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LATEST HISTORY
OF THE KHANATES OF
BOKHARA AND KOKAND

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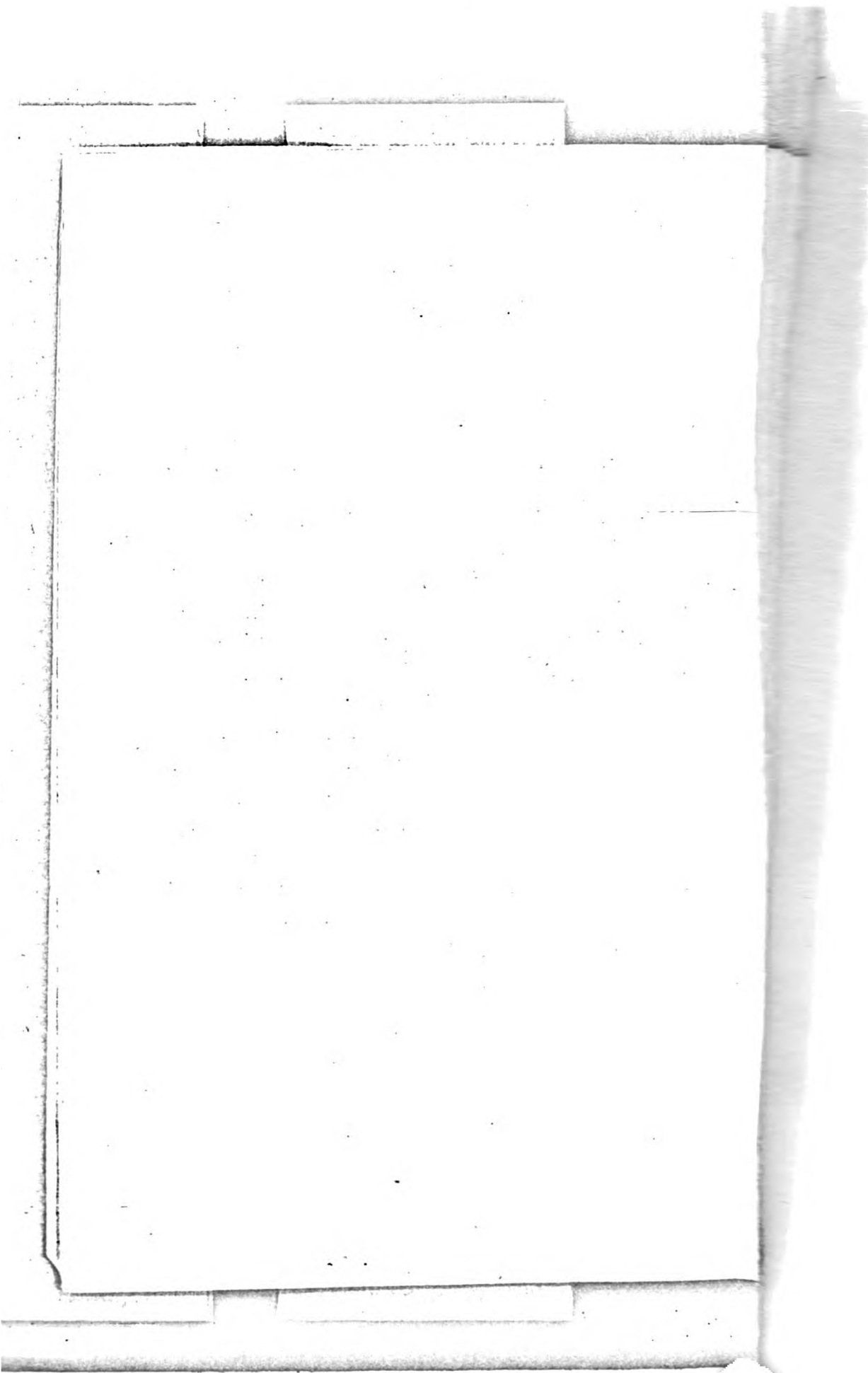
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THE AUTHOR'S PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

HAVING resolved to print a historical memoir in view to explain to a certain degree the events which took place in Kokand during the month of August of the present year (1876) I consider it necessary to inform the reader that this sketch is in many respects imperfectly worked up; and I therefore bespeak for it an indulgent reception. My original intention was to prepare for the press a work under the title of *The Contest of the Mangyts with the Mings for Predominance in Mawar-ul-Nahr*, in which I proposed to explain several obscure pages in the historical life of Bokhara and Kokand during the last century. Afterwards I intended to compose a work on *The Advance of the Russians to Central Asia*, for which I had at hand abundant materials. At present I confine myself to the limits of an article of small compass.

Translator's Note.—All dates are given in the new style, and the distances approximately in English statute miles.



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Contest of the Mangyts with the Mings for predominance in Mawar-ul-Nahr—Accession to the throne of Rahim Khan—Daniad—Shah Murad Khan—Economic development of Bokhara—Irrigation works—The *kosh-pul* tax—Amir Hyder—Internal feuds—Contest with Oratippe and Urgut—The importance of irrigation works in Central Asia—Death of Hyder—The intrigues of Nazzer Ulla—Accession to the throne of Mir Hussain—Death of Hussain—Amir Omar Khan—Contest with Nazzer Ulla—Samarkand supports the cause of Nazzer Ulla—The siege of Bokhara and flight of Omar Khan—The character of Nazzer Ulla—Hakim Kush-Begi, and Ayaz Topchi-Bashi—Sedition of the Uzbeks—Death of Hakim and Ayaz—War with Shahri-Sabz—Naib Abdu Samed—Introduction of a regular army—Fierce struggle with the Kenehez.

THE last Bokharian monarch of the Chingiz-Timur Dynasty was Abdul Faiz Khan, who was put to death in 1766 by his Wuzeer Rahim Khan, a member of the tribe of the Uzbek Dynasty of Mangyts. While yet Wuzeer, Rahim Khan assisted Nadir, Shah of Persia, in subjugating Bokhara, perceiving in such a line of action, amongst other things, a ready means of effecting the fall of the dynasty of Shaibani Khan.

Rahim Khan was raised to the throne of Bokhara not by virtue of the desire of the nation at large, but through the wish of the powerful tribe of Mangyts. The town of Samarkand, however, refused to recognize him as its sovereign. It should be remarked that every monarch of Bokhara, on ascending the throne, was obliged by custom, ten days after his installation, to proceed to Samarkand, the capital of Tamerlane, in order to complete the ceremony of coronation. There, in the presence of the eminent personages of the Empire, of the Beks, of the priesthood, and of the highest dignitaries and representatives of the Uzbek tribes, the Khans took their seat on the *kok-tash*, a large stone of gray colour worked into a quadrangular shape, on which were inscribed various Muhammadan quotations, and which was located in a special building. Rahim Khan, when he discovered that his envoys were refused admittance into Samarkand, acted on the advice of his counsellors, and was crowned at Bokhara on a piece of white felt, a raised earthen platform being prepared in his tent for the ceremony. Rahim was duly seated on the felt, which was raised by the representatives of the Uzbeks, and carried on to the earthen elevation, while the bearers seated themselves on the ground near the elevated spot. In this way was Rahim Khan raised to the throne of Bokhara. During the earliest days of his government the new Amir did not consider himself sufficiently powerful to compel Samarkand to recognize his authority. Internal discord was on the point of breaking out with all its terrible consequences when the matter was peaceably solved, and the people of Samarkand begged Rahim to visit them and take his seat upon the *kok-tash*. The representatives of nearly all the Uzbek tribes accompanied Rahim on his visit to Samarkand, where he was again raised on a piece of white felt and seated upon the *kok-tash*. The ceremony of coronation was completed with all the usual formalities, founded upon tradition: to each one present a gold *tilla* was presented as a memorial of the event: those who had taken part in raising the Amir on the felt and seating him on the *kok-tash*, engaged him in conversation, made speeches to him, and to each of these last the Amir stretched forth his hand, which they received in both their's and kissed. Bokharian etiquette permits the Amir only on this one occasion to give his hand to his own subjects.

On the pacification of Samarkand, Rahim Khan turned his attention to the Province of Shahri-Sabz, where the

Uzbek Tribe of Kenehez were in power. This tribe occupied the very fertile and rich valley of the River Kashka Darya. Surrounded on three sides by lofty mountains, and on the fourth by a marsh, the members of the Kenehez Tribe always endeavoured to conduct their administration independently, avoiding the interference of the Government of Bokhara in their affairs, and the history of Bokhara during the last century is also a history of her dispute with the Kenehez. Rahim Khan arranged matters with Shahri-Sabz and constituted it a province of his own. Rahim Khan's reign, however, was not of long duration. Occupied in consolidating the Khanate of Bokhara, in the subjugation of Shahri-Sabz, and in restraining several Uzbek tribes who were generally at that time independent, Rahim did nothing towards the internal amelioration of his dominion. He died in 1768 and was succeeded by his son Daniad Beg.

