

# ☒ The Life of Alimqul

A Native Chronicle of Nineteenth  
Century Central Asia

*Edited by*  
**Timur K. Beisembiev**



Central Asia Research Forum

# **The Life of ‘Alimqul**

A Native Chronicle of  
Nineteenth Century Central Asia



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# The Life of 'Alimqul

A Native Chronicle of  
Nineteenth Century Central Asia

*Mulla Muhammad Yunus Djan  
Shighavul Dadkhah Tashkandi*

*Edited and translated by*

Timur K. Beisembiev

 Routledge  
Taylor & Francis Group  
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published in 2003  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park  
Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada  
by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

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Typeset in Sabon by LaserScript Ltd, Mitcham, Surrey

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*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*  
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data*  
A catalogue record for this book has been requested

ISBN 0-7007-1114-7

Dedicated to my mother,  
Doctor of Philological Science  
Professor Valentina Ayteshevna Isengalieva

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Chaghatay text of the biography (in Arab script)  
Contents of Chaghatay part of the book (in Arab script)  
Title of Chaghatay part of the book (in Arab script)

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# Abbreviations

ALD	Bek Nazar. <i>Amir-i lashkar Djang-namasi</i> . MS No 1925/II, IVAN of Uzbekistan. Ff. 78b-95b.
ALG	Mulla Khal Bek. <i>‘Alimqul Djang-namasi va Gharib-namah</i> . MS No 8816, IVAN of Uzbekistan. 75 ff.
ASTH	Mirza ‘Alim Tashkandi. <i>Ansab as-Salatin va Tavarikh al-Khavaqin</i> . MS No 1314/I, IVAN of Uzbekistan. Ff. 1b-179b.
AT	<i>Andjum at-Tavarikh</i> . MS No 11366, IVAN of Uzbekistan. 153 ff.
Beisembiev	Beisembiev T. K. “ <i>Ta’rikh-i Shakhrukhi</i> ” <i>kak istoricheskii istochnik</i> . Alma Ata, Nauka, 1987. 200 p.
BN	Muhammad ‘Umar Marghinani. <i>Badavlat-namah</i> . MS C 587, SPbO IVAN of Russia. 61 ff.
Boulger	Boulger D. C. <i>The Life of Yakoob Beg; Athalik Ghazi, and Badaulet; Ameer of Kashgar. With map and Appendix</i> . London, W. H. Allen & Co, 1878. 344 p.
DHH	Mulla Shamsi. <i>Djang-namah-i Khudayar-khani</i> . MS No 599/I, IVAN of Uzbekistan. Ff. 1b-26b.
GS	Tadjir. <i>Ghara’ib-i Sipah</i> . MS No 5408, IVAN of Uzbekistan. 36 ff.
HAL	Abu ‘Ubaidallah Muhammad Tashkandi. <i>Khulasat al-Ahval</i> . MS No 2084, IVAN of Uzbekistan. 239 ff.
IVAN	Institut vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk.
M.	Moscow.
MF	Töra Kh <sup>w</sup> adja Andidjani. <i>Mir’at al-Futuh</i> . MS No 5422, A.A. Semenov Library at Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of Tadjikistan. 166 p.
MT	Muhammad Hakim Khan Töra. <i>Muntakhab at-Tavarikh</i> . MS C 470, SPbO IVAN of Russia. 697 ff.
MTF	Fazil Bek. <i>Mukammal-i Ta’rikh-i Farghanah</i> . MS No 5971, IVAN of Uzbekistan. 89 ff.

Abbreviations

rus.	Russian
SPbO IVAN	Sankt-Peterburgskoe Otdelenie Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk.
T.	Tashkent (in publications in Uzbek: Toshkent).
TAL	Mulla Muhammad Yunus Djan Shighavul Dadkh <sup>w</sup> ah Tashkandi. <i>Ta'rikh-i 'Aliquli Amir-i lashkar</i> . MS No 12136, IVAN of Uzbekistan. 92 ff.
TDN	Mulla 'Avaz Muhammad. <i>Ta'rikh-i Djahan-nama</i> . MS C 439, SPbO IVAN of Russia. 843 ff.
TDT	Muhammad Salih Kh <sup>w</sup> adja Tashkandi. <i>Ta'rikh-i Djadidah-i Tashkand</i> . MS No 7791, IVAN of Uzbekistan. 1040 ff.
TF	Ishaq Khan. <i>Ta'rikh-i Farghanah</i> . MS No 1512, IVAN of Tadjikistan. 104 ff.
TG	'Aziz ibn Riza Marghinani. <i>Tasnif-i Gharib</i> . MS No 11108, IVAN of Uzbekistan. 441 p.
TH	Mulla Musa Sayrami. <i>Ta'rikh-i Hamidi</i> . [Beijing,] Mill-atlar Nashriyati, 1988. 775 p.
THH	'Ismati. <i>Ta'rikh-i Khudayar Khan</i> . MS C 667 SPbO IVAN of Russia. Ff. 179b-262a.
TM	Imam 'Ali Qunduzi. <i>Tavarikh-i Manzumah</i> . MS No 204, IVAN of Tadjikistan. 429 ff.
TMH	Muhyi Khuqandi. <i>Ta'rikh-i Muhyi Khuqandi</i> . MS No 604, IVAN of Uzbekistan. 76 ff.
TS	'Abdallah Amir-i lashkar. <i>Ta'rikh-i Sighari</i> . MS Or. 8156, British Library. 107 ff.
TSH	<i>Taarikh Shakhbrokhi. Istoriia vladetelei Fergany. Sochine-nie molly Niiazi Mukhammed ben Ashur Mukhammed, khokandtsa, izdannaia N. N. Pantusovym</i> . Kazan', Universitetskaiia tipografiia, 1885. 333 p.
TT	Muhammad Yunus. <i>Tuhfab-i Tayibi</i> . MS No 4243/II, IVAN of Uzbekistan. Ff. 23b-43a.
TTH No 9455	Mulla 'Avaz Muhammad Khuqandi. <i>Ta'rikh-i Djahan-namay</i> . Vol. 2 (first version of <i>Tuhfat at-Tavarikh-i Khani</i> ). MS No 9455/I, IVAN of Uzbekistan. Ff. 1b-340a.
TTH C 440	Mulla 'Avaz Muhammad Khuqandi. <i>Tuhfat at-Tavarikh-i Khani</i> . MS C 440, SPbO IVAN of Russia. 360 ff.
<i>Tuhfab-i Shahi</i>	Mirza 'Abd al-'Azim Sami. <i>Tuhfab-i Shahi</i> . MS No 2091, IVAN of Uzbekistan. 298 ff.
Veselovskii	Veselovskii N. <i>Kirgizskii razskaz o russkikh zavoevaniiax v Turkestanskom krae. Tekst, perevod i prilozheniia</i> . St Petersburg, Parovaia Skoropechatnia P. O. Yablonovska-go, 1894. 81, IV, 125 p.
ZNH	'Abd al-Ghafur. <i>Zafar-namah-i Khudayar-khani</i> . MS No 598, IVAN of Uzbekistan. 65 ff.

# Acknowledgements

The present work is the result of a research project executed during the academic year 1992–1993 at the Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies (Central Eurasian Studies), Indiana University, Bloomington. I am especially grateful to Prof. Yuri Bregel (then the director of the Institute), Prof. Devin DeWeese (its deputy director for that time) and Bill Wood, for their various and invaluable help in creating optimum conditions to fulfil efficiently my task. I am also beholden to the late Prof. Carl H. Menges (Vienna), Prof. Kermit McKenzie (Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia) and to Dr Jeff Harlig (Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies, Indiana University): to the first and second for their kind recommendations on my behalf to Indiana University, to the latter, for his effective help with computer issues. I appreciate a various help of the faculty and staff from that Institute as well as the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies, as a whole, during my stay in Bloomington.

I am very grateful to my Uzbek friends: first of all, to the late Prof. and Academician Bori Akhmedov, who was my PhD thesis advisor in 1980–1983, and to Dr Diloram Yu. Yusupova (Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbek Academy of Sciences), for their precious advice and help in search of historical sources in Tashkent.

I would also like to thank Dr Shirin Akiner, who introduced the manuscript to the publisher Mr Malcolm Campbell. In this connection, it is a great pleasure for me to name some research institutions of Britain that enabled me to further research activities by three visits in this astonishingly hospitable country in 1994–1997: the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, the British Academy, the Central Asia Research Forum (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) and particularly the unique All Souls College, Oxford, with such outstanding and wonderful figures and academics as the Warden Prof. John Davies and the Chaplain Rev. Prof. John McManners. I was the Visiting Fellow at the College in Autumn 1997 and it was then that my long search for a publisher was successfully concluded.

### *Acknowledgements*

I would like to express my gratitude to the following institutions that assisted in financing my project: the Rockefeller Foundation whose grant allowed me to spend a year in the USA and to write the work, the Institute of History and Ethnology (where I worked in 1983–1992) and the Institute of Oriental Studies (where I have been working now since 1992), the Ministry of Education and Science, and the Academy of Science of Kazakstan, for understanding the importance of my research and its support. I am also very thankful to George Soros Foundation which twice covered my travel expenses from Kazakstan to England and back in 1995 and in 1997.

Last (but not least) my gratitude goes to my mother, Prof. Valentina Ayteshevna Isengalieva, whose indefatigable help and advice constantly inspire me.

Timur Beisembiev  
Almaty

# Bibliographical Note

Timur K. Beisembiev was born in 1955 in Alma Ata. His father, Kasym Beisembiev (1919/20–1980), a Chingizkhanid by birth, was the first Kazak Professor of Philosophy, and his mother, Prof. V. A. Isengalieva, is an acknowledged specialist in Turkology. The pupil of V. P. Yudin (1928–1983) and Ph. D. since 1983, Dr Beisembiev, now Senior Research Associate at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Almaty, has published two books and 1230 articles mainly on Central Asian history in the 18th and 19th centuries. He has been Rockefeller Visiting Fellow at Indiana University, Bloomington, in 1992–93, and Visiting Fellow at All Souls College, Oxford, in 1997.

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# Introduction: An Unknown Source for the History of the Kokand Khanate in the 19th Century

## THE MANUSCRIPT

In the Fund of Manuscripts at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, there is a book in Chaghatay Turkic conventionally named in the card catalogue Ta'rikh-i 'Alimquli Amir-i lashkar (The History of Commander-in-Chief 'Alimquli), hereafter to be called TAL. Its inventory number is 12136 and its volume is 92 folios. It does not begin with Bismallah and the end has been lost.

Its beginning (f. 1a):

چونکه جناب جوهر شمشیر شجاعت قوت بازوی شهامت یعنی ابوالفتح ملا  
علی قلی امیر لشکر شهید مرحوم الخ

The end of the last folio (f. 92b):

فقرا احوالیغه نهایت ترحم برلان نظر ایلاب و قدیمه برپا بولغان ظلم و بدعت لارنی  
بالکلیّه برهم بیریب و خلق

The text is written in clear nasta'lik in a factory-made writing book with a soft, dark green cover (21.5 x 17 cm, 7 lines, paigirs). This manuscript was purchased by the Institute of Oriental Studies on the 25th of June 1969 from Akhmadjan Mukhammad-Babaev (Marghilan).<sup>1</sup>

This work has not been mentioned, let alone studied, in scholarly publications. It was completed sometime between the very end of 1902 and March of 1903 in the Andijan uyezd. This is apparent because the text on the last folio relates the story about aid given by the local Russian administrator, Colonel Karetov, to inhabitants of the villages around Andijan, who suffered from a strong earthquake on the 16th of December 1902. Also the hijrah year 1320, which ended on the 29th of March 1903, is mentioned as a recent date.<sup>2</sup>

The text is an account, in the form of memoirs, of the life and activity of ‘Alimqul’ (b. ca 1833, d. 1865), an eminent military and political figure, the de facto ruler of the Kokand Khanate from 1863–1865. There are some notes on margins made by another, sometimes child’s hand (e.g. on ff. 12b–13a, 49b, 50b, 51b, 72b and 92b), which are irrelevant to the content of the MS.

