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PROVINCE OF FERGHANA,

FORMERLY

179

KHANATE OF KOKAND.

BY

ALEXANDER VON KUHN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF THE "RUSSISCHE REVUE."

BY F. HENVEY.

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I.

THE history of the Kokand Khanate, which now forms a component part of the Russian Empire, is very poor in domestic historical materials. Moreover, the inadequacy of numismatic memorials, which might perhaps have served to fill up existing gaps, renders it impossible, despite the most careful investigation, to work out a mere fugitive historical sketch, not only of times long gone by, but even of the most recent past.

Extant written accounts,* and the information collected by myself during the late campaign, concerning the first representatives of that, comparatively speaking, not very ancient dynasty whose rule has now come to an end, are in the highest degree imperfect.

Tradition and the examination of coins furnish us with but contradictory or fragmentary data in respect to the rulers of Kokand. Thus, for example, we learn by this means that one of the Khans was called Alim Khan, another Omar Khan, and that they were the sons of one of the Uzbek tribal Chiefs, Narbuta Bey, representative of the tribe Ming or Min.

Narbuta Bey was the son of a certain Janchi Bey and traced his family descent from the Emperor Baber. Further

* They are comprised in the following essays: "Sketch of the History of the Kokand Khanate," by Nurakin in the 'Turkestanische Zeitung,' 1872, No. 35; "Historical Notices of the Kokand Khanate," by W. Welyaminov Sernov in the 'Works of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Archaeological Society,' 1856, Vol. II; and "Sketch of the History of the Kokand Khanate," by H. Petrovsky in 'The European Messenger,' 1875, No. 10.



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we learn that this Bey, at the close of the last century, when his name had acquired popularity among the Uzbek tribes, quickly raised himself to power, and after seizing, without much difficulty, Kokand and some other independent provinces, founded the dynasty that until lately ruled in Kokand.

In respect to the occurrences which thereafter took place during the reign of Narbuta and among his sons, contemporary writers afford us none but inconsistent and imperfect particulars. More trustworthy information regarding the history of Kokand relates to a period not so distantly removed from our day: not, however, until 1839 does the mysterious veil that had been spread over the history of the Ferghana Valley begin to be drawn aside. Still we are in a position to recount the names of the Princes, who held sway over the kingdom founded on the ruins of the monarchy of Tamerlane: Narbuta Bey (1770—1800) was succeeded by his eldest son Alim Khan (1800—1810) and the latter by his brother Omar Khan (1810—1822). On the death of Omar Khan there followed an unsuccessful rising of his younger son, Sultan Mahmud, against his elder brother, Muhammad Ali Khan, who ascended the throne. Sultan Mahmud was defeated and fled to Bokhara, where he employed every sort of intrigue with the view of inducing the Amir of Bokhara, Nasar-ullah Khan, to undertake a campaign against Kokand. Muhammad Ali (Madali Khan) (1822—1842) himself contributed not a little towards the success of Sultan Mahmud's efforts, for, though at the commencement of his reign that Prince displayed much activity and spirit, yet he suddenly began to neglect the affairs of State, shut himself up in his harem, and abandoned himself to sensuality. The disorder thence resulting in the whole administration excited general ill-will among the people and stirred up the aristocracy of the kingdom against the Khan. The nobles conspired together to depose him and elevate to the throne a grandson of Narbuta Bey and son of Alim Khan, named Shir Ali. The conspirators, however, lacked sufficient strength to carry out their concerted plan, and they therefore appealed for support to the Amir of Bokhara, who failed not to take advantage of this opportunity to exert a continual interference in the internal affairs of the neighbouring Khanate. In 1841 Nasar-ullah appeared openly on the scene, and resolved, after taking Kokand by storm, to include the whole kingdom as a new province in his dominions. In order to effect this, he employed the most strenuous measures which he deemed

adapted to the firm establishment of his power in Kokand. The nearest relatives of the Khan of Kokand, and the ill-fated Khan, Muhammad Ali himself, were put to death. The Khan's Officers of State, who were favorably known for the efficiency of their service and respected by the people, were transported to Bokhara, and there died in the pangs of poverty. The Bokharian Ibrahim was nominated Beg of Kokand and the other adjacent provinces: Tashkend, however, was handed over to the management of Muhammad Sharif, a native of the place. As is always wont to be the case under such circumstances, harsh measures failed on this occasion also to achieve their end. The bulk of the population of Kokand soon shewed their dissatisfaction with the new régime inaugurated by the Amir of Bokhara, and the people who had previously taken no share in the party struggle for supremacy were now compelled to rise against their new Governors, in consequence of the oppressions which the Bokharian officials committed.

The settled population, the Sarts, were on this occasion aided by the Kirghiz Nomads. As soon as the latter heard of the annexation of Kokand and the treacherous murder of the Khan's family, many of the Kirghiz persuaded the aged Shir Ali (year 1842), a cousin of the executed Muhammad Ali, to set himself up as Khan of Kokand. At the head of their levies they advanced with him upon the capital, Kokand. The Bokharians were expelled from Kokand, and Shir Ali was proclaimed Khan. The Amir of Bokhara, on becoming acquainted with the downfall of the Government which he had introduced into Kokand, immediately began preparations for the re-establishment of his power in the Ferghana Valley. In the spring of the following year, he set out against Kokand and encompassed it on every side. The inhabitants of Kokand, under the leadership of the subsequently famous Kipchak Mussulman Kúl, nick-named "Cholak" (the limping man) defended themselves with spirit and courage. After a bootless siege of 40 days' duration, the Amir hearing that reinforcements were at hand and terrified at the same time by false reports, which Mussulman Kúl had circulated, that a conspiracy had been set on foot in Bokhara, found himself compelled to retire without accomplishing his object and fall back on Bokhara.

The aged and superstitious Shir Ali Khan proved a weak ruler, without spirit, firmness of will, or energy, and



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incapable of controlling the ambitious intrigues of his influential subjects. Basing their claims on the fact that it was to them chiefly that the new Khan owed his throne, the Kipchaks began to regard themselves as the mainstay of Kokandian independence, and without much ceremony to exclude all Sarts from offices of State. In these proceedings an especially prominent part was taken by Yusuf Minbashi,* the leading man in the Government. He set to work to deprive the Sarts of the most influential posts, which he transferred to members of his own tribe. Smarting under such treatment, the Sarts led by Shadi, the Khan's most favored dignitary, refused to endure this state of things any longer, and a murder formed the prelude to their remonstrance. With the consent of the Khan, Shadi poisoned Yusuf and commanded his adherents to be put to death. It was a less easy matter, however, for Shadi to dispose of his most formidable rival, Mussulman Kúl, Batur of Andijan. The latter received an insidious written summons to repair to Kokand and replied in the most courteous terms that he would not fail to comply; but meanwhile he got ready for war and collected around him Yusuf's followers who had fled from Kokand. Shadi, on becoming acquainted with these hostile preparations despatched hired assassins to Andijan: their designs, however, were forthwith detected, and they themselves hanged by order of Mussulman Kúl. Open war then broke out: the opposing factions encountered one another at Tus, called also Chust (a small town west of Namangan): the Sarts were defeated, Shadi slain, and the Khan himself taken prisoner. Mussulman Kúl nevertheless found it impossible to seat a new Khan on the throne, for no representative of the ruling stock, except Shir Ali Khan's family, was to be found in Kokand: but to select a Khan from the family of the degraded Shir Ali would be to train up a perilous instrument of revenge against himself: accordingly, he entered into negotiations with Shir Ali, and replacing him on the throne, claimed for himself the position of the deceased Shadi.