Desirous of rendering his position on the throne more permanently secure, and of acquiring some historical right to it, Daniad married a relative of Abdul Faiz Khan.* This sovereign was of weak character, and internal feuds were the unceasing phenomenon of his rule. Bands of robbers wandered almost with impunity along the valley of the Zarafshan, while everywhere throughout the Khanate small forts were erected for the protection of the bazaars and inhabitants, isolated villages being surrounded with walls. No sooner was the news of Rahim Khan's death received in Shahri-Sabz, than that principality dissevered itself from Bokhara and recognized as its own independent ruler Bik-Mazar, the head of the Kenehez, by birth a member of the Kairus branch of that tribe. Niar Ali who succeeded him, and also his successor Mahomed Sadik, repelled with success the attacks of the Bokhariots.

During the reign of Daniad was excavated the celebrated canal of Kazan, 25 miles in length, which irrigated the lands of the present Canton Urgut. Upon the death of Daniad, Shah Murad Khan, his son, ascended the throne of Bokhara and ruled the Khanate from the year 1782 to 1799. Among the Uzbeks he was known under the name of Begi Jan, and was indisputably the most remarkable amongst the Bokhariot rulers of the Mangyt Dynasty. Successful in the wars with his neighbours, especially with the

* He even ruled under the name of Abdul Faiz's heir, Abdul Gazi. *Vide Grebionkin's [pronounce Grebionkin] Genealogical Table of the Mangyt Dynasty.*

Government of Kabul, he again made the name of Bokhara sufficiently formidable. But of whatever nature may have been his external exploits, the action which he took for the purpose of improving the economical position of Bokhara, leaves all others far in the background. He introduced into the Khanate an improved method of unwinding silk from the cocoon, excavated numerous canals for purposes of irrigation, and converted uncultivated lands into settlements. In the course of his warfare in the Turkoman Steppe he destroyed the wealthy town of Merve, and transplanted thence some twelve thousand families into the Khanate of Bokhara, who were obliged to occupy themselves in the unwinding of silk on a regular method, and to instruct the inhabitants of the Khanate in that art.* It should be remarked that up to the time of Shah Murad even in Bokhara people were ignorant of working up cocoons, since they did not understand how to unwind the silk by aid of water, and hence could not obtain good threads. From the end, however, of last century the manufacture of silk has been permanently established in Bokhara, and has become a very perceptible branch of industry.

Shah Murad received the Khanate from his father in a state of complete disorder. Internal discords had depopulated the land, and had converted many cultivated portions into a wilderness, while in many places settlements had ceased to exist. The question of populating the Khanate and diffusing agriculture throughout, formed the chief occupation of the new Amir. The measures undertaken by him with this object were crowned with complete success, and the name of Shah Murad became popular and loved amongst the people. He distinctly grasped the fact that agriculture formed the most needful industry of Mawar-ul-Nahr, and that nothing would go so far to secure the economic well-being of his dominion as a regularly devised system of irrigation.

Not one of the Emperors of Bokhara, with the exception of Timur and Abdulla Khan, had the power of thus raising himself to an understanding of the general economic wants

* In Bokhara, Samarkand, Urgut and other towns of the Khanate, looms began to be introduced for the manufacture of silken stuffs, canvas, and half silken stuffs, such as *adrias*. Silken and half silken stuffs came into general use and were exported to a remarkable amount to the neighbouring Begships and Khanates, to the Kirgiz Steppe, and to Russia. Thus in 1862 the silk and silken stuffs exported to Russia *via* Orenburg amounted (according to the custom-house returns) to 170,300 roubles [about £24,325].

of his Empire. In the time of no previous Emperor did the agricultural portion of the population receive such a real and friendly sympathy in works of irrigation as in the time of Shah Murad. Previously the excavations had been carried out by the means either of the Government or of private individuals. In the latter case those lands which were irrigated by the newly excavated canals became the *milkiyat* of the individual who had them constructed. The Imperial Treasury either did not receive any taxes whatever from such lands, or only received them to a limited extent. In this way the canal of Dargam, about 36 miles in length, had been excavated 395 years previously by Khoja Ihrar with the permission of Abdul Aziz Khan, and inasmuch as Khoja Ihrar was reported to be a great saint, all the lands irrigated by the Dargam Canal were given to his descendants as *wukf*, the Government reserving to itself the right of taking two-thirds of the income thereof. On the other hand, when a canal was excavated from Imperial funds, all the lands irrigated thereby were obliged to pay the land taxes (*kheraj* and *tanap*) without any abatement. In view of the fact that the wants of the Empire in regard to irrigation were very considerable, and that the Government was not in a position to satisfy all these wants by its own means: Shah Murad organized on firm principles irrigation works. As a fundamental principle he adhered to the previously existing customs of carrying out these works by specially contracting for the labourers from the landholders. But as a preliminary measure, by means of a special commission of *tanapchas* (land surveyors), he divided his kingdom into circles and these latter into districts (*tumens*). Moreover, in order to gain the means for purchasing the various materials, necessary for carrying on the works, as for instance timber, brushwood, reeds, &c., he introduced a special land tax on this account called *kosh-pul*, the proposed rate being two *tengs* (a *teng*=20 Russian *copecks* or about six pence) from each *kosh** of land. The outcome of this tax was devoted to the special object for which it was raised, and contributed very considerably to the diffusion and improvement of the irrigation system. Therefore it is to be regretted that the successors of this wise sovereign changed the destination

* A *kosh*=48 or 50 *tanaps*, and a *tanap*=625 Russian square *sajca* or 30,625 English square feet.

of the collections, increased them from five to nine fold, and sometimes credited them to Government in common with the direct taxes on the land. Having divided his territory into circles fixed on a basis of land proprietorships, and secured the money expenditure on land by means of the *kosh-pul* tax, Shah Murad finally organized a rural system of labour (*mard-i-vilait*). He notified throughout his Empire regarding the extent of land, thitherto entirely uncultivated, and invited people, desirous of so doing, to irrigate the same and settle upon it. Volunteers appeared in abundance. The land was divided into *kosh*, and distributed amongst the new comers, while not a moment was lost in commencing the work of introducing canals. Laborers were hired at the rate of one man from each *kosh*; the necessary material was prepared and the work commenced in reality. The first of the canals thus constructed was the Urtaboz Aryk, eight miles in length, after which were brought to a conclusion the Allaberdy Karia (6 $\frac{2}{3}$ miles), the Togus Aryk (16 miles), the Tailak (16 miles), the Kara Aryk (13 miles), and many others. In a very short interval of time, some four or five years, an entire system of irrigation canals was constructed, and all the localities irrigated by them were brought under corn cultivation. From that time the irrigation system of the Zarafshan Valley was gradually completed. It is almost unnecessary to add that the honor of introducing this rational management of the irrigation of the valley must, as is clear from the particulars above given, be ascribed to none other than to Shah Murad. This Emperor also devoted his labours to the improvement of his towns, especially of Samarkand. He restored three high schools (*madrassas*), and built a similar number of new ones. Of the seventy mosques in Samarkand almost as many as fifty were erected during his reign.*

While turning his attention to raising the internal well-being of his subjects, the Amir kept a sharp eye upon his neighbours. We have already mentioned his collision with the Khan of Kabul and his conquest of the town of Merve. The affairs of Shahri-Sabz also occupied his deep attention. It should be remarked that the River Kashka Darya, the waters of which irrigate the Begship of Karshi, rises within the limits of this principality, and the Uzbek tribes—the Mangyts, who formed the population of Karshi, and the

* Grebënkin: *Genealogical Table of the Mangyt Dynasty*.

Kenehez, who ruled over Shahri-Sabz—spent all their time in disputes regarding the distribution of the water over their fields, which also formed the chief reason of all the misunderstandings between Bokhara and the principality of the Kenehez. We have already seen that Shahri-Sabz on the death of Rahim Khan declared its independence of Bokhara, and preserved this independence throughout the reign of Daniad. Shah Murad—a wise and powerful monarch and representative of the Mangyts—could not endure the secession of Shahri-Sabz, and without delay declared war. Having subjugated this principality, he appointed, as its Beg and Ruler, Daniar-Atalyk, an Uzbek of the Mangyt Tribe.* In order to strengthen his descendants on the throne of Bokhara, Shah Murad married a granddaughter† of the last representative of the dynasty of Shaibani: he was moreover the first sovereign to adopt the title of 'Amir of Bokhara.'

