producing convergence in form without corresponding convergence in function [13]. The fourth is *hybridization*, in which imported form is combined with retained indigenous practice to produce a composite that is not reducible to either source. Distinguishing among these requires criteria. Table 1 states them.

Table 1. Operational Criteria for the Modernization of an Award Institution

Criterion	Observable indicator	Distinguishes modernization from
C1 Statutory codification	A promulgated statute or regulation defining the award, its classes, and the conditions of conferment	Ad hoc conferment by sovereign grace
C2 Hierarchical grading	Fixed, publicly known classes with a defined order of seniority	Undifferentiated gifts of variable value
C3 Rule-based eligibility	Eligibility tied to defined categories of office, rank, or service rather than to personal relationship	Patrimonial favour
C4 Standardized manufacture	Specified materials, dimensions, and ribbon; serial rather than unique production	Bespoke gift objects
C5 Bureaucratic registration	A central register of conferments maintained by an identified office	Oral or ceremonial record only
C6 Extension beyond the court	Conferment on functional service categories outside the ruler's household	Court-bounded patronage
C7 Separation of honour from remuneration	Honour conferred independently of, and not convertible into, direct material payment	Reward as economic transfer

These criteria are deliberately institutional rather than aesthetic. A star-shaped badge on a moiré ribbon is a European *form*; whether the institution behind it is modern is a separate question, and one that Table 1 permits us to ask. The distinction matters because a system may adopt the entire visual grammar of European faleristics while remaining, in its operation, an instrument of patrimonial grace – an outcome that the concept of mimetic isomorphism predicts precisely [13].

2.2 Recognition, Gift, and Symbolic Capital

A second conceptual clarification concerns what awards do. In pre-colonial Central Asian court practice, the conferral of a robe of honour or a ceremonial weapon was not simply a reward: it was a transaction that created obligation, in the sense analysed by Mauss, where the gift binds giver and receiver in a continuing relation of reciprocity and hierarchy [14]. Bourdieu's account of symbolic capital supplies the complementary point that such objects function as recognized markers of position, whose value derives from collective acknowledgement rather than from material worth [15]. Both perspectives are necessary here, because the Bukharan corpus contains objects of high intrinsic value (gold, diamonds) and objects of none (paper charters), and both were treated as conferring standing.

It is also necessary to guard against reading continuity where there was reconstruction. The apparent antiquity of court award custom in the late Emirate cannot be assumed; ceremonial forms are frequently codified or elaborated at precisely the moment when the political order that sustains them is under strain [16]. The period under study – in which a defeated dynasty retained its throne under foreign protection – is exactly such a moment.

2.3 A typology of Recognition Practices

The manuscript literature, and the earlier version of this study, placed robes, knives, staffs, charters, gifts, money, orders, and medals within a single “award system.” This is defensible only if the criteria of membership

are stated. The criteria adopted here are: a single conferring authority (the Emir or his chancery acting in his name); a public or semi-public act of conferment; and an effect on the recipient's recognized standing. On these criteria the practices do form one *field*. They do not, however, form one *class of object*, and treating them as such obscures the very transformation the article seeks to explain. Table 2 disaggregates the field into five categories.

Table 2. Typology of Recognition Practices in the Bukhara Emirate

Category	Representative forms	Primary function	Graded	Wearable / permanent	Documentary trace
A. Insignia of office	Yarliq and diplomas of rank; staff (asa) in white, red, multicoloured and gold	Constitutes or attests appointment to office	By type, not by class	Held, not worn; office-bound	Sealed charter; fee record
B. Honorific investiture	Zarbof chapan (gold-brocaded robe); kard (ceremonial knife); ceremonial belt	Confers recognized status; in some cases equivalent to conferral of rank	Informally, by material quality	Worn on occasion; personal	Chronicle and traveller report
C. Diplomatic gift	Robes, textiles, weapons and coin to envoys and foreign missions	Reciprocal external exchange; protocol of parity or precedence	By scale of gift	Alienable; transferable	Embassy accounts
D. Material remuneration	Money, grants, donations, valuables; offerings received from qadis and hakims	Economic transfer; maintenance of clientage	By amount	Consumable	Fiscal record, where extant
E. State decoration	Order of the Star of Bukhara; Order of the Crown; Order of Iskander Salis; merit, war and jubilee medals	Formal recognition of service; diplomatic representation of the state	Explicitly, by fixed classes	Worn permanently; personal, non-transferable	Registers, album inventories, agency lists

The value of the typology is that it makes the transformation specifiable. What occurred between the 1880s and 1917 was not the replacement of categories A–D by category E. It was the *addition* of category E to a field in which A–D persisted, followed by a partial reallocation of function: diplomatic representation migrated from category C toward category E, while the fiscal component of category D was subjected to explicit prohibition in 1910. Institutional layering of this kind, rather than substitution, is the pattern the evidence supports.

3 The Chronological and Political Framework

Because Russian political influence is the principal explanatory factor invoked for the transformation of the award system, the chronology of that influence must be stated precisely and used consistently. The earlier version of this study referred variously to conquest in 1868, to subsequent “semi-colonial” status, and to a protectorate established in the 1870s or the 1880s. These are not equivalent statements, and the difference bears directly on the argument.

The sequence is as follows. Military defeat at Zerabulag in May 1868 was followed by a treaty settlement in the summer of 1868 that imposed indemnity, commercial privileges for Russian subjects, and territorial loss including Samarkand, but did not by itself convert the Emirate into a protectorate; it left the Emir's external sovereignty formally ambiguous. The definitive instrument was the treaty concluded at Shaar in September 1873, which subordinated the Emirate's foreign relations and secured Russian rights of navigation, trade, and residence; from this point the Emirate is properly described as a protectorate [17]. Institutional presence followed in 1885 with the establishment of the Russian Imperial Political Agency in Bukhara, which became the standing channel of communication between the Emir's court and the imperial government [5]. Economic integration was completed by the customs union of 1894–95 and the extension of the Russian monetary regime, together with the Transcaspian railway, which reached Bukharan territory in the late 1880s [17]. The Emirate survived the collapse of the imperial government in 1917 and was abolished in September 1920 with the proclamation of the Bukharan People's Soviet Republic (BPSR).

