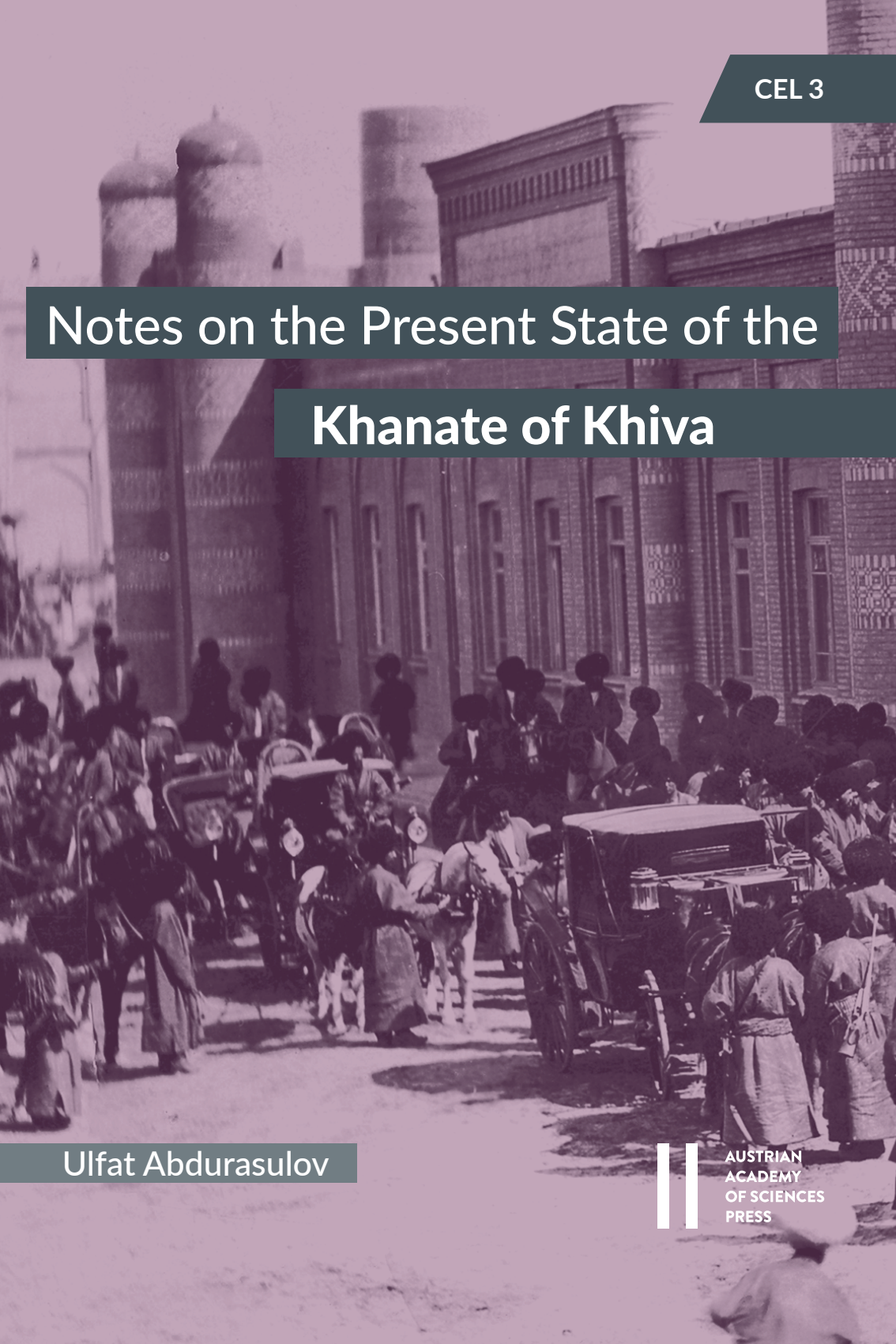
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Notes on the Present State of the Khanate of Khiva



Ulfat Abdurasulov

AUSTRIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES PRESS

Ulfat Abdurasulov

Notes on the Present State of the Khanate of Khiva by the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department Colonel Nil Lykoshin, 1912

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Notes on the Present State of the Khanate of Khiva by the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department Colonel Nil Lykoshin, 1912

Edited, Translated and Annotated
by
Ulfat Abdurasulov

AUSTRIAN
ACADEMY
OF SCIENCES
PRESS

Cover Image: Grand-opening of the hospital named after Tsesarevich Alexei of Russia, Khiva, 1913. Courtesy of the Ichan-Qal'a State Museum, Khiva, inv. no KP 2859.

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements 9
List of Abbreviations 11
Illustrations 12
Technical Note 13

INTRODUCTION

1. Prologue 17
2. Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin (1860–1923) 28
3. The Amu-Darya Department and Fort Petro-Aleksandrovsk 39
4. *Zapiska*: Compilation, Chronology, and Authorship 45
5. "Secrets of the Khivan Court." The Detainment of the *Divanbegi*-ites 58
6. Death in the Darkness: Employing Criminal History Techniques 77
7. "The Proud Stepsons of Khiva", Distribution of Sweets and the Search for a Bride: the Turkmens of Khorezm 93

TEXT IN RUSSIAN 119

Записка Начальника Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла полковника Н. Лыкошина о современномъ состояніи Хивинскаго Ханства

ENGLISH TRANSLATION 229

Notes on the Present State of the Khanate of Khiva by Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department Colonel Nil Lykoshin

Bibliography 347
Index 357

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The idea of writing this book was conceived during a two-week period of quarantine which I was required to spend in a hotel near Tokyo's Narita Airport, upon arrival in Japan in late summer 2021. Time in dreary confinement – where staring at a window at the planes, either landing or taking off, was the only form of entertainment – gave me liberty to absorb myself in thinking and writing. It was under these circumstances that I embarked upon the initial steps of preparing the Russian edition and English translation of Nil Lykoshin's *Zapiska*. This work subsequently progressed during my fellowship at the Slavic Research Center at the Hokkaido University, where I was able to pursue the subject in a more systematic fashion. I am therefore very grateful to my colleagues from this respectful institution and especially to Norihiro Naganawa and Kanako Nakajima, who amid all uncertainties of the COVID-19 pandemic went to great lengths to enable my stay in Sapporo and who showed me the best sides of genuine Japanese *omotenashi,* making my sojourn most comfortable and productive.

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In memory of Abduvahid Abdurasulov (1939–2014).

Abbreviations

AVIVR RAN	Archive of the Orientalists of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (*Arkhiv vostokovedov Instituta vostochnykh rukopisei Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk*), St. Petersburg
AVPRI	Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire (*Arkhiv vneshnei polititki Rossiiskoi Imperii*), Moscow
IQDM	Ichan-Qal'a State Museum (*Ichan-Qal'a Davlat muzey-qo'riqxonasi*), Khiva
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
ONU	*Journal of the Social Sciences of Uzbekistan* (*Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*)
OR RNB	Department of Manuscripts, Russian National Library (*Otdel rukopisei, Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka*), St. Petersburg
O'zRFA ShI	Al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences (*O'zbekiston Respublikasi Fanlar akademiyasi Abu Rayhon Beruniy nomidagi Sharqshunoslik instituti*), Tashkent
O'zR MA	National Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan (*O'zbekiston milliy arxivi*), Tashkent
RGVIA	Russian State Military Archive (*Rossiiskii voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv*), Moscow
RGIA	Russian State Historical Archive (*Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv*), St. Petersburg

Illustrations

1.1	Sayyid Isfandiyār Bahādur Khān of Khiva (r. 1910–1918)	Page 20
1.2.	N.S. Lykoshin along with his family, late 1910s	Page 35
1.3	Fragments of N.S. Lykoshin's memoranda with Governor-General A.V. Samsonov's notes, 1912	Page 38
1.4	Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II and the Heir Sayyid Isfandiyār Tūra in St. Petersburg, 1896	Page 62
1.5.	Sayyid Islām Khvāja, the grand-vizier of the Khanate of Khiva in 1910–1913	Page 76
3.1	A *caiouque* on the Amu-Darya, 1912	Page 233
3.2.	A bridge over the canal, Khiva, early 20th century	Page 236
3.3	The pages of the Gandemian Treaty of 1873 (in Turkic)	Page 239
3.4	*Kalta Minār* and the Madrasa of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, early 20th century	Page 242
3.5	Sayyid Isfandiyār Khān and the Heir Sayyid Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra (d. 1915)	Page 258

Technical Note

The Russian edition of the *Zapiska* has been rendered in accordance with the pre-reform Russian orthography. This includes, in particular, the retention of the letters ѣ/Ѣ and i/i, as well as of ъ/ъ in final position after consonants. The text also reflects morphological features of the linguistic inheritance of Church Slavonic in pre-revolutionary Russian. In particular, we retain use of the endings *-аго, -яго* for the genitive singular forms of masculine and neuter adjectives, e.g. *Хивинскаго ханства* instead of the present-day form *Хивинского ханства* or *Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла* instead of *Аму-Дарьинского Отдела*. We similarly retain the use of the special plural endings *-ыя*, *-ія* in the nominative and accusative forms of feminine and neuter adjectives, e.g. *отпущенныя средства* instead of the present-day form *отпущенные средства*; *желѣзныя части* instead of *железные части*; and *комиссія, распредѣляющія подати* instead of *комиссия, распределяющая подати*. We also keep the special genitive singular form *ея* of the feminine personal pronoun instead of the contemporary Russian *ее*, as well as the voiced forms of the final consonants of certain prefixes, e.g. *безпорядки* instead of *беспорядки*.

For the convenience of Russophone readers, we have also retained the editorial footnotes in the Russian edition.

When composing the English translation, we were confronted with the question of how to render the various Islamicate names, terms and etc that appear in the text – namely, whether to render them in the Russianized form as presented by Lykoshin, or to make them more closely approximate their original rendering within the Islamicate milieu under discussion in this work. We ultimately opted to go for the latter option, converting Lykoshin's Russianized renderings into their Islamicate 'originals', in accordance with a slightly modified version of the *IJMES* system: we thus have e.g. *Sayyid Isḥāq Khvāja* instead of *Saiid Iskhak Khodzha*, *Jum'a Niyāz Divān* instead of *Dzhuma Niiaz Divan*, and *Charjui* instead of

Chardzhui. The names of Russian imperial rulers, meanwhile, have been anglicized as e.g. Alexander III and Nicholas II.

Moreover, the English translation has been illustrated with a number of pictures taken by contemporary photographers.

Introduction

1. Prologue

On 13 March 1912 Colonel Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin (1860–1922), a Russian colonial officer with nearly three decades' service in various positions in Russian Turkestan, was appointed to the office of Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department. The Amu-Darya Department (*Amu-Dar'inskii Otdel*), also known by its acronym ADO, was an administrative unit within the Turkestan General Governorship, comprising the territories in the lower reaches of the Amu-Darya River that had been annexed from the Khanate of Khiva following the latter's military defeat in 1873. Spread over an area of about 76,000 sq. km – roughly the size of modern Czechia –, the ADO was centered around Fort Petro-Aleksandrovsk, a fortified town that since its foundation in 1873 played the role of the Russian "point of defense, observation and support vis-à-vis with the Khan of Khiva".[1] Although much of the Commandant's work involved overseeing various everyday economic, administrative and military matters within the territory of the ADO, he was also tasked with other, more challenging duties. Among these was responsibility for maintaining direct communication with the Khan of Khiva. This required some diplomatic finesse, given the Khan's deftly delineated status as supreme ruler of a polity that, by the terms of the Gandemian peace treaty, was simultaneously sovereign and bound to Russia in a state of "vassal dependence". The sensitivity required in maintaining diplomatic relations with the Khan meant that the position of the ADO Commandant, with simultaneous responsibility for overseeing the Khivan Khanate, was regarded by the Turkestan administration as one of the most challenging offices within the entire colonial government, and one that, if successfully executed, offered a springboard for subsequent career growth.[2] Lykoshin's own career

1 Seymour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865–1924* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 60.

2 Several of the officials who held that office at different times, including A.S. Galkin (1896–1903), V.N. Susanin (1904–1905) as well as N.S. Lykoshin himself (1912–1914), were subsequently promoted to the higher office of Military Governor of the individual provinces of Turkestan. Furthermore, the first ADO

was no exception here: a few years later, in 1914, he would be promoted to the office of Military Governor of the larger Samarkand Province.

Promising as it was in terms of career development, the office of the ADO Commandant nevertheless could entail manifold pitfalls for its holder. The vagueness of the Commandant's mandate vis-à-vis the Khanate of Khiva, coupled with the ADO's distance from imperial logistic centers, meant that there were occasions when the Commandant had to assume the initiative and act upon his own authority, and in cases where things went badly there was a risk of being scapegoated by imperial policymakers. This was the fate of Lykoshin's successor as Commandant, Major-General V.P. Kolosovskii (in office: 1914–1916), who in the wake of the large-scale Turkmen uprising in Khiva in 1916 was assigned a good deal of blame for provoking the unrest, and consequently was subjected to dishonorable discharge.[3]

For the newly appointed Lykoshin, things must have looked particularly challenging given that he took up office in the midst of various turbulent developments that unfolded in what the Russian officers in Petro-Aleksandrovsk came to call "the Khanate beyond the river" (*zarechnoe khanstvo*). A year and half prior to Lykoshin's promotion, the Khivan Qonghrat ruler Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II (r. 1864–1910) had passed away. He had ruled the Khanate for more than four decades, the majority of this time after the Russian takeover of Khiva. The father of six sons, each of whom – in the lack of clear practices of succession to the khanal throne – was potentially entitled to ascend the throne of Khiva,[4] the elderly Khan (*qarī-khān*),

Commandant N.A. Ivanov (1873–1877), later in 1901–1904 acted in the capacity of Governor-General of Turkestan.

3 For more on the Turkmen uprising in 1915–1916 and the role of V.P. Kolosovskii in said events, see Ul'fat Abdurasulov, "Konflikt kak resurs: Anatomia "turkmenskikh besporiadkov" v Khorezme, 1914–1916 gg." *Ab Imperio* 3 (2018): 141–186.

4 According to the Khivan authors, Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II had six sons: ʻAṣqar Maḥmūd Tūra, Muḥammad Yār Tūra, ʻIbādullāh Tūra, Muḥammad Yūsuf Tūra, Sayyid ʻAbdullāh Tūra, and Sayyid Isfandiyār Tūra, see: ʿAbdullāh

as his subjects came to call him, seems to have been well aware of the risks of possible disturbances following his death: after all, through the entire history of Qonghrat rule in Khorezm, khanal succession had seldom occurred without a fierce power struggle both within the court and in the diverse localities. The Russian colonial authorities seem to have been aware of this as well. Unsurprisingly, therefore, once reports began to circulate about a sharp deterioration in Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II's health, they set in motion intense communication among various imperial and colonial officials. They furthermore intensified the discussion among imperial governmental bodies around succession to the Khivan throne, also looking at the possibility of full annexation of the Khivan protectorate.[5] After intense exchanges between the imperial officials and the Khivan authorities, Sayyid Isfandiyār Tūra, the Khan's youngest son, was recognized officially as his heir.[6] On 16 August 1910 the elderly Khan passed away. Within a couple of hours, Sayyid Isfandiyār Tora was hastily elevated on the white felt in the Kuhna Arq Palace, following traditional enthronement practice,[7] by members of the leading

Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, *Khīva 1950*, MS Tashkent, O'zRFAShI, inv. no. 9320, fol. 4a. Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī stated that it was the elder son 'Aṣqar Maḥmūd Tūra who had the most right to claim the Khivan throne, see Ḥasan Madaminov, (Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī), *Otryvki iz istorii Khivinskogo khanstva. Period 1910–1913 gg*.; O'zMA, f. I-125, op. 1, d. 609, ll. 64–64 ob.

5 A. Samsonov, then the Governor-General of Turkestan, reported to the Russian Foreign Minister A.P. Izvol'skii that "necessity of acknowledging of Sayyid Isfandiyār as a [true] successor was conditioned by the threat of probable unrest due to the presence of other sons of [Muḥammad Raḥīm] Khan, who also claimed the throne", Samsonov, *Telegramma, 23.08.1910*; f. I-2, op.1, d. 291, ll. 78–79.

6 Jum'a Niyāz Ḥājjī (Babaniyazov), yet another Khivan author, reported that in the light of these events, people in Khiva were lamenting "that it wouldn't be right if the sixth [and youngest] of the brothers ascends the throne", see: Jum'a Niyāz Ḥājjī b. Bābā Niyāz Khīvaqī (Babaniyazov), *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqi'alārī va yāsh khīvaliklār ūnga qārshī ḥarakatlāri*, MS Tashkent, O'zFAShI, inv. no. 7568, fol. 4b.

7 On the tradition of the elevation of the new Qonghrat dynasts of Khiva on a white felt carpet, see further: Shioya Akifumi, "Islam and the Nomadic Political Tradition in the 19th-Century Khanate of Khiva" *Oriente Moderno* 102 (2022): 74–75.

dynastic factions.[8] A peaceful transfer of regnal authority was ensured by the Russian Cossack regiment under the leadership of the Commandant of the ADO Glushanovskii.[9]

"*Davr, davr Isfandiyār Khān davrī!*" or "Long live the Khan," proclaimed the street criers a couple of hours later in bazaars across the Khanate, thereby saluting the beginning of the reign of Sayyid Isfandiyār Bahādur Khān (r. 1910–1918).[10]



Sayyid Isfandiyār Bahādur Khān of Khiva (r. 1910–1918).
Photo credit: IQDM, inv. no. KP 2859

8 Bābājān Safarov, *Khwārazmda būlūb ūtgān qūlchilīq aḥvāllarīnīng vāqiʿalārī*, MS Tashkent, OʻzFAShI, inv. no. 11254/II, fol. 5a; Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, MS Tashkent, OʻzFAShI, inv. no. 278, fol. 5a.

9 A.D. Kalmykov, *Smert' Seid Mukhamed Rakhim Khana Khivinskogo i vstuplenie v upravlenie delami Khanstva syna i naslednika ego Seid Asfendiiara*; OʻzMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 291, ll. 162–164; Jumʻa Niyāz Ḥājjī Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqiʻalārī*, fol. 4b.

10 Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 3a.

The young and weak-willed Khan, as the contemporaries come to depict Isfandiyār,[11] fell under the influence of one of his courtiers, Sayyid Islām Khvāja (1872–1913). This individual's rise to power was already underway during the previous ruler's reign.[12] Sayyid Islām Khvāja's role seems to have been pivotal in negotiations with the Russian authorities over promoting Isfandiyār Tūra as the new Khan of Khiva. There were clearly a variety of reasons for Sayyid Islām Khvāja to align with the Heir: not only was he the prince's maternal uncle, but he was also his father-in-law: Isfandiyār Tūra having married his daughter Ḥājjī Pāshā.[13] It is unsurprising, therefore, that following Isfandiyār Khān's accession to power Sayyid Islām Khvāja's authority grew immensely. He henceforth came to be regarded as *de facto* ruler of Khorezm, boasting the title of *vazīr-i akbar* (grand vizier) – a rank that was unparalleled in the previous history of the Khanate. According to some testimonies, Sayyid Islām Khvāja's private residence constituted a sort of parallel, or

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11 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no 53*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 289, l. 166 ob.; Alexander Baranovskii, a diplomatic official at the Turkestan Governorship-General (off. 1911–1915), for instance, attested that Isfandiyār Khān was an irresolute, persuadable personality, easily subjected to extraneous influences, though at the same time was someone who "painfully strives for self-standing, which he understands in a rather peculiar way", see his *Raport*, AVPRI, f. 147, op. 486, d. 182, l. 20, cited from A.Iu. Bakhturina, *Okrainy Rossiiskoi imperii: gosudarstvennoe upravlenie i natsional'naia politika v gody Pervoi mirovoi voiny (1914–1917 gg.)* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2004), pp. 328–329.

12 Already in 1902–1903, the Russian military authors Girshfel'd and Galkin reported that Sayyid Islām Khvāja's remit included overseeing (*zavedyvanie*) the settled population of the Khanate, see: V.A. Girshfel'd, and A.S. Galkin, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie Khivinskogo oazisa*. Pt. II (Tashkent: Tipografiia shtaba Turkestanskogo voennogo okruga, 1903), p. 22. Later, in 1908 Alexander Samoilovich, upon his visit to Khiva, noted the fact that Islām Khvāja "enjoyed immense influence on [all] Khivan affairs … suffice it to say that he keeps in his hands all finance of the country": see A.N. Samoilovich, "Kratkii otchet o poezdke v Tashkent i Bukharu i v Khivinskoe khanstvo v 1908 godu", in *Izvestiia Russkogo komiteta dlia izucheniia Srednei i Vostochnoi Azii v istoricheskom, arkheologicheskom i etnograficheskom otnosheniiakh* 9 (St Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk, 1909), p. 9 (fn. 1).

13 Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fol. 4a.

"a lesser court" operating alongside the court of the Khan, to which many of the Khanate's officials deemed it necessary to come and pay homage with a bow (*salām*) to the grand vizier; it was also recognized that various issues of policy had first to be discussed and approved at this "lesser court".[14] Sayyid Islām Khvāja additionally seems to have overseen the chancellery of the Khivan Khan as well as the Khanate's liaisons with Tashkent and St. Petersburg.

Sayyid Islām Khvāja was not the only influential figure at the court: there were clearly other notable players and factions, who enjoyed a great deal of authority and whose interests seem to have been at odds with those of the grand vizier. First and foremost were three sons of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī (1830–1902), whom we find referred to in Russian documentation as 'the *Divanbegi*-ites' (*divanbegiitsy*). Mat-Murād Divānbīgī, who had made a stellar career under the previous ruler Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II, had famously advocated strong resistance to the Russian troops on the eve of the Russian conquest of Khiva in 1873.[15] It is to him that one local historian attributes the promise to "harness the White [=Russian] Tsar onto a cart", were the Russians to try to conquer Khiva.[16] In punishment for his belligerence, following the Russian takeover he was expelled to the Russian city of Kaluga. With the passage of time, however, in 1879–1880, upon the repeated requests of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II, Mat-Murād Divānbīgī secured from the

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14 N. Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 30.09.1912, no 15*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 289, ll. 162 ob.–163.

15 For more on the Russian takeover of Khiva in 1873 and the role of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī in these events, see Alexander Morrison, *The Russian Conquest of Central Asia. A Study in Imperial Expansion, 1814–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 356–362.

16 *ḥalī bīzlār tīz kūnda āq pādshāh-nīng ūzīnī 'aravagha qūshamān*. This is a phrase that the Khivan author Safarov attributed to Mat-Murād Divānbīgī, see his *Khwārazmda būlūb ūtgān qūlchilīq aḥvāllarīnīng vāqi'alārī*. For the Chaghatay text and English translation of Safarov's text, see further: Ulfat Abdurasulov and Nuryoghdi Toshov, "Soviet 'Local' Knowledge: Babajan Safarov's Notes on Slavery in Khwarazm", in N. Purnaqcheband and F. Saalfeld eds., *Aus den Tiefenschichten der Texte: Beiträge zur turko-iranischen Welt von der Islamisierung bis zur Gegenwart* (Wiesbaden: Riechert Verlag, 2019), p. 288.

Russian autocrat both a pardon and permission to return to his home country. From then until his death in 1901 he reoccupied his former position, where he was regarded as "indispensable" by the Russian authorities due to his expertise in governing over the Khanate.[17] During his post-exile life the Divānbīgī seems to have been on rather frosty terms with another courtier called Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khvāja, who was the father of Sayyid Islām Khvāja. The enmity between the two courtiers was continued after their death by their sons. Mat-Murād Divānbigī's sons – Ḥusayn Muḥammad Bāy, Shaykh Naẓar Bāy and Āmān Kildī Bāy – were appointed from young ages to various important positions at the court, and on many occasions, they were in direct competition with Sayyid Islām Khvāja.[18]

The concentration of power in the hands of Sayyid Islām Khvāja in the initial years of Isfandiyār Khān's reign allowed him to inflict a crushing blow to the positions of his long-time rivals and thus, seemingly, put an end to this long inter-familial contestation. At the very end of 1911, all three sons of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī, along with some other courtiers, were detained upon the Khan's orders on charges of high treason, and most of their property was confiscated in favor of the treasury. We will address in greater detail the story of how these courtiers fell into disfavor and then redeemed themselves in a later section of this Introduction; for the moment, though, it is worth simply noting that the Russian authorities were taken by surprise by this development. Despite the web of informants at the Khivan court and the fact that the Commandant of the ADO was in charge of keeping constant track of the situation in Khiva, the Russians failed to anticipate this course of events, and their responses to these and other political developments were often very belated. Apart from the fact that the disfavor towards influential

17 Akifumi Shioya, "*Povorot* and the Khanate of Khiva: a New Canal and the Birth of Ethnic Conflict in the Khorazm Oasis, 1870s–1890s" *Central Asian Survey* 33/2 (2014): 238.

18 N. Tashev, "Zanimal li Mukhammad-Iusuf Baiani dolzhnost' divan-begi?" *O'zbekiston tarixi* 2 (2009): 18–20; Shioya, "*Povorot* and the Khanate of Khiva", pp. 238–239.

courtiers occurred behind the back of the Russian authorities, the more sensitive fact was that one of those who was detained, Ḥusayn Muḥammad Bāy Divānbīgī, the eldest of the *Divanbegi*-ites, had previously been appointed by the Russian Emperor to the honorary rank of lieutenant colonel of the Russian army.[19] The Russians thus regarded the move by the Khivan authorities now to imprison this individual as a calculated affront to the "prestige of Russian power" – something that the colonial authorities were perennially concerned to protect.[20] For that reason over the course of 1912 the Russian authorities gave central priority in their negogiations with Khiva to "alleviating the plight of the *Divanbegi*-ites". In the meantime, perhaps due to the fact that the detainment took the colonial administration in Petro-Aleksandrovsk completely by surprise, Major-General N.G. Glushanovskii, then the Head of the Department, was recalled and replaced with Colonel Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin, who it was hoped would be a more authoritative figure.

Another pressing matter that faced Lykoshin upon his arrival was the so-called implementation of the program of reforms announced by the Khivan authorities earlier in September 1910. This program was not, in fact, wholly of the Khivans' own making. Indeed, as we have shown elsewhere, it was the Russian officials who, following the death of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II and the enthronement of his successor Isfandiyār Khān, compelled the Khivan authorities to design a set of measures aiming at the reorganization of the Khanate's administrative, financial and legal affairs in order to lay the groundwork, it was hoped, for its subsequent

[19] Ḥusayn Muḥammad Bāy Divānbīgī was bestowed that rank in 1911, upon his visit to the Russian Emperor's court as a part of Isfandiyār Khān's retinue. On that occasion, the Khan himself secured promotion to the rank of major-general of "His Imperial Majesty's Retinue", see: Pahlavān Niyāz Ḥājjī (Yusupov), [*Khāṭiralar*]. MS Khiva, Private Collection, fol. 8b; Jum'a Niyāz Ḥājjī Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqi 'alārī*, fols. 5a–5b.

[20] Kolosovskii, *Dokladnaia Zapiska General-maioru Geppeneru*, *4.08.1915, no 333*; O'zMA, f. I-1, op. 1, d. 290, l. 97

annexation.[21] The reform program broadly sought to reconcile the interests of multiple parties, namely the Khivan authorities, the members of colonial administration, who advocated the complete annexation of the Khanate, and that part of the Russian establishment which preferred to preserve the existing order with regard to the Khivan protectorate. As it turned out, however, the program did not achieve much. Not only did the Khivan authorities fail to implement meaningful reforms over the following years, but furthermore some of the program of reforms provoked strong antagonism from various court factions and the wider population. One particularly contentious issue was the suggestion that the land tax (*sālghūt*) should be re-calculated based upon the actual size of land plots, in accordance with the new land cadaster. The proposed land survey was the subject of fierce opposition from large landlords, including royal family members, as well as from certain groups of the Khivan Khān's Turkmen subjects. Opposition was particularly entrenched among Turkmens from the vicinity of Kuhna-Urgench, who had reason to believe that the upcoming land survey might be used by the Khivan authorities as a mean of imposing compliance on tribal groups that had previously enjoyed varying degrees of autonomy.

Lykoshin's arrival at Petro-Aleksandrovsk thus came in the midst of some turbulent developments in the neighboring Khanate. These developments would dominate much of Lykoshin's tenure. They would furthermore constitute the leitmotif of most of the administrative reports and memoranda which Lykoshin composed during his period in office.

Prior to assuming office, Lykoshin had been summoned to Tashkent for a personal meeting with the Governor-General of Turkestan Alexander Vasil'evich Samsonov (off.: 1909–1914). Samsonov's tenure as Governor-General was notable for his repeated endeavors

[21] On the program of the reforms and their implementation, see further Ulfat Abdurasulov and Paolo Sartori, "Neopredelennost' kak politika: razmyshliaia o prirode rossiiskogo protektorata v Srednei Azii" *Ab Imperio* 3 (2016): 118–164; idem, "Imperial Strategic Uncertainty: The Promises and Perils of a Russian Protectorate in Central Asia", pp. 233–264.

to impose direct control over the Russian protectorates in the region, namely the Khanates of Khiva and Bukhara, by means of truncating their autonomy and depriving them of their semi-independent status. Although his endeavors had received a cool reception from the agencies in the imperial metropole, Samsonov seems nevertheless to have remained keen to keep these regions, especially Khiva, despite its remoteness, under closer control than his predecessors had done. As a way for ensuring such control, Samsonov considered the establishment of a more stable channel of information, in which the newly appointed Commandant Lykoshin, was to play a principal role. In his meeting with Lykoshin, therefore, Samsonov instructed him not only to keep a close watch over Khivan affairs, but also to keep him personally and regularly informed of any developments "even if nothing noteworthy happens during the period under report".[22]

Faithful to these instructions, Lykoshin compiled numerous and extensive reports and memoranda on the state of affairs in the Khivan Khanate during his period in office between August 1912 and June 1914.[23] The most notable perhaps of this textual corpora, in terms of volume and information contained, was the 72-page report titled *Notes on the Present State of the Khanate of Khiva* (*Zapiska Nachal'nika Amu-Dar'inskogo Otdela Polkovnika Lykoshina o sovremennom sostoianii Khivinskago Khanstva)*,[24] written by Lykoshin between the months of May and August 1912, on the basis of three tours of inspection that he undertook in various parts of the Khanate. In terms of genre the *Zapiska* is not an administrative report *stricto sensu*, but rather a bricolage of statistical data, ethnographic sketches, travelog notes, and, not least, literary prose. As such it

22 N.S. Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.08.1912, no 43*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op.1, d. 289, ll. 132–132 ob.

23 Most of this textual output nowadays is held in the National Archive of Uzbekistan as part of archival holding (*fond*) I-2 (*Diplomaticheskii chinovnik pri Turkestanskom General-gubernatore*).

24 N.S. Lykoshin, *Zapiska Nachal'nika Amu-Dar'inskago Otdela Polkovnika Lykoshina o sovremennom sostoianii Khivinskago Khanstva, 1912 god*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 314, ll. 12–58.

represents one of the most detailed and eloquent accounts of the Khivan Khanate to survive from the colonial period, and one that was written by someone who was not merely an eyewitness to but also an active participant in the events described therein. Although Lykoshin's legacy, scholarly and administrative alike, has been the subject of detailed academic scrutiny in the previous scholarship, little has been written about his activities, let alone the textual output, from the time when he held the post of the Commandant of the ADO.

To this end, the current publication sets out to present the text edition and the translation of Lykoshin's *Notes on the Present State of the Khanate of Khiva.* We are confident that apart from its historical merit as a trove of historical detail about the history of the Khanate, the text in question gives an invaluable picture of the nature of Russian dominion over this far-flung region, and not least, that it sheds light on the persona of its author, Nil Lykoshin, as both colonial officer and scholar, whom one of his biographers, Alexander Morrison, has justly characterized as "one of the most important figures of pre-revolutionary Turkestan", and perhaps "the most prominent example of the very common overlap to be found between the production of scholarly work on Russia's colonial territories and their administration".[25]

[25] Alexander Morrison, "Sufism, Panislamism and Information Panic: Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin and the Aftermath of the Andijan Uprising" *Past and Present* 214 (2012): 277–278.

2. Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin (1860–1923)

In her memoirs about life in colonial-era Turkestan, Sof'ia Nilovna Mikhailova, née Lykoshina, a daughter of Nil Lykoshin, left the following notable reminiscence: "[m]y father was engaged in writing all the time, I can't imagine him other than sitting at the desk."[26] Indeed, one cannot but wonder at the quantity and thematic range of writings that Lykoshin produced over a career primarily devoted to administrative duties. In 1957, bibliographers were able to identify at least 766 publications composed by Lykoshin in the period following his arrival in Russian Turkestan in 1880.[27] No less striking perhaps is the variety of genre in these works. As Alexander Morrison has noted, Lykoshin's textual legacy represents "a mixture of conventional Orientalist scholarship, semi ethnographic works, writings on land-settlement, the functioning of 'native' administration …, and the progress of 'civilization' amongst natives".[28] Lykoshin himself in his letter to Governor-General of Turkestan Fedor Martson in 1915 described his passion for writing thus:

> Over the course of the quarter-century period of my administrative service in Turkestan, I have gone to great lengths in studying the mode of life of our Central Asian subjects, getting acquainted with their languages, and collecting a mass of data on the ethnography of the [people of] Turkestan Region.

[26] The manuscript of Sof'ia Lykoshina's memoirs has been found by my colleague Dr. Oksana Pugovkina among the materials of the private collection of M.E. Masson, curated at the National Archive of Uzbekistan. It gives me pleasure to extend my gratitude to Dr. Pugovkina for sharing this material with me. For more on S. Lykoshina and her memoirs, see O.G. Pugovkina, "Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin: ot Samarkandskogo Gubernatora do Sovetskogo Professora" *Vostok (Oriens)* 6 (2018): 124–141.

[27] O.V. Maslova, A.I. Kormilitsyn, and Z.V. Schmidt, "Ukazatel' publikatsii N.S. Lykoshina s 1980 po 1922 g.", in *Trudy SAGU im. V.I. Lenina, Arkheologiia Sredneii Azii* IV (Tashkent: SAGU, 1957), pp. 197–230.

[28] Alexander Morrison, ""Applied Orientalism" in British India and Tsarist Turkestan" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51/3 (July, 2009): 635–636.

> While observing their life I have kept due records and published them periodically.[29]

The general dynamics of Lykoshin's biography have been discussed in some detail in currently existing scholarship.[30] It is by drawing on this scholarship, then, that we here offer a broad outline of Lykoshin's career and scholarly path.

Lykoshin's walk of life was a remarkable one. He succeeded in securing promotion to a series of high offices, while simultaneously building up an academic reputation that subsequently earned him recognition as "one of the most important figures of pre-revolutionary Turkestan".[31] This is all the more striking given that his background was modest, and scarcely promising of future success. The son of an alcoholic hussar officer[32] from the backwoods of Pskov Guberniya, he had a difficult childhood. Following his father's death, it was thanks to a fortuitous turn of events that Lykoshin's mother was given a job as a housekeeper at the estate of Count Vorontsov and was thus able to keep afloat the family of three juvenile children.[33] Later on, thanks to the protection of his maternal uncle Mikhail Ivanovich Semenovskii, the publisher of the prestigious historical journal *Russkaia starina,* the young Lykoshin was enrolled at the Second Military Gymnasium in St. Petersburg.[34] This was a reputable military institution, but studying there did not necessarily guarantee successful employment thereafter. According to his daughter's testament, a lack of both funds and patronage

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29 O'zMA, f. I-1, op. 28, d. 1473, l. 42.

30 For the most notable instances, see B.V. Lunin, *Sredniaia Aziia v dorevoliutsionnom i sovetskom vostokovedenii* (Tashkent: Nauka, 1965), pp. 206–216; Morrison, "Sufism, Panislamism and Information Panic", pp. 255–304; Pugovkina, "Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin", pp. 124–141.

31 Morrison, "Sufism, Panislamism and Information Panic", p. 264.

32 S.N. Mikhailova, *Vospominanie o N.S. Lykoshine*; O'zMA, f. 2773, op.1, d. 1172, l. 33.

33 Pugovkina, "Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin", pp. 125–126 (see especially fn. 1 on p. 126).

34 Pugovkina, "Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin", p. 126.

meant that upon completing his studies at the Military Gymnasium, Lykoshin had little hope of securing advantageous promotion. With little prospect of preferment in Moscow or Saint Petersburg, Lykoshin thus opted to take up service in Turkestan, a remote Asiatic colony of the Russian Empire.[35]

In 1880, having been assigned to the 2nd Turkestan Artillery Brigade, the 20-year-old artillery officer arrived at his new place of service. It was there that over the subsequent forty years of service he was able – thanks in large part to his own perseverance, diligence and dedication – to build a stellar career, rising from junior officer (*podporuchik*) through major-general; from the district *pristav* (police-chief) of the small town of Ura-Tube (1889) to Military Governor of the larger Samarkand Province (1914–1917).[36] But this was of course only part of the story. Despite having received no formal training in Oriental studies,[37] Lykoshin managed to achieve broad recognition among the most prominent scholars of the age, thanks to his publication of numerous academic texts on the history of the region, as well as translations from Persian and Chaghatay of

35 Mikhailova, *Vospominanie o N.S. Lykoshine*, l. 34.

36 Lunin, *Sredniaia Aziia v dorevoliutsionnom i sovetskom vostokovedenii*, p. 207; Pugovkina, "Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin", p. 122.

37 The lack of a specific training in oriental studies was attributed to Lykoshin, for instance, by Nikolay Veselovskii. In his review of Lykoshin's translation of *The Autobiography of Tamerlane*, Veselovskii wrote: "Well, there is [a sufficient] knowledge of local languages and local circumstances, there is diligence, […] yet, there is a lack of a special [university] training that could give the necessary direction to local scholarly works, and that could teach how to [conduct that] work," cited from Lunin, *Sredniaia Aziia v dorevoliutsionnom i sovetskom vostokovedenii*, p. 209. According to Pugovkina, Lykoshin's scholarly endeavors did receive much support from prominent scholars, such as Nikolaii Ostroumov and Vasilii Bartol'd. It was these individuals, Pugovkina further argues, who seems to have played a distinct role in informing scholarly interests of Lykoshin, see Pugovkina, "Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin", pp. 130–131.

notable historical works such as the anonymously authored *Divan-i Mashrab*[38] and Narshakhi's *Tarikh-i Bukhara*.[39]

Lykoshin's evident linguistic expertise seems to have played a major part in both his career trajectory and his scholarly endeavors. Nearly all his biographers and most of the contemporaries have been univocal in noting his excellent command of the local languages – first and foremost, Uzbek (Chaghatay) and Tajik (Persian).[40] This was particularly impressive given that it was not until his arrival in Turkestan that he could start learning local languages. As his daughter later recalled, Lykonish's decision to take up the study of local languages came about in the late 1880s and was conditioned by his decision to leave military service[41] and try his hands at the colonial administration, or, as it was called at the time, at "the system of administrative-military governing".[42] "The talks began in the family about my father's possible [transfer] from the artillery to administration", – Sof'ia would write in her memoirs, – "[and] on occasion in the evenings a mullah would come to our place to teach my father

[38] N.S. Lykoshin, ed., *Divana-i-Mashrab. Zhizneopisaniia populiarneishego predstavitelia mistitsizma v Turkestanskom krae. S tiurkskogo perevel i snabdil primechaniiami N.S. Lykoshin* (Samarkand: Izdatel'stvo Samarkandskogo statisticheskogo komiteta, 1916).

[39] N.S. Lykoshin, *Istoriia Bukhary. Perevod s tiurkskogo po rukopisi Mukhammada Sadyka Kashgarskogo* (Tashkent: s.n., 1984). Lunin referred to the translation of Narshakhi's work as "the crowning achievement" of Lykoshin's translation endeavors, see: Lunin, *Sredniaia Aziia v dorevoliutsionnom i sovetskom vostokovedenii*, pp. 213–216.

[40] Lunin, *Sredniaia Aziia v dorevoliutsionnom i sovetskom vostokovedenii*, p. 207; Morrison, ""Applied Orientalism" in British India and Tsarist Turkestan", p. 635; Pugovkina, "Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin", pp. 127–128; Lykoshin's daughter stated that her father spoke "Uzbek and Tajik on the same level as he did Russian": see Mikhailova, *Vospominanie o N.S. Lykoshine*, l. 34.

[41] Lykoshin's military service *stricto sensu* lasted from 1880 through 1889; in 1883 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant (*poruchik*). His next promotion took place in 1888, when "owing to distinguished military service" he attained the rank of staff-captain: see O'zMA, f. I-1, op. 33, d. 308.

[42] O'zMA, f. I-1, op. 36, d. 308, ll. 187–199, cited from: Pugovkina, "Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin", p. 127.

Oriental languages".[43] Elsewhere she provides further details of the learning process:

> In the evenings, an Uzbek [mullah] used to come [to our place], with whom he [=my father] studied. […] Finally, the languages were learned, and he was always able to talk to whoever [among the natives] sought his help, without [the help of] an interpreter. Once I witnessed [my father's] dispute with learned Uzbeks about a certain subtlety in the language and my father managed to prove that he was right in the correctness of his conclusions …[44]

An excellent command of local languages, coupled with his skills as an orientalist, seems to have been an effective asset in Lykoshin's administrative toolbox, providing him with valuable insight into the specifics of local life and enabling him to navigate through the complexities of the various conflicts and disputes which he had to deal with in the course of his work. A number of recent studies have demonstrated how he drew upon these skills while administering Tashkent and Chimkent district.[45] The same virtues seem to have been helpful also over the course of his activity at the office of Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department, as we see in the text presented here. For instance, one can observe him evidently at ease while talking to the Khivan prince Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra, or while checking the accuracy of the Chaghatay/Uzbek translation of the Russian administration's letters by the Khivan scribes, or while giving advice to the Khanate's chancellery translators on how to convey properly certain formulaic expressions contained in Russian-language correspondence.[46] A proficiency in local languages also allowed him to engage in private conversations with the Khivan

43 O'zMA, f. 2499, op. 1, d. 31, ll. 395–396.

44 Mikhailova, *Vospominanie o N.S. Lykoshine*; O'zMA, f. 2773, op.1, d. 1172, l. 35.

45 See, for instance: Morrison, ""Applied Orientalism" in British India and Tsarist Turkestan", pp. 634–636; idem., "Sufism, Panislamism and Information Panic", pp. 255–304.

46 See infra, *Записка*, pp. 141, 150–151.

courtiers, and thereby to touch upon various sensitive matters which it would not have been possible to raise in the presence of translators or other third parties.[47]

Lykoshin's career path in Turkestan resembles a kaleidoscope of swiftly changing offices and localities, which saw him shuttling from one corner of Turkestan to another. Having started his "administrative" career in 1889 in the position of the Ura-Tube district *pristav*, already the following year he was transferred to Tashkent to take up the position of assistant to the city's commandant. In 1906 one may find Lykoshin in the office of district commandant of Khujand; the next year, meanwhile, he was in Tashkent acting in the capacity of a member of the Commission for reception of the Grand Duke's estate in the Hungry Steppe, and then in 1909 we find him back in Khujand, serving as honorary guardian of the district's schools.

In March 1913 he was promoted to the office of Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department (ADO). The promotion seems to have been in large part at the personal behest of the Turkestan Governor General Samsonov.[48] We do not know precisely whether Samsonov had known Lykoshin from earlier experience, or whether he was simply looking for someone with the necessary expertise and skill to fulfill his delicate mission in the Khivan Khanate. As it happened, Lykoshin's career in ADO did not last long, and on 22 April 1914 he got a new promotion, this time to the post of Military Governor of the Samarkand province. As Oksana Pugovkina has recounted in

47 See for instance the details of his private conversation with Ḥusayn Muḥammad Bāy Divānbīgī in December 1912 in: N.S. Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru. 04.01.1913, no. 4*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 305, ll. 3–9.