Shah Murad died in 1799, leaving to his son Amir Hyder Sayyid, who succeeded him, a powerful and well organized realm. On the south Balkh and Hissár sent taxes to the Amir; on the east Oratippe and Khojend were subject to him; ‡ and Shahri-Sabz fulfilled without dispute the commands of Shah Murad. Amir Hyder, surnamed—on account of the protection which he showed to the priesthood, and on account of his hypocrisy—Sayyid (the pure), was not capable of maintaining Bokhara in the powerful position to which his father had exalted it. Known as the Amir-ul-Muminin, *i.e.*, protector of true believers, he spent the greater part of his reign in establishing the exact orders of the Koran and Shariyat throughout the Khanate, and in reforming the morals of his subjects,§ bestowing only a very slender degree of attention on the political position of his dominions, the direct consequence of which was that Bokhara was considerably weakened. Internal discords and external failures constitute the characteristics of his political activity. No sooner did his neighbours and some Uzbek tribes discover the character of the new Amir, than they immediately began to complicate the political affairs of Bokhara. Balkh was the first to set the example: relying on the protection

* Aminof: *Short Historical Notices regarding the Former Relations between Bokhara and Shahri-Sabz.*

† Grebénkin: *Genealogical Table of the Mangyt Dynasty.*

‡ Khanykof: *Description of the Khanate of Bokhara.*

§ Burnes: *Travels into Bokhara.*

afforded by the River Amu Darya, she declared herself no longer subject to Bokhara.* This example was followed by Oratippe, which declared itself independent, while Khojend was occupied by the troops of Kokand. From the side of the Amu Darya the Khanate was open to attacks. In one matter only had Hyder success: he united to Samarkand the Begship of the upper waters of the Zarafshan, and made the Begships of Urgut, Kshtut and Magian subordinate to his superior authority.

By extirpating such people as could in any way hinder the existence of an unrestricted power of their ruler, some more than despotic monarchs have deprived themselves of the possibility of taking advantage in various matters of the guidance of those persons who were capable of forming an impartial judgment on the position of affairs. Such Governments, it is unnecessary to add, have not permitted even a shadow of public opinion, while publicity was allowed in judicial matters alone, and even in the case of the latter, in spite of the deep respect of the Muhammadan world for its written laws, the policy of the Government has lowered the importance of the real court of justice by a system of arbitrary appointment of judges (*Kazis* and *Bias*) and of guardians of ceremonies (*Raises*). The judicial matters of the settled population were decided by their judges according to the *Shariyat* (written law), while the nomads were governed by *adat* (custom), and the Government frequently resorted to the method of judging by *arf*, i.e., arbitrary will.

The population of the Zarafshan Begships consists of Tajiks and Uzbeks, the former predominating in the eastern portions. Of all the Uzbek localities Urgut and Panjikend constituted important points, while their neighbourhood was cultivated and capable of forming a good source of revenue. In a political respect Urgut was of importance as being the centre of the powerful Uzbek Tribe of Minga. The other Begships—Kshtut, Magian, Farab, and those which were distributed along the rivers Yagnab and Fana, and in the eastern part of the Zarafshan, did not hold forward any special temptation to the Amir of Bokhara, though he was anxious to make the latter also subordinate to his influence. These Begships bordered upon the dominions of Shahri-Sabz, which is especially the case with Farab, Hissár, Karategin,

* Khanykof: *Description of the Khanate of Bokhara.*

and on the north with Khojend and Oratippe. Surrounded on all sides by very formidable mountains, the elevation of which over a greater part of their length is higher than the snow line, without roads fit for the movement of caravans, poor, and almost devoid of industry, these Begships in an economic and commercial respect gravitated towards the neighbouring markets: Farab gravitated towards Shahri-Sabz and partly towards Samarkand; Kshtut and Magian towards Urgut (in which there was a bazaar) and to Samarkand; Panjikend had an inconsiderable bazaar of its own, but Samarkand attracted it to itself in a commercial respect; the lands of Falgar with the chief petty town of Urmitan gravitated towards the west; and Warziminor (a part of Falgar) and Fana, situated on the rivers Fana and Yagnab, gravitated partly towards Oratippe and partly to Hissár. Throughout all these lands the population did not exceed 30,000 souls, being scattered over a hundred or more settlements, and did not live on terms of friendship with one another. These Begships took scarcely any part whatever in the historical destinies of Central Asia. The Mongols and Uzbeks, having subdued this portion of Asia, paid no attention at all to the upper waters of the Zarafshan, Urgut excepted, which became the centre of the Uzbek Mings, who gravitated partly towards their neighbours; but when the influence of those neighbours was annihilated in consequence of internal discords, so common in Asia, the Begships of the upper waters of the Zarafshan became independent, produced considerable disturbances amongst themselves, and all the lands became split up into microscopic Begships in consequence. Hyder was the first of the Bokharian Amirs of the Mangyt Dynasty to turn his attention to the lands of the Upper Zarafshan, and the Begships were occupied without difficulty. The Beg of Urmitan fled, and the commander of the Bokharian forces declared Matchi, Falgar, Fana, and Yagnab to be united to Samarkand, and Bokharian governors were at once sent to these Begships. Quiet was established, all the superfluous forts were razed, and this condition of affairs continued to the death of Hyder. With Urgut, Magian, Farap, and Kshtut, the Amir resolved to deal in a similar manner. The Beg of Urgut at that time was an Uzbek of the Mangyt Tribe, named Yuldash Parvanachi, while his son Sultan Beg ruled over Kshtut and Magian.* Two or three years after his accession to the throne, Hyder took captive Yuldash Parvanachi and des-

* Grebénkin : *Remarks regarding the Kohistan.*

patched him to Bokhara, where he ended his life in exile, and Urgut, Magian, and Kshtut were made subject to Bokhara. The sons of Yuldash, Sultan Beg and Katta Beg, escaped from captivity, the latter fleeing to the town of Shahr in Shahri-Sabz. Very soon after the installation of Hyder in the Khanate, the Uzbeks raised a rebellion, the Turkomans being especially dangerous. This inspired Katta Beg with a hope of occupying the dominion of his father. As a matter of fact Katta Beg, when he heard of the weakness of the Amir, appeared in Urgut and proclaimed himself Beg, while to Sultan Beg he gave his previous dominions of Magian and Kshtut. This, however, did not last for long, inasmuch as Amir Hyder, when matters had somewhat settled down with regard to the Uzbeks, again occupied the Begships and expelled the sons of Yuldash Parvanachi.

In the meantime a storm had been brewing: all the eastern provinces rose against the Amir, and Katta Beg, having for his ally Daniar of Shahri-Sabz, marched on Samarkand, of which he made himself master. At this juncture the position of Hyder was very critical, the entire Khanate being on the verge of splitting up into several independent principalities. To extricate himself from this state of affairs he saw but one way: he entered into an agreement with the powerful Turkomans to whom he made various promises, collected an army, and marched against his enemies. In quick succession he occupied Kernine, forced the Ktai-Kipchaks to keep the peace, and then occupied Chalek and Samarkand. After this, while the Amir was preparing himself for the advance on Urgut, Katta Beg, doubting the issue of resistance, proposed peace on the following terms: to give his daughter in marriage to Nazzer Ulla, the Amir's son and heir-apparent, and to declare himself subject to the Amir. On these terms peace was concluded. About this time Sultan Beg died, and was succeeded by Allayar Beg, a son of Katta Beg, in Kshtut and Magian, which remained in the same condition till the death of Hyder. As regards Daniar Atalyk of Shahri-Sabz, Amir Hyder himself proclaimed him independent ruler of that dominion, in acknowledgment of the services which Daniar had rendered to his father Murad. Daniar Atalyk assumed the title *Sallemi* (sovereign)* and reigned independently for 25 years (1811—1836), during which

* Aminof: *Short Historical Notices regarding the Former Relations between Bokhara and Shahri-Sabz.*

Shari-Sabz gained considerably in respect among the Central Asian Khanates and principalities. The Uzbek Ktai and Kipchaks too rose in the eastern portion of Miankala, where these tribes formed the majority. For seven years the insurgents succeeded in holding their own against the Amir, after which the rebellion was put down in a most cruel manner and with great severity: all the representative and rich people among the Uzbeks were put to death without mercy, their possessions being confiscated on behalf of the Crown.*

In spite of these unfortunate political complications at the commencement of the present century, the economical condition of Bokhara was considerably improved under Amir Hyder, who not only continued the irrigation works of Shah Murad throughout the Khanate, but even greatly enlarged upon them. The following canals intersecting the eastern part of the Zarafshan Valley (now the Samarkand District of the Zarafshan Circle) were constructed during his reign: Yarym Tuk (six miles), Gar Tush (four miles), Kurban Abad ($10\frac{1}{2}$ miles), Uklen Jianbek (eight miles), Nar Kislén ($5\frac{1}{2}$ miles), Kotur Bulak (four miles), Chaska Aryk ($5\frac{1}{2}$ miles), Ak Kuran ($2\frac{2}{3}$ miles), Katagan ($5\frac{1}{2}$ miles), Nagman Chagmak (four miles), Azar Bucha ($6\frac{1}{2}$ miles), and Atam Koza ($6\frac{1}{2}$ miles). All of these canals abound in water and irrigate a considerable area by means of numerous channels.