Table 3. Political Junctures and their Bearing on the Award System

Date	Instrument or event	Political effect	Relevance to the award system
May–Jun. 1868	Defeat at Zerabulag; treaty settlement	Indemnity, loss of Samarkand, commercial privileges; sovereignty curtailed but not transferred	Creates a permanent Russian counterparty for court gift exchange (category C)
Sep. 1873	Treaty of Shaar	Foreign relations subordinated; protectorate established	Fixes the asymmetric dyad within which reciprocal conferment becomes routine
1881–1885	Reign transition from Emir Muzaffar to Emir Abdulahad Khan (from 1885)	Consolidation of the protectorate under a ruler socialized into Russian court protocol	Period to which the literature assigns the institution of the Order of the Star of Bukhara
1885	Russian Imperial Political Agency established at Bukhara	Standing diplomatic and supervisory presence	Creates a resident recipient constituency and the archive in which conferments are recorded
1894–95	Customs union; monetary integration; railway consolidation	Economic incorporation; intensified official traffic	Coincides with the enquiry of 16 Jun. 1894 on decorations for women, and with expansion of medal categories
1910	Accession of Emir Alim Khan; decree abolishing customary offerings	Fiscal reform of court practice	Formal separation of honour from material exaction (criterion C7)
1915–1916	Bukharan personnel enlisted in the Russian Imperial Army	Wartime integration	Institution of the medal “In Memory of the Faithful Warriors of the War”
Sep. 1920	Abolition of the Emirate; proclamation of the BPSR	Termination of the dynastic state	Conferment ceases; the corpus becomes museum material

On terminology, this article uses “protectorate” for the formal-legal status established in 1873 and reserves “semi-colonial” for the substantive condition of an internally autonomous polity whose external relations, fiscal frontier, and strategic policy were controlled from outside a condition close to what the literature on informal empire describes as control exercised without formal annexation [18]. The distinction is not merely terminological. The Emirate retained its own administration, judiciary, army, and court ceremonial, which is precisely why it retained the capacity to institute decorations of its own; a directly annexed territory would not have done so [19], [20]. The award system is thus a product of the protectorate form specifically, and this observation is itself part of the explanation the article offers.

4 Sources and Method

4.1 Design

The study is a source-critical historical reconstruction combined with a criterion-referenced institutional assessment. Three procedures are applied in sequence: (a) constitution and appraisal of the source corpus; (b) reconstruction of practices and objects, with each substantive claim assigned an evidence grade; (c) evaluation of the modernization and influence hypotheses against the criteria of Table 1 and the mechanisms. The historical-chronological method, the principle of continuity and succession, and comparative-historical analysis are employed, but they are here subordinated to an explicit appraisal protocol, since method labels alone do not establish how individual sources were weighed.

4.2 The Source Corpus

The corpus comprises six source types of markedly different evidential character. Table 4 records them together with the appraisal considerations applied to each.

Table 4. Source Corpus and Appraisal Considerations

Source type	Items	Proximity to event	Principal appraisal concern
Archival documents	O'zMA fond I-1, inv. 29, file 1075, sheets 1–7 (correspondence on decorations for women); Political Agency correspondence as reconstructed by Klichev	Contemporary	Produced by the Russian administration; records the imperial view of Bukharan initiatives, not necessarily the court's reasoning
Contemporary descriptive account	Khanykov, Description of the Bukhara Khanate (1843), with the 1845 English translation	Contemporary, pre-protectorate	Observer external to the court; categories and fee figures reflect informants; translation introduces terminological drift
Contemporary periodical	Tarjiman, no. 41, 2 Dec. 1893	Contemporary	Reformist Turkic-language press with its own editorial programme; single notice, no corroborating issue examined
Object evidence	Holdings of the State Hermitage; State Historical Museum, Moscow; Bukhara State Museum-Reserve; Samarkand State Museum	Primary material	Attribution and provenance; later restrikes and copies; incomplete accession documentation
Catalogue and specialist literature	Muzalevskiy; Spasskiy; Dobrovol'skaya; Tammann; Mirzairov	Secondary	Descriptive standards vary; several descriptions of the same object are mutually inconsistent
Dissertations and reference works	Jamolova; Klichev; Zamonov; Abdullaev (personal archive)	Secondary / unpublished	Personal-archive material is not publicly verifiable and is treated as testimony requiring corroboration

4.3 Source-Criticism Protocol

Each item was assessed against five standard criteria of historical method [21]: provenance (who produced the source, in what institutional setting, and for what purpose); proximity (temporal and observational distance from the event described); purpose and bias (the interest served by the account); corroboration (whether the claim is independently attested); and material authenticity, applied to objects (metal, dimensions, hallmarks, ribbon, accession history).

Three consequences of this protocol should be stated explicitly, since they shape the findings.

a. A structural bias in the surviving record

The greater part of the documentary evidence for Bukharan conferments was generated by Russian institutions – the Political Agency, the ministries, the imperial court chancery, and Russian museum accessions. Bukharan chancery records of conferment have not been located. The record therefore over-represents conferments *to Russians* and under-represents internal conferments.

b. Rank order is not chronological order

The album “Foreign Orders of Emperor Nicholas II” (1899), held in the State Historical Museum, records the Order of the Star of Bukhara with diamonds against 2 November 1885 and a second-class insignia against 21 November 1893, and, for Alexander III, September 1893 and 12 November 1882 respectively [6]. Read as a progression, this inverts the expected ascending sequence in both cases. The inconsistency dissolves once the album is recognized for what it is: an inventory ordered by the rank of the insignia, with the conferment date recorded against each item. It is not a chronological register, and it should not be cited as one.

c. Titles in the sources are frequently anachronistic

The same album records awards to “the Emperor” in 1885 and 1893, but Nicholas II acceded only in 1894; in those years the recipient was the heir apparent. Once corrected, the record becomes internally coherent and, importantly, converges with an independent source: the notice in *Tarjiman* of 2 December 1893, which reports the presentation of Bukharan decorations by Alim Khan, then heir apparent to the Bukharan throne and resident in St Petersburg for his education [22], [17]. Two sources of entirely different type – a court album and a Crimean Tatar reformist newspaper – thus independently attest a

conferment in late 1893 between the two heirs apparent. This is the strongest corroborated conferment event in the corpus, and it is a diplomatic one.

4.4 Evidence Grading

To prevent well-attested and weakly attested statements from being presented with equal confidence, each substantive claim is assigned a grade.