## THE AUTHOR

The name of the author is not mentioned in the text. However, it may be established as follows. As detailed in this work, the author took an active part in the events in the khanate from 1852, and under Malla Khan (1858–1862) was the *mirzabashi* (secretary) to the governor of Tashkent and was engaged in affairs concerning land taxes. He also accompanied important missions to Turkistan and Yangi Qurghan, the Kokandian fortresses in South Kazakhstan.<sup>3</sup> In 1864 the author was promoted to the rank of shighavul (Senior Master of Ceremonies) by ‘Alimqul<sup>4</sup> and was his retainer and confidant fulfilling a number of financial and other tasks. In the summer of 1864 the author took part in ‘Alimqul’s campaign in Kazakhstan against the Russians,<sup>5</sup> and from the end of 1864 through the beginning of 1865 kept diplomatic correspondence with General Cherniaev.<sup>6</sup> The author was also in close terms with the fellow-fighters of ‘Alimqul, namely Ya‘qub Bek (b. 1820, d. 1877), who later became the absolute ruler of Eastern Turkistan, and Shadman Khodja Mingbashi Tashkandi, the experienced military chief and politician inclined to a more sober and careful course in relations with Russia.<sup>7</sup> It is known as well that the author was younger than Ya‘qub Bek and that, perhaps, the last component of his name was Djan, since Ya‘qub Bek tenderly addressed him as “Djan-uka.”<sup>8</sup>

According to various sources, there were four men who served under ‘Alimqul with the rank of shighavul: Ya‘qub Bek, Ahrar Khan Tōra, Muhammadquli and Mulla Mirza Yunus Djan Mirzabashi Tashkandi.<sup>9</sup> It is clear from the context of the biography that the author was neither the first, nor the second of these. Nor could he be the third (Muhammadquli), because the latter was sent to Kashghar together with Ya‘qub Bek in the end of 1864, whereas the author remained in Kokand and then was dispatched to Tashkent.<sup>10</sup>

One Kokand source, Ta’rikh-i Djadidah-i Tashkand, relates that Mulla Mirza Yunus Djan Mirzabashi Shighavul Tashkandi participated in the campaign of ‘Alimqul in Kazakhstan (1864), and it was through Yunus Djan in Tashkent that Kokandian leaders were negotiating with Cherniaev.<sup>11</sup>

Robert Shaw (b. 1839, d. 1879), the first Englishman to have visited Eastern Turkistan in 1868–1869 met a “small elderly man ... Shaghâwal Mahammad Yoonas,” at that time the governor of Yarkand and “the

second man in the kingdom” of Ya‘qub Bek. Previously both of these men had served in the Kokand Khanate, Muhammad Yunus as chief secretary to Malla Khan, “and then (he) served Alam Kool (i.e. ‘Alimqul) in the same capacity.”<sup>12</sup> Shaw held some interesting discussions with “Mahammad Yoonas” and they exchanged presents.<sup>13</sup> Demetrius C. Boulger, the famous journalist of the late Victorian age, gave the following interesting portrait of this man in his biography of Ya‘qub Bek:

Mahomed Yunus seems to have been the most educated and well informed among the governors of Yakoob Beg. He had the reputation of being quite the best-informed man in Kashgar, but as the *curriculum* of instruction did not include modern languages, it is difficult to gauge the exact degree of that reputation. He was an old and trusted follower of the Athalik Ghazi, for when he was in the service of Khokand Mahomed Yunus officiated as his scribe. He, however, as a civilian, took no part in the expedition of Buzurg Khan, and it was not until after the death of Alim Kuli and the success of Khudayar Khan that he joined his firm friend and master in Kashgar. So high an opinion had Yakoob beg of his talents, and so pressed was he for skilled rulers, that Mahomed Yunus was at once appointed Dadkwah of the recently conquered district of Yarkand, the richest, the most populous, and the most turbulent of all the governorships in Kashgaria. The skill with which he brought the troublesome Yarkandis into complete submission to the new ruler, and the rare ability he manifested in his administration of his province down almost to the present time, justify the selection of his whilom comrade in Khokand. At first it seems that the governor ruled with a high hand, and that the slightest symptom of insubordination was checked by an immediate arrest and a not long-delayed execution. During the last seven years, however, his government had become milder, chiefly because all evil-doers had been got rid of.<sup>14</sup>

With regard to Muhammad Yunus’ reception of Robert Shaw, Boulger added: “Mahomed Yunus, Dadkhwah of Yarkand, the second man in the kingdom, treated him in a spirit of marked cordiality.”<sup>15</sup>

Some additional information about this man is cited by A.N. Kuropatkin:

From Tashkent by his birth, Mulla Yunus served as a scribe of Tashkent merchants, and thanks to his art of writing he became famous. The connoisseurs of his talent told us that if he wishes, whatever serious paper he writes, one cannot read it without tears. Mulla Yunus had been promoted to *dadkhah* already by Alimqul.<sup>16</sup>

In Tarikh-i Djadidah-i Tashkand it is stated that Mulla Muhammad Yunus Mirzabashi Tashkandi was living in 1887 in Kokand where he was a judge

(qāzī).<sup>17</sup> The author of that chronicle remarks with a sense of respect that Mulla Yunus was by birth from Kökcha, the western part (*rukʻn*) of Tashkent, from its quarter (*mahalla*) Tunchabaf (Tailor), near the bazaar of Registan. He accompanied ‘Alimqul when he retreated to Qaraghulcha (1863) and composed an eloquent letter for ‘Alimqul to the Bukharan Emir. Mulla Yunus was famous for his eloquence (*fasahat va balaghat*) and professional excellence (*maharat*).<sup>18</sup>

The author of Tasnif-i gharib relates that Mulla Yunus Djan Shighavul studied in his youth in Kokand with the famous Mulla Djalal. When Mulla Yunus Djan was in Eastern Turkistan in the service of Ya‘qub Bek, the latter gave a secret order to kill Muhammadquli Bek, the elder brother of Khudayquli Bek (who was for 40 days on the Kokand throne in 1865). With a sense of pain, Mulla Yunus Djan himself told the author of Tasnif-i gharib about this case. He commissioned one physician (*tabib*) to carry out this murder. After the fall of the Muslim state in Eastern Turkistan, Mulla Yunus Djan returned to Kokand, the citizens of which made him their judge (*qazi*) due to their respect for this man.<sup>19</sup>

According to the Badavlat-namah, Yunus Djan, who was appointed by Ya‘qub Bek to the post of governor of Yarkand, also had the title of dadkhah.<sup>20</sup> In Tarikh-i Hamidi it is noted that he governed Yarkand from 1866–1877 and enjoyed a good reputation because he ruled in strict accordance with the Shariat. He knew calligraphy and was a learned man and a poet. In the winter of 1877, when the Chi’ing forces were approaching Yarkand, he endeavoured to retreat to Ferghana. However, there was very cold weather and the mountain passes were snow-bound, so he was forced to return to Yarkand. The Chi’ing authorities, out of respect for his merits, provided him with everything necessary for his journey and allowed him to go to Ferghana.<sup>21</sup> His son Ishaq Djan Pansad was in the service of Ya‘qub Bek in 1876.<sup>22</sup>

Based upon these facts, the author of this biography must be Mulla Muhammad Yunus Djan Tashkandi. He is also the author of Hada’iq al-anvar, a brief history of the Kokand khans through 1842 (11 ff.), which was written about 1302 or 1303 (the date “1202/1203” in the text is a slip of the pen), that is, 1885 or 1886 when the author was 57. The work was copied on 1 Rabi’ I 1332/28 January 1914, when he was already dead.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, the author was born ca. 1829 or 1830 and died sometime between 1902 and 1914. It is also known from Hada’iq al-anvar (f. 187a) that he had the *takballus* Tayib (Penitent).

Mulla Yunus also wrote another interesting work, Tuhfah-i Tayibi (The Gift of the Penitent), since the name Muhammad Yunus ibn Muhammad Amin with the *takballus* Ta’ib, a Tashkentian by birth and a Ferghanian by origin,<sup>24</sup> was mentioned in the text as its author. As Dr Rano P. Djalilova notes in her brief description of this treatise, which is written in Persian and Arabic on 21 ff., it was probably composed between the years 1318/1900

and 1319/1901, and the author was born in 1245/1829 or 1246/1830.<sup>25</sup> It contains three chapters and a conclusion and is didactic in character. The author calls upon the inhabitants of Central Asia to accustom themselves to Russian culture. In order to support his belief that the respectful attitude of Muslims toward the customs and culture of adherents of a different faith is permitted, the author gives separate data from the history of Central Asia in various times, and refers to the Qur'an, hadith and theological and juridical works. Some events connected with the annexation of Central Asia to Russia are mentioned,<sup>26</sup> particularly those involving 'Alimqul and Ya'qub Bek.<sup>27</sup> It will become clear that this work corresponds in spirit with the biography of 'Alimqul which is under examination. Furthermore, both Tuhfah-i Tayibi and the biography of 'Alimqul were written at the request of the same person, 'Alimqul's son, Mulla Shir Muhammad Mirza.<sup>28</sup> Thus the author of the biography was a learned and experienced man, who played an important role in the political life of Kokand and Eastern Turkistan in the 1860s and 1870s and wrote the biography in the later years of his life.

### 'ALIMQUL AND HIS TIME

To comprehend the significance of the biography as an historical source, one should examine the personality of 'Alimqul (his precise name was 'Aliquli),<sup>29</sup> about whom the major part of information can be found in the Kokand chronicles.

The appearance of this figure was connected with the changes in the Kokand Khanate during the last period of its history (the 1840s – 1870s).<sup>30</sup> The weakening of the state, which was torn by internal strife among the palace cliques and even conquered for a short time by the Bukharan Emirate (1842), resulted in the active intervention of Ferghana tribes in political life and repeated seizures of power by their chiefs (1844–1852, 1858–1862, 1863–1865). The young, and energetic military chief, politician, and diplomat 'Alimqul, one of the leaders of the influential Kirghiz-Qipchaq tribe, received the necessary cultural education in the local sedentary milieu and became the prime candidate for a leader who could express the interests of the tribal aristocracy in Ferghana.

He was born about 1833 at Buchun Bitkan near Kokand into the family of Hasan Biy Kirghiz-Qipchaq, who was occupied with the purchase and resale of cattle and horses.<sup>31</sup> 'Alimqul, having lost his father very early in life, was educated by his uncle, Mulla Dust Akhund, his mother's elder brother. After learning to read and write, the boy continued his education in Andijan and Kokand madrasas,<sup>32</sup> which gave him the right to bear the title of mulla.<sup>33</sup> Thanks to his sister's husband, Taghay-qul Dadkhah, 'Alimqul received knowledge in the art of warfare and was then for a while the biy of Qurghan Tepa near Andijan, taking the place of his father.<sup>34</sup> But the

intrigues of adversaries forced him to seek “support in high places”. At the age of twenty two, ‘Alimqul became a cavalry-man in the service of Malla Bek, brother of Khudayar Khan.<sup>35</sup>

In 1858, when Malla Bek revolted against the khan, ‘Alimqul rendered him a great service by winning over to his side the nomads in the outskirts of Andijan and Qarasu, including his own relatives.<sup>36</sup> Therefore Malla Khan, having taken power in November of 1858,<sup>37</sup> bestowed upon him the ranks of zinbardar (Groom), then ishik-aghasi (Door-keeper) and then that of mir-pansad (Commander of 500). A year later he appointed ‘Alimqul governor of Chimion, and a month after that, governor of Shahrikhan.<sup>38</sup>

Perhaps it was during this time that ‘Alimqul befriended Shadman Khodja, an experienced politician, and Ya‘qub Bek. In the autumn of 1860, as the governor of Marghilan, ‘Alimqul was at the head of the Kokandian forces near Ura Tübe and, displaying his military talent, defeated an 18,000 strong army of the Bukharan Emir through brilliant application of the extended line tactics.<sup>39</sup> As a skillful courtier, ‘Alimqul left no stone unturned in order to subject the khan to his influence. In 1861, when Malla Khan visited the vilayat of Marghilan, ‘Alimqul arranged magnificent entertainment to please the khan. He found a certain Mulla Fath ad-Din, a connoisseur of köknař (a sort of drug), to give the honoured guest “intoxicating seeds”. Upon ingesting these seeds, Malla Khan’s behaviour changed, and as a result he began to insult every dignitary present.<sup>40</sup>