In spite of the attention paid by the farsighted and sagacious Mussulman Kúl to Shadi's adherents, it was in vain that he endeavored for a long period to win over the Sart faction. The main ground of the dissatisfaction of the Sarts with Mussulman Kúl, as with the subsequent Uzbek rulers, was the appropriation, for the benefit of

* "Minbashi," = leader of a thousand men.

the Kipchaks, of the highest posts in the State which in the time of Shadi had been occupied by Sarts. Intrigues began anew. Two of the most powerful and influential representatives of the Sarts, Rahmatullah and Muhammad Karim, succeeded in persuading Murad, one of the descendants of the Kokandian Khans, and Governor of the Province of Shahr-i-Sabz, to depose Shir Ali from the throne. Murad thereupon marched with an army and a considerable number of Kokandian emigrants against Kokand, which was captured without resistance. The unhappy Shir Ali was put to death and Murad proclaimed Khan by the Sarts. The real ruler, Mussulman Kúl, happened at this time to be among the Kirghiz nomads; but on receiving intelligence of the revolution which had taken place in Kokand during his absence, he repaired at once to the city of Margilan, and thence to Kokand, taking with him Khudayar, a son of the murdered Shir Ali, sixteen years of age, who had resided in Margilan. Thanks to an unexpected event, Mussulman Kúl's object was fulfilled without much bloodshed: for Murad, as soon as he heard of Mussulman Kúl's approach, abandoned the city and his adherents to their fate and fled to Shahr-i-Sabz. Mussulman Kúl then occupied Kokand without opposition (1843), and after executing the ringleaders in the late conspiracy re-established the rule of the Kipchaks. His first act after his return to Kokand was to remove Sarymsak, Shir Ali's eldest son, with whom he was at enmity. Summoned to Kokand as the successor of his father on the throne, Sarymsak was put to death by Mussulman Kúl's command and Khudayar proclaimed Khan (1845-1858). Thereupon recommenced the rule of the Kipchaks, which was all the more intolerable to the Sarts in that the Chief of the Kipchaks, Mussulman Kúl, had lost all trust in the Sarts after the perfidious conduct of Rahmatullah and Muhammad Karim, and had entirely filled all the highest offices with Kipchaks. Equally rigorous was the surveillance exercised over the young Khan by Mussulman Kúl, who kept the Khan under strict supervision; and while he humored all his whims and paid him every external mark of respect, yet secluded him from all affairs of State, allowed no one access to him, and kept him short of funds, fearing lest the Khan should acquire friends by means of presents. This latter circumstance was turned to account by two cunning Kokandians, Kasim Beg and Mirza Ahmed, who so worked upon Khudayar that he became exasperated with Mussulman Kúl, and resolved upon vindicating his

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independence by dint of arms. Before long a force marched from Tashkend against Kokand under the command of Núr Muhammad, whose aid Khudayar had solicited in his struggle with the powerful Mussulman Kúl. The latter suspecting that the Chief of Tashkend had been incited to insurrection by Khudayar, himself marched to give battle to Núr Muhammad, and took the young Khan with him. The armies met half-way between Tashkend and Kokand, and while both sides were getting ready for action, Khudayar stole over to the enemy under cover of night and received an honorable welcome from Núr Muhammad. In the face of such an unlooked-for event, Mussulman Kúl retained his presence of mind, and bravely beginning the fight before his army learned what had happened, he gained the victory. Nur Muhammad was slain and the young Khan taken prisoner. Mussulman Kúl, however, had so much generosity that he effected a reconciliation with his captive, and allowed him to remain on the throne. Then matters returned to their old footing: the Kipchaks were once more in the ascendant, the Sarts once more suppressed, and the Khan once more placed under supervision: such was the situation for nearly six months. On a certain day, all the Begs and the most important dignitaries assembled together in the Khan's palace to take part in the celebration of some festival. The Khan was in high spirits, and behaved in the most friendly manner to all the company. Suddenly one of the officers exasperated by a keen remark began a most violent altercation with Mussulman Kúl, and, when commanded to leave the palace, indulged in loud and coarse abuse. Apprehending something sinister, Mussulman Kúl intended to withdraw, but he had barely time to rise when the people present set upon him with their knives. The 'Dongva'* sounded, and all Mussulman's followers were massacred by a crowd of assailants; yet Mussulman Kúl himself escaped in a marvellous manner, and taking refuge with his Kipchaks, he speedily got together an army, and marched against Kokand: but luck had deserted the renowned *Batur*. Defeated at Skessu, he succeeded once more in fleeing to the Kipchaks, by whom, however, he was seized and conducted prisoner to Kokand, and bitterly they rued the day on which they deprived the chieftain of his liberty. Khudayar Khan was now released from tutelage, and by his command there began a terrible persecution of the Kipchaks.

* A large trumpet.



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It is said that in the course of three months more than 20,000 innocent persons suffered death under circumstances of the utmost barbarity. Mussulman Kúl himself was condemned to stand for three days exposed to the public gaze upon the scaffold, and there compelled to witness the extermination of the Kipchaks; then when the bloody tragedy of the execution of the innocent had been accomplished before his eyes, soul-felt emotion overcame the man, and he is said to have prayed aloud for death. At last, on the third day, the once powerful regent of the Khanate was shamefully hanged (1853). Mussulman Kúl's place was now taken by Kassim and Mirza Ahmed, and the rule of the Sarts was inaugurated.

In 1857, there appeared on the scene a new tribe, whose fate had destined to play a part in the Kokand Khanate, the Kirghiz, allied in origin with the Kipchaks. About this time, the Kirghiz rose against their Governor who had been sent from Tashkend by Mirza Ahmed to rule over them. His oppression and incredible exactions had alienated the people to such a degree that the insurrection assumed formidable dimensions, and was only allayed by certain concessions on the part of Mirza Ahmed. One year later disorders among the Kirghiz broke out afresh. At the head of the movement stood Khudayar's full-brother, Mulla Khan, who sought an opportunity to avenge himself on the Khan for depriving him of the office of Beg of Tashkend. Incited by the Kirghiz who were eager to make him Khan, and to afford him effectual aid in the struggle with his brother, Mulla Khan marched against Khudayar. The battle was fought near Samarkand, and Khudayar abandoned by his followers was defeated and driven to Bokhara. Kokand then fell readily into the hands of Mulla Khan who ascended the throne. In vain Khudayar attempted to regain his lost Khanate with the assistance of the Bokharian forces: he miserably failed, the Bokharian army was defeated by the Kokandians at Oratippe, and Khudayar, left in the lurch by the Ameer, saw himself compelled to renounce the recovery of his throne.

Mulla Khan conducted the Government for only two years, and in that brief period proved his ability to rule independently. Nevertheless, the Kipchaks could not reconcile themselves entirely to the administration of the new Khan. When Mulla Khan was elevated to the throne of Kokand, the most eminent among the Kipchak Beks had regarded it as certain that they would play an important part at Court and in the Government; but their



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hope was not fulfilled, and so they resolved upon getting up a conspiracy against the Khan. The Khan was thereupon strangled by his attendants who had been bought over by the Kipchaks, and Sarymsak's son, Shah Murad, a lad of fifteen years, was raised to the throne. Relying on the Khan's youth, the Begs imagined that they would easily accomplish their ambitious designs. The usurpers also attempted to assassinate Mulla Khan's son, a boy aged fourteen years; but in this they were unsuccessful, for Alim Kúl, the trusty Divan-Begi of Mulla Khan, anticipated the danger and conveyed the young Sultan Sayyid, accompanied by Alim Kúl's jigits in safety to Andijan. The intelligence of the flight of Mulla Khan's son caused the Kokandian usurpers very great anxiety. They recognized in the person of Alim Kúl a formidable adversary and gave up their cause for lost, but the wily Alim Kúl hastened to pacify them by giving written assurances that he was entirely devoted to Murad, and was only anxious to avert the murder of Mulla Khan's innocent son. The sequel shewed that Alim Kúl's intentions were by no means so peaceful.

About this time the people of Tashkend invited Khudayar, who was then living in Bokhara, to join them, and the danger which threatened the Kipchaks from the side of Tashkend induced Alim Kúl to seek aid in Kokand. The confiding chieftains of Kokand united their forces with those of Alim Kúl and marched against Khudayar to Tashkend, but the siege of the city was not successful, and they were obliged to retire, and then at last, when he had nothing further to fear from his opponents in Kokand, Alim Kúl put to death in front of the whole army the two most formidable of the Kokand officers of State, and gave the order that all their adherents should be exterminated. Contrary to expectation, however, Shah Murad remained on the throne, and Alim Kúl contented himself with the post of regent under the Khan.

Meanwhile, Khudayar, emboldened by the discomfiture of his enemies followed close upon the retreating army, and after capturing Khojend, advanced as far as Kokand. Alim Kúl was eager to repel him, but seeing treachery on every side withdrew northwards, and there began to re-assemble a new army. Khudayar then took possession of Kokand, and received an enthusiastic welcome from the inhabitants.