Table 5. Evidence Grading Scheme

Grade	Definition	Example in this study
A	Contemporary documentary or material evidence, independently corroborated	The conferment of Bukharan insignia on the Russian heir apparent in late 1893
B	Single contemporary source, or object evidence with secure provenance but no corroboration	The enquiry of 16 Jun. 1894 concerning decorations for women
C	Secondary literature only, or mutually inconsistent descriptions	The precise institution date and class structure of the jubilee medal
D	Attested only in non-verifiable testimony; reported but not relied upon	Details drawn from a researcher's personal archive without accession reference

4.5 Limitations of the Design

The study cannot establish conferment frequencies, because no complete register survives; it cannot resolve competing institution dates for several decorations, because the founding statutes have not been located; and it cannot describe internal Bukharan conferment procedure in detail, because the procedural records that would document it are absent from the accessible archive. These limits are constitutive rather than incidental, and the conclusions are framed to respect them.

5 Results and Discussion

5.1 Results

5.1.1 Recognition Practices Before the Protectorate

Khanykov's account, compiled before the Russian advance, provides the baseline against which change must be measured. He describes three types of charter or diploma of rank (*yarliq*): documents bearing the seals of the Emir and the *munshi*, with the Emir's seal on the obverse and the *munshi*'s on the reverse; documents bearing the seals of the Emir and the *inak*, similarly disposed; and documents bearing the Emir's seal alone. Upon receipt of each charter, payments were due to three officials: two to three gold coins to the *munshi*, five to the *inak*, and seven to the *parvonachi* [23], [24]. Alongside the charters he records the staff (*asa*) in four types: white, red, multicoloured, and gold; and ceremonial knives (*kard*) wrought in silver and gold.

Three features of this baseline system deserve emphasis, since each is a point of subsequent change. First, the charters possessed no intrinsic material value; their significance was declaratory, and they functioned as formal expressions of the ruler's appreciation. Second, conferment was *fee-bearing*: the recipient paid the chancery. This inverts the modern logic in which the state bears the cost of honouring, and it locates the practice squarely in category A of Table 2 rather than in category E. Third, the gradation was by *type*—which seals, which colour of staff—rather than by numbered class, so that the hierarchy was legible to those already versed in court convention but was not codified in the manner of criterion C2.

Category B of Table 2 requires a further observation, because it is the point at which the pre-protectorate system came closest to the logic of a formal decoration. The ceremonial belt and dagger bestowed by the Emir were regarded as equivalent to the conferral of an official title or rank, and thus functioned not as honorary gifts but as markers of recognized official standing [25]. Because it means that the Emirate did not lack the concept of an honour that carried status; what it lacked before the 1880s was the codified, graded, wearable *form* in which that concept was expressed after them.

Category C likewise possessed a long pre-history that the transformation model must accommodate. Award and honorific gift exchange was an established convention among the Central Asian khanates and in their relations with foreign states well before the Russian advance. Diplomatic protocol required that envoys and travellers arriving at a ruler's court present gifts on behalf of their sovereign, and that they depart with goods bestowed in return as royal favour. In the embassy dispatched by Kuchkunji Khan to the Baburid court, the Bukharan envoys received a ceremonial belt, a dagger, a gold-brocaded robe (*zarbaf*), and seventy thousand tangas; the envoys of

Abu Sa'id Khan, Mehrikhanim, and her son Pulat Sultan received buttoned outer garments (*chekmen*), silk robes, and individual monetary gifts [7, p. 161]. Goods produced in Central Asia thus circulated not only as commodities but as instruments of diplomatic and political relation. The significance for the present argument is that reciprocal conferment between courts was not a Russian innovation transmitted to Bukhara after 1873. What changed after 1873 was the identity of the counterparty, the asymmetry of the relation, and eventually the *form* of the object exchanged from robe and coin to graded, wearable insignia.

The courtly custom of presenting gifts and offerings persisted into the twentieth century. It was abolished by decree of Emir Alim Khan, dated in the literature to 1910, on the ground that judges (*qadis*) and provincial governors (*hakims*) presented excessive gifts, offerings, and inducements to the Emir and the court annually, placing a heavy burden on the population; penalties were prescribed for non-compliance [1, p. 59]. One dating caution is required: Alim Khan succeeded at the very end of 1910, so a decree of that year falls within weeks of his accession. The date is retained here as given in the secondary literature but is graded C, and confirmation against the original decree remains necessary.

5.1.2 The Corpus of Decorations

Table 6 consolidates the decorations attested in the corpus, with attributes and evidence grades. The table replaces the sequential descriptive treatment of the earlier version and permits the class structure, materials, and recipient categories to be compared across items.

Table 6. Decorations of the Bukhara Emirate: Attributes, Recipients and Evidence Grade

Decoration	Classes	Form and material	Attested recipients	Grade
Order of the Star of Bukhara	Eight, comprising diamond-set insignia, three gold-star classes and three silver-star classes	Star; gold and silver; diamond and brilliant settings in the highest classes	Russian imperial house (highest, diamond-set); senior Bukharan and Russian officials; foreign envoys and merchants	B
Order of the Crown (Order of the Taj)	One	Gold star set with three diamonds; red ribbon	Russian imperial house; senior recipients; two diamond-set insignia entered the Hermitage in 1938	B
Order of Iskander Salis (Insignia of Noble Bukhara)	One	Gold star set with diamonds; dark blue ribbon	Conferred exclusively on high-ranking Russian officials of ministerial and governor-general rank; instituted in memory of Emperor Alexander III	B
Medal "For Diligence and Merit"	Three	1st class eight-pointed star, worn at the neck on a red ribbon; 2nd class circular, 45 mm, worn on the breast; 3rd class circular, silver, breast. 1st and 2nd initially gold, later gilded bronze	Lower-ranking military personnel; postal and railway employees; ship crews; members of the court household, including during the Emir's visits to Russia	B
Three-class neck medal	Three	1st class gold; 2nd and 3rd silver; worn at the neck on a chain with red ribbon	Not individually attested in the accessible record	C
Commemorative (jubilee) medal	Not established	Issued to mark the 25th anniversary of the reign of Emir Abdulahad Khan, 1910	Officials of the Russian Political Agency: I. Sevastyanov, A. Elisov-Baysky, E. Samoylenko, A. Ahmad Girey, A. Rakhimbekov	B

Medal “In Memory of the Faithful Warriors of the War”	One	Silver; described variously as oval with light blue and lilac enamel, as drop-shaped, and as triangular bearing the numerals 1338 at the lower edge; obverse inscribed for the years 1915–1916	Bukharan personnel enlisted in the Russian Imperial Army	C
---	-----	--	--	---

Two observations follow directly from the table. First, the class structure is heavily concentrated: a single order carries eight classes while two carry one each, which indicates that gradation was implemented within the principal order rather than across a family of orders as in the Russian system. Second, the descriptions of the 1915–1916 war medal are mutually irreconcilable: oval with enamel [2], drop-shaped [4], and triangular with the numerals 1338 [26] which is why the item is graded C. The numeral 1338 corresponds to a Hijri year falling in 1919–1920, which is difficult to reconcile with an obverse inscription for 1915–1916; the most economical explanation is that more than one object is being described under one name, and the question is left open rather than resolved by preference for one authority.