In February 1862, a palace coup took place during which Malla Khan was killed. The role of ‘Alimqul in this event remains unclear.<sup>41</sup> However, judging from the fact that power in Kokand from February to May 1862 was in the hands of another nomadic chief, ‘Alim Bek Kirghiz, ‘Alimqul’s rival, it is probable that ‘Alimqul did not take an active part in the coup. In the ensuing fierce struggle for power (occurring simultaneously with the Civil War in the United States) ‘Alimqul destroyed his rivals from the tribal aristocracy, including ‘Alim Bek, and, by skillful tactics and diplomacy, thanks to the support of the nomads and an alliance with Shadman Khodja, he succeeded in expelling from Ferghana Khudayar Khan along with his powerful ally the Bukharan Emir Muzaffar in July of 1863.<sup>42</sup> In order to win more supporters over to his side, ‘Alimqul announced: “My purpose is not to take Kokand and enjoy power, but to fight the Russians.”<sup>43</sup>

Not belonging to the clan of the Kokand khans, ‘Alimqul elevated Sultan Sayyid Khan, Malla Khan’s son of tender age, to the throne. Acting on his behalf, ‘Alimqul bore the title of amir al-umara and the rank of amir-i lashkar, and established his personal power in the khanate for nearly two years.<sup>44</sup> He was about 30 by that time.<sup>45</sup> Shortly thereafter, considering Shadman Khodja his opponent, since he had enjoyed great influence and had been appointed governor of Tashkent and Turkistan, ‘Alimqul had him murdered in September of 1863.<sup>46</sup>

The rule of ‘Alimqul was marked by serious military defeats in the north, which resulted in Kokand losing all South Kazakhstan to Russia. In 1863 the Russian troops captured Suzak and in 1864, Turkistan, Avliya Ata and Chimkent. ‘Alimqul’s efforts failed to stop the advance of the relatively not very numerous, but well-armed and well-trained Russian forces. The extended line tactics of the Kokandian army were outdated and therefore were unsuccessful and led to heavy losses. The Russians, however, employed European tactics typical for the first part of the 19th century. They practiced tactics of shock columns used in conjunction with extended order and used fire weapons more powerful than those of Kokand. ‘Alimqul’s savage reprisals against negligent officers were also ineffective.<sup>47</sup>

In this situation the disagreements between ‘Alimqul and the tribal aristocracy who supported him deepened. And so, it is related in Tarikh-i Shahrukhi that ‘Alimqul, having seized power, “constantly went against the advice of his tribe” and was an unbalanced man.<sup>48</sup>

In the spring of 1865, having learned of the Russians’ advance on Tashkent, ‘Alimqul set out from Kokand. Fearing the intrigues of his adversaries, he left earlier with a small detachment and artillery and together with some Tashkentian troops began combat with the Russians. At the height of the fighting, the Kokandians were at the point of gaining the upper hand when the forces of the Qipchaqs and Kirghiz approached. But their chiefs only observed the battle. ‘Alimqul called on them to forget their enmity and consolidate efforts in the crucial moment and asked them for support through his envoy Mulla Yunus Djan Munshi, but was rudely refused. When the Kokandians began to press the enemy, ‘Alimqul was mortally wounded and soon died (May 1865).<sup>49</sup>

On the 22nd (15th) of June the forces of Major-General M. G. Cherniaev captured Tashkent. A month later, Kokandian sedentary aristocrats, with the help of the Bukharan Emir, again took power in Ferghana.<sup>50</sup> This power remained in their hands for ten years until February of 1876, when the Kokand Khanate was annexed to the Russian Empire.

Commenting upon the death of ‘Alimqul, one of his fellow-fighters wrote:

‘Alimqul died – the beks have gotten rid of [him],  
Solomon died – the demons have gotten rid of [him].<sup>51</sup>

## THE WORK AS AN HISTORICAL SOURCE

Attempts to write a biography of ‘Alimqul, this outstanding figure in Central Asian history, have been repeatedly undertaken. Mulla ‘Avaz Muhammad ‘Attar, the author of the historical chronicle of Kokand Tuhfat at-tavarikh-i khani written in the late 1860s – early 1870s, put in his work a brief biographical note about him, Tardjimah-i hal-i Mulla ‘Ali-quli Amir-

i lashkar, from his birth until 1858.<sup>52</sup> After the conquest of the khanate by Russia, two small chronicles in verse were written in Chaghatay Turkic at the end of the 19th century: Amir-i lashkar Djang-namasi (The Book of the Battles of Amir-i lashkar) written by Bek Nazar in the 1870's, and 'Alimqul Djangnamasi va Gharib-namah (The Book of 'Alimqul's Battles and the Book of the Exiled) composed by Mulla Khal Bek ibn Mulla Musa after 1880.<sup>53</sup> These authors, however, pay more attention to the general course of events in the khanate than to 'Alimqul himself. Therefore, the work of Mulla Yunus Djan Shighavul stands closer than others to the genre of biography.

'Alimqul's biography relies first and foremost on the personal memoirs of the author. Other data were also used, such as the information provided by Shir Muhammad Mirza Mingbashi, the son of 'Alimqul, and probably by 'Alimqul himself; the stories narrated by Shadman Khodja and Ya'qub Bek about Amir-i lashkar's career, and about the embassy to Petersburg of Tursun Khodja Sudur in 1828 (the latter figure was Shadman Khodja's uncle) and the events of 1852–1853 in Kokand, Tashkent and Ak Mechet' (Aq Masdjid), in which both Ya'qub Bek and Shadman Khodja took an active part.<sup>54</sup> The following official documents cited from memory by the author might have been used: the treaty on the oath of delivering supreme power to 'Alimqul in 1863, the text of which had been composed by the author; materials of correspondence with the Russian headquarters in summer 1864 and with Cherniaev in winter 1864/1865, which was carried out from the Kokand side by the author; and some Kokand messages and reports.<sup>55</sup> The author was most likely acquainted with Tarikh-i Shahrukhi, the last official chronicle of Kokand published in 1885 in Kazan. As is mentioned in that chronicle, there was in the battle of Samanchi (1858) a duel with sabres between the two brothers, Khudayar Khan and Malla Bek, and the latter was wounded on the head.<sup>56</sup> Mulla Yunus Djan, as if correcting this, writes that they both "fought with sabres but neither was wounded."<sup>57</sup> The same may be said in comparing the versions given in 'Alimqul's biography with Tarikh-i Shahrukhi regarding the capture of Ak Mechet' by the Russians and other events (cf. *infra*, notes to Translation).

The author states the sense of his sincere attachment to his patron and the circumstance that there was no one but the author himself "who could . . . know better the events and tales connected" with 'Alimqul, and it was the author who was his retainer "from the sunrise of his happiness down to the setting of the moon of his life" and at length the son of 'Alimqul himself asked him to write a biography so that "his fame would not disappear from amongst the nobles and common people."<sup>58</sup>

The lack of Bismallah, which indicates that the work was addressed to non-Muslims, and the portrayal of Russian policy in respectful or positive terms, give reason to conclude that the purpose of the biography was also to justify, so far as possible, 'Alimqul's activity in the eyes of the Russian

authorities in Turkistan and to demonstrate the author's complete loyalty to the latter.<sup>59</sup> At the same time there is a trend throughout the work to stress the negative sides in the policies of the sedentary aristocracy, with Khudayar as its head, which was known to have enjoyed the support of the tsarist administration.

The date of the biography's composition may reveal two other factors that might have prompted its appearance: the publication of Tarikh-i Shahrukhi (1885) and the Andijan uprising (1898). The first event, regardless of what scholarly purposes the editor of Tarikh-i Shahrukhi, Nicolas N. Pantusov, had pursued, objectively strengthened the pro-Khudayar Khan tendencies in Kokandian historiography. An attentive reading of the biography reveals a latent dispute with Tarikh-i Shahrukhi. The second event, like a bolt from the blue, put the Russian authorities of Turkistan on their guard. The complacent mood in their policy, if one still existed, had vanished after 1898, which on the whole resulted in the complication of relations between them and the native population. Under these circumstances the representatives of the anti-Khudayar Khan faction (comprised of Mulla Yunus Djan and his followers who survived) were given a new chance to demonstrate their loyalty to the Russian administration in order to ease the tensions which appeared after 1898. One other publication, the Memoirs of Mirza Ahmad edited by N. N. Veselovskii in 1899 (v. note 24 to Translation), also may have induced Mulla Yunus Djan to take up his pen.<sup>60</sup>

The composition begins with a short story of the origin and early years of 'Alimqul. Then the author gives, mainly in the form of memoirs, a more detailed account of his career from 1858–1865 against a background of circumstantial descriptions of events in the khanate from 1852 to 1865. However, there is not a chronological sequence in the narration. It begins with the story of events from 1855–1860,<sup>61</sup> continues with an interesting review of Kokand-Russian relationships from 1828 to 1853 accompanied with the account of political life in the khanate during 1852–1855,<sup>62</sup> after which follows a detailed narrative of events in 1861–1865.<sup>63</sup>

More interesting information on the internal political history are the descriptions of the fall of Qipchaq power in Kokand (1852), the accession of Malla Khan (1858) and the quasi-adventurous story of the political struggle between Khudayar Khan and nomadic chiefs with 'Alimqul and Shadman Khodja at their head in Ferghana during 1862–1863. Although these events are described in a number of parallel sources, the version in our source is of great value because it is the most detailed narrative told by a representative of the faction hostile to Khudayar Khan. For this reason alone it merits particular attention. In relating the abuses of power by the favorites of Khudayar Khan during his independent reign (1852–1858), the unbalanced character and arbitrary rule of Malla Khan (1858–1862), and the disturbances and struggle for power (1862–1863), the author wishes to

underline that the rulers prior to ‘Alimqul were unable to establish order and secure prosperity in the state, in which the distinct tendency was to favor ‘Alimqul.

Imbued with realias of everyday life and written in simple style, some scenes (e.g. the murder of ‘Alimqul’s adversaries among nomadic chiefs (1862), his activities in Chimkent (1864) as well as his last campaign to Tashkent (spring 1865)<sup>64</sup>) are described so brilliantly, that they approach the best examples of such kind in world memoiristics (for example, The Memoirs of Jan Chryzostom Pasek, a priceless monument of Sarmatism and Slavic Baroque, which with its vivid narrative and luscious old Polish speech eclipsed all other chronicles about cataclysms in the 17th century Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania).<sup>65</sup>

The principles of power in the khanate under ‘Alimqul are set forth in the biography, which witnesses the triumph of idea, in fact depriving the khan of his right to exercise control (these functions being delivered to ‘Alimqul as Amir-i lashkar, i.e. Commander-in-Chief)<sup>66</sup> but reserving for him as a member of the dynasty the regalia and other attributes of the sovereign. The author, as has already been mentioned, composed the text of the treaty on the oath officially registering that act. An argument in favor of such a decision could be the youth of the khan,<sup>67</sup> although our source keeps silent on this. If so, that action did not directly contradict the idea, predominant in the khanate, which considered power the prerogative of the khans from the Uzbek Ming dynasty.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, the proclamation of Malla Khan’s son as khan had to signify the restoration of justice, since Malla Khan fell victim to conspirators who afterwards were destroyed by ‘Alimqul as his rivals.<sup>69</sup>

It is necessary to point out that the regime of Ya‘qub Bek in Eastern Turkistan also upheld the same principles. The circumstances of his departure to Kashghar (in late 1864) are clearly described in the biography (v. infra, Translation of ff. 77a–79a), from which it appears that, according to the will of ‘Alimqul, the supreme power in Kashghar should be in the hands of Ya‘qub Bek, with the titular ruler being Buzruk Khan Tōra, from the clan of the White Mountain Khodjas. The subsequent events testified that these principles were in practice in Eastern Turkistan until the restoration of Chi’ing rule in 1877–1878. Thus our source contains new data on the deep influence of developments in the Kokand Khanate on Kashgharia in that period.