Soon after this war broke out once more between Kaudayar and Alim Kúl for the last time. The former

was supported by the Sarts, the latter by the Kipchaks. At first fortune favored the side of Khudayar. The appearance of three claimants spread disunion among the Kipchaks who were defeated on several occasions. This induced Alim Kúl to get rid of the claimants as a preliminary measure, which seemed a very easy matter, since they were all guileless youths and too ready to believe Alim Kúl, when he promised each in turn to make him Khan. These events took place in Ush: the simple youths apprehending no danger came into Alim Kúl's camp, and were there put to death by his command. Having thus freed himself from the three claimants, who stood in the way of a successful contest with Khudayar, Alim Kúl proclaimed Sultan Sayyid, Mulla Khan's son, Khan of Kokand, and entered with energy upon the war. Then fortune turned to the side of Alim Kúl: and Khudayar, defeated in several battles by his antagonist, was compelled to take refuge with the Amir of Bokhara. The latter himself led his army against Kokand, and beleaguered Alim Kúl in the defile of Kara Kulcha: but after remaining there a long while to no purpose, he withdrew with his forces to Bokhara, highly irritated against Khudayar. Abandoned by the Amir and nearly all his own adherents, Khudayar had no resource left but to seek an asylum for the second time in Bokhara; whereupon Alim Kúl made himself master of Kokand without difficulty: but owing to the rough severity which marked his rule, he roused the inhabitants of Kokand against himself, and was obliged to yield the throne to a rival of milder disposition. Thus it happened in the end that Khudayar was recognized as Khan by nearly all the cities in the country, and when the brave Alim Kúl had fallen fighting in the battle of Tashkend against Major-General Cherniayev's detachment, Khudayar took possession of Kokand without bloodshed, and ascended the throne for the third time (1864).

One year after Khudayar Khan's return from Bokhara to Kokand, Tashkend was taken by the Russians. It might have been supposed that the approach of a formidable enemy would lead to new developments within the Khanate, and would involve Khudayar in a perilous collision with Russia. As a matter of fact, however, the contrary happened; the close neighbourhood of the Russians merely contributed to the strengthening of Khudayar's power, since he was prudent enough to avoid a quarrel with Russia, while the presumptuous conduct of the Amir of Bokhara entailed upon him



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very perceptible blows by which his consequence in Central Asia was for ever destroyed. Khudayar had now the opportunity of convincing himself that he would never succeed in regaining that part of Kokand which had already been acquired by the Russians, and it must be added that he sincerely accepted that conclusion. At Khudayar's request a treaty was concluded in 1868 between him and the Governor-General of Turkestan, which treaty was maintained up to the events of last year.

The relations which were thus established between Kokand and Russia must doubtless have proved of great advantage to the people of Kokand, and, in fact, the country soon began to recover from the internal disorder into which it had been thrown by many years of civil war. Unfortunately, however, the sole vigour which Khudayar Khan and his immediate councillors displayed lay in the direction of their own aggrandizement; and they shrank from no means in attaining that end. The mass of taxes unjustly imposed by them grew with every year, but the hatred against Khudayar Khan increased with equal rapidity. It was not only the down-trodden people that murmured, but the clergy also, and the Kipchak party who were discontented at the loss of the influence formerly enjoyed by them. These latter now adopted the old methods for re-establishing their authority in the eyes of the people.

Resolved upon getting rid of Khudayar, they began to spread abroad among the people the report that the Russians were responsible for their misery, and that the foreigners must, therefore, be expelled from Tashkend.

This melancholy state of affairs resulted every spring in the outbreak of disorder in the country. Especially was this the case with the Nomads, who yearly gave harbour to those who had been persecuted by Khudayar Khan and who belonged to the reigning family. While putting forward these victims of the distrustful Khan, in their capacity of claimants to the throne, the insurgents had no idea of standing up for the interests of these persons; on the contrary, they seized the occasion to pursue very different aims of which the substance culminated in the base intention to spread disturbance throughout the country, and meanwhile to give themselves up to their most favorite avocation of plunder. This ardour for plunder is perhaps the most prominent, if not the sole, motive of disorder among the people of Central Asia. We find it indeed hard to accept the opinion



sometimes expressed that the cause of collision between the Russians and Central Asiatics must be sought in the fanaticism of the masses. On the contrary, I am convinced, from the observations which I have made, that barbarous proclivities, though concealed until the proper moment, form the starting point of disorder. Whether the people rise to thrust a detested ruler from the throne, or march against a foreign enemy, in both cases there lies hidden under what we may call the official veil that charm which proves so seductive to all Central Asiatics—the prospect of seizing another's property. Fanaticism plays but a secondary part, and may perhaps be used as a means of exciting insurrection among the settled Asiatics alone; while for the Nomads, who reckon themselves Mussulmans only by name, religious war is a conception possessing no intrinsic value. The aim of the Nomads is to display their valour and audacity during the war with the least possible danger to life and after the fight to return home with their plunder. We have but seldom witnessed examples of personal bravery or unselfish devotion.

The above-mentioned general position of affairs in the Kokand Khanate, which arose from dissatisfaction with the Government of Khudayar Khan, began at last in recent years to assume a menacing aspect. In vain the Governor-General of Turkestan, Adjutant General Von Kauffmann, addressed repeated warnings to Khudayar, bidding him reform his system of administration. The Khan merely plied the Governor-General with re-assuring promises, while he crushed the most unimportant indications of discontent with unheard-of barbarity. The consequence was that Khudayar found himself constrained at last to seek an asylum among the Russians, after the reins of Government had been torn from him for the third and last time. As is well known, he was assigned a residence at Orenburg.

II.

The downfall of Khudayar and the disorders which ensued thereupon were not without influence on our frontier population, among whom the armed bands proceeding from Kokand made their appearance. The necessity of preserving peace in the provinces entrusted to his charge constrained the Governor-General of Turkestan to march with a detachment into the Khanate in order to chastise the people for the violation of our frontier, and at the same time to re-establish order in those regions.



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In the cause of scientific enquiry in Central Asia—a cause which has received the most active support and protection from Governor-General Von Kauffmann—it was arranged that I should join the campaign with the view of searching for manuscripts and other scientific materials in the Khanate.

On 7th August, our detachment left Tashkend and marched towards Khojend, the point fixed for the concentration of the bodies of troops belonging to the detachment. The head-quarters followed with the last echelon. Our march lay along the postal road through the Kuramin circle to Khojend, then further into the Khanate past Makhram, a fortress in Kokand, through the village Bish-Aryk, the city of Kokand, the village Alty-Aryk, and Margilan.

Our march to Khojend was tediously monotonous: the road led through a sterile thinly-peopled region. Moreover, the stretch of country from Khojend to the fortress of Makhram is of an uninviting character by reason of the poverty of nature and vegetation: only a few gardens were met with around the settlements lying on the road. Beyond Makhram the country begins to assume a more lively aspect: here and there on either hand are to be seen broad cultivated fields and houses dotted in the midst of the green expanse of gardens: the well-filled canals are lined with remarkable avenues of mulberry trees.

Makhram was the first fortified post in Kokand on the frontier between the Russian possessions and that Khanate. Since the capture of Khojend by the Russians, this fortress had become of special importance, for it might have been turned to account as a point of support in the event of the Kokand Government assuming a hostile attitude towards us. Lying on the bank of the Syr, where the river is crossed, the fortress of Makhram serves also as a station for exacting tolls. There can be no doubt that our proximity has influenced the construction of this fortress, which is built in the form of a square surrounded by a wall and bastions: on the northern side of the wall there is a low gate leading to the river: and on the open ground around the fort field batteries are placed. At a distance of about a verst, a village of not very large extent forms, as it were, a suburb of the place. The town of Makhram is inhabited by Uzbeks, and twice a week a public market is held there. Makhram claims about 30 villages whose fields are supplied with water drawn from the river Sokh. The circle of Makhram was administered by a Beg, called the *Sarkardah*; and looking to

the importance of the point, the office of the *Sarkardah* of Makhram was one of much responsibility and dignity.

Until the battle of Makhram took place on the 26th-27th August, we had seen very few people on the road between Khojend and Makhram, and we were told that the inhabitants had fled to the mountains taking their families with them. Later, however, after the defeat of the Kokandians, deputations from the villages situated near the road appeared before us, making low bows, as well as an embassy from Kokand sent by the newly-elected Khan Nasar-ud-din to sue for peace. On the 30th August, the capital of the Khanate, Kokand, surrendered without a blow.

The journals have already made the public sufficiently acquainted with the movements of our detachment after the battle of Makhram, and passing such details by, I proceed to give a brief description of the capital of the late Khanate, for it is the most important city in the newly-acquired Province of Ferghana.

The city of Kokand leaves no lasting impression on the mind. Excepting the great market and the internal arrangement of the Khan's palace, there is nothing to distinguish the late capital of the Khanate from the rest of the larger cities in Central Asia, such as Khojend, Tashkend, and so forth: in fact, the situation of the latter cities is more picturesque than that of Kokand. And yet the boastful Asiatics attach to this city the epithet of "*Kokand-i-Latif*"—an epithet found on all coins struck in the capital.