5.1.3 Recipients and the Distribution of Decoration

The recorded conferments permit the recipient categories to be arranged against the tier of decoration received. Table 7 sets out this distribution; Figure 2 presents it graphically.

Table 7. Recipient Categories, Decoration Tier, and Political Relation to the Emir

Tier	Decoration received	Recipient category	Relation to the Emirate	Attesting source
1	Diamond-set insignia of the Star of Bukhara; Order of the Crown	Reigning emperor and heir apparent of Russia	External sovereign; suzerain	Hermitage and State Historical Museum holdings; the 1899 album; Tarjiman
2	Order of Iskander Salis; higher gold classes	Russian ministers and governors-general	External executive authority	Catalogue literature
3	Gold and silver classes of the Star of Bukhara	Senior Bukharan office-holders; Political Agency staff; envoys and merchants	Internal elite and resident foreign officials	Catalogue and archival literature
4	Jubilee medal (1910); higher classes of “For Diligence and Merit”	Political Agency officials; court household; middle-ranking officials	Interface personnel	Political Agency records reconstructed by Klichev
5	“For Diligence and Merit”, third class; war medal 1915–1916	Lower-ranking soldiers; postal, railway and ship employees; court servants	Functional service constituencies	Catalogue literature; contemporary descriptions

The pattern is a gradient, and it has a direction. The highest and most materially valuable classes are attested overwhelmingly for recipients *outside* the Emirate, at the apex of the suzerain’s hierarchy; the lowest classes are attested for functional constituencies *inside* it. Between them lies a band of interface personnel: agency officials, envoys, merchants whose position was defined precisely by their location between the two administrations.

5.1.4 Object Survival and Museum Distribution

The surviving objects are distributed across institutions in a manner that itself carries information. The Numismatics Department of the State Hermitage holds Bukharan orders believed to have belonged to Alexander III and Nicholas II; in 1938 the Gallery of Precious Objects in the Winter Palace received two diamond-set gold insignia of the Order of the Crown, insignia of the Order of the Star of Bukhara, and six gold ornaments set with diamonds [6]. The State Historical Museum in Moscow holds the 1899 album of foreign orders of Nicholas II,

with colour plates of the Bukharan insignia, and second- and third-class examples of the merit medal, the first-class example being in the Hermitage [3, p. 202], [27]. Within Uzbekistan, the Samarkand State Museum and the Bukhara State Museum-Reserve hold award insignia of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A visit to the Bukhara State Museum-Reserve in May 2022 examined five faleristic items, identified as one silver-star insignia of the Order of the Star of Bukhara, second- and third-class silver medals, and two decorations of the BPSR issued between 1920 and 1924 [28]; this identification rests on personal-archive testimony and is graded D pending publication of accession references.

4.1.5 Comparative Analysis: Bukhara and the Russian Imperial Award System

The comparison promised in the abstract of the earlier version is set out here systematically. Table 8 compares the two systems across twelve dimensions covering legal foundation, administration, structure, eligibility, symbolism, and termination. The comparison is deliberately structured so that resemblance and divergence can be read separately.

Table 8. Twelve-Dimension Comparison of the Two Award Systems

Dimension	Russian Empire	Bukhara Emirate	Relation
1. Legal foundation	Codified statutes of the orders, consolidated and periodically revised	No founding statute located; conferment as an act of the Emir's grace	Divergent
2. Administering body	A dedicated Chapter of the Imperial Orders, with permanent officials	Court chancery; no dedicated award chapter identified	Divergent
3. Number of orders	A family of orders of differing dedication and seniority	Three: Star of Bukhara, Crown, Iskander Salis	Divergent in scale
4. Internal grading	Typically four classes per order, with seniority running across orders	Eight classes concentrated within one order; single class in the other two	Functionally analogous, structurally different
5. Eligibility rule	Tied to rank and length of service through an established table of ranks	Tied to personal favour, office, and diplomatic function; no rule located	Divergent
6. Legal effect of conferment	Defined consequences in status, including entitlement to personal or hereditary nobility for specified orders and classes, progressively restricted during the nineteenth century	No evidence of attached legal rights	Divergent
7. Symbolic register	Christian dedications and patron saints; crosses and imperial devices	Star, crown and inscriptional devices; no confessional dedication; Arabic-script legends	Divergent in content, convergent in form
8. Decorations for women	A dedicated order for women existed	Proposed in 1894; the Ministries of War and Foreign Affairs determined the establishment unnecessary	Asymmetry imposed externally
9. Material form	Star and cross badges, sashes and ribbons, enamel and precious metal	Star badges, ribbons of specified colour, enamel, gold and silver, diamond settings	Convergent
10. Manufacture	Supervised production by designated firms under chapter control	Local Bukharan jewellers and foreign manufacture commissioned through Russian channels	Partially dependent
11. Record-keeping	Registers, patents and statutory returns maintained centrally	No central Bukharan register located; conferments reconstructed mainly from Russian records	Divergent

12. Termination	Abolished by decree following the revolution of 1917	Ceased with the abolition of the Emirate and proclamation of the BPSR in 1920	Sequential
-----------------	--	---	------------

Read as a whole, Table 8 yields a result that neither the modernization thesis nor a simple imitation thesis anticipates. Convergence is concentrated in dimensions 4, 7 (form), and 9 that is, in the *morphology* of the award: what the object looks like, how it is worn, how classes are counted. Divergence is concentrated in dimensions 1, 2, 5, 6, and 11 that is, in the *institutional apparatus*: statute, chapter, eligibility rule, legal effect, and register. The Bukharan system adopted the visible grammar of European faleristics while retaining the patrimonial logic of conferment. Dimension 8 is the sharpest single finding: the negative determination of 1894 cannot have rested on the absence of a Russian precedent, since such an order existed; it therefore represents a judgement about the appropriate scope of a protected state's award system, and it is direct evidence of external constraint on Bukharan award policy [8].