As for the personal contacts of ‘Alimqul with Ya‘qub Bek who was his subordinate in 1863–1864, the evidence of other sources makes us doubt their serenity, as the author of the biography tries to present.<sup>70</sup> Most probably ‘Alimqul, in parting with his outstanding fellow warrior, decided to get rid of him as a possible rival. On the whole the biography throws much light on the career of Ya‘qub Bek in the khanate and his interrelations with the Amir-i lashkar.<sup>71</sup>

Faced with the threat of Russia's advancement in Central Asia, 'Alimqul conducted an active foreign policy. The names of Kokandian ambassadors sent in 1864 to Istanbul, to the "English State,"<sup>72</sup> to Kabul, and to the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir are enumerated in the biography. Its author himself left Kokand for Kashghar from March to June of that year and obtained permission from the Chinese authorities for the Kokandian ambassador to go to Istanbul via Eastern Turkistan and Tibet.<sup>73</sup>

In these years the author was also engaged in Kokandian-Russian relations and was partisan to their development in a good-neighbourly way. Giving an account of their history, he believed that relations were friendly as long as the possessions of Kokand and Russia did not touch one another. Then the turbulent situation on the Russian and Kokand frontier in the Kazakh steppe, connected with the activity of Kenesary Kasymov and the excesses of the commendant of the Khivan fortress Khodja Niyaz (Raim), caused the activation of the Russian policy there, so that Russia and Kokand came to share a common border. Later on, the short-sightedness and presumptuousness of the Kokand rulers, as well as the unworthy behaviour of their envoy, resulted in complications to their bilateral relationship.<sup>74</sup>

Citing interesting data on the policy of Kokand in Kazakhstan and the circumstances of the latter's annexation to Russia (esp. on the events of 1853 and 1864), the author reveals the adventurist actions of the Kokand side while noting the military skill and humaneness of the Russian command. Since Shadman Khodja held to a similar position, a regret and sorrow concerning his altercation with 'Alimqul is transparent in the biography, while the death of Shadman Khodja is related in vague phrases.<sup>75</sup>

The author sarcastically writes that after the defeat of some Kokand officers under Ak Mechet' Qasim Mingbashi, the commander-in-chief, boastfully stated that if he had sent his brave soldiers ("falcons and hawks"), they would not have left any trace of the Russian troops "up to Petersburg." "Khudayar Khan believed these foolish words [and therefore] ordered that these three military chiefs, Shadman Khodja Qushbegi, Sarimsaq Dadkhah and Muhammad Karim Shaikh, be brought humiliated and insulted to Kokand. They were dressed in women's clothes in the Kokandian palace at the time of the gathering of people and greetings [of the khan], with a distaff and a spindle placed before them, and so were unjustly defamed." But the ensuing campaign of Qasim Mingbashi to Ak Mechet' collapsed in disaster.<sup>76</sup> These facts not only show the extreme ignorance of the Kokand ruling circles, not realizing the true place of their state in the world, but also demonstrate the high degree of Central Asia's isolation from European civilisation by the mid-19th century, which is confirmed by other documents.<sup>77</sup>

In giving his own version about Ak Mechet', the first big fortress taken by the Russians in 1853,<sup>78</sup> the author refutes the version alledging a total

massacre of Ak Mechet's defenders. The latter version was wide-spread in the Kokand Khanate and was used in Eastern Turkistan to excite religious fanaticism among the population.<sup>79</sup>

The accounts of the author's discourse with his patron give us opportunity to penetrate 'Alimqul's inner life. In winter 1864/1865 the latter ignored Cherniaev's proposition, though advantageous to Kokand, which was to conclude peace and establish a Russian-Kokand frontier through Sharabkhana, between Chimkent and Tashkent. Nevertheless, aware of the uselessness of further hostilities, 'Alimqul in the bottom of his heart agreed with Cherniaev's idea, but was obliged to continue the war under pressure from ignorant and militaristic adherents and kinsmen, as well as from fear of condemnation, which might take place posthumously and could cause injury to his descendants.<sup>80</sup> The motives of his last activities were expressed in the following words:

If a battle takes place, nobody, except me, will die. I alone shall die and the people will be saved. What a need there will be [then to try] to defame me. Don't tell me now about a conclusion of peace lest a black melancholy rises in me and I am filled with anger!<sup>81</sup>

This statement testifies both to the doomed fate of 'Alimqul, who had lost by the end of his life many experienced and influential men, and whose life's aims appeared to be illusory, and to a very important though inadequately studied aspect – the role and state of the chieftain in a nomadic union.

Interesting are the prosopographical data of the biography, viz. on officials, dignitaries and governors of provinces with the datings of their careers, the precise definition of functions of mirzabashi, mihtar, sarkar, sarrafana in the early 1860s and other terms.<sup>82</sup> It is also evident from our source that the tea à la Kalmyk (shirchay) was popular among the Kokand aristocracy.<sup>83</sup>

Thus, the biography of 'Alimqul belongs to the rare and mostly unstudied later works of Kokandian historiography. These works glorifying 'Alimqul and his companions in arms were opposite in tendency to the more numerous extant chronicles exalting Khudayar Khan and his circle. Besides this biography, this small group of works includes Mir'at al-futuh of Töra Khodja Andidjani, 'Alimqul Djangnamasi va Gharib-namah of Mulla Khal Bek (v. supra), and the Kazakh epic poem of Khali Bay edited by N. Veselovskii.<sup>84</sup> Perhaps this group influenced some Eastern Turkistan chroniclers, for instance Umidi, the author of Badavlat-namah, in which events in the Kokand khanate are related from a pro-'Alimqul position.<sup>85</sup> Thus the polemical glow within the Kokandian historiography was by no means reduced even several decades after the Russian conquest of the khanate.

The information of the biography is good material for comparison with Kokandian and other well-known sources, and may be used to balance their one-sidedness. However, many facts showing, for example, the uncon-

trolled despotism and cruelty of ‘Alimqul, as well as the aggressive character of the tsarist policy, are passed over in silence. Nevertheless, the circumstantial and documentary account of various events, narrated from the first person, make this biography, with a balanced critical approach, one of the important primary sources on the history of the Kokand Khanate in the mid-19th century, worthy of being put into wide circulation.

## NOTES

- 1 I am indebted to Dr. Diloram Yu. Yusupova (Tashkent) for the information regarding the acquisition of the manuscript.
- 2 TAL, f. 92ab.
- 3 Ibid., ff. 14ab, 24b, 33a–34b.
- 4 Ibid., ff. 72b–73a.
- 5 Ibid., ff. 67b–75a.
- 6 Ibid., ff. 81b–83b.
- 7 Ibid., ff. 38a, 50b, 57a, 61a, 77b–79a.
- 8 Ibid., f. 73a. *Uka* means younger brother.
- 9 BN, f. 14b; TDT, ff. 577a, 579b, 584a, 587a.
- 10 TS, f. 25b; TAL, ff. 78a–79a, 81ab.
- 11 TDT, ff. 577a, 585b, 587a.
- 12 Shaw, R. *Visits to High Tartary, Yarkand and Kashgar*. With an Introduction by Peter Hopkirk. Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 45–46, 178–179, 191.
- 13 Ibid., pp. 206–230.
- 14 Boulger, pp. 171–172. Boulger’s date given for the death of Muhammad Yunus Djan is obviously a mistake (cf.: Ibid., p. 261).
- 15 Ibid., p. 215.
- 16 Куропаткин, А. Н. *Кашгария. Историко-географический очерк страны, ее военные силы, промышленность и торговля*. С.-Петербург, типография В. С. Балашева, 1879, pp. 140–141.
- 17 TDT, ff. 563b, 1017ab.
- 18 TDT, ff. 563b–564b, 1006a, 1017a.
- 19 TG, p. 307.
- 20 BN, f. 36a.
- 21 TH, pp. 359, 560–562, 575.
- 22 Ibid., p. 482.
- 23 Mulla Yunus Shighavul Dadkhah. *Hada’iq al-anvar*. MS № 596/II of IVAN of Uzbekistan, ff. 186a–188a, 196b. Concerning this work cf.: Стори, Ч. А. *Персидская литература. Био-библиографический обзор*. В трех частях. Перевел с английского и дополнил Ю. Э. Брегель. Часть II: История Ирана, Курдистана, Средней Азии, Афганистана, Турции, Кавказа, арабских стран, Европы и Америки, Китая и Японии. Москва: Наука, 1972, p. 1196).
- 24 TT, f. 25a.
- 25 *Собрание восточных рукописей Академии наук Узбекской ССР*. Том XI. Ташкент, Фан, 1987, p. 15, № 6996.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 TT, f. 39b–40a.
- 28 Ibid., f. 25ab; TAL, f. 1ab.
- 29 TAL, f. 1a; ТТН, № 9455, ff. 300b, 303b, 320b–321a; [*Collection of extracts from “Turkistan vilayat gazetii”*], MS № 12703 of IVAN of Uzbekistan, f. 9a. Therefore it is more correct to name the biography *Ta’rikh-i ‘Aliquli Amir-i Lashkar* although the form more widespread in the sources and scholarly literature is *Alimqul*.
- 30 Cf. our more detailed account of this period: Бейсембиев, pp. 20–26, 112–130, 135.

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- 31 TAL, f. 2ab. It is said that he was 33 or 34 at the time of his death (f. 91a). According to TTH (№ 9455, f. 319), he died 26 Zu-l-Hijja 1281/22 May 1865. Therefore, he was born in late 1247/1248, i.e. 1832/1833. TAL (f. 4ab) also relates that he was about 22 when Sufi Bek, the governor of Andijan, arranged a feast which took place, following ASTH (ff. 93b–94a), in 1271/1854–1855; thus ‘Alimqul was born ca 1249/1833–1834. To follow from these two indirect references, the most probable date of his birth is 1833.
- 32 TAL, ff. 2b–3a; TTH, № 9455, f. 320b.
- 33 *Mulla* – schoolmaster, doctor; learned, or simply, literate man.
- 34 It is curious that both he and his adherent Ya‘qub Bek were beholden their initial career to the husbands of their sisters (v. infra, Commentaries).
- 35 TAL, ff. 3b–4b; TTH, № 9455, f. 320b.
- 36 TTH, № 9455, ff. 320b–321a.
- 37 Sixth or seventh Rabi‘ I 1275/13 or 14 November 1858 (TTH, № 9455, f. 252b; Qazi Mirza Qasim Akhund. *Djung*. MS № 1603 of A. Firdavsi State Library of Tadjikistan, Dushanbe, p. 128).
- 38 TTH, № 9455, f. 321a; TS, f. 14a.
- 39 Cf. the description of this campaign: TTH, № 9455, ff. 257b–259b. The extended line tactic, the essence of which was an optimal use of fire by infantry and artillery along the most critical front in the battle, was predominant in 17th and 18th century Europe. In mid–19th century Central Asia, it was still a new, effective, method of waging battle. To the fire from 400–500 muskets of the enemy, ‘Alimqul returned a volley of about 2,000 of his own, which decided the outcome of the battle.
- 40 TTH, C 440, f. 341b.
- 41 Kokand sources give different accounts on ‘Alimqul’s attitude towards this coup. While in *Tarikh-i Shahrukhi* (Бейсембиев, p. 123) it is stated that the coup was carried out with his assent, the author of *Tasnif-i gharib* clearly points out that ‘Alimqul had nothing to do with the conspirators (TG, pp. 269–270).
- 42 TAL, ff. 35a–61a; Бейсембиев, pp. 24–25; 123–126.
- 43 TG, p. 297.
- 44 ALG, f. 5a; TTH, № 9455, f. 300b; ASTH, f. 120b.
- 45 For the Kokand Khanate it was a young age (e.g. the preceding regent Musulmanqul Qipchaq (b. ca 1794, d. 1852) reached power only by 50 years old, since according to TTH (№ 9455, f. 218b), he lived about 60 years and reigned during 10 years).
- 46 TTH, № 9455, f. 305; TDT № 9455, ff. 570b–571a; ASTH, f. 121a; TG, pp. 298–300.
- 47 Thus, the influential Kazakh biy Bayzaq from the tribe Dulat and the former commandant of Avliya Ata Niyaz ‘Ali Pansad-bashi Shahrisabzi (who, on the side of Khudayar Khan, had been unsuccessful adversary of ‘Alimqul in the Ferghana campaign, 1862–1863) were attached to a cannon’s mouth and shot (TAL, f. 74b; TDT, ff. 578b–579a; ASTH, f. 121b). But that action only resulted in hostile attitude of the Kazakhs towards ‘Alimqul (Бейсембиев, p. 127).
- 48 TSH, p. 265.
- 49 TSH, pp. 272–275; ASTH, ff. 124b–125b; TTH, № 9455, f. 319a; TAL, ff. 86a–91a.
- 50 TTH, № 9455, ff. 323a–324a.
- 51 ALG, f. 12a. According to a popular song, ‘Alimqul was killed by his own soldiers (Веселовский, p. 68 of the text in Russian). Two men, Qambar Ghulam and ‘Usman ‘Ali (whose father Niyaz ‘Ali Pansad had been shot on ‘Alimqul’s order) claimed that they had killed ‘Alimqul (TDT, ff. 627b–628a).
- 52 TTH, № 9455, ff. 320b–321a.
- 53 Both are preserved in unique copies under №№ 1925/II and 8816 in the Fund of Oriental MSS at IVAN of Uzbekistan. See their brief descriptions in: *Собрание восточных рукописей Академии наук Узбекской ССР*. Том VII. Ташкент, Издательство Академии Наук УзССР, 1964, pp. 38–39, №№ 5027–5028.
- 54 TAL, ff. 2a–5b, 9a, 13b, 15b–16a, 22b–26a, 29b–30a.