48 General V.P. Kolosovskii, Lykoshin's successor in the office of the ADO Commandant, would recall in 1914 that he alongside Lykoshin had been nominated for the position of ADO Commandant. According to his opinion, "as the ranking officer and therefore more fitted for assuming [such] offices, which [require] independent actions", he had initially been preferred over Lykoshin. Yet, with a noticeable sense of regret Kolosovskii further admitted that "for reasons beyond my control" it was Lykoshin who eventually assumed that office: see V.P. Kolosovskii, *Raport Diplomaticheskomu chinovniku S.V. Chirkinu, 12.12.1914, no. 242*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 35, l. 64.

her study, Lykoshin had been initially considered as an underdog in the running for the governor's office, with a certain Nechaev, who enjoyed the backing from some individuals in the imperial metropole, the initial favorite. As with Lykoshin's appointment to the ADO, it was the same Samsonov who made the ultimate decision, once again in favor of Lykoshin. As Pugovkina further notes, Samsonov was motivated here by the fact that Lykoshin was better qualified for that position owing to his "service and moral virtues", rather than "anyone from outside" such as Nechaev.[49]

The seemingly successful career of our protagonist thereafter stumbled following the large-scale rebellion that unfolded in 1916 across Central Asia. Although, as Morrison has shown, Lykoshin in fact handled events with some skill, and succeeded in defusing tensions in Samarkand and Jizzakh District,[50] the well-known tendency of the Russian authorities to seek scapegoats in the light of any setback cost Lykoshin dear, and brought about his resignation. (Lykoshin's personal differences with Turkestan Governor-General Kuropatkin over the issue seem to have been a further factor prompting his departure.[51]) In the light of these events, on 5 January 1917 Lykoshin tendered his resignation, ostensibly on grounds of health.[52]

However, worse was yet to come. Following the Bolshevik takeover of power in 1917, as a former high-ranking tsarist officer, Lykoshin could have hoped for little sympathy from the new authorities. He was able to escape with his life only thanks to the scholarly esteem that he continued to enjoy among renowned academics such as Vasilii Bartol'd. For several years he held teaching positions in various educational facilities in Turkestan, lecturing on the Turkic languages and the region's history and ethnography.[53] In

49 Pugovkina, "Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin", p. 128.

50 Morrison, "Sufism, Panislamism and Information Panic", pp. 290–292.; idem, ""Applied Orientalism" in British India and Tsarist Turkestan", p. 633.

51 Morrison, "Sufism, Panislamism and Information Panic", p. 293.

52 M.E. Masson, et al., "Pamiati Evgeniia Karlovicha Betgera (Ot redaktsii)", in *Trudy Sredneaziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. V.I. Lenina. Arkheologiia Srednei Azii* 4 (Tashkent: SAGU, 1957), p. 9.

53 Pugovkina, "Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin", pp. 133–135.

1921, however, the 60-year-old Lykoshin was expelled from Turkestan and found himself in Samara where, after long ordeals, thanks to the assistance of the same Bartol'd he was offered a professorship at the Samara State University.[54] However, the new activity did not last long: on May 4th, 1923, Nil Lykoshin died following a serious illness.



N.S. Lykoshin (in center) along with his family in late 1910s (the only known photo of N.S. Lykoshin). From the left: L.N. Silnitskaia (second daughter), E.A. Lykoshina (his wife), Yuri Mikhailov (the son of the elder daughter S.N. Mikhailova-Lykoshina), and T.N. Lykoshina-Barnovskaia (the younger daughter). Photo credit: O'zMA, f. R-2499, op. 1, d. 5.

As a coda to this overview of Lykoshin's career it is perhaps worth making an observation. Over his four decades of administrative service Lykoshin, unusually among his administrative contemporaries, does not seem to have been accused at any point of abusing his power. His daughter recalled the economic hardships that the family of five experienced during her father's service in Turkestan. She wrote, for instance, that "for all I remember, he [=my father] was always

[54] Pugovkina, "Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin", pp. 137–138.

immersed in debt and [for that reason] he was so torn up".[55] This is all the more striking because colonial service frequently offered opportunities for illicit enrichment. The Tsarist authorities were well aware of this, and in 1916, following the Turkmen uprising in Khorezm, the authorities launched a mass-scale interrogation on the possible misuse of power by the officials in charge.[56] "In accordance with the laws of war", agents of the *Okhranka*, or Russian secret police,[57] questioned dozens if not hundreds of individuals, from among both Russian and Khivan subjects. The investigation yielded some shocking results, revealing the systematic misuse of power by Tsarist officials, and multiple cases of the Khivan authorities bribing the Russian authorities, not only those in Petro-Aleksandrovsk or Tashkent, but even as far away as in the imperial capital. The interrogators also paid distinct attention to the possible involvement of Lykoshin, who had been Commandant of ADO until shortly before the uprising. Yet, the interrogation materials univocally emphasized the fact that the cases of misuse of power were ubiquitous among Tsarist officials, "… except for General Lykoshin, whose reputation is not called into question by anyone, not even in gossip …".[58]

In his overview of the existing studies of Lykoshin's life and career, Alexander Morrison has noted that presently far more is known about his scholarly than about his administrative activities.[59] As an addendum to this observation, we note that next to nothing is known about his activity in the position of Commandant of ADO (off.: 1912–1914).[60] In the existing studies this period of his career

55 Mikhailova, *Vospominanie o N.S. Lykoshine*, l. 35.

56 A.N. Kuropatkin, *Nachal'niku Turkestanskogo Raionnogo Otdeleniia, 04.10.1916*; O'zMA, f. I-461, op. 1, d. 1889a, ll. 143–145.

57 The Department for Protecting the Public Security and Order, or *Okhranka*, was a secret police force in late 19th- and early 20th-century Russia.

58 See for instance the interrogation report by the *Okhranka*'s officer in charge captain M. Volkov: Volkov, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru Kuropatkinu, 04.11.1915*; O'zMA, f. I-461, op. 1, d. 1889a, l. 68.

59 Morrison, "Sufism, Panislamism and Information Panic", p. 264.

60 This has been previously stated also by Akifumi Shioya in his "Who Should Manage the Water of the Amu-Darya? Controversy over Irrigation Concessions

is generally glossed over in a couple of sentences, if indeed it is mentioned at all. This is particularly unfortunate given that, as we noted at the outset and hope to be able to show further, Lykoshin's tenure in ADO unfolded in the midst of some turbulent developments in the Khivan Khanate, which would have far-reaching ramifications for the history of the Russian protectorate. Furthermore, during these years in ADO he authored a host of administrative texts, including the text of the given *Zapiska*, whose readers included the highest ranking officials in the Turkestan colonial hierarchy,[61] through whom some of his observations, albeit in more condensed fashion, reached the desks of the imperial ministers.[62]

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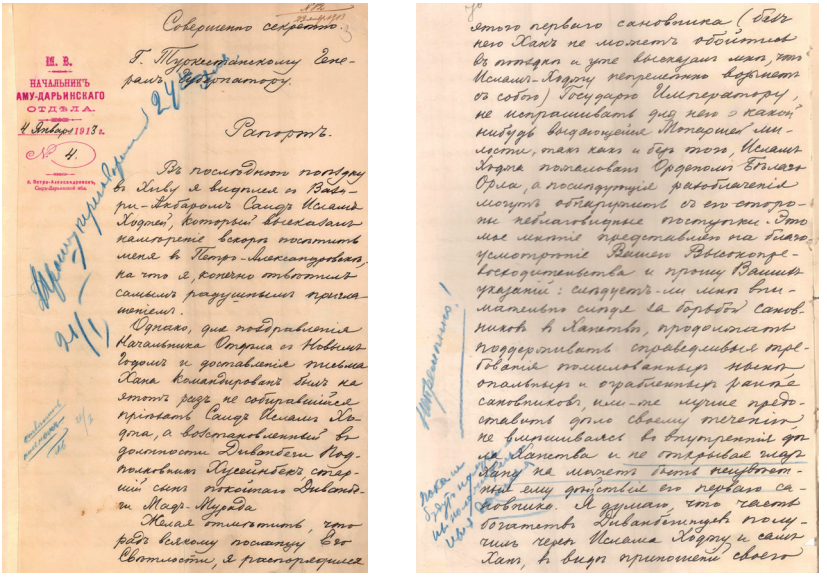
between Russia and Khiva, 1913–1914," in Paolo Sartori ed*., Explorations in the Social History of Modern Central Asia (19th – Early 20th Century)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), p. 117, fn. 1.

61 Most of Lykoshin's reports and memoranda have distinct notes (in the form of underscores of certain passages of the Lykoshin's text, marks "NB", or as comments and resolutions on the marginalias) left by the Turkestan Governor-General Samsonov upon reading (see for instance: Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 30.09.1912, no 15*, ll. 160–165). Another official who had immediate access to this body of texts was a diplomatic officer at the Governor-General of Turkestan. This latter individual was responsible not only for delivering Samsonov's instructions to Lykoshin, but also for preserving these administrative texts. From the available correspondence we see that over most of the period of Lykoshin's tenure as the ADO Commandant it was A.R. Baranovskii who occupied that office. We further learn that at a certain point between 1912–1913, this office was temporarily occupied by A.A. Semenov, who later became a renowned oriental studies scholar (see for instance: A.A. Semenov, *Ego Vysokoblagorodiiu N.S. Lykoshinu*, *28.01.1912, no. 111*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 305, ll. 1–1 ob.). In one of his letters to Semenov, Lykoshin requested his interlocutor to keep him notified about the Governor-General's instruction with the same frequency as had been previously done by Baranovskii, see Lykoshin, *Glubokouvazhaemyi Aleksander Aleksandrovich, 24.12.1913*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 352, ll. 11–11 ob.

62 We see that while reporting to the authorities in the imperial metropole, such as the Ministers of Defense and/or Foreign Affairs, about political developments in Khiva, Turkestan Governor-General Samsonov often employed passages from Lykoshin's reports – either in full or with slight rephrasing. For instance, Samsonov's report to the Russian ministers in early January 1913 is based entirely on such information (sometimes using similar wording derived from Lykoshin's memoranda), see: Samsonov, *G. Munistru Inostrannykh Del, G. Voennomu*

Written as they were by someone who was not just a passive observer but himself an integral part of the events described therein, these reports were highly valuable – and they remain so today, as a reflection not only of what was happening on the ground in the Khanate of Khiva but also about the outlook, assumptions and prejudices of a remarkable administrative official.

To address these issues and to make better sense of Lykoshin's biography and textual production in the years he was occupying the office of the ADO's Commandant, it may be worth giving a broad outline of events against the backdrop of which Lykoshin's tenure took place and which we find reflected, to differing degrees of explicitness, in the text of the *Zapiska*.



Fragments of Lykoshin's handwritten memo with Governor-General A.V. Samsonov's notes on it. Photo credit: O'zMA, f. I-2, op.1, d. 305, ll. 3

Ministru, 12.01.1913, no 30, 31; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 289, ll. 202–202 ob. In one such report from November 1913, addressed to the Russian Foreign Minister, Samsonov admits that his report "pertaining to the Turkmens' affairs in the Khanate" was based on the "materials received from the ADO Commandant [Lykoshin]": see A.V. Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, l. 3.

3. The Amu-Darya Department and Fort Petro-Aleksandrovsk

The pioneering Scottish lady-traveler Isabella Robertson Christie in her *Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand* describes how, in the course of her travels, she found herself on a paddle steamer from Charjui with Colonel Lykoshin, who was travelling along his wife Elena Aleksandrova to take up his new appointment at the ADO. The journey took six days, and deposited the travelers upon arrival at the landing stage on the right bank of the Amu-Darya on 13 April 1912.[63] From the deck of the boat, Lykoshin would have been able to see to portside the Khivan khan's realm, while to starboard – in the middle of the flat, heat-baked landscape, some five or six miles from the landing, lay Fort Petro-Aleksandrovsk, the logistic center of the Amu-Darya Department, and his residence for the years to come. This small, fortified town was erected in August 1873 within walking distance of the river crossing over the Amu-Darya, and in the vicinity of the principal political and economic centers of the Khivan Khanate – the cities of Khanqah, Hazarasp, New Urgench and the capital – Khiva.

From the river station Lykoshin along with his wife and maid, as reported by Christie, were met by "[t]wo amazing carriages [that] dashed up with three mounted guards" and took them off to Petro-Aleksandrovsk.[64] Boris Cheprunov, a native of this town, and in later decades a popular Soviet writer, gives an eloquent description of the fort, which allows us to imagine how Petro-Aleksandrovsk may have appeared before the eyes of the newly arrived Lykoshin:

> A few hundred miles away from the place where the railway traverses the Amu-Darya, there is a city that bears the names of two tsars – Peter the Great and Alexander II – Petro-Aleksandrovsk. It appeared on the ruins of the old Khivan fortress

63 Ella R. Christie, *Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand. The Remarkable Story of a Woman's Adventurous Journey Alone Through the Deserts of Central Asia to the Heart of Turkestan* (London: Seeley, Service and Co. Limited, 1925), pp. 54–61.

64 Christie, *Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand*, p. 62.

> of Turtkul. In the heart of the city is the church, on the site of the ancient Muslim cemetery. From the church the streets scatter off in a fan-like shape; along the streets behind shady alleys, in the middle of tangled gardens, hide the houses of officials, officers, merchants, governmental premises, and barrack-blocks.
>
> The outskirts of the city look like a piece of the old Urals: without a shadow of the trees there are huts with low windows and with willow wattle fences; at the gates there are the *zavalinka*s[65] densely sprinkled with sunflower husks and *chebak*[66] skins. This is a settlement of the stocky sectarians from the Urals – descendants of recalcitrant Cossacks exiled by Alexander II to populate this new region …[67]
>
> Next to the church is a stone house, from which the generals of the Russian army ruled over the Khanate beyond the river, for forty-five years. […] It was from this place that they used to send regiments to pacify the recalcitrant tributaries of the Khan: Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, and Turkmens.[68]

The Amu-Darya Department (ADO) was established in August 1873, shortly after Russian troops marched through the city of Khiva on 29 May 1873. This new administrative unit comprised the former territories of the Khanate that were located on the right bank of the lower delta of the Amu-Darya and were annexed, under the terms of the

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65 *Zavalinka* – a small mound of earth along the outer walls of rural houses in Russia.

66 *Chebak* – the Russian colloquial designation of a rutilus roach, a brackish-water fish, large numbers of which were to be found in the lower reaches of the Amu-Darya.

67 For more on the community of the exiled Ural Cossacks in the ADO, see infra: pp. 30–31, and also fn. 81.

68 B. Cheprunov, *Djunaid-khan* (Nukus: Karakalpakstan, 1965), pp. 55–56. A.N. Samoilovich who visited the city in 1908, also mentioned the presence of two libraries in the town, see his "Kratkii otchet o poezdke v Tashkent i Bukharu i v Khivinskoe khanstvo", p. 4.

Gandemian Treaty (signed on 12 August 1873), in favor of the empire.[69] On 15 August 1873, just a few days after the peace treaty was formalized, the commander of the Russian troops and the first Governor-General of Turkestan General Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman (off.: 1867–1882) undertook in person a reconnaissance along the right bank of the Amu-Darya, so as to establish where the new fort should be sited. The eyes of the Turkestan Governor-General seem to have been caught by a spacious garden belonging to the Khivan courtier Mat-Niyāz Divānbīgī, located less than ten miles from the river crossing at the Khivan city of Khanqah and some four miles from the settlement of Shurakhan.[70] Following subsequent negotiations with the Khivan authorities, the Divānbīgī's garden was handed over to the Russian authorities for the needs of the new fortification. "[U]pon the proposal of the Prince of Leuchtenberg",[71] it was furthermore agreed that the new town, which would henceforth be the center of the Amu-Darya Department, should take the name *Petro-Aleksandrovsk* "in memory of the Russian Emperors Peter I and Alexander II."[72] A few days later, on 26 August 1873, on the same spot, in the bivouac next to the newly designed town, von Kaufman signed the Provisional Regulations on the Administration of the Amu-Darya District (*Vremennoe polozhenie ob upravlenii Amudar'inskim okrugom*).[73]

In the following year however, the new territorial entity would be renamed as the Amu-Darya Department.[74] The structural configuration

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69 On the Gandemian Treaty and its conditions, see Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia*, pp. 58–60.

70 T.G. Tukhtametov, *Amudar'inskii otdel (Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe i politicheskoe znachenie dlia Khorezmskogo oazisa)* (Nukus: Karakalpakstan, 1977), p. 51.

71 Prince Evgenii Maksimilianovich Romanovskii, Herzog of Leuchtenberg was a grandson of the Russian Emperor Nicholas I. He participated in the Russian military invasion in the Khivan Khanate in 1873, see: Morrison, *The Russian Conquest of Central Asia 1814–1907*, p. 311.

72 Driagin, *Doklad o revizii Amu-Dar'inskogo otdela, 15.09.1908*; O'zMA, f. I-1, op, 29, d, 1327, cited from Tukhtametov, *Amudar'inskii otdel*, p. 51.

73 See "Vremennoe polozhenie ob upravlenii Amu-Dar'inskim okrugom" *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti* 321 (1873).

74 K. Sarybaev, *Agrarnyi vopros v Karakalpakii (konets XIX – nachalo XX vekov)* (Nukus: Karakalpakstan, 1972), p. 29.

of the newly established territorial unity, as well as the remit of the ADO Commandant, over the subsequent years, would be regulated by the norms of the "Provisional Statute for the Administration of Turkestan" (*Vremennoe polozhenie ob upravlenii Turkestanskim kraem*), as well as by numerous ordinances issued by the colonial authorities in Tashkent.[75]

The new delimitation line between the ADO and the Khivan Khanate ran along the Amu-Darya up to its the westernmost tributary, the Taldiq. As a such, the territory of the ADO stretched from the edges of the Bukharan Emirate through the Aral Sea littoral. It was bounded to the north-east by the Perovsk and Kazalinsk Counties of the Syr-Darya Province, to the east by the Chimkent and Jizzakh Counties of the Samarkand Province, and to the southeast by the Emirate of Bukhara.[76]

Administratively, the Department was subdivided into two sectors (sing.: *uchastok*): Shurakhan in the south (with its center in Petro-Aleksandrovsk) and Chimbay in the north (with its center in the village of Nukus). The sectors, in turn, were subdivided into *volost*s,[77] and the latter into two types of communities: either rural (*sel'skie obshchestva*) – in areas with settled populations, or *aul*s (*aul'nye obshchestva*) – in those areas occupied by so-called "nomadic" groups.[78] In the early 1910s the entire population of the ADO was estimated at 218,956 inhabitants,[79] nearly 7,000 of them residing in Petro-Aleksandrovsk.[80] Of that figure, the "Russian

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75 Tukhtametov, *Amudar'inskii otdel,* pp. 55–56.

76 Sarybaev, *Agrarnyi vopros v Karakalpakii*, p. 30; Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia*, p. 59.

77 Shurakhan sector consisted of six *volost*s, and further nine *volost*s were included in Chimbay sector, see Ia. Dosumov, *Ocherki istorii Kara-Kalpakskoi ASSR* (unpublished doctoral dissertation). Tashkent: Akademiia nauk UzSSR, 1961, p. 148.

78 V. Lobachevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie Turkestanskogo voennogo okruga. Khivinskii raion* (Tashkent: Tipo-litografiia shtaba Turkestanskogo voennogo okruga, 1912), p. 33.

79 Lobachevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie*, p. 41.

80 Ia. M. Dosumov, *Ocherki istorii Karakalpakskoi ASSR, 1917–1921* (Tashkent: Nauka, 1960), p. 38.

population" (leaving aside Russian troops) came to less than 1,5% (or 3,000 inhabitants). According to the Russian military authors' estimations, the main parts of "the Russian population", which included officials, city-dwellers, and former Ural settlers, were concentrated predominantly in Petro-Aleksandrovsk and Nukus.[81] Interestingly, for surveying purposes the "Russian population" was also taken to include a number of Polish, Armenian and Jewish families, and a relatively large community of exiled Ural Cossacks.[82] The representatives of the latter group resided in suburban village of Pervonachal'nii (located 16 *versts* from Petro-Aleksandrovsk), as well as in the villages of Nukus and Zair, located further north, in the lowest part of the Amu-Darya river.[83]

Strictly speaking, the authority of the Commandant of ADO was no different from that of the ordinary heads of other districts in colonial Turkestan, like many of whom he was similarly subordinated to the Military Governor of the Syr-Darya Province.[84] However, the Department's distance from the main centers of colonial administration and the weak state of the communicational infrastructure[85] meant that the head of the Department enjoyed significant *de facto* authority, and had direct dealings with the Governor-General of

81 Girshfel'd, and Galkin, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie Khivinskogo oazisa*, pt. II, pp. 77–78.

82 Lobachevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie*, p. 61.

83 On the origin of the Ural Cossacks and establishment of the settlement of Pervonachal'nyi, see: P.A. Shmachkov, "Pereselenie ural'tsev v Kara-Kalpakiiu (1875–1881 gg)" *Vestnik Karakalpakskogo filiala AN UzSSR* 2 (1960): 30–37. On the history of the Ural Cossacks' resettlement in the Aral Sea region delta as well as their engagement in fisheries, see Niccolò Pianciola, "Cossaks and Sturgeons: Fisheries, Colonization, and Science around the Aral Sea (1873–1906)" *JESHO* 62 (2019), especially pp. 639–673.

84 Tukhtametov, *Amudar'inskii otdel,* p. 64; *O vydelenii ADO iz sostava Syr-Dar'inskoi oblasti, 03.03.1915*; O'zMA, f. 1, op, 27, d. 429-a, l. 3.

85 Suffice it to say that the nearest Russian urban centers – Charjui and Kazalinsk – were some 400 and 450 miles distant respectively. Furthermore, according to Lobachevskii, in both cases the roads ran through a barren desert, with limited access to water: see Lobachevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie*, p. 115.

Turkestan on a wide range of issues.[86] Most importantly, perhaps, the Commandant had personal responsibility for maintaining direct communication with the Khan of Khiva. As one Russian official put it in 1909, "not a single communication between the Khan and the [Turkestan] Governor-General could take place without the mediation of the Commandant of the Department;" the latter, he further noted, "conveys to the Governor-General the Khan's respective requests, however more often than not with his own conclusions, which usually have a *determinative effect* [on subsequent actions]".[87] Such powers doubtless played an important role in embellishing the authority of the Commandant of the ADO, both enabling and requiring him as they did to make independent decisions without consulting his seniors.

Upon his arrival to take up the office of Commandant of the ADO, Colonel Nil Lykoshin was immediately faced with two main sets of tasks: governing over the right or "Russian" side of the Amu-Darya, and "supervising" and "ensuring public calm" over the left side of the river, that is within the Khivan realm. As Nikolai von Rosenbach, Governor-General of Turkestan in the years 1884–1889, put it, the ADO Commandant's responsibilities comprised first and foremost the consolidation of "Russian peaceful moral domination in Khiva and maintaining the charm (*obaianie*) of the Russian name among the native population of the Khanate."[88] But Lykoshin quickly came to realize that while the course of life on the "Russian" side of the Amu-Darya revolved along established and predictable rhythms, maintaining control over the course of events in the neighboring Khanate was a far greater challenge, and one in which he found that he was heavily constrained. He was constrained both by the terms of his appointment, which prohibited him from directly interfering

86 Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia*, p. 64; Tukhtametov, *Amudar'inskii otdel,* p. 62.

87 S.S. Voit, *Otnosheniia Turkestanskikh General-gubernatorov k Khive i Bukhare. 1909*; RGIA, f. 1396, op. 1, d. 33, l. 2.

88 O'zMA, f. 11-c, op. 3, d. 828, l. 3, cited from Tukhtametov, *Amudar'inskii otdel,* p. 59.

in the Khanate's affairs, especially "without having grounded causes", and by the very dynamics of power relations in the "neighboring Khanate".

4. *Zapiska*: Compilation, Chronology, and Authorship

Colonel V.P. Kolosovskii, who succeeded N.S. Lykoshin as the ADO's Commandant in 1914, while reflecting upon the conventional modes of communication of the given office holders with the subordinate Khanate, made the following observation. He noted that virtually all the preceding ADO's Commandants, due to a lack of prescribed funding, could afford no more than "two or three visits to the Khanate" and even on those occasions they limited themselves to paying visits to the capital city of "Khiva alone either for the sake of ceremonial requirements or for purposes of business negotiations with the Khan". The need for such meetings with the Khan was not immense, though, he further stated, owing to "the Amu-Darya delta's remoteness" as well as to "the peaceful well-being" of that region.[89] Noteworthy as it seems, Kolosovskii's observation seems not to be quite correct, or at least it was not entirely applicable to the period when his predecessor Nil Lykoshin held the office. Lykoshin's communications with the Khanate's officials and his involvement in the Khanate's affairs seemed to have been much more intense. Judging from the text of the *Zapiska* one may notice that within just the initial months of his tenure, Lykoshin undertook three monitoring tours to the Khivan Khanate, by dint of which he was able not only to pay ceremonial visits to the Khanate's main urban centers, but also to travel to the most far-flung areas to the south, north, and west of the oases. These visits provided the bulk of the material for the *Zapiska*.

We have mentioned earlier that on the occasion of being promoted to the office, Lykoshin was instructed by the Turkestan

[89] Kolosovskii, *Raport Upravliaiushchemu Kantseliariei Turkestanskogo Generalgubernatora, 18.07.1916*, *no. 607*; O'zMA, f. I-1, op. 31, d. 1104, l. 121.

Governor-General Samsonov to keep him informed on a regular basis about events that unfolded in the Khivan Khanate. On the face of it, this may have looked like a trite instruction. Indeed, at the disposal of the ADO Commandant there was a distinct chancellery that maintained written communication with the Chancellery of the Turkestan Governor-General on a wide range of the matters. Furthermore, the ADO Commandant himself in his line of duty was supposed to update officials in Tashkent about various vital matters related to the "subordinate" Khanate. At some junctures, the written communication became more intense and assumed a more or less regular character, causing a massive paper flow in both directions. This happened, for instance, in light of the rumors about the sharp deterioration of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II's health in summer of 1910. The fear of possible disturbances resulting from the death of the elderly Khan forced the official in charge to turn their gaze to the events unfolding in the Khanate and brought about intense correspondence among various agencies in Petro-Aleksandrovsk, Tashkent and St. Petersburg.[90] More generally, however, correspondence was conducted on a more occasional basis, usually in response to some particularly burning matter, such as instances of Turkmen unrests, or negotiations over the status of the Russian entrepreneurs in the Khanate, or possible alteration to the current status of the protectorate.[91]

When we last left our protagonist Lykoshin, he was heading off from the Amu-Darya river stage to Petro-Aleksandrovsk to take charge of his newly assumed office of ADO Commandant. Now, it is perhaps worth getting back to subsequent events, to reconstruct, at least in broad outline, the circumstances related to the compilation of the text of the *Zapiska*.

Upon arrival in Petro-Aleksandrovsk on 13 April 1912, Lykoshin seems to have had little opportunity to start work drafting

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90 See further: Abdurasulov and Sartori, "Neopredelennost' kak politika", pp. 129–134.

91 See further: Ul'fat Abdurasulov, ""Tainy Khivinskogo dvora": politicheskaia bor'ba v Khive v period Rossiiskogo protektorata" *Vostok Svyshe* 38/3 (2015): 40–41.

the *Zapiska*. According to his own testament, at that time he immersed himself in dealing with the various burning issues within the ADO, first and foremost among them regarding work on the Quvānish-Yarma (Karak.: Kuvanish-Jarma) system of irrigational canals in the eastern part of the lower delta.[92] There one could observe him staying until the end of May of that year. In the meantime, working on the text of the detailed survey on the Khanate's affairs, which the Governor-General Samsonov must have expected from him, "it was a prerequisite to get acquainted, at least in broad outline, with the entirely new context for me of life of the Khanate" – a task complicated by the fact that "I [i.e. Lykoshin] myself do not live there and can collect information only through reliable agents and by means of personal visits to distinct sites of the Khanate". It seems clear, therefore, that it was not before 28 May 1912, the day he set out for the initial visit to the Khanate, that Lykoshin started taking some notes for the forthcoming *Zapiska*.

As we further learn from the text under discussion, on 28 May 1912 "at 3 o'clock in the afternoon" Lykoshin, accompanied by an escort of 26 light cavalry Cossacks, set off from Petro-Aleksandrovsk. The purpose of this initial visit to Khiva was largely ceremonial – to present his credentials to the Khan of Khiva as the new Commandant of the ADO. Although the distance as the bird flies between the Russian fort and the Khivan capital was not more than 80 miles, crossing the Amu-Darya significantly delayed the journey.[93] Even though the crossing this time took place via the Qāra-Bāgh River Crossing – located next to the Khivan city of Khanqah –, which was deemed as the most convenient among those in the Amu-Darya's delta,[94] it was not until late evening that day that the Russian mission managed to get ashore on the opposite bank.

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92 See infra: *Записка*, p. 121; for more on the watering of Quvānish-Yarma in 1912 see Sarybaev, *Agrarnyi vopros v Karakalpakii,* pp. 54–56.

93 For instance, on their return to Petro-Aleksandrovsk the river crossing took four hours. See infra: *Записка*, p. 168.

94 Lobachevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie*, p. 116.

Upon arrival on the left side of the river, Lykoshin reports, the official visitor was to be treated as "His Serene Highness the Khivan Khan's guest". Along this vein, following the established protocol, the ADO Commandant was met by a group of Khivan officials. Lykoshin does not seem to have been fully satisfied either with the composition of the Khivan delegation, or with the manner in which the welcome meeting was arranged, for he expected that for this initial visit by the ADO Commandant "the welcome reception could have been arranged in a more dignified manner".[95] However disappointed he may have been at this juncture, Lykoshin could do no better but to climb on the carriage delivered on the Khan's behalf and proceed further to the city of Khanqah – the nearest Khivan settlement to the Russian territory, and the first stop *en route* to Khiva.

The following morning, 29 May, after a short halt in the tiny settlement of Guja, 24 miles from Khanqah, the mission reached the suburbs of Khiva. There in the Gandemian Garden (*Gandūmkān Bāghī*), a place come to prominence due to the peace treaty of 1873 signed by the Khivan Khan and Commandant of the Russian troops General von Kaufman,[96] the Russian officer was accorded a more solemn reception. This time he was greeted by the most notable dignitaries of the Khanate, including *vazīr-i akbar* Sayyid Islām Khvāja. From there they all proceeded further to Khiva, where they arrived in the late afternoon. Lykoshin, again in accordance with established protocol, was lodged at the ambassadorial premises at Isfandiyār Khān's urban residence – the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace.

On the same evening, the first meeting with the Khan took place – at least the first in their current statuses, for, as it turned out from the subsequent conversation, they had in fact met all the way back in 1891, at the time when Lykoshin was an assistant to the Commandant of Tashkent. Perhaps because no business-related matters were supposed to be touched upon during the first meeting, Lykoshin seized this opportunity to take notes on some other aspects aside

[95] See infra: *Записка*, p. 124.

[96] For more on these events see Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia*, pp. 58–61.

from matters of protocol. For instance, he provides surprising details of the newly popular habit at the Khivan court of smoking heftily priced Egyptian cigars, which was adopted by the Khan and his courtiers. The same night a sit-down dinner was served at the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace to honor the Commandant's visit. Champagne toasts were made to the health of the the Russian Emperor and the Khivan Khan, "followed by a unanimous *hurra* by all present".

Over the following day, 30 June, Lykoshin was occupied with paying visits to the most eminent dignitaries of the Khanate. At some point he also paid a visit to Isfandiyār Khān's only son and heir Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra (1905–1916).[97] Lykoshin portrays this latter individual as "a very pale boy with a lifeless face, aged about seven years old". Little transpired by way of conversation, however, for the heir seems not to have dared to say a single word. As on many other occasions, one cannot help but wonder about Lykoshin's vigilance, and his ability to spot tiny details. For instance, while describing the group of people who together made up the heir's retinue, Lykoshin mentions how one of them, "for some unknown reason", was dressed in a racing jockey's suit.[98]

These somewhat informal visits were followed by a meeting with the Khan. This time the meeting was supposed to be less ceremonial and more business-oriented. Indeed, a range of topical issues were raised over the course of the conversation, ranging from the Turkmens' reluctance to comply with the Khan's orders to the technical nuances of the forthcoming land survey in the Khanate. This meeting also marked the end of the Commandant's visit to Khiva; and on the following day he departed.

On his way back to Petro-Aleksandrovsk, Lykoshin stopped in New Urgench, the largest city and the economic hub of the Khanate, where a large number of Russian subjects – entrepreneurs and countermen along with their families – resided. Not only did this give

[97] By the time of Lykoshin's visit, Isfandiyār Khān also had four daughters. His younger son would be born later, in 1914, see also infra, *Notes*, p. 256, fn. 42.

[98] See infra: *Записка*, p. 144. For more on Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra and his fate, see *Notes*, pp. 256–257, fns. 42, 43.

Lykoshin a chance to delve into topical problems of the residents, but he also seems to have had a pleasant evening among the members of the Russian community of the city.

Eventually, on 1 June Lykoshin completed his visit to the Khivan Khanate and came back to Petro-Aleksandrovsk. Thus, his initial visit to Khiva followed the itinerary Petro-Aleksandrovsk – Khanqah – Khiva – New Urgench – Petro-Aleksandrovsk and lasted from 28 May through 1 June 1912.

Just seven days later, on 7 June Lykoshin undertook another visit to the Khanate. On this occasion, however, he chose for inspection the southern edges of the Khanate, from the city of Hazarasp to the southernmost border point – the locality of Darghan-Ata. This time the journey went through the Hazarasp river crossing located in the vicinity of the city bearing the same name. Again, the straight-line distance from Petro-Aleksandrovsk to Hazarasp barely exceeded 18 *verst*s yet like on the previous occasion Lykoshin and his fellow travelers wasted half of the day crossing the Amu-Darya. From Hazarasp they proceeded further south, making a short stop in the settlements along the route, such as Pitnak, Sadivar, Danishar and, eventually, Darghan-Ata. Lykoshin left notes on the condition of postal stations along the way, on the number of households in each settlement and the principal preoccupations of the residents. We also learn about some of Russian subjects who were occupied – successfully or otherwise – in various activities in those remote outskirts of the Khanate. He furthermore notes an additional source of income for the residents of Darghan-Ata, namely collecting licorice, which "grows here in such abundance that if its growth is not stubbornly prevented, it would completely suppress other agricultural plants there". Lykoshin provides further information obout this matter, referring to "one of the English companies" – most likely it was the MacAndrews & Forbes,[99] – that was purchasing the

[99] MacAndrews & Forbes was founded by a group of British entrepreneurs, Robert McAndrew, his son William Edward, and William Forbes, in 1850. Originally based in Smyrna, by the early 20th century the company turned to the large-scale production and export of licorice, with local offices in a variety of places,

licorice root from the locals in significant amounts. "Previously, Lykoshin reports, up to 700,000 *pood*s of the roots had been bought there, now there are plans to purchase and send to Hamburg up to 1 million *pood*s".[100]

Generally, Lykoshin's accounts are mostly administrative in form and content, although on many occasions he could not withstand the temptation to record certain ethnographic details. Thus, for instance, he depicts a ritual named "*qand sindūrdī*" (literally: "broke sugar") that has not been hitherto well-known to scholars. Judging from Lykoshin's account, it had been customary among the population of Khorezm to present the guest with a piece of sugar as a sign of greeting. The practice seems to have been employed in diplomatic and judicial procedures as well. For instance, a piece of sugar was allocated – or "was broken"– among those present during adjudications, so as to imply that each of them acted as witnesses of the judicial decision. Following the establishment of Russian "protection" over Khiva, the Khan was presented with sugar during his ceremonial visits to Petro-Aleksandrovsk for meeting with the Russian officials.

After completing his inspection in the southernmost provinces of the Khanate, Lykoshin headed back to Petro-Aleksandrovsk. He gives no clear indication of exactly when he got back, though judging from the contents of the *Zapiska* one may conclude that this latter visit did not last for long, and his stay in the territory of the Khanate this time could not have exceeded two days.

The third and lengthiest visit, in terms of both the length of time spent and the distance covered, was a tour of inspection of the northern parts of the Khanate and took place a couple of weeks later. Although Lykoshin set off from Petro-Aleksandrovsk on 25 June, it took him another ten days before he reached the territory of the Khanate. This was because his journey to the north went

including South Russia, Caucasus, Iran, and China: see http://www.levantine-heritage.com/forbes-history.html. For more on this company see infra, p. 281, fn. 81.

[100] See infra: *Записка*, p. 172.

initially along the right bank of the Amu-Darya River, through a host of settlements, including those of Nukus and Chimbay, which were under Russian jurisdiction. It was not until 4 July that he finally stepped into the territory under khanal jurisdiction, in the vicinity of Qonghrat, the northenmost settlement and a fortress of the Khanate. The principal purpose of this visit, as he himself put it, was "to inspect *Turkmeniya*" – that is, the vast area to the west and southwest of Kuhna-Urgench inhabited by the various Turkmen groups – and to resolve misunderstandings between the Turkmens and the Khan resulting from the former's disagreements with the reforms proposed by the Khan. It was in the vicinity of the Khivan towns of Qonghrat and Kuhna-Urgench that one of the largest groups of the Yomut Turkmens known as *Kūllī-Yāmūt*s, or "the lakeside Yomuts," resided. Unlike their fellow members, who were living further south in the areas next to the towns of Takhta and Gazavat, and who were distinguished as a *Yūqārī-Yāmūt*s or "Upper Yomuts", at this juncture some of the *Kūllī*-Yomuts' chieftains found themselves at odds with the Khivan authorities. The genealogy of the enmity seems to have been rooted in earlier developments,[101] yet the proposed land survey by the Khivan authorities threatened to exacerbate local tensions and trigger all-out conflicts. Lykoshin therefore headed towards these localities with the aim of bringing the local Yomut chieftains to common ground with their Khivan interlocutors.

However, arranging a meeting with rebels amidst this conflict was not a straightforward enterprise. Upon Lykoshin's arrival at the locality of 'Azīzlār Bābā (a settlement located midway between Yangi-Qal'a and Kuhna-Urgench, and named after the local saint, whose shrine complex (*mazār*) was a popular place of pilgrimage), there also appeared a few elders or *katkhudā*s of various Youmut clans. Yet, the most prominent *Kūllī*-Yomut chieftains, such as for instance Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov (Maḥmūd Khān Ātāl Khān ūghlī), continually rejected Lykoshin's invitation to meet. This

[101] On the origin of the animosity of some groups of *Kūllī-Yāmūt*s towards the central authorities in Khiva, see: Shioya, "*Povorot* and the Khanate of Khiva," pp. 234–238, see also below, pp. 94–95, fn. 238.

reluctance was due to the fact that some of them had every reason to fear possible detention, if not assassination attempts by the Khivan Khan's agents. It was only after Lykoshin offered his own personal guaranties of safety that Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov and some other *Kūllī*-Yomut leaders finally agreed to appear in person at Lykoshin's camp by the shrine of 'Azīzlār Bābā.

Over the subsequent meeting with the Yomut chieftains Lykoshin succeeded in persuading even the most intractable of them to travel along with him to Khiva and discuss their concerns with the Khivan Khan in person. His argument seemed to hit the target, as on the next day Lykoshin set off to Khiva accompanied by a group of *Kūllī*-Yomut representatives, including Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov.

After rather a long journey, on 13 July Lykoshin, along his Turkmen fellow travelers, arrived at the capital of the Khanate. There again Lykoshin needed to employ his persuasive skills to convince the Khan and to arrange the meeting with the Yomut *katkhudā*s from among both the Lakeside and the Upper clans. The Khan found Lykoshin's arguments compelling, and the meeting was arranged on 15 July.

Taking advantage of some spare time before this meeting was due to take place, Lykoshin headed off to the Mennonite colony located 12 miles from Khiva in the locality of Aq-Masjid. The German-speaking colonists, who a few decades ago had wound up in that far-flung region due to a quirk of fate, seems by the time of Lykoshin's visit to have established a comfortable life for themselves in the Muslim Khanate, and furthermore occupied certain prominent niches in the local economy.[102] In the colony that looked "more like the outskirts of some small German town", Lykoshin had a chance to delve into the life of the dwellers and to produce one of the most detailed descriptions of Mennonite life in Khorezm.[103]

[102] For more on the origin of the Mennonite colony in the Khivan Khanate, see infra, p. 324, fn. 102.

[103] See infra: *Записка*, pp. 205–211.

On the following day the Yomut *katkhudā*s started arriving at the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace in Khiva for the scheduled meeting. A long table was set on the terrace of the palace for the participants. The principal matters raised over the subsequent negotiations in the Khan's palace were the upcoming land survey, which was also due to investigate all lands in Yomut possession, as well as as the regulation of water usage along the Sukhbat Canal, where most of the *Kūllī*-Yomuts' lands were located. The negotiations between the Turkmen representatives and Khivan officials headed by Sayyid Islām Khvāja were somewhat tense. Yet again, the presence of the ADO Commandant seems to have been instrumental in finding a common ground in negotiations and in bringing all parties to a preliminary agreement, or at least so it transpires from the text of the *Zapiska*. The subsequent developments however would clearly show that such a contradictory interest could scarcely be resolved through formal negotiations: and the formal agreements that were reached soon proved to be easily disregarded.

On 17 July 1912 Lykoshin returned to Petro-Aleksandrovsk and thus his third tour of inspection of the Khanate.

The text of the *Zapiska* draws heavily on the material collected by Lykoshin during these three tours of inspection. The first one that lasted from 28 May through 1 June 1912, followed the itinerary Petro-Aleksandrovsk – Khanqah – Guja – Khiva – New Urgench – Petro-Aleksandrovsk. The second one, along the route Petro-Aleksandrovsk – Hazarasp – Pitnak – Darghan-Ata – Petro-Aleksandrovsk, started on 7 June and seems to have been shorter than the previous one, although Lykoshin does not provide the accurate date of his return to Petro-Aleksandrovsk. The third and longest tour started on 25 June and lasted until 17 July. On this occasion Lykoshin travelled first from Petro-Aleksandrovsk to Nukus and Chimbay, and thence to the Khivan town of Qonghrat. From there he headed southward, following the itinerary Yangi-Qal'a – Kuhna-Urgench – Tash-Hawz – Gazavat – Khiva – New Urgench – Petro-Aleksandrovsk.

On Lykoshin's own admission he had started collecting some preliminary data about the Khanate, in the form of intelligence delivered by his agents in the Khanate (such as, for instance, his

Turkmen informant Shāh-Zā, also known as Shāh-Jān Shamiev in the Khivan sources), even before he set out for the initial tour of inspection. He furthermore seems to have been taking notes *en route* all the way through these inspections. Yet it was not until 17 July, after completing the third tour, that he seems to have started drafting the text in a more systematic way.

It appears that the task of writing the *Zapiska* was not an easy one, and that it took Lykoshin some time. This may be observed from the following detail: General A.S. Galkin, then the Military Governor of the Syr-Darya Province, upon arrival in Khiva in early August 1912, conveyed to Lykoshin the disappointment of the Turkestan Governor-General Samsonov at not having received from Lykoshin the long-awaited reports and, especially, at the fact that he was still awaiting "a detailed survey about the current state of affairs in the Khivan Khanate".[104] The *Zapiska* that Lykoshin was drafting at that point can be clearly identified as the "detailed survey", to which the Turkestan Governor-General referred, and which he was awaiting from his subordinate. In order to justify his failure thus far to comply with Samsonov's instruction, Lykoshin noted that he had been extremely busy in the months since assuming office, and that this left him little opportunity to get acquainted "with the completely new situation in the life of the Khivan Khanate, which is very complex and difficult to observe."[105] He assured his superior though that from that point on he would keep him informed in a more diligent and regular manner.[106]

Judging from the subsequent paper flow one may observe that it was from August 1912 on, i.e. after having received the afore-noted warning from Tashkent, that Lykoshin started sending his reports in a more systematic fashion (at certain points the frequency of dispatch reached two or three reports per month). It was not before the beginning of that same month that Lykoshin, according to his own

104 N. Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru*, *28.09.1912, no. 43*, l. 132.

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid.

testament, was able to finalize the text of the *Zapiska*. In one of his reports to Samsonov, not only does he admit this fact, but he also notifies his superior that he has passed on the text to General Galkin, who has agreed to deliver it to the addressee, that is to the Turkestan Governor-General, in person.[107] Given that Galkin left Khiva on 9 August, and taking into consideration the fact that travel from Petro-Aleksandrovsk to Tashkent at that time took 10–14 days, we are safe to conclude that the text in question must have been delivered to Tashkent and handed over to Governor-General Samsonov at some point in the second half of August 1912.

Since Lykoshin's responsibilities required him to deal predominantly with administrative matters over his trips, it is little surprise that his *Zapiska* substantially reflects the conventions of administrative writing. In the work Lykoshin furthermore provides a host of statistical data, which according to his own admission was borrowed from the Khivan grand vizier Sayyid Islām Khvāja. Such data appears, for instance, in figures and tables regarding the number of residents and the amount of cultivated lands in each district of the Khanate. Equally valuable is the quantitative data that Lykoshin provides about the Turkmen population of Khiva as subdivided into varous distinct clans and tribes, and the amount and assortment of weaponry at their disposal. Although Lykoshin himself admits that the statistical data that he managed to get from the Khivan authorities was not entirely accurate, this information still suffices to provide useful insights into the Khanate's land resources as well as the region's ethnic composition.