5.2 Discussion

5.2.1 Was the System Modernized? Assessment Against the Criteria

Applying the seven criteria of Table 1 to the evidence produces the assessment in Table 9.

Table 9. Assessment of the Bukharan Award System Against the Modernization Criteria

Criterion	Verdict	Basis
C1 Statutory codification	Not demonstrated	No founding statute or regulation has been located for any of the three orders; the class structures are known from object evidence and catalogue description, not from a promulgated text
C2 Hierarchical grading	Satisfied	Eight defined classes of the Star of Bukhara; three-class structures for the merit and neck medals; consistent association of class with metal and mode of wear
C3 Rule-based eligibility	Partially satisfied	Categorical association is visible Iskander Salis reserved to ministers and governors-general; the merit medal directed to specified service categories but conferment remained an act of the Emir's grace and no eligibility rule has been located
C4 Standardized manufacture	Satisfied	Specified metals, a stated diameter of 45 mm for the second class, prescribed ribbon colours, and a documented shift from gold to gilded bronze in the later years, which indicates serial rather than bespoke production
C5 Bureaucratic registration	Not demonstrated for the Emirate	Conferments are reconstructed from Russian agency records, court albums and museum accessions; no Bukharan central register has been located
C6 Extension beyond the court	Satisfied	Conferment on postal, railway, ship and lower military personnel places the system outside the household constituency of category B in Table 2
C7 Separation of honour from remuneration	Partially satisfied	The decree of 1910 explicitly abolished customary offerings, but the fee-bearing charter of the earlier system and the continuing circulation of gifts qualify the separation

Three criteria are satisfied, two partially, and two not demonstrated. The satisfied criteria (C2, C4, C6) are those concerning form, materiality, and reach; the unsatisfied criteria (C1, C5) are those concerning codification and record. This distribution is not random, and it supports a precise characterization: the Bukharan award system underwent *form-led modernization without institutional rationalization*. What changed was the object and its social reach; what did not change was the authority relation through which it was conferred.

This finding also resolves the interpretive question posed in Section 2.1. "Modernization" in its full sense is not established. "Simple adoption" understates the case, since the extension to functional service categories (C6) and the fiscal reform of 1910 (C7) represent genuine institutional change. The concept that fits the evidence is mimetic isomorphism producing convergence in form without convergence in institutional logic [13], combined

with hybridization: the retention of categories A–D of Table 2 alongside the new category E [10]. The article accordingly describes the outcome as selective institutional hybridization rather than modernization *tout court*.

5.2.2 Testing the Influence Hypothesis: Five Mechanisms

The claim that European-style decorations were incorporated under the influence of the Russian imperial award system requires that a mechanism of transmission be specified and evidenced. Temporal succession after 1873 is compatible with influence but does not establish it. Table 10 sets out five candidate mechanisms and the evidence bearing on each.

Table 10. Candidate Mechanisms of Russian Influence and their Evidentiary Status

Mechanism	What it would require	Evidence available	Grade	Status
M1 Consultative reference and imperial approval	Bukharan initiatives referred to Russian authorities, which respond substantively	The Emir's letter of 16 Jun. 1894 enquiring whether decorations for women existed in Russia or elsewhere, and the determination by the Ministries of War and Foreign Affairs that such an establishment was unnecessary	B	Documented
M2 Manufacturing and supply dependence	Production of insignia arranged through Russian channels or foreign firms accessed via Russia	Attestation that some decorations were produced by Bukharan jewellers and others manufactured abroad on commissions arranged through the Russian Empire	B	Documented in outline; firms not identified
M3 Reciprocal conferment as protocol	Routine exchange of decorations between the two courts and administrations	Bukharan insignia conferred on the Russian emperor and heir apparent, on ministers and governors-general, and on Political Agency officials; corroborated by the 1899 album and the Tarjiman notice of 2 Dec. 1893	A	Documented, but the practice of reciprocal conferment predates the protectorate; it evidences intensified interaction within a new asymmetric dyad rather than the introduction of the practice
M4 Morphological emulation	Deliberate adoption of the European formal grammar of stars, classes, ribbons and enamel	Strong formal resemblance across dimensions 4, 7 and 9 of Table 8	C	Inferential: resemblance is consistent with emulation but does not evidence intent
M5 Elite socialization	Bukharan decision-makers formed in Russian institutional settings, carrying award norms back into court practice	The heir apparent Alim Khan was educated in St Petersburg from 1893; the Emir made repeated visits to Russia, conferring medals during them	C	Plausible but not evidenced for award policy specifically

The evidentiary weight is therefore unevenly distributed, and the distribution is informative. M3 is established at grade A: reciprocal conferment between the two courts was routine and is attested by mutually independent sources of different type. M1 and M2 are established at grade B, and M1 is the more consequential of the two because it demonstrates something stronger than contact. In referring a proposed new decoration to St Petersburg for an opinion, the Bukharan court treated Russian judgement as relevant to a matter that lay, formally, within its own competence; and in returning a negative determination, the Russian ministries exercised a practical veto [8]. That is a documented instance of influence over award policy, not an inference from chronology.

M3 requires one qualification that follows from Section 5.1. Reciprocal conferment between courts was an established Central Asian convention long before 1868 [7, p. 161]. Its persistence after the protectorate therefore cannot be read as evidence that Russia introduced the practice; what the post-1873 record evidences is the intensification of an existing practice within a newly asymmetric dyad, and more consequentially the migration of that practice from category C of Table 2 to category E. The Russian contribution lies in the *form* of the object exchanged, not in the fact of exchange.

What the evidence does *not* establish should be stated with equal clarity. No document has been located in which Russian authorities prescribe, design, approve, or require the institution of the Bukharan orders themselves. The resemblance in form (M4) is striking but cannot be converted into a demonstration of directed borrowing without such a document; a status-asymmetric polity may adopt the ceremonial vocabulary of its suzerain on its own initiative, and indeed the logic of mimetic isomorphism predicts exactly this without any directive [13], [12]. The accurate formulation is therefore that the Bukharan award system developed through Bukharan-initiated, Russia-referenced and Russia-constrained emulation: initiative resided with the Emir’s court, the model was Russian, and the boundaries were set by the imperial ministries.