- 55 Ibid., ff. 35ab, 61b–62a, 71b–72a, 76b–77a, 81a–83b, 87a.
- 56 TSH, pp. 207–208.
- 57 TAL, f. 10b.
- 58 Ibid., 1ab.
- 59 Due to this the author sometimes distorts the truth. Thus, pleading his illness, he gives a reduced account of his participation in the defence of Tashkent before the death of ‘Alimqul (TAL, f. 90ab, cf. supra) or he describes the Russo-Kokand contacts in a somewhat idyllic way.
- 60 As is seen from the biography the author’s attitude towards Mirza Ahmad was negative. It is curious that Shir Muhammad Mirza, who asked the author to write the biography, should be the son-in-law of Mirza Ahmad (v. note 24 to Translation).
- 61 TAL, ff. 5a–15a.
- 62 Ibid., ff. 15b–32b.
- 63 Ibid., ff. 33a–92a.
- 64 Ibid., 37a–41b, 67b–73b, 86b–89b.
- 65 There is an English translation of it: *Memoirs of the Polish Baroque. The writings of Jan Chryzostom Pasek, a squire of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania*. Edited, translated, with an Introduction and notes by Catherine S. Leach. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, California University Press, 1976.
- 66 TAL, f. 61a.
- 67 At the moment of accession he was 11 years old (ALG, f. 5a).
- 68 For a more detailed account of it cf.: Бейсембиев, Т. К. Легенда о происхождении кокандских ханов как источник по истории идеологии в Средней Азии (на материалах сочинений кокандской историографии). In *Казахстан, Средняя и Центральная Азия в XVI-XVIII вв.* Алма-Ата, Наука, 1983, pp. 94–105.
- 69 It is interesting to note that a similar tribute to the memory of Malla Khan was also paid by Ya‘qub Bek, who minted golden coins with his name in Eastern Turkistan (TH, p. 401).
- 70 After the murder of Shadman Khodja, ‘Alimqul dismissed Ya‘qub Bek from the post of hakim in Keravchi (TS, f. 23a). Later, when carrying out his prompt justice against Bayzaq Dadkhah, ‘Alimqul discharged a pistol at Ya‘qub Bek, but it misfired, thus sparing his life (ASTH, f. 121b). In addition, Mulla Musa Sayrami, an Eastern Turkistani chronicler, provides us with another version of Ya‘qub Bek’s departure for Kashghar: ‘Alimqul received a letter from the Bukharan Emir demanding him to execute Ya‘qub Bek as the emir’s deserter (in 1862 or 1863 Ya‘qub Bek holding the rank of pansad-bashi in the Bukharan military service fled to Ferghana to join ‘Alimqul) and threatening otherwise to take the field against Kokand. In this situation ‘Alimqul summoned Ya‘qub Bek at night, showed him the letter, appointed him qushbegi to Buzurg Khan Tōra and sent them to Kashgharia (TH, pp. 332–335). It is very probable that this case with “the emir’s letter” was fabricated by ‘Alimqul himself. Yet another interesting story of Ya‘qub Bek’s departure is found in Tasnif-i gharib. ‘Alimqul ordered the hakim of Andijan to kill Ya‘qub Bek on his way to Kashghar. However, the latter managed to elude the assassins by taking another route (TG, pp. 300–301).
- 71 Prior to ‘Alimqul’s rule, the rank of amir-i lashkar was held by a single person only during a military campaign. After becoming *de facto* ruler, ‘Alimqul appropriated this title, holding it permanently. Ya‘qub Bek, even after ‘Alimqul’s death, tried to suppress his fame. Ya‘qub Bek created four positions of amir-i lashkar in 1867 and eight in 1870, each commanding ca. 3,000 men. Thus by multiplying the number of persons with this rank Ya‘qub Bek depreciated its original significance (cf. TH, pp. 389–390, 435–436; Бейсембиев, p. 68). The son of ‘Alimqul, Shir Muhammad Mirza, who was in the service of Ya‘qub Bek, could obtain the rank only in 1877, after the latter’s death (TH, pp. 530, 585). Another case of the depreciation of ranks in Central Asia was the meaning of the term mingbashi in the Kokand Khanate and under Russian colonial rule (v. note 2 of Translation).

*Introduction: An Unknown Source for the History of the Kokand Khanate*

- 72 It is not certain whether the Kokand ambassador was sent to England or only to British India.
- 73 TAL, f. 66a–67a.
- 74 Ibid., ff. 15b–22a.
- 75 Ibid., f. 57a, 63a. It was not surprising that ‘Abd ar-Rahman Bek, the son of Shadman Khodja, went over to the Russians shortly before the 1865 spring campaign of Cherniaev on Tashkent (TDT, f. 591b).
- 76 TAL, ff. 30b–31b.
- 77 Thus the knowledge of the Kokand authors of Europe was very limited. Muhammad Hakim Khan Töra, who visited Russia in the 1820s and wrote Muntakhab at-tavarikh in the 1840s, observes that “the Franks” have seven kings and seven padishahs, and calls only seven “states:” Germany (“Namsah”), England, Russia, France, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark (Хакимхан, М. *Мунтахаб ат-таварих. (Подготовка факсимильного текста, введение и указатели А. Мухтарова)*. Книга первая. Душанбе, Дониш, 1983, pp. 51–52 (Persian facsimile text)). Almost the same is reiterated 30 years later by the author of Tuhfat at-Tavarikh-i khani (ТТН, № 9455, ff. 380b–381b). Even in the end of the 19th century a notable Bukharan historiographer, Sami, thought that until 1799/1214 the Russians were under the rule of the Chingizid khans of Crimea and paying dijizia and badj to the latter (*Tuhfab-i Shahi*, f. 186b)!
- 78 TAL, ff. 28b–29a. Cf. the version close to it: TDT, № 7991, f. 509ab.
- 79 ТМ, ff. 293b–294a; ZNH, f. 53a; ТТН № 9455, f. 222a; ТШН, p. 199.
- 80 TAL, ff. 83a–85b.
- 81 Ibid., ff. 85b–86a.
- 82 TAL, ff. 62b–63a. V. infra, Glossary. Incidentally, the penetration of the Russian lexicon into the biography (e.g. uyaz (=уезд), bulust (=волость), pulkavlik (=полковник), dakhtar (=доктор) &c.) was quite typical for that time (Cf.: Усмонов, А. ва Ҳамидов, Ш. *Ўзбек тили лексикаси тарихидан материаллар (XIX асрнинг охири – асрнинг бошлари)*. Тошкент, Фан, 1981).
- 83 TAL, f. 53b.
- 84 Веселовский, Киргизский рассказ.
- 85 BN, f. 14a.

# The Biography of ‘Alimqul Amir-i lashkar: English Translation and Commentaries

|| Since I had been a happy retainer at the august stirrup of the valiant and f. 1a  
courageous Abu-l-Fath Mulla ‘Ali-quli Amir-i lashkar from the sunrise of  
his happiness down to the setting of the moon of his life and prosperity, my  
genuine affection [for him] and convictions demand that the circumstances  
[of his life] and information [about him] from his youth till his death as a  
martyr for the faith should be threaded together in a written record. In  
connection with this the fruit of that tree, Shir Muhammad Mirza<sup>1</sup>  
|| Mingbashi,<sup>2</sup> made a request of me: “There is no one but you who f. 1b  
knows best the events and stories connected with his Worship [Amir-i  
lashkar]. If you would write a book of memoirs about that person of  
blessed qualities, then his fame amongst the nobles and the common people  
would never disappear.” And though this worthless slave has no longer  
been strong enough to write or narrate because of pain in his back and legs  
as well as due to poor eyesight from old age and loss of appetite, || because f. 2a  
of the pleasure of the memory of his Worship, I set about this work, putting  
down what I had seen with my eyes while asking the dearest child of his  
Worship, Mulla Shir Muhammad Mirza Mingbashi, about what I had not  
seen.

*May you rest in hope for the mercy of Allah and may the completion be  
easy and the end and results wonderful. He is worthy of obedience and  
omnipotent.*<sup>3</sup> Let it be known that the late Amir-i lashkar was from the

1 *Shir Muhammad Mirza* (d. after 1902) – the son of ‘Alimqul. In 1865, after the death of his father he went to Kashghar and in the 1870s, having the rank of pansad, was in the service of Ya‘qub Bek in Eastern Turkistan. In 1877, after the latter’s death and shortly before the reconquest of Eastern Turkistan by the Chi’ing forces, he was promoted by Hakim Khan Töra, the ruler of Kashghar, to the rank of amir-i lashkar. Then he returned safely to Ferghana (TDT, f. 819b; TH, pp. 530, 537, 585).

2 *Mingbashi* – “head of one thousand” – the highest military and administrative rank in the 19th century Kokand khanate; later, in the Russian colonial period and in this case, an elected head of a volost’ (small rural district) – (=волостной старшина).

3 The phrase in italics is written in Arabic.

- tribe Qirqiz-Qipchaq. His [given] name was Mulla 'Ali-quli, the son of
- f. 2b Hasan Biy. His mother was Shahrbanu Bibi. They || were from the sedentary population of Kokand uyezd, Noyghut volost', from a little place called Buchun Bitkan.<sup>4</sup> They were profitably engaged in buying and keeping [for resale] sheep, cattle and horses. By divine mercy it was in that little place that Mulla 'Ali-quli Amir-i lashkar as well as a daughter were born to Hasan Biy. [At first Mulla 'Ali-quli] was brought up in Andijan uyezd, Qurghan volost', in a certain Tashlaq.<sup>5</sup> When Amir-i lashkar was two years
- f. 3a old his father Hasan Biy died leaving his wife || with two little children. Although very young [Amir-i lashkar] was not foolish as little children usually are. Until the age of six or seven Amir-i lashkar was raised by Mulla Dust Akhund,<sup>6</sup> his mother's eldest brother, in Buchun Bitkan. After [Amir-i lashkar] learned to read and write he moved to Qurghan Tapa volost and studied for a year or two in the Aq Masdjid madrasah in Andijan. Then he went to Kokand to study under Makhdum Hadji Ra'is,<sup>7</sup> the son of the late
- f. 3b Damulla 'Ayyaz Makhdum,<sup>8</sup> || and as a result he mastered knowledge and writing. At that time his Worship the late Amir-i lashkar was about eighteen. Then Taghay-qul Dadkhah,<sup>9</sup> his sister's husband, instructed him in the art of warfare. For some time he performed his duties well, then he received his father's position as biy<sup>10</sup> in Qurghan Tapa volost'. Displaying great intelligence and efficiency he arranged things very well, thus bringing
- f. 4a peace and prosperity to his subjects and to the sufis (*khalq-i Allah*). || Seeing his success, growing from day to day, people of that time were envious of him, and stupid and senseless men began to display animosity towards him. Therefore Amir-i lashkar decided to seek support in higher places. At that time all the military chiefs and warriors gathered from all localities for the *toy*<sup>11</sup> of the hakim<sup>12</sup> of Andijan Sufi Bek, who was the younger full brother of Malla Bek, the son of Shir 'Ali Khan, and the half brother of Khudayar
- f. 4b Khan.<sup>13</sup> || Amir-i lashkar also came with a good *payga*<sup>14</sup> horse and became a

4 The author gives the location of points according to the administrative division established by the Russian authorities. Of course, in the time of the Kokand Khanate there was no division into volosts and uyezds.