In view of the importance of irrigation to Central Asia it is probably the weightiest of all economical questions. The wealth of Central Asia is concentrated within irrigated oases, from which it is not separable, and without which those vast regions of the Old World would present one wild desert, only haunted by nomad hordes with their large herds of sheep, horses and camels. Now a great number of the *aryks* constructed in the reign of Hyder intersected the *tumens* of Shavdar, Afarinkend, and Sugud about Samarkand, which latter formed the richest *tumen* in East Miankala. In Hyder's time the population of this part of the valley was considerably increased by new comers from the south of Samarkand and the hills separating the Zarafshan Valley from that of the Kashka Darya. It should be borne in mind that 150 to 170 years ago, owing to political causes, the northern part of the present Zarafshan Circle was almost

* Bekchurin: *Shahri-Sabz*.

completely depopulated.* The people then inhabiting the same scattered themselves about the neighbouring countries, one part migrating to Kokand and Tashkend, another to the south into the Amu Darya basin. Many also settled in the vicinity of Urgut (situated 23 miles to the south-east of Samarkand), and on the northern slopes of the hills which extend to the south of the Zarafshan. These latter excavated an *aryk* from the Zarafshan commencing near Panjikend, by means of which they irrigated the southern portion of the present Zarafshan Circle. The main canal that intersected this part of the country, traces of which can still be seen in the Angor *Tumen* of the Samarkand District, and which extended as far as Jama and Ulusa, was named the Kyzyl Bashi Aryk, but also known as the Nadir Shah Aryk, or as the Jui Sabyk. Thus the *Tumen* of Angor became well populated, while the Zarafshan Valley was deserted, in consequence of which it changed into reedy marshes, and overgrew with *koliuchka* (prickly grass) and jungle; while in this condition it was only visited by occasionally passing nomads. About 70 or 80 years ago the banks of the Zarafshan were re-peopled by Shah Murad, who, as previously shewn, invited husbandmen to settle in the valley, and supplied them with the necessary water by constructing a considerable number of new irrigation canals. Meanwhile the desertion of the southern part of the valley was allowed to go on unchecked under Hyder, although he did much towards increasing the population in Zarafshan by extending the network of *aryks* and adding many new canals. This went on until the remaining population in the southern part of the valley became too slender to maintain the proper irrigation of their fields, in consequence of which the Kyzyl Bashi Aryk was at first allowed to run dry, and at last (60 years ago, *i.e.*, before Hyder's death) entirely abandoned. Thus the reign of Hyder was characterized by a diminution of the external prestige of Bokhara, internal discords, and the unbridled sway of the priesthood on the one hand, and by a remarkable increase of the material well-being of the agricultural class on the other. Had Amir Hyder been a man of sufficiently firm character to maintain Bokhara in that condition in which he found the Khanate on the death of his father, later events would not have entailed that complete fall of Bokhara,

* L. Sobolef: *The River Zarafshan and its Irrigation System.*

which has since sealed her fate; in that case his successors, instead of waging war upon war for the recovery of lost provinces, might have devoted their attention to the consolidation of the Empire by the development of agriculture and industry (cotton and silk); and the approach of the Russian power, *i.e.*, of a well organized neighbouring nation under a strong government, would have re-acted beneficially on Bokhara.

Amir Hyder died in 1826 (1827). His exit from the scene gave rise to intrigues in which Hakim Kush-Begi took a leading active part. A short while before his death Hyder repaired to Karshi,* of which his son Nazzer Ulla was at that time Beg. This prince, who had passed the first years of his existence at the court of his father, was no soon-r appointed ruler of the town of Karshi and its circle, than he set to work upon various intrigues which were intended to secure him the succession to his father on the throne of Bokhara, of which he endeavoured to deprive the lawful heir, his elder brother Hussain.† With this object in view he resolved to surround himself by a strong party of men thoroughly devoted to his cause, enlisting amongst others the favor of the principal administrative dignitaries in the city of Bokhara. To secure the good-will of these latter was a measure of the last importance, for without the support of Bokhara the realization of his ambitious scheme was highly improbable. With presents and kind treatment he began to bribe the most influential among the sepoy, being lavish in his promises to them with regard to the future, and among the Bokharian dignitaries he thus succeeded in attaching to himself Hakim, the Kush-Begi, and Amar Said Ayaz, the Topchi-Bashi (formerly a slave), the two most influential personages at that time.

Amir Hyder passed only fifteen days at Karshi. On the return journey to Bokhara he became so ill that he was obliged to halt two days on the road, and on arrival at the capital he remained bed-ridden for a fortnight, till on the fifteenth day death released him. Concealing the Amir's demise from the court Hakim Kush-Begi convened an assemblage of all the Bokharian commanders and State dignitaries, and put them the following question: "Amir Hyder is still

* *Two Narratives* by Mirza Shems Bukhari. See the "Works of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Archaeological Society," VIII., 1864.

† Khanykof: *Description of the Bokharian Khanate*.

alive ; but when he dies, which of his sons do you desire to elect as our sovereign after him ?" The reply was that the choice depended on his (Hakim's) pleasure. All knew that the Kush-Begi had decided in favor of Nazzer Ulla, and that a military force of 2,000 men had been prepared by him purposely to enforce his will. But, on the other hand, they knew as well that the inhabitants of Bokhara and almost every Government servant would be found on the side of Mir Hussain, Hyder's eldest son and heir-apparent, who was well liked on account of his kindness and learning. Hussain was at that time staying in the suburbs of the capital and had no information of his father's death. In answer to the above quoted reply the Kush-Begi said : " I want to seat Nazzer Ulla on the throne of Bokhara ; you must now and forthwith swear allegiance to him." The oath of allegiance to Nazzer Ulla was indeed sworn there and then, after which, Hyder's demise having been proclaimed in the capital, a courier was immediately despatched to Nazzer Ulla with the news of his father's death, and of his own election to the throne. During the night following on the same day, the lawful heir Hussain too was informed at Bazaar-i-Khoja of what had taken place, the informant at the same time advising him to take immediate measures if he did not wish to find himself a prisoner within a few hours.

Amir Hyder left five sons, of whom Mir Hussain was the eldest and Nazzer Ulla the second ; the remaining three, being under age at the death of their father, were Bire Khan, Gamze Khan, and Safder Khan—16, 14 and 14 years of age respectively. The position of Mir Hussain was desperate. His entire retinue scarcely numbered thirty men, for the late Amir, fearing his eldest son, who was a favorite with the army and the people, had at last divested him of all authority, at the same time depriving him of the troops under his command. Previously Hussain had commanded a force of 4,000 men, and for four years he was entrusted with the administration of Kermine ; but after that his father appointed him Ruler of Samarkand, from which post, as well as from the list of generals, he was removed a year later. At first Hussain contemplated to flee to Shahri-Sabz, but on second thought he abandoned the idea and resolved boldly to enter the capital. Addressing his small suite he said : " To undertake a long march we are not strong enough and shall all be killed on the road ; therefore it is better to start for the gates of the castle (citadel, *ark*),

and if we perish, let us perish honorably."* Upon this many of his adherents and servants deserted him. With eleven Jiggits Hussain entered the capital through the city gateway of Bokhara, announced the death of his father to the assembled people, and declared his intention of going to the castle. To all who would aid his cause he promised favors. At the head of an indifferently armed crowd of people he was at last approaching the gates of the citadel; but finding them closed the crowd lost courage and dispersed. Upon this Hussain entered on negotiations. From the citadel he was informed that the Amir was still among the living. "If he is alive," replied Hussain, "I have come to pay him a visit, but if dead, I claim my right to succeed him. The only answer to this speech from the citadel was a shower of stones. At this juncture appeared two fanatics (*divans*) and urged the followers of Hussain to make haste. The besieging party, immediately acting upon their advice, ran up to the gate, succeeded in knocking down one of the planks, and threw it open, upon which Hussain with his thirty supporters went in. The troops fled and the *ark* was at once occupied by Hussain's people. Those who had already sworn allegiance to Nazzar Ulla soon appeared before the lawful successor to the throne and bowed to him. Hakim Kush-Begi, on being brought before his presence, confessed his intrigues and begged for mercy, and the good natured Hussain pardoned him.

On the following morning proclamations informing the people of the accession to the throne of the new Amir were sent to every town throughout the Khanate, including Karshi. In the meantime Nazzar Ulla, having received the Kush-Begi's letter regarding his election, had set out with 700 to 800 men, and was already approaching the capital. On the road to it, about 65 miles from the city,† he got a letter from Hussain informing him of the accession to the throne of his elder

* In another copy of his *Narratives*, Mirza Shems attributes these words to Hussain's mother.

† Khanykof (*Description of the Bokharian Khanate*) describes this march as follows: "Hakim Kush-Begi informed him (Nazzar Ulla) of this (the demise of his father), but the adherents of Hussain Khan succeeded to possess themselves of the citadel, and Nazzar Ulla's march on Bokhara proved a failure in consequence. Having camped for some time about Faizabad and visited the grave of Bogu Eddin, he went home [to Karshi] from whence he sent a courier to Hussain with an assurance of his friendship." We have adopted Mirza Shem's version as the more authentic of the two: in the first place Nazzar Ulla could not have reached Bokhara so soon (Bogu Eddin's grave is situated near the capital); and secondly, he would surely have put his luck to the test of a battle if he actually had succeeded in reaching it.

brother. On receipt of this news the disappointed Nazzer Ulla returned to Karshi, shut himself up in the stronghold, and sent a courier to Hussain with the assurance of his friendship.