This formulation also has an implication for the interpretation of the orders themselves. If the initiative was Bukharan, then the orders were not an imposition but an instrument a means by which a polity of curtailed sovereignty could perform statehood in a form its suzerain would recognize, and could place its own honours upon the person of the suzerain. The conferment of diamond-set Bukharan insignia upon the Russian emperor is, on this reading, a claim to standing as much as a courtesy [14], [15].

5.2.3 A four-Phase Model of Transformation

The preceding analysis permits the descriptive catalogue to be replaced by an explicit model. Four phases are proposed, each defined by a dominant practice, a political driver, and an observable indicator. Figure 1 presents the model against the junctures established in Table 3.

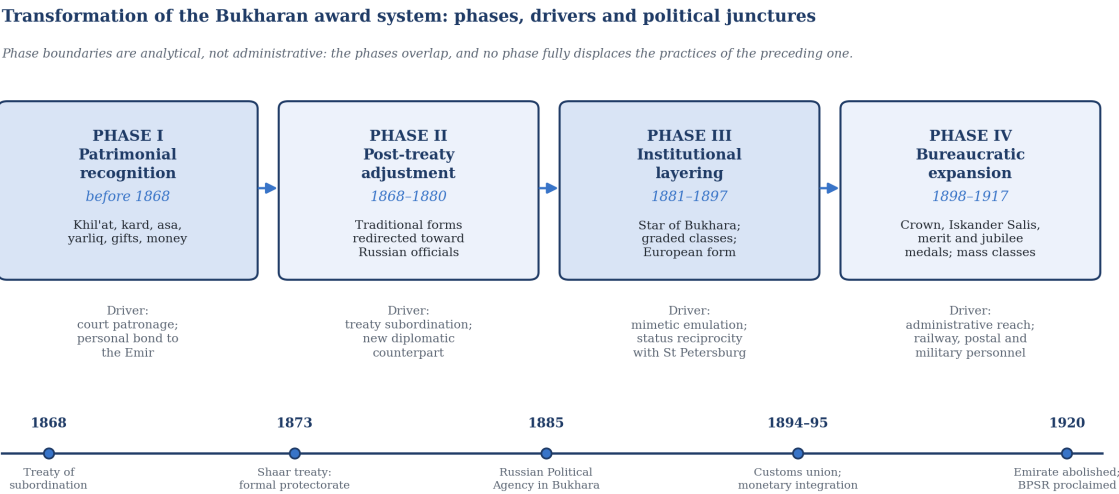


Figure 1. The Four-Phase Transformation Model of the Bukharan Award System, with Political Drivers and Dated Junctures. Phase Boundaries are Analytical; the Phases Overlap and no Phase Fully Displaces the Practices of its Predecessor

Table 11. The four-Phase Model: Drivers, Mechanisms and Indicators

Phase	Period	Dominant practice	Political driver	Mechanism of transition	Observable indicator
I. Patrimonial recognition	To 1868	Categories A–D of Table 2: charters, robes, knives, staffs, gifts, coin	Court patronage; the personal bond between the Emir and the office-holder		Fee-bearing charters; gradation by type rather than class
II. Post-treaty adjustment	1868–1880	Traditional forms redirected toward	Treaty subordination; the permanent	Redirection of existing categories rather than	Robes, weapons and belts conferred on

		a new counterparty	presence of Russian officials as recipients	creation of new ones	Russian officers and officials
III. Institutional layering	1881–1897	Category E added: the Order of the Star of Bukhara and its class structure	Status reciprocity with St Petersburg; the need to confer honours the suzerain would recognize	Mimetic emulation of the imperial form under conditions of status asymmetry	Graded, wearable insignia; conferment on the imperial house from the mid-1880s
IV. Bureaucratic and diplomatic expansion	1898–1917	Extension of category E to service constituencies and to foreign officials	Administrative reach into railway, postal and military personnel; intensified official traffic after economic integration	Functional differentiation of the award repertoire; separation of honour from exaction	Merit medal in three classes; jubilee medal of 1910; war medal of 1915–1916; decree of 1910

Three properties of the model deserve comment. First, it is *additive rather than substitutive*: at no point does a phase eliminate the practices of its predecessor, which is why Table 2 remains necessary throughout. Second, the driver changes character between Phase III and Phase IV, from external status reciprocity to internal administrative reach; the award system turns inward at the point at which the Emirate’s administrative apparatus expands. Third, the model terminates rather than completing: the transition ends in 1920 with the abolition of the Emirate, not with the attainment of a rationalized institution, which is why the criteria of Table 9 remain partly unsatisfied. Any account that reads the sequence as an unfinished journey toward a modern honours system imposes a teleology the evidence does not support [10], [29].

5.3.4 Decoration and Social Stratification

The claim that awards structured social stratification requires evidence about the relation between award class, administrative rank, recipient category, and political proximity, rather than about the physical characteristics of the objects. Table 7 supplies that relation as far as the record permits, and Figure 2 presents it.