5 *Tashlaq* – wide spread Turkic toponym in Central Asia and Eastern Turkistan; it refers to land that is without an owner (TH, p. 404).

6 *Akhund* – highest Muslim scholarly degree.

7 *Ra'is* – Muslim clerical official – keeper of the morality and the law (as *muhtasib*). According to TM (f. 184b), Makhdum Hadji, the *muhtasib* of Kokand, died in 1849–1850/1266.

8 *Makhdum* (lit. “that who is served”) – a son of a high Muslim ecclesiastic.

9 *Dadkhah* (lit. “a petitioner for justice”) – a honorary title of middle rank in the Kokand Khanate.

10 *Biy* – the head of a [nomadic] clan or tribe.

11 *Toy* – here – a feast on the occasion of the circumcision of a dignitary's son (in this case, of Sufi Bek's son). Perhaps this *toy* was arranged in response to that organized by Khudayar Khan for his son in late summer 1854 in Kokand (TDT, f. 521b).

12 *Hakim* – governor, ruling deputy.

*navkar* and *yigit*<sup>15</sup> of Malla Bek. The former was about twenty-two at that time.<sup>16</sup> And Allah knows the truth better.

|| THIS CHAPTER IS ABOUT THE BEGINNING OF THE MILITARY  
ACTIVITY OF THE LATE AMIR-I LASHKAR

f. 5a

So Amir-i lashkar decided to seek support in higher places. At that time Malla Bek, the elder half brother of Khudayar Khan, came to take part in the *toy* of his full brother Sufi Bek,<sup>17</sup> the hakim of Andijan. Amir-i lashkar also arrived on horseback, joined the mentioned Malla Bek || and became f. 5b his *navkar* and *yigit*. Due to his prudence his position grew stronger every day. He became close to Malla Bek and came together with him to Kokand.

Khudayar Khan was absorbed in dog, camel and ram fights, and in *ulaq*,<sup>18</sup> and [therefore] was not aware of the condition of his subjects. For this reason the people of Qurama<sup>19</sup> suffered much from the tyranny of Nar Muhammad<sup>20</sup> Parvanachi,<sup>21</sup> but no one listened to their pleas for justice. That is why letters of petition (*'arizalar*<sup>22</sup>) were hung on trees.<sup>23</sup>

13 The ruler of Kokand Shir 'Ali Khan (b. 1790/91 d. 16 August 1844, reigned in 1842–1844) had from one wife, Djarqyn Ayim (she was the daughter of Tokhta Nazar Kirghiz, the head of the tribe Saru), three sons: 'Abd ar-Rahman Bek (Sarymsaq Khan), Khudayar Khan and Sultan Murad Bek, and 3 daughters; from another wife of the Kirghiz tribe Baghysh he had two sons, Malla Bek and Sufi Bek, and 2 daughters (MT, f. 694a-b; MF, pp. 44 and 117; TTH, C 440, f. 336a).

14 *Payga* – horse race

15 *Yigit* (=Djigit) – here – mounted warrior. *Navkar/nuker* – *yigit* on duty.

16 It probably took place in late summer 1855.

17 *Sufi Bek* died 6 December 1859/11 Djumadi I 1276 (TTH, C 440, f. 336a). His first son *Nazir Bek* (d. after 1887) was a claimant to the Kokand throne during the last reign of Khudayar Khan (ca 1874) (ASTH, f. 138a; TDT, f. 834a–835a).

18 *Ulaq* – a cavalry contest, in which the participants are trying to wrest a goat carcass from each other.

19 *Qurama* – an area in the basin of the Angren river, the right tributary of the Syr Darya; bordered by the mountain ridge Kuraminskiï to the south, by Syr Darya to the west, by the Tashkent area to the north and by the Chatkal'skiï mountain range to the east. In the time of the Kokand Khanate it was a separate administrative unit (*vilayat*) with the centre at Keravchi.

20 *Nar Muhammad* Parvanachi (d. August 1864) – a dignitary, a Qipchaq from Ferghana, and the governor of Qurama from 1845. Brother-in-law of Ya'qub Bek. He started his career in the ranks of the Ferghana Qipchaqs who seized power in the Kokand khanate in 1844. Having become the opponent of one of the Qipchaq leaders, Musulmanqul, he eventually went over to the side of the sedentary nobility. He supported the Tashkent uprising of 1848 and the anti-Qipchaq revolt in 1852. From 1848 to 1852 he was the governor of Tashkent with the rank of *qushbegi*. In February 1862 he was the head of the conspiracy against Malla Khan which resulted in the murder of the latter (ASTH, ff. 66a, 70b–71a, 79a–80a, 83a, 85a, 86a, 107a-b; TTH, C 440, ff. 284b–285b; HAL, ff. 105b–108a, 114b–118b, 132b, 143b–154b; Бейсембиев, s. v.; TH, pp. 326–327). He was put to death by 'Alimqul after the unsuccessful campaign of summer 1864 against the Russians (TTH, № 9455, f. 314a,

- f. 6a || The souls of the inhabitants of Tashkent and Dasht-i Qipchaq grew heavy because of the violations and oppressions of Mirza Ahmad<sup>24</sup> Qushbegi.<sup>25</sup> Since no one lent an attentive ear to their complaints and

marginal note). His son, Sayyid Ya'qub Khan, traveller and diplomat, visited several European capitals as the envoy of Ya'qub Bek (Boulger, pp. 169–171). From 1875–1882 he received 21,000 rupees annually from the Kashmir government (Durbar). After that he received only 10,000 rupees annually from the British authorities in India (Warikoo, K. *Central Asia and Kashmir. A Study in the Context of Anglo-Russian Rivalry*. New Delhi, Gian Publishing House, 1989, p. 107).

- 21 *Parvanachi* – one of the highest ranks in the khanate, after *qushbegi*.
- 22 Generally, *'ariza* means a letter or application of an inferior to a superior.
- 23 This case indicates the survival of pre-Islamic beliefs and reverence for sacred trees. The author of TTH (C 440, f. 114b) writes that there is a custom among the Uzbeks to call a big tree *chihiltan* and to hang banners on it; women are hanging rags, lighting lamps and begging for assistance. In the *mahalla* (quarter) Qosh Aryq in Kokand there was such a willow in the courtyard of a butcher who was bankrupt. Due to his charlatanry he paid off his debts (ibid.). (Regarding *chihiltan* cf.: Андреев, М. С. Чилтаны в среднеазиатских верованиях. In В. В. Бартольд. Ташкент, 1927, pp. 334–348). In South Kazakhstan *chihiltan* were called *ghaybiran* – “secret friends” who allegedly come to the aid of people that have troubles (Мустафина, Р. М. *Представления, культы, обряды у казахов (в контексте бытового ислама в Южном Казахстане в конце XIX–XX вв.)*. Алма-Ата: Казак университети, 1992, pp. 152–153).
- 24 *Mirza Ahmad* Qushbegi (b. 1829, d. after 1895) – Kokand dignitary. Born in Kokand into the family of a courtier. In the service of the Kokand khans from 1842. The favorite of Khudayar Khan. The governor of Qurama (1853) and of Tashkent and Dasht-i Qipchaq (February 1854 – Summer 1858); *qushbegi* (from 1854). His abuses and arbitrary rule provoked an uprising in South Kazakhstan (1858). After putting it down he was recalled to Kokand and promoted to the post of *mingbashi*. In 1862–1863, during the hostilities against the Qipchaqs and Kirghiz of Ferghana he was hakim of Marghilan and Commander-in-Chief of Khudayar Khan's army. However, already in 1862 he had concluded a secret alliance with 'Alimqul and offered one of his daughters as a wife for the latter's son, Shir Muhammad (v. supra), and another of his daughters as a wife for Sultan Sa'id Bek, later the khan of Kokand in 1863–1865. Accordingly, he went over to their side in 1863. He was then given the rank of *qushbegi* and appointed governor of Khudjand (1863). Took part in the military operations in South Kazakhstan (1864) and was the governor of Tashkent (1864) and Marghilan (1865). After the third accession of Khudayar Khan (1865) he went over to the service of Ya'qub Bek in Kashgharia. *Amir-i lashkar* (1867). In autumn 1867 he fell into disgrace, in 1868 was involved in the plot to enthrone Muzaffar Khan, the son of the Kokand khan Muhammad 'Ali, was put under arrest, then set free and, after distinguishing himself in the battle of Urumchi (autumn 1870), again won Ya'qub Bek's favour. In the mid-1870s he lived in Kashghar not having great influence. In December 1877 he participated in the defence of Kashghar against the Chi'ing forces and organized the evacuation of the Muslim forces and part of the population from the city. He returned to Central Asia and lived in Tashkent. He left memoirs about himself and Ya'qub Bek. Some contemporaries describe him as a bad military chief, severe administrator, and narrow-minded but devoted dignitary (Веселовский, Н. Бадаулет Якуб-Бек, аталык Кашгарский. – *ЗВРРАО*. Том XI. 1897–1898. СПб., 1899, pp. 90–103 (with portrait of Mirza Ahmad); HAL, ff. 126a, 130a–135b, 143b–155a, 161b–168b, 199b–204a, 220b–229b; TDT, f. 556a; TH, pp. 353–354, 390, 399, 407–409, 450–451, 537, 543, 583, 605–606; TTH, № 9455, ff. 283b, 294a–b; TTH, C 440, ff. 316a, 323a; TS, ff. 19b–24b, 34b–38b, 44a–47a, 62b; TDT, ff. 514a, 519a, 521a, 524a–527b, 536a–b; ZNH, f. 61a).

cries, the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Sarts became hostile and massacred the military chiefs and men whom Mirza Ahmad Qushbegi had sent out in all directions [to collect] *zakat*. [Mirza Ahmad Qushbegi] was himself besieged by [the rebels] in the fortress of Avliya Ata while the latter occupied its suburbs.<sup>26</sup> In order to save Mirza Ahmad, Khudayar Khan was forced to send his elder brother Malla Bek and Shadman Khodja || Mingbashi<sup>27</sup> to Tashkent with the largest part of the Kokand army and his Worship Miyan Khalil Hazrat,<sup>28</sup> may Allah sanctify his grave. f. 6b

25 *Qushbegi* – one of the highest ranks in Kokand after mingbashi. A qushbegi could command a three thousand man detachment (Веселовский, 1899, p. 80). The author of AT (f. 114b) considers this term a contraction of *qushun-begi* (“commander of the army”).

26 The text refers to the uprising of 1858 in South Kazakhstan. For a more detailed account cf.: Шахматов В. Освободительное восстание казахов против кокандского феодального гнета в 1858 г. In Вестник АН КазССР, 1949, № 10, pp. 59–65.