Like most of the cities in Central Asia, Kokand is encompassed by a wall, through which—to use the expression of the natives—one can issue forth from 12 gates and reach all quarters of the universe. The city and its gardens are supplied with water from a mountain stream that flows through the Ulkun Sai (Great Pass), and is conducted by means of numerous canals. In respect to climate, Kokand is reckoned by the natives among the best cities of the Ferghana Valley, though a sojourn there at a certain season, during which a strong oppressive west wind steadily blows, becomes intolerable from the extreme heat. Among the unpleasant peculiarities of the districts around Kokand, we must not omit to mention the goitre disease which is common to a portion of the inhabitants, and is attributed to the constant use of water* drawn from a small lake situated at

* Some bottles of this water were brought to St. Petersburg for chemical analysis by a person who took part in the Kokand Expedition. The results of the enquiry are not yet known.

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the southern end of the city close to the "Mui Mubarak" Gate.

Khudayar Khan's palace (Urda) is situated in the southern quarter of the city upon an artificial elevation. The façade of the principal gate on the northern side of the wall is adorned with drawings of various colours, which re-call to mind the familiar designs of Samarkand. An inscription over the entrance tells us that Sayyid Muhammad Khudayar Khan built the gate in the year 1287 (1870). The internal arrangement of the Khan's chambers is distinguished by oriental luxury, though we found in a part of the palace, built shortly before the capture of Kokand, some rooms fitted up in European fashion with luxurious furniture, curtains, drapery, &c., as well as with objects imported from Petersburg and Moscow. With all the magnificence of the arrangements, one nevertheless meets at times with some simple article of home-manufacture, such as a stool or other trifle. In the principal hall of the palace, set apart for public receptions and occasions of ceremony, there was hanging from the roof a huge chandelier adorned with crystal pendants. The eastern side of the hall contained a vaulted recess in which the Khan was said to take his seat. To the north and south are grated doors: the partition-walls are ornamented with the designs of native artists, an apple-tree or a bouquet of roses in a vase, all hanging in the air, or a tree like a weeping willow springing from the neck of some vessel or other. The hall contains no furniture, and the floor is covered with carpets: the chandelier hanging from the roof occupies almost the whole height and breadth of the room. In front of the palace were ranged about 60 cannon of various patterns and calibres. The mint and powder manufactory stood in one of the courts of the palace.

The Kokand bazaar is the most important market throughout the Khanate, judging from the number of shops. Many of the stalls were built by Khudayar Khan himself, who deemed it consistent with his dignity to enrich himself by devoting attention to commercial affairs. The stalls are all constructed of timber, the interstices between the timbers being filled up with mud. The passages leading through the rows of shops are covered in. Twice a week there takes place a public auction of goods, whereby a crowd of men on horse-back and foot are attracted from the surrounding villages; here is to be found the focus of the whole traffic in manufactured articles imported from Russia, and

hence also the same articles reach the retail trade for the more distant markets in the other towns of the Khanate.

Outside the walls are a few summer palaces. Some particulars regarding the population of the capital, schools, mosques, &c., are given further on, and I will content myself here with observing that the vicinity of Kokand is distinguished by luxuriant vegetation. About 400 villages and settlements appertain to Kokand itself.

Starting from Kokand the road leads for 30 or 40 versts through spacious fields, cotton plantations and gardens, watered by numerous small streams which flow down to the Syr Valley from the mountain ridges that hem in the southern end of the Khanate.

From Kokand our detachment proceeded to Margilan, which we reached in three days. This is the place to which Abdul Rahman Aftábachi, the leader of the recent rebellion, was reported to have fled after the battle of Makhram. The administration of the Margilan Province had been assigned to Khudayar Khan's brother, Sultan Murad Beg, who resided in the city of Margilan. Next to Kokand, Margilan and Andijan are the most important cities in the Khanate. In spite, however, of its antiquity Margilan possesses no historical monuments: the architecture is altogether of the most recent date: the palace of Sultan Murad is barely distinguishable from the house of a wealthy inhabitant of Tashkend or any other city in Russian Turkistan. The city is surrounded by a wall, but has no citadel: it is the principal centre of the silk manufactory of Kokand: moreover, the Margilan bazaar is accounted one of the most considerable in the Khanate.

When peace had been restored to the country, and the inhabitants had sent in deputations from every quarter to sue for terms, I obtained leave at Margilan to pay a visit to the towns of Sharikhan, Asaké and Andijan, with the view of compiling statistical and ethnographical memoranda. Accompanied by Captain Petrov, who was detached to survey the country, I left the city of Margilan under the guidance of some Jigits chosen from the suite of the Khan, and from our own detachment. Khudayar Khan's eldest son, Nasar-ud-din, who had been proclaimed Khan in the room of his father, and who was then with General Von Kauffmann's detachment at Margilan, gave us letters of recommendation to the Begs of the towns which we proposed to visit. Nothing could have been more favourable than the beginning of our expedition. The municipal authorities of Sharikhan,

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as well as the inhabitants, received us in a most friendly manner, replied to all our enquiries, produced lists of taxes and other documents of interest to us, took us round the whole town, and, in a word, were unremitting in their attentions: Encouraged thereby and prompted by our ardour for the cause, we resolved upon disregarding the orders given us not to proceed further, and upon visiting the towns of Ush and Uzkind. In the latter town, I hoped to be able to inspect the ancient monuments which, according to native accounts, consisted in richly constructed edifices, madrasas, and mosques built of different kinds of tiles. At our request, the young Khan sent us at Asaké two letters for the local Magnates of Ush and Uzkind, bidding them receive us hospitably: the Khan, however, advised us not to penetrate into the interior of the country. In all probability, we should have neglected his advice, had not the insurrection at Andijan broken out before our very eyes.

Sharikhan, once an important commercial town, is now declining more and more every year, if we are to believe the testimony of its inhabitants. The town is not large: nor is its trade considerable, in spite of the fertility by which the neighbouring tracts are distinguished. Sharikhan has no walls, and here I may observe that beyond the city of Margilan walled towns are rarely met with. The people of Sharikhan explained to us that the decline of their town was caused by the action of Khudayar Khan in ordering the construction of another town, Asaké, lying at the foot of the mountain range, near the point where the stream issues that supplies Sharikhan with water. Prior to the construction of Asaké, all the water flowed to Sharikhan, but now a great part of it is appropriated by Asaké. Here we have a characteristic example of the mode in which Central Asian towns are founded: they owe their origin, not to a favourable situation, nor to trade, but in most cases to the mere personal caprice of the ruler. The unbridled self-will of the Central Asian Chiefs proceeded to such lengths that whole cities were transplanted from one spot to another. In Khiva we have seen not a few examples of such changes of locality.

Sharikhan, with the town of Asaké and the villages appertaining thereto, was governed by Isa Awali,* a favourite of Khudayar Khan.

* This personage who played such a prominent part during recent events in Kokand, and despite professions of attachment distinguished himself by persistent hostility to Russia, was banished from Kokand in the previous year, and to the best of our knowledge one of the northern Governments of the Kingdom was assigned to him as a place of residence.

Eight versts south of Sharikhan is the town of Asaké. Situated on the slope of the mountain gorge through which a rivulet flows down into the valley of the Syr, this small town presents an unusually picturesque appearance.

High on the mountain upon a narrow plateau stands the castle of the Khan: the garden that surrounds the castle spreads itself over the slope of the hill, and at the foot the small houses of the inhabitants lie scattered amidst the thick green of the orchards. One of the main terraces of the palace is situated on the northern side, and unfolds to the gaze a view unsurpassed in beauty by any that I have seen in Central Asia. Here the eye wanders over an immeasurable expanse of verdant gardens, through the midst of which, like a broad grey streak, the Syr river winds along, and far in the back ground appears the faint blue outline of the Thian-shan mountain peaks which bound the valley on the north. Scarcely less enchanting is the view of the gorge close at hand: distributing its waters into numerous canals, the rushing torrent hurries down between well-cultivated banks. To irrigate the garden, which was laid out not long ago on the upper plateau towards the south, a great pumping machine has been placed on the east of the hill side; and this pump with the help of a wheel three *sajenes* in diameter and turned by the stream supplies water to the garden above.

The small town of Asaké is said to possess an excellent climate, and to this circumstance, it perhaps owes the honor of being selected as the summer residence of Khudayar Khan. Hither he was wont to retire during the hot summer months, spending his leisure time for the most part in sport among the hills. The town has no external wall; perhaps the only building of interest is the castle, built in Asiatic style, and arranged inside too after the Asiatic fashion; it nevertheless boasts of European windows with coloured panes. The castle, when we saw it, was empty, for all its contents had been previously removed. In respect to trade, Asaké is of no consequence whatever.