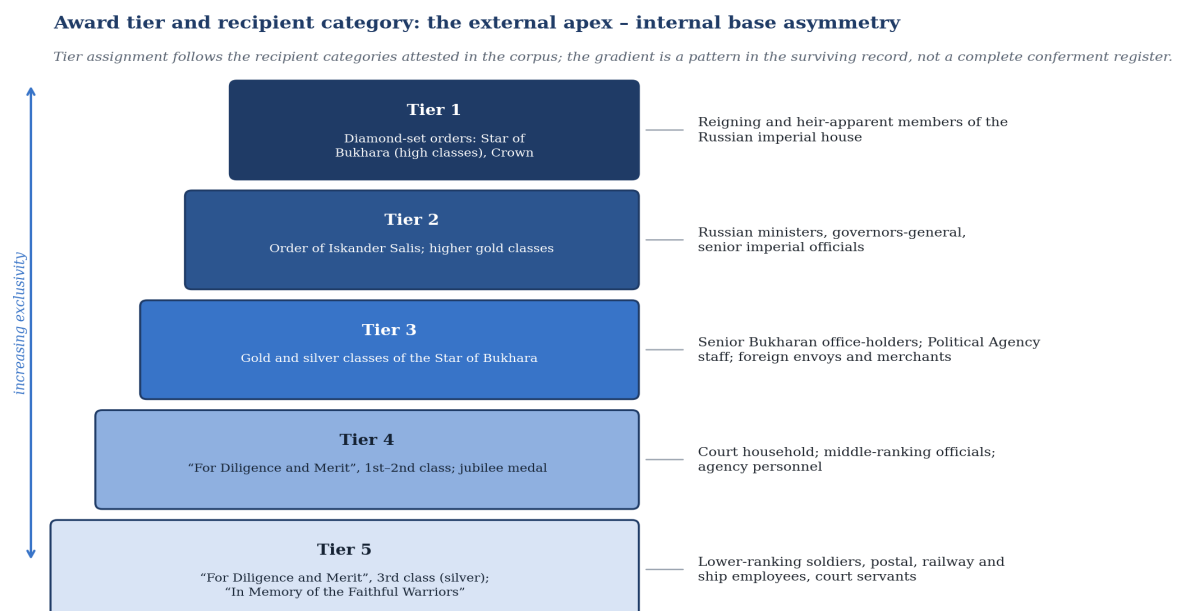


Figure 2. Award Tier Against Recipient Category. The Gradient Runs from an Externally Directed Apex to an Internally Directed Base, with Interface Personnel Occupying the Middle Tiers.

The pattern is an external apex and an internal base. The highest classes, distinguished by diamond settings and by exclusive reservation, went to the suzerain's sovereign and senior executive; the middle tiers went to interface personnel Political Agency staff, envoys, merchants whose function was defined by their position between the two administrations; the lowest classes went to internal functional constituencies. This is a stratification effect, but it is not primarily a stratification of Bukharan society. It is a stratification of the Emirate's *relational field*, in which the ranking expressed proximity to the political centre of the protectorate relationship rather than standing within the Bukharan social order alone.

Two qualifications are essential. First, the corpus is biased: because the surviving documentation was largely generated by Russian institutions (Section 4.3(a)), conferments to Russians are over-recorded, and the externally directed apex may be partly an artefact of survival rather than wholly a fact of practice. Second, the internal dimension cannot be tested with the available material. Establishing whether conferment altered a Bukharan recipient's administrative rank, fiscal position, or standing at court would require the chancery records that have not been located. The honest formulation is therefore that the evidence establishes a *recorded gradient* of conferment aligned with political proximity, and that the further claim that awards *reordered* Bukharan social stratification is not established by this study and should not be asserted.

What can be said with confidence concerns function rather than social structure. The decorations operated as symbolic capital in Bourdieu's sense markers whose value rested on recognition by both courts [15] and as instruments in a reciprocal exchange that expressed and reproduced the hierarchy between the two states [14]. Within the Emirate, they extended formal recognition to service categories that patrimonial practice had not reached, which is an administrative fact of some significance in its own right [30].

5.2.5 Claims the Evidence does Not Support

Three conclusions advanced in the earlier version of this study exceed what the evidence sustains, and are withdrawn here.

- a. That the decorations evidence a high level of economic, social and cultural development. The corpus consists of decorations and their recipients. It contains no economic series, no social-structural data, and no cultural indicator independent of the objects themselves. A polity may institute elaborate honours under conditions of fiscal strain; indeed the elaboration of ceremonial under political pressure is a recognized pattern [16]. The evidence supports a claim about craft capability and about the court's access to precious materials and to foreign manufacture, and no more.
- b. That the Emirate possessed a relatively stable socio-economic environment. Nothing in the award corpus bears on this. The period in question encompassed indemnity payments, the loss of Samarkand, incorporation into the Russian customs frontier, and wartime conscription of Bukharan subjects [17], [31]. Whether the resulting environment was stable is a question for economic and social history, and this study is not positioned to answer it.
- c. That the transformation constitutes modernization of the Emirate's administrative institutions generally. Previous section establishes form-led modernization of the award institution specifically, with codification and registration unattested. Generalizing from one ceremonial institution to the administrative apparatus as a whole is not warranted, and the wider literature on Bukharan administration in this period does not support it [19], [30].

Restated within its limits, the contribution is this: the award system was an instrument of administration, diplomacy, and symbolic representation, whose transformation is best explained as selective institutional hybridization under an asymmetric protectorate relationship.

6 Conclusion

This study set out to convert a descriptive account of the Bukhara Emirate's decorations into an explanatory account of their transformation. Four findings follow.

First, on RQ1, the system satisfies three of seven operational criteria of modernization fully (grading, standardized manufacture, extension beyond the court), two partially (rule-based eligibility, separation of honour from remuneration), and two not at all (statutory codification, bureaucratic registration). The appropriate description is form-led modernization without institutional rationalization, or selective institutional hybridization: European morphology overlaid on patrimonial conferment.

Second, on RQ2, Russian influence is demonstrated rather than merely inferred for three mechanisms consultative reference with imperial gatekeeping, dependence on Russian-mediated manufacture, and reciprocal diplomatic conferment of which the reciprocal conferment attested independently by the 1899 court album and the *Tarjiman* notice of December 1893 is the best evidenced. Morphological emulation and elite socialization remain inferential. No document establishes Russian prescription of the Bukharan orders, and the influence is

therefore best characterized as Bukharan-initiated, Russia-referenced, and Russia-constrained. The negative determination of 1894 on decorations for women is the clearest documented instance of the constraint.

Third, on RQ3, the transformation is modelled in four phases: patrimonial recognition to 1868, post-treaty adjustment to 1880, institutional layering from 1881, and bureaucratic and diplomatic expansion from 1898 to 1917, driven successively by court patronage, treaty subordination, status reciprocity, and administrative reach. The model is additive rather than substitutive and terminates in 1920 rather than completing.

Fourth, on RQ4, the recorded conferments describe a gradient from an externally directed apex to an internally directed base. This establishes that decoration tracked political proximity within the protectorate relationship. It does not establish that decoration reordered Bukharan social stratification, and that stronger claim is not made.

Three limitations bound these conclusions. The founding statutes of the three orders have not been located, so codification cannot be assessed directly; no Bukharan conferment register has been located, so frequencies and internal procedure remain unknown; and the surviving documentary record is disproportionately of Russian institutional origin, which biases the observed recipient distribution toward external conferment.