Bokhara unanimously rejoiced over the accession of the good-natured and wise Hussain, and presents for the new Amir poured in from all parts of the Khanate. The army and the people swore allegiance to him, and the Amir was distributing rewards and presents. In the meantime Nazzer Ulla had not given up his ambitious designs, and was energetically pursuing his political intrigues. His next step was to secure the support of Mumin Bia Datha, ruler of Hissár* by Hussain's appointment, in whom he found an ally to his plans. On the arrival of Mumin Bia Datha at Karshi, Nazzer Ulla convened a council to which he invited all influential personages. In order to elicit a palpable proof of his devotion the ruler of Hissár was requested to supply funds for the hire of troops. Mumin Bia promised to advance the required sum of money, but demanded letters of credit (Russian : *yarlyks*) from Nazzer Ulla to his adherents. Nazzer had just consented to this arrangement, when the news reached Karshi that a change had taken place in the Government of Bokhara. Amir Hussain did not long occupy the throne. Two months after his accession he fell sick,† and feeling his approaching end, convoked a secret council, which he addressed as follows : " If it be the Lord's will that I should not recover from my illness and Mir Nazzer Ulla succeeds me, he will put to death every one of my adherents ; therefore it appears to me that the best course to be followed is to call hither my brother Omar Khan‡ from Kermine ; let him stay near the capital : if my life is spared, he can return to Kermine, but if I die, he must enter the city and succeed me." On receipt of this resolution Omar Khan with a force of 5,000 men immediately started for Shirbudin (2½ miles from Bokhara), where he encamped himself to watch events. Twenty days later, on Hussain's demise, Omar forthwith occupied the capital and declared

* Khanykof (*Description of the Bokharian Khanate*) writes *Khúzdár*, by which he probably meant the Hissár Province, then forming one of the largest sub-divisions of the Khanate. Moreover Hissár extended to the east of Karshi and was connected with Bokhara by means of that town.

† *Two Narratives* by Mirza Shems Bukhari. See the "Works of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Archaeological Society," VIII., 1864.

‡ [On page 14 the author did not mention "Omar Khan" among the sons of Hyder.]—*Ivs.*

himself Amir of Bokhara. The people swore allegiance to the new sovereign, and the throne had again slipped from Nazzer Ulla, which on this occasion he should have lawfully occupied.*

Upon this, at the request of Nazzer, the Kazy Kalan of Karshi wrote a letter to the clergy and laity of Samarkand, in which he exhorted them to stand by Nazzer Ulla as the senior and lawful heir to the throne, while Nazzer himself at the same time deputed a special embassy to Shahri-Sabz to conclude a treaty of friendship. The leaders of this embassy were Mahomed Alim Beg and Rahim Berdy Mazum; the latter subsequently became one of Nazzer's favorites. The mission was successful: Nazzer secured the support of Hissár, and began to entertain friendly relations with that strong neighbour, at the same time instigating the Begship of Samarkand to disturbances. Indeed, the whole east and south of the Khanate was soon involved in the intrigue; for, backed by his good title to the throne as senior by birth, Nazzer Ulla acted with greater resolution, and played a bolder game in view of almost certain success, than he had ventured upon against his elder brother Hussain. Having appointed Mahomed Murad Bia and Berdy Nazar Datha (two of his dignitaries) to be viceroys of Karshi, Nazzer Ulla set out with a hastily collected small detachment of troops, marched rapidly over the steppe between Karshi and Samarkand, which was snow-bound at the time, † and appeared under the

* Burnes [*Travels into Bokhara*] says of Hussain that after a reign of fifty days his death was not free from suspicion of foul play, inasmuch as his minister, the Kush-Begi, was suspected to have poisoned him. Khanykof too (*Description of Bokhara*) writes: "Amir Hussain died three months after his accession to the throne, it is even said from poison, administered by the Kush-Begi." Mirza Shems, however, being a contemporary of what he describes, makes no mention of poison, and the omission of such a point on his part contradicts it.

† This remark about snow in the steppe is an important hint in respect to chronology; it bears upon the question as to the exact year in which Nazzer Ulla ascended to the throne. Amir Hyder died in the year 1242 of the Hijri era which corresponds to the time from the 17th August 1826 to the 7th July 1827 A.D. Amir Hussain reigned about three months (according to Khanykof, Mirza Shems and Grebénkin). Omar Khan reigned six months (Grebénkin), which agrees with Mirza Shems: viz., after three months Nazzer Ulla set out for Samarkand; from thence he marched to Katta Kurgan, and at last to Bokhara. In addition to the time taken up by these marches the capital was besieged for 55 days (14 days according to Khanykof, and 50 days according to Burnes). Consequently Hussain and Omar Khan after him reigned not less than nine months. Now under the supposition that Hyder's death took place in the first month of 1242, the ninth month following would fall upon May [old style], in which there could not have been any snow in the steppe between Karshi and Samarkand. Even the hills in that part do not exceed 2,000 feet in height (near Jam), and snow could only have fallen in November at the earliest, which month corresponds to one of the months appertaining to the year 1243 of the Hijri era. Thus, supposing 1242 (1826-1827) to be the year in which Nazzer Ulla

walls of Samarkand. In the mean time Omar Khan had reinforced Samarkand by a detachment under the command of Yar Mahomed Bia, and strictly enjoined the order upon Mahomed Jaffer Bia, the Commandant of Samarkand, not to surrender the town without a fight for it. Nevertheless this order was ignored: the letter from the Kazy Kalan of Karshi had done its duty, and the clergy as well as the inhabitants of Samarkand were on the side of the lawful pretender. The town and Omar's own forces joined Nazzer's cause, who, having entered into Samarkand and occupied the seat on the *kok-tash* * proclaimed himself Amir of Bokhara. On his return from Shahri-Sabz Mahomed Alim Beg was appointed Commandant of Samarkand in the room of Mahomed Jaffer Bia, whom the new Amir retained on his personal staff, because he did not trust him to the same extent as Alim. From Samarkand Nazzer Ulla advanced on Katta Kurgan which was taken in one day.

Omar Khan made desultory preparations to meet his adversary. The detachment which he sent to reinforce Samarkand went over to Nazzer Ulla. Omar himself occupied Kermine with an army of 15,000 men,† from whence he despatched emissaries to Katta Kurgan and other neighbouring towns with solicitations to the local commandants to remain true to his cause.‡ The emissaries, however, without even having reached their destinations, returned with the news of the loss of Samarkand, and informed Omar Khan that his elder brother had been proclaimed Amir at that town. Once master of Katta Kurgan, Nazzer from thence quickly subdued the neighbouring towns of Panj-Shambe, Chalek,§ and Yany-Kurgan. From Kermine Omar sent 10,000 men to oppose his further advance; but this force too, instead of giving battle, went over to Nazzer Ulla. Upon this misfortune Omar appointed the Kush-Begi Hakim's son, Abdulla Khan, Ruler of Kermine,|| and retreated

acceded to the throne, he cannot by any means have assumed the reign earlier than in the winter of 1827, but to all probability he did not occupy the throne before the commencement of 1828. According to Khanykof, Nazzer Ulla took Bokhara and entered the palace on the 3rd April 1826, which implies a difference of two years. Unfortunately I possess no information regarding the money, which was coined at Bokhara during the years 1242 and 1243 of the Hijri era; by means of such coins it would be an easy matter to settle the question.

* *Two Narratives* by Mirza Shems Bukhari.

† Khanykof: *Description of the Bokharian Khanate*.

‡ *Two Narratives* by Mirza Shems Bukhari.

§ Khanykof: *Description of the Bokharian Khanate*.

|| *Two Narratives* by Mirza Shems Bukhari.

to the city of Bokhara, whither he was followed by Nazzer, to whom Abdulla Khan, by order of his father, opened the gates of Kermine without a stroke. After this Nazzer was also joined by his three younger brothers,* and Omar Khan, having started with 5,000 men from Kermine, at last found himself completely deserted, and arrived with but 500 men at the capital, with whom he shut himself up in the citadel. Nazzer established his head-quarters at Bazarchi, two miles from the city, and the siege commenced on the 19th February. The defenders soon began to suffer from famine; meat rose to nearly four shillings and six pence per pound; bread was being carried in coffins to hide it from the assailants; and to consummate the misfortune Nazzer Ulla succeeded in cutting off all water supplies from the famished city. At last the suffering population demanded negotiations, and the Kush-Begi together with Ayaz, the Topchi-Bashi, the two most influential personages in the capital, who had already assured the pretender of their attachment to his cause, sent a letter to Nazzer Ulla in which they proposed to surrender the city, provided that no harm would befall the inhabitants.† On the 2nd April (according to Khanykof) the besieging forces commenced to storm the capital on two sides. Ayaz Topchi-Bashi (commander of the artillery) opened the Imam city gates to the assailants, while Hakim Kush-Begi openly went over to Nazzer Ulla. The first deed of the victorious pretender on entering the capital was to kill 700 of Omar's adherents.‡ Omar himself escaped to Herat, and afterwards proceeded to Kokand, where he died three years after his flight from Bokhara.§ Nazzer Ulla finally declared himself Amir of Bokhara, and at first kept his three younger brothers about his own person; subsequently he appointed them commandants of Fort Zezum (Nere-Zum) where they were put to death by his order.