27 *Shadman Khodja Mingbashi* (b. ca 1798, d. 1863) – Kokand military and political figure. By origin from Tashkent. Head of the khan’s guard (*mahrambashi*) (1844). The Qipchaqs’ opponent. In 1848, bearing the title of *dadkhah* he supported the Tashkent uprising. As the hakim of Tashkent (1853), he was at the head of the unsuccessful campaign to reconquer Aq Masjdjid from the Russians and therefore suffered disgrace for a time. He was the hakim of Khudjand (1856–1857), the *mingbashi* (1857–1858), and the governor of Balyqchi (east of Ferghana) (1858–1860). He commanded the Kokand vanguard of 7,000 men at the battle of Uzun Aghach (October 1860, 60 km west of modern Alma Ata) with the Russian forces. The hakim of Turkistan (1861) and Namangan (1861–1862). He took part in the removal of Malla Khan (February 1862). In 1862–1863 with the rank of *mingbashi* he led, together with ‘Alimqul, the successful struggle in Ferghana against Khudayar Khan, displaying outstanding strategic ability. The governor of Tashkent (1863). At the age of 67 (by the hijra calendar?) he was treacherously killed in Tashkent by the order of ‘Alimqul who considered him a dangerous rival. Adhered to cautious policy towards Russia (HAL, ff. 93b–94a, 105b, 116a, 127b–128b, 160b–167b, 192a–205a; ТТН, С 440, ff. 270a-b, 284b, 310b–312a; ТТН, №9455, f. 305b; ТГ, pp. 267–268, 298–300; АСТН, ff. 70b, 91b, 97b–98b, 107b, 112a–121a; ТМН, ff. 25a–30a; ТФ, ff. 55a–56a; Набиев, Р. Н. *Из истории Кокандского ханства (Феодальное хозяйство Худояр-хана)*. Ташкент: Фан, 1973, p. 67; Бейсембиев, pp. 122–126). His son ‘Abd ar-Rahman Bek escaped in the winter of 1864/65 from Tashkent to the Russians and took an active part in General Cherniaev’s campaign against Tashkent in 1865 (ТДТ, ff. 591b–593a).

28 *Miyan Khalil Hazrat* (d. 1868–69/1285) – religious figure and diplomat. Born in Peshawar. The descendant of the Naqshbandi leader, “the renewer of the second millenium [of the Muslim era],” the Indian sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi Faruqi (b. 1564, d. 1624). During the hadj he visited Kazan and debated with local theologians. He was married to Fatima, the daughter of the Tatar religious figure Mulla Fathallah (b. 1767/1181, d. 1843/1259). The ambassador of Kokand to Russia (1841–1842). In the forties and fifties Kokand authorities more than once used his influence, e.g. in 1847 to call Sarymsaq Bek, who refused to obey the central authority, from Tashkent to Kokand. Lived in Tashkent in 1862. The next year, along with his cousin, Hazrat-i Miyan Fazl Ahmad Buzruk Hadji, he was deported to Bukhara by the order of Emir Muzaffar, where he died (HAL, ff. 101a, 121a–122a, 197a, 227a-b; Shihab ad-Din Mardjani. *Mustafad al-akhbbar fi ahval-i Qazan va Bulghar*. Vol. II. Kazan, 1900, p. 278; Халфин, Н. А. *Россия и ханства Средней Азии (первая половина XIX века)*. Москва: Наука, 1974, pp. 334–335; Валиханов, Ч. Ч. О состоянии Алтышара или

After coming to Tashkent we set off for Chimkent two or three days later. After the Kokandian army camped in Chimkent the nomads who were besieging Mirza Ahmad began to lose courage and [their forces] grew weaker and dispersed more and more with each passing day. Mirza Ahmad regained his spirits, left Avliya Ata, came to Chimkent and, having taken Malla Bek and the mingbashi, returned to Tashkent.

f. 7a [The Kokandians] stayed on the bank of the Salar II in Tashkent for five to six days, in order to settle affairs in the city and then set off for Kokand, taking Mirza Ahmad with them. When they stopped at Toy Tepa it became known that Mirza Ahmad Qushbegi had slandered Shadman Khodja Mingbashi by sending a message to Khudayar Khan in which he alleged that Shadman Khodja intended to set Tashkent [against the khan]. Without ascertaining whether these words were true or false, Khudayar Khan sent a message in reply, [after which] the mingbashi was arrested at that very place and delivered to Yulchi Bek,<sup>29</sup> the pansad-bashi<sup>30</sup> of the Gypsies.

f. 7b II They moved further on from that place and came to Kokand. The mentioned mingbashi was tied up and sent to Shahrikhan<sup>31</sup> while [the khan] appointed Mirza Ahmad to his [i.e. mingbashi's] post.ø

At that time the Emir of Bukhara took to the field with his army and besieged Ura Tübe. Khudayar sent Muhammad Nazar Bek Qushbegi<sup>32</sup> to help Ura Tübe. But before the latter could reach Ura Tübe the emir had

шести восточных городов Китайской провинции Нан-Лу (Малой Бухарии) в 1858–1859 годах. In *Собрание сочинений в пяти томах*. Том 3. Алма-Ата: Главная редакция Казахской советской энциклопедии, 1985, pp. 182–183; Бейсембиев, pp. 116–117, 131; Шиһабетдин Мәржани. *Мөжтәһафәдәл-әхбар фи әхвали Казан вә Болгар*. Казан: Татарстан китап нәширияты, 1989, pp. 299–300). He left a “Memoir on the final events in Kokand” (ca 1842) which is now kept in the Russian Foreign Policy Archives, Moscow (Тимченко, С. В. *Казахско-кокандские отношения и политика России (Вторая половина XVIII – 70-е гг. XIX вв.)*. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата исторических наук. Москва, 1986, p. 8). His son Akhund Djan Sahib-zada died before him, in 1856–57/1273 (ТМ, ff. 394b–395a).

29 *Yulchi Bek* Pansad-bashi (d. 1862) – Kokand military figure. Head of the Gypsies (*Multani*). He is mentioned in the sources from 1842. In 1852, after the defeat of the Qipchaqs, he escorted their chief Musulmanqul to Kokand. He also had the title of dadkhah. Was killed near Kokand fighting on Khudayar Khan's side (ASTH, f. 88a; ZNH, ff. 18b, 24a, 32b–33a; TDN, f. 786a; ТМН, ff. 23b and 28a; *infra*, ff. 26b and 45a).

30 *Pansad-bashi* (or *pansad*) – “head of 500” who could command a detachment (*dasta*) up to 1,000 (Бейсембиев, pp. 68–69).

31 His enemies endeavoured to kill him, but he was rescued thanks to the intercession of Sultan Murad Bek, Khudayar Khan's brother (HAL, f. 167b).

32 In the mid-19th century two persons were known in Kokand by the name of *Muhammad Nazar Bek* and bearing the rank of *qushbegi*: 1) Muhammad Nazar Biy Kuroghly Qipchaq, the head of the clan *Yetty Qashqa*, in the 1840s governed Shahrikhan, and was executed by the order of Khudayar Khan in 1852 (DHH, ff. 7a and 18a; ZNH, ff. 35a, 36b, 39b; ТМН, ff. 32a and 75b; AT, f. 151a; ASTH, ff. 45b, 49b, 126a; MF, p. 118; MH, f. 6a); 2) Muhammad Nazar Bek *saqav* (“speaking thickly; stammerer”) ibn Irisquli Bek Ming – the uncle on his mother's side of the

taken possession [of the town], ordered Rustam Bek killed,<sup>33</sup> and approached and besieged Khudjand. Khudayar Khan sent Muhammad Ya'qub Bek Badavlat<sup>34</sup> to help Khudjand. Upon entering Khudjand this man showed great valour and gallantry and the city survived thanks to his zeal, while the amir of Bukhara retreated.<sup>35</sup> Qasim Mingbashi-i qadima [i.e. the ex-mingbashi],<sup>36</sup> Haqq Nazar Mirza – the son of Gaday Bay Mingbashi,<sup>37</sup> Qasim Bek, and the sons of Bahadur Qushbegi – Mirza

Kokand ruler Muhammad 'Ali Khan (reigned 1822/23 – 1842). He was the hakim of Namangan (1842–1843), also had the rank of *parvanachi*, in 1844 was on the side of the Fergana Qipchaqs and was a potential candidate to the Kokand throne (1844) (TDN, f. 786a; MT, ff. 671b–672a, 682a–690b; TMH, ff. 22b and 23b; ASTH, ff. 29a, 49b–50a, 53b; GS, ff. 30b, 34b–35a; MF, pp. 48–51, 60, 81–89, 91; AT, ff. 151a–153a; Бейсембиев, p. 114). Being at the same time the uncle on his mother's side of Khudayar Khan, later he was the hakim of Khudjand (1852–1853) and a supporter of the Fergana nomads (1862–1865). Afterwards he fled with the Qipchaqs to Kashghar and entered the service of Ya'qub Bek (ZNH, ff. 16a, 18a, 25b, 28b, 63a; TH, pp. 346, 404, 582; THH, ff. 201b–202b, 208a; TS, ff. 46a, 54a, 69b; *infra*, ff. 24a, 25a, 27a, 52a–53b). It is the latter to whom the source refers.

33 *Rustam Bek* (d. 9 September 1858) – the ruler of Ura Tübe (1854–1858), the son of Mahmud Khodja Ahrari (independent ruler of Ura Tübe, 1810–1818). In 1852 he fought with his detachment on the side of the Tashkent citizens against Musulmanqul and by his courage gained their respect. Therefore in 1853 he was appointed the governor of Zamin (a fortress west of Ura-Tübe) by Khudayar Khan. Then Rustam Bek took control of Ura Tübe by force from his cousin 'Abd al-Ghaffar Bek, was appointed *post factum* to the latter's position by Khudayar Khan but refused to recognize the authority of Kokand. He manoeuvred between the latter and Bukhara. When the Bukharan army besieged Ura Tübe, he went out of the city to fight it, was taken prisoner and executed by the order of the Bukharan Emir Nasrallah. During his rule he built a *Karavan-saray*, a *Salam-khana* (Hall of Audience) and *Hammam* (Bath-house) in Ura Tübe (TM, ff. 292a-b, 382b, 391a-b, 395a; TTH, C 440, ff. 310b, 320a–323a; TDN, ff. 793b–794a; TDT, ff. 528b–532a; *Tuhfat-i Shabi*, ff. 157b–158a; Мухтаров, А. *Очерк истории Ура-Тюбинского владения в XIX в.* Душанбе: Издательство АН ТаджССР, 1964, pp. 37–38; Бейсембиев, pp. 102–103). Since his father was the cousin (on his mother's side) of Emir Haydar (TTH, C 440, f. 138b), the father of Emir Nasrallah, Rustam Bek was the second cousin of Emir Nasrallah.

34 *Muhammad Ya'qub Bek Badavlat* (b. 1820, d. 1877) – the famous statesman of Kokand and Eastern Turkistan. Independent ruler of Kashgharia (1865–1877). From Qurama by origin. His sister was a wife of Nar Muhammad Parvanachi (see note 20). The most valuable biography remains D. C. Boulger's *The Life of Yakoob Beg* (1878). The information on his activity in Kokand has also been partially summarized by A. D. Isiev: Исиев, А. Д. *Уйгурское государство Йэттишар*. Москва: Наука, 1981, pp. 53–54 (cf. also the bibliography in his book).

35 These events occurred in late summer 1858. After the capture of Ura Tübe and the execution of Rustam Bek, Emir Nasrallah set out for Khudjand (9 September 1858) and occupied Nau and Qoshtegirman. Khudayar Khan left a garrison with 5 or 6 thousand men at Khudjand and retreated to Kokand. Emir Nasrallah, after a 12-day siege of Khudjand and some raids on the outskirts of Kanibadam and Besh Aryq, turned the government of Nau and Qoshtegirman over to Qana'at Biy and went back to Ura-Tübe and then to Bukhara (TDN, f. 794a; *Zafarnamah-i Khusravi*. MS of Oriental MSS Fund, Republic of Tadjikistan Academy of Sciences, № 95, ff. 147b–148b).