At the same time, however, the text often reads more like a literary travelog than the terse language of an administrative report. It provides vivid descriptions of the places, local customary practices, and personalities that Lykoshin encountered *en route*. Interwoven into the main narrative line, the sketchy passages (such as for instance the eloquent description of performance of the '*arz-dād*

[107] Ibid.

ceremony at the Khivan court,[108] or some vivid ethnographic descriptions) clearly distinguish this text from the numerous statistical surveys and terse memos on the Khanate of Khiva composed by his fellow officers over the course of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[109]

Returning to the content of the *Zapiska*, three matters occupied salient places in its composition. These were a) the power struggle episodes that occurred in the Khivan court around that time, culminating in the detainment of the *Divanbegi*-ites, which set in motion more latent processes within and outside the Khan's palace; b) the implementation of administrative and fiscal reforms envisioned by the Khivan authorities; and c) the increasing confrontation between the Khivan officials and certain groups of Yomut Turkmens. The following sections will be devoted to these issues in turn.

[108] The term '*arz-dād,* or simply '*arz*, refers to a ritualized ceremonial held at the royal court in Khiva, whereby a Khivan subject submitted a grievance to the ruler and filed a claim with the royal court. As such, Lykoshin presents one of the most detailed and vivid description of the '*arz-dād*'s performance at the court of the Khans of Khiva (see infra, *Записка*, pp. 205–211). For more on this ceremony, see Paolo Sartori and Ulfat Abdurasulov, *Seeking Justice at the Court of the Khans of Khiva (19th – Early 20th Centuries)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020).

[109] This is even in comparison with the most voluminous and widely quoted "military-statistical" surveys on the Khivan Khanate composed during the colonial era, such as A.S. Stetkevich, "Ocherki Khivinskogo oazisa (Stat'ia pervaia)" *Voennyi sbornik* 2 (1892): 380–406; idem, "Ocherki Khivinskogo oazisa (okonchanie)" *Voennyi sbornik* 3 (1982): 184–212; V.A. Girshfel'd, and A.S. Galkin, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie Khivinskogo oazisa. Sostavleno General'nogo shtaba kapitanom Girshfel'dom. Pererabotano Nachal'nikom Amu-Dar'inskogo otdela General-maiorom Galkinym*. Pt. 1–2 (Tashkent: TurkVO, 1902, 1903); V. Lobachevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie Turkestanskogo voennogo okruga. Khivinskii raion* (Tashkent: Tipo-litografiia shtaba Turkestanskogo voennogo okruga, 1912).

5. "Secrets of the Khivan Court." The Detainment of the *Divanbegi*-ites

On the evening of 10 August 1913, on the way to his estate in the suburbs of Khiva, Sayyid Islām Khvāja, the *vazīr-i akbar*, or grand vizier, of the Khivan Khanate, was killed by unknown assassins. This was a deeply shocking event. Sayyid Islām Khvāja was a prominent individual who exercised control over the Khanate's finances and politics, was a recipient of the most prestigious awards of the Russian Empire including the Imperial Order of the White Eagle, and enjoyed access to the top ruling circles in the imperial metropole; he was also an honored descendant of Sayyid-Āta – a prominent *shaykh* of Yasaviya communal affiliation,[110] whose cult was deeply venerated across the Khorezmian oasis.[111] The circumstances of the murder were shocking, also, having taken place amidst the Muslim fasting season of Ramadan, "on the Friday, two hours after sunset,"[112] when every true believer was supposed to celebrate the end of fasting with the *iftār*, or the Tarāwīh prayer. Most appalling of all, however, was the gruesome manner in which the murder was committed: in the dead of night, a group of unknown perpetrators set up an ambush, pulled the grand vizier out of his phaeton, and stabbed both him and his coachman multiple times.[113] Strangely enough, on the night in question the grand vizier's carriage was not escorted by guards, who on previous occasions generally

[110] Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 45a; Shioya, "*Povorot* and the Khanate of Khiva", p. 238.

[111] On the status of Sayyid-Āta's descendants in early modern Khorezm see Devin DeWeese, "The Sayyid Ata'i Presence in Khwārazm during the 16th and Early 17th Centuries", in Devin DeWeese (ed.), *Studies on Central Asian History: In Honour of Yuri Bregel* (Bloomington, Indiana: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2001), pp. 245–281.

[112] Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 43b; Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fol. 5b.

[113] Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 43a-45a; Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fol. 6a.

accompanied the high-ranking dignitary on his journeys;[114] his most reliable bodyguard, a certain Bābā Jān Qātfān, was also not with his patron that evening, [115] and even the hapless coachman was a last-minute replacement for the grand vizier's usual driver.[116] No less striking perhaps was the fact that the grand vizier's valuables (including a diamond ring worth 10,000 roubles) and 750 roubles in cash were left untouched at the scene of the crime.[117] This was a daring, targeted assassination, undertaken furthermore by people who may have had access to insider information about the grand vizier's movements. And it happened almost under the nose of the ADO Commandant Lykoshin, who was supposed to keep a watchful eye on events in the neighboring Khanate.

The news of Sayyid Islām Khvāja's assassination caused a great outcry, both in Khiva and far beyond its borders. Sympathetic telegrams to the Khivan authorities arrived from all over the empire, including from members of the ruling house of Romanov and senior figures in the Russian government.[118] At the same time, the imperial authorities embarked upon an investigation of the affair, dispatching a commission to Khiva, headed by the Chief of the Asiatic Department of the Russian General Staff, General Sergei Tseil. Tseil's investigation must have been assisted by the fact that the wounded coachman was able to make a recovery and to identify several of the attackers, who were alleged to be associated with high-ranking officials at the Khivan court and, according to some speculations, even with Isfandiyār Khān himself.[119] Despite the coachman's testimony, however, the commission concluded that it was "unable to track

114 A.V. Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del. 11.11.1913*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 343, l. 3;

115 Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar,* fol. 6b.

116 Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, l. 3.

117 Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, ll. 3 ob.–4.

118 Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, ll. 7–7 ob.

119 Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar,* fols. 6b–7a; Madaminov-Laffasī, *Otryvki iz istorii Khivinskogo khanstva,* ll. 164–163 ob.; Jum'a Niyāz Ḥājjī Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqi'alārī*, fols. 11b–12b; Samsonov, G. *Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, ll. 5ob.–6ob.

down the perpetrators." Notwithstanding all the attention that it attracted, this high-profile case remained unsolved, and has continued thus down to the present day, even while continuing to generate mystery, rumors, and speculations.[120]

The murder of Sayyid Islām Khvāja occurred a year after Lykoshin had finished writing his *Zapiska*. Nevertheless, both this latter work and subsequent reports that Lykoshin dispatched to the Turkestan Governor-General may help to shed light on the circumstances that gave rise to Sayyid Islām Khvāja's unfortunate end. By examining certain episodes described by Lykoshin such as the Khan's detainment of the so-called *Divanbegi*-ites' faction of courtiers, we are able to reconstruct the political dynamics of the Khivan protectorate, and to trace in finer detail the activities of various factions and individuals who operated at the Khivan court. As we shall see, Sayyid Islām Khvāja's death seems to have served the interests of numerous individuals and groups: the newly-enthroned Khan, who had been seeking to emancipate himself from his chief minister; certain factions at court, who had found themselves in bad odor with the powerful grand-vizier; and, perhaps most suprisingly, the colonial and imperial authorities, who seem to have been worried that Sayyid Islām Khvāja was monopolizing power and authority in his own hands. In order to make better sense of this developments, let us turn back to the events which unfolded a few years earlier.

On 16 August 1910, the Qonghrat monarch Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II had died at his palace in Khiva at the age of 66, following a 46-year-long reign. His son Sayyid Isfandiyār Khān ascended the throne. The reign of the new ruler brought about certain reshuffles in the higher echelons of the Khanate's political hierarchy. As outlined above in section 1 of the Introduction, Sayyid Islām Khvāja, a maternal uncle as well as father-in-law of the Khan, was promoted

[120] Recently in Uzbekistan Sayyid Islām Khvāja's assassination has become the subject of a film adaptation by the *O'zbekkino* film company, see ""Islomxo'ja" filmning yopiq taqdimoti bo'lib o'tdi", *Kun.uz* online-newspaper, 16.08.2018 (https://kun.uz/uz/news/2018/08/16/islomhuza-filmning-epik-takdimoti-bulib-utdi).

to the office of *vazīr-i akbar* (grand vizier). This made him now the most powerful dignitary in the Khanate.[121]

Isfandiyār Khān's accession to the Khivan throne was soon followed by a string of bizarre murders of individuals who were variously associated in some way with the revious Khan's financial affairs. Thus, on 14 January 1911, a certain Davlat Kildī Dūghma was brutally assassinated in mysterious circumstances. According to Khivan authors, Davlat Kildī Dūghma had been the closest confidant (*maḥram*) of the late Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II, especially in the last years of his life.[122] Although the victim's youngest wife was able to recognize and name the perpetrators, the investigation ultimately determined that in fact she was the guilty party, and sentenced her to death.[123] In the meanwhile, a second confidant of the late Khān called Davlat Murād Maḥram, who reportedly was connected with his former patron's financial dealings, was arrested, and his property confiscated into the treasury.[124] More surprisingly, perhaps, the property of the murdered Davlat Kildī Dūghma was also confiscated in the same manner.[125] The Khivan authors make quite clear that the principal beneficiaries of these developments were Isfandiyār Khan and his grand vizier Sayyid Islām Khvāja.[126]

121 Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 5b.; Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar,* fol. 4b.

122 Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 9b; ʿAbdullāh Baltaev, *Daftar* (*no 4*), MS Khiva, Private collection, fol. 2.

123 For a more detailed account of events, see Baltaev, *Daftar* (*no 4*), fols. 2b–4b; Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 9b–10a.

124 According to Lykoshin, Davlat Murād Maḥram, better known by his sobriquet Tāza Maḥram, was the closest confidant of the late Khan, see Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 22.12.1912, no. 62*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 289, l. 209.

125 Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 10a–10b.

126 Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 10a–10b; Baltaev, *Daftar* (*no 4*), fol. 2b.



Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II (in center) and the Heir Sayyid Isfandiyār Tūra (to his right) in St. Petersburg, 1896. The members of the Khan's retinue: Mat-Murād Divānbīgī (in the front row first from the right); his eldest son Ḥusayn Muḥammad Bāy (second row, third from the left) and Sayyid Islām Khvāja (second row, first from the left).
Photo credit: IQDM, inv. no. is not indicated

The Russian colonial authorities in Petro-Aleksandrovsk and in Tashkent alike seem to have been unaware of this bizarre set of events, or otherwise preferred to turn a blind eye to what was going on at the Khivan court. Such a state of affairs continued until December 1911, when all of a sudden a group of nine Khivan courtiers and high-ranking officials were subjected to detention and the expropriation of their properties on charges of high treason.[127] This group of disgraced dignitaries would be referred to in the subsequent colonial records as the *Divanbegi*-ites, this name alluding to the fact that the most prominent among them were the sons of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī, at one time the most influential figure on the Khivan political landscape.[128] With Isfandiyār Khān's accession to

[127] For the list of the high-ranking dignitaries subjected to persecution or detention on that occasion, see Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 17b.

[128] On this individual see also supra, pp. 22–23

authority, these aforementioned three sons, who had started their court career during the reign of the late Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II, now seem to have strengthened their position. The eldest brother, Ḥusayn Muḥammad Bāy, managed to retain the office of *Divānbīgī*, while his brother Shaykh Naẕar Bāy secured promotion to the office of *Yasāvulbāshī*, with responsibility for the armed forces and the local militia of the Khanate;[129] the third brother Āmān Kildī Bāy, meanwhile, was among the reigning Khan's closest confidants.[130] The pretext for these individuals' arrest was that they had submitted to the Khan a written petition whose contents apparently impugned the reputation of the Khan himself and his grand vizier Sayyid Islām Khvāja. But if we are to make sense of what was really going on here, we need a bit more contextual background.

In 1911, soon after ascending the throne, Isfandiyār Khān undertook his first visit to meet the Russian emperor in St. Petersburg; he was accompanied on this journey by a retinue of thirty people, including the most prominent dignitaries in the Khanate.[131] After meeting with Russian emperor Nicholas II, the members of the Khivan delegation proceeded to Pyatigorsk, in the Caucasus, from where the Khan and most of his retinue headed back to Khiva. However, his grand-vizier Sayyid Islām Khvāja remained behind: on the advice of doctors, he decided to tarry longer at this Caucasian resort.[132] This decision was to have fateful consequences: Sayyid

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129 For more on the status the position of Yasāvulbāshī' in early 20th-century Khiva, see: Sartori and Abdurasulov, *Seeking Justice at the Court of the Khans of Khiva*, pp. 21–35.

130 Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 5b; Jum'a Niyāz Ḥājjī Babaniiazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqi'alārī*, fol. 4b.

131 For the list of the officials who accompanied Isfandiyār Khān on his trip to St. Petersburg in 1911, see Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 12b–13a; Pahlavān Niyāz Ḥājjī Yusupov. [*Khāṭiralar*]. MS Khiva, Private Collection of Anvar Otaboev, fol. 8; Jum'a Niyāz Ḥājjī Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqi'alārī*, fol. 5a.

132 The Khivan contemporary author Pahlavān Niyāz Ḥājjī Yusupov, who was also in the Khān's retinue during the trip, later in his memoirs would recall the moment in Pyatigorsk when he came to say goodbye to Sayyid Islām Khvāja before leaving for Khiva. It turned out to be a tearful goodbye, as both of them

Islām Khvāja's absence from Khiva, coupled with the rumors of a sharp deterioration of his health, seem to have pushed opposing courtly factions to act.[133]

It was at this moment that the aforementioned petition signed by the sons of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī and other courtiers was submitted to the Khivan ruler.[134] Surprisingly, perhaps, the text of the petition itself has been never aired, either in the colonial records or in subsequent scholarship. Even when General A.S. Galkin upon his visit to Khiva in August 1912 made clear that he wished to familiarize himself with the content of the petition, his request was denied by the Khivan Khan on the pretext that the text in question contained some insulting expressions that might tarnish the prestige of the Khivan ruler.[135] Luckily for us, though, the content of the petition is reproduced in a text by the Khivan author Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī, who during the period in question acted as court scribe, and belonged to the cohort of court historians.[136] In Laffasī's rendering of the text, the authors of the petition[137] seem to have been unhappy with the the upcoming reform measures that had been introduced by the Khivan authorities earlier in September 1910 and which, according to its designers – Sayyid Islām Khvāja and Isfandyār Khān –, "aimed at the abolition of some of the oldest existing aspects of the present

by that juncture seem to have been aware of the grand vizier's serious ailment, see Pahlavān Niyāz Ḥājjī Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fol. 10b.

133 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 53*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 289, l. 167 ob.

134 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 53*, l. 167 ob.

135 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.08.1912, no 43*, ll. 134–136.

136 A brief account of Laffasī's biography can be found in Polvonnazar Bobojonov ed., *Laffasiy, Tazkirai shuaro* (Urganch: Xorazm, 1992), pp. 116–118.

137 Along with the three aforementioned sons of Divānbīgī, the petition also was signed by a further six of the Khanate's high-ranking dignitaries. See the full list of the signatories in Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 16a; Jum'a Niyāz Ḥājjī Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqi'alārī*, fol. 6a.

order that are burdensome to the people".[138] Recognizing that the former method for calculating land taxes "was extremely burdensome", the program of reforms (*dastūr al-'amal*; adopted in January 1911) suggested that the Khanate's principal land tax (*sālghūt*) should be calculated on the basis of a newly designed land survey. Then, in accordance with the actual size of land plots a fixed rate per each *ṭanāp* of cultivated land should be imposed.[139] So, the petitioners argued that these measures as well as the respective instructions issued by Sayyid Islām Khvāja to local governors,[140] "are at odds with older customs of the country and with Sharī'a", and are "harmful for [the essense of] our religion". [141] They further claimed that Khivan state treasury funds were being spent on "the lecherous affairs" of Sayyid Islām Khvāja himself and his confidants. As perhaps is to be expected, the petitioners made clear that the Khan was in no way to be blamed for this state of affairs, and instead attributed all responsibility to the *vazīr-i akbar* alone, whose ongoing reform activities, they claimed, were causing discontent among the population, so that everyone in the Khanate "now speaks out openly [against the reforms] and blames Islām Khvāja for that".[142]

After receiving the petition, Isfandyār Khān, who according to some authors' telling was already tiring of Sayyid Islām Khvāja's tutelage, opted not to undertake any immediate measures,

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138 Isfandiyār Khān, *Manifest Khivinskogo Khana Isfandiiar Bakhadur Khana o predlozhennykh im reformakh v Khivinskom Khanstve*, MS. St. Petersbug, OR RNB, f. 1240, d. 119, l. 1. For more on the reform program and its implementation, see Abdurasulov and Sartori, "Neopredelennost' kak politika", pp. 118–164.

139 *Ob'iasnitel'naia zapiska o reformakh, predpologaemykh i chast'iu osushchestvlennykh Khanom Khivinskim*; O'zMA, f. I-1, op. 31, d. 1104, ll. 2–8.

140 As reported by the local authors, Sayyid Islām Khvāja dispatched sets of written instructions (*ṭalab-nāma*) to the provincial authorities in each district of the Khanate, providing detailed guidance on how to comply with the implementation of the program of reform, see for instance, Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 11a–12a. For the text of one such set of instructions dispatched to the authoritities of the town of Astana, see: O'zMA, f. I-125, op. 1, d, 579, ll. 1–2 ob.

141 See: Laffasi, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 16a–17b.

142 See: Laffasi, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 16a–17b.

and decided instead to keep hold of the petition until the time was right.[143] Meanwhile, Sayyid Islām Khvāja returned to Khiva from the Caucasus safe and sound, and Isfandyār Khān continued for the moment to be outwardly supportive of his grand vizier. As would transpire from subsequent developments, the Khan was already weary of the vizier's guardianship, yet his position was not strong enough to speak out against this mighty statesman. Sayyid Islām Khvāja's authority within the Khanate seemed to remain impregnable, and he seemed also to enjoy the ongoing support of the Russian authorities, who considered him as a guarantor of the successful implementation of the scheduled reform program. Soon after his arrival back in Khiva, therefore, moves got underway to investigate the aforementioned petition as a supposed "crime against the state" which "sought to encroach on the power of the Khan himself".[144] As a result most of the petitioners, including Mat-Murād Divānbīgī's three sons, were detained on the Khan's orders, while their considerable properties were confiscated almost in full.[145] It was perhaps not accidental that this confiscation of property coincided with a large-scale project of construction works (such as construction of a hospital, telegraph-postal office, madrasas, and various other buildings) in Khiva and its suburbs launched by the Khan and his grand vizier, which required a massive injection of funds.[146]

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143 Laffasi, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 17b.

144 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.08.1912, no. 43*, ll. 134–134 ob. idem, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 53*, l. 167 ob.

145 Pahlavān Niyāz Ḥājjī Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fol. 13b; Laffasi, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshān*, fols. 18a-18b; Jum'a Niyāz Ḥājjī Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqi'alārī*, fol. 7b.; according to Lykoshin's inquiry the property of the *Divanbegi*-ites was confiscated in full, including their wives' jewelry items, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.08.1912, no. 43*, l. 135.

146 In 1911 the Khivan authorities lauched a large-scale project of construction works in one of the Khivan suburbs called Tash-Kupruk. Lykoshin, following his visit to that area, which came to be regarded as New Khiva (*Novaia Khiva*, or *Tāza Khīva*, in vernacular sources), noted a large Khanal madrasa, hospital, and post office, as well as a new palace for the Khan, see infra, *Записка*, pp. 219–221; see also: Jum'a Niyāz Ḥājjī Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqi'alārī*,

This, then, was what was happening at the Khivan court. Let us now consider the role of the Russian authorities in these events. The arrest of the *Divanbegi*-ites not only took the Russian colonial authorities by complete surprise,[147] but it also appears to have been a matter of major concern for the Russian authorities more generally, both in the colony and in the metropole. The ostensible reason for such "concerns" was the fact that Ḥusayn Muḥammad Bāy Divānbīgī, the leader of the *Divanbegi*-ite faction, had previously been appointed by the Russian Emperor to the honorary rank of lieutenant colonel of the Russian army.[148] The blow to this individual's authority and standing was thus regarded by the Russian authorities as a calculated affront to the "prestige of Russian power". But Russian disquiet went further than this. The Russian authorities took the view that the arrest of the *Divanbegi*-ites was a conspiracy initiated by Sayyid Islām Khvāja so as to undermine the position of his rival factions at the court.[149] In light of this view, the Russians started to fret about the concentration of political power and authority in one man's hands – even if the person in question was entirely loyal to the imperial regime.[150] This is perhaps why this seemingly insignificant case of internal court wrangling gave rise to serious concerns in both Tashkent and St Petersburg. In the wake of these

fols. 11a–11b. As Lykoshin and some contemporary authors report, the new edifices required substantial amounts of money and the Khivan treasury constantly experienced shortages of funds for this purpose: see infra, *Записка*, pp. 225–226; Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar,* fol. 5a.

147 As a certain Vasil'ev, then the assistant to the ADO's Commandant, reported at that time, he learned about the events at the Khivan court due to "occasional rumors alone": see, Vasil'ev, *Diplomaticheskomu chinovniku pri Turkestanskom General-gubernatore Baranovskomu, 06.12.1911, no. 19*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 289, ll. 194–194 ob.

148 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.08.1912, no. 43*, l. 136; Pahlavān Niyāz Ḥājjī Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fol. 8; Jum'a Niyāz Ḥājjī Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqi'alārī*, fols. 5a–5b.

149 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 53*, l. 168.

150 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.08.1912, no. 43*, l. 135 ob.

developments, Major-General N.G. Glushanovskii was replaced as the Commandant of the ADO by Colonel Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin. Soon after, in August 1912, General-Lieutenant A.S. Galkin, then the Military Governor of the Syr-Darya Province, was dispatched to Khiva to lead negotiations about what would be called "the alleviation of the plight of the disgraced courtiers".[151] The main goal of General-Lieutenant Galkin's mission to Khiva was "to let the Khivan ruler know that the Russian authorities have due regard to the fate of the disgraced sons of [Mat-Murād] Divānbīgī".[152] Although the Khivan ruler kept insisting that the courtiers' detainment was a purely internal matter, he could not simply disregard the Russian authorities' intercessions. In the meantime, the General-Governor of Turkestan General Samsonov kept regularly sending dispatches to Lykoshin about this matter.[153]

As a result, the discussion over the *Divanbegi*-ites' fate also looms large in Lykoshin's communications with the Khivan authorities over the course of his first year in office as the ADO Commandant. It is perhaps for this reason that he refers to the case as "the most salient matter that has occurred under the new reign [of Isfandiyār Khān]".[154] It is not difficult to discern, though, with which party in the conflict Lykoshin himself sympathized. Both in the *Zapiska* and in subsequent reports he makes no attempt to hide his sympathy for the *Divanbegi*-ites, to whom he refers as "talented officials" who have fallen victim to "intrigues". At the same time he presents a rather crude picture of the Khivan minister Sayyid Islām Khvāja

[151] For the account of the meeting held by A.S. Galkin and N.S. Lykoshin with Isfandiyār Khān on 4 August 1912, see Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.08.1912, no. 43*, ll. 123–136.

[152] Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 51*, l. 184.

[153] See for instance, Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 31.08.1912, no. 10;* O'zMA, f. I-2, op.1, d. 289, ll. 189–189 ob.*;* idem, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 51*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 289, ll. 184 ob.–185.

[154] *Записка*, p. 137.

as someone obsessed with ambition and "a lust for power",[155] and repeatedly uses the expression "a power-hungry *vazīr-i akbar*".[156] To justify his sympathy for the *Divanbegi*-ites, Lykoshin repeatedly refers, both in the text of the *Zapiska* and in his other reports, to "the voice of the people". As Lykoshin puts it, "the people regard this as an unfair decision", and ascribe all the blame "exclusively to the intrigues of Sayyid Islām Khvāja, who sought to become the Khan's all-powerful counsellor".[157] In none of these cases however does he provide possible clues on the representativeness of his sources or the way in which he actually gauges "public opinion". Clearly, there must have been other voices among the Khivans, opposite to those shared by Lykoshin, and who found themselves on the side of the grand vizier in that conflict.[158] In the light of his tendency to give a one-sided picture of the conflict that unfolded at the court, casting it simply as a tension between "the talented dignitaries" and the "power-hungry *vazīr-i akbar*", his frequent appeals to the people's voices seem to be a rhetorical device, employed by Lykoshin here and elsewhere to substantiate his own judgments.[159] He employs a similar rhetorical move elsewhere in his *Zapiska*, for instance while

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155 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 53*, l. 167.

156 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.08.1912, no. 43*, l. 134 ob.

157 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.08.1912, no. 43*, l. 135.

158 Most of the Khivan contemporary authors seem to be distinctly sympathetic to Sayyid Islām Khvāja not only in general assessment, but also with regard to the given conflict, see: Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fols. 4b–5a; Laffasi, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshān*, fols. 7a–7b; Jum'a Niyāz Ḥājjī Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqi'alārī,* fols. 6b–7a.

159 His sympathy for the *Divanbegi*-ites does not seem to be merely occasional; General Kolosovskii, Lykoshin's successor at the office of the ADO Commandant, would recall that in 1914 while assigning his office to his replacement General Kolosovskii, Lykoshin recommended him, as a piece of personal advice (*vyskazal nadezhdu ili, skoree, pozhelanie*), to align himself wherever possible with one particular group at the court, namely the *Divanbegi*-ites: see V.P. Kolosovskii, *Raport Diplomaticheskomu chinovniku S.V. Chirkinu, 12.12.1914, no. 242*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 35, l. 64 ob.

describing the ceremony of the Khan's listening to people's grievances; here too, in order to emphasize the ostensible backwardness and archaism of the Khanate's legal practices, Lykoshin invokes the opinion of "knowledgeable people", according to whom the entire ceremony amounts to nothing more than the "simplified oral dispensation of justice".[160] As elsewhere, so too here he neglects to indicate exactly who these experts were. As recent studies have showcased, around the time when Lykoshin witnessed this ceremony there already existed a distinct chancellery at the Khivan court, responsible not only for documenting people's claims filed with the Khivan court, but also for managing a massive concomitant paper flow to and from the localities.[161] So, either those "knowledgeable people" to whose expert opinions Lykoshin refers were unaware about this mass of documentary output, or, perhaps more plausibly, Lykoshin tended to favor information that confirmed his own beliefs.

In the subsequent months after General Galkin's conversation with the Khivan ruler in August 1912, Lykoshin would meet Isfandiyār Khān three times; during all these meetings the question of "the alleviation of the fate of the disgraced courtiers" invariably occupied a salient place. The Khivan authorities, meanwhile, could not simply turn a deaf ear to the proposals of the Russian official. After all, in requesting mitigation of the disgraced dignitaries' condition Lykoshin was acting not merely as a Commandant of the ADO but also as a representative of the higher echelons of the imperial administration. Isfandiyār Khān therefore faced a dilemma, since deferring to Russian pressure and "alleviating the plight" of the *Divanbegi*-ites risked undermining the dignity of the Khivan sovereign and would be treated by the locals as a sign of weakness. Such a state of affairs, clearly, was not to be contemplated. Instead, Isfandiyār Khān seems to have played for time, availing himself of the protracted niceties and rituals of Khivan courtly life so as

160 See infra, *Записка*, p. 132.

161 See further: Sartori and Abdurasulov, *Seeking Justice at the Court of the Khans of Khiva*, passim.

to keep negotiations with the Russian authorities dragging on at a snail-like pace.

Very slowly, Isfandiyār Khān agreed to mitigate aspects of the prisoners' conditions. In September 1912, a month after General Galkin's visit to Khiva, the prisoners were permitted to commemorate Eid al-Fitr, the holiday that marked the end of fasting of Ramadan. The *Divanbegi*-ites were allowed to leave their house arrest so as to attend holiday prayers in the central Khivan Namāzgāh mosque along with other high-ranking officials of the Khanate and the Khan himself. Although the disgraced dignitaries were not allowed to directly approach the ruler, their appearance at the ceremony was regarded by the Khivans as "a token of mitigation of the disgrace" (*tolkuiut kak priznak smiagcheniia opaly*).[162]

With the passage of time, on 6 November 1912, the day of celebration of Eid al-Adha, the *Divanbegi*-ites were allowed to gather in the front row of the crowd which assembled at the entrance of Tāsh Ḥavlī Palace to make a bow (*salām*) to the Khan upon his exit from the premises. As he departed, the Khan briefly glanced at them and ran his hand over his beard, in a gesture interpreted by those present as a token of the Khan's benevolence towards the disgraced dignitaries.[163] A more surprising episode was still to come. At a certain point, Lykoshin reported:

> an old lady came out the crowd; as rumor has it, she was a mother of the disgraced dignitaries.[164] Crying and sobbing, she started cursing Sayyid Islām Khvāja, who out of lust for power inflicted so much pain on [Mat-Murād] Divānbīgī's sons. The old lady also said a prayer for the merciful Khan

[162] Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 30.09.1912, no. 15*, l. 160 ob.

[163] Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 49*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 289, ll. 177 ob.–178.

[164] Laffasī provides the name of the *Divanbegi*-ites' mother – Havā Bīka, Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshān*, fol. 18a.

> […]. Such a move by the old lady made a strong impression on the crowd.[165]

Presumably for the sake of appearances, the Khan subsequently gave orders for an investigation to identify exactly who had admitted the disgraced dignitaries next to the palace. He was informed, however, that the *Divanbegi*-ites had been admitted at the personal request of the Heir, namely Timūr Ghāzī Tūra. The Khan "made a show of seeming disgruntled", but explained that, unable as he was to resist "his only son's request", he could not help but to allow the *Divanbegi*-ites from that time on to attend the morning greeting at the Heir's court.[166]

Events then began to accelerate rapidly. On 8 December 1912 the disgraced dignitaries were officially pardoned. Ironically, perhaps, Lykoshin, who had continually insisted that the *Divanbegi*-ites' plight be alleviated and had gone to great lengths to keep track of developments through the use of informants, was now taken unawares by subsequent events. In a letter that he wrote in January 1913 to A. Semenov, the Diplomatic officer at the office of the Turkestan Governor-General, he admitted that the Khan's pardon of the *Divanbegi*-ites "came as a complete surprise to me".[167] In his subsequent report to the Turkestan Governor-General Samsonov he belatedly provided the following details about the pardon, drawing upon information gathered from one of his informants at the court:

> [O]n the morning of 8 December [1912], the Khan was busy with receiving the daily greetings (*salām*) from his dignitaries, when without any precautions, or without consulting

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165 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 49*, ll. 177ob.–178.

166 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 49*, l. 178; idem, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru 28.11.1912, no. 51*, l. 184 ob.; similar account provided also by Laffasī in his *Ta'rīkh-i gulshān*, fols. 18b–19a.

167 Lykoshin, *Diplomaticheskomu chinovniku pri Turkestanskom General-gubernatore Baranovskomu, 05.01.1913;* O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 289, ll. 199–199 ob.

> with anyone, he summoned the disgraced dignitaries. They seemed unaware about the reason why they were summoned [by the Khan]. The first who arrived upon the Khan's call was Shaykh Naẓar Bāy, the son of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī. [He approached] the Khan, who was sitting on a marble platform … [Another courtier] Muḥammad Yusūf Yasāvulbāshī was in his ordinary place [next to the Khān]. The Khan told [Muḥammad] Yusūf Yasāvulbāshī to leave the [audience] room. Then he ordered Shayh Naẓar Bāy to take the latter's place, thereby telling him that from [now on] he restored him [Shayh Naẓar] in the office of the *Yasāvulbāshī* … After that the other disgraced dignitaries were also allowed to the Khan, who announced that he would grant them a pardon. As a result, [the eldest brother] Ḥusayn [Muḥammad] Bāy was restored to his [erstwhile] position of *Divānbīgī*, … while [Mat-Murād] Divānbīgī's third son [and the youngest of the brothers] Āmān Kildī [Bāy] was re-enrolled to the Khān's Council.[168]

Lykoshin was not the only person taken aback by this news; various Khivan courtiers also seem to have been bemused by the Khan's move, notably among them Sayyid Islām Khvāja. "According to information received," Lykoshin reported to Samsonov, "Sayyid Islām Khvāja was completely bewildered by the independent decision made this time by the Khan."[169] Indeed, the once all-powerful minister must have realized how the ground was slipping from underfoot. "This event", resumes Lykoshin, "marked the end of Sayyīd Islām Khvāja's absolute authority". [170] At this juncture the Russian officer could barely imagine that he was thus foretelling the end of not only the authority, but also the very life, of the Khivan grand vizier.

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168 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 22.12.1912, no. 62*, ll. 208 ob.–209.

169 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 08.01.1913, no. 5*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 289, ll. 203–203 ob.

170 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 22.12.1912, no. 62*, l. 209.

The circumstance of the *Divanbegi*-ites' restoration to favor unfolded against the backdrop of a sharp deterioration in relations between Isfandiyār Khān and his grand vizier. The Russian authorities' various informers and a number of contemporary Khivan authors observed that following the *Divanbegi*-ites' restoration to favor, it was now Sayyid Islām Khvāja who found himself in bad odor with the Khivan ruler.[171] Tensions between the two statesmen seem to have resulted first from financial matters.[172] Ḥasan Murād Laffasī for instance reports that the Khan's decision to embark upon large-scale expenditure to renovate his main residence, the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace, angered Sayyid Islām Khvāja, who hoped instead to use the money in question for more utilitarian ends, such as the construction of a hospital, a telegraph-postal office and various other buildings in what he envisaged as a New Khiva (*Tāza Khīvā*).[173] Baltaev, meanwhile, reports that Sayyid Islām Khvāja sought to prevent the Khan from bankrupting the state with harebrained expenses by limiting his expenditure on "personal needs" to a fixed allowance of 2,000 *ṭillā* per month.[174] Such moves were distinctly unwelcome to a Khan who prized personal grandeur above all else.

It is probably not accidental that Sayyid Islām Khvāja's worsening relations with the Khān coincided with the spread of rumors about the grand vizier's "political unreliability". These rumors reached Petro-Aleksandrovsk, where in September 1912 Lykoshin reported to his seniors in Tashkent about certain "secret meetings" that were allegedly taking place at the grand vizier's house, which

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171 Samsonov, *Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, ll. 5 ob.–6; Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fols. 4b–5a; Laffasi, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshān*, fols. 39b–40a.

172 Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fols. 4b–5a.

173 Madaminov-Laffasī, *Otryvki iz istorii Khivinskogo khanstva,* l. 91; According to Lykoshin's estimation, the reconstruction of the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace placed a significant burden on the Khanate's budget. More than 72,000 roubles were spent for the new premises, and the price paid for furniture was "far higher", see Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 49*, l. 175 ob.

174 Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fol. 5a; see also: Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshān*, fols. 40a–40b.

turned to be the "Lesser Court", which operated in parallel with the "Royal Court" of the Khivan Khan himself. Most importantly, these "dubious gatherings", as they came to be labeled in Lykoshin's reports, were chaired by a certain Tatar called Abdurashitov; participants at these meetings discussed such matters as "how Khiva should treat Russia" and, even more worryingly, "how to weaken Khiva's dependence from Russia.[175] News of a visit to the *vazīr-i akbar* by a certain "emissary of the Ottoman sultan" particularly caught the attention of the Russian officials.[176] Whoever might have been the source of this intelligence, he seems to have been clearly aware of Russian colonial officers' phobias and prejudices. Lykoshin also reported about the increasing influence of the "Lesser Court" that operated at the house of the grand vizier, and especially of the aforementioned "certain Tatar Abdurashitov" on Khivan politics. Nor was it only colonial officers on the ground who were increasingly suspicious towards Sayyid Islām Khvāja: so too were the higher echelons of the imperial establishment – particularly when news emerged that during a visit to the Mariinsky Theatre in St Petersburg the Khivan grand vizier enjoyed "a rather extended conversation" with the Ottoman ambassador to Russia.[177]

Lykoshin seems to have played a key role in feeding such suspicions about Sayyid Islām Khvāja. He regularly reported that the Khivan population was ill-disposed towards the grand vizier, on one occasion writing that "among the population discontent with existent practices keeps growing, and voices against *vazīr-i akbar* Sayyid Islām Khvāja's autocracy are becoming more and more ubiquitous".[178] He also called into question the grand-vizier's capability in dealing with Turkmen chieftains, attributing the increasing

175 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 30.09.1912, no. 15*, l. 160 ob.

176 Ibid.

177 M. Niiazmatov, *Poisk Konsensusa. Rossiisko-khivinskie geopoliticheskie otnosheniia v XVI – nachale XX v.* (St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie, 2010), p. 366.

178 Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 30.09.1912, no. 15*, ll. 160–165.

tensions between Turkmen elders and Khivan authorities to "the highly unsympathetic attitude of Sayyid Islām Khvāja towards them [=the Turkmens], for which reason he is extremely unpopular among the Turkmens".[179] This struck a nerve with Russian policy-makers, for whom the question of Khivan–Turkmen relations was a matter of particular concern. In Petro-Aleksandrovsk, Tashkent and St Petersburg alike, Sayyid Islām Khvāja was beginning to look like a political liability.



Sayyid Islām Khvāja (d. 1913), grand vizier of the Khanate of Khiva in 1910–1913. Photo credit: IQDM, inv. no. KP 2727.

In late 1912 and the early 1913 the image and reputation of Sayyid Islām Khvāja became increasingly toxic. The constant drip-feeds of rumors and speculations began to impel the Russians to take action. Turkestan's Governor-General Samsonov wrote to the Russian

[179] Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 49*, l. 178 ob.

War Minister Sukhomlinov, proposing to take "immediate measures against Islām Khvāja's autocratic rule", and suggesting that the Khivan grand vizier be expelled from the Khanate. The Minister opted not to take action at this juncture – not because he had any particular faith in Sayyid Islām Khvāja, but because it appeared that other circumstances would render intervention unnecessary.[180] According to Russian doctors, who were treating Sayyid Islām Khvāja, the grand vizier was suffering from open-lung tuberculosis,[181] and it would not be long before he died.[182]

With the grand vizier thus owing his political survival to his imminent death, it is little wonder that there was an unsettled feeling in Khiva in the summer of 1913. Laffasī reports that shortly before his murder Sayyid Islām Khvāja shared with some of his confidants a disturbing dream he had had recently, in which he fell victim to a plot.[183] By August 1913, the situation in Khiva was redolent of a Chekhovian impending tragedy: the gun had already been placed onstage, and it was only a matter of time before it went off.

6. Death in the Darkness: Employing Criminal History Techniques

In order to reconstruct the chain of events related to Sayyid Islām Khvāja's murder, we must turn our attention to the array of works written by Khivan authors who were contemporaries of the events in question, namely Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī, Bābājān Tarrāh, ʻAbdullāh Baltaev, and Pahlavān Niyāz Ḥājjī Yusupov, all of whom accord attention to the episode. Before we proceed further, then, it is perhaps worth providing some details on these authors as well.

180 RGVIA, f. 400, op. 262/912, d. 62, l. 155, cited from: A.S. Sadykov, *Rossiia i Khiva v kontse XIX – nachale XX veka* (Tashkent: Fan, 1972), p. 141.

181 This information was reported by Lykoshin based upon his conversation with doctor Bogoliubov, the principal doctor of the ADO, who was treating the Khivan grand vizier, see Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 30.09.1912, no 15*, l. 164.

182 Samsonov, G. *Ministru Inostrannykh Del. 11.11.1913*, l. 3 ob.

183 Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshān*, fols. 39a–39b.

Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī (1880–1949), as noted above, during the years in question served as historian at the royal court in Khiva. In this capacity he authored an historical work entitled *Gulshan-i sa'ādat*, commissioned by and devoted to the reign of Isfandiyār Khān.[184] Written as it was to flatter the Khan, this work treats Sayyid Islām Khvāja's murder briefly and without much detail.[185] This is not the case, however, with another text by Laffasī entitled *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan.*[186] Although this was written around the same time as the *Gulshan-i sa'ādat*, it gives a very different account of the Khivan vizier's murder – and a very different assessment, also, of Isfandiyār Khān's reign.[187]

Bābājān Tarrāh (1878–1971), our next author, similarly enjoyed a thriving career at the courtly world of the Khivan rulers as both a scribe and a poet.[188] In the early 20th century he was even tasked by Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II with compiling a collection of biographies of the most notable contemporary poets who operated at the Khān's court. For some reason, however, Tarrāh was delayed in completing this work, and did not bring it to fruition until almost 50 years later, in 1967.[189] This delay meant that by the time of

184 Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī, *Gulshan-i sa'ādat*, MS Tashkent, O'zFAShI, inv. no. 7797.

185 Laffasī, *Gulshan-i sa'ādat*, fols. 18b–19a,

186 See, Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī. *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*. MS Tashkent, O'zFAShI, inv. no. 278. The events related to Sayyid Islām Khvāja's assassination are also covered by yet another piece by Laffasī, written presumably in the Soviet period, see: Hasan Madaminov (Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī), *Otryvki iz istorii Khivinskogo khanstva. Period 1910–1913 gg*.; O'zMA, f. I-125, op. 1, d. 609.

187 The events related to Sayyid Islām Khvāja's murder covered on fols. 41b–45a.

188 In Tarrāh own words, he served as a "special courtly poet" at the court of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II: see A. Atamurodova, O. Abdurahimov, "Bobojon Tarroh-Xodimning "Xorazm shoir va navozandalari" kitobi haqida so'z", in A.Otamurodova, and O.Abdurahimov (eds.), Bobojon Tarroh Xodim, *Xorazm shoir va navozandalari* (Tashkent: Tafakkur qanoti, 2011), pp. 3–4.

189 In more recent years two editions in Uzbek Cyrillic have been published: Bobojon Tarroh Azizov-Xodim, *Xorazm shoir va navozandalari. XIX asr oxiri–XX asr boshlarida Sayyid Muhammad Rahimxoni soniy davrida yashagan shoirlar haqida esdaliklar*, ed. Rahim Davlatyor (Tashkent: G'afur G'ulom nomidagi adabiyot va san'at nashriyoti, 1994); Bobojon Tarroh-Xodim, *Xorazm shoir va*

completion Tarrāh was thus describing a political environment that had come to an end several decades earlier, and was furthermore writing in a Soviet environment with ideological pressures of its own; perhaps unsurprisingly, therefore, his treatment of the Khivan rulers Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II and Isfandiyār Khān is distinctly unsympathetic. His anthology broadly comprises the biographies of 31 poets (including himself), most of whom appear to have been prominent officials at court;[190] the work therefore provides important information about political developments at the court, including those related to Sayyid Islām Khvāja's assassination.

Pahlavān (Pālvān) Hājjī Yusupov (1861–1936) was yet another direct participant in the political developments of the second decade of the 20th century. As a personal secretary to the afore-mentioned influential courtier Ḥusayn Murād Bāy Divānbīgī (the elder of the *Divanbegi*-ites), Yusupov seems to have been at the forefront of political developments, and to some extent shared the fate of his patron. In 1911, as a part of Isfandiyār Khān's retinue he accompanied his patron on his trip to the Russian imperial court at St. Petersburg; in 1912, upon the detainment of the *Divanbegi*-ites, he was also subjected to harassment by the authorities. In subsequent years, he together with Ḥusayn Murād Divānbīgī would remain at the helm of the Khivan reformist movement (*Yāsh Khivāliklār*), whose members would soon find themselves in opposition to the khanal regime. Yusupov remained a prominent figure in the Khorezmian political landscape even in the years after the fall of the Khan's regime in the newly emerged para-Bolshevik polity – the Khorezmian Soviet People Republic – which succeeded the Khivan Khanate in 1920. In

navozandalari, eds. A. Otamurodova and O. Abdurahimov (Tashkent: Tafakkur qanoti, 2011).

190 On the courtly culture under the reign of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II, which saw deep engagement on the part of high-ranking officials in the art of poetry, see Aftandil Erkinov, "How Muhammad Rahim Khan II of Khiva (1864–1910) cultivated his Court Library as a Means of Resistance against the Russian Empire" *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 2 (2011): 36–49; Nuryogdi Tashev, "Zanimal li Mukhammad-Yusuf Bayani dolzhnost' divan-begi?" *O'zbekiton tarixi* 2 (2009): 14–25.

1925–26 he penned an extended memoir under the conventional title "*Khāṭiralār*" ("Memories"), which offers *inter alia* a vivid account of the history of Khiva in the 1910s.[191] While it contains a wealth of valuable information, Yusupov's work is nevertheless most notable for its harsh criticism towards Isfandiyār Khān and some of his courtiers; this sense of animus colors the entire work and cannot be ignored.