After we had made ourselves acquainted with the town, as far as circumstances allowed, we set out for Andijan which lies at a distance of only 20 versts.

We were the first Russians to visit this city since the beginning of our campaign against Kokand, for, owing to the loyal addresses which General Von Kauffmann had received from Andijan, our troops had left it on one side, and directed their march straight to Namangan.



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There were three roads leading from Asaké to Andijan, all three at the foot of the hills and quite close to one another. We took the least dangerous of the three which conducted us through rice-fields and small settlements, for on the eve of our journey we had received tidings that armed bands under Pulad Beg had shewn themselves in the country around. We were lucky enough to avoid meeting with any of the Kara Kirghiz who swarmed in the neighbourhood, and thus we quickly reached the goal of our journey.

Andijan is one of the most ancient cities in the Ferghana Valley: in the 15th century, it was the capital of the Khanate, and yet it no longer contains any monuments of historical interest. Such indeed is the general fate of the celebrated cities of Central Asia. Whatever history they have is preserved to us in their name and in the occurrences connected with them, of which we are told by native writers or travellers. Asiatics care nothing for the maintenance of buildings however important from a historical point of view: and we cannot therefore be surprised that only very scanty remains of such antiquities have descended to us.

In external appearance, Andijan differs in no way from other commercial cities of Central Asia, the same handsome market, the same narrow streets, the same white-washed houses. The city possesses only two buildings worthy of remark; an arms manufactory, constructed by an Afghan Engineer, who had received his training in British India, and Nasar-ud-din's castle, built in the European style, which he occupied while Beg of Andijan.

On our arrival at Andijan, we were assigned a lodging in the house of the Sarkar or Collector of Taxes. The master of the house, as well as the local magnates, shewed us remarkable attention and friendliness, of which we took advantage to gain a thorough knowledge of the city, the market place, and the adjacent country. On the third day of our stay in Andijan, we began to compile the notices which constituted the real object of our journey, when suddenly we received warning that an insurrection had broken out in the city. The circumstances which gave rise to the insurrection had, as I firmly believe, nothing whatever to do with our presence in the city; on the contrary, the disorders were simply due to the unfortunate arrangements made by the new Khan Nasar-ud-din for filling the Begs' offices in the Khanate. Accidentally placed in a most difficult position, of which the issue might have been very perilous to us, we seized the



first moment of the general confusion, while the people hesitated whither to turn and what to do, to remove ourselves from the city under the protection of the newly appointed Beg, and this we succeeded in doing. Then, without discharging the task of making ourselves acquainted with the eastern portion of the Khanate, we were compelled to return to our detachment, which was posted at Naman-gan on the right bank of the Syr Darya.

III.

As regards geographical situation, the country once called the Khanate of Kokand resembles a long-shaped cauldron, open only on one side. On the north, south, and east, it is bounded by branches of the mighty Thianshan mountain range: but towards the west, it is connected with the Russian possessions in Turkestan through the valley of the Syr. Thanks to the abundance of water, whereby the soil is irrigated both from the main stream of the country, the Syr Darya, and from numberless mountain torrents: thanks also to an advantageous geographical position, Kokand was better placed than the other oases of Central Asia in respect to a thriving development of cultivation. During my wanderings in Central Asia I have seen many spots richly endowed by nature, but none of these regions could shew that abundance of wealth which is displayed to so great an extent by the Ferghana Valley. It is owing to such enchanting pre-eminence that this strip of land has been celebrated throughout Central Asia as a land whose praises have descended from antiquity. Sheltered from the north-wind by lofty mountains, Kokand enjoys an excellent climate, varying indeed from the heat of the Syr Darya Valley to the comparative rigour of the Thianshan mountains.

Copious supplies of water aid in creating a fertility of soil which is really amazing: we find growing in these parts, wheat, rice, sorghum, and grain of various kinds, all of which yield an extraordinarily abundant harvest, besides all sorts of fruit of exquisite flavor, mulberries whose silk-worms afford excellent silk, cotton, tobacco, &c.

The mountains that enclose the cauldron have been hitherto but little explored: thus much, however, is known from the accounts of Russians who visited Kokand on previous occasions, as well as from our own observations, that they must be rich in mineral products, such as salt, coal,



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naphtha, lead ore, and turquoises. The mountain streams Tar, Kurshab, Karakulja, and Yassy, which derive their sources from the Thianshan in the east of the Khanate, form the second greatest river in Central Asia, the Syr Darya, of which the whole fluvial tract is now within the limits of Russian Turkestan. The upper course of the river is named by the natives of the locality Kara Darya: but after junction with the Naryn which rises in the Thianshan to the north-east and flows down into the Ferghana Valley, it assumes the common name of Syr Darya, under which name also it debouches into the Sea of Aral. Besides these two main streams, forming the real arteries of the country, there are many other mountain torrents which, however, do not reach the Syr Darya, because they are diverted for the irrigation of the fields. Three canals are taken off from the Kara Darya: the Andijan, the Sharikhan, and the Mussulman Kúl Canal. Who it was that made the first canal, the natives are unable to inform us: the second is the work of Omar Khan in the third decade of the current century: the third bears the name of the father of Abdul Rahman Aftábachi, leader in the insurrection which broke out in the Khanate last year, Mussulman Kúl, by whose orders the canal was excavated.

The people of Kokand principally use the water of the hill streams for their fields, and consequently they are attracted more towards the mountains than to the river Syr whose waters are only turned to account by the inhabitants of the upper part of the stream for the irrigation of their farms and gardens. Towards the middle course of the Syr Darya, the banks of the Syr assume the character of a steppe: only here and there are single cultivated patches to be found, watered by such remnants of the mountain streams as survive the consumption of the great cities. The settlements near the canals supplied by this water are called Zylhab.

The whole wealth of the country is chiefly concentrated south of the Syr Darya. There we find an uninterrupted activity in full play: and there in every direction appear the signs of the stirring industry produced by high cultivation. A journey through this part of the Khanate can only be likened to a delightful walk through a great broad park in which numerous villages and tiny settlements agreeably relieve the monotony of the landscape. The important development of agriculture and the concentration of the people



in the southern part of the valley are attributable to the favorable position of the land at the foot of the mountains, on the spurs of the hills, and within reach of copious supplies of flowing water. North of the Syr Darya, on the contrary, agriculture is carried on to a much less degree, while this portion of the valley, conformably with the natural properties of its soil, is chiefly occupied by the nomad tribes, who find in those regions spacious pasturage for their flocks. The ground on the right bank of the Syr is but little fitted for cultivation both on account of its high elevation and of the scantily watered steppes. There we find many more steppes than tilled fields. Fresh green only meets the eye near the banks of the mountain torrents and the Syr and Naryn rivers. Thus nature herself cuts off the Nomads by a natural boundary, the Syr Darya, from the settled inhabitants of Kokand. The bulk of the nomad population are met with to the north of this boundary line, where during winter they are wont to encamp at the foot of the hills, betaking themselves to the higher elevations with the commencement of the hot season. Nomads are also encountered in the eastern section of the Ferghana Valley, but in comparatively much fewer numbers than on the right bank of the Syr. In regions where the nomad tribes predominate, the settled population are massed in a few towns, villages, and small settlements, or established in the valleys of the mountain streams and near the canals conducted therefrom. In the midst of the settled people one sometimes lights upon villages of some Nomads who are no longer able to continue their wandering life. Cattle form the main point of existence for the Central Asian Nomads, and want of cattle too forces them at last to turn to agriculture.

The natural products obtained in the Ferghana Valley may be classified into field crops, vegetable and garden produce, and garden fruit: and the distribution of taxes conforms with the above three categories. To the first group belong; wheat, maize, flax, rice, barley and millet: to the second; carrots, karbúzas, melons, pumpkins, radishes, onions, red-pepper, madder, dye-plants, peas, beans, tobacco, and garlic: to the last; various kinds of grapes, peaches, pears, plums, apples, nuts, cherries, wild-cherries, figs, pomegranates.

For house-keeping purposes, silk, flax, and grain occupy the first place. Silk, the best in Central Asia, constitutes an especially important article of trade.