Four lines of further research follow directly. The administrative and official records of the National Archive of Uzbekistan should be searched systematically for conferment files and for any founding statute, since the presence or absence of such a text determines the verdict on criterion C1. The three mutually inconsistent descriptions of the 1915–1916 war medal should be resolved by direct object examination across the Hermitage, Moscow and Bukhara holdings, with attention to the numeral 1338 and the possibility that more than one object is in question. The phaleristic characteristics and class structure of the 1910 jubilee medal remain undetermined and constitute a discrete research task. Finally, the model proposed here is not specific to Bukhara: the same criteria and mechanism analysis could be applied to Khiva, and to other protected states within and beyond the Russian imperial system, which would test whether form-led modernization of honours is a general feature of the protectorate condition [17], [20].

Acknowledgements

The author thanks the reviewers, whose detailed comments on the earlier version prompted the reformulation of the research problem, the introduction of the source-criticism protocol and evidence grading, the comparative analysis and the withdrawal of the broader historical claims addressed

References

- [1] D. M. Jamolova, "Bukhoro amirligida jadidlar va qadimchilar faoliyati (XIX asr oxiri – XX asr boshlari)" ["The activity of the Jadids and the Qadimists in the Bukhara Emirate (late 19th – early 20th centuries)"], Ph.D. dissertation (Doctor of Philosophy in History), Tashkent, Uzbekistan, 2019.
- [2] M. Muzalevskiy, *Bukhara pod Rossiyskoy koronoy i ee nagrody* [Bukhara under the Russian Crown and Its Awards]. Moscow, Russia: RIC "Kavaler", 2006.
- [3] I. G. Spasskiy, *Inostrannye i russkie ordena do 1917 goda* [Foreign and Russian Orders before 1917]. Moscow, Russia: Veche, 2009.
- [4] A. Mirzairov, "Nagrody blagorodnoy Bukhary" ["Awards of Noble Bukhara"], *Pravda Vostoka*, Dec. 22, 2000. [Online]. Available: <http://www.badges-uz.narod.ru/txt1/blagorodnaja.htm> (accessed Aug. 23, 2021).
- [5] O. A. Klichev, "Rossiya imperatori siyosiy agentligi va Bukhoro amirligi o'rtasidagi yozishmalar Rossiya – Bukhoro munosabatlari tarixini o'rganish manbasi" ["The correspondence between the political agency of the Russian emperor and the Bukhara Emirate as a source for the study of Russian–Bukharan relations"], Ph.D. dissertation (Doctor of Philosophy in History), Bukhara, Uzbekistan, 2018.
- [6] L. I. Dobrovol'skaya, "Ordenskie znaki avgusteyshikh osob v sobranii otdela numizmatiki Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha" ["Order insignia of members of the imperial house in the numismatics collection of the State Hermitage"], State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia, pp. 18–19. [Online]. Available: <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/uploads/files/conferences/filese6798e03056513c8446b95d43f248c751732017593.pdf> (accessed May 28, 2026).
- [7] A. Zamonov, *Bukhoro xonligi tarixi: metodik qo'llanma* [History of the Bukhara Khanate: A Methodological Handbook]. Tashkent, Uzbekistan: BAYOZ, 2021.
- [8] Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan (O'zMA), fond I-1, inventory 29, file 1075, sheets 1–7.
- [9] S. N. Eisenstadt, *Modernization: Protest and Change*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, USA: Prentice-Hall, 1966.
- [10] R. Bendix, "Tradition and modernity reconsidered," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 292–346, Apr. 1967.

- [11] M. Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, G. Roth and C. Wittich, Eds. Berkeley, CA, USA: Univ. of California Press, 1978.
- [12] D. P. Dolowitz and D. Marsh, "Learning from abroad: The role of policy transfer in contemporary policy-making," *Governance*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 5–24, Jan. 2000.
- [13] P. J. DiMaggio and W. W. Powell, "The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 48, no. 2, pp. 147–160, Apr. 1983.
- [14] M. Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, I. Cunnison, Trans. London, U.K.: Cohen & West, 1954.
- [15] P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, R. Nice, Trans. Cambridge, MA, USA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1984.
- [16] E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, Eds., *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983.
- [17] S. Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865–1924*. Cambridge, MA, USA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968.
- [18] J. Gallagher and R. Robinson, "The imperialism of free trade," *The Economic History Review*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 1–15, 1953.
- [19] A. Morrison, *Russian Rule in Samarkand 1868–1910: A Comparison with British India*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008.
- [20] D. Lieven, *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals*. London, U.K.: John Murray, 2000.
- [21] M. Howell and W. Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods*. Ithaca, NY, USA: Cornell Univ. Press, 2001.
- [22] Olimjon To'ra, *Tarjiman*, no. 41, Dec. 2, 1893.
- [23] N. Khanykov, *Opisanie Bukharskogo khanstva [Description of the Bukhara Khanate]*. St. Petersburg, Russia: Printing House of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1843.
- [24] N. Khanikoff, *Bokhara: Its Amir and Its People*, C. A. de Bode, Trans. London, U.K.: James Madden, 1845.
- [25] Sayyid Mansur Olimiy, *Bukhoro – Turkiston beshigi [Bukhara – The Cradle of Turkestan]*, H. To'rayev, Trans., pp. 48–49.
- [26] A. Tammann, "Die Orden von Buchara," *OuE-Magazin*, vol. 10, no. 54, p. 65, Apr. 2008.
- [27] A. Kovalev, "V znachkakh – istoriya strany" ["The history of a country in badges"], *Tashkentskaya Pravda*, p. 8, Jun. 29, 1996. [Online]. Available: <http://www.badges-uz.narod.ru/txt1/inbadgesstory.htm> (accessed Jul. 5, 2021).
- [28] D. N. Abdullaev, personal archive materials documenting the examination of faleristic holdings at the Bukhara State Museum-Reserve, May 2022 (private communication).
- [29] A. Khalid, *Central Asia: A New History from the Imperial Conquests to the Present*. Princeton, NJ, USA: Princeton Univ. Press, 2021.
- [30] A. Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia*. Berkeley, CA, USA: Univ. of California Press, 1998.
- [31] A. Morrison, *The Russian Conquest of Central Asia: A Study in Imperial Expansion, 1814–1914*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2021.