The most prolific among this cohort of Khivan authors in terms of textual production was ʿAbdullāh Baltaev. His textual legacy embraces hundreds, if not thousands, of pages, most of which are organized in the form of copybooks or *daftar*s, as he preferred to name them.[192] Unlike the other afore-mentioned authors, he did not belong to the ranks of high-ranking courtiers, nor could he boast a noble provenance. Born in humble surroundings in the family of an ordinary craftsman, during the reign of Isfandiyār Khān he managed to gain prominence in the Khanate as a skillful architect and a dyer. In this capacity he worked on the construction of some of the most notable edifices of the time, such as the madrasa of Sayyid Islām Khvāja and the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace.[193] Although his career trajectory was thus very different from that of other Khivan authors, like them he ended up engaged in what he called "the craft of history writing". His textual legacy is very impressive indeed, embracing a

[191] The single known manuscript of this work is currently in private hands in the province of Khorezm: Pahlavān Niyāz Ḥājjī Yusupov, [*Khāṭiralar*]. MS Khiva, Private Collection of Anvar Otaboev, see further: M. Kh. Aliakberov, "O memuarakh Palvanniiaza Iusupova" *ONU* 2 (1968): 71–74. In 2000 the Uzbek scholar M. Matniyozov published an edition of Yusupov's text in Cyrillic Uzbek: see Polvonniyoz Hoji Yusupov, *Yosh xivaliklar tarixi (Xotiralar)*, ed. M. Matniyozov (Urgench: Xorazm nashriyoti, 1999).

[192] For a fine-grained analysis of Baltaev's textual legacy, see Nuryogdi Toshev, "Materialy Abdulla Baltaeva po istorii Khivinskogo khanstva: predvaritel'nye zamechaniia", in D. Alimova and F. Schwarz (eds.)*, Explorations in the Medieval and Modern History of Central Asia: Societies, Cultures, Texts* (Tashkent and Vienna: Akademnashr, 2019), pp. 76–91.

[193] K. Abdullaev, *Naqshlarga bitilgan umr: Abdulla Boltaevning hayoti va ijodiy faoliyati* (Tashkent: G'afur G'ulom nomidagi adabiyot va san'at nashriyoti, 1995).

broad array of issues, from accounts of court politics to biographies of prominent individuals and ethnographic sketches on local habits and practices. Scattered as they are among numerous *daftar*s, most of his works continue to this day to be in the private possession of his descendants and in occasional repositories.[194] For our present purposes, the most important of these works is *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar,* in which he provides a highly detailed account of the murder plot and concomitant developments.[195]

It is perhaps worth pausing to reflect on the matter of the *relations* among these sources. As we shall see further, certain details of Sayyid Islām Khvāja's assassination as narrated by our authors coincide with one another. This is not to say, however, that they are necessarily repeating each other or that there are clear-cut inter-connections between those texts. Laffasī, as an official court chronicler, seems to have enjoyed greater access to inside information[196] or at least he seems to have been well aware about the rumors circulating in remote corners of the Khivan royal palace. The same is to a certain extent true of Yusupov, who could have had access to the confidential information, owing to his closeness to certain eminent courtiers of the time, such as his patron Ḥusayn Bāy Divānbīgī, or Mat-Vafā Bakkalov. In their privileged access to materials, both Laffasī and Yusupov thus differ from Baltaev, who due to his humbler origin was less well connected at court. Written as it was several decades after the fall of Qonghrat rule, Baltaev's account of the events in question conveys what can be labeled perhaps as common knowledge, which is to say the rumors and stories that were circulating among the inhabitants of Khiva.

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194 An overview of Baltaev's *daftar*s, which are currently in the possession of Odilbek Abdulaeev (Khiva, Uzbekistan); see also Toshev, "Materialy Abdulla Baltaeva po istorii Khivinskogo khanstva," pp. 76–91.

195 'Abdullāh Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar, Khīva 1950*. MS Tashkent, O'zFAShI, Tashkent, inv. no. 9320.

196 Thus, for instance, Laffasī' provides very accurate data – regarding both timing and content – of Lykoshin's negotiation with the Khivan Khan, the details of which hardly could have been available to the broader public.

Apart from the fact that all these texts were produced in Khiva, and that they were written by contemporaries – and to a certain extent even eyewitnesses – of the events in question, what they have in common is the fact that most of them (except for Laffasī's work) were compiled during the mid-Soviet era, soon after the death of Stalin; as such, they clearly reflect the imprint of Soviet-era ideology, premised above all else on the idea of class conflict. It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that all of them attribute the orchestration of Sayyid Islām Khvāja's assassination to Isfandiyār Khān himself.

Another salient source which provides a distinct perspective on the events in question is a detailed report written by the Turkestan Governor-General A. Samsonov to Sergey Dmitrievich Sazonov, then the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs (in office: 1910–1916). In the text, written soon after the murder had been committed, Samsonov provides his own reconstruction of events. In doing so, he heavily relies on the information reported by Nil Lykoshin as well as other sorts of what he calls "undercover information" (*neglasnykh dannykh agenturnogo kharaktera*), which the latter obtained through his informants at the Khivan court.[197]

Although we can admit that some of the aforementioned Khivan authors and Lykoshin may have relied on the same chains of information circulating in and around the Khivan court, we are nevertheless safe to exclude their possible acquaintance with each other's texts. This is especially true of the Russian officer's reports, for being written under the labels "Confidential" and or "Highly Confidential" (*Sovershenno sekretno*), the latter texts clearly had a restricted circulation even among colonial officials, let alone the aforementioned Khivan authors.

Following this overview of the available sources and their authors, let us now go back to consider how events in Khiva unfolded. We left our story at the point where relations were deteriorating between Isfandiyār Khān and his grand vizier, largely due to the two

[197] A.V. Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del, 11.11.1913*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 343, l. 1 ob.

men's growing disagreement about the use of treasury resources.[198] Sayyid Islām Khvāja's plan to limit Isfandiyār Khān's expenditure on "personal needs" to a fixed monthly allowance seems to have irritated the Khān beyond measure.[199] According to Samsonov's account, during one particularly stormy encounter Isfandiyār Khān yelled at his grand vizier: "Let me not be Khan of Khiva if I don't kill you'!" (*ne bud' ia Khan Khivinskii, esli ne unichtozhu tebia*).[200] The grand vizier, in his turn, threatened the Khan that if he did not cease wasting money on debauchery and womanizing (*jalafbāzlīk*), the vizier would replace Isfandiyār with one of his brothers on the Khivan throne.[201]

Soon thereafter, the reports go, the convoy of guards (*nūkar*) which usually escorted Sayyid Islām Khvāja on his rides was dismissed. Somewhat surprisingly, the guards were dismissed at the grand vizier's personal request. The Russian administration's informants provide some explanations for such an unexpected move. According to the Russian account, Isfandiyār Khān mocked the grand vizier's reluctance to go anywhere without an armed escort and challenged him to cease this habit. Pricked by such mockery, Sayyid Islām Khvāja decided to stop having the escort with him wherever he went.[202]

On the evening of 9 August 1913 Sayyid Islām Khvāja completed his routine business at the Khan's Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace and was about to head off to his residence in the Khivan suburb of Tāza-Bāgh. Baltaev recounts that on that evening his personal guard, a certain Bābā Jān Qātfān, asked his patron's permission to remain in the city, as he had been invited for a social gathering (*ẓīyāfat*) by

198 Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 40–40b; Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del,* ll. 5 ob.–6; Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fols. 4b–5a; Pahlavān Niyāz Ḥājjī Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fols. 20b–21b.

199 Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fol. 5a; Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 40b.

200 Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, l. 6 ob.

201 Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 40 a.

202 Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, l. 3; see also: Bobojon Tarroh Xodim, *Xorazm shoir va navozandalari*, p. 77.

a courtier called ‘Abd al-Karīm Maḥram.[203] (Let us bear this latter name in mind, for ‘Abd al-Karīm Maḥram seems to have played a noticeable role in what happened later.) The Russian administration’s informers similarly reported that Sayyid Islām Khvāja’s personal guard and coachman had been replaced at short notice.[204]

In the meantime, there was another noticeable circumstance which surrounded Sayyid Islām Khvāja’s last journey. The road from the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace to the Tāza-Bāgh estate ran along a relatively bustling track, which was usually lit up at night. On that night, however, the streetlights along the road appear to have been unlit, and street guards were instructed not to allow wayfarers to approach the road on the pretext that on that night the Khan’s harem would be moving to his summer residence in the same locality of Tāza-Bāgh.[205]

Thus “two hours after sunset” on the evening of 9 August 1913 Sayyid Islām Khvāja’s carriage set off from the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace for his estate in Tāza-Bāgh along the road bearing the same name. The malefactors in the meantime seem to have set up an ambush near where the track passed the Ūghlān ‘Azīz Bābā cemetery.[206] Reports vary about how many assailants there were. Baltaev reports that there were four of them, whereas Samsonov suggests that their number exceeded a dozen, although only a few of these actually took part in the attack.[207] Baltaev recounts that when ambushing the carriage one of the perpetrators took hold of the horses, another one stabbed the coachman with a knife, and two others dragged Sayyid

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203 Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta’rīkhīga matir’iallar*, fol. 5b; Laffasī version slightly differs; he reports that Bābā Jān Qātfān was detached from his patron because he was given false information about his patron’s schedule, Laffasī, *Ta’rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 43b.

204 Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, l. 3.

205 Laffasī, *Ta’rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 43b; Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta’rīkhīga matir’iallar*, fol. 5b.

206 Laffasī, *Ta’rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 43a–43b; Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta’rīkhīga matir’iallar*, fol. 6a.; Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fol. 21b.

207 Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta’rīkhīga matir’iallar*, fol. 6a.; Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, l. 3 ob.

Islām Khvāja out of his carriage onto the road. We omit here the gruesome details of the murder;[208] suffice it to note that the injuries sustained would have been lethal to anyone. The perpetrators then fled the scene, leaving the grand vizier's valuables untouched; the only item that they took, apparently, was Sayyid Islām Khvāja's sheepskin hat (*chugirma*). According to local belief, Samsonov noted, the presence of the victim's *chugirma* at the crime scene could have helped the interrogation to trace the perpetrators: "[t]he Khivans believe", Samsonov further reported to the imperial ministers, " … once the interrogators have got a *chugirma,* it would be sufficient to burn a small piece of the hat's fur so as to make the culprit[s] come to the house of the murdered party and confess to their crimes".[209]

The funeral took place the following morning. In the meantime, not only had the coachman managed to survive but he was able to identify one of the perpetrators, a certain Qūrbān Niyāz Būzchī, who, he further stated, was the one who actually committed the murder.[210] While various accounts of the episode agree that the coachman named Qūrbān Niyāz Būzchī was the lead assailant, they differ as to exactly who this person was. According to Samsonov, Qūrbān Niyāz Būzchī was a subordinate of Shaykh Naẓar Bāy Yasāvulbāshī, whom we previously noted as one of the *Divanbegi*-ites and who earlier had been detained by Sayyid Islām Khvāja. Samsonov's identification is not substantiated, however, by any of the Khivan authors, who deny that Shaykh Naẓar Bāy had any involvement in the murder – although judging from their accounts he may at least have been aware of the plot. According to Laffasī, Tarrāh and Baltaev, it was Isfandiyār Khān himself who orchestrated the killing, and initially planned to entrust responsibility for

208 The description of the wounds inflicted on Sayyid Islām Khvāja can be found in Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fol. 6a.; Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 44a; Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, l. 3 ob.

209 Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, ll. 3 ob.–4.

210 Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fol. 6 ob.; Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, ll. 4 ob.–5.

carrying out the murder to Shaykh Naẓar Bāy. This latter agreed to act as the Khān instructed but made clear that he would do so only in an outright and visible fashion, rather than engaging in cloak-and-dagger skullduggery. "My Lord", he is supposed to have said, "I would readily execute your order and commit Sayyid Islām Khvāja's murder, but only when Khvāja is in your presence and the respective order from your side is given outrightly."[211] That Shaykh Naẓar Bāy was exercised not so much at the idea of killing Sayyid Islām Khvāja as at the idea of *doing so in secret* seems to reflect a certain ethical code of courtly life that accepted the permissibility of killing political opponents provided that this be done openly rather than in a conspiratorial fashion.

The Khivan authors furthermore deny the suggestion that the afore-mentioned Qūrbān Niyāz Būzchī may have been related to Shaykh Naẓar Bāy. According to their version, the former was "a man" of ʿAbd al-Karīm Maḥram,[212] another courtier whom we encountered above as the organizer of the social gathering (*ẓīyāfat*) that resulted in the absence of Sayyid Islām Khvāja's personal guard on the night of the attack. Apart from being a close confidant of Isfandiyār Khān, ʿAbd al-Karīm Maḥram also appears to have been the cousin of the ruler (*dāyisīnī ūghlī*).[213] It also does not seem to be a mere coincidence that soon after Sayyid Islām Khvāja's murder ʿAbd al-Karīm Maḥram was promoted to the position of *yasāvulbāshī*.[214]

Laffasī and Baltaev in the meantime provide further details of the plot. ʿAbd al-Karīm Maḥram, after being instructed by Isfandiyār Khān to kill Sayyid Islām Khvāja "discreetly", recruited some other individuals to take part in the conspiracy, including the

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211 The details of the conversation, with slight variations, can be found in: Bobojon Tarroh Xodim, *Xorazm shoir va navozandalari*, p. 77; Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 41b–42a; Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fol. 5a.

212 Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fol. 6b; Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 42b.

213 Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fol. 5a; Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 52b.

214 Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 52b.

aforementioned Qūrbān Niyāz Būzchī.[215] The fact that these authors attribute responsibility for the murder to ʿAbd al-Karīm Maḥram suggests that the latter is indeed a likely suspect. By this same logic, it is also likely that Isfandiyār Khān was himself the driving force behind the plot.

Given that the coachman was the one surviving witness of the attack, it is unsurprising that the authorities had to act on his testimony – particularly since said testimony was furthermore given publicly and in the presence of Sayyid Islām Khvāja's relatives. Qūrbān Niyāz Būzchī was detained soon thereafter, and formal hearings were arranged by the Khivan authorities. Baltaev provides detailed descriptions of a public interrogation that took place in the central square in Khiva. On the designated day Qūrbān Niyāz Būzchī was brought forth before the Kuhna Arq Palace in front of a large gathering, including laypeople from surrounding villages as well as high-ranking officials and *ʿulamā*. The interrogation seems to have been intended as a piece of theater, to demonstrate the authorities' eagerness to get to the bottom of a case in which they in fact were deeply implicated. But the two guards (*pashshāb*) who carried out the interrogation appear to have been unaware of this purely performative aim: having tied Būzchī's hands, they started brutally lashing him with whips, demanding that he name his accomplices. Evidently having expected reasonably light treatment, Būzchī now found that the *pashshāb*s were more vigorous with their whipping than he had anticipated; unable to endure such torture any further, he screamed at ʿAbd al-Karīm Maḥram, who was presiding over the ceremony: "*Yasāvulbāshī*, my lord, if you are to make me a scapegoat, then I shall reveal the truth!". Scared at this ominous warning, ʿAbd al-Karīm Maḥram gave instructions for the interrogation to be terminated, on the specious grounds that the case was so sensitive that it should be investigated only in the presence of the Khan. This excuse evidently failed to convince people, and

[215] Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fols. 5a–5b.; Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 42b–43a.

thus, writes Baltaev, "those covert matters came to become evident to the people".[216] Although no other source directly confirms that the interrogation proceeded in this fashion, there is other evidence that supports Baltaev's conclusion. Samsonov, for instance, in his reports also refers to the fact that everyone in Khiva was certain that the murder was committed by "a certain Qūrbān Bāy [Būzchī]", who upon detention "presented a dagger" as "a sort of warrant attesting that he executed the order from above".[217]

If we ourselves were to lead a criminal investigation into Sayyid Islām Khvāja's murder, the aforementioned evidence would very likely warrant our charging Qūrbān Niyāz Būzchī as the probable perpetrator of the murder. ʻAbd al-Karīm Maḥram, Isfandiyār Khān's confidant and kinsman, would feature also in our investigatory logs as a probable organizer of the crime. We would furthermore also have a few leads ultimately linking the crime to Isfandiyār Khān. In deference to due process, though, we should of course acknowledge that this evidence is somewhat circumstantial and would probably fail to secure conviction.

Let us try, perhaps, to look at the situation from another angle in order to address the question of *cui bono* – that is, who may have stood to benefit from the grand vizier's death. The first such group of people were the members of the *Divanbegi*-ite faction. These were individuals who had recently been deprived of much of their economic and political capital due to Sayyid Islām Khvāja's intrigues and would have had good reason for wanting to get vengeance on their long-term rival. Perhaps unsurprisingly, therefore, in the wake of the murder there were some rumors that attributed Sayyid Islām Khvāja's murder directly to this group, ascribing responsibility to Shaykh Naẓar Bāy Yasāvulbāshī. Let us try however to consider whether the members of this group actually had sufficient resources and authority to commit the murder of the mighty vizier, and whether his death actually yielded any advantages for them.

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216 Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fols. 7–7 ob.

217 Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, l. 6 ob.

Over the months following their pardon in December 1912, the sons of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī enjoyed little improvement in their day-to-day fortunes. Even though the Khan reappointed them to the former positions that they had occupied before they fell into disfavor, they "gained no fruits whatsoever".[218] Nor do we find any indications of improvement in their position in the aftermath of the grand vizier's death, which they would have expected had they been directly involved in the conspiracy. Quite the contrary, in fact: in September 1914 a Russian officer observed that "the *Divanbegi*-ites do not enjoy any noteworthy role at the court and only on rare occasions are they entrusted with [minor] errands by the Khan".[219] The same to a larger extent was true of their attempt to secure restitution of the confiscated fortune that had been previously in their possession. As late as 1915 the new ADO Commandant Kolosovskii reported that despite repeated demands by high-ranking Russian imperial officials including Ministers of War and the Foreign Affairs, the *Divanbegi*-ites had not yet been granted possession of their confiscated properties.[220] Given their evidently limited authority and scarce financial resources, could the *Divanbegi*-ites have instigated a large-scale conspiracy against this powerful courtier – and, more importantly, have gotten away with it? It seems unlikely. Perhaps unsurprisingly, therefore, there is nothing in any of the accounts by Khivan contemporary authors to suggest that the *Divanbegi*-ites had any involvement in the murder plot. Some authors such as Yusupov and Babaniyazov furthermore claim that the spread of rumors about Shaykh Naẓar Bāy's involvement in the murder plot was part of the Khan's strategy to mislead investigation.[221]

218 Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, ll. 2–2 ob.

219 Troshkin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 26.09.1914, no. 20*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 369, l. 22 ob.

220 Kolosovskii, *Dokladnaia Zapiska General-maioru Geppeneru*, *04.08.1915, no. 333*, l. 97 ob.

221 Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fol. 22b; Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqi'alārī*, fol. 13a.

There are, however, two other individuals whom the Khivan authors do mention as possible suspects, who not only may have had good reason to want to get rid of the mighty vizier but also seem to have greatly benefited from his eventual riddance. One of these figures was an individual called Muḥammad Vafā Karavānbāshī (Mat-Vafā Bakkalov), and the other was someone called ʻAshūr Maḥram, whom we have already encountered.[222]

Mat-Vafā Bakkalov (d. 1916) was an industrialist, owning a number of cotton-processing plants and other commercial ventures, and was one of the richest people in the Khivan Khanate.[223] Following Isfandiyār Khān's accession to power, Bakkalov frequently acted for him as his personal agent in St. Petersburg.[224] Through both his economic and his diplomatic activities Bakkalov was clearly well-acquainted with various high-ranking officials in the metropole,[225] and he used these acquaintances to negotiate sensitive matters, on occasion doing so over the head of the colonial authorities in Turkestan.[226] ʻAshūr Maḥram (d. 1918), meanwhile, maintained a far lower profile, preferring to conduct himself in a secretive manner; indeed, documents reveal little evidence of his presence in the Khivan court. Nevertheless, he was a close confidant of Isfandiyār Khān, winning his trust as a discreet accomplice in the Khān's notorious "carnal pleasures".[227] The more the Khan had to lean on

222 Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 51a, 39b–40a; Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fol. 23b; Bobojon Tarroh-Xodim, *Xorazm shoir va navozandalari*, p. 78.

223 Niiazmatov, *Poisk konsensusa*, pp. 393–394.

224 See *Записка*, pp. 141, 152.

225 Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fols. 23b–24b.

226 In 1914–1915 Bakkalov for instance was able to secure, against all odds and in the face of fierce opposition from the Turkestan authorities, Russian government approval for the delivery of 3,000 rifles to Khiva, see Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fol. 23b; Niiazmatov, *Poisk konsensusa*, pp. 406–408.

227 The Khivan authors state that ʻAshūr Maḥram was responsible for delivering young ladies to the Khan's harem. For that purpose, ʻAshūr Maḥram had under his command a number of female confidantes (*khātūn maḥram*), whom he instructed to take the girls, sometimes against their parents' will, from their paternal houses, see, Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 36a, 39b; Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqiʻalārī*, fol. 17b. The rumors about Isfandiyār

his confidant in his covert affairs, the more ‘Ashūr Maḥram’s ambitions thrived – to the point where, as Laffasī recounts, these ambitions came onto conflict with those of the grand vizier.[228] Initially the political ambitions of both Mat-Vafā Bakkalov and ‘Ashūr Maḥram were confined to their respective spheres of activity. But with the *Divabegi*-ites’ fall from grace and Sayyid Islām Khvāja’s subsequent murder both men seem to have reached the apex of their authority.

Indeed, with regard to the question *cui bono*, both Mat-Vafā Bakkalov and ‘Ashūr Maḥram seem to have benefited from Sayyid Islām Khvāja’s death. Soon after the murder Bakkalov was promoted to Sayyid Islām Khvāja’s former position as grand-vizier,[229] while ‘Ashūr Maḥram was assigned to the office of the chief treasurer and chief of the *maḥram*s (*maḥram-bāshī*).[230] The Khivan authors further state that both individuals received a share of the financial resources that had previously belonged to Sayyid Islām Khvāja and his kinsmen.[231]

There are still a number of question marks around Sayyid Islām Khvāja’s assassination. One of them regards the reaction of the Russian authorities over the months following the events in Khiva. In order to get to the bottom of the case, as we know, the Russian imperial court dispatched a commission led by General Sergey Tseil, the Chief of the Asiatic Department of the Russian General Staff, then the principal governmental body in charge of governing over

Khān’s secret passion do not seem to be completely ungrounded. One of the causes of the large-scale resistance that broke out in various parts of Khorezm in early 1916 was the accusation that the Khan’s disgraceful actions had ruined the reputation of young ladies across the Khanate, see: Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fol. 29b.; O. Qo‘shjonov, and N. Polvonov. *Xorazmdagi ijtimoiy-siyosiy jarayonlar va harakatlar* (Tashkent: Abu Matbuot Konsalt, 2007), pp. 220–221.

228 Laffasī, *Ta’rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 55a.

229 Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fol. 23b; Laffasī, *Ta’rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 55a; Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqi‘alārī*, fol. 13a.

230 Laffasī, *Ta’rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 51b.

231 Laffasi, *Ta’rīkh-i gulshan*, 53a; Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fol. 27b; see also Niiazmatov, *Poisk konsensusa*, pp. 390–391.

Russia's "Asiatic colonies". Given the proliferation of information which circulated in Khiva, undercover intelligence gathered by the colonial officers, and the coachman's eyewitness testimony, it is somewhat surprising that the commission was unable to track down any leads.[232] Our Khivan chroniclers, however, suggest one reason why the commission proved so ineffective. According to their report, the Khivan authorities paid the commission members a substantial bribe in the form of cash and valuables to keep things quiet.[233] They furthermore recount that the people who delivered these bribes were Mat-Vafā Bakkalov and his younger brother ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Bāy Bakkalov, who handed over valuables in person.[234] We might simply disregard this suggestion as unfounded speculation, were it not that ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Bāy actually admitted acting thus: a few years later, in the context of another matter, he acknowledged to the *Okhranka*, or Russian secret police, that he had indeed distributed money and valuables to various Russian officials, at both the colonial and the all-imperial level, on behalf of his elder brother and Isfandiyār Khān himself.[235]

One other person who emerges in a somewhat questionable light from this episode is Colonel Lykoshin himself: charged as he was to keep a close watch over political developments in the Khanate, he failed not only to prevent Sayyid Islām Khvāja's murder but also to identify the malefactors. Surprisingly, though, these failures did little to hamper his career: indeed, soon afterwards he was promoted

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232 Qoʻshjonov, Polvonov, *Xorazmdagi ijtimoiy-siyosiy jarayonlar*, p. 214; Niiazmatov, *Poisk konsensusa*, p. 387.

233 Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 51a; Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqiʻalārī*, fol. 13b; Baltaev and Yusupov specify the amount of sum – 40,000 roubles (*manāt*) – spent by Isfandiyār Khān in the form of pay-offs to the commission's members: see Baltaev, *Khwārazm ta'rīkhīga matir'iallar*, fols. 7b–8a; Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fol. 22b.; Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīng vāqiʻalārī*, fol. 13b; see also: Qoʻshjonov, Polvonov, *Xorazmdagi ijtimoiy-siyosiy jarayonlar*, p. 214.

234 Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fol. 22b.

235 *Protokol doprosa Abdurakhmana Bakkalova*; OʻzMA, f. I-461, op. 1, d. 1889-a, ll. 200–201 ob.

to the rank of Major-General, and a little later to the position of Military overnor of the Samarkand Province. This is not to suggest, of course, that he was in any way involved in the murder plot: but the ease with which the Russian authorities reconciled themselves to the fact of Sayyid Islām Khvāja's murder suggests that there were few people in Petro-Aleksandrovsk, Tashkent and St Petersburg who seriously grieved his death.

Sayyid Islām Khvāja's murder remains an open case, and speculation as to who exactly was responsible – the Khan, the *Divanbegi*-ites, Mat-Vafā Bakkalov or/and 'Ashūr Maḥram – will likely carry on far into the future. As a general observation, though, I suggest that such a high-profile murder is unlikely to have taken place without the Khivan ruler's foreknowledge. The fact furthermore that the crime remained unsolved seems telling, given that it took place in the relatively small town of Khiva, where information spread quickly and where everyone was related in one way or another to everyone else. Clearly, therefore, the threads of the conspiracy led all the way to the highest ranks of the Khivan court: and the Russian colonial administration probably knew more about the matter than it let on.

7. "The Proud Stepsons of Khiva", Distribution of Sweets and the Search for a Bride: the Turkmens of Khorezm

The Khorezmian Turkmens, and more specifically their relations with the Khivan authorities, are the central topic of both Lykoshin's *Zapiska* and his subsequent reports. The first occasion when Lykoshin, in his capacity as the ADO Commandant, came into immediate contact with the Turkmen Yomut chieftains, or *katkhudā*s,[236] was in early July 1912, soon after his accession to office, during his

[236] Although Lykoshin repeatedly employs this term for designating Turkmen tribal elders, this was not the only designation used by the Turkmens themselves. According to Yuri Bregel' such terms as *yāshūlī, āqsaqāl, khān, bakhshī*, and *vakīl* had been equally used as emic designations of Turkmen tribal aristocracy, see Yu.E. Bregel', *Khorezmskie turkmeny v XIX veke* (Moscow: Vostochnoi literatury, 1961), pp. 123–133.

third tour of inspection of the Khivan Khanate. As noted above in Section 3 of this Introduction, one of the purposes of this tour was to establish communications with those Turkmen Yomut clans in the vicinity of Kuhna-Urgench, who were known as *Kūllī-Yāmūt*, or Lakeside Yomuts, and who had found themselves at odds with the Khivan authorities on the issues of water and land use.[237] After a number of abortive attempts to arrange a meeting, the encounter eventually occurred midway between Yangi-Qal'a and Kuhna-Urgench, in the cemetery (*mazār*) of 'Azīzlar Bābā, named after the venerated local saint. During the meeting not only was Lykoshin able to listen to the Yomut *katkhudā*s' concerns, but he also succeeded in persuading even the most intransigent of them, such as Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov (Maḥmūd Khān Ātāl Khān ūghlī), to travel with him to Khiva and discuss their concerns with the Khivan Khan and his officials in person.

Over the subsequent journey to the Khivan capital, the whole procession – Lykoshin and some of the *Kūllī*-Yomuts' representatives, including Atal'khanov – crossed the Daryaliq, an old western riverbed of the Amu-Darya, from where the party advanced to the banks of the Shah-Murad Canal. This was an area where until recently cultivation had flourished and a Turkmen population had thrived, but at the time of Lykoshin's arrival it had fallen into a state of neglect due to the collapse of the irrigation system.[238] There on the bank

[237] He admits, however, that the initial encounter with what he came to call as "the Turkmen case" started somewhat earlier. Lykoshin mentions that even before traveling to the Khanate he had meetings in Petro-Aleksandrovsk with a certain Turkmen individual, whom he called Shāh-Zā (evidently, Shāh-Jān Shamiev in the Khivan sources) and whom he regarded as nothing other than an "informer" (*agent*) of his predecessor in the office of ADO Commandant. Lykoshin further admits that over the meetings Shāh-Zā briefed him on the state of an ongoing conflict between some clans of the *Kūllī*-Yomuts, whom the Shāh-Zā belonged to, with the Khivan authorities, see infra, *Записка*, pp. 183–184.

[238] The agricultural revival of this area unfolded in the last quarter of the 19th century due to natural flooding of the waters of the Amu-Darya River along the Daryaliq and Lawzan system of canals. This was not a completely unique event, as similar floodings had occured with certain regularity throughout the

of the canal Lykoshin and his fellow travelers decided to make a stop. Lykoshin was put up in one of the local homesteads, while the Turkmen *katkhudā*s travelling with him were lodged in *yurta*s, which were set up in the same homestead's courtyard. In his *Zapiska* Lykoshin recounts an episode that took place while they were staying there. He writes that the Yomut leaders were sitting in one of the *yurta*s with "sad and gloomy" thoughts, but that they cheered up when they were joined by a young stranger. The latter turned out to be one of their kinsmen, a Yomut Turkmen, though one not from Khorezm but from the neighboring Trans-Caspian Region, that is to say the territory under Russian jurisdiction. He was looking for a bride for one of his brothers, and so had come to Khorezm where the bride price was considerably lower than in Transcaspia.

19th century. On previous occasions such environmental changes had been used, not without advantage, by the ruling dynasty as a means of expanding irrigational lands and engaging various tribal groups, notably Turkmen clans, in agriculture: see Shioya, "Irrigation Policy of the Khanate of Khiva", pp. 115–122. The environmental shift that occurred in the last quarter of the 19th century, however, was complicated by the involvement of the Russian imperial agencies, including representatives of the Romanov royal family, who came up with distinct irrigational projects which seemed to be at odds with the local irrigational practices: see Ekaterina Pravilova, "River of Empire: Geopolitics, Irrigation, and the Amu Darya in the Late XIXth Century" *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 17/18 (2009): 255–287. Not only did these projects fail to come to fruition, but but there was a noticeable decrease of the water flow of the Amu-Darya in the direction of Lawzan and Daryaliq in the last decade of the century, resulting in the decreasing availabilty of fertile land and diminishing of agricultural activities, affecting thereby the life conditions of the local Turkmen groups (primarily *Kūllī*-Yomuts), who resided in that area. Disputes over water seem to have furthermore triggered a chain of conflicts between local *Kūllī*-Yomut Turkmens with the Khivan authorities. As Akifumi Shioya has noted, a number of the disturbances that occurred in that area at the turn of the 20th century marked "a starting point" of the long-standing enmity between the *Kūllī*-Yomut Turkmens with the authorities of Khiva, which seemed to be still in force even a decade later, during Lykoshin's tenure as the Commandant of the ADO: see Shioya, "*Povorot* and the Khanate of Khiva", pp. 232–245.

There soon followed a flood of questions from the Khivan Turkmens:

– Do you have guns? – asks one Khivan Turkmen.

– No, we don't, – responds the visitor, – we don't need guns. We live in peace, no one offends us, and if a quarrel arises, then we have a '*boyar*' – a [Russian] colonel in charge of our affairs. One can approach him with a grievance at any time, and he will justly resolve the case and ensure protection to the offended. We have no need of guns.

– Well, you've surely got people's judges, who do not mind making a profit from the litigants, – grumbles a[nother] Khivan Turkmen.

– They'd better not try, after all what is a junior *boyar* or a *pristav* there for? If someone files a justified complaint against a people's judge, the latter is swiftly removed [from office]. The *boyar* often heads off to the steppe [for inspections], along with an interpreter and a horseman-*jigit*, and one can tell him everything [he needs]; every Turkmen fellow will slaughter a ram so as to host the *boyar* – it is a big occasion when he stays with us …

The Khivan Turkmens are silent and moody while [listening to] these enquiries. The charming stories of their visiting kinsman causes nothing but envy in those destitute people.

When the visiting Turkmen mentioned that in the Krasnovodsk Uyezd they have well-developed cattle breeding and agriculture, and they pay only 6 roubles 50 kopecks per year as the *kibitka*-tax, the Khivan Turkmens only shared a sad look, and while [the visitor] was praising the justice and availability of the Russian officials, Maḥmūd-Khan caught a fly, tore off its head and remarked with [sense of] sorrow:

> – Whereas here in Khiva, killing a fly or chopping off a Turkmen's head: it's all the same to the Khivan's authorities …[239]

It is a delightful account, but one that presents the reader with a number of questions. While the conversation as reproduced may indeed have taken place, Lykoshin seems to be availing himself of literary license in his rendering of the episode. As he himself admits, the scene in question occurred in one of the Turkmens' *yurta*s where he was not present, and so he must have heard about the episode through an intermediary party. There is thus necessarily an element of invention in his retelling, and a novelistic playfulness in his use of dramatic dialog; the resultant impression is closer to fiction, or literary travel-writing, than a sober administrative report.

Regardless of whether the episode unfolded precisely as Lykoshin suggests, however, his account is nevertheless telling, clearly reflecting as it does the various prejudices, preconceptions and wishful hopes that informed his thinking. The Khivan Turkmens are presented here as a destitute and hopeless people, in striking contrast to their Russian-subject kinsman from Transcaspia who is portrayed as radiating happiness and well-being – "[t]he cheerful young fellow", as Lykoshin describes him. The story furthermore depicts those Russian colonial officers, or *boyar*s, who governed the Turkmen-populated regions of Transcaspia as the very embodiment of honor and fairness and suggests that they were easily accessible to those seeking justice. What is more, Lykoshin himself seems to have been keen to embody the role of the good-natured Russian officer. As he recounts, he followed the example of his predecessor General A.S. Galkin a decade earlier and took sweets with him when visiting the Yomut settlement on the Shah-Murad Canal, planning to distribute them among the local Turkmen children. To his evident disappointment, however, Lykoshin found out that no

[239] See: *Записка*, pp. 197–198.

children were to be found there, and he admits that "I had myself to gather the children to my quarters" so as to fulfill the mission.[240]

Whereas Lykoshin's text clearly offers a rosy picture of the Russian colonial officers and their paternalistic care for the Turkmens, he offers a very different picture of the Khivan authorities, whom he depicts as cruel and despotic, and interested only in exacerbating the Turkmens' miserable plight. "In the Khanate", Lykoshin notes, "there is constantly underway a covert diplomatic agitation, which aims at calming the bellicose Turkmens and achieving their [further] enslavement." The Khivan Turkmens themselves, meanwhile, he presents as a people who "never abandon the dream of becoming Russian subjects one day".[241] In one of his reports to the Governor-General of Turkestan he states the matter more explicitly: "more than among any other ethnicities", he writes, "among the Turkmens there is an eternally existing desire to assume Russian subjecthood", and thus they "are forever dreaming of assuming Russian subjecthood, so as to avoid the numerous harms inflicted upon them by Khivan customs".[242] We lack sufficient data either to substantiate the idea that the Khorezmian Turkmens desired to assume Russian subjecthood or to reject it. What is telling, however, is Lykoshin's evident desire to present the inclination of one particular group of local Turkmens – who were reportedly at odds with the Khivan authorities at this particular juncture and whose members could have articulated the proposal of asumption of the Russian subjecthood as a strategic move – as reflecting the aspirations of the entire Turkmen population of Khorezm.

Strikingly, therefore, even Lykoshin, renowned as he was as a sensitive and well-informed expert on the region, was evidently not immune from certain prejudices. Nor did these prejudices and preconceptions simply inform what he wrote in the *Zapiska* and his

240 *Записка*, p. 196.

241 See for instance: Lykoshin*, Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.09.1912, no 14*; O'zMA, f. I-1, op. 2, d. 289, l. 143.

242 Lykoshin*, Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.09.1912, no 14*, ll. 143–143 ob.

various reports: more significantly, perhaps, they also affected the colonial authorities' decision-making process in their monitoring of Khivan policy *vis-à-vis* Turkmen groups.

History is never a settled matter. This is particularly true of the history of Khivan-Turkmen relations. One of the major challenges for scholars who work on this topic is the fact that we know of very few written texts produced by the Turkmens themselves. As result, whereas there are numerous sources which speak *for* Turkmens, we know little about those sources in which Turkmens speak for themselves.[243] Most 19th- and early 20th-century authors who wrote about Khivan–Turkmen relations, including local court historians, occasional European voyagers, and Russian colonial officers, tended, like Lykoshin, to emphasise antagonism and tensions. By doing so, wittingly, or otherwise, they drew a fundamental line of division between the central authorities in Khiva and their Turkmen subjects, portraying them as two distinct and self-contained entities in a never-ending state of conflict. As a result, the commonalities and similarities between Turkmens and other ethnic groups in Khorezm have been obscured by a prevailing narrative that instead emphasizes binary opposition. Very few scholars, meanwhile, have paused to reflect on why the Turkmens came to be one of the principal driving forces of the political alignment of the Qonghrat Khivan Khanate, and the extent to which they were deeply interwoven into the fabric of the Khanate's political and social landscapes.[244]

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243 Only recently have scholars started excavating the local texts to unveil the voices of the Turkmens of Khorezm; see Devin DeWeese, "A Khwārazmian Saint in the Golden Horde: Kozluk Ata (Gozlī Ata) and the Social Vectors of Islamization" *La Revue des mondes musulmans et de la méditerranée* 143 (2018): 107–132 and Allen J. Frank, "Turkmen Literacy and Turkmen Identity before the Soviets: the *Ravnaq al-Islām* in Its Literary and Social Context" *JESHO* 63 (2020): 286–315.

244 There are a number of scholarly works that have attempted to address these matters: see Yuri Bregel', *Khorezmskie turkmeny v XIX veke* (Moscow: Vostochnoi literatury, 1961); Willian A. Wood, *The Sariq Turkmens of Merv and the Khanate of Khiva in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Indiana University: Unpublished PhD dissertation, 1998); Shioya, "*Povorot* and the Khanate of Khiva", pp. 232–245.

The Turkmen clans seem to have played a instrumental role in elevating the Qonghrat dynasty to power in Khorezm in the second half of the 18th century.[245] This was in fact nothing new, as the practices of employing Turkmen warriors had been frequently utilized even by the Qonghrats' predecessors, the 'Arabshahid dynasts, in their own inter-dynastic conflicts.[246] The main principle of state formation and political culture of the Khanate under the 'Arabshahids was based upon the concept of corporate sovereignty, whereby both political and territorial sovereignty were shared by members of the titular ruling clan.[247] As Thomas Welsford notes, such Chinggisid ruling collectives constituted highly unstable political ecologies, requiring the regular elimination of various dynastic factions so as to permit the continued reallocation of resources among members of the prevailing party.[248] The accession of the Qonghrats to power seems to have brought about a somewhat different political architecture, one that combined a diverse set of administrative techniques – both symbolic and practical – and new forms of social contracts with various groups, including the Turkmens.[249] These policies enabled the Qonghrats to establish and maintain a balance of power over the territories under their control, thereby enabling the integration into the khanate of a highly heterogeneous human

245 G.E. Markov, *Ocherk istorii formirovaniia severnykh turkmen* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1961), p. 67.

246 Markov, *Ocherk istorii formirovaniia severnykh turkmen*, pp. 40–45; Yuri Bregel, "Uzbeks, Qazaqs and Turkmens", in Nicola Di Cosmo et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia. The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 234–235.

247 Martin B. Dickson, "Uzbek Dynastic Theory in the Sixteenth Century", in B.G. Gafurov et al. (eds.), *Trudy dvadtsat' piatogo mezhdunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov, Moskva 9–16 avgusta 1960* (Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1963), pp. 208–217.

248 Thomas Welsford, "The Disappearing Khanate", in Ferenc Csirkes and Benedek Péri (eds), *Mongols, Tatars and Turks in the Persianate World: Festschrift in Honor of István Vásáry* (Leiden and Boston: Brill) [forthcoming].

249 Paolo Sartori, "Seeing Like a Khanate: On Archives, Cultures of Documentation, and Ninereenth-Century Khʿārazm" *Journal of Persian Studies* 9/2 (2016): 242; 251–252.

landscape and social geography, ranging from the lower reaches of the Syr-Darya River in the north right down into the sands of the Qara-Qum in the south.[250] The ability to engage various actors in the negotiating process was an important resource that allowed the pre-colonial Muslim dynasty to suceed and to cope with various challenges of the time.

The Turkmen groups came to be a crucial element of this new political alignment. The large-scale irrigation projects initiated by the dynasty in the western and north-western margins of the Khorezmian oasis[251] played a crucial role in facilitating the settlement of various Turkmen groups such as the Yomuts, Chowdurs, Yemreli and Goklan on those lands and their further incorporation into the political and social landscape of the Khanate.[252] Soon, by the mid-19th century the Turkmens constituted up to 40,000 families (up to 200,000 individuals), or a quarter of the Khanate's population, with members of the Yomut tribal confederation alone making up more than half of that figure.[253] One important role performed by the Turkmen was the provision of equestrian warriors for the Khivan army. The Turkmen – and especially Yomut – cavalry reportedly comprised the most battleworthy and efficient units of the Khivan army and engaged in all notable military campaigns undertaken by the Qonghrats.[254] Turkmen warlords also played an important role in leading predatory raids into neighboring realms, thereby raising

250 Ulfatbek Abdurasulov, "The Aral Region and Geopolitical Agenda of the Early Qongrats" *Eurasian Studies* 14 (2016): 3–36.

251 For an overview of the Qonghrats' irrigation activities in that area see Shioya, "Irrigation Policy of the Khanate of Khiva", pp. 115–122.

252 Bregel', *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, pp. 25–39; idem, "The New Uzbek States: Bukhara, Khiva and Khoqand: *c*. 1750–1886", pp. 399–400.

253 See Bregel', *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, pp. 40–44; According to Bregel', in Khorezm the Yomuts during the 19th and early 20th century were represented mainly, if not exclusively, by the members of the main tribal branch called *Bayram-Shali*, which in turn was divided into four major tribes: Oshaq (*Ūshāq*), Okuz (*Ūkūz*), Orus-Koshchi (*Ūrūs-Qūchī*) and Salakh (*Ṣalāq*), see *ibid*., p. 27.

254 Bregel, *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, pp. 40–44; Shioya, "Irrigation policy of the Khanate of Khiva", pp. 126–127.

revenue not only for themselves but also for the financially hard-pressed Qonghrat court itself.[255]

In providing these services, Turkmen leaders were not simply fulfilling their mandated requirements to the Qonghrat state. They were also seeking to bolster their own standing by developing personal bonds with members of the Khivan court. Such relationships were a crucial means for Turkmen leaders to consolidate their authority within the clan and beyond, conferring not just prestige – the granting of ceremonial robes and other formal privileges (*in'ām va sarūpā*), for instance – but also more tangible rewards: a Turkmen leader who cultivated allies at the court was liable to receive preferential treatment in the division of booty, the granting of access to particularly fertile lands, and valuable fiscal privileges both for himself and for his subordinate tribesmen. Such provisions were particularly valuable given the liminal situation in which the majority of Khorezmian Turkmen found themselves: living in the area between the oasis and the steppe zones, the majority of them observed a "semi-nomadic" way of life, engaging in both cattle-breeding and agriculture; they were thus heavily dependent on the infrastructure of the Khanate's agricultural oasis, such as irrigational canals and bazaars.[256]

Yuri Bregel, who authored one of the most comprehensive studies on the Turkmens of Khorezm, noted that despite being one of the major ethnic groups of the Khanate and possessing significant military resources in their hands, the Turkmen leaders were nevertheless not permitted to serve in the Khanate's administration. This is an important observation, to be sure, but it raises the question as to whether the Turkmen chieftains actually aspired to assume such

[255] Paolo Sartori has recently proposed that the Qonghrat dynasts utilized such raids as a means "to keep together the various, ethnically diverse constituents of the khanate's political body", see his "The Sovereign's Brigands. Reflection on Forms of Governance in Central Asian History" *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 40/3 (2020): 479; see also: Iu.M. Botiakov, *Alaman. Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskie aspekty instituta nabega u Turkmen (seredina XIX – pervaia polovina XX veka)*. (St. Petersburg: Kunstkamera, 2002).