Thus Nazzer Ulla had rid himself of pretenders and could tranquilly devote his attention to the administration of

* Burnes: *Travels into Bokhara*. Also Khanykof.

† Khanykof: *Description of the Bokharian Khanate*.

‡ *Two Narratives* by Mirza Shems Bukhari. According to Burnes, Nazzer Ulla without further opposition assumed the reign, commencing it by condemning to death thirty of his brother's most influential supporters. Not less cruelly did he behave towards his three younger brothers, who were removed to one of his estates on the Oxus and there put to death by his order, to forestall a possible sedition on their part. (See *Travels into Bokhara*.) Differing from the above quoted authorities Khanykof does not mention Nazzer's sanguinary proceedings.

§ According to Burnes he fled to Herat, from thence to Bokhara, and finally to Kokand, where he died of fever.

the Khanate. He resolved to regain the frontier tracts which had been torn from Bokhara, to establish a force of regular infantry and artillery, and to restore his realm to that elevated position which it occupied during the reign of his grandsire Shah Murad. Craftiness and firmness of character, these were the prominent traits of Amir Nazzer Ulla Bahadur Khan Melik-el-Mumenin. The desire to secure himself firmly on the throne was a sufficient reason in his estimation to justify the assassination of his own brothers. Indeed, in despotic countries such a line of action towards blood-relatives is regarded wise policy: a sovereign who extirpates those of his own kin-people who by any chance might become pretenders to the throne, offers a sacrifice for the peace of his dominions, as it were. Despotic rulers establish their authority on the fear of the subject, and never trouble themselves to govern on principles of justice, nor do the strong ever permit that they can be in the wrong. The wily craftiness of Nazzer especially shewed itself in his bearing towards Hakim, the Kush-Begi, who had betrayed the trust of both his brothers Hussain and Omar, and Ayaz, the Topchi-Bashi, whose aid had materially contributed towards his own success. At first the new Amir displayed much trust in them, not, however, without having secretly determined on the destruction of both at all hazards. Their intrigues against Omar naturally warned Nazzer that a similar line of action might be adopted against himself, and regarding the matter in this light his resolution in respect to them was a necessary measure of precaution for his own safety. Upon his accession to the throne Nazzer invested the Kush-Begi with almost sovereign authority, while Ayaz was appointed Beg of Samarkand. Amongst others the Kush-Begi held the office of chief collector of trade dues, including the *ziaket* and the so-called *savaim ziaket* (a tax on cattle). The *ziaket* on trade was levied from all merchandize imported into the Khanate, as well as from all transit goods passing through the same, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* for Mussulman, and five per cent. *ad valorem* for Christian traders. The *savaim ziaket* was chiefly imposed on the herds of the nomads, but also on those of farmers; subject to this tax were sheep, goats and camels. Owing to her geographical situation Bokhara at large has always been a prosperous commercial country, while the outlying tracts of the Khanate formed suitable abodes for numerous nomad tribes with their extensive herds of cattle. Hence it may be presumed that the various *ziaket* dues yielded a considerable revenue to the State, and at the time

of Nazzer Ulla the income from this source in all probability amounted to a million roubles [about £142,850],* for during the first half of this century as many as 15,000 camels annually passed through the capital.† Having made over his authority to the Kush-Begi, the new Amir at first apparently abandoned himself to life's pleasures; still, while doing so, he was also striving to appear a good-natured and just sovereign before the people. Towards the clergy he was in the full sense of the word a patron, and therefore began to be regarded as a staunch upholder of Islamism.‡ Owing to the trust shewn him by the Amir, the Kush-Begi forgot his anxieties and fully trusted in the firmness of his position. When absenting himself from the capital the Amir invariably put Hakim in charge of the citadel and the treasury, which, however, was also an established custom with his predecessors, since the Kush-Begis had always been regarded as the Governors of the capital during the journeys of the Amirs. On the accession of Nazzer Ulla to the throne Hakim was 53 years of age. Being a Mangyt Uzbek by birth, and a cunning clever man, he had acquired an extensive knowledge in respect to the financial administration of the Khanate, and was intimately acquainted with the political condition of the neighbouring countries. Thus, zealously performing his duties, he was wielding his power with a firm hand, unsuspecting of the fact that he was treading on a volcano. His father had occupied the same office before him, and the post of Kush-Begi was regarded by Hakim as hereditary appertaining to his family; moreover, his numerous relatives all held high offices under Government. Hakim was well disposed towards Europeans in general, and towards the English in particular.

Shortly after Nazzer Ulla had commenced his reign the Uzbeks renewed their sedition which had been suppressed by his father, and with short intervals the period of these internal discords lasted from 1815 to 1835.§ The scene of disturbance was Miankal, the most populous part of the Khanate, and the principal actors were the Ktai Kipchaks and Mings of the Uzbek stock. Having fortified themselves

* In 1871 the *ziaket* dues amounted to 400,000 roubles [about £57,140] for the city of Bokhara alone, exclusive of the *saraim* or cattle tax, and now the Khanate of Bokhara is reduced to less than one-half of what she was at the commencement of the present century.

† Khanykof.

‡ Burnes.

§ Grebénkin: *The Uzbeks*.

at numerous points, and appointed their own Bega, these unruly tribes constantly waged war against the Government and with one another : robberies, murders, and internal discord were rife, and at last threatened to ruin the richest part of the Zarafshan Valley. Amir Hyder and his son Nazzer employed all their strength to bridle the turbulent Uzbeks, and from time to time their forces took by storm up to a hundred of the small forts erected by the mutineers,* until at last, after 1835, the disturbed region gradually calmed down to something like peace, though on the other hand the Uzbek population of the same conceived an implacable hatred against the Amirs of Bokhara from that time.

Having restored quiet in the eastern part of the Khanate Nazzer Ulla resolved to accomplish his design with regard to the abasement of the Kush-Begi. Towards the end of 1837,† then a man of 64 years of age, Hakim was at first removed to Karshi, from thence to Nurata, and finally thrust into a dungeon at Bokhara. Having disposed of Hakim, the Amir turned his attention to Ayaz, then Beg of Samarkand. On receipt of a summons to appear at Bokhara the latter fully expected to share the fate of the Kush-Begi ; on this occasion, however, his fears proved to have been premature, for the Amir received him in a very gracious manner and sent him back to his own residence, dismissing him with great honors and numerous presents. The following incident is especially notable as illustrating the depth of Nazzer Ulla's spitefulness and craft : on the presentation of a magnificent steed to Ayaz, Nazzer personally assisted him to mount the saddle‡ ; somewhat frightened by such an unusual attention, and rightly suspecting that it bade no good to himself, Ayaz forthwith alighted and with great humility asked the Amir's pardon for all acts by which he might have offended him in the past ; Nazzer, without shewing a sign of displeasure, continued in his gracious bearing, and thereby thoroughly lulled Ayaz's apprehensions, although shortly afterwards the Beg of Samarkand was for the second time summoned to Bokhara, and on his arrival consigned to the same dungeon with his father-in-law, the Kush-Begi, where in the beginning of 1840 both were put to death by Nazzer Ulla's command. The Amir's conduct towards

* Grebénkin: *The Uzbeks*.

† Khanykok.

‡ Khanykof.

these dignitaries, who had on many occasions faithfully served him, clearly depicts his spiteful and crafty, suspicious, cruel, and withal cowardly character. It should be added that the material well-being of the Samarkand Begship was considerably raised during Ayaz's administration. He devoted particular attention to the development of irrigation, and among the many new canals which were constructed in his time it is sufficient to name the *aryks* of Orda Malik (2 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles), Bahy Zagan (nine miles), and Shardak (above 20 miles), in order to understand that he was not blind to the interests of national economy, and actively devoted himself to the utilization of the natural resources of the country.

The anxieties arising in connection with the insurrection of the Uzbeks were constantly preventing the Amir from giving effect to his design in respect to the government of the Khanate. Having put an end to the political activity of Hakim and Ayaz, Nazzer Ulla next resolved to destroy the influence of the Sepoys and to weaken the power of the clergy. He had evidently conceived the plan to base his sovereign authority on the terror of an oppressed people, in preference to founding it on the support of a party, or on the alliance with anybody whosoever in the Khanate. Hence arose his desire to establish a regular army, by means of which he contemplated to acquire a power that would not depend from the good-will of priests or any political faction, and be thoroughly subordinate to his own will. To this end the Amir started an unmerciful persecution of the Sepoys, confiscating their possessions, sending many into banishment, and consigning them to death under cruelties by the hands of executioners. When these things took place Nazzer Ulla had at last thrown off his mask and acted in conformity to his true character, which, once disclosed, intimidated all around him, not one of whom dared to offer the faintest remonstrance. The Amir no longer feared anybody.