Ulugh and Rahim Bek,<sup>38</sup> the sarkar of [above-mentioned] Rustam Bek – escaped from the emir's army and reached Kokand. [Therefore] Khudayar Khan was forced to restore Shadman Khodja Mingbashi.

f. 8b || At that time, one morning after the prayers, when all the amirs and chiefs gathered to take part in the greeting ceremony in front of the palace, Malla Bek, having thrown a furious glance at Mirza Ahmad Qushbegi and Dust Muhammad<sup>39</sup> Dasturkhanchi,<sup>40</sup> said: “You have led the khan astray,

- 36 *Qasim Mingbashi-i qadima* (d. 1860–61/1277) – Kokand military chief. Born in Qoshtegirman-i Kh<sup>w</sup>arazmi. In the 1840s he served as a collector of *zakat* from the nomads of Tashkent *vilayat* holding the rank of *pansad-bashi*. He was notable for his valour and artlessness. He was military head (*baturbashi*) of Tashkent (1852), one of the Qipchaq's active opponents and the leader of the anti-Qipchaq revolt in Kokand (October 1852). After the crushing of the Qipchaqs he had been promoted at once to *dadkhah*, *amir-i lashkar* and *mingbashi*. He was at the head of the unsuccessful campaign to reconquer Aq Masjid from the Russians (December 1853). For participating in the conspiracy of Rustam Khan Tōra, the grandson of the late 18th c. Kokand ruler Narbuta Biy, he was exiled to Qarategin (1855) and then went over to the service of the Bukharan emir. When Malla Bek rose against Khudayar Khan he again entered the service of the latter and was the *mingbashi* for 26 days. After Malla Bek's victory and his accession in Kokand (November 1858) Qasim was again deported to Qarategin, then he went to Hisar and Kulab. Having been invited into Bukharan service, he fell in action at the fortress of Yakka Bagh, near Shahrisabz (HAL, ff. 106a, 116a–122b, 127b–131b, 149b, 160a; TDN, f. 795a; TMH, ff. 27b, 28b–29a; DHH, ff. 18a–21b; TDT, ff. 489b–491a; infra, passim).
- 37 *Gaday Bay Mingbashi* – Kokand military figure. From Qurama. The son of Davul Parvanachi (d. 1841). His service commenced under 'Alim Khan (reigned 1798–1810). He was the hakim of Nau (1822 and 1826) and the *mingbashi* (1841). Taken prisoner by the Bukharan emir, he later entered his service. He took an active part on his side in the hostilities against Kokand (late 1842) (TTH, C 440, ff. 218a–226a, 251a–252a; MT, ff. 291a–299a, 495b, 653a–675b; AT, f. 129a; Бейсембиев, pp. 108–109, 113).
- 38 They were Kokand nobles by birth. Bahadur Qushbegi's father was Bayshum Bahadur who faithfully served 'Alim Khan and was killed by his enemies in an ambush in the spring of 1810. Bahadur (Batur) Qushbegi (it was rather his honorary title, his name being 'Abd al-Karim) was a great dignitary at the end of Muhammad 'Ali Khan's reign and also had the rank of *parvanachi* (MT, ff. 653b, 656b, 663a; TTH, C 440, f. 218b; *Zafarnamah-i Khusravi*, f. 49a; Бейсембиев, pp. 99 and 109).
- 39 *Dust Muhammad Dasturkhanchi* (d. 1863) – the young favorite of Khudayar Khan. Karakalpak. Together with Mirza Ahmad he controlled the state during the early years of Khudayar Khan's first independent reign (1852–1858). However, as early as 1854–55/1271, he was removed from the government of Khudjand due to his oppression of its inhabitants. He fought on Khudayar Khan's side against 'Alimqul (1862–1863), and also was sent in 1862 by the former to Tashkent to suppress the revolt of the Kazakhs against Khudayar Khan. After the triumph of 'Alimqul he fled to Bukhara where he was executed by the order of Emir Muza'far on account of the old animosity of the latter's father, Emir Nasrallah (reigned 1827–1860), towards Dust Muhammad (HAL, ff. 168a, 196b–197b; TM, ff. 343b–344a; TS, f. 22a-b; TDT, f. 556b sq.; TG, pp. 296–297; TTH, C 440, f. 323a).
- 40 *Dasturkhanchi* – “Table-dresser at court, butler” (=“Стольник”{Russian}) – the court rank that in 1858, to judge from the context, was, by importance, the third after *mingbashi* and *qushbegi*. In the early 1850s the *dasturkhanchi* performed the duties of the main treasurer and was a member of the khan's council (Вельяминов-Зернов, В.

enticed him with dog and cock-fighting, kept him uninformed about the conditions of the yurt<sup>41</sup> and the subjects, [and therefore] devastated the world!" [He then] unsheathed his sabre against them. The nobles || and f. 9a amirs caught Malla Bek's hand imploring him lest he commit some reckless action and humbly begged him [to stop] and [thus] saved these [two men]. Malla Bek left immediately, entered his courtyard and led his available, ready-for-action navkars to Andijan. When Khudayar Khan learnt about this he sent his people to bring him back. But they returned saying that they could not overtake him.

Following the advice given to Malla Bek by Amir-i lashkar the former went straight to Osh. Taking with him 'Alim Bek Dadkhah<sup>42</sup> and Sayyid Bek Dadkhah<sup>43</sup> || [Malla Bek] through kind words and promises obtained the f. 9b submission of all [the clans] of Otuz-oghul, Tait and Ichkilik<sup>44</sup> compelling

В. Исторические известия о Кокандском ханстве от Мухаммеда Али до Худояр-хана. In *Труды Восточного Отделения Русского Археологического Общества*. Часть II, выпуск I. СПб., 1856, p. 348).

41 *Yurt* – 1) country, land; territory; 2) nomadic camp; 3) people, nation.

42 *'Alim Bek/Biy Dadkhah* (d. mid-May 1862) – ibn Hasan Biy ibn Shah Mirza Biy – one of the greatest Kirghiz potentates in Alay from the tribe Adyginé (according to other sources, from the Barghi or the Munduz tribe). He received the title of dadkhah from the Kokand khan (1831). Married Qurbandjan from the Kirghiz tribe Manghush (1832). Supported the revolt of the Seven Khodjas in Kashghar (1847). Was the rival and adversary of Musulmanqul (v. infra). Took an active part in the enthronement of Malla Khan and therefore was granted the post of Andijan's governor. Had the rank of parvanachi. Participated in the battle of Uzun Aghach (October 1860), where he disputed the command over the Kokand forces with Qana'at Shah, fell into disgrace and escaped to his native nomadic camp (1861). Being summoned to the khan he was put under house arrest. He took an active part in the conspiracy against Malla Khan and after the latter's death, during the short reign of Shah Murad Khan, 'Alim Bek was the foremost person in Kokand (February-May 1862). He was killed by the order of 'Alimqul and his adherents. He built in Osh a madrasah in the Bukharan style and provided it with a tract of land in the village Chin Abad as a hereditary waqf. His widow Qurbandjan Dadkhah became his successor in the ruling of Alay until the Russian conquest (1875), enjoyed a great authority being called the "Queen of Alay" and died in 1907 at Mady, near Osh, at the age of 96 (MF, p. 95; ТТН, С 440, ff. 324b, 342a–350a; *Материалы по истории киргизов и Киргизии*. Выпуск I. Москва, Наука, 1973, pp. 233–237; Плоских, В. М. *Киргизы и Кокандское ханство*. Фрунзе: Илим, 1977, p. 348 (cf. name index); Бейсембиев, pp. 121–124, 150).

43 *Sayyid Bek Dadkhah* – head of the Kirghiz tribes Kesek and Tait. Was rewarded by the Kokand khan with the rank of toqsaba (1835–36/1251). In 1844, jointly with 'Alim Bek and other Kirghiz chiefs, he rebelled against the Qipchaqs who had taken power in Kokand, but was defeated and spent several years in hiding in the mountains. He became the adherent and confidant of Malla Khan. The hakim of Khudjand (1859). Under 'Alimqul with the rank of qushbegi he was appointed to govern Isfara and Usmani (in late 1863). Under the pressure of Khudayar Khan's forces he went with the Qipchaq chiefs to Kashghar where he acted against Ya'qub Bek (1865) (BN, f. 33b; TG, pp. 223, 229, 265, 267; ТМН, f. 29a; MF, pp. 95 and 98; TS, ff. 14a, 38b, 46a, 52b–53b; АСТН, f. 102a). He must not be confused with another Sayyid [Bek] Qushbegi (d. 1845–46/1262), the hakim of Chust and a Kokand

them to swear on the Qoran and making them his subjects. Leaving with all their supporters from Osh they camped at Tashlaq, near Andijan, at the estate of Amir-i lashkar.<sup>45</sup> There they unanimously proclaimed Malla Bek the khan and began to prepare for hostilities and the conquest of the yurt.<sup>46</sup>

- f. 10a At that time || the hakim of Andijan Sufi Bek<sup>47</sup> and the hakim of Marghilan Shah Murad Bek<sup>48</sup> left for Kokand with their troops to fight against the emir of Bukhara. For this reason these yurts were left without armies to protect them and were easily conquered by Malla Khan. With this conglomeration of people and all the troops of the Kirghiz and the Qipchaqs Malla Khan moved on Kokand to conquer it, staying over-night at Samanchi. Khudayar Khan set out from Kokand<sup>49</sup> with his entire army and artillery and, passing through Qaravul, stayed [over-night]. || The following day after prayers the two sides lined up and joined battle. The dust obscured the sun. Khudayar Khan and Malla Khan came together and fought with sabres but neither of them was wounded.<sup>50</sup> Both armies dispersed. However, the troops of Khudayar Khan scattered to a greater extent. The beks of Shahrissabz, Baba Bek and Muhammad Murad Bek,<sup>51</sup>
- f. 10b

dignitary under Muhammad 'Ali Khan (AT, f. 146a; GS, f. 24a; MT, f. 661a; MTF, f. 61a; TTH, C 440, ff. 225a and 324b; TM, ff. 151b–152a; Бейсембиев, pp. 109, 148, 152).

44 *Otuz-oghul* (otuz-uul) – lit. “thirty sons” – designated the right and the left “wings” of the Kirghiz tribes, whereas *Ichkilik* referred to the rest of the Kirghiz tribes, among which was the tribe *Tait* (Абрамзон, С. М. *Киргизы и их этногенетические и историко-культурные связи*. Ленинград: Наука, 1971, pp. 26–27).

45 According to TTH (C 440, f. 324b) this location was named Qarasu.

46 Malla Khan swore that he would never kill them and would rule together with them. For their part, the Kirghiz chieftains swore an oath to defend Malla Khan (TG, p. 265).

47 See note 13.

48 *Shah Murad Bek* (b. 1847, d. 1863) – the son of Sarymsaq Khan (see note 13). Afterwards the titular khan of Kokand (25 February – 4 June 1862), protégé of the nomad chieftains in Ferghana. Was killed by the order of 'Alimqul after refusing to retreat with the latter to Uzgend (TTH, C 440, ff. 343a–351a; TG, pp. 224, 233, 270–279; TF, ff. 2b, 47a–52a).

49 23 October 1858/15 Rabi' I 1275 (TTH, C 440, f. 325b). Mirza Ahmad had been appointed the *mingbashi* and *amir-i lashkar* of the Kokand army (TDT, f. 536a).

50 Cf. TSH, p. 208, where Khudayar Khan is said to have stricken a blow on his brother's head.

51 *Baba Bek* and *Muhammad Murad Bek* – members of the *Kenagas/Keneges* ruling clan in Shahrissabz, a small and virtually independent principality (until 1870) in 18th–19th c. Central Asia. Since Shahrissabz was occupied by the forces of the Bukharan emir from 1856 to 1860, these beks took refuge by entering into the service of Kokand. There existed dynastic relationships between the Mings of Kokand and the Keneges of Shahrissabz. Perhaps the person mentioned here is Baba Bek Parvanachi ibn Hakim Biy, later the last ruler of Shahrissabz who, after its conquest by the Russians, escaped to Ferghana and was, together with his relative and deputy Djura Bek Dadkhah ibn Qalandar Bek Ishik-aghasi, extradited to the Russian authorities by Khudayar Khan (1870). Later they both entered the service of Russia. Baba Bek died in 1898 with the rank of colonel; Djura Bek was killed by robbers in the rank of major-general in 1906 (TTH, № 9455, ff. 338a–339a; see also TDT, ff. 542b–545a, 714b; Мирза Абд ал-Азим Сами. *Та'рих-и салатин-и мангитийа*.