[256] Markov, *Ocherk istorii formirovaniia severnykh turkmen*, pp. 107–126.

office. Indeed, the actual status quo seems to have served the Turkmen well. They enjoyed autonomy in self-administration, and their indispensable position in the Khivan army secured them fiscal privileges and access to cheap agricultural manpower through a corvee system, which placed a heavy burden on the rest of the population. As a coda to this observation one may recall the episode which unfolded some years later in spring 1920: in the wake of *a coup d'état* that put an end to the Khanal regime, and to the Khanate of Khiva as a distinct state formation, the new republican authoritites of the recently formed Khorezmian People Soviet Republic, which sought to be inclusive in flavor, allocated four seats in the newly elected government (Council of the People's Nazirs, or *Nāẓirlar Kingashī*) – those of the second deputy of the government's chairman, as well as ministers (*Nāẓir*) of the Social Affairs and of the Health – among the prominent Yomut tribal chieftains Qūch Muḥammad Khān, Ghulām ʻAlī Pahlavān, and Shāh Murād Bakhshī, respectively. Strikingly, however, following the inauguration none of these chieftains chose to remain in Khiva and instead the very next day they all returned to their encampments, leaving their nominal representatives in Khiva.[257] One may also recall in this same regard Qurbān Muḥammad Sardār (1857–1938), otherwise known as Junayd Khān, who despite becoming *de facto* ruler of the Khanate in the second half of 1918, with the power of dethroning or enthroning the rulers in Khiva, neither ascended to the khanal throne himself nor even assumed any prominent position in Khiva. Instead, he preferred to use his home village of Badrikent, deep in the Yomut encampments, as his residence and thence to govern the Khanate through various loyal appointees. Evidently, it was in their own familiar environment – both ecological and social – that the Turkmen leaders were best able to draw on resources and capital and, where they felt most comfortable exercising their authority.

Perhaps for this reason, most of the Yomut clans were very sensitive to any attempts by the Khivan authorities and, later, the

[257] Yusupov, *Khāṭiralar*, fols. 294b–295b.

Russian colonial administration to extend control over their territories, and any such initiatives inevitably met with fierce resistance from the chieftains. This resistance often took the form of attacks on merchants, members of rival clans or, most frequently, the settled population of the neighboring settlements. Such raids were not necessarily undertaken for the purpose of gaining booty alone. They might equally function as a symbolic gesture, enabling clans to articulate their own voices, induce opponents or rivals to enter into negotiations, or simply to demonstrate their own power.[258] Should the interests of various clans align with one another in their dealings with the Khivan metropole, meanwhile, said clans could coordinate their actions to fearsome effect, mobilizing *en masse* and presenting a real threat to the dynasty. This was what happened in the 1850s, for instance, when the Khivan ruler Muḥammad Amīn Khān (r. 1845–1855) sought to deprive the Yomut Turkmens of their prominent role in the Khivan army by replacing them with Afghanistani emigrés from the Jamshidi tribal group: in order to protect their interests, the various Yomut clans coordinated their response and were able to engineer one of the most severe political crises (1855–1859) in the history of the Khivan Khanate under Qonghrats.[259] Indeed, over the course of these events Yomut leaders played a direct or indirect role in the overthrow of at least three Khivan Khans, repeatedly thus making clear that the Yomuts were not to be trifled with.[260] Such assertive – not to say rebellious – behavior by the Turkmens is well attested in Khivan sources, with numerous accounts of "bellicose Turkmens" plundering Khivan farmers, or of Khivan campaigns "to call to order" or "to punish" certain

[258] In 1914, for instance, the Yomut chieftain of the Okuz clan Shāh Murād Bakhshī (d. 1920) raided various localities of the Khanate, for he found himself disadvantaged by the reconfiguration of power within the Okuz clan, which seems to have been conceived by rival Yomut chieftains in alliance with their supporters within the Khivan court, see further: Abdurasulov, "Konflikt kak resurs," pp. 158–159.

[259] Shioya, "Irrigation Policy of the Khanate of Khiva," pp. 125–126.

[260] Bregel', *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, pp. 200–219; Markov, *Ocherk istorii formirovaniia severnykh turkmen*, pp. 98–100.

"Turkmen insurgents". When, therefore, we encounter mention in the sources about Khivan authorities being in conflict with the Turkmen, we need to understand that the authorities were in conflict not with *the whole* Turkmen population, as Lykoshin and other colonial author often sought to portray, but rather with *one or a few particular groups*, and furthermore that their conflict with said groups was liable to be a circumstantial and contingent one rather than the reflection of some permanent fundamental enmity.

One might be tempted when conceptualizing political relations in the Khanate to think simply in terms of a basic division between the Khivan metropole and a marginal Turkmen/Yomut periphery. Such a model, however, is of very limited heuristic value. The notion of a single Turkmen/Yomut "periphery" obscures the fact that there was in fact widespread variation among the Turkmen/Yomut lands: the southern areas known as the so-called *Bīsh-Qal'a* in fact constituted core lands of the Khanate, and were far more closely integrated with the center than those further afield in the lower reaches of Amu-Darya (known as the province of Ārāl). Similarly, there were vast cultural, linguistic, and societal differences between, say, the Yomuts and Ata Turkmens, or even between the Lakeside Yomuts and their kinsmen from around Gazavat and Takhta-Bazar known as the Upper Yomuts. This was a highly diverse world, and indeed it was its very diversity that bound it together in a web of mutually supportive relationships, with the Khanate of Khiva itself being the totality of these bonds. The "marginality" of the Turkmens was thus in a sense nothing more than an optical illusion: indeed, the Turkmens were every much as integral an element of the Khivan Khanate as were, say, the Uzbeks and the Sarts.

The Russian takeover of Khiva in 1873 did not put an end to this delicate equilibrium, but it did result in a certain recalibration of relations. With the establishment of the Russian protectorate, the Khivan authorities lost the power to initiate large-scale military campaigns, and Russia's further military advance into Central Asia resulted in the Khanate's being surrounded on all sides by territories under imperial rule, thereby constraining its scope for launching raids. Given that Turkmen groups had traditionally been the prime

architects and beneficiaries of such raids, this seems to have had a particularly serious impact on their economic standing. Deprived thus of a significant source of their livelihood, a number of Turkmen groups opted to leave the Khorezmian oasis and seek their fortunes elsewhere, while others chose to stay and adapt themselves to the new conditions that presented themselves.

But the situation was now complicated by the presence of the Russian authorities in the region. This was partly because the Russian agencies now presented an alternative power center, to which the local actors deemed it expedient to appeal when needed. Equally importantly, though, it was also because there existed a fundamental disjunct of power between St Petersburg, and Tashkent, and Petro-Aleksandrovsk, which became clear even in the very first years after the conquest.[261] The disjunct manifested itself in the fact that various agencies in the metropole and in the colony pursued distinct and sometimes mutually contradictory policies *vis-à-vis* the Khivan protectorate, to the extent that General Kolosovskii, the ADO Commandant in 1914–1916, came to the conclusion that "not only were there no clearly defined directives on how to deal with the Khivan Khanate, but on many occasions the directives of Military and Foreign Ministries [of Russia] appeared to be in complete disagreement with each other".[262]

With the passage of time this disjunct became even greater. Things were further complicated by the fact that the Russian colonial officers who oversaw Khivan affairs were simultaneously pursuing two mutually exclusive ends. On the hand, they were to "preserve the dignity of his Serene Majesty the Khan of Khiva", whose rule was sanctioned by "the Highest permission of the Emperor of whole-Russia". By the terms of this instruction, they were expected to secure safety and the well-being in the Khanate, should there emerge any opposition to the Khan, including from the Turkmens,

[261] For more on this power disjunct, see: Abdurasulov and Sartori, "Neopredelennost' kak politika".

[262] V.P. Kolosovskii, *Ego Prevoskhoditel'stvu N.F. Efremovu, 31.01.1917*; O'zMA, f. I-461, op. 1, d. 1889-a, l. 120 ob.

the Russian colonial authorities were to side with the Khivan sovereign.[263] On the other hand, however, the voices advocating the further truncation of the authority of two Russian protectorates in Central Asia – Bukhara and Khiva – became more evident by the end of the first decade of the 20th century.[264] Such voices seemed to gain further strength with General A.V. Samsonov's assumption of the office of Turkestan Governor-General in 1909. An advocate of expanding the Turkestan administration's mandate, Samsonov was also keen to reduce the scope of sovereignty of the "semi-vassal" regimes of Bukhara and Khiva, not ruling out the possibility of their full annexation.[265] As early as 1909 Samsonov reached out to the authorities in the metropole with a proposal to significantly reduce the authority of the Bukharan and Khivan regimes. The imperial authorities in St. Petersburg deemed this proposal at the time to be "premature", and opted instead for "preserving the current status quo" with regard to Russian policy towards its Central Asian protectorates.[266] Despite his initial failure, Samsonov seems to have remained eager to to continue in his endeavor.[267] One of the strategies that the Russian administration in Turkestan seems to have used during these years was to showcase the failure of the current Khivan regime in governing over its realm. The Khivan authorities' complicated relations with some of the Turkmen groups, given the previous and ongoing controversies, came to be regarded by some members of the Turkestan administration as one of the principal arenas to showcase to upper echelons the vulnerability of the Khivan regime and its inability to govern over its subjects. One cannot help but

263 TsGIA StPb, f. 400, op. 262/912-915. 1909 g., *sviazka* 293, d. 90/77, ll. 65–68; cited from: Tukhtametov, *Rossia i Khiva*, p. 56.

264 A.Iu. Bakhturina, *Okrainy Rossiiskoi imperii*, p. 318.

265 Tukhtametov, *Rossia i Khiva*, pp. 54–55.

266 Tukhtametov, *Rossia i Khiva*, pp. 56–57; Bakhturina, *Okrainy Rossiiskoi imperii*, pp. 319–321.

267 A few years later, in 1913 Samsonov would initiate yet another attempt to truncate the authority of the Khanate, but, as previously, such measures were regarded as "inappropriate for the current moment", see further: Abdurasulov and Sartori, "Neopredelennost' kak politika", pp. 155–159.

notice an incremental alteration in Russian attitudes towards this matter. Accordingly, the Turkmen came to be increasingly regarded by the colonial administration as "proud stepsons of Khiva",[268] who were being oppressed – on the whole unjustly – by the Khivan authorities and whose long-held aspirations to assume Russian subjecthood should not be ignored any longer. In the meanwhile, the Khivan authorities' treatment of these latter groups came to be increasingly criticized for lacking both justice and consistency.[269]

There may have been other reasons behind the Russian authorities' changing attitude towards Khivan-Turkmen relations. Colonel Lobachevskii, who in 1911 was tasked with the compilation of a detailed and confidential survey of the Khivan Khanate, emphasized in his discussion of Khiva's Turkmen population that this latter possessed a substantial military capacity.[270] Should the Turkmens – he further noted – find themselves aligned alongside the Khivan authorities in a state of war against Russia, the united Khivan-Turkmen forces "could entail significant complications for the Russian troops". Contemplating such a scenario, Lobachevskii proposed to take steps to prevent the emergence of a military coalition between the Khivan authorities and their Turkmen subjects.[271] Even though Lykoshin in his *Zapiska* criticizes the Khivan authorities for employing the *divide et impera* approach in their policies towards the Turkmen clans,[272] it seems that members of the Russian colonial administration were not averse to implementing a similar such strategy themselves.

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268 N.S. Lykoshin, *G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 49*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 289, l. 179; also see infra: *Записка*, p. 146.

269 Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del*, ll. 9–10 ob.; Lykoshin, *G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.09. 1912, no. 14,* ll. 143–144 ob.; idem, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no 53*, l. 168 ob.

270 According to Lobachevskii's estimations, when needed the Khivan Turkmens could present up to 30,000 armed horsemen, see his *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie*, p. 40.

271 Lobachevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie*, p. 62.

272 See: *Записка*, p. 164.

Lykoshin seems to have operated in full accord with the aforementioned expectations, endeavoring to reduce the sovereignty of the Khivan regime by portraying the latter as a failed state that lacked the political tools and authority to govern over its subjects, first and foremost the Turkmens. In his *Zapiska* he describes the Khivan attitude to the Turkmens in the following way:

> In the Khanate, there is constantly underway a covert diplomatic agitation, which aims at calming the bellicose Turkmens and their [further] enslavement. This goal is being achieved by attracting some individuals from among the more compliant *katkhudā*s – those who can be manipulated owing to their selfish interests – to the cause of the Khan's Government. Such a Turkmen chieftain, having gone over to the side of the [Khivan] Government, brings all his Turkmen [tribesmen] under [Khanal] authority, making them obey the government's demands. This is quite possible, given that a patriarchal way of life is still fully maintained among the Turkmens and the *katkhudā*s enjoy unlimited influence among the popular masses.[273]

Here again we see an entire bricolage of cultural prejudices and clichés. Along the familiar tropes, Lykoshin ascribes unchallenged authority to the Turkmen chieftains or *katkhudā*s. Of course, one should remember that Lykoshin did not have the benefit of access to later works of scholarship such as Yuri Bregel's *The Turkmens of Khorezm*, which compellingly demonstrate the fragmented and highly contingent authority that Turkmen chieftains wielded over their clans.[274] Nevertheless, in arguing as he did Lykoshin disregarded much of the information gathered by his fellow officers just a few years earlier which he cited on other occasions. In the meantime, Colonel Lobachevskii noted in 1911 that although one may observe very strong kinship ties among the Khivan Turkmens,

[273] See: *Записка*, p. 182.
[274] Bregel', *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, pp. 164–170.

"each Turkmen has little obligation towards those who are in power, including the elders of his own clan". Thus, he concluded, they obey their [elders'] orders only as insofar as these latter conform with their own interests.[275] This observation echoed the sentiment in yet another survey, composed this time by the Russian colonial officers Girshfel'd and Galkin. "Turkmen tribal elites (*aksakals*, *bik*s, *bakhshis*, and *khans* alike)", the authors insist, "enjoy only limited authority among their kinsmen, and this absence of solo authority has been observable throughout all previous history".[276]

Lykoshin's notion that the Turkmen tribal elites enjoyed unchallenged authority among the kinsmen goes hand in hand with and influences a further assumption, namely that the Turkmen population together shared a single set of common interests and aspirations. This assumption in turn led Lykoshin to regard those chieftains who sought to improve the conditions of their kinsmen by making a deal with the Khivan authorities as nothing less than "the betrayers" of "the common Turkmen cause" (*obshche-turkmenskoe delo*).[277] As we make this observation, we are not of course denying that there may indeed have existed among the Khivan Turkmens a supra-tribal identity, one that we find referred to in local sources as *turkmanlik*.[278] But when one examines more closely exactly what Lykoshin understands by 'common Turkmen cause', one sees that it is nothing more than an oversimplified and politicized idea that all Turkmens desire to resist the Khivan yoke and to secure Russian subjecthood.

Despite his presumption of a 'common Turkmen cause', Lykoshin in fact provides a wide array of data – statistical and ethnographic alike – emphasizing the sharp distinctiveness among the various Turkmen tribes, clans and even smaller groups, not only

275 Lobachevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie*, p. 52.

276 Girshfel'd, and Galkin, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie Khivinskogo oazisa*, pt. 2, pp. 62–63.

277 *Записка*, pp. 182–183.

278 Allen Frank has recently made a compelling attempt to chart the Turkmens' supra-tribal identities through one particular text that they could have read in their traditionals school before the Soviet era: see Frank, "Turkmen Literacy and Turkmen Identity before Soviets", pp. 286–315.

in the matter of their respective economic activities or their stances towards Khivan authorities, but also in a wide range of matters such as marriage rituals, blood feuds, and the role of women within the family or clan. Whether consciously or otherwise, however, Lykoshin opts to overlook such ethnographic variations when advancing his chosen argument.

How, then, are we to explain the prejudices that inform Lykoshin's account? I would suggest that we can trace in Lykoshin's writings two distinct impulses, both of which were shared by many colonial officers. One is profoundly modernist, which tends to ascribe coherence and stability to the highly volatile and contingent political dynamics that one might encounter. The other is based on somewhat racist assumptions that confer upon ethnic and tribal groups certain (historically and racially) predetermined qualities. For instance, in one of his reports to the Governor-General of Turkestan, Lykoshin stated:

> The Turkmens live under worse conditions than all the other ethnicities of the Khanate; in light of historical conditions and their racial peculiarities (*po svoim rasovym osobennostiam*), they have found it more difficult than other entities to get accustomed to the Khivan [authorities'] mostly unjust approach towards them.[279]

This is not the only such observation by Lykoshin, and in his *Zapiska* he expresses a similar sentiment.

> The Khivans try to harm the Turkmens on every occasion; they do not recognize their [=the Turkmens'] rights as they do with regard to the other [ethnic] groups of the Khanate, and they treat them [=the Turkmens] with scorn, like savages …[280]

[279] Lykoshin, *G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.09.1912, no. 14,* l. 143 ob.
[280] *Записка*, p. 193.

> Lykoshin's writings seem to have played a major role in the emergence of a discourse that depicted Khivan-Turkmen relations as a binary opposition, in which the Turkmens were regarded as "the proud stepsons of Khiva", "stern people, yet "naïve and honest," and the Khivan authorities as inherently cruel and despotic. In attempting to liberate the Turkmens from "the Khivan yoke", Lykoshin did not want to admit that he completely deprived them of their agency, portraying them as people acting within the limits of prescribed norms and modes of behavior.

Lykoshin's views were appreciated by his superiors among the Turkestan authorities and clearly affected the subsequent decision-making process. This was not so much because people consciously revered Lykoshin's expertise as because the individuals in charge, including Governor-General Samsonov, were already preoccupied with similar ideas, and so were pleased to find their opinions substantiated by a man on the ground. It was perhaps for that reason that the Turkestan Governor-General in his letters to the highest imperial officials would echo his subordinate's tone in speaking about "the primordial liberty of nomads [=Turkmens]", and "the necessity to meet the Turkmens' fair demands" since they "are being repeatedly harmed by the Khivan officials without reason".[281]

Such sweeping judgments had an impact not only on conventional perceptions about the Turkmens in Khiva but also on political developments over both the short and the long run. Lykoshin and his superior clearly misjudged the level of "naivety" that they were so keen to ascribe to the Turkmens. As we have noted above, the Yomut chieftains had never been merely passive observers of ongoing processes but were instead highly responsive towards any alteration in this dynamic of power relations. It is thus very likely that the Turkmens similarly noticed the changing attitudes of Russian officials, and it is little surprise that they increasingly tried to

[281] Samsonov, *G. Ministru Inostrannykh Del. 11.11.1913*, ll. 9 ob.–10.

tailor the information they delivered to the Russian authorities so as to comply with people's vested interests. Accordingly, whenever there took place an incident in which the Turkmens were involved, be it an ordinary raid or a larger-scale armed skirmish, the Turkmen chieftains would justify their actions with reference to the injustices that they had suffered at the hands of the Khivan authorities. The latter, in the meantime, also sought to exploit the circumstances for their own benefit. In particular, the Khivan court invoked the challenge of executing the program of reforms that had been drawn up at the insistence of the Russian authorities[282] as a pretext for extending political control and imposing fiscal burdens upon those Turkmen tribes that had so far escaped such obligations. Such endeavors however were complicated by the ongoing confrontations between various factions and individuals at the court, which became more evident over the months preceding and following Sayyid Islām Khvāja's murder.

In December 1912, just a few months after Lykoshin finished his *Zapiska*, a certain Shāmmī-Kal,[283] a leader of a relatively small group of Okuz clan of Yomut Turkmens, launched a series of raids on settlements in the agricultural oasis.[284] This move did not occur simply out of thin air. As a formal pretext for his action Shāmmī-Kal used the request of one of his kinsmen, whose relative, a certain Turkmen named Mamed-Kaka (or Murād Qahqa), was assassinated, – in a very brutal way, or so it was stated – by the Khivan militia.[285] The real motives behind Shāmmī-Kal's behavior evidently lay deeper. The Khivan chronicler Laffasī, for instance, argues that Shāmmī-Kal's rebellion was instigated by certain conflicting factions at the Khivan court, who sought to use the Turkmen

[282] On the reform program and the Russian authorities' participation in its implementation, see Abdurasulov and Sartori, "Neopredelennost' kak politika", pp. 118–164.

[283] According to Nepesov, writing in the Soviet period, this chieftain's full name was Shammi-Kal Qlich Humash ughlī, see: Nepesov, *Pobeda sovetskogo stroia v Severnom Turkmenistane*, p. 65.

[284] Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia*, pp. 180–181.

[285] Karpov and Betser, *Khivinskie turkmeny i konets Kungradskoi dinastii,* p. 50.

insurgency as a tool against each other.[286] Shāmmī-Kal, however, himself seems to have been pursuing his own interest, trying to enhance his influence among his kinsmen by means of defending the kinsmen's desecrated honor and by making use of the rivalry at the Khivan court. (Looking ahead, it is perhaps worth mentioning that, although he met with defeat at the hands of Khivan troops, subsequent events would indicate that he in fact managed to achieve some of his goals. Just a year later we we find him not as the leader of some relatively small group[287] but rather as the chieftain of a substantial part of the Okuz clan, known as Qāra Okuz.[288]) In the meantime, by way of response to this move by Shāmmī-Kal, the Khivan Khan dispatched a party of troops under the command of Shaykh Naẓar Bāy Yasavūlbāshī, one of the *Divanbegi*-ite brothers. The latter was renowned, according to Lykoshin, for his ability to "hit the Turkmen [warlords] mercilessly and pacify them whenever needed by bestowing them with precious presents".[289] The Khivan troops laid siege to Shāmmī-Kal's redoubt (*qūrghān*) located in the vicinity of Diraqli.[290] There followed a tense armed face-off. The Khivan authors, who provide detailed account of the siege – which lasted for 46 days –, clearly testify to the participation of

[286] Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fol. 31a; Karpov and Betser, *Khivinskie turkmeny i konets Kungradskoi dinastii,* p. 52.

[287] According to information collected among the Turkmens in 1920s, at the moment the conflict started Shammī-Kal was nothing more than "an armed and wealthy clan member", Karpov and Betser, *Khivinskie turkmeny i konets Kungradskoi dinastii,* p. 50.

[288] According to some evidence, the very division of the Okuz clan into two parts (Āq Okuz and Qāra Okuz) was achieved by Shāmmī-Kal in no small part due to support he was provided by his allies in the Khivan court: see Kolosovskii, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 08.01.1915;* cited from Karpov and Betser, *Khivinskie turkmeny i konets Kungradskoi dinastii,* p. 55.

[289] Lykoshin N.S., *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 04.01.1913*, *no. 4*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 305, l. 8.

[290] Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fols. 31a–31b; Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīg vāqi'alārī*, fol. 8b.

other Yomut chieftains on both sides of the conflict.[291] Like on other occasions, following a series of skirmishes the parties entered into negotiations. The Russian authorities used this incident as a pretext to launch a military intervention into the Khanate's affairs. In accordance with instruction from Tashkent, Lykoshin together with a Cossack escort proceeded to the place of conflict.

On the face of it, it looked as if it was the Russian intervention that facilitated the resolution of the conflict: a treaty was signed, and several leaders of the rebel party went to Khiva as voluntary hostages. Yet, the involvement of the ADO Commandant seems to have had far-reaching ramifications for subsequent developments. Although Governor-General Samsonov stated that Lykoshin was following his own directives, according to which "his [=Lykoshin's] paramount task was to ensure by all possible means (*vo chto by to ni stalo*) that the Khivan authorities would meet the Turkmens' fair demands",[292] he nevertheless had to admit that "it was from those actions undertaken by the ADO Commandant [Lykoshin] that the Turkmens came to realize … that the Russian troops would not come to aid the Khivan troops [in the event that a further conflict sparks up]."[293] Such testimony, coming as it does from someone at the apex of the colonial hierarchy in Turkestan, is tellingly reflective of a massive shift in Russia's policy towards the Khivan Khanate. The further involvement of the ADO Commandant in the subsequent negotiation process between the Khivan authorities and Yomut leaders about the fate of the rebel Shāmmī Kal seems to have further escalated Khivan-Turkmen relations.[294]

Karpov and Betser, the authors of arguably the most comprehensive study on the history of Khivan-Turkmen relations, provide the following attestation of the Russian officials' stance in the

[291] Laffasī, *Ta'rīkh-i gulshan*, fos. 31a–34b; Babaniyazov, *Isfandiyār Khān davrinīg vāqi'alārī*, fols. 10a-10b; see also Karpov and Betser, *Khivinskie turkmeny i konets Kungradskoi dinastii,* p. 51.

[292] Samsonov, G. *Ministru Inostrannykh Del. 11.11.1913*, l. 9 ob.

[293] Samsonov, G. *Ministru Inostrannykh Del. 11.11.1913*, l. 9 ob.

[294] Karpov and Betser, *Khivinskie turkmeny i konets Kungradskoi dinastii*, p. 52.

afore-mentioned conflict, by way of putting it in metaphorical terms: "once they had stepped in on this trope", they write, Lykoshin and other members of the colonial authoritities in Turkestan "had no other choice but to walk it through up to the very end. By saying "A" [in 1913], they [=the Russian authoritites] soon needed to say "B" and "C" [and further letters all the way] until by 1916 [when a mass Turkmen uprising took place] they would reach the final symbol of the alphabet".[295]

Indeed, the outcome of this policy would soon become evident. As far as Khivan-Turkmen relations were concerned, the consequences became clear in late 1914, soon after Lykoshin was promoted to the position of Governor of the Samarkand Province (while his superior General Samsonov was transferred to the European Eastern Front of World War One, where he died on the battlefield in Prussia). Lykoshin's successor as the ADO Commandant, General Kosolovskii, found that the situation which he encountered in the Khivan Khanate offered rich scope for him to exercise his authority and ambitions.[296] Soon after his arrival, yet another collision unfolded between two parts of the Okuz Yomut clan, known as the Āq Okuz and Qāra Okuz. It looked like a conventional conflict between competing clans, yet in the light of the fragmentation of the political landscape in the Khanate and unparalleled involvement of the Russian colonial officers, this development soon would bring about one of the most severe political crises seen in the Khanate for over 100 years, namely the Turkmen uprising of 1915–1916.[297] What made thus uprising so momentous was that, just as Lykoshin and others in the Turkestan administration had envisaged might one day occur, the majority of the Yomut clans briefly made common cause

[295] Karpov and Betser, *Khivinskie turkmeny i konets Kungradskoi dinastii*, p. 52. The implication here is that once the Russian authorities themselves intervened in the Khivan-Turkmen tensions, whether they wished to or not they became a co-belligerent and thereby acquired responsibility for further ramifications.

[296] See: Kolosovskii, *Ego Prevoskhoditel'stvu N.V. Efremovu, 31.01.1917*, ll. 103 ob.–113.

[297] For a more detailed account of these events, see Abdurasulov, "Konflikt kak resurs", pp. 141–186.

under the command of a single leader, a certain Qurbān Muḥammad Sardār, who would later gain prominence – and notoriety – under the name of Khān Junayd.

ЗАПИСКА

Начальника Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла
Полковника Н. Лыкошина о современномъ состояніи Хивинскаго ханства

Петро-Александровскъ 1912 годъ

/12 об./ Будучи назначенъ на должность Начальника Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла ВЫСОЧАЙШИМЪ приказомъ 13 марта 1912 года, я только черезъ месяцъ, 13 Апрѣля того же года прибылъ въ гор. Петро-Александровскъ и, на другой же день, вынужденъ былъ выѣхать въ Чимбайскій участокъ, въ сел. Нукусъ,[1] гдѣ меня ожидалъ предмѣстникъ мой Генералъ-Майоръ Глушановскій,[2] руководившій работами по обводненію Куваншъ-Джарминской системы на отпущенныя для сего средства.[3] Я принялъ работы и остался тамъ, такъ какъ при значительномъ числѣ рабочихъ и сложности самихъ работъ поручить руководство работами другому лицу не представлялось возможнымъ. Работы были закончены только въ половинѣ Мая и потому первую поѣздку въ Хиву, для свиданія съ Ханомъ Хивинскимъ, я могъ совершить только 28-го Мая, выѣхавъ изъ Петро-Александровска въ 3 часа дня.

О своемъ намѣреніи посѣтить Хиву я, по принятому обычаю, предупредилъ словесно черезъ такъ называемаго Хивинскаго Консула Нурмухамедбая Аминиддинбаева, Ханскаго Сановника, состоящаго при Начальникѣ Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла и постоянно живущего въ гор. Петро-Александровскѣ.

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1 Селение Нукус в рассматриваемое время было центром Чимбайского участка, одного из двух административных подразделений в составе Амударьинского отдела, также см. выше: *Introduction*, p. 42.

2 Глушановский, Николай Галактионович (1853–?), начальник Амударьинского отдела в 1905–1911 гг.

3 Речь очевидно идет о работах по очистке протоков Таш-Узяк и Кок-Узяк, питавших Куваныш-Джарму – крупнейший оросительный канал в восточной части нижней дельты Амударьи. К 1910 г. сильное засорение указанных протоков практически прекратило пропуск воды в Куваныш-Джарму, поставив под угрозу неурожая население Чимбайского участка АДО. В этой связи, российской колониальной администрацией были организованы работы по очистке протоков, которые производились 40 дней, с 1 апреля по 10 мая 1912 г., силами местного населения, под руководством командированных российских гидротехников. Подробнее см.: *К. Сарыбаев*, Аграрный вопрос в Каракалпакии (конец XIX – начало XX веков). Нукус: Каракалпакстан, 1972. Сс. 54–56.

Съ самаго выѣзда изъ города на переправу Начальникъ Отдѣла становится гостемъ Его Свѣтлости Хана Хивинскаго[4] и дальнѣйшая поѣздка въ столицу Ханства совершается по разъ установившемуся порядку и этикету.

Казачій конвой въ 26 человекъ, при значкѣ Начальника Отдѣла отправляется въ гор. Ханка заблаговременно, такъ какъ переправа чрезъ Аму-Дарью на /12 об./ каюкахъ весьма затруднительна.

Выѣхавъ въ 3 часа дня 28-го Мая, я только къ 6 ч[асам] вечера достигъ противоположнаго берега.[5] Переправляться на каюкѣ пришлось такъ долго, потому что большая часть переправы чрезъ протоки Аму-Дарьи (*арна*) производится на лямкахъ, при чемъ каюкъ съ пассажирами за веревку, привязанную къ небольшой мачтѣ каюка, тянутъ идущіе по берегу 5-6 пѣшихъ рабочихъ арендатора переправы.[6] То и дѣло этимъ бурлакамъ

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4 Официальная церемония присвоения титула «Его Светлости» хивинскому правителю Исфандийар-хану состоялось несколько ранее, 19 января 1911 г., во время посещения Хивы Военным губернатором Сыр-Дарьинской области генерал-лейтенантом А.С. Галкиным, см: *А.В. Самсонов*, Отношение Военному министру, 08.03.1911; O‘zMA, ф. И-2, оп. 1, д. 91, лл. 2–2 об.

5 Переправа Лыкошина через Амударью очевидно состоялась через т.н. Карабахскую переправу, расположенную у хивинского города Ханка. Переправившись на противоположный берег реки, далее по каналу Шават (Шахабад), можно было добраться непосредственно до г. Ханка, см.: *А.Н. Самойлович*, Краткий отчет о поездке в Ташкент и Бухару и в Хивинское ханство в 1908 году // Известия русского комитета для изучения Средней и Восточной Азии в историческом, археологическом, лингвистическом и этнографическом отношениях, № 9, 1909. С. 5. Общая протяженность пути от г. Петро-Александровска до г. Хивы посредством указанной переправы составляла порядка 67 верст, *В. Лобачевский*, Военно-статистическое описание Туркестанского военного округа. Хивинский район. Ташкент: Типо-литография Туркестанского военного округа, 1912. С. 116.

6 Значительная часть перевозок грузов и людей в Хивинском ханстве осуществлялалась по реке Амударье и многочисленным каналам при помощи каюков (*кема*). По данным российской администрации, в 1910 г. общее количество каюков в ханстве достигло 215 единиц. Каюки, в зависимости от грузоподъемности, подразделялись на большие (способные перевозить от 800 до 2.000 пудов), средние (500–800 пудов) и малые (менее 500 пудов). Во время плавания каюк, в зависимости от размеров,

приходится по поясъ въ водѣ, переходить неглубокіе протоки рѣки и двигаться по вязкому грунту прибрежной полосы острововъ. Все это крайне замедляетъ движеніе и безъ того затруднительное подъ палящимъ солнцемъ въ это время года.

Въ Хивѣ давно знали о моемъ прибытіи въ Отдѣлъ и видимо ожидали, что прежде всего я поспѣшу посетить столицу Ханства. Хивинскій Консулъ ежедневно справлялся о томъ, когда я рѣшилъ ѣхать къ Хану и передавалъ мнѣ, что Его Свѣтлость, поджидая моего перваго визита, не переѣзжаетъ изъ своего дворца Нурлабай[7] въ садъ Таза-багъ,[8] что по времени года, долженъ былъ бы уже сдѣлать. При всемъ желаніи поскорѣе свидѣться съ повелителемъ Хивы, я, по указаннымъ выше причинамъ, не могъ сдѣлать этого тотчасъ послѣ вступленія въ должность Начальника Отдѣла и, можетъ быть, тѣмъ возбудилъ на первыхъ порахъ нѣкоторое неудовольствіе со стороны Хана и особенно его Сановниковъ, ревниво охраняющихъ достоинство и величіе своего владыки.

обслуживало от 6 до 13 человек экипажа, см.: *Лобачевский*, Военно-статистическое описание, с. 85; *В.А. Гиршфельд и А.С. Галкин*, Военно-статистическое описание Хивинского оазиса. Ч. I. Ташкент: Типография Штаба Туркестанского военного округа, 1902. Сс. 110–111.

7 Нуруллабай – основная резиденция Исфандийар-хана в г. Хиве. По словам хивинского автора Абдулла Балтаева, свое название дворец получил от имени человека, владевшего этой землей в начале XIX столетия. Позднее эта земля была выкуплена хивинскими правителями и передавалась по наследству. В начале XX в., еще будучи наследником, Исфандийар инициировал строительство дворца из жженного кирпича по европейскому образцу, который впоследствии превратил в свою основную резиденцию, см.: *Абдулла Балтаев*, Хива исдаликлари, ркп. O‘zFAShI, инв. № 11645, лл. 38a–39b. Лыкошин, при посещении дворца в ноябре 1912 г., отмечал наличие в нем элетрического освещения, а также автономной электростанции. По его сведениям, реконструкция этого дворца обошлась хивинской казне в 72.000 рублей, см. *Н.С. Лыкошин*, Г. Туркестанскому генерал-губернатору, 28.11.1912 г. № 49; O‘zMA, ф. И-2, оп. 1, д. 289, л. 175.

8 Таза-Баг или Кибла Таза-Баг – летняя загородняя резиденция хивинских правителей. Согласно Абдулла Балтаева, в 1865 г. Мухаммад Рахим-хан II разбил в этой местности сад на площади 40 *танаб*ов (ок. 15 га) и возвел резиденцию. Его сын и приемник Исфандийар-хан еще более благоустроил данную местность, см: *Балтае*в, Хива исдаликлари, лл. 35b–36b.

Въ свою очередь и я могъ бы быть въ претензіи на то, что при высадкѣ на лѣвый берегъ Аму-Дарьи въ палаткахъ съ приготовленнымъ дастарханомъ меня встрѣтилъ только бекъ[9] гор. Ханка Ходжибай Аминиддинбаевъ[10] и особо командированный Его Свѣтлостью Ха- /13/ номъ Хивинскимъ Сановникъ, братъ *Вазири Акбара* Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи. Для перваго визита Начальника Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла встрѣча могла бы быть обставлена болѣе торжественно.

Въ поданной Ханской коляскѣ я черезъ густой тугай *Юмалакъ* проѣхалъ въ гор. Ханка, гдѣ, по времени, долженъ былъ оставаться на ночлегъ для того, чтобы, выѣхавъ оттуда рано утромъ, прибыть въ гор. Хиву около 3-хъ часовъ дня и поспѣть къ пріему у Хана, послѣ «*саляма*» его сановниковъ.

Пріемъ у Ханкинскаго бека Ходжибая Аминиддинбаева, заслужившаго своимъ гостепріимствомъ всеобщую популярность среди посѣщающихъ Хиву русскихъ, былъ обставленъ по-хивински роскошно. Ночь я провелъ въ европейски меблированномъ домѣ, гдѣ всѣ столы заняты обильными дастарханами съ горами сластей, а хозяинъ принимаетъ всѣ мѣры для доставленія возможныхъ удобствъ своимъ гостямъ.

Гор. Ханки (правильнѣе Ханака, Ханка) представляетъ изъ себя, какъ и большинство хивинскихъ городовъ, группу отдѣльныхъ хуторовъ. Жители со всѣмъ своимъ скарбомъ и даже скотомъ помѣщаются въ окруженныхъ высокимъ заборомъ четыреугольныхъ «*дуля*», напоминающихъ по своему устройству небольшія крѣпостцы съ зубчатыми стѣнами и съ бойницами въ

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9 Термином *бек*, наряду с термином *хаким*, обычно обозначался правитель области Хивинского ханства.

10 Очевидно, Хаджи Мухаммад Бай, сын Амин ал-Дин Бая (ум. 1915), занимавший в указанное время должность губернатора г. Ханка. В одной из служебных записок, составленной Лыкошиным в 1912 г., можно встретить следующее описание этого сановника: «Ходжибай Аминитдинбаев, 39 лет, очень богато обставил свой дом в Ханка. Своим широким гостеприимством и неподдельным радушием заслужил самые лестные отзывы всех когда-либо посетивших Ханка», см. *Н.С. Лыкошин*, Современное распределение власти, 1912 год; O‘zMA, ф. И-2, оп. 1, д. 314, лл. 64–64 об.

стѣнахъ. Необезпеченность въ смыслѣ спокойствія въ прежнее время выработало, видимо, подходящій типъ жилища, которое при закрытыхъ воротахъ, могло бы служить не только жилищемъ, но и убѣжищемъ на случай нападенія степныхъ разбойниковъ, или толпы плохо вооруженныхъ враговъ.

Такіе хутора къ центру города становятся все чаще и, наконецъ, около базара, сливаются въ сплошное селеніе. Базаръ довольно большой, мѣстами крытый. Въ селеніи имѣется хлопкоочистительный заводъ Петро-Александровскаго купца Павла Александровича Мануилова, кожевный заводъ его зятя Пиликина и, /13 об./ вновь отстроенный хлопкоочистительный и маслобойный заводъ местнаго купца Авазбая Мадіярова.

При въѣздѣ въ селеніе Ханка приходится переѣзжать широкій каналъ Газаватъ, по которому на каюкѣ, можно проехать до Тахты. Переѣзд совершается въ настоящее время по животрепещему деревянному мосту. Ханъ Хивинскій, въ заботѣ объ улучшеніи путей сообщенія, рѣшилъ въ этомъ мѣстѣ, какъ и черезъ другіе наиболѣе значительные каналы, построить капитальные мосты европейскаго типа и желѣзныя части моста для [канала Газаватъ при г.] Ханка уже доставлены и лежатъ на правомъ берегу канала Газаватъ у стараго моста. Ожидаютъ полученія цемента для бетонной кладки основаній и инженера, котораго имѣетъ выслать фирма Стукенъ въ Москвѣ. Этой фирмѣ заказаны всѣ мосты вновьстроющіеся въ Ханствѣ и изъ Москвы сюда пришлютъ техника для сборки мостовъ.

Въ Ханка, какъ и во многихъ другихъ мѣстахъ Ханства Хивинскаго населеніе поливаетъ свои поля исключительно чигирями. Какъ выяснилось изъ бесѣды съ крупнымъ земледѣльцемъ заводчикомъ Авазбаемъ Мадіяровымъ, хорошо знающимъ свое дѣло, чигири совершенно необходимы въ данныхъ условіяхъ обработки земли и могутъ быть замѣнены машинами другого типа – дорогостоющими, только въ крупныхъ хозяйствахъ. Составленіе же земледѣльческихъ товариществъ для пріобрѣтенія машинъ сообща неосуществимо, вслѣдствіе полнаго отсутствія у туземцевъ привычки къ кооперативнымъ предпріятіямъ. Кромѣ причинъ примѣненія чигирнаго орошенія, приведенныхъ

въ книгѣ О.А. Шкапскаго «Землевладѣніе и землепользованіе въ Амударьинскомъ Отдѣлѣ»[11] (необходимость регулированія притока воды и боязнь размывовъ) главной является все-таки малая скорость теченія воды въ мелкихъ каналахъ, вследствіе чего для поливки просто напус- /14/ комъ (*аякъ*) нужно было бы много времени истратить на скопленіе и подъемъ воды на поливку очередями, какъ это практикуется у земледѣльцевъ Туркестана, поливающихъ по очереди, напускомъ на поля. Во избѣжанія замедленія въ поливкѣ, всѣ сидящіе по каналу земледѣльцы – «*абхуры*»[12] – ставятъ свои чигири и достигаютъ тѣмъ возможности одновременно поливать свои поля изъ магистральнаго общаго канала. Туземцы находятъ, что поливка чигиремъ лучше достигаетъ своей цѣли, когда вода понемногу входитъ на полѣ и постепенно промачиваетъ землю, чѣмъ если бы сразу напустить слой воды на все полѣ. Построить чигирь, способный оросить до 5 *танап*овъ (4500 кв. саж.),[13] около двухъ десятинъ,[14] можно рублей за 50. Постройка съ эксплоатаціей даетъ расходъ въ 100 руб. – на 5 *танап*овъ, а если построить не одинъ, а два чигиря, то работа ихъ будетъ продуктивнѣе и двумя можно оросить уже не 10, а 15 *танап*овъ земли и орошеніе обойдется дешевле.

Послѣ ночлега въ отлично обставленномъ домъ мѣстнаго бека, гдѣ красивѣе всего высокія террасы мавританскаго стиля на рѣзныхъ столбахъ изъ карагача (*гуджумъ*), рано утром 29

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11 Речь идет о работе *О.А. Шкапского*, Аму-Дарьинские очерки. К аграрному вопросу на нижней Аму-Дарье. Ташкент: Типо-литография В.М. Ильина, 1900. Описание принципов чигирного орошения приведено на сс. 54–61 указанного труда.

12 *Абхур* – община водопользователей в Хорезме; население, пользовавшееся водой каналов для орошения своих земельных участков, было разделено на отдельные общины водопользователей, см.: *Я.Г. Гулямов*, История орошения Хорезма с древнейших времен до наших дней. Ташкент: Издательство АН УзССР. С. 261.

13 *Танап* – мера площади; в Хивинском ханстве XIX – начала XX столетия размер одного танапа равнялся 360 *гяз*ам (1 *гяз* – 102-103 см) или 0,37 – 0,39 га.

14 *Десятина* – русская мера площади, равнявшаяся 109,2 соткам или 1,09 га

Мая мы выѣхали на присланной Ханомъ тройкѣ рыжихъ лошадей дальше по дорогѣ въ гор. Хиву съ такимъ расчетомъ, чтобы до наступленія жары можно было проѣхать разстояніе 24 в[ерсты]. до сел. Гужа, тамъ сдѣлать остановку и продолжать путь такъ, чтобы въ Хиву прибыть приблизительно къ 3 часамъ дня. Такая остановка была особенно необходима для сопровождавшаго меня изъ Петро-Александровска казачьяго конвоя изъ 25 человѣкъ. Въ 6[-й] сотнѣ № 4 полка Оренбургскаго казачьяго полка видимо закармливаютъ лошадей. Всѣ казаки выѣхали въ поѣздку на очень жирныхъ коняхъ и, несмотря на то, что я выслалъ конвой раньше своего отъѣзда на ночлегъ въ Ханка, до сел. Гужа одна лошадь уже заболѣла коликами. Казаки объясняютъ это переходомъ съ корма овсомъ на ячмень, а мнѣ кажется, что казаки слишкомъ постарались кормить сво- /14 об./ ихъ коней въ избыткѣ доставленномъ бекомъ ячменемъ, а кромѣ того и сравнительно тихая ѣзда могла повредить очень жирнымъ лошадямъ. Дѣло съ больной лошадью обошлось благополучно, потому что своевременно принялись за ея леченіе, но въ общемъ конвой крайне стѣсняетъ быстро ѣдущаго по дѣлу и брать его возможно съ собой въ Хиву только при парадныхъ поѣздкахъ въ самую столицу. Довольствіе лошадей и людей по необходимости приходится предоставлять мѣстнымъ Хивинскимъ властямъ, денегъ ни за что не берутъ, а это составляетъ расчетъ и ложится бременемъ на мѣстное населеніе, оплачивающее расходы бека по пріему гостей.