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Such historical data as we possess ascribe a comparatively recent origin to the present Kokandian population who established themselves not long since in this country. The Tajiks, despite their insignificant number, must be regarded as the original inhabitants. The successors of these aborigines lost little by little the distinguishing marks of their origin. It is even now but rarely that one sees a Tajik of the pure Aryan type, and before long the last vestiges of this handsome race, which is destined to give way to the Turkish stock, will have vanished from Central Asia. The prevailing population of the Kokand Khanate is derived from the remnants of various Turkish tribes who have immigrated thither from the parts of Turkestan lying to the north and west of the Ferghana Valley. The predominant stock is that of the Uzbeks, among whom are to be found representatives of nearly all the tribes that inhabit the Central Asian regions previously acquired by us. The settled inhabitants of Kokand regard it of little importance whether they belong to this or that tribe: and as a proof of their indifference, we may point to the fact that when a question is put to them in the above sense, they reply "Kurama" which means "mixed."

The Uzbeks and Tajiks compose the kernel of the settled population, and, so to speak, the conservative and industrial element in the country, and inhabit chiefly the western and southern parts of the Khanate. The Tajiks are rarely found in distinct colonies, but as a rule mingled with Uzbeks.

As representatives of the nomad population, we should mention the Kirghiz amongst whom the Kipchaks, though not very numerous, have attained the most prominent development: moreover, the Kipchaks lead a semi-nomad life, and hence pitch their tents near towns and villages. In nature, mode of life, creed, and, to be brief, ethnographically, the inhabitants of Kokand are not distinguishable from their tribal brethren in Russian-Turkestan.

Besides the above tribes, there are to be found in the cities of the Ferghana Province Jews, Gipsies, Indians and Afghans. The representatives of the two last-named peoples do not belong to the mass of permanent inhabitants, but come to Kokand only for a time to get money by trade and usury.

As might be supposed, accurate written data for determining the number of the population in the Ferghana Pro-

vince are wanting, so that this will be one of the first tasks which the new Russian administration will have to perform. In order, however, to give some approximate idea of the number of inhabitants, I may note the figures mentioned by the Kokandian officers present with our detachment. According to them, the settled population of the late Kokand Khanate consisted of 132,000 houses, the Nomads of 60,000 tents, or 192,000 dwellings in all, which would give about 960,000 souls. The above figure varies considerably from previous accounts, and in any case it cannot be correct, on the one hand because of the scanty knowledge possessed by the Kokandian officials in this matter, and, on the other hand also, because the number of the Kirghiz, who at one time wander into the Semiretchye District, and at another towards Kashgar, cannot be accurately ascertained. Thus much can be said, without risk of error, that the Ferghana Valley is among the most thickly-populated regions of Central Asia.

The Khanate of Kokand, as previously remarked, arose from the ruins of Tamerlane's mighty monarchy, and for the purposes of administration it was divided into circles. This distribution was entirely accidental. The origin of the circles or provinces lay, not in the exigencies of policy or state, but merely in the requirements of family circumstances. Such an arrangement is not peculiar to Kokand, but is found in most of the other Central Asian States, where the Khans or other rulers make over the administration of nearly all the provinces to their sons or relations: there are few exceptions to the rule. These provincial rulers again on their side, when the members of the family multiply, hand over, to be governed by such members, single portions of the province which the ruler has entrusted to their care. During the reign of Khudayar Khan, the Khanate consisted of 15 provinces, *viz.*, the city of Kokand with its suburbs, Margilan, Sharikhan, Namangan, Sug, Makram, Bulak Bashi, Araban, Balykehin, Chartag, Naukat, Kasan, Chust and Bahadar Khan. The Province of Kokand, with the villages appertaining thereto, was administered by Khudayar Khan in person: the seven next provinces were governed by the Khan's relatives and sons: the remaining seven, however, were of recent creation, having been carved out of those previously named. Thus, for example, in the case of the Province Margilan, which the Khan's brother, Sultan Murad, administered, the settlement of Araban, with some neighbouring villages, was divided off and assigned to Sultan Murad's son, who subsequently governed in complete inde-



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pendence. The Andijan Province had been made over to the Khan's eldest son, Nasar-ud-din, who, after his father's fall, occupied the throne of Kokand for a time: the Province of Namangan fell to the younger son, Urman. The Beks of the provincial Governments were called "Sarkardah"—a title equivalent to Commander* of the Forces. The subjoined table gives the most important cities of the above-named provinces, and at the same time the approximate number of houses, mosques, schools, madrassas and shops:

Name of city.	Houses.	Mosques.	Schools.	Madrassas.	Shops.
Kokand Capital ...	10,000	300	120	40	2,000
Margilan ...	6,000	300	80	10	1,000
Andijan ...	4,000	200	60	6	1,000
Namangan ...	4,000	250	100	5	1,000
Uzgend ...	1,000	70	20	4	100
Balikehin ...	1,000	50	10	3	100

Besides the provinces which we have mentioned, the Khanate contained some large settlements, not belonging to the appropriate provinces, but governed independently by the Khan's tax-collectors, "Sirkars," who were, as a rule, selected from among the slaves.

The "Sarkardahs" were nearly all powerful within the provinces entrusted to their care by the Khan, but they had not authority to inflict capital punishment. Their position towards the Khan was nearly that of feudal vassals.

In respect to the collection of taxes, the dependence of the Beks upon the capital consisted in this: that whenever the Khan visited the provinces, they were compelled to entertain the Khan's suite and to offer presents to the Khan himself at their own charges.

The Government of the "Sarkardah" was of an exceedingly simple character. The police administration of the cities was conducted by the "Kurbasha," a kind of Police Inspector, and by the "Mirshabs" or night-watchmen. The taxes were collected by "Amins," the same officers as the Bokharian "Aksakals" or Elders.

Correspondence was carried on by the "Mirzas" or writers, among whom the chief clerk received the title of "Mirzabashi." The administration of justice was in the hands of the Kazis or judges who were nominated by the Beks under orders from the Khan. Several settlements formed a circle over which a Kazi presided.

* More likely to mean "administrator" like the Pension "Sirkar," unless the title is really "Sardar."—Translator.

The system of taxation had much in common with that prevailing in the other Khanates of Central Asia. The following kinds of imposts may be mentioned: 1, tax in kind, *khiraj*, or land-revenue; 2, money tax, *tampna*, from vegetable and fruit gardens; 3, *zakát*, a sort of tax on trade which in the case of goods was called "*zakát-i-kalegi*" and in the case of cattle "*zakát-i-mal*;" 4, bazaar tax, for the right of trading in the market; 6, tolls for crossing rivers; and 7, the salt tax. Besides the above, there was a notarial tax for drawing up marriage contracts, a duty which in the other Khanates is incumbent on the *Kazis* as provided in the *Shari'at* or religious law. Under *Khudayar Khan's* rule, all the taxes which we have mentioned were enforced to the pettiest details. Everything that could be taxed was taxed, and the people were plundered in the fullest sense of the word. Thus, while that Khan reigned, some "*cheks*" ($\frac{1}{3}$ copeck) were exacted from both buyer and seller on every bargain struck: whether the transaction was sale or purchase, in either case a tax had to be paid, and even for such things as brushwood, canes, thistles, &c., which the poor people picked up in the fields for sale; of late, when nothing else could be brought under taxation, it is said that a rate was imposed on the use of the water conducted from the mountain streams into the canals. Only the air apparently was left untouched, as the single object which was not taxed. This excessive development of the system of taxation was one of the principal causes of discontent with *Khudayar Khan*.

The method of collecting the taxes varied greatly: at some points the tax-collectors were appointed by the Khan or the *Begs*, in other places the collections were farmed; and the latter system was the more usual. The officials received no pecuniary remuneration for their services, but had the right to retain a certain portion, fixed by the Khan, of the taxes collected by them.

As regards the mode in which taxes were levied, a classification into two categories was recognized, *viz.*, "*Khasagi*" and "*Biylyk*": to the former appertained the taxes paid directly to the Khan in Kokand or to his relatives under the farming system; to the latter appertained the taxes collected by the *Begs*.

The Khan's treasury was filled from the proceeds of the various imposts which we have just described, exclusive, however, of the taxes collected from the province of Kokand



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itself and the settlements belonging thereto. Among the taxes from the other provinces the Khan's treasury received: 1, the zakát on goods and cattle; 2, tolls for crossing the Syr Darya; 3, salt tax; 4, property tax "khassagi;" 5, rent for the booths, sheds and godowns constructed in several cities at the charges of the Khan; 6, fees for drawing up marriage contracts; and lastly intestate estates. The administrators of the provinces were permitted to raise the taxes from the districts entrusted to their charge.

The Begs, who governed their provinces without any obligation to render an account, were bound in time of war to call out the force maintained in their districts, and, in obedience to the Khan's order, to lead the troops into the field.