Shortly after the commencement of his reign Nazzer Ulla undertook to restore Shahri-Sabz to Bokhara, but the first campaign for this purpose was not crowned with success. People who took a part in it relate that on the approach to the towns of Shahri-Sabz the Amir was surveying the country before him through a field-glass, and observing how enthusiastically the Kenehez and other tribes were swarming to the defence of their country, and how orderly their forces were moving about, he remarked : " A fortunate people,

these inhabitants of Shahri-Sabz: nature herself defends them." On the side from which it was possible to approach the principal towns of Shahr and Kitab the ground formed an extensive marsh.*

In the task of introducing a regular army Nazzar Ulla was profoundly assisted by a remarkable political adventurer named Naib Abdu Samed, who was born in Persia in the town of Tavriz. Naib had committed murder while serving in the Persian army, for which he was condemned to death, but evaded justice by escaping to British India, where he found employment in the service of a Persian emigrant related to Futteh Ali Shah. Having slain and robbed his new master he was for the second time condemned to death, but again managed to make his escape. Next we find him in the service of Dost Mahomed of famous renown at Kabul, where he was once more threatened by capital punishment. Entertaining a grudge against Dost's son, he fired a pistol upon him; but a timely flight for the third time saved his life. This time he went to Bokhara and gained the friendship of the Rais. It was through the latter that he offered his services for the introduction of a regular army to Nazzar Ulla, who readily secured the aid of an experienced and adroit man of Naib's stamp; and henceforth the latter became an influential grandee of the Khanate. Generally speaking, the Bokharian forces were badly organized when Naib assumed his new office. On the succession of Nazzar to the throne the entire army comprised 20,000 horse and 400 foot with 41 pieces of artillery; in addition to this there was a militia force amounting to 50,000 men, which could be further increased by Turkoman cavalry. The latter, however, were but sparingly employed by the Amirs; for, receiving no pay, the Turkomans frequently committed terrible robberies within the Khanate. The troops lacked every trace of discipline, were seldom placed under one general authority, and, being levied from among the Uzbek tribes, they more readily subordinated themselves to their own immediate superior, the Bias, who did not always act solidarily with the supreme Government, than to the latter. The armament was of the worst description, comprising but a very small

* Galkin: *Ethnographical and Historical Materials relating to Central Asia and the Orenburg Region*. According to another eye-witness the Amir expressed his idea in the following words: "If the people of Shahri-Sabz would submit themselves to my authority, I should form them into a regular army, and by means of such a force I would undoubtedly possess myself of all neighbouring Mussulman dominions."

percentage of fire-arms : pikes, swords, knives, and *batiks* *— these were the prominent weapons of the Bokharian forces in the time of Nazzer Ulla. Of orderly systematical movements on the march and in the field of battle they had no idea : irregularly throwing themselves upon an enemy with much shouting, they used to flee after the slightest check, considering themselves finally defeated. The artillery was in the most miserable condition imaginable ; indeed the Bokhariots did not care to take their guns into action, which frequently lay idle for a long time without being used at all.

Within a very short space of time Bokhara witnessed the formation of several hundred of regular infantry, called *sarbazes*.† The newly introduced force was provided with a special uniform, armed, drilled, subjected to discipline, and to a certain extent removed from the sphere of clerical influence. Under certain favorable circumstances the priesthood (always a body of the last significance to the Khanate) might have used their power to the best advantage of the realm. In the Asiatic Mussulman States everything is unconditionally governed by the Koran and the Shariyat, and the written law puts in a veto against everything that is not already anticipated by its statutes ; even the most despotic princes subject themselves to the Shariyat, and endeavour to justify all their resolutions and mandates by the rules laid down in the Code of the Prophet. On this occasion, however, Nazzer Ulla acted against his character as a protector of the Islam ; but he did it for his own personal benefit, since he wanted to possess himself of a force that was to be entirely at his own command, and by means of which he could crush every opposition, even that of the clergy not excepted. The priests were obviously dissatisfied with the formation of the *sarbazes*, and beginning to suspect the Amir of insincerity, entertained apprehensions for the integrity of their influence. But Nazzer Ulla, openly pursuing a path of perfect independence, no longer paid the least attention to their wishes and continued to act at his own pleasure.

During the latter part of his reign Nazzer waged war with Shahri-Sabz and Kokand. Daniar Atalyk of

* Sticks with a thick, frequently ball-shaped, copper or cast iron knob at the end.

† Further on the reader will find some complementary details in respect to Naib Abdu Samed, and the manner in which the *sarbazes* were called into existence.

Shahri-Sabz, who died in 1836, was succeeded by his sons, of whom the elder, Khoja Kul, held court at Shahr (from 1836 to 1846), and the second, Baba Datha, at Kitab. The brothers fell out and commenced to war upon one another, of which circumstance Nuzzer resolved to avail himself for his own purposes, one of which was the desire of avenging an old grudge against the late Daniar Atalyk, who had affronted Nuzzer by refusing his daughter in marriage, upon his sons. This second campaign, too, ended in the defeat of the Bokhariots. Khoja Kul, having driven his brother from Kitab, collected an army and gained a decisive victory over the Amir's forces, which suffered great losses. Subsequently Nuzzer Ulla made an attempt to conclude a treaty with Khoja Kul, of whom he asked armed aid against the Kokandians; but the ruler of Shahri-Sabz wisely chose the friendship of weak and distant Kokand in preference to that of the powerful Khanate of Bokhara, and concluded a treaty with the former. This exasperated the Amir to the last degree of endurance, and in his wrath he passed an order that the Bokharian cavalry should depasture the fields of Shahri-Sabz. Twice a year Nuzzer renewed his attacks upon Khoja Kul's dominion, and for twenty years peace was almost annually concluded, to be as often broken on the setting in of the favourable seasons for warfare. This long contest survived Khoja Kul, who died in 1846. In order to encroach upon the freedom of the enemy, Nuzzer had his territory surrounded by a circle of small fortifications, the garrisons of which were under orders to molest the people of Shahri-Sabz on every possible chance. Some of these fortifications were destroyed by the forces of Iskander, but the scale of success began obviously to incline towards the side of Bokhara. At last the old despot Nuzzer hit upon the plan of subduing his sworn foes by hunger: the importation of provisions into Shahri-Sabz was prohibited, and salt, which used to be supplied from Karshi, rose to twenty roubles [nearly three pounds sterling] per pood (36·113lbs. avoirdupois) in consequence. Nevertheless the fighting was still continued, and before it had terminated Nuzzer Ulla made war upon Kokand. But, in order to understand the cause of hostilities between Bokhara and Kokand, we must necessarily devote a chapter to the events in the last named Khanate which preceded that memorable contest.

II.

The Ming Dynasty in Kokand—Narbuta Bey and his successors—The Kokandians in the low country of the Syr Darya—The Karakalpaks are forced to migrate to Khiva—Mahomed Omar Khan—Mahomed Ali Khan, and his contest with the Chinese in Kashgar.

IN Nazzar Ulla's time the Kokandians were in possession of extensive territories to the east of Samarkand and Jizak. At that period the throne of Kokand was occupied by the Ming Dynasty of Uzbek origin, whose reign dated from the end of the xviiith century,* when a certain Narbuta Bey, one of the representatives of the Mings, declared himself Khan of Kokand. The reign of Narbuta still remains an obscure page in the history of Kokand, and the same applies more or less to the times of his successors, Alim Khan and Mahomed Omar Khan.† On Narbuta's accession to the throne the Khanate comprised the city of Kokand, and the towns of Margelan, Andijan and Namangan, together with the circles appertaining to them, while the towns of Turkestan, Chimkend and Sairam still formed an independent principality under the rule of Kirgiz Sultans, and Kurama with Oratippe, Jizak, and Khojend, constituted a separate and independent dominion of Khudayar Atalyk,‡ Yunus Khoja at the same time ruling at Tashkend. These three petty States, which were also independent of one another, were fiercely contesting among themselves, until Alim Khan, who was a contemporary of Khudayar Atalyk, shortly after his accession succeeded in annihilating their independence. Regarding the exact year of Narbuta's elevation to the throne and the date of his death history is silent; such records as have been discovered only tend to show that his reign commenced at the close of the last century, and that his son Alim Khan reigned during the second half of 1801 and the first half of 1802.§

* [This appears to be an uncorrected error of the press; it should be xviiith century, as the reader will presently observe towards the end of this paragraph.]—*Ivs.*

† V. V. Grigoryef: "Contemporaneous Coins of the Kokandian Khanate." See the *Works of the Oriental Section of the Imp. Archaeological Society*, Vol. II., 1856.