Въ Гужа имѣется казенный посольскій домикъ, плохо построенный и небрежно содержимый: сыро, а зимой, вѣроятно, очень холодно. Тѣмъ не менѣе своевременно было отдохнуть и, переждавъ здѣсь самое жаркое время, мы двинулись въ путь уже съ конвоемъ. Впереди ѣдетъ казакъ съ малиновымъ значкомъ Начальника Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла (на полотнѣ вышита шелкомъ монограмма изъ буквъ Н.А.О.) а остальные казаки ѣдутъ съ экипажемъ Начальника Отдѣла. Верстъ[15] 5 не

[15] *Верста* – русская мера длины, равнявшаяся 1066,8 м.

доѣзжая до гор. Хивы, въ саду Гандеміанъ,* где въ 1873 году былъ подписанъ мирный договоръ съ Хивой,[16] насъ ожидали присланные Ханомъ для встрѣчи: «*Вазири Акбаръ*» – первый Сановникъ Ханства Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа, его сынъ, тоже Сановникъ, Юсуфъ Есаулъ-баши[17] – старикъ, служившій еще при покойномъ Ханѣ, и Махкама-баши – Начальникъ Ханской Канцеляріи. По дорогѣ въ садъ шпалерами стояли конные *нукер*ы – конвой Ислама Ходжи. Въ саду на террасѣ поданъ былъ чай и очень скоро мы продолжали путь. Въѣхавъ въ го- /15/ родъ черезъ Гандеміанскія, или Ханкинскія, ворота по узкимъ улицамъ мимо мадраса Мухаммадъ Аминъ Хана,[18] съ высокимъ

* [Лыкошин:] Хивинское произношеніе до того измѣнило названіе сада, что не сразу можно понять его значеніе и пришлось распрашивать. Правильное названіе сада «Гандуми-Кянъ» – «мѣсто обильнаго произрастанія пшеницы».

16 Лыкошин имеет в виду события 12 августа 1873 г., связанные с подписанием мирного договора, – вскоре после взятия Хивы российскими войсками, – получившего название Гандемианского и закрепившего «вассальный» статус Хивы. С хивинской стороны договор был подписан Мухаммад Рахим-ханом II, с российской – первым генерал-губернатором Туркестана К.П. фон Кауфманом, подробнее см.: *S. Becker*, Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865–1924. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968. Pp. 58–60.

17 Полное имя этого сановника – Мухаммад Йусуф Йасаулбаши. Он занимал пост *йасаулбаши*, считавшийся одним из высших должностей в административной иерархии ханства, особенно в начале XX в. Согласно некоторым сведениям, при дворе хивинских ханов единовременно несло службу двое лиц, занимавших данный пост. В первые годы правления Исфандийар-хана, наряду с Мухаммад Йусуфом Йасаулбаши этот пост занимал также Шайх Назар Бай Йасаулбаши, сын Мат-Мурада Диванбеги; подробнее о функциях *йасаулбаши*, а также о лицах, занимавших этот пост, см.: *P. Sartori, U. Abdurasulov*, Seeking Justice at the Court of the Khans of Khiva (19th – Early 20th Centuries). Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020. Pp. 21–35.

18 Медресе Мухаммад Амин-хана – крупнейшее медресе г. Хивы. Расчитанное на 260 слушателей медресе было основано хивинским правителем Мухаммад Амин-ханом в начале 1850-х гг. К зданию примыкает незавершенный минарет (*Калта-минар*), который в ансамбле с медресе составляет одну из наиболее заметных достопримечательностей г. Хивы, см. подробнее: *А. Маньковская, В. Булатова*, Памятники зодчества Хорезма. Ташкент, Издательство Гафура Гуляма, 1978. Сс. 121–122.

минаретомъ, мы подъѣхали ко дворцу Нурлабай, гдѣ обыкновенно живетъ Исфандіяръ Ханъ Багадуръ. Есть у него еще зимній дворецъ и садъ – Таза-Багъ; зимній дворецъ обыкновенно необитаемъ, а въ саду Ханъ проводитъ часть лѣта. На этотъ разъ онъ не переѣзжалъ туда, чтобы принять меня во дворцѣ, какъ это установлено обычаемъ.

Около 5 часовъ вечера мы подъѣхали ко дворцу и, объѣхавъ вправо отъ главныхъ воротъ, съ бокового подъѣзда, остановились у воротъ посольскаго помѣщенія.[19] Это довольно старый и плохо отдѣланный домъ изъ нѣсколькихъ комнатъ. Главная – зала, очень длинная, съ накрытымъ обѣденнымъ столомъ, заканчивается небольшой гостинной съ европейской мебелью и дастарханомъ на столѣ для чая. Каждому изъ пріѣзжихъ отводится отдѣльная спальня съ необходимой мебелью и убранствомъ. Приведя себя въ порядокъ и выпивъ чаю съ доставившимъ меня во дворецъ первымъ сановникомъ Хана, я просилъ Сайидъ Ислама Ходжу доложить Хану о моемъ прибытіи и спросить, когда Его Свѣтлости угодно будетъ принять меня. Вскорѣ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа передалъ мнѣ приглашеніе Хана притти къ нему въ тотъ же день вечеромъ послѣ обычнаго *саляма* сановниковъ и разбора жалобъ просителей, которыхъ Ханъ выслушиваетъ ежедневно, послѣ *саляма*.

Такъ какъ окна залы посольскаго помѣщенія выходятъ на большой наружный дворъ дворца,* то въ ожиданіи пріема я

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19 Это посольское помещение, согласно Балтаева, было возведено в 1874 г. Мухаммад Рахим-ханом II «из жженного кирпича, в европейском стиле», см. *Балтаев*, Хива исдаликлари, лл. 69a–69b. В 1912 г. посольское помещение, судя по сообщениям Лыкошина, подверглось существенной перестройке, см. ниже, сс. 202–203.

* [Лыкошин:] Внутреннее помѣщеніе – гаремъ Хана, гдѣ онъ живетъ съ своей семьей, выходитъ на дворикъ дворца глухой стѣной, имѣющей только одну дверь. Въ гаремъ никто не допускается; даже близкіе родственники Хана и его женъ туда не входятъ. [*Прим. ред.*: Описание помещений дворца Нуруллабай, представленное Лыкошином, в основных чертах совпадает с детальным планом этого сооружения, составленным Абдулла Балтаевым, который, как известно, принимал личное участие в реконструкции дворца, см. *Балтаев*, Хива исдаликлари, л. 69b].

могъ свободно наблюдать ежедневно обязательно совершаемую Ханомъ церемонію своеобразнаго служенія /15 об./ своему народу, которое создало Хану репутацію повелителя доступнаго для каждого изъ своихъ подданныхъ, входящаго въ ихъ нужды, лично выслушивающаго ихъ жалобы и возстанавливающаго справедливость личнымъ рѣшеніемъ и распоряженіем.[20]

Около шести часовъ вечера обыкновенно пустынный, украшенный высокими мавританскаго стиля колоннами дворъ, вдругъ оживился: заходили и забѣгали люди обязанные приготовить все необходимое къ выходу Его Свѣтлости из внутренняго помѣщенія. Нѣсколько времени спустя, отворились двери въ гаремъ и оттуда преувеличенно медленно не прошелъ, а прослѣдовалъ Исфандіяръ Ханъ Багадуръ на то мѣсто, гдѣ онъ, сидя, творитъ судъ и расправу.

Невдалекѣ отъ единственной входной во дворъ двери расположено небольшое каменное возвышеніе, покрытое кошмой. На возвышеніе садится по-азіатски Ханъ, а передъ нимъ кладутъ старинный пистолетъ въ чехлѣ и небольшой топорикъ, тоже старинный, это знаки власти. Ханъ имѣетъ на себѣ дорогую, золотом отдѣланную шашку азіатскаго образца, а на головѣ, вмѣсто обычной *чугурмы*,[21] такую же большую шапку изъ бараньяго мѣха, но съ краснымъ верхомъ; эта шапка имѣетъ значеніе короны. Подъ рукой у Хана ставится чайникъ зеленаго чая (*кокъ-чай*) и чашка.

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[20] Речь идет о церемонии «*арз*» или «*арз-дад*», которая регулярно проводилась в резиденции хивинского правителя. В ходе церемонии хан выслушивал жалобы и прошения своих подданных. Подробнее о церемонии и ее роли в системе управления, см.: *У. Абдурасулов*, В Хиву в поисках справедливости: церемония «арздод» в Хивинском ханстве // O‘zbekiston tarixi, № 2, 2015. Сс. 27–39; *Sartori, Abdurasulov*, Seeking Justice at the Court of the Khans of Khiva.

[21] *Чугурма* – традиционный мужской головной убор в Хорезме, обычно изготовленный из овчины.

Еще раньше выхода Хана, одинъ *Махрамъ*[22] становится невдалекѣ отъ возвышенія, на которомъ сидитъ Ханъ и стоитъ съ обнаженной шашкой совершенно неподвижно. Отъ времени до времени эти *махрам*ы безмолвно смѣняются вновь входящими во дворъ *махрам*ами.

Старикъ Юсуфъ Есаулъ-баши начинаетъ церемонію. Онъ первый входитъ изъ входной двери и останавливается около нея и, сложа руки на таліи, обращаясь къ Хану произноситъ: «*Салямъ*». Вследъ за нимъ по одному входятъ въ ту же дверь остальные высокопоставленные сановники и, уже не произнося «*салямъ*», делаютъ Хану глубокій поклонъ. Есаулъ-баши ос- /16/ тается около двери и не выходитъ обратно, какъ другіе сановники, послѣ поклона. *Салямъ* продолжается около 20 минутъ, пока поочередно не поклонятся всѣ сановники.

Наступаетъ время разбора жалобъ подданныхъ. Всѣ входятъ черезъ ту же входную дверь и, конечно, стоящіе у двери съ той стороны сановники знаютъ кто и на что идетъ жаловаться Хану и могутъ принять, если нужно, свои мѣры. Вѣроятно поэтому здѣсь не слышно жалобъ на высокопоставленныхъ лицъ и ихъ распоряженія, подданные жалуются Хану другъ на друга и просятъ возстановленія своихъ правъ, нарушенныхъ такими же подданными.

Проситель, войдя из двери, останавливается около входа и довольно далеко отъ Хана, поэтому жалоба произносится скороговоркой, очень громко, проситель почти кричитъ, какъ будто надѣется крикомъ своимъ доказать тяжесть перетерпѣнной обиды и проникнуть въ душу Хана.

Ханъ, давъ кончить просителю краткую его жалобу, произноситъ только одно слово, обращаясь къ Есаулъ-баши. Вѣроятно, это значитъ приказаніе разобрать дѣло. Проситель уходитъ, входитъ другой.

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22 *Махрам* – доверенный хивинского хана. Наиболее приближенные махрамы имели право доступа в личные покои хивинского монарха.

Трудно сказать въ какой мѣрѣ тщательно производится разборъ дѣла по жалобамъ Хану принесеннымъ и къ какимъ результатамъ приводитъ разслѣдованіе. Однако по разсказамъ знающихъ людей выходитъ, что нерѣдко утрачиваются даже самыя первоначальныя данныя этого упрощеннаго устнаго судопроизводства.[23] Жалоба не разобрана, дѣло не кончено, вновь принесена жалоба Хану, который желаетъ узнать въ какомъ же положеніи дѣло. Тогда первый, кому поручено было дѣло, напримѣръ Юсуфъ Есаулъ-баши, зоветъ самого просителя и спрашивает: «Что я тебѣ сказалъ, когда ты приходилъ прошлый разъ съ жалобой?»; проситель, который одинъ хорошо помнитъ свое дѣло, говоритъ къ кому именно былъ направленъ въ первый разъ. Зовутъ того начальника, къ которому /16 об./ былъ направленъ проситель и тому ничего не остается, какъ разспрашивать просителя же, къ кому онъ былъ посланъ въ тотъ разъ. Добираются ли въ такихъ случаяхъ кто же виноватъ въ задержкѣ, или разспросы эти утомляютъ просителя и онъ отказывается отъ дальнѣйшаго хожденія по своему дѣлу – Богъ вѣсть, только мало вѣрятъ въ Хивѣ простые люди въ возможность добиться удовлетворенія своей просьбы, если нѣтъ могущественнаго покровителя. При покровителѣ и денежныхъ средствахъ дѣла сами собою рѣшаются въ пользу счастливаго.

По окончаніи разбора жалобъ – второй *салямъ* – привѣтствіе младшихъ сановниковъ, родственниковъ Хана и домочадцевъ, служащихъ во дворцѣ. Теперь всѣ входятъ сразу толпой, выстраиваются въ шеренгу и дѣлаютъ поклонъ! Среди кланяющихся – русскій запасный фейерверкеръ[24] въ мундирѣ. Это – началь-

[23] В действительности судопроизводство не было «устным» в той степени, которую ей приписывает Лыкошин. Как показывают документы, по прошениям подданных проводились разбирательства, включавшие и следственные мероприятия, с вовлечением представителей власти на местах, которые оставляли значительный бумажный след в форме различных предписаний, рапортов и т.п.; подробнее см.: *Sartori, Abdurasulov*, Seeking Justice at the Court of the Khans of Khiva.

[24] *Фейерверкер* – звание и должность в армии Российской империи; *фейерверкеры* были зайдествованы, главным образом, в артиллерийских

никъ артиллеріи, завѣдующій двумя орудіями, пожалованными Хану ГОСУДАРЕМЪ ИМПЕРАТОРОМЪ.[25] Фейерверкеръ входитъ вмѣстѣ со своими канонирами. Послѣдніе – Хивинцы въ халатахъ; ихъ человѣкъ пять.

Конченъ *салямъ* младшихъ сановниковъ, тогда медленно подходитъ къ Хану его первый Сановникъ и родственникъ *Вазири-акбар* Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа и почтительно садится на приступкѣ возвышенія. За нимъ подходитъ сынъ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи, одѣтый также какъ отецъ и тоже садится пониже отца. За нимъ подходитъ, но не садится, Начальникъ канцеляріи Хана – *Махкама-баши*. Происходитъ непродолжительный разговоръ о текущихъ дѣлахъ, затѣмъ Ханъ надѣваетъ вмѣсто бывшей на немъ красноверхой шапки, простую *чугурму* и официальная часть пріема окончена.

На этомъ же дворѣ въ нужныхъ случаяхъ, въ присутствіи Хана наказываютъ преступниковъ, отсчитывая имъ назначенное число ударовъ толстою плетью – *дарра*, сши- /17/ той изъ нѣсколькихъ ремней. Если наказаніе исполняется въ тотъ день, когда во дворцѣ находится Начальникъ Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла, наказаніе значительно уменьшается въ честь гостя. Въ день моего пріѣзда въ Хиву во дворцѣ не наказывали, вѣроятно въ это время не было приговоренныхъ.

Въ обыкновенные дни Ханъ идетъ послѣ этого во внутреннее помѣщеніе, но въ день моего пріѣзда предстояло еще свиданіе со мной, а потому Ханъ медленно пошелъ въ свою пріемную комнату, находящуюся какъ разъ напротивъ посольскаго помѣщенія, где я находился. За Ханомъ несли его шапку, пистолетъ съ топорикомъ и чайникъ съ чашкой.

Служащіе забегали и стали переносить въ Ханскую пріемную европейскую мебель, которой тамъ въ обыкновенное время не бываетъ. Понесли и преддиванный столъ и нѣсколько креселъ.

частях и в ранговом отношении были приравнены к унтер-офицерам.

[25] Далее об истории появления этих орудий в Хиве, см. ниже, с. 143, сн. 40.

Вскорѣ пришелъ ко мнѣ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа и передалъ приглашеніе Хана пожаловать къ нему. Никто не останавливалъ меня, какъ описываетъ свое представленіе Минорскій,[26] не заставляли меня идти медленно, или торопиться, да этого и нельзя по моему мнѣнію сдѣлать намѣренно на протяженіи 40 шаговъ, отдѣляющихъ посольское помѣщение отъ пріемной Хана, черезъ дворъ. Я шелъ, не соразмѣряя шагов, нѣсколько быстрѣе медленно двигавшагося Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи, такъ что можетъ быть я заставилъ Сановника идти нѣсколько быстрѣе обыкновеннаго.

Выяснилось однако, что я вошелъ въ пріемную хорошо, выигравъ въ глазахъ придворныхъ, потому что, когда я проходилъ мимо оконъ пріемной, Ханъ всталъ съ кресла и пошелъ по комнатѣ къ двери мнѣ на встрѣчу. Случайно вышло такъ или Ханъ просто не считался съ подробностями встрѣчи со мной, но когда я, передавъ фуражку и перчатки стоявшему въ передней *махрам*у, протянувшему ко мнѣ для этого руки, вошелъ въ самую пріем- /17 об./ ную, Ханъ встрѣтилъ меня у самой входной двери. Могло бы случиться наоборотъ, я могъ бы войти нѣсколько раньше и тогда мнѣ пришлось бы перейти комнату до встрѣчи съ Ханомъ. Это, по мѣстнымъ понятіямъ, дало бы мнѣ меньше значенія и почета, а такъ какъ меня встрѣтилъ Ханъ, было для меня очень почетно, такъ говорили послѣ моему переводчику младшіе царедворцы.

[26] Речь очевидно идет Владимире Федоровиче Минорском (1877–1966), российском дипломате, служившем в Туркестане, Персии и Турции, а впоследствии получившем широкое признание в качестве ученого-востоковеда. С 1909–1911 г. В.Ф. Минорский служил в должности дипломатического чиновника при Туркестанском генерал-губернаторе. В сентябре 1909 г., в рамках своей служебной деятельности он посетил Хивинское ханство. По результатам своей поездки оставил детальный рапорт, на который очевидно и ссылается Лыкошин. Также о Минорском, см: C.E. Bosworth, “Minorsky, Vladimir Fed’orovich” *Encyclopædia Iranica* (2004), https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/minorsky-vladimir

Я черезъ переводчика привѣтствовалъ Хана,* поздравилъ его съ вступленіемъ на Ханскій престолъ. Ханъ очень любезно поздравилъ меня съ новымъ назначеніемъ на постъ Начальника Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла, и мы оба вошли по ступенькамъ въ возвышенную часть пріемной комнаты, направляясь къ столу съ креслами вокругъ, которые только что были принесены сюда. Ханъ просилъ садиться меня и переводчика. Тотъ попросилъ моего разрѣшенія и всѣ мы сѣли. Сѣлъ и вошедшій за мной Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа.

Начался незначащій разговоръ, разспросы о здоровьи [sic] моей семьи, о работахъ по обводненію Куваншъ-Джармы, съ которыхъ я только что возвратился, о чемъ извѣстно было въ Хивѣ, о моемъ здоровьи и т.д. Ханъ вспомнилъ наше свиданіе, когда онъ въ 1891 году, будучи еще Наслѣдникомъ, пріѣзжалъ въ Ташкентъ, а я, въ качествѣ Помощника Начальника города, устраивалъ ему пріемъ въ Туземной части города. Вспомнили о свиданіи въ Самаркандѣ, когда Исфандіяръ Тура видѣлся со мной у Генерала Гескетъ, бывшаго Военнаго Губернатора Самаркандской Области.[27]

Заключеніе разговора было въ томъ, что время идетъ незамѣтно и тотъ, кто при послѣднемъ свиданіи въ 1891 году былъ юношей и не имѣлъ даже бороды, нынѣ возмужалъ и сталъ бородатымъ мущиной, а другой изъ /18/ свидѣвшихся и прежде имѣвшій бороду, постарѣлъ и посѣделъ. Такой выводъ не былъ особенно пріятенъ для меня, постарѣлъ-то я, но пришлось согласиться съ справедливостью сказаннаго.

Во время пріема Ханъ куритъ и угощаетъ гостя своими дорогими египетскими папиросами, которыя для него выписываются по 85 руб. за тысячу. Эти папиросы из какого-то особеннаго табаку, безъ мундштуковъ. Положеніе гостя, не имѣющаго при себѣ мундштука – затруднительное, но

* [Лыкошин:] Ханъ послѣ пріема переодѣлся въ халатъ съ погонами Свиты Его Величества Генералъ-Маіора и со всѣми орденами до Бѣлаго Орла включительно, при шашкѣ.

27 Сергей Данилович Гескет служил Военным губернатором Самаркандской области в 1905–1908 гг.

куреніе папиросъ вошло въ этикетъ пріема. Изъ Сановниковъ нѣкоторые, самые важные, выписываютъ также египетскія папиросы, но цѣною не выше 65 руб. за тысячу.

Окончивъ разговоръ съ Ханомъ, я упомянулъ, что просилъ бы завтра утромъ разрѣшить мнѣ поговорить о дѣлах и Ханъ просилъ меня придти къ нему около 10 часовъ утра.

Все видѣнное во дворѣ дворца производитъ совершенно особое впечатлѣніе. Отъ всего церемоніала Ханской жизни и отношенія къ подданнымъ вѣетъ стариной. Очевидно, вѣками установился этикетъ, строго поддерживаемый и ныне и народъ привыкъ къ непосредственному вмѣшательству Хана въ мелкія дѣла подданныхъ, въ увѣренности, что только такимъ способомъ возможно добиться справедливости.

Разсказываютъ, что при покойномъ Ханѣ дѣла разбирались имъ лично болѣе подробно и самъ Ханъ наблюдалъ за исполненіемъ своихъ распоряженій. Теперь дѣло значительно измѣнилось и главное значеніе въ рѣшеніи всѣхъ дѣлъ пріобрѣлъ первый Сановникъ Хана *Вазири Акбаръ* Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа и наблюдались случаи, когда онъ уже послѣ решенія Хана, по своему усмотрѣнію, измѣнялъ направленіе дѣлъ.

Народъ, привыкшій къ единовластію Хана, недоволенъ перемѣною порядка, потому главнымъ образомъ, что и приближенные Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи, его слуги и родственники пріобрѣли при новомъ порядкѣ большее чемъ прежде значеніе и въ сущности образовалось два двора – Ханскій /18 об./ и Вазири Акбара, оказывающіе вліяние на дѣла народа. Съ этимъ приходится считаться всякому нуждающемуся въ возстановленіи своихъ правъ, такъ какъ при такомъ порядкѣ оказывается гораздо труднѣе добиться справедливости, темъ болѣе, что нынѣ правящій Ханъ Исфандіяръ Багадуръ не пользуется среди Сановниковъ такимъ большимъ авторитетомъ, какимъ располагалъ природный узбекъ Рахимъ Ханъ Багадуръ; новому Хану не

могутъ забыть, что онъ рожденъ отъ рабыни – *чури*[28] и, кромѣ того, считаютъ его не самостоятельнымъ, а поддающимся во всемъ вліянію Ислама Ходжи.

Самое важное дѣло новаго правленія – лишеніе должностей и конфискація имущества сыновей покойнаго Матъ-Мурада Диванбеги,[29] народъ считаетъ несправедливымъ рѣшеніемъ и порицаетъ переводъ всѣхъ конфискованныхъ имуществъ на имя Наслѣдника Темиръ-Газы Тури, еще неосмысленнаго маленькаго мальчика, который не можетъ возразить противъ передачи ему, по мнѣнію народа, посредствомъ интриги добытыхъ богатствъ, ставящихъ его уже теперь, въ дѣтствѣ, въ неудобное положеніе въ глазахъ будущихъ его подданныхъ.

Паденіе старыхъ Ханскихъ Сановниковъ, сыновей Матъ-Мурада Диванбеги и конфискацію принадлежащихъ имъ имуществъ, Хивинцы объясняютъ исключительно происками Сайидъ Ислама Ходжи, пожелавшаго сдѣлаться единовластнымъ Ханскимъ Совѣтчикомъ и устранившимъ съ своего пути къ власти всѣхъ представителей семьи покойнаго Диванбеги, при покойномъ Ханѣ пользовавшегося значительнымъ вліяніемъ.

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[28] *чури* – термин, обозначавший девушку-рабыню, преимущественно иранского происхождения. Информация Лыкошина о происхождении Исфандийар-хана, судя по всему, не совсем верна. Как выясняется, не мать, но бабушка будущего правителя происходила из невольниц. Бабаджан Таррах также сообщает, что мать Исфандийар-хана – Кутли-бика (1854–1918), была дочерью известного хорезмского поэта, музыканта и придворного Пахлаван Нийаз Камила Харазми (ум. 1899), рожденной от брака последнего с девушкой-рабыней. Кутли-бика впоследствие была выдана замуж за хивинского правителя Мухаммад Рахим-хана II, от брака с которым и родился Исфандийар-хан, см.: *Бобожон Тарроҳ-Ходим*, Хоразм шоир ва навозандалари. Табдил этиб, нашрга тайёрловчи А. Отамуродова ва О. Абдураҳимов. Тошкент: Tafakkur Qanoti, 2011. С. 85, сн. 1.

[29] Т.е. Мухаммад-Мурад Диванбеги. В Хорезме имя Мухаммад в разговорной речи и, порой, в официальном обиходе принято было произносить как Мамат, а в составе двухкомпонентных имен могло иметь сокращенные формы – Мамат, Мат (Мад) или в некоторых случаях Ма (например, Ма-Шариф, Ма-Расул и т.д.).

Еще при покойномъ Ханѣ шли распри между Матъ-Мурадомъ Диванбеги и отцомъ Сайидъ Ислама Ходжи.[30] Оба выдающіеся Сановника боролись изъ за власти и Рахимъ Ханъ Багадуръ, желая прекратить вражду двухъ фамилій, къ которымъ одинаково хорошо относился, принялъ свои мѣры къ женитьбѣ нынѣшняго *Вазири Акбаръ* Сайидъ Ислама Ходжи на дочери Матъ-Мурада Диванбеги. Жена Ислама Ходжи оказалась очень умной и власт- /19/ ной женщиной и при дворѣ приобрела значительное вліяніе.[31] Ей удалось не только успокоить вражду своего тестя съ Диванбеги, но когда Матъ-Мурадъ умеръ, дочь его своимъ вліяніемъ на Ислама Ходжу поддерживала своихъ родныхъ братьевъ. Со смертью жены Ислама Ходжи все измѣнилось: прекратилось родство Ислама Ходжи съ семействомъ Матъ-Мурада Диванбеги и прекратилось вліяніе умной женщины. Тогда-то начались интриги, закончившіеся лишеніемъ должностей всѣхъ Диванбегийцевъ, ихъ арестомъ и конфискаціей имуществъ. Особенно поразилъ народъ приговоръ надъ Хусейнъ-бекомъ, числившимся по казачьимъ войскамъ. Власть перешла всецѣло въ руки Сайидъ Ислама Ходжи и его близкихъ родственниковъ, а Ханская казна обогатилась конфискаціей.

Какъ только я возвратился въ посольское помѣщеніе, Ханъ немедленно отдалъ мнѣ визитъ въ сопровожденіи Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи. Ханъ вошел медленно, я встрѣтил его на серединѣ залы; все это обыкновенно такъ дѣлается по этикету. Ханъ прошелъ и сѣлъ на диванъ за столомъ съ дастарханомъ. Тутъ ужѣ я

[30] Речь идет о Саййид Ибрахим Ходже (ум. 1889), отце главного министра ханства Саййид Ислам Ходжи. Саййид Ибрахим Ходжа приходился дядей по материнской линии хивинскому правителю Мухаммад Рахим-хану II, см. подробнее: *Бобожон Таррох*, Хоразм шоир ва навозандалари, сс. 36–37.

[31] По сообщению хивинского автора-современника Бабаджана Тарраха, дочь Мат-Мурада Диванбеги, Саадатжан-бика действительно была замужем за Саййид Ислам Ходжой, см.: *Бобожон Тарроҳ-Ходим*, Хоразм шоир ва навозандалари, с. 77; также см.: Давлатёр Рахим, *Муҳаммад Мурод Дивонбеги*. Ташкент: Камалак, 2016. С. 112.

предложилъ ему свою папиросу, онъ ее выкурилъ. Ханъ очень любезно разговаривалъ, снова вспоминая наши прежнія съ нимъ встречи. Между прочимъ спросилъ меня почему я, такъ хорошо владѣя узбекскимъ языкомъ, веду съ нимъ бесѣду при содѣйствіи переводчика. Я объяснилъ, что мною въ данномъ случаѣ руководитъ та же деликатность, съ которой Его Свѣтлость, владѣя разговорной русской рѣчью,[32] только очень рѣдко прибѣгаетъ къ нашему языку, опасаясь сдѣлать какую-нибудь ошибку. Это объясненіе удовлетворило Хана. Посидѣвъ 5 минутъ, онъ медленно удалился, я проводилъ его до середины залы. Прощаясь, Ханъ просилъ меня считать его домъ своимъ и распоряжаться въ немъ как мнѣ заблагоразсудится. Эта фраза всегда стереотипно повторяется въ подобныхъ случаяхъ, а гость благодаритъ за радушный пріемъ.

/19 об./ Часовъ въ 8 вечера накрыли для обѣда длинный столъ въ посольскомъ помѣщеніи. Принесли и поставили во главѣ стола мягкое кресло для Хана, всѣмъ остальнымъ буковые стулья. Рядомъ съ Ханомъ помѣстили моего переводчика Расулева,[33] а справа отъ меня переводчика Хана Надворнаго Совѣтника

[32] Василий Ян, колониальный чиновник, а впоследствии известный автор исторических романов, во время своего посещения Хивы в 1903 встречавшийся с Исфандийаром, отмечал, что последний «свободно говорил по-русски», см. его: Голубые дали Азии. Записки всадника // В. Ян, Собрание сочинений в четырех томах. Москва: Правда. Сс. 524–525. Хивинский автор Лаффаси сообщает, что Исфандийар учился русскому у некоего татарина Ахмаджана Атиева, служившего переводчиком при канцелярии Хивинского хана. Благодаря этому, Исфандийар «умел писать и читать по-русски», см.: Хасан Мадаминов (Лаффаси), *Отрывки из истории Хивинского ханства. Период 1910–1913 гг.*; O‘zMA, ф. И-125, оп. 1, д. 609, л. 62.

[33] Али Мухаммад Расулев (Расулов), судя по упоминаниям в документах, служил переводчиком при Начальнике Амударьинского отдела.

В.Н. Корнилова,[34] потомъ *Кушбеги,*[35] молодой человѣкъ, котораго Ханъ мнѣ только что представилъ и другіе Сановники, видимо по-положенію. Левую сторону отъ Хана по длине стола тоже заняли Сановники по рангамъ, но съ тою разницей, что первое мѣсто на лѣвой сторонѣ, рядомъ съ Ханомъ, противъ меня, не было занято – стоялъ пустой приборъ, а первый Сановникъ Хана – *Вазири Акбаръ* Исламъ Ходжа сидѣлъ на второмъ мѣстѣ, ниже пустого прибора. Когда спросишь о такомъ порядкѣ размѣщенія обѣдающихъ, – говорятъ, что мѣсто оставляется на случай, что съ *Музафатъ-Хакимомъ*,[36] [т.е.] Начальникомъ

[34] В.Н. Корнилов, отставной российский офицер, служивший приставом Чимбайского участка АДО, в 1900 г., после отставки, был принять на службу переводчиком при канцелярии Хивинского хана. Более подробные сведения о В.Н. Коринилове приводит шотландская путешественница Элла (Изабелла) Робертсон Кристи. Весной 1912 г., во время своего посещения Хивы, последней довелось жить в доме В.Н. Корилова и его супруги Н.А. Корниловой, см: *Ella R. Christie*, Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand. The Remarkable Story of a Woman's Adventurous Journey Alone Through the Deserts of Central Asia to the Heart of Turkestan. London: Seeley, Service and Co. Limited, 1925. Pp. 69–81. Известно, что он занимал пост переводчика на протяжении всего времени пребывания Лыкошина в должности Начальника АДО. Преемник Лыкошина – генерал Колосовский – отмечал присутствие Корнилова в Хиве также и в начале 1917 г., см. *Колосовский*, Его Превосходительству Н.В. Ефремову, 31.01.1917; O'zMA, ф. И-461, оп. 1, д. 1889-а, лл. 104–105.

[35] *Кушбеги* – один из высших придворных чинов. В первые десятилетия правления Кунградов должность *кушбеги* относилась к одной из двух (наряду с *мехтар*ом) высших должностей в хивинской иерархии. В хивинских источниках и *кушбеги,* и *мехтар* зачастую фигурируют наряду с эпитетом «визирь». Начиная с конца XIX и, особенно в начале XX столетия, можно наблюдать постепенное ослабление значения этой должности: ее держатели не фигурируют в числе сановников, которые определяют векторы хивинской политики. Косвенное подтверждение этому мы находим в одной из служебных записок Лыкошина, который дает следующее описание *кушбеги*, с которым ему довелось сталкиваться при дворе Исфандийар-хана: «кушбеги – Джанибек Худояров, 21 год … особым значением при дворе по-видимому не пользуется», см.: *Лыкошин*, Современное распределение власти, л. 63 об.

[36] *Музафат-хаким* или *Амударйа музафати хакими*, название должности Начальника Амударьинского Отдела, употреблявшееся местным

Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла пріѣдетъ еще какой-нибудь гость; но это только объясненіе, скрывающее мѣстный обычай, по которому даже первый въ государствѣ подданный не смѣетъ сѣсть рядомъ со своимъ повелителемъ.

За обѣдомъ вели тотъ поверхностный разговоръ, который въ такихъ случаяхъ считается приличнымъ, но была и современная тема – открытіе памятника ИМПЕРАТОРУ АЛЕКСАНДРУ III въ Москвѣ. Посланный Ханомъ въ качествѣ представителя Хивы Министръ торговли и промышленности, или *Караван-баши* по-мѣстному, Матъ-Вафа Юсуфовичъ Баккаловъ[37] подробно телеграфировалъ Хану о московскихъ торжествахъ и въ день нашего свиданія съ Ханомъ было получено извѣстіе, что ГОСУДАРЬ ИМПЕРАТОРЪ 28 Мая имѣетъ прибыть въ Москву. Телеграммы Баккалова получаются въ Новомъ Ургенчѣ и немедленно съ нарочнымъ, посылаются въ Хиву. Черезъ 1 ½ часа по полученіи, телеграммы доставляются Исламъ Ходжѣ и тотъ, прочитавъ телеграмму самъ, онъ читаетъ по-русски, докладываетъ содержаніе депеши Хану.

/20/ За обѣдомъ Ханъ вспомнилъ, что когда въ 1891 году онъ прислалъ мнѣ свой портретъ, то я прислалъ ему свой съ надписью на узбекскомъ языкѣ и что, хотя почеркъ у меня своеобразный, но читать его легко и удобно.

За сладкимъ подали шампанское,[38] а Хану въ бокалъ налили лимонада. Ханъ, вставъ съ мѣста, провозгласилъ тостъ за здравіе и долгоденствіе ГОСУДАРЯ ИМПЕРАТОРА и Царствующаго Дома. Эта здравница, какъ и последующая за Г[осподина]. Главнаго

населением Хивинского ханства, как в разговорной речи, так и в официальном обиходе.

37 Подробнее о Мат-Вафа Баккалове, см. выше: *Introduction*, pp. 90–91.

38 Российский автор А.С. Стеткевич, составивший в конце XIX в. детализированное описание Хивинского ханства, отмечал, что к тому времени большинство хивинских чиновников не только свободно владели столовыми приборами («вилкой и ножем»), но и пристрастились к выпиванию некой «плохой шипучки, под именем шампанского», см.: *А.С. Стеткевич*, Очерки Хивинского оазиса (окончание) // Военный сборник № 3, 1892 г. С. 206.

Начальника Края Генерала-отъ-Кавалеріи А.В. Самсонова[39], были покрыты дружнымъ «ура» присутствующихъ. Потомъ я поднялъ бокалъ за здоровье Его Свѣтлости и процвѣтанія Ханства Хивинскаго. Его Свѣтлость отвѣтилъ тостомъ за мое здоровье.

Сановники сразу всѣ встали и вышли изъ-за стола, а Ханъ еще нѣкоторое время посидѣлъ со мной, пожелалъ покойной ночи и ушелъ къ себѣ.

Вечеромъ В.Н. Корниловъ на мой вопросъ, когда мнѣ лучше всего завтра побывать съ визитомъ у высшихъ Сановниковъ, отвѣтилъ, что лучше всего съѣздить къ нимъ рано утромъ, потому что потомъ послѣ *саляма* все Сановники цѣлый день заняты. Такой отзывъ о дневной работѣ Сановниковъ мнѣ показался преувеличеннымъ и разспросами я выяснилъ, что послѣ *саляма* Сановники просто довольно долго отдыхаютъ у себя дома, предаваясь послѣобѣденному сну. Время, указанное мнѣ Корниловымъ, есть время утренняго *саляма* Сановниковъ низшаго ранга, также откланивающихся своимъ патронамъ, как тѣ, в свою очередь, откланиваются Хану. Я счелъ неудобнымъ быть у сановниковъ въ такое время и вечеромъ же предупредилъ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжу, что предполагаю посѣтить его и Есаулъ-баши послѣ завтрака, около 1 часа дня.

Все утро 30 Мая прошло въ бесѣдѣ съ Сановниками, которые заходили ко мнѣ просто поболтать. Пришелъ почтенный старикъ Юсуфъ Есаулъ-баши, потомъ Мухаммадъ Шарифъ Диванъ, который отличнымъ почеркомъ переписываетъ адресованныя мнѣ письма Хана, заходилъ сопровождавшій /20 об./ меня до Хивы Петро-Александровскій Консулъ Нурмухаммадъ-бай, другой Есаулъ-баши Хана и, наконецъ, самъ *Вазири Акбаръ* Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа съ Корниловымъ. Разговоры велись не

[39] Александр Васильевич Самсонов (1859–1914) – Туркестанский генерал-губернатор в 1909–1914 гг. Назначение Н.С. Лыкошина на должность Начальника АДО состоялось при непосредственном участии Самсонова. Последний собственно и был основным адресатом как публикуемой *Записки*, так и большинства других должностных записок Лыкошина в указанной должности, подробнее см. выше: *Introduction*.

дѣловые, но я воспользовался этимъ случаемъ, чтобы просить Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжу дать мнѣ именной списокъ служащихъ въ Ханствѣ Сановниковъ всѣхъ наименованій. Характерно, что переводчикъ мой Расулевъ, по моей просьбѣ, уже обращался за тѣмъ же къ Юсуфу Есаулъ-баши, занимающему тожѣ видный постъ при дворѣ Хана, но Есаулъ-баши прямо сказалъ, что объ этомъ надо доложить Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжѣ. Очевидно, что безъ вѣдома *Вазири Акбара* здѣсь ничего не дѣлается.

Мнѣ говорили раньше, что во время пріема Начальника Отдѣла Ханъ держитъ при себѣ и своего Наслѣдника ТемиръГазыТура. Когда я видѣлся съ Ханомъ, Наслѣдника не было, а потому послѣ обѣда прощаясь съ Ханомъ въ день пріема, я выразилъ желаніе познакомиться съ Наслѣдникомъ на другой день до прихода къ Хану по дѣламъ.

Поэтому въ 9 часовъ утра я зашелъ въ особый дворъ, гдѣ помѣщается Наслѣдникъ. На первомъ планѣ обращаютъ на себя вниманіе расположенныя подъ навѣсомъ покрытыя холстомъ две пушки, пожалованныя ГОСУДАРЕМЪ ИМПЕРАТОРОМЪ.[40] Артиллеристы Хана иногда производятъ въ этомъ дворикѣ ученье съ пушками подъ руководствомъ запаснаго фейерверкера.[41]

Насъ ввели въ комнату, гдѣ посерединѣ стоялъ очень блѣдный съ безжизненнымъ лицомъ мальчикъ лѣтъ 7-ми, совершенно малосознательный, не рѣшающійся сказать ни одного слова, несмотря на одобреніе всѣхъ воспитателей. Кругомъ стоятъ

[40] Речь идет, очевидно, о пожалованных в 1909 г. российскими властями Хивинскому хану двух клиновых орудиях с запасом снарядов, см. подр.: *Н.Г. Глушановский*, Его Светлости Хану Хивинскому, № 1005, 11.02.1909, IQDM, инв. № 4180. По замечанию В. Лобачевского, несмотря на незначительность, эта артиллерия пользовалась «большой любовью» Исфандийар-хана, см.: *Лобачевский*, Военно-статистическое описание, сс. 39–40.

[41] Лобачевский также подтверждает, что хивинскими орудиями командовал запасной русский артиллерист, принявший мусульманство, см.: *Лобачевский*, Военно-статистическое описание, с. 40.

малолѣтніе сановники Тура-Джана, его сверстники и немного постарше – родственники Хана и сыновья его Сановниковъ.[42]

Всѣ эти мальчики отлично одѣты, на многихъ такія же золотомъ украшенныя шашки, какъ у ихъ отцовъ, одинъ только мальчикъ почему-то въ формѣ скакового жокея. Со мной вмѣстѣ вошелъ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа, сынъ котораго Абдулъ Азисъ выгодно выдѣляется среди окружающихъ /21/ Наслѣдника мальчиковъ, вѣроятно это тоже первый сановникъ Тура-Джана.

Сѣли за столъ, выпили чай, я пробовалъ заговорить съ Темиръ-Газы Тура по-узбекски, но мальчикъ очень конфузился и не могъ ничего отвѣтить, за него говорили его воспитатели. Кругомъ живо обмѣнивались мыслями и даже втихомолку шалили полные жизни сверстники Наслѣдника. Мнѣ было тяжело смотрѣть на бѣднаго, болѣзненнаго мальчика и хотѣлось подсказать родителямъ, что Наслѣднику нужно много рыбьяго жира, коренное измѣненіе режима жизни и упорное леченіе противъ наслѣдственнаго недуга Ханской фамиліи.[43] Показали

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42 Саййид Темур-Гази Тура (ум. 1916 г.) – старший сын Исфандийар-хана (помимо него хан имел четырех дочерей; в 1914 г. появился на свет второй сын). В начале 1911 г. российские власти, в частности Военное министерство, инициировали вопрос о назначении приемника, на случай кончины Исфандийар-хана. Хотя практика назначения наследника при жизни действующего правителя не была характерна для Хивы, поскольку, как казалось, могла отразиться на авторитете царствующего монарха, под давлением российских властей, Исфандийар-хан все же вынужден был «ходатайствовать» о назначение наследником Саййид Темур-Гази Туру, которому на тот момент было 7 лет от роду, а регентом – дядю последнего по материнской линии Махмуд Ходжу (ум. 1912). Таковое ходатайство было утверждено императором Николаем II 23 июня 1911 г. При этом по просьбе хивинского хана имя регента должно было хранится «в тайне», см.: *Н.Г. Глушановский*, Г. Туркестанскому генерал-губернатору, 15.04.1911; O‘zMA, ф. И-2, оп. 1, д. 290, л. 5; Телеграммы Г. Туркестанскому генерал-губернатору; O‘zMA, ф. И-2, оп. 1, д. 290, лл. 8, 32.

43 Наследник Саййид Темур-Гази Тура умер 17 января 1916 года, см. *В.П. Колосовский*, Рапорт Ф.В. Мартсону. 03.02.1916; O‘zMA, И-2, оп. 1, д. 290, лл. 50–50 об. После смерти Саййид Темур-Гази Тура имперские власти в июне 1916 г. вновь инициировали вопрос о назначении Исфандийар-ханом преемника. Последний однако, ссылаясь на малолетство своего второго сына, всячески оттягивал решение по данному вопросу, см.: *С. Чиркин*,

мнѣ и *Кукаль-даша* – молочнаго брата Наслѣдника, сына его кормилицы; оказался здоровеннымъ краснощекимъ мальчикомъ. Распрощавшись съ Наслѣдникомъ, я прямо черезъ дворикъ большого дворца, вмѣстѣ съ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжой прошелъ въ пріемную Хана, гдѣ мы должны были переговорить по дѣламъ.