The superior command of the troops in each province devolved upon a special Batur-Bashi, or chief of the heroes. The troops scattered about in the provinces formed the irregular forces of the Khan; another special force of regular troops and the artillery were quartered in the capital. When we occupied Kokand, we found in the court of the Khan's palace about 60 guns. The almost nominal subordination of the Begs to the Khan, aided by a military system such as we have described, proved on all occasions the most effective lever in the hands of the leaders of national revolutions: as an illustration, we may point to the recent insurrection in Kokand, for it was the troops of the Andijan and Margilan cities who first renounced obedience to their lawful Khan.

We append to these memoranda upon the administrative organization of Kokand some further data regarding the precedence of the various ranks of society and the emoluments connected therewith, which particulars may be useful to a future inquirer into the State arrangements of one of the most important Central Asian kingdoms.

The hierarchical succession of ranks will be best illustrated by noting the order of precedence in which the officials followed one another at solemn ceremonies held in the great hall of the palace. Opposite the Khan who on occasions of great importance sat in the recess, there stood, at a respectful distance and with eringing humility, in order of their importance; 1, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, Kazi-Kalan, Khoja-Kalan, the Naibs and Mullahs; 2, the Ataliks and Kushbegis; 3, the Perwanachis; 4, the Dachis; 5, the Beys;

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6, the Ishik-Agassis, Inaks, and Shigawuls; 7, the Tokhsabas; 8, the Mirakhors; and 9, the Karawul Begis.

The high offices and dignities of Kokand were classified as follows: spiritual, military, court and administrative. The annexed table shows the dignities according to their importance; and in each class the number of persons in the various offices, the amount of their emoluments, and the claims of each class of society to this or that dignity, or this or that office:

Clerical Dignities: Ulemas and Khojas.

Nomenclature of the Dignities.	Number of incumbents.	AMOUNT OF THEIR ANNUAL EMOLUMENTS IN KIND AND IN MONEY.		REMARKS.
		Grain in batmans.	Money in tengs.*	
1. Khoja Kalán ...	1	800	1,200	To be rewarded by these dignities according to merit is exclusively the right of the descendants of Mahomed and of the first four Khalifs.
2. Naib* ...	2	500	1,000	
3. Mir Asád ...	5	300	700	
4. Sadar ...	10	200	600	
5. Sudúr ...	50	100	400	
6. Urák ...	100	50	200	
1. Sheikh-ul-Islam ...	1	Draw emolument from the produce of estates or from the funds of the communality and receive annually presents from the Khan comprising rich dresses, grain, and money.		These dignities are given to persons educated in schools and <i>madraasas</i> . Those who are found worthy of them are named <i>ulem</i> ("scholars"). To obtain the office of <i>Sheikh-ul-Islam</i> scholars are bound to prove their descent from a Khoja, in addition to holding a certificate of scholarship.
2. Maulaví ...	1			
3. Kazi Azkar ...	1			
4. Kazi-ul-Kazát ...	1			
5. Kazi Kalán ...	1			
6. Kazi Mutlak ...	1			
7. Kazi Rais ...	1			
8. Mufti ...	10			
9. Alam ...	2			
10. Mudarris ...	150			
11. Imam (in the capital)	300			

Military Dignities.

Nomenclature of the Dignities.	Number of incumbents.	AMOUNT OF THEIR ANNUAL EMOLUMENTS IN KIND AND IN MONEY.		REMARKS.
		Grain in batmans.	Money in tengs.*	
1. Atályk ...	1	2,000	2,000	These honors are open to all without regard to birth.
2. Kushbegi ...	4	1,000	1,500	
3. Parwáncha ...	8	800	1,500	
4. Dacha ...	10	700	1,000	
5. Biy ...	10	400	700	
6. Ishik Agassi ...	100	200	500	
7. Tokhsaba ...	00	100	500	

* One batman in Kokand = 4 Russian poods (or 144.452 lbs. avoirdupois). One teng = 20 copecks (or 6 to 7 pence).



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Military Dignities,—(Continued).

Nomenclature of the Dignities.	Number of incumbents.	AMOUNT OF THEIR ANNUAL EMOLUMENTS IN KIND AND IN MONEY.		REMARKS.
		Grain in batmans.	Money in tengs.*	
8. Mir Akhor ...	300	70	150	These honors were chiefly conferred on Uzbeks who had adopted a settled way of life.
9. Karawulbeg ...	400	50	100	
10. Kurcha ...	200	30	70	
11. Divceha ...	500	30	70	
12. Mirzabasha ...	100	25	60	
13. Char Agassa ...	1,000	25	60	
14. Batur or so called "Alaman" (warriors).	8,000†	20	50	

Court and Administrative Offices..

1. Munshi Dabir ...	1	100	300	Nearly every village has one tax-collector (Sarkar).
2. Shugawul ...	1	400	500	
3. Inak ...	3	1,000	1,000	
4. Charchi basha ...	1	200	300	
5. Katawul basha ...	1	100	200	
6. Zinbardar ...	1	200	400	
7. Mir Akhor basha ...	1	100	200	
8. Yasawul basha ...	2	100	200	
9. Mirza basha ...	1	100	300	
10. Amin ...	14	50	150	
11. Mihtar-i-Zakatkhana ...	1	500	500	
12. Kurbasha ...	1	300	400	
13. Sarkar ...	1	200	300	

None of the officials named in these tables, except those specially mentioned above, had the right of being present at the Khan's State audiences, or of belonging to his suite.

In addition to their fixed salaries, many of the officials whom we have named got presents from the Khan at the annual festivals. The salaries of all officials were paid in proportion to the income from the taxes on the domains, (Khasagi).

* One batman in Kokand = 4 Russian pounds (or 144.52 lbs. avoirdupois). One teng = 20 copecks (or 6 to 7 pence).

† This number of "Alaman" indicates how many warriors there were in the capital.

N.B.—Besides the above enumerated military subdivisions, there were other appointments in the army, e.g., Dalibashi, Yusbashi, Pansai, Minbashi, Topchibashi, Zamburghi, &c., &c.



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The revenues annually collected from the previously named provinces (which form different sirkars), were according to the various heads distributed as follows:—

NAME OF THE PROVINCES.	Number of large settlements in each of the provinces.	Amount of the taxes in kind, expressed in <i>batmans</i> of grain.	MONEY TAXES IN <i>Tillas</i> .			
			<i>Tampna</i> tax on flax and vegetables.	<i>Zakat</i> on the cattle of the nomad population.	<i>Zakat</i> on trade, levied on the bazars, on public scales, etc.	<i>Zakat</i> on the import and export of merchandise.
1. Makhram ...	26	17,000	2,772	300	800	...
2. Sug ...	6	8,000	600	1,000	400	...
3. Kokand ...	368	230,000	55,700	28,200	12,000	23,000
4. Margilan and Ush ...	120	40,000	8,000	3,500	1,800	8,000
	20	24,000	6,000			
5. Sharikhan ...	20	50,000	8,000	2,400	1,000	...
Asake, and ...	12					
Uzgend ...	8	25,000	500	300	300	...
6. Araban ...	8	13,000				
7. Bulakbashi ...	6	12,000	300	2,000	500	...
8. Andijan ...	80	100,000	25,000	5,200	6,820	...
9. Balygachi ...	15	40,000	3,000	1,500	1,000	...
10. Namangan with settlements.	62	68,000	17,000	600	4,680	1,000
11. Chartag ...	6	10,000	800	300	400	...
12. Naukat ...	4	18,000	800	150	100	...
13. Kasan ...	12	20,000	1,000	600	600	...
14. Chust ...	18	26,550	1,000	700	400	100
15. Babadar Khan ...	12	6,000	1,200	600	300	1,000
TOTAL ...	...	707,550	131,672	47,350	31,100	33,100

According to this table, the yearly total income of the Kokand Khanate amounted to 707,550 "batman" in grain. One "batman" in Kokand is equivalent to 4 Russian *poods*; the average worth of a "batman" of grain in the market is from 1 rouble 50 copecks to 2 roubles: therefore the taxes in kind reduced to money value produced an income of 1,415,000 roubles (about £ 202,143). The taxes in money and the "tampna" reduced to its equivalent in coin yielded 243,222 Kokandian *tillas*, or in our money (1 *tilla*=3 roubles 60 copecks) 875,599 roubles 20 copecks (£ 125,080): consequently the entire revenue of the Khanate, whether in kind or in money, was equivalent to 2,290,699 roubles 20 copecks=£ 327,243.