‡ De Fulstein-Herbuta: *Historical Notes on the Political Revolutions in the Turkestan Principalities since 1856.*

§ P. S. Savelyef: "A List of hitherto discovered Coins of the Kokandian Khanate" (*Works of the Oriental Section of the Imp. Archaeological Society*, Vol. II., 1856): "Alim reigned under the title of *Beg* or *Bia* (Alim Beg); period: second half of 1801 and first half of 1802; coin No. 27."

In the time of Alim Khan (or Beg), *i.e.*, at the commencement of the present century and after the subjection of Khojend, Tashkend, and Turkestan, the Kokandians also appeared in the low country of the Syr Darya, made war upon the Karakalpaks, and compelled them to migrate from their old homesteads to Khivan territory. Thereupon Mahomed Rahim, the Khan of Khiva, appointed three Mushrifs for the collection of taxes from the new comers. These Mushrifs began to exact the taxes on agriculture which were payable in kind, and as the Karakalpaks led a semi-nomadic life and had scarcely established themselves properly in a new country, they soon rose against the collectors and complained to the Khan. To put an end to, and prevent such disputes for the future, Mahomed Rahim convoked all the Elders of the Karakalpaks, who agreed upon the following *modus operandi*: (1) to pay a lump sum of 20,000 small tills per annum; (2) to furnish 2,000 warriors; and (3) to supply annually 6,000 farm laborers. Thus the first appearance of the Kokandians on the lower course of the Syr Darya resulted in the expulsion of an entire human race of very industrious and submissive habits, without the smallest benefit to themselves, and the abandoned fields of the Karakalpaks became wastes.

Alim Khan was succeeded by his brother Mahomed Omar Khan, who was a poet, loved music, and patronized the sciences.* The year of his accession to the throne is doubtful, 1810 being probably the most correct version.† Omar entertained negotiations with China which had reference to the Province of Kashgar, and in 1813 the Emperor of China undertook to pay annually 22,600 roubles [about £3,220] to the Khan of Kokand, in return for which the latter was to prevent the Khojas from crossing the frontier into Altysahr.‡ In 1814 Omar subjected the Turkestan Principality of the Kirgiz Sultans, and captured the Capital Turkestan, known as Azret-Sultan in the steppes,§ and in

* De Fulstein-Herbuta.

† "The Khanate of Kokand according to the Latest Investigations." (*Voyenny Zbornik*, 1868-69). According to P. S. Savelyef, Omar Khan reigned in 1821 (1822.)

‡ "The Khanate of Kokand, &c." (*Voyenny Zbornik*, 1868-69).

§ Patanin: "Notes on the Khanate of Kokand" (*Vestnik of the Imp. Russ. Geogr. Soc.*, Vol. VI., 1855.) "Till 1814, when the Turkestan Principality was subjected by the Kokandians, it was an independent State under its own rulers. Now it forms a Kokandian province, and is goverend by Kokandian regents. The dominion lies between the Kirgiz sand steppes to the north, Bokhara to the west, the territory of the Black (*Dikokamennyye*) Kirgiz to the south, and the River Chu (Chui) to the east. The provincial capital, Turkestan, otherwise called Azret-Sultan, is regarded as a

1816 he waged war with Bokhara;* but regarding the events and incidents of this contest history tells us nothing.

Omar was succeeded by his son Mahomed Ali Khan (1822—1842),† under whom the Kokandian Khanate at first rose to unprecedented greatness and power. Towards the end of his reign, however, Kokand was conquered by Amir Nazzar Ulla, and the entire Khanate became a Bokharian province. Mahomed Ali Khan, who was not above fourteen years of age when he occupied the throne of his father, became a very powerful man, standing six feet five inches, on maturity. Unfortunately in the case of his reign too, the extant historical records contain nothing except what is known about the war with Bokhara, and some episodes regarding the Kashgarian campaign. In the commencement of his reign Mahomed Ali was favored by fortune: enlarging the Kokandian Khanate by several extensive acquisitions, his name became well known in China and Russia, acquired a terrible sound in the highland region about the head waters of the Syr Darya, and became hateful to the Amir of Bokhara. Unfortunately Ali Khan, having personally taken the field against Nazzar Ulla towards the close of the third decade, ignominiously fled from the scene of battle, and gave up province after province to the enemy.

During the first years of his rule Ali Khan's attention was turned to the affairs of Altyshahr. From Kashgar and several other towns of East Turkestan, the Chinese had expelled the Khojas as far back as the middle of the XVIIIth century, and by the aid of Mahomed Yusuf Khoja, one of the descendants of the Khoja Dynasty of Kashgar, who had at one time resided in Bokhara, Ali resolved to conquer East

holy spot Tashkend too had formerly its own ruler, but now (1829-30) constitutes a province of Kokand. This province extends to that of Turkestan in the north, to Bokhara in the west, the Kendyr-Tau Mountains in the south, and to the territory of the Black Kirgiz in the east. The confines of Kokand proper, before the acquisition of these principalities, were formed by Kashgar in the east, the Beldy-Duan range of mountains in the south, the Kendyr-Tau Mountains in the west, and by the territory of the Black Kirgiz in the north." The annexation of the Turkestan Principality is ascribed to the year 1814, while in the reign of Alim Khan the Kokandians expelled the Karakalpaks from the low country of the Syr Darya; perhaps Turkestan was subjected twice.

* Nebolzin: *Notes on Russia's Central Asian Trade*. (According to these *Notes*, in 1816 Oratippe belonged to Bokhara, whereas the Kokandians had captured it under Alim Khan. When and under what circumstances the Bokhariots succeeded to take it from them is not known.)

† V. V. Grigoryef: "Contemporaneous Coins of the Kokandian Khanate." This sovereign was known by various popular names: Mamedali Khan (De Fulstein-Herbuta); Madali Khan (Velyaminof-Zernof); and Mahomed Gali Khan (Mirza Shema). See Savelyef's "List of Coins, etc."

Turkestan from the Chinese. In 1828 (1829) Yusuf Khoja repaired to Shahri-Sabz, where he lived for six months.* Thither Khan Ali sent him an invitation, in compliance with which Yusuf came to Kokand. Four months after his arrival at Kokand he asked the Khan's permission to make war upon the Chinese for Kashgar, whereupon Ali Khan informed him that he had desired his presence at Kokand for that very purpose, it being his intention to support him in a war against the Chinese. In a few days the Khan gave an order for the campaign, and three to four days after its issue a force of 25,000 men took the field, Khan Ali himself accompanying the troops as far as Osh (Ush), from whence after three days, having invested Yusuf Khoja with the command, and appointed the Miubashi Khan Kula, the Kush-Begi Lashkera, and Datha Hodabali Bia to act as his lieutenants, he returned to the capital. On the twentieth day of marching from Osh the troops reached the first Chinese picket, a small fortification, in which 150 to 200 Chinese shut themselves up on their approach. After three hours' storming the Kokandians had not succeeded in taking the place; but the defenders, seeing that they could not possibly hold out any longer, ignited the powder stores and blew themselves up. A few men of the garrison, who escaped alive by taking refuge within a well, were made prisoners of war and sent to Kokand, after which the Kokandians completely destroyed the remains of the fortification. Not far from this advanced picket there was a Chinese fort of larger dimensions, said to have a garrison of 500 men, towards which the Chinese authorities had directed a considerable force on the opening of hostilities. To prevent the Chinese from reinforcing the fort, the Kokandian leaders in a council of war resolved to give them battle before they could reach it, and a vanguard of 700 horse was immediately sent ahead, but a portion of the Chinese forces nevertheless reached the fort before the Kokandians could prevent it. Thereupon ensued a hot combat, in which the Chinese (8,000 to 13,000 strong) lost more than 200 and the Kokandians about 100 killed. The Chinese, having reinforced the fort by 500 men, occupied three hillocks which could be commanded from a fourth that was very difficult of access; nevertheless a hundred Kokandians succeeded in scaling it, and opened a musket fire upon the enemy. Finally the battle became a general hand-to-hand fight, which lasted for some time and terminated

* *Two Narratives* by Mirza Shems Bakhari.

with the complete destruction of the Chinese, who lost about 2,000 killed on the battle field, after which the rest committed suicide. An insignificant number of war prisoners, about one hundred in all, were sent to Kokand on the following day, on which Yusuf Khoja advanced to Langar, taking the route by the settlement of Mushi. The fort at which the battle of the previous day had taken place was not besieged, for Yusuf drew the correct inference that its destruction was merely a question of time, and easy of accomplishment after the conquest of Kashgar. On their arrival at Langar the Kokandians stood only about six miles from Kashgar. By order of the Khan one Mirza Shems, an emigrant from Bokhara, was accompanying Yusuf Khoja; and Khoja's son, a boy of fourteen, was with the head-quarters of the Kokandian army.

Translator's Note: Here the publication of this historical article was interrupted without an explanation from the Editor of the *Turkestan Gazette*. Much as it is to be regretted, this English version must therefore remain incomplete.