Встрѣча и пріемъ совершенно тождественны со вчерашними, только Ханъ, какъ и я уже безъ орденовъ. По порядку, начиная съ недоразумѣній между Ханскимъ правительствомъ и Туркменами, началъ знакомить Хана съ дѣлами, которыя требовали совмѣстнаго съ нимъ обсужденія. Ханъ горячо жаловался на непокорность Туркменъ и невозможность съ ними управляться безъ вмѣшательства русской власти благодаря упорному сопротивленію вліятельныхъ туркменскихъ главарей – *кетхуда*[*] всѣмъ предначертаніямъ Хана и, в частности, проведеніи въ жизнь благодѣтельныхъ для подданныхъ реформъ, намѣченныхъ имъ при восшествіи на престолъ и объявленныхъ народу въ манифестѣ, или *ярлыкѣ*, как вѣрнѣе здѣсь называютъ этотъ документъ.[44]

Заметка по воросу о наследнике Хана Хивинского, 11.06.1916; O‘zMA, ф. И-1, оп. 31, д. 1104, лл. 155–156 об. Последовавшая вскоре Февральская революция 1917 г. в России, очевидно, вовсе отвлекла внимание российских властей от решения вопроса о хивинском престолонаследии. Позднее, осенью 1918 г. Саййид Исфандийар-хан был казнен по приказу туркменского предводителя Джунаид-хана, а на престол Хивы, по настоянию последнего, был возведен брат покойного хана – Саййид Абдулла-хан (1918–1920).

* [Лыкошин:] Персидское *кяри-хидатъ* – руководитель, главарь.

44 *Йарлик* – термин, обычно обозначавший письменное распоряжение (указ) хивинского правителя. Подробнее о структуре и содержании подобных документов, см.: *Yuri Bregel*, Documents from the Khanate of Khiva (17th–19th centuries) // Papers on Inner Asia. Bloomington, 2007. Pp. 2–5. В данном случае речь идет о манифесте, обнародованном Исфандийар-ханом 11 сентября 1910 г., о проведении кардинальных преобразований в Хивинском ханстве, прежде всего, реформировании порядка вознаграждения труда сановников, обложении земель ханства налогом в соответствии с новым измерением земель и т.д. см.: Манифест Хивинского хана Исфандийар-Бахадур-хана о предложенных реформах в Хивинском ханстве, Рукописный отдел РНБ, ф. 1240, д. 119, л. 1. Подробнее о программе

Я познакомилъ Хана съ имѣющимися у меня данными, рисующими незавидное положеніе Туркменъ – пасынковъ Хивы и упомянулъ о рѣшеніи Хана при обсужденіи порядка /21 об./ приведенія въ исполненіе поземельно-податной реформы, начать измѣреніе земель съ земель *вилаета*[45] и потомъ уже перейти къ землямъ Туркменъ. Ханъ и Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа тотчасъ сослались на то, что о такомъ порядкѣ нигдѣ въ протоколѣ совѣщанія ясно не сказано и что потому Ханъ не считалъ необходимымъ придерживаться такого порядка. Пришлось указать на п. II Протокола совѣщанія,[46] гдѣ действительно категорически не сказано, что надо сначала измѣрить земли *вилаета*, вѣроятно объ этомъ подробно говорилось въ совѣщаніи, но изъ послѣдовательности изложенія порядка осуществленія земельной реформы ясно видно, что говорится сначала объ измѣреніи земель «селеній», а потомъ уже сдѣлать переходъ къ измѣренію и обложенію земель Туркменъ. Ханъ сѣтовалъ на замедленіе въ посылкѣ къ нему землѣмеровъ, и я доложилъ Его Свѣтлости,

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реформ и ее реализации, см. *Ульфат Абдурасулов, Паоло Сартори*, «Неопределенность как политика: размышляя о природе российского протектората в Средней Азии» // Ab Imperio № 3, 2016. Сс. 134–147.

45 *Вилайет* – термин, использовавшийся в Хивинском ханстве для обозначения прежде всего оседлого земледельческого населения Хорезма, в отличии от тех групп населения, которые вели полукочевой или кочевой образ жизни, как например, отдельные группы туркмен, каракалпаков и казахов, подробнее, см.: *Ю.Э. Брегель*, Термин *вилайет* в хивинских документах // Письменные памятники Востока. Ежегодник 1968. Москва: Наука, 1970. Сс. 32–39.

46 Лыкошин имеет в виду Протокол совещания, состоявшегося 20–22 января 1911 г. в Хиве с участием высших должностных лиц ханства и представителей колониальной администрации. По результатам этого совещания был выработан документ – Программа реформ (*дастур ал-амал*) – на русском и чагатайском языках, представлявший собой своего рода дорожную карту реализации реформенных мероприятий хивинскими властями. Принятый документ состоял из 10 пунктов. Два начальных пункта («О вознаграждении должностных лиц» и «Реформа поземельно-податного обложения») рассматривались в качестве ключевых направлений планируемых реформ, подробнее см.: *Абдурасулов, Сартори*, Неопределенность как политика, сс. 139–142.

что по моему мнѣнію необходимо начать съ ассигнованія на будущій же годъ заблаговременно 30.000 руб. на наемъ землѣмеровъ и обезпечить отпускъ такой же суммы на послѣдующіе годы и что тогда, вѣроятно, Г. Главный Начальникъ Края найдетъ возможнымъ сдѣлать распоряженіе о командированіи въ Хиву необходимаго числа землемѣровъ и другихъ чиновъ для подготовки матеріаловъ для поземельно-податной реформы. Ханъ согласился съ тѣмъ, что именно такъ слѣдуетъ поступить, а я добавилъ, что приступъ къ работамъ въ Ханствѣ нахожу своевременнымъ и потому, что въ текущемъ году съемочныя и статистическія партіи переселенческаго управленія заканчиваютъ свою работу по обследованію земель въ Аму-Дарьинскомъ Отдѣлѣ и возможно, что личнымъ составомъ этихъ партій воспользуются и для обслѣдованія Хивинскаго Ханства.

Ханъ высказалъ, что онъ затрудняется представить себѣ съемку земель Ханства русскими землемѣрами «по селеніямъ», какъ сказано въ п. II Протокола совѣщанія и я не могъ не согласиться съ мнѣніем Его Свѣтлости, что этотъ пунктъ можетъ быть нуждается въ поясненіи. /22/ Дѣло въ томъ, что сельское хозяйство Хивинскаго оазиса рѣзко отличается отъ такового же въ Туркестанскомъ краѣ (исключая Аму-Дарьинскій Отдѣлъ, где хозяйство похоже на Хивинское). Отличіе это заключается въ томъ, что въ Хивѣ нѣтъ селеній, какъ мы ихъ привыкли понимать, а все хозяйство хуторское, расположенное отдѣльными имѣніями по всему протяженію «*ябовъ*»[47] – магистральныхъ арыковъ и только развѣ при такъ называемыхъ городахъ селитебная часть представляетъ до нѣкоторой степени сосредоточенное расположеніе усадьбъ.

Такимъ образомъ, можетъ быть, на практикѣ при съемкѣ земель придется приступить къ измѣренію не по селеніямъ, какъ сказано въ п. II Протокола совѣщанія, а по *ябамъ* или по обществамъ водопользованія.

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[47] *Йаб* или *йап*, термин использовавшийся в Хорезме, наряду с термином *арна*, для обозначения ирригационного канала, см. подробнее: *Гулямов*, История орошения Хорезма, с. 243.

Далѣе Ханъ высказалъ опасеніе, что когда работа землемѣровъ въ Ханствѣ будетъ закончена, будутъ сняты на планъ большія площади земель, принадлежащихъ общинамъ, и русскіе землемѣры выѣдутъ изъ Ханства, то при измѣреніи и классификаціи земель *танапкеш*ами[48] и комиссиями могутъ произойти нежелательныя осложненія и даже безпорядки на почвѣ недовольства населенія распредѣленіемъ земель.

Я высказалъ Хану, что и мнѣ кажется не особенно удобнымъ поручать малосвѣдущимъ *танапкеш*амъ детальное измѣреніе дачъ, которыя только окружной межей будутъ обойдены русскими землемѣрами и совѣтовалъ все измѣреніе провести до конца русскими землемѣрами, сдѣлавъ подворно-участковую съемку культурныхъ земель Ханства. Упомянувъ, что это обойдется дороже, я указалъ на то, что такое измѣреніе, навѣрно, пройдетъ гладко и будетъ служить вполнѣ годнымъ матеріаломъ для обложенія земель въ Ханствѣ.

На самомъ дѣлѣ трудно ожидать вѣрнаго измѣренія отъ *танапкеш*ей, точность работы которыхъ въ значительной мѣрѣ разнится отъ точности инструментальнаго измѣренія, а при отсутствіи точныхъ данныхъ комиссіи, /22 об./ распредѣляющія подати и для этого классифицирующія земли, встрѣтятъ полный просторъ для пристрастныхъ дѣйствій въ пользу сановниковъ и богатыхъ землевладѣльцевъ и въ ущербъ бѣднымъ людямъ. Ханъ обѣщалъ подумать объ этомъ.

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[48] *Танапкеш* – под этим термином Лыкошин подразумевает лиц из числа местного населения, которые, как планировалось *Программой реформ*, должны были осуществить подворовую съемку земель, очевидно в соответствии с местными практиками измерения. В то время как для осуществления общей инструментальной съемки населенных пунктов и общин землепользователей планировалась нанять (за счет средств хивинской казны) российских землемеров. Как уже было отмечено, термин *танап* чаще всего использовался в значении единицы площади (см. выше с. 126, сн. 13). Однако, в более узком значении *танап* мог также означать веревку, с помощью которой замеряли землю, см.: *Ю.Э. Брегель*, Хорезмские туркмены в XIX веке. Москва: Восточной литературы, 1961. С. 356, сн. 106.

По дѣлу о грабежѣ Туркменами скота у Киргизъ-Адаевцевъ,[49] русскихъ подданныхъ, Ханъ сослался на свое письмо Г. Туркестанскому Генерал-Губернатору, гдѣ говорится, что въ настоящее время, т.е. когда писано письмо, Ханъ затрудняется произвести взысканіе въ пользу Адаевцевъ и это потому, что для окончанія дѣла ему самому или, по распоряженіи Хана, Сайидъ Исламу Ходжѣ, необходимо поѣхать на место происшествія, въ Туркменію, а по случаю недорода и неурожая травъ нельзя было этого сдѣлать тотчасъ по полученіи письма Г. Главнаго Начальника Края, такъ какъ обѣднѣвшее населеніе не въ силахъ было принять и прокормить Хана съ многочисленной свитой и конвоемъ. Въ виду этого, Ханъ предполагаетъ покончить дѣло съ Адаевцами осенью текущаго года, когда поѣдетъ самъ, или командируетъ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжу въ Туркменію.

Изложилъ Хану бывшія со мною приглашенія по благотворительнымъ дѣламъ учрежденій, где Его Свѣтлость числится почетнымъ членомъ и заручился обѣщаніемъ крупныхъ пожертвованій по каждому изъ обращеній. Возвратившись домой и позавтракавъ вмѣстѣ съ Сановниками, Хана за столомъ не было, я отправился съ визитами къ Сановникамъ и для осмотра достопримѣчательностей гор. Хивы. Мнѣ подали Ханскую коляску. Прежде всего посѣтилъ перваго сановника Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжу. У него имъ самимъ нажитый (родовой домъ занимаетъ братъ Исхакъ Ходжа, Куня-Ургенчскій бекъ)[50] домъ, очень широко построенный въ обычномъ хивинскомъ стилѣ, съ высокими террасами на высокихъ рѣзныхъ столбахъ изъ карагача. Столбы эти по всему Ханству одинаковые по формѣ

[49] Под киргизами-адаевцами следует понимать представителей казахского рода Адаи, отдельные группы которого, проживали в пределах Хивинского ханства. По данным Гиршфельда и Галкина, в пределах ханства представители данной группы проживали главным образом в окрестностях Куня-Ургенча, *Гиршфельд и Галкин*, Военно-статистическое описание Хивинского оазиса, ч. 2, сс. 73–74.

[50] Братья Саййид Ислам Ходжи – Саййид Исхак Ходжа и Саййид Исмаил Ходжа, на момент написания *Записок* занимали должности губернаторов соответственно Куня-Ургенча и Хазараспа.

и представляютъ тонкую круглую колонну, опирающуюся на шаръ, подъ которымъ совсѣмъ тонкое ци- /23/ линдрическое соединеніе съ массивнымъ каменнымъ, или деревяннымъ основаніемъ. Колоны очевидно мавританскаго стиля и рѣзьбы на нихъ тоже. Въ домѣ Исламъ Ходжи очень много проходныхъ квадратныхъ двориковъ, его колонны особенно высоки, а рѣзьба поражаетъ тонкостью работы.

Нѣсколько комнатъ отдѣлано по-европейски, въ нихъ обои, мягкая мебель, на стѣнахъ портреты, даже рояль, на которомъ, конечно, давно никто не игралъ. Хозяинъ принялъ меня очень любезно, но важно. Всѣ высокопоставленные Хивинцы явно боятся уронить свое достоинство передъ окружающими, а потому держатъ себя преувеличенно важно. Исламъ Ходжа представилъ мнѣ еще разъ своего сына Абдулъ Азиса, видѣннаго мною уже въ свитѣ Наслѣдника и высказалъ намѣреніе дать сыну русское образованіе по земледѣльческой спеціальности, сдѣлавъ его агрономомъ. Пока мальчикъ и русскому языку еще не обученъ и кончаетъ только свое мусульманское ученіе.

Посѣтилъ переводчика Хана Надворнаго Совѣтника В.Н. Корнилова. Живетъ уже много лѣтъ въ Хивѣ, громадная семья. Сѣтуетъ на необходимость жить здѣсь, отдѣльно отъ учащихся въ Ташкентѣ дѣтей. Живет зажиточно, но не богато.[51]

Переводчикъ Хана держитъ себя скромно и, по-видимому, не пользуется большимъ вліяніемъ. Сановники къ нему относятся нѣсколько покровительственно, но дорожатъ его знаніемъ русскаго языка и опытностью, пріобрѣтенной многолѣтней службой. Къ переводамъ писемъ Г. Туркестанскаго Генерал-Губернатора Хивинцы относятся очень осторожно и замѣчаютъ каждое незначительное измѣненіе смысла словъ, придавая большое значеніе тонкостямъ переписки, чтобы въ случаѣ надобности, опираться въ своихъ дѣйствіяхъ даже на отдѣльныя выраженія. Меня просили провѣрить сдѣланный Корниловымъ переводъ нѣкоторыхъ сомнительныхъ мѣстъ /23 об./ и я возстановилъ

[51] Подробнее о Н.В. Корнилове, см. выше, с. 140, сн. 34.

настоящій смыслъ, объяснивъ русскія фразы по-узбекски; получилась нѣкоторая разница, которую и предполагалъ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа.

Еще сдѣлалъ визитъ почтенному Юсуфу Есаулъ-баши. Этотъ старый сановникъ рѣшительно не желаетъ подражать молодежи въ стремленіи обставить свою жизнь наружно по-европейски. У него старый небольшой домикъ, бѣдная азіатская обстановка и, несмотря на значительныя средства, которыми онъ располагаетъ – никакой роскоши, даже въ азіатскомъ смыслѣ. Зато хозяинъ всегда сохраняетъ благодушное настроеніе, мало видимо думаетъ о внутренней политикѣ, считая свое положеніе и при новомъ Ханѣ вполнѣ обезпеченнымъ. На лицѣ его не замѣтно того нервнаго возбужденія и опасливости, которая проглядывается у нынѣ только дѣлающихъ карьеру сановниковъ. Принятъ я былъ старикомъ очень радушно.

Далѣе слѣдовалъ осмотръ новыхъ построекъ, задуманныхъ Ханомъ Исфандіяръ Багадуромъ. Въ мѣстности Ташъ-Купрюкъ, при выѣздѣ изъ города на дорогу въ г. Ургенчъ, Ханъ строитъ большое мадраса – высшее учебное заведеніе из жженаго кирпича; немного поближе къ городу два большихъ зданія европейской архитектуры, тоже из жженаго кирпича; одно для больницы, другое для почто-телеграфной конторы, оба со службами и квартирами для служащихъ.

У мадраса уже возведенъ фундаментъ и цоколь съ изолирующимъ слоемъ, остальныя постройки только еще разбиваются прибывшимъ помощникомъ Инженера Роопа,[52] Федоромъ Мартыновичемъ Эппингеръ.

Инженеръ Роопъ проектировалъ зданія больницы и почтово-телеграфной конторы съ фундаментомъ на извести, но посылая сюда инженера Эппингера, просилъ класть фундаментъ на цементѣ, что дѣйствительно необходимо въ виду близости

[52] Очевидно речь идет о Евгении Эдуардовиче Рооп (1867–1917), занимавшем в рассматриваемое время должность начальника Главного военно-технического управления (ГВТУ) Военного министерства России, см.: https://enc.rusdeutsch.ru/articles/2295.

почвенныхъ водъ (всего ½ аршина отъ поверхности земли). Хотя строительная комиссія, назначенная Ханомъ, постановила строить фундаментъ на извести, /24/ но такъ какъ больницѣ присваивается Имя нашего НАСЛѢДНИКА ЦЕСАРЕВИЧА, то я просилъ Хана сдѣлать это зданіе достойнымъ имени Того, въ честь кого больница строится и возвести фундаментъ на цементѣ. Ханъ согласился, а такъ какъ это нѣсколько задержитъ постройку, а мнѣ приказано было хлопотать объ ускореніи постройкі здания, то я о своемъ рѣшеніи телеграфировалъ Г. Главному Начальнику Края и Его Высокопревосходительство одобрилъ мое предположеніе: строить пока тѣ зданія, которые можно съ фундамента класть на извести, а постройку главнаго корпуса больницы отложить до полученія цемента, который Ханъ поручилъ по телеграфу купить въ Россіи Матъ-Вафа Юсуповичу Баккалову, предполагавшему изъ Москвы поѣхать въ Петербургъ. Къ моему пріѣзду было заготовлено для построекъ около 400.000 жженаго кирпича; лѣсъ же и известь поручено было заготовить Баккалову.[53]

Вечеромъ откланялся Хану, чтобы рано утромъ на другой день уѣхать. При прощаніи Ханъ просилъ выразить Г. Главному Начальнику Края искреннюю признательность Его Свѣтлости за помощь и добрые совѣты. Ханъ выразилъ также увѣренность, что я подробно ознакомлюсь на мѣстѣ съ делами Туркменъ, чтобы затѣмъ доложить Его Высокопревосходительству сущую правду по этому вопросу. Я обѣщалъ приложить всѣ старанія къ подробному изученію Туркменскихъ дѣлъ и просилъ разрѣшенія Хана получить отъ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи всѣ свѣдѣнія о Туркменахъ, имѣющіеся въ ханской канцеляріи. Получивъ это

[53] Лес, судя по всему, являлся одним из наиболее востребованных товаров на хивинском рынке. Объем ввозимого в ханство леса на протяжении последних десятилетей XIX и в начале XX в. неизменно увеличивался. В 1912 г. объем ввозимого леса составил 240 тыс. пудов, см. *М. Ниязматов*, Поиск консенсуса. Российско-хивинские геополитические отношения в XVI – начале XIX в. СПб.: Санкт-Петербургское востоковедение, 2010. Сс. 348–349.

разрѣшеніе я простился съ Ханомъ, а остальную часть вечера посвятилъ бесѣдѣ съ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжей о Туркменахъ.

По вопросу о численности населенія въ Хивинскомъ Ханствѣ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа высказалъ, что цифра 519.437 человѣкъ, показанная въ книгѣ Гиршфельда и Галкина (том II, 56)[54] имъ для Гиршфельда была умышленно пріуменьшена и потому въ настоящее время надо считать въ Хивѣ /24 об./ 1 милліонъ населенія обоего пола. Г. Минорскому дана была та же цифра, во избѣжаніи ошибки. По-видимому, въ Хивѣ затрудняются дать сколько-нибудь точныя свѣдѣнія о населеніи потому, что и сами ихъ не имѣютъ. Въ мою задачу не входило устанавливать точную цифру населенія, а потому я воспользовался цифрами ранѣе данными г. Минорскому съ поправкой о числѣ дворовъ въ Тахтабазарѣ, сдѣланной теперь Исламъ Ходжей: въ Тахтабазарѣ у Минорскаго показано 8 т. кибитокъ,[55] а ихъ должно быть только 7.000.

Принимая цифры, показывающія число дворовъ извѣстной народности, за болѣе вѣрныя данныя, чѣмъ число населенія, получено такое раздѣленіе Хивинскаго Ханства по народностямъ:

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[54] Имеется в виду военно-статистическое описание ханства, составленное в начале XX в. В.А. Гиршфельдом и А.С. Галкиным. В конце XIX в. Туркестанское командование командировало капитана Гиршфельда в Хивинское ханство с целью сбора материала для планируемого сборника. Сбор материалов осуществлялся в течение 1897–1899 гг, на основании которого Гиршфельдом был подготовлен первый вариант обзора. Подготовленный текст, однако, был подвергнут существенной редакции генерал-майором А.С. Галкиным, занимавшем в то время пост Начальника АДО. В результате, подготовленный труд вышел в двух частях, под фамилиями обоих офицеров, см.: *В.А. Гиршфельд и А.С. Галкин*, Военно-статистическое описание Хивинского оазиса / составлено Генерального штаба капитаном Гиршфельдом. Переработано Начальником Аму-Дарьинского отдела генерал-майором Галкиным. Ч. 1-2. Ташкент: Типография ТуркВО, 1902, 1903.

[55] *Кибитка* – термин, использовавшийся российской администрацией, для обозначения отдельного домохозяйства у кочевого населения, в том числе у туркмен. Количество населения при этом было принято исчислять из расчета 4–5 человек на одну кибитку, см.: *Брегель*, Хорезмские туркмены, с. 42, сн. 121.

1	Хива и окрестности	48.000 дворовъ	Узбеки
2	Въ другихъ городахъ	11.000 двор.	Узбеки
3	Дарганъ и Садываръ	1.000 дв.	Таджики[56] и Туркмены рода Ата
4	Тахтабазаръ	7.000 двор.	Туркмены Іомуды
5	Кубадагъ и Мангытъ	2.000 двор.	Кубадагъ-Іомуды
6	Порсу	7.000 двор.	Туркмены Чаудуръ
7	Ильялы	7.000 дв.	Туркмены Емрелы и Кара-Ташлы
8	Куня-Ургенчъ	7.000 дв.	Туркмены-Іомуды, [коленъ] Байрамъ-Шалы и Кара-Чука[57]
9	Кунградъ	9.000 дв.	Каракалпаки и Киргизы
	Всего дворовъ	99.000	
	Всего Узбековъ, съ Таджиками и Туркменами Ата	60.000 дв.	
	Туркменъ Іомудовъ разныхъ родовъ	30.000 дв.	
	Каракалпаковъ и Киргизъ	9.000 дв.	

Такимъ образомъ Туркмены составляютъ 1/3 всего населенія Ханства.

[56] Под таджиками следует очевидно понимать переселенцев из Бухары. Капитан А.С. Стеткевич, применительно к 1887 г., отмечал, что хотя отдельные группы «таджиков» Хорезма и живут обособленными приходами в разных частях ханства, в большей своей части они совершенно «слились» с местным населением, и практически не говорят по-таджикски, см.: *Стеткевич*, Очерки Хивинского оазиса (окончание), с. 201.

[57] Согласно данным Брегеля, в Хивинском ханстве проживали главным образом йомуты, принадлежащие к подразделению «байрам-шали» и представленные, главным образом, родами ушак, укуз, урус-кушчи и салах. Другое крупное подразделение йомутов – *кара-чака*, было представлено в Хорезме лишь незначительно, главным образом, представителями рода машрик, см.: *Брегель*, Хорезмские туркмены, с. 27.

/25/ Хивинское Правительство для возстановленія въ случаѣ нужды порядка, для сбора податей и ординарческой службы располагаетъ слѣдующимъ числомъ вооруженныхъ всадниковъ:* въ каждомъ городѣ имѣются такъ называемые *нукер*ы, всадники вооруженные ружьями системы Бердана и другіе, имѣющіе только шашки и *мултук*и туземнаго образца.

*Нукер*ы содержатся въ двойномъ противъ числа ружей числѣ и дежурятъ ежедневно, мѣняясь каждые 15 дней. Такихъ *нукер*овъ, немного напоминающихъ регулярное войско, находится:

Въ Хивѣ	50 чел.	На 350 ружей системы Бердана[58] содержится 2 смѣны людей, т.е. 700 человѣкъ, служащихъ по 15 дней подрядъ.
– Газаватѣ	40 чел.	
– Манакѣ[59]	40 чел.	
– Ташаузѣ	50 чел.	
– Ильялы	40 чел.	
– Акъ-Тепѣ	20 чел.	
– Куня-Ургенчѣ	70 чел.	
– Кунградѣ	20 чел.	
– Мангытѣ	20	
ВСЕГО	350 чел.	

Еще имѣется 1500 нукеровъ конныхъ съ шашками и *мултук*ами.

Пожалованные ГОСУДАРЕМЪ ИМПЕРАТОРОМЪ 300 трехлинейныхъ винтовокъ съ 30.000 патроновъ хранятся въ запасѣ.

Имѣется 20 пушекъ старыхъ хивинскихъ и 2 орудія, подаренныя ГОСУДАРЕМЪ ИМПЕРАТОРОМЪ.

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* [Лыкошин:] Мнѣ приходится передавать здѣсь то, что мнѣ говорилъ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа, на самомъ дѣлѣ свѣдѣнія эти не особенно точны. Такъ, по реестру Сайидъ Ислама Ходжи въ Куня-Ургенчѣ числится 70 *нукер*овъ, а тамъ ихъ, какъ я убѣдился на мѣстѣ, 180 мѣстныхъ, 40 Киргизъ, такъ называемыхъ «Казаковъ» [sic], при 6 *юзбаши*.

58 Имеются в виду ружья системы Бердана (или *бирданка*, под таким названием они фигурируют в местных источниках), имевшие широкое распространение среди жителей Хивинского ханства.

59 В тексте: Маканѣ.

Туркмены имѣютъ много огнестрѣльнаго оружія, которое приходитъ къ нимъ черезъ Гургенъ.[60] Хивинцы не въ силахъ препятствовать продажѣ оружія въ Туркменію, такъ какъ везутъ его тайно по разнымъ степнымъ доро- /25 об./ гамъ, недоступнымъ для наблюденія.[61] Ружья системы Бердана продаются по 100-125 руб., а трехлинейныя винтовки, магазинныя, извѣстныя подъ названіемъ *бишъ-атаръ* («пять разъ стрѣляетъ»)[62] покупаютъ теперь по 200 руб.

По мнѣнію Сайидъ Ислама Ходжи, непремѣнно надо обезоружить Туркменъ, а для этого объявить имъ, что въ теченіе 3-лѣтняго срока они обязаны уничтожить свое оружіе, или продать Хивинцамъ по опрѣделенной цѣнѣ, если же по истеченіи этого срока оружіе останется на рукахъ у Туркменъ, надо его отобрать безъ всякаго вознагражденія. Туркмены могутъ возразить, что оружіе имъ необходимо для самозащиты, но это неосновательно, такъ какъ со всѣми своими дѣлами они могутъ обращаться за помощью къ агентамъ Ханскаго Правительства.

Оседлое, не туркменское населеніе Хивинскаго Ханства (68.000 дворовъ) располагаетъ 406.000 *танап*овъ земли – это такъ называемый *вилаетъ* Дарганъ и Садываръ.

Въ Тахтабазарѣ – 7.000 киб[иток] Туркменъ Іомудовъ; раньше они выставляли 1.000 *нукер*овъ, за что получали 50.000 *танап*овъ земли безъ уплаты подати. Когда воинская служба Туркменъ прекратилась, съ нихъ стали брать подати за 50.000 *танап*овъ, но когда Начальникомъ Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла

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60 Имеется в виду, что огнестрельное оружие ввозилось в Хорезм из территории Ирана.

61 Взваливая вину за контрабанду оружия в Хивинский оазис исключительно на хивинские власти, Лыкошин забывает упомянуть, что немалое количество *берданок* ввозилось также татарскими купцами из Оренбурга (см.: *А.С. Стеткевич*, Очерки Хивинского оазиса (окончание), с. 208), а также приобреталось местными жителями у расквартированных на правобережной части оазиса российских солдат, см.: *Sartori, Abdurasulov*, Seeking Justice at the Court of the Khans of Khiva, p. 165.

62 *Беш-атар* (букв. «стреляющий пять раз»), судя по всему, являлось местным названием трехлинейной винтовки Мосина.

былъ Генералъ-Маіоръ Н.А. Ивановъ,[63] Туркмены жаловались, что съ нихъ много берутъ и рѣшено было брать только за 30.000 *танап*овъ – 12.000 *тилл*ей[64] *салгыт*а,[*] т.е. по 21 руб. 60 к. съ *атлык*а.[65] При сборѣ атлычной подачи распредѣленіе по *атлык*амъ делается почетными Туркменами, такъ называемыми *кетхуда*, которые бываютъ старшіе и младшіе, снабженные отъ Хивинскаго Правительства печатями (*мугрдаръ*) /26/ и безъ печатей. Въ пользу этихъ лицъ, которыхъ въ Тахтабазарскомъ раіонѣ насчитывается до 60 человѣкъ, отчисляется изъ общаго

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63 Иванов Николай Александрович (1842–1904), первый Начальник Амударьинского отдела (1873–1877), впоследствии Генерал-губернатор Туркестанского края (1901–1904).

64 *Тилла* – хивинская золотая монета. В период протектората в Хивинском ханстве находились в обращении как местная *тилла*, так и российский рубль. Несмотря на то, что курс указанных валют был подвержен изменениям, в среднем, в течении указанного времени, он составлял 1,6 – 1,7 рубля за 1 хивинскую *тилла*, см.: *Абдулла Балтаев*, Ревалутсийадан аввал кишлак хужалиги, ркп. O‘zRShI, инв. № 11978, л. 23а.

* [Лыкошин:] Изъ послѣдующаго разговора выяснилось, что при Генералѣ Ивановѣ споръ о подати съ *атлык*овъ былъ рѣшенъ миромъ въ томъ смыслѣ, что Туркмены будутъ платить за *атлык*ъ [какъ] за 30 *танап*овъ всего по 12 *тилл*ей: 9 – за земли и 3 *тилли* за чистку каналовъ, которую [Хивинское] Правительство приняло на себя. Такимъ образомъ и установилась «атлычная» подать по 21 руб. 60 коп. за 30 *танап*овъ, или по 72 коп. съ *танап*а.

65 *Атлик* – термин, обычно обозначающий участок земли, который передавался, главным образом, в пользование туркмен Хорезма в обмен на выставление последними определенного количества конных всадников (*атли* – букв.: всадник) в войско хивинских правителей. После завоевания ханства Российской империи, военная служба, как таковая, была отмена и, соответственно, подвергся изменениям и статус *атлик*а. В частности, с большинства земель, находящихся в пользовании туркмен, хивинскими властями стал взиматься налог, именовавшийся *салгут-кесме*. Очевидно, с целью дальнейшего упорядочения податного статуса таких земель, предпринимались попытки установить фиксированный параметр отдельного *атлыка* в размере 30 *танап*ов, который должен был облагаться (см. примечание Лыкошина выше) ежегодным налогом в 12 *тилла* или 21 руб. 60 коп.; также см.: *Брегель*, Хорезмские туркмены, с. 101; *Т.Г. Тухтаметов*, Россия и Хива в конце XIX – начале XX века. Победа Хорезмской народной революции. Москва: Наука, 1969. С. 97.

податного оклада 2000 *тилл*ей, а 10.000 тиллей = 18.000 рублей поступаютъ ежегодно въ Ханскую казну.

Имѣющіе печати (*мугрдаръ*) *кетхуда* въ Тахтабазарскомъ раіонѣ слѣдующіе:

Въ родѣ Салахъ:
1) Кульджанъ Сардаръ ([место проживания] въ Измухширѣ);
2) Джаджанбекъ (около Тахта);
Рода Окузъ: 3) Шахмурадъ Бакши (Диракли);
Рода Урусъ Кушчи: 4) Дурды Вакиль (Бузкумганъ);
Рода Кучукъ[66]: 5) Аразбекъ (около Тахта);
Рода Ушакъ: 6) Ушакъ-беги (имя неизвестно).[67]

Изъ этихъ лицъ наиболѣе враждебно относятся ко всѣмъ Ханскимъ распоряженіямъ: 1) Кульджанъ Сардаръ, 2) Шахмурадъ Бахши и Дурды Вакиль. Въ этомъ раіонѣ весь народъ сочувственно относится къ намѣченнымъ Ханомъ реформамъ, и всѣ желали бы добиться разоруженія Туркменъ.

Ханъ ежегодно высылаетъ на ирригаціонныя работы въ этотъ раіонъ (для очистки водопріемника и нижняго теченія канала Газаватъ – 2000 чел. ирригаціонныхъ рабочихъ «*бигьяръ*»[68] на

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66 Очевидно, имеется в виду один из родов туркмен-йомутов – Кожук (Кочук).

67 Этого туркменского предводителя, очевидно, можно отождествить с неким Саййид Мухаммад Бек Ушаком, также фигурирующем в трудах хивинских авторов-современников и записках колониальной администрации, как Ушак-Бек. Саййид Мухаммад Ушак-Бек, в описываемый Лыкошином период, являлся одним из предводителей омутского клана – Ушак. Его роль в политических процессах в ханстве была особенно заметна в течение последующих нескольких лет. Летом 1920 г. он был арестован и расстрелян по приказу правительства Хорезмской Народной Советской Республики, см. подр.: *Пахлаван Нийаз Хаджи (Юсупов)*, [Хатиралар]. Рук., г. Хива, частная коллекция, лл. 426b–431b.

68 *Бигар* – трудовая повинность, в рамках которой владельцам домохозяйств предписывалось предоставлять определенное число рабочих в период массовых мобилизационных работ, связанных, например, с сооружением и ремонтом объектов ирригационной системы (каналы, дамбы и т.д.), реже – для иного вида работ. В Хивинском ханстве обязательство по

10 дней; съ передвиженіемъ къ мѣсту работъ на это уходитъ 12 дней). Каждому рабочему уплачивается по 2 *тилл*и за 10 дней отъ казны, но народъ доплачиваетъ отъ себя этимъ рабочимъ по 10 рублей на человѣка. Такимъ образомъ Хивинская казна тратитъ на эту работу 7.200 руб. и народъ – 20.000 руб.

Иногда бывали случаи, что *амальдоры* – начальники, назначенные на ирригаціонные работы, отпускали нѣсколькихъ рабочихъ, взыскивая съ нихъ денегъ за осво- /26 об./ божденіе отъ работъ. Въ такихъ случаяхъ каждый назначенный на работу Узбекъ радъ былъ уплатить 13 рублей.

В Мартѣ мѣсяцѣ 1912 года Туркмены ограбили караванъ. Ихъ собралось до 100 человѣкъ, они засѣли на дорогѣ изъ Тахтабазара въ Порсу и ограбили мирныхъ Туркменъ рода Чаудуръ и *вилает*цевъ-Узбековъ и убили одного *нукер*а, посланного за сборомъ подати. Правительству пришлось послать на мѣсто грабежа 600 *нукер*овъ, тогда Туркменскіе *кетхуда* Кульджанъ Сардаръ, Шахмурадъ Бахши и Дурды Вакиль послали своихъ людей, чтобы покончить дѣло безъ боя и вернули все ограбленное, только не уплатили *хун*а[69] за убитаго *нукер*а его родственникамъ. Убійцу также не выдаютъ, а *хун*а надо получить 1800 руб.[*] *Кетхуд*а отказались заплатить *хунъ* и убытки Правительства, а Ханъ, пославшій 600 *нукер*овъ на 15 дней, истратилъ на эту командировку 400 рублей.

У Туркменъ этого раіона крайне развитъ обычай кровной мести; по обычаю ихъ *кауліат*ъ,[70] за смерть родственника мож-

несению *бигар*а возлагалось на подавляющую часть населения, см.: *Yuri Bregel*, Bīgār // Encyclopædia Iranica IV, 1990. Pp. 249–251.

69 *Хун* – компенсация за убийство.

* [Лыкошин:] По обычаю, за каждаго убитаго, независимо отъ возраста, платится – 1800 руб. за мущину и 900 руб. за женщину.

70 Значение этого термина с очевидной достоверностью установить не удалось; во всяком случае, ни в одном из местных хивинских источников термин *кауліат*ъ не встречается. Исходя из контекста, можно предположить, что Лыкошин использует его в значении обычного права туркмен, действовавшего паралельно, а порою в противоречии, с *Шариатом*. Во всяком случае ниже в тексте, описывая способы

но перебить всѣхъ мущинъ въ трехъ колѣнахъ родства убиійцы, нельзя только убивать родныхъ со стороны жены.

Въ этомъ раіонѣ больше всего оружія: имѣется около 4.000 винтовокъ системы Бердана и 1.000 трехлинейныхъ магазинокъ.

Самые богатые Туркмены живутъ здѣсь. Занимаются и земледѣліемъ, обрабатывая до 30.000 *танап*овъ, есть тугаи. Скотоводство настолько сильно развито, что если бы считать со скота законный *закет*ъ[71] [въ размерѣ] 1/40 его стоимости, то надо бы получить съ этой группы Туркменъ до 9.000 руб. въ годъ, а они платятъ *закет*ъ только 360 руб. въ годъ. Собираетъ [*закет*ъ] посылаемый Ханомъ /27/ *Есаул*ъ.

Въ мѣстности Кубадагъ въ Мангытскомъ бекствѣ живутъ представители разныхъ родовъ Туркмен Іомудовъ, но со стороны матери, происходящіе отъ персидскихъ рабынь.[72] Эти не чистаго происхожденія Туркмены – *чала* (помѣсь) находятся на особомъ положеніи, за нихъ и *хунъ* взыскивается въ

решения конфликтов у туркмен-чоудоров он отмечает, что у последних «дѣла разбираются не по *кауліат*у, а по шаріату», для каковых целей у последних «есть казій», см. ниже, с. 162. Что касается возможной этимологии слова, то можно допустить, что оно произошло от араб. *кавл* – «слово; высказывание».

71 *Закат* – налог, взимаемый в Хивинском ханстве обычно со скота и товаров.

72 Согласно Брегеля, выделение этой группы, известной в хивинских источниках как «*Кара-Йилгинли*», из массы йомутов произошло еще в правление Аллакули-хана (1825–1842). Первоначально, для их расселения хивинскими властями была предоставлена местность Кара-Йилгин (давшая впоследствии название самой группе) в нижнем течении Дарьялыка, недалеко от Куна-Ургенча. Позднее, в 1840-е гг., вследствие разливов Амударьи, большая часть представителей этой группы переселилась в район Куба-тага, к юго-западу от Мангыта, где собственно и застал их Лыкошин в 1912 г., подр. см.: *Брегель*, Хорезмские туркмены, сс. 28–29. Судя по дальнейшим сообщениям Лыкошина, часть туркмен Кара-Йилгинли осталась проживать в районе Куня-Ургенча, см. ниже, с. 163. Подробнее об истории проживания этой группы в Хорезме, см.: Mīrzā Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Laṭīf Mustajirr Samarqandī, [*Notes*]. MS, St. Petersburg, AVIVR RAN, f. 33, op. 1, d. 134, fol. 137a.

половинномъ размѣрѣ. Такихъ Туркменъ до 2.000 кибитокъ. Сосредоточились они здѣсь такимъ образомъ: чистаго происхожденія Туркменъ женится тоже на настоящей Туркменкѣ, а потомъ беретъ вторую жену изъ Мангыта. Такъ какъ эта послѣдняя не можетъ похвастаться чистымъ туркменскимъ происхожденіемъ, то и права ея сына разнятся отъ правъ сына первой жены Туркмена – чистой Туркменки. Сына отъ первой жены Туркменъ женитъ и оставляетъ при себѣ, сына же Мангытки, въ которомъ есть все-таки часть рабской крови съ материнской стороны, Туркменъ отсылаетъ въ Мангытъ и устраиваетъ тамъ, выбирая ему жену изъ Мангытокъ же. Со своей второй женой Туркменъ спитъ одну ночь, а съ настоящей Туркменкой первой женой – двѣ, такъ ведется очередь супружескаго сожитія по обычаю. Не чисто туркменскаго происхожденія сынъ Туркмена и наслѣдственную долю получаетъ меньшую, чѣм настоящій Туркменъ.

*Атлык*ъ здесь считался раньше въ 50 *танап*овъ, потомъ уменьшили на 30 *танап*овъ. Мангытцы платятъ за 300 *атлык*овъ по 21 руб. 60 коп., всего 6.480 рублей въ годъ.

Ханъ даетъ 400 рабочихъ на очистку Мангытъ-арны (низъ) и Джамшидъ-яба (голова). Ханъ тратитъ на это 400 х 2 = 800 *тилл*ей = 1440 руб., народъ приплачиваетъ присылаемымъ отъ *вилает*а рабочимъ по 4.000 руб. въ годъ.

Кетхуда Мурадъ Казы и Беклярбеги, живущіе въ Мангытѣ, враждебно относятся ко всѣмъ распоряженіямъ /27 об./ Ханскаго Правительства.

Земли обрабатывается до 15.000 *танап*овъ. По числу скота слѣдовало бы брать *зякет*а до 1800 руб., а уплачиваютъ только до 900 руб. Ружей здѣсь до 500, неизвѣстно какой системы.

Вся атлычная подать поступаетъ въ казну полностью, а *кетхуда* за содѣйствіе сбору вознаграждаются освобожденіемъ отъ подати ихъ земель.

Въ Порсу – 7.000 кибитокъ рода Чаудуръ. Эти Туркмены живутъ спокойно и платятъ подать съ 550 а*тлык*овъ по 21 руб. 60 коп. въ годъ. Рабочихъ высылается 1.000 человѣкъ по 2 *тилли* за 10 дней. Вода – изъ арыка Клычъ Ниязъ-бай. Приходится

казенными рабочими чистить только голову канала, а въ нижнемъ теченіи канала чистятъ сами Туркмены.

Одинъ только *кетхуда* Палванъ Юзбаши, живущій около Порсу, недружелюбно относится къ Хану, другіе же: Кульбай, Ахмадъ, Кахна и Мадъ Мурадъ имѣютъ званіе *юзбаши*[73] и подчиняются распоряженіямъ бека Порсу. Обрабатывается до 30.000 *танап*овъ земли. Скота мало, *зякета* платятъ какъ *вилаетц*ы – 700 *тилл*ей въ годъ. Обычай кровной мести (*кандар*ъ) у этой группы Туркменъ совершенно вывелся, его нѣтъ. Дѣла разбираются не по *кауліат*у, а по шаріату, у нихъ есть казій. Женщины пользуются свободой выбора жениха, съ Мангытцами эти Туркмены происхожденіемъ не считаются и берутъ тамошнихъ дѣвушекъ въ жены своимъ сыновьямъ. Огнестрѣльнаго оружія не имѣютъ, занимаются земледѣліемъ и торговлей. Разбои въ этомъ раіонѣ совершенно прекратились.

Въ Ильялы (вѣрнѣе названіе Хилай-Биляли) – 7000 киб. Родъ Емрали платитъ за 700 *атлык*овъ, а Караташлы – за 300, всего [за] 1000 *атлык*овъ по 21 руб. 60 коп. въ годъ. У Емрали есть *кетхуда*, враждебные Хану: 1) Ширъ Ханъ, 2) Кыйшикъ Юзбаши, 3) Абральбекъ и 4) Кахна-баши. У Караталшлы нѣтъ выдающихся вліятельныхъ *кетхуда*, а есть мелкіе, человѣкъ 15. У обоихъ /28/ родовъ въ этомъ раіонѣ есть огнестрѣльное оружіе, до 3.000 винтовокъ, изъ нихъ около 300 – трехлинейныя магазинки.

Земли обрабатывается до 45.000 *танап*овъ. Водой пользуются изъ канала Шаватъ. Казненныхъ рабочихъ для очистки дается 2.000 человекъ въ годъ. Скотоводство развито, слѣдовало бы [взимать] *зякета* не менѣе 2.000 *тилл*ей, а уплачиваютъ только

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[73] *Юзбаши* – (букв.: «сотник»), в Хивинском ханстве должность среднего звена военной или административной иерархии. *Юзбаши* встречаются как в качестве командующих небольших по численности военных формирований, так и в качестве заместителей *хаким*ов – губернаторов провинций. По мнению Ю. Брегеля, наличие титула *юзбаши* при именах некоторых туркменских старшин отнюдь не всегда свидетельствовало об их однозначной принадлежности к хивинской армии, см.: *Брегель*, Хорезмские туркмены, сс. 130–132.

1.000 *тилл*ей въ годъ. Эти Туркмены сами по большей части торговцы и объясняютъ, что огнестрѣльное оружіе имъ необходимо для защиты отъ Іомудовъ, живущихъ въ Тахтабазарѣ. Кровная месть еще сохранилась, разбираютъ дѣла по *кауліат*у, женщины не свободны выбирать себѣ мужей, но съ Мангытцами эту Туркмены происхожденіемъ не считаются.