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If we add to these revenues the salt tax, as well as the tolls for crossing the Syr, and the tax on domains "Khásagi," which brought in about 25,000 roubles (£3,571) the total receipts of the late Khanate of Kokand amounted to, say, two (and a half?) millions of roubles. I should here observe that in this calculation I have taken into account only such sources of revenue as are recognized by the "Shari'at" or religious law: Khudayar Khan's officers, who according to their own confession looted the people in every sort of way whether lawful or unlawful, collected treble the above-mentioned sum.

From an industrial point of view, the Ferghana Valley has attained to a low degree of development, since all work there is still carried on in a primitive fashion: the workshops are no better managed than we find them in the rest of Turkestan, and this circumstance, together with the defective condition of industrial art, accounts for the fact (if we consider the extent of the population) that they are scarcely able to satisfy the wants of the inhabitants. Of late years, permission was given to use for the purposes of the Russian troops in Turkestan the stuff called *byaz* (mata) woven in Kokand, instead of Russian linen: and the contractors of the Intendancy in Tashkend have discovered great weaving factories in the Khanate; in the village of Bish Aryk, for example, there were about 500 looms in working. Unfortunately, however, the increase in the *byaz* industries has not brought about the perfection of mechanical appliances.

There are no industrial products of special mark to be found among the inhabitants of the new province. The best products in the Central Asian Khanates are esteemed to be: silken cloths, satin, velvet, and carpets of an inferior kind.

The foreign commerce of the Khanate consisted chiefly of transactions with our Central Asian possessions. Tashkend formed the centre of trade. Thither were exported: flax, silk, grain, fruit, wool, salt, timber, *byaz* (mata), *kanans*, woollen-cloth, camlet, dyes, &c. Imports comprised manufactured articles (cotton, silk, wool) and articles of metal (iron and cast iron): besides coffee, tea, sugar and so forth. Next in importance to the trade with Russia is the trade between Kokand and Bokhara: then the trade with the mountainous provinces lying south of the Ferghana Valley and the trade with Kashgar. From Kashgar the road leads over the Terek Dayan Mountain range; this pass,



however, is only used by caravans from May to 15th September: for the rest of the year there is no communication, as the road is then too difficult for the transport of goods. Kashgar affords Yarkand carpets, china, and tea, such goods being conveyed past Ush and Andijan to Namangan or Kokand. The Zakát or Custom Houses for the trade with Russia were established at Makhrum and Babadar Khan; for the trade with Kashgar at Usch, though in the latter case the principal examination of the goods took place at Andijan, where too the caravans coming from the highland provinces were inspected. The Zakát on goods was levied by special tax collectors appointed from Kokand. Goods addressed to Kokand paid tax on arrival at Kokand, where a special Zakát warehouse was set apart for the purpose. According to the established practice which prevails in all Central Asian Khanates, the goods could not be sold until permission was obtained from the Khan, to whom an accurate report had to be submitted; from whence the caravan came, whose goods it carried, of what sort were the goods, what was their value, what novelties they brought, &c. It not unfrequently happened that the Khan ordered to his palace the best of the goods, for which the owners of the caravan thereupon received payment at the valuation of appraisers appointed by the Khan himself.

The expedition to Kokand has been brought to an end. Its result has been the annexation to the Russian Empire of a Central Asian territory not great in extent but fertile—a country which can now progress in undisturbed and peaceful development. At the same time, the events which have brought such a result in their train, testify once more to the importance of the Russian name in the Muhammadan East and the futility of the hopes of those who cannot reconcile themselves to the inevitable march of history.

Our readers are familiar with the occurrences that led to our advance. If any proof were necessary of the sincerity of our efforts to live in peace with all Central Asian neighbours even under circumstances prejudicial to our own dominions, it would be hard to find a more striking proof than the history of our relations with Kokand during the last two years. The unreasonable system of Government pursued by Khudayar Khan, to which we have already referred, kept the country in constant excitement; and this condition of affairs was not without influence upon our Kirghiz subjects who were allied by race to the nomad tribes of



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Kokand. It was necessary, on the one hand, to adopt the most stringent measures to prevent this nomad population from taking part in the disorders of the Khanate, and thus we gave effectual support to Khudayar Khan; while, on the other hand, we pressed upon him over and over again the necessity of a radical reform in his system of administration, which not only disturbed the peace of his own country, but also injured the interests of the neighbouring Russian possessions. All, however, was in vain, and the catastrophe soon arrived. In spite of all this, the insurrection in Kokand and the fall of Khudayar, which events indeed were accompanied by hostile proceedings towards Russian officials, could not induce the Governor-General of Turkestan to abandon his policy of non-intervention, wherewith he deemed the interest of the territory under his care to be bound up. He consented to recognize the new Khan on the basis of the maintenance of the good relations previously subsisting with Russia, provided that the Khan's Government would comply with the exceedingly moderate demands made for indemnification of those Russian subjects who had suffered injury during the revolt.

Thus on our part every effort had been made to avoid the necessity of active intervention in the internal affairs of the neighbouring Khanate. The issue, however, confirmed for the hundredth time the proposition that when a civilized State comes into contact with a kingdom under an uncivilized Government, which recognizes nothing but force in international relations, sooner or later, and whether it will or no, that State must take into its hands the reins of Government of the foreign country. The leaders of the revolt directed against the Khan, intoxicated with the success of their enterprize, and excited by the idea, which has such attractions for Mussulmans, of expelling unbelievers from the country of Islam, marched with their bands into our Provinces intent only upon robbery and plunder, and thus compelled us to have recourse to arms. After defeating the enemy, the Russian troops entered the Ferghana Valley and took permanent possession of it.

While dwelling upon the internal importance of the events of 1875-76 in the Kokand Khanate, I should observe that, so far as I know the causes of those events, what I may call a misunderstanding on the side of the Government of the Kokandian Khanate played a very great part in them. When Khudayar Khan had been expelled and had taken



refuge with us, when our troops had marched into the Khanate, and we had concluded a treaty with Nasar-ud-din, who had been proclaimed Khan by only a small party ambitious of acting a prominent part, the bulk of the population, and especially the nomad portion of them, imagined that the Russians intended to maintain upon the throne the dynasty of the fallen Khan. Dissatisfied with this resolution which was falsely ascribed to us, the Kokandians determined to await the departure of the Russians from the Khanate, and then to overthrow the new Khan, thus entirely rooting out the family of Khudayar, whose sanguinary crimes were still fresh in the memory of the people.

When our detachment reached the right bank of the Syr Darya, an insurrection broke out in Andijan; and though this insurrection, as I have previously said, bore at the outset simply the character of a protest against the power of the Khan, subsequently, however, Nasar-ud-din also was threatened by his subjects in the capital, and forced to seek refuge with us. The insurrection in Andijan and the incursions of the Kipchaks upon our territory near Namangan produced a further complication; but Nasar-ud-din's continued stay at Khojend strengthened the Kokandians in the belief that we had firmly resolved upon replacing the Khan on his throne. This lasted until the most energetic of the insurrectionary leaders laid down his arms, admitting the failure of the contest against the Russians, and openly declaring that the people wearied with such sanguinary disorders wished for the Russian rule. Meanwhile, a part of the western section of the Khanate urged by the young Khan's adherents, who continued to persuade the people, called upon Russia to raise the Khan to the throne once more: but Nasar-ud-din proved himself too weak to maintain his position there: and then at last, when the people on all sides were already loud in their appeals to be taken under the protection of the White Czar, the supreme resolution on the subject of their destiny was obtained, and it was forthwith proclaimed to the nation that the Emperor had accepted them among the subjects of the Russian Empire.

For the people of the Ferghana Valley at any rate such was the best possible result. In these hard times of never-ending disorders, combined with war against the most dangerous of all enemies, we must hope that the people of Kokand have sincerely recognized the fact that the discor-



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dant elements of which the nation is composed and whose irreconcilable mutual enmity has brought much evil on them, place an independent political existence beyond the range of possibility. Only the mild, and at the same time powerful, hand of Russia is capable of holding the balance between the settled and nomad population, so that everyone may enjoy the fruits of his labor in peace.

In respect to the advantages reaped by Russia from the acquisition of Kokand, I think the foregoing exposition will have made them sufficiently clear, without mentioning the political importance of this fresh success in Central Asia. So far as this territory is concerned, I believe that the views from time to time expressed in our journals regarding the unproductive character of the expenditure connected with our Central Asian possessions will not stand the test of facts, inasmuch as the revenues of the newly acquired country, of which the wealth is unquestionable, will be found to cover not only all administrative charges, but also the cost of maintaining the troops therein : in short, there will be a surplus for public improvements.

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