Въ Куня-Ургенчѣ, считая въ томъ числѣ и Кала-Ильгылы (персидскіе Іомуды)[74] всего 8.500 кибитокъ, платятъ за 250 *ат-лык*овъ по 21 руб. 60 коп. Водою пользуются изъ Куня-Ургенчскаго арыка Ханъ-Ябъ, Лаузана, Шамурада (голова его называется Сухбатъ).

18 лѣтъ тому назадъ казенными рабочими былъ вырытъ каналъ Лаузанъ и водой пользовались Туркмены.[75] Потомъ перестали платить подати, а Правительство перестало чистить каналъ и онъ заилился. Въ прошломъ 1911 году сами Туркмены Кулли-Іомуды[76] вычистили каналъ, пользовались имъ, назвавъ прорытую голову Урусъ-ябъ; въ 1912 году чистило каналъ Правительство, но вышла драка съ Киргизами и чистку прекратили, каналомъ не пользовались.

Ханъ высылаетъ на Ханъ-Ябъ 1500 ч. рабочихъ:

На Шамурадъ	1.000
На Лаузанъ	500
Всего	3.000 ч.

[74] О туркменах Кара-йилгинли, см. выше, сс.160–161, сн. 72.

[75] Речь идет о прорытии канала Таза-Лаузан (Новый Лаузан), работы по которому были начаты хивинскими властями по настоянию российской администрации в 1894 г. Проект, разработанный инженером Гельманом в 1893 г., предполагал прорытие нового канала, позволявшего, в теории, водам Лаузана соединиться с Дарйаликом (старым руслом Амударьи) и тем самым оросить значительные массивы земель на западе ханства, подробнее о ходе и последствиях этого мероприятия, см.: *Akifumi Shioya*, *Povorot* and the Khanate of Khiva: a New Canal and the Birth of Ethnic Conflict in the Khorazm Oasis, 1870 – 1890s // Central Asian Survey, № 33/2, 2014. Pp. 232–245; см. также: *Introduction*, pp. 94–95, fn. 238.

[76] О туркменах группы *кулли-йомут*, см. выше: *Introduction*, pp. 94–95.

Уплачивается рабочимъ по 2 *тилл*и каждому. Земли въ этомъ раіонѣ обрабатывается до 20.000 *танап*овъ. У Туркменъ здѣсь очень много скота, нѣкоторые хозяева имѣютъ 500-1000 верблюдовъ, а *зякета* уплачиваютъ только /28 об./ 300 *тилл*ей. Ханъ тратитъ на ирригаціонныхъ рабочихъ въ этомъ раіонѣ 6.000 *тилл*ей. Мѣстность здѣсь дикая, много тугаевъ, нѣтъ базаровъ.

Въ этомъ раіонѣ враждебно относятся къ распоряженіямъ Хана *кетхуда*: 1) Махмудханъ, 2) Арабкаль, 3) Абдибай, 4) Матъ Хасанъ Кара Ходжа, 5) Анна Ханъ, 6) Карчалбай, 7) Амикъ, 8) Аразкули-бугукъ, 9) Мухаммадъ Хасанъ Ишанъ, 10) Сиддыкъ Ишанъ, 111) Аминъ Ишанъ, 12) Мурадъ Ніазбай, 13) Аллабай Кучукъ, 14) Ата Мурадъ Чатукъ, 15) Джума Уста и 16) Сарычи.

Въ этомъ раіонѣ сохранился обычай кровной мести и *кауліятъ*, женщины не свободны въ выборѣ мужа, на Мангыткахъ женятся, но не считаютъ ихъ себѣ равными. Въ раіонѣ у Туркменъ до 5.000 ружей изъ нихъ около 500 магазинныхъ.

Все свѣдѣнія, данныя Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжей о положеніи Туркменъ въ Ханствѣ, на мой взглядъ страдаютъ односторонностью и подобраны такъ, чтобы во всемъ обвинить только однихъ Туркменъ, представивъ ихъ разбойниками, не подчиняющимися правительственнымъ распоряженіямъ. Какъ видно будетъ изъ дальнѣйшаго изложенія, это не совсѣмъ такъ. Въ дѣйствительности, Хивинское Правительство само часто несправедливо относится къ Туркменамъ и признавая за ними силу, руководствуется пріемомъ *divide et impera*, – ссорить между собой Туркменскихъ главарей, привлекая нѣкоторыхъ подарками на свою сторону, а когда нужно поднимаетъ противъ Туркменъ русскихъ подданныхъ – Киргизъ Красноводскаго, Мангишлакскаго и Темирскаго уѣздовъ, давно живущихъ въ Ханствѣ и преданныхъ Правительству. Эти Киргизы, какъ русскіе подданные, пользуются привилегіями и потому удобно именно ихъ ссорить съ Туркменами, а потомъ по требованію русскихъ властей примѣнять къ Туркменамъ репрессіи. Таковы дѣла о нескончаемыхъ, якобы, грабежахъ Махмудхана и его сородичей. А на самомъ дѣлѣ бываютъ такіе случаи, какъ /29/ съ уничтоженіемъ чигирей у Адаевскихъ Киргизъ на Лаузанѣ на значительную

сумму. Дѣло въ томъ, что въ верхней части Туркменскаго канала Урусъ-ябъ находятся земли Ханскихъ Сановниковъ, пользующіяся водою изъ Ханъ-Ябъ. Владѣльцы земель – Сановники отдаютъ свои земли Киргизамъ – русскимъ подданнымъ въ аренду и арендаторы, вмѣсто того чтобы по праву пользоваться водой изъ Ханъ-Яба, принадлежащаго Туркменамъ, забираютъ себѣ такъ много воды, что Туркменамъ, чистившимъ арыкъ, ничего не остается. Конечно, Туркмены протестуютъ и, не видя помощи отъ Ханскаго Правительства, ломаютъ чигири. Такъ и идетъ борьба Хана съ Туркменами; понемногу ряды защитниковъ Туркменскихъ правъ рѣдѣютъ и многіе изъ нихъ изъ корыстныхъ видовъ переходятъ на сторону Правительства, сравниваясь въ правахъ съ *вилает*цами. Свѣдѣнія, данные Ислам Ходжей не точны, какъ это будетъ видно изъ сравненія ихъ со свѣдѣніями, собранными мною на мѣстахъ, можетъ быть тоже не совсѣмъ точными, но значительно расходящимися съ данными Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи. Напримѣръ, впослѣдствіи выяснилось, что Кулли Іомуды Куня-Ургенчскаго раіона никогда не платили подати *атлыкъ*, а всегда вносили *дагъякъ* – десятину съ урожая обрабатываемыхъ ими земель.

Покончивъ дѣла въ гор. Хивѣ, 31 Мая утромъ выѣхалъ въ Петро-Александровскъ, черезъ Новый Ургенчъ. Въ этомъ городѣ Ханъ приказалъ приготовить мнѣ ночлегъ въ домѣ своего министра торговли и промышленности Матъ-Вафа Юсуфовича Баккалова. Такъ какъ самъ Баккаловъ во время моего пріѣзда находился въ Москвѣ, куда былъ командированъ Ханомъ, на торжество открытія памятника ИМПЕРАТОРУ АЛЕКСАНДРУ III-му, то для устройства пріема былъ командированъ сынъ Баккалова – Салихбай.

При въѣздѣ въ городъ встрѣтилъ меня мѣстный бекъ Аллабергенъ, братъ Юсуфа Есуалъ-баши – сановника при /29 об./ Ханѣ. Остановившись въ домѣ Баккалова, я познакомился съ проживающими въ Новомъ Ургенчѣ купцами и представителями торговыхъ фирмъ, а также съ Управляющимъ Отдѣлениемъ Русско-Азіатскаго Банка и всѣ эти лица, по моему приглашенію, обѣдали со мною въ домѣ Баккалова.

Во время и послѣ обѣда, носившаго вполнѣ неофиціальный, а, скорѣй, дѣловой характеръ, мне удалось обстоятельно переговорить съ виднѣйшими представителями русского населенія Новаго Ургенча и ознакомиться съ ихъ нуждами и пожеланіями.

Начальникъ Ново-Ургенчской почтово-телеграфной конторы г. Подобѣдъ передалъ мнѣ составленный по моей просьбѣ чертежъ и краткое соображеніе о необходимыхъ въ зданіи конторы перестройкахъ, въ виду увеличенія личнаго состава. Я уже раньше говорилъ объ этомъ съ Ханомъ и Его Свѣтлость, заранѣе обѣщавъ сдѣлать все что нужно, просилъ только меня лично взглянуть на зданіе Конторы и дать свое заключеніе о томъ, все ли, что проситъ Начальникъ конторы, дѣйствительно необходимо. Я осмотрѣлъ Контору и указалъ что надо сдѣлать.

Въ медицинскомъ отношеніи русскіе жители Новаго Ургенча до нѣкоторой степени себя обезпечили, устроивъ на свой счетъ фельдшерскій амбулаторный пунктъ, который хорошо оборудованъ и обслуживаетъ не только русское, но и туземное населеніе Новаго Ургенча; туземное – за особую небольшую плату.

Послышались общіе жалобы на медленное и неправильное почтовое сообщеніе и на задержки телеграфнаго сообщенія во время поврежденій, вслѣдствіе отсутствія на контрольной станціи въ Дарганъ-Ата второго полагающегося тамъ надсмотрщика, что вынуждаетъ начальниковъ станцій Чарджуй и Петро-Александровскъ съ концовъ линіи долго искать мѣсто поврежденія, тогда какъ поврежденіе можетъ быть около самой станціи Дарганъ-Ата. Въ отношеніи почтоваго сообщенія приведено было /30/ въ примѣръ отправленіе изъ Питняка посланнаго туда за почтой джигита обратно пустымъ въ томъ случаѣ, если почтарь изъ Чарджуя запаздываетъ. Единственный джигитъ, посланный изъ Новаго Ургенча, боясь опоздать къ отходу слѣдующей почты изъ Новаго Ургенча и подвергнуться за это штрафу, не ожидаетъ прибытія запоздавшей почты, а ѣдетъ домой пустой.

По дѣлу о назначеніи надсмотрщика въ Дарганъ-Ата я возбудилъ переписку, неудобство же съ доставкой почты изъ Питняка устраивалось тутъ же тѣмъ, что почто-содержатель

Абдрахманбай, по моей просьбѣ, согласился въ случаях опозданія почты изъ Чарджуя посылать изъ Новаго Ургенча съ почтой дополнительнаго джигита, съ тѣмъ, чтобы посланный въ Питнякъ почтарь ожидалъ запоздавшую изъ Чарджуя почту и привозилъ ее въ Новый Ургенчъ, не заботясь объ отправленіи въ Питнякъ слѣдующей почты.

Въ учебномъ отношеніи русское населеніе Новаго Ургенча совершенно не обезпечено, а такъ какъ здѣсь живутъ большею частью не самостоятельные купцы, такихъ мало, а служащіе довѣренные разныхъ фирмъ, то нѣтъ и значительныхъ денежныхъ средствъ на открытіе и содержаніе здѣсь не только прогимназіи, но даже трехкласснаго городского училища съ иностранными языками, которое дало бы возможность хорошо подготовить дѣтей къ поступленію въ средне-учебные заведенія. Рѣшили, что пока преждевременно хлопотать о самостоятельномъ учебномъ заведеніи и придется по-прежнему обходиться учительницей, готовящей нынѣ дѣтей русскихъ жителей Новаго Ургенча въ учебныя заведенія частными уроками на дому.

Жаловались на неудобство сношенія русскихъ властей съ живущими въ Новомъ Ургенчѣ русскими черезъ Канцелярію Хивинскаго Хана, что затрудняется еще тѣмъ, что всѣ дѣла идутъ къ нимъ черезъ мѣстнаго бека, весьма доброжелательнаго къ нимъ и заботливаго о русскихъ подданныхъ человѣка, но совершенно не знакомаго съ русскимъ языкомъ. Я предложилъ устранить /30 об./ это неудобство ходатайствомъ объ устройствѣ въ Новомъ Ургенчѣ русскаго поселка съ сельскимъ управленіемъ, чтобы дать возможность, минуя Канцелярію Хана, сноситься съ русскими жителями Новаго Ургенча черезъ выборнаго старосту. Это предложеніе встречено было весьма сочувственно и рѣшено было къ осени составить необходимые приговоры и возбудить ходатайство объ устройствѣ здѣсь русскаго селенія Новый Ургенчъ.

Вечеромъ того же дня мои новые знакомые просили посѣтить лѣтнее помѣщеніе ихъ общественнаго собранія (есть и зимнее помѣщеніе) и я провелъ вечеръ среди русскихъ жителей Новаго Ургенча и ихъ семействъ, составляющихъ одну общую

однородную семью, весьма доброжелательно относящихся другъ къ другу людей, сознающихъ необходимость общенія и солидарности русскихъ людей на чужой сторонѣ.

1-го Іюня, черезъ Ханка, я возвратился въ Петро-Александровскъ. Вода въ Аму-Дарьѣ значительно прибыла, но переправа на каюкѣ потребовала все-таки 4 часа времени; такая неудобная переправа значительно затрудняетъ сношенія между собою живущихъ на противоположныхъ берегахъ рѣки. Улучшить переправу въ виду изменчивости русла Аму-Дарьи – невозможно.

Въ этотъ день, какъ я узналъ по возвращеніи, изъ Петро-Александровска въ Чарджуй отошелъ казенный пароходъ Аму-Дарьинской флотиліи[77] ИМПЕРАТОРЪ НИКОЛАЙ II, а рядомъ съ нимъ ко времени отхода сталъ и частный пароходъ общества «Хива» – «Генералъ Самсоновъ».[78] Капитанъ предложилъ желающимъ ѣхать въ Чарджуй помѣститься на его пароходѣ по 4 руб. безъ продовольствія, и многіе туземцы предпочли ѣхать на частномъ пароходѣ. Это былъ первый рейсъ частнаго парохода съ пассажирами.

7 Іюня я снова выѣхалъ въ Хивинское Ханство для осмотра въ сел. Дарганъ-Ата хозяйства Капитана /31/ Шлефендорфа и разбора жалобъ мѣстнаго населенія на проживающаго въ Дарганъ-Ата Армянина Григорія Тотевосова. Эти двѣ переписки, очень запоздавшіе, сданы были мнѣ Генералъ-Маіоромъ

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77 Амударьинская флотилия была основана в 1877 г. «для перевозки грузов и частных лиц по Амударье» в пространстве между Казалинском и Чарджуем. К 1913 г. в состав флотилии входило 6 пароходов (включая пароход «Император Николай II») и 13 металлических барж, см.: *М.Ю. Юлдашев*, К истории Аральской флотилии // Общественные науки в Узбекистане, № 12, 1961. Сс. 30–39; *С.А. Сулайманов*, История Аральской и Амударьинской флотилий (1847–1920 гг.). Автореферат … канд. ист. наук. Нукус, 2010. Сс. 15–16.

78 Параходное общество «Хива» являлось частным предприятием и было организовано российскими предпринимателями Сироткиным и Лапшиным. Общество имело в своем распоряжении более десятка судов различного типа, предназначенных для плавания как на Аральском море, так и по Амударье, см: *Сулайманов*, История Аральской и Амударьинской флотилий, сс. 16–17.

Глушановскимъ неисполненными и требовали личнаго осмотра и разспросовъ на мѣстѣ.

На этотъ разъ уже не черезъ Карабахскую, а черезъ Хазараспскую переправу, послѣ полудня выѣхали на каюкѣ, вмѣстѣ съ верховыми лошадьми. На лѣвомъ берегу насъ встрѣтилъ по приказанію Хана Махрамъ Курбанъ Ніязъ Халифаевъ – Наибъ Хазараспскаго бека[79] Сайидъ Исмаила Ходжи (брата *Вазири Акбара* Сайидъ Ислама Ходжи). Самъ бекъ въ это время находился въ Хивѣ. Черезъ тугай – *юмалак*ъ, находящійся на лѣвомъ берегу Аму-Дарьи, но принадлежащій Россіи и охраняемый русской лѣсной стражей, проѣхали верстъ 18 и прибыли къ вечеру въ г. Хазараспъ, до котораго по прямой линіи отъ Петро-Александровска едва ли наберется всего 18 верстъ, а изъ за переправы приходится тратить на переѣздъ полдня.

Изъ Хазараспа двинулись параллельно берегу Аму-Дарьи по тому пути, которымъ пользуются зимой и лѣтомъ для перевозки почты вьюкомъ на верблюдѣ до Чарджуя и по которому двигаются проѣзжающіе въ то время, когда пароходные рейсы на зиму прекращаются.

Изъ Хазараспа до Питняка 25 верстъ; здѣсь почта, адресованная въ Новый Ургенчъ и Хиву, сдается особому *джигит*у почтаремъ, везущимъ почту изъ Чарджуя.

Здѣсь 150 домохозяевъ несутъ службу *нукер*овъ, или нанимаютъ за себя; Ходжей и Сайидовъ – 130 домовъ, Шейховъ – 130 дворовъ, каменьщиковъ – 20 дворовъ. Всѣ эти лица никакихъ налоговъ не платятъ, а всего дворовъ около 1000.[80] *Салгут*ъ

[79] Термином *наиб* в Хивинском ханстве зачастую обозначались помощники или заместители губернаторов отдельных провинций.

[80] По сообщению Стеткевича, *сайиид*ы и *шейх*и, хотя и составляли отдельные приходы, тем не менее, наравне с обычными людьми, занимались земледелием и прочими промыслами. Главной их привиллегией в хозяйственном смысле было освобождение от уплаты поземельного и других налогов, а также от обязанности выставлять рабочих во время массовых работ. Всего же, по сведениям, сообщенным российскому офицеру Диванбеги Мат-Мурадом в конце XIX в., в ханстве насчитывалось порядка 3.000 семей представителей почитаемых религиозных сословий,

взыскивается только съ 225 дворовъ. Культурной земли до 8.000 *танап*овъ, изъ нихъ 400 *танап*овъ – рисовыхъ полей. Управляетъ раіономъ Питнякскій Наибъ Хазараспскаго бека Игамберди Авазбирдіевъ, 65 лѣтъ. Онъ ѣздилъ съ посольствомъ въ Ташкентъ на выставку въ 1910 году, куда возилъ экспонаты Хивы и /31 об./ и выставочнымъ Комитетомъ представленъ къ наградѣ. Далѣе въ 33 верстахъ Садываръ, гдѣ между хуторами на берегу рѣки имѣется отдѣльное зданіе почтовой станціи.

Въ 24 верстахъ отъ Садывара такая же одинокая станція Данишаръ. Здѣсь помѣщается русскій гидрометрическій постъ. Наблюденія производитъ окончившій гидрометрическую школу въ Ташкентѣ Петръ Харитоновъ, живущій здесь съ матерью.

Въ 33 верстахъ слѣдующая станція Джагирбендъ, или, какъ это мѣсто иначе называютъ туземцы – «Дуль-Дуль Атлаганъ» (въ переводѣ Дуль-Дуль перепрыгнула). Существуетъ преданіе, весьма часто встрѣчающееся на всемъ протяженіи Туркестанскаго края, что когда-то здѣсь проезжалъ на своемъ конѣ Дуль-Дуль – четвертый Халифъ Али и въ этомъ мѣстѣ перепрыгнулъ Аму-Дарью съ праваго берега на лѣвый. На лѣвомъ берегу указываютъ мѣсто, гдѣ Али кормилъ свою лошадь, показываютъ также и слѣды копытъ лошади Халифа. Въ дѣйствительности, Дуль-Дуль самое узкое мѣсто русла Аму-Дарьи, которую здѣсь стѣсняетъ пересѣкающая теченіе каменная гряда. Здѣсь мѣсто для моста черезъ Аму-Дарью и для барража, если когда-нибудь рѣшатся наложить руку инженерной техники на эту непокорную доселѣ рѣку и использовать въ цѣляхъ орошенія обоихъ береговъ весь избытокъ протекающей по Аму-Дарьѣ воды, не давая ей разливаться по своему произволу, или уходить безъ пользы въ Аральское море.

см: *Стеткевич*, Очерки Хивинского оазиса (окончание), сс. 202–203. Далее о практике предоставления налоговых льгот представителям почитаемых религиозных сословий в ханстве, см.: *William Wood*, A Collection of Tarkhan Yarliqs from the Khānate of Khiva, // *Papers on Inner Asia* 38. Bloomington, 2005; *Ulfatbek Abdurasulov*, Atā-ī Mulk and Yārlīqlī-Mulk: Features of Land Tenure in Khiva // Der Islam № 88/2, 2012. Pp. 308–323.

Отъ Джагарбенда до Дарганъ-Ата остается 40 верстъ и вечеромъ 10-го Іюня мы прибыли туда и остановились на станціи при домѣ Мухаммадъ Ніяза Хальфа, завѣдующаго этимъ селеніемъ на правахъ помощника Хазараспскаго бека. Здѣсь же давно уже, болѣе трехъ мѣсяцевъ, живетъ Питнякскій Наибъ Игамберды Авазбердіевъ, которому поручена постройка новаго дома для Дарганатинскаго почтово-телеграфнаго отдѣленія съ квартирой для начальника Отдѣленія и /32/ службами. Домъ принадлежитъ Сайидъ Исламу Ходжѣ, и онъ сдаетъ домъ въ аренду по 500 руб. въ годъ. Домъ неважный, комнаты маленькія, строится очень экономно, въ расчетѣ на прибыль отъ аренды.

Въ селеніи Дарганъ-Ата всего 300 дворовъ изъ нихъ: Бухарскихъ подданныхъ – 100, Туркменъ рода Ата – 50; Іомудовъ – 7, остальные – Хивинцы. У русскихъ подданныхъ здѣсь тоже есть хозяйства, на арендованныхъ у Хивинскаго Хана «атлычныхъ» земляхъ: у Начальника почтово-телеграфнаго отделенія г. Лукьянова, армянина Тотевосова и Капитана Шлефендорфа. Послѣдній поднимаетъ на свою землю воду насосомъ, работающимъ при помощи нефтяного двигателя.

Въ Дарганъ-Ата сѣютъ больше всего пшеницу, хлопчатникъ и клеверъ. Таджики, Хивинцы и Іомуды пользуются водою изъ общаго канала Ханъ-Ябъ, а Туркмены-Ата имѣютъ свой каналъ Ата-Ябъ. На базарѣ 20 лавокъ, базарные дни по субботамъ. Дарганъ-Ата уплачиваетъ *салгыт*а около 1.000 *тилл*ей. Здѣсь имѣютъ земли Ханскіе Сановники: Юсуфъ Есаулъ-баши – 1.000 *танап*овъ, Юнусъ Есаулъ-баши (нынѣ не у дѣлъ) – 1.000 *танап*овъ, Игамбирды Наибъ – 1.000 *танап*овъ и наслѣдники Ибадуллы Ходжи (дядя Исламъ Ходжи) – 350 *танап*овъ. Здѣшній *Наиб*ъ доставляетъ ежегодно для Ханскаго двора и Сановниковъ 10.000 пуд. саксаула (на мѣстѣ покупаетъ по 10 коп. за пудъ) и 10.000 пуд. саксаульнаго угля (на мѣстѣ – 13 коп. пудъ). Доставка въ Хиву этого топлива обходится 13–15 коп. за пудъ. Наибъ 4 раза въ годъ ѣздитъ въ Хиву съ подарками. За сборомъ с*алгыт*а пріѣзжаетъ лично Хазараспскій бекъ Сайидъ Исмаилъ Ходжа, или его довѣренный.

Жители Дарганъ-Ата имѣютъ подспорье въ хозяйствѣ, именно: сборъ корня растенія *буян* (солодковый корень), растущаго здѣсь въ такомъ изобиліи, что онъ совершенно глушитъ всякое сельско-хозяйственное растеніе, если съ его ростомъ упорно не борятся. Для уничтоженія *буян*а сѣютъ рисъ, послѣ риса 1–2 года *буян*а не быва- /32 об./ етъ и тогда хорошо родится пшеница или хлопчатникъ. Потомъ *буянъ* опять даетъ себя знать.

Какая-то англійская компанія черезъ своего довѣреннаго, живущаго въ Чарджуѣ, присылаетъ уже второй годъ въ Дарганъ-Ата приказчика, скупающаго здѣсь выкопанный жителями за зиму корень *буян*а. Раньше здѣсь покупали до 700.000 пуд. корня, нынче же предположено купить и отправить въ Гамбургъ до 1 милліона пудовъ этого корня.[81] Покупают корень по 7 ½ – 10-12 коп. за пудъ. Жители заготовляютъ къ сезону скупки возможно большее количество товара.

Занимались здѣсь земледѣліемъ и мелкіе хозяева русскіе крестьяне, но бросили изъ-за недостатка средствъ и изъ-за постоянныхъ потравъ скотомъ туземцевъ. Начальникъ станціи Лукьяновъ работаетъ хорошо.

Въ Дарганъ-Ата на базарѣ имѣется небольшой хлопкоочистительный заводъ *Баджман*а[82] (сборщика таможенныхъ пошлинъ) Сайидъ Мурадъ Аминова.[83] Склады и постройки дворовыя очень хороши, но заводъ съ нефтянымъ моторомъ никуда не годится. Всего 1 джинъ, 1 маленькая мельница съ приводомъ. Машина въ полномъ безпорядкѣ, видимо машиниста

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81 Речь идет, очевидно, о британской компании «Мак Андрюс энд Форбс» (MacAndrews & Forbes), которой в 1908 г. в г. Чарджуй был построен завод по прессованию корня солодки. Помимо российского рынка, основная часть солодкового корня и полуфабрикатов, заготовленных в Бухаре и Хиве, через порты Батуми отправлялась также в США, Англию и Германию. Низкая закупочная стоимость и отсутствие конкурентов на этом рынке очевидно делали этот бизнес довольно выгодным, см.: *Ниязматов*, Поиск консенсуса, сс. 397–398. См. также: *Introduction*, pp. 50–51, fn. 99.

82 *Баджман* – сборщик таможенных пошлин.

83 Подробнее о хлопко-очистительном заводе Саййид Мурад Аминова в селении Дарган-Ата, см. *Ниязматов*, Поиск консенсуса, сс. 244–245.

приглашаютъ только временно, на сезонъ очистки хлопка, а то выбираютъ служащаго подешевле, не требуя отъ него большихъ познаній въ механикѣ, лишь бы умѣлъ пустить въ ходъ единственный джинъ.

При выходѣ по окончаніи осмотра завода довѣренный, какъ здѣсь говорятъ, «*кандъ синдурды*», буквально – «сломалъ сахаръ»; часто при встрѣчахъ выносятъ хлѣбъ, но особенно почетнымъ считается угощеніе сахаромъ, для чего отъ небольшой цѣлой головки отбивается нѣсколько кусковъ и подносится гостю, вместо хлѣба-соли, на подносѣ.

Сахаръ подаютъ непремѣнно Хану, это соблюдается даже въ домѣ Начальника Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла, при посещеніи Хивинскимъ Ханомъ Петро-Александровска.

Ломаютъ сахаръ въ Хивинскомъ Ханствѣ еще при судебныхъ рѣшеніяхъ и раздаютъ присутствующимъ, чѣмъ /33/ обязываютъ ихъ быть свидѣтелями о состоявшемся рѣшеніи и раздача сахара имѣетъ значеніе доказательства, что извѣстное событіе совершилось.[84]

Ломать здѣшній сахаръ очень легко, онъ очень мягокъ и крошится. Сахаръ желтоватый, очень плохо рафинированный, въ маленькихъ 5-фунтовыхъ головкахъ. На всемъ пространствѣ Ханства Хивинскаго только и видишь этотъ скверный сахаръ какого-то неизвѣстнаго Кіевскаго завода съ надписью по-французски и по-узбекски. По-французски написано, что сахаръ

[84] Несмотря на то, что Лыкошин сообщает о широком распространении данного обряда, среди имеющихся в нашем распоряжении источников удалось найти только одно упоминание о его проведении в Хорезме. Так, в записках Мирза Абдурахман Самарканди, составленных в июне и июле 1873 г., во время его его поездки по Хивинскому ханству в качестве помощника и переводчика российского ориенталиста Александра Куна, он приводит любопытные этнографические описания различных групп населения Хорезма. В числе прочего, Мирза Абдурахман сообщает о проведении обряда венчания, в ходе которого применялся ритуал «ломания сахара» с его последующей раздачей присутствующим (*канд-ра шекасте таксим мекунанд*), см.: Мирза Абдурахман, б. Мухаммад Латиф Мустаджирр, [*Записки*], рук. AVIVR RAN, ф. 33, оп. 1, д. 134, л. 55b.

двойной рафинировки, а по-узбекски написано просто: «*кандъ Ало, Ало, Ало*», что значитъ сахаръ самого высшаго достоинства, то что у насъ называется «*extra fin*». Такова надпись, а качество сахара – ниже всякой критики и нигдѣ въ Хивѣ, исключая развѣ значительныхъ городовъ, нельзя найти другого – народъ довольствуется этимъ плохимъ сахаромъ, который такъ удобно ломать при торжественныхъ встрѣчахъ.

Въ общемъ, дорога по лѣвому берегу Аму-Дарьи отъ Хазараспа до Дарганъ-Ата (172 вер.) пустынна. Только близь такъ называемыхъ городовъ, [к] которымъ здѣсь относятъ: Хазараспъ, Питнякъ и Дарганъ-Ата имѣется культура и отдѣльныя четырехугольныя постройки Хивинцевъ, сгущающіеся къ центру селенія, или «*кала*». Здѣсь сѣютъ много пшеницы, а около Питняка также много риса. Стоитъ отъѣхать верстъ 5 отъ центра селенія и культура кончается, переходя въ неорошенныя площади земли съ лессовымъ грунтомъ, перемежающіеся съ настоящими песками, мѣстами зыбучими или подвижными. Степь безъ растительности, если не считать солянку – «*азараспанъ*», пышно растущую зелеными стелющимися по землѣ кустами.[85] Такую степь туземцы называютъ здѣсь «*кыръ*», въ отличіе отъ настоящихъ песковъ – «*кумъ*» или «*чага*». Ближе къ берегу Аму-Дарьи, около Джагирбенда и по дорогѣ къ Дарганъ-Ата есть не особенно густые тугаи. Аму-Дарья почти все время видна съ дороги, верстахъ въ 2–6 отъ пути.

/33 об./ Станціи на этомъ пути всѣ устроены на счетъ Хивинскаго Правительства и устроены такъ, что совершенно не удовлетворяютъ своему назначенію – служить помѣщеніемъ для проѣзжающихъ. Ханскіе служащіе, получивъ приказаніе выстроить станціи и необходимыя для этого средства,

[85] Очевидно, речь идет о растении могильник обыкновенный, известном у населения центральноазиатского региона под названиями «*хазар-испанд*» или «*исирик*». Отвар растения и особенно его дым (окуривание) традиционно используются местным населением в качестве действенного антибактериального средства.

обыкновенно пристраиваютъ «*печь*»,[86] как здѣсь называютъ отапливаемое печкой помѣщеніе, къ своему же дому, гдѣ живетъ *бекъ* или *наибъ*, отводя для станціи самое скверное мѣсто, где-нибудь на задворкахъ. Когда пріѣзжаетъ какое-нибудь высокопоставленное лицо, *бекъ* или *наибъ* принимаетъ пріѣзжаго у себя въ домѣ, а проѣзжающимъ, не занимающимъ высокаго служебнаго положенія и потому не могущимъ претендовать на особое къ себѣ вниманіе со стороны *бека*, приходится съ большими лишеніями останавливаться на станціи въ «*печи*».

Комната обычно одна съ 2-мя маленькими окнами съ ординарными рамами и безъ ставенъ. Полъ каменный. Въ углу плохо сложенная утермарковская печь,[87] не способная ни согрѣть, ни высушить совсѣмъ сырое помѣщеніе. Въ другомъ углу, вместо умывальника сартовская яма – *абризъ*, покрытая камнемъ съ отверстіями для стока воды. Комната сыра, потому что строена безъ фундамента, а почва солончаковая; сырость и пробирается снизу по стѣнамъ, и держится въ нихъ такъ, что высушить нельзя. Скверно, темно и сыро. Старостъ нѣтъ, за исключеніемъ Питняка, гдѣ служитъ получая 30 руб. въ мѣсяцъ жалованья, охивинившійся солдатъ Гольцъ. Этотъ староста завѣдуетъ передачей почты на Новый Ургенчъ, но не живетъ на станціи, а въ другомъ домѣ и только заходитъ когда нужно справиться о почтѣ, или о проѣзжающихъ.

Мой Помощникъ Капитанъ Трошкинъ недавно былъ вызванъ въ Чарджуй по дѣлу и ему пришлось проѣхать по тому же пути дальше, по территоріи Бухарскаго /34/ Ханства. Тамъ станціи еще хуже нашихъ, хотя и наши не могутъ похвастаться удобствами. Желательно улучшить эти станціи и довести ихъ

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86 Из повествования Лыкошина можно заключить, что в рассматриваемое время отдельные виды помещений в ханстве стало принято оснащать, очевидно в целях отопления, русскими печами. Постепенно, очевидно, местное население стало применять название «печь» не только к самому устройству, но и в целом к данному типу помещений.

87 Утермарковская печь – кирпичная печь, обшитая железом; имела обычно вид вертикального цилиндра. Начиная с первой половины XIX в. получила широкое распространение в России.

хотя бы до состоянія нашихъ земскихъ станцій по дорогѣ изъ Петро-Александровска въ Нукусъ. Тамъ отдѣльные, даже вполне прилично обставленные, довольно теплые и съ постоянными старостами, наблюдающими за порядкомъ и доставляющими проѣзжающимъ все необходимое.

Слѣдующую поѣздку въ Хиву, имѣвшую цѣлью объездъ Туркменіи и улаженіе недоразумѣній между Туркменами и Ханомъ на почвѣ несочувствія Туркменъ предположеннымъ Ханомъ реформамъ, мнѣ, по необходимости, пришлось соединить съ предварительнымъ объѣздомъ части ввѣреннаго мнѣ Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла.

Выѣхавъ 25 Іюня изъ Петро-Александровска, я черезъ Гульдурсунъ-кала, Кызылъ-кала, Султанъ-Ваисъ Баба, Кентау, Ходжакуль, Нахарханъ, Биш-Тюбе, Нукусъ, Чимбай[88] прибылъ въ г. Кунградъ, въ Хивинскомъ Ханствѣ 4 Іюля.

Въ Кунградѣ мнѣ необходимо было побывать не только потому, что съ этого именно пункта начинаются кочевья Кулли-Іомудовъ-Туркменъ (озерныхъ Іомудовъ), но еще и потому, что близь Кунграда остались казармы раньше стоявшей здѣсь сотни и мнѣ нужно было осмотрѣть эти зданія для рѣшенія вопроса какъ ихъ можно использовать. Не зная раньше точно границы крайней Киргизской волости Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла Кунградской и прилегающей къ ней Яны-Базарской, я думалъ, что на запросъ Инженерной Дистанціи объ использованіи казарменныхъ помѣщеній, возможно предложить отдать ихъ въ распоряженіе администраціи съ тѣмъ, что въ Кунградѣ можно будет устроить киргизско-русскую школу съ интернатомъ. Побывавъ на мѣстѣ, я убѣдился, что двѣ упомянутыя выше Киргизскіе волости только краями подходятъ къ Кунграду, а потому расположеніе проектированной мною школы въ Хивинскомъ Ханствѣ, вдали

[88] Все перечисленные населенные пункты находились на правом, «русском», берегу Амударьи, т.е. в административной юрисдикции Аму-Дарьинского отдела Туркестанского генерал-губернаторства. И лишь после переправы на противоположный берег, очевидно у г. Кунград, Лыкошин формально ступил на территорию Хивинского ханства.

отъ цент- /34 об./ ра волостей было бы неудобно. Къ тому же и зданія, которыя я осмотрѣлъ, лѣтъ 5 уже стоящіе безъ ремонта, пришли въ такой упадокъ, что нашимъ Киргизамъ не подъ силу хорошо отремонтировать ихъ подъ школу и выгоднѣе было бы, когда понадобится, выстроить новое зданіе для школы въ раіонѣ волостей. Придется отвѣтить Инженерной Дистанціи, что зданія казармъ казачьей сотни не могутъ быть использованы мѣстной администраціей для какихъ бы то ни было цѣлей и остается только возможно скорѣе продать зданія на сломъ, чтобы они еще больше не обезцѣнились, разрушаясь отъ непогоды и подвергаясь расхищенію. Мѣстный *бекъ* держитъ при зданіяхъ караульщика, но присмотръ этотъ недостаточенъ; караульщикъ иногда отлучается въ городъ по своимъ дѣламъ, а в это время туземцы могутъ портить зданія, унося мелкія вещи. Скорѣйшая продажа зданій положительно необходима, а высказанное и Начальникомъ Чарджуйской Инженерной Дистанціи предположеніе отдать матеріалы зданій казачьихъ казармъ безвозмездно, въ пособіе на постройку церкви въ г. Петро-Александровскѣ, совершенно не пріемлемо, такъ какъ перевозка матеріаловъ, вверхъ по рѣкѣ, обошлась бы гораздо дороже стоимости самихъ матеріаловъ и Комитетъ по постройкѣ церкви не можетъ принять такового дара безъ явнаго ущерба для постройки церкви.

Если продажа съ аукціонного торга будетъ признана невыгодной, то единственно куда возможно направить матеріалы отъ разборки зданій, главнымъ образомъ лѣсъ, это Нукусъ, если тамъ рѣшено будетъ строить домъ для лѣсничаго, въ казенномъ саду (на мѣстѣ бывшей квартиры Чимбайскаго участковаго пристава) или помѣщеніе почтово-телеграфнаго отдѣленія, объ устройствѣ котораго идетъ переписка уже давно. Въ Нукусъ еще можно довольно дешево доставить матеріалы изъ Кунграда, благодаря тому, что можно погрузить ихъ на каюки въ Кызылъ-Джарѣ, въ 15 вер - /35/ стахъ отъ Кунграда и водой доставить къ мѣсту постройки по Аму-Дарьѣ и протоку Куваншъ-Джармы – Кокъ-Узяку.

Однако и такое примѣненіе Кунградскихъ матеріаловъ возможно только въ томъ случаѣ, если 6-я сотня 4-го Оренбургскаго

казачьяго полка, квартирующая нынѣ въ сел. Нукусѣ, будетъ тамъ стоять и далѣе, занимая свои вполнѣ исправныя казармы. Если же, какъ говорятъ, и эту сотню переведутъ къ штабу полка, тогда и въ сел. Нукусѣ остается очень много военныхъ зданій, которыя придется приспособлять для надобностей гражданскаго вѣдомства.

Послѣ осмотра казармъ, я остановился на ночлегъ въ домѣ Оренбургскаго купца Камалова, Татарина, торгующаго здѣсь уже 35 лѣтъ. Торговля мануфактурная, хозяинъ старикъ живетъ постоянно въ г. Оренбургѣ, но домъ свой предоставилъ для пріема пріѣзжающихъ въ Кунградъ начальствующихъ лицъ. Мѣстный *бекъ* здѣсь не имѣетъ хорошаго помѣщенія и потому приходится пользоваться единственнымъ европейскимъ домомъ Камалова; здѣсь въ 1908 году останавливался даже пріѣзжавшій смотрѣть казачью сотню Генералъ Субботичъ.[89]

Въ Кунградѣ, Хивинскомъ городѣ, расположенномъ какъ разъ на границѣ Ханства съ Россіей, имѣется большой туземный базаръ, снабжающій все населеніе степи русскими фабричными произведеніями. Торговля тихо идетъ лѣтомъ, пока туземцы заняты сельско-хозяйственными работами и только въ случаѣ крайней нужды посѣщаютъ городъ съ базаромъ. Зато осенью и зимой базаръ очень бойко торгуетъ преимущественно съ кочевниками сосѣднихъ русскихъ волостей до самого взморья и съ Хивинскими Туркменами и Киргизами, кочующими къ западу отъ Кунграда. Случается, что въ одинъ базарный день рѣжутъ на мясо до 400 козъ.

[89] Деан Иванович Субботич (1852–1920), генерал-губернатор Туркестанского края в 1905–1906 гг. Возможно, что дата 1908 г. указана Лыкошиным ошибочно, поскольку еще в 1906 г. Субботич был разжалован со своей должности в связи с обвинениями в либерализме и был вынужден тайно покинуть Туркестан. Имеются сообщения о его визите в Хивинское ханство в 1905 г., тогда как о его возможном посещении Хивинского ханства в 1908 г. никаких сведений обнаружить не удалось.

/35 об./ Русскихъ торговцевъ въ Кунградѣ нѣтъ ни одного, торгуютъ Татары и Армянѣ. Все населеніе этого города терпитъ большія неудобства изъ-за трудности доставленія сюда и отправки почтовой корреспонденціи. Обойтись безъ почты торговому люду положительно невозможно, а ближайшимъ къ Кунграду пунктомъ, гдѣ возможно получить только простыя письма и отправить такія же, разъ въ недѣлю, является селеніе Нукусъ, связанное съ Петро-Александровскомъ земской почтой. Почта посылается изъ селенія Нукусъ со спеціально нанятымъ для этого джигитомъ и очень часто запаздываетъ. Джигиту приходится еженедѣльно дѣлать около 400 верстъ, лошадь у него служитъ безъ смѣны и потому ѣдетъ онъ тихо, въ дорогѣ никто не контролируетъ правильности движенія почты. Такъ дѣло обстоитъ съ почтовымъ сообщеніемъ до сел. Нукуса, но вѣдь дальше еще хуже: тамъ и совсѣмъ нѣтъ почтоваго сообщенія и живущимъ въ г. Кунградѣ приходится нанимать въ складчину особаго джигита и посылать его еженедѣльно, къ приходу почты, въ Нукусъ. Это верстъ около 100, по плохой, мѣстами залитой водой дорогѣ и посылка джигита разъ въ недѣлю вызываетъ значительный расходъ, до 75 руб. въ мѣсяцъ со всехъ жителей Кунграда. Одна фирма Камалова ежемѣсячно тратитъ на почтаря 5 руб., остальные торговцы платятъ меньше помѣсячно, а за доставку изъ Нукуса писемъ случайнымъ корреспондентомъ взимается по 10 коп. за каждое письмо. Жители Кунграда нетерпѣливо ожидаютъ устройства въ сел. Нукусѣ правительственнаго почтово-телеграфнаго учрежденія, такъ какъ улучшеніе сношеній крайне необходимо для всѣхъ здѣшнихъ торговцевъ.

Доставка товаровъ въ Кунградъ въ самое послѣднее время значительно облегчилась. Пароходство общества «Хива» стало съ морскихъ пароходовъ пе- /36/ регружать на рѣчной грузы, адресованные въ Кунградъ и подвозить ихъ къ пристани Кызылъ-Джаръ, въ 15 верстахъ отъ Кунграда. Тотчасъ по прибытіи парохода даютъ знать въ Кунградъ и оттуда посылаютъ перевозочныя средства для пріема прибывшаго товара.

Въ самомъ городѣ Кунградѣ, на землѣ принадлежащей мѣстному *бі*ю Кутлумураду Таджи Мурадову, находится памятникъ

русскимъ воинамъ, убитымъ при Кунградѣ въ 1873 году. Это небольшой обелискъ изъ жжённаго кирпича, съ чугуннымъ крестомъ на верху и надписью на чугунной доскѣ: «*Памяти воиновъ убитыхъ при г. Кунградѣ въ 1873 году*». Около памятника нѣсколько простыхъ могилъ съ деревянными крестами, это видимо солдатскія и 2 отдѣланныя глазурованными кирпичами – могила офицера и ребенка. По моей просьбѣ, *бій* обѣщалъ обнести русское кладбище глинобитнымъ заборомъ и сдѣлать въ немъ калитку. Такъ лучше всего охранить цѣлость могилъ нашихъ соотечественниковъ, погибшихъ на чужой сторонѣ.

5-го Іюля рано утромъ, черезъ урочище Тыркышъ, мы продолжили путь до Янги-Кала. Дорога пролегаетъ здѣсь все время по дну давно высохшихъ озеръ, поросшему низкорослыми тугайными кустарниками. Эти высохшія озера свидѣтельствуютъ о значительномъ уменьшеніи количества оросительной воды и много земель пустуютъ, постепенно покрываясь барханами движущихся песковъ.

Верстахъ въ 50 отъ Кунграда, на берегу значительнаго канала Бекъ-Ябъ, лѣтъ 13–14 тому назадъ выстроено четырехугольное укрѣпленіе Янги-Кала. Это просто огороженное высокимъ глинобитнымъ заборомъ пространство, десятины три площадью. Въ заборѣ трое воротъ, въ серединѣ живетъ помощникъ (*наибъ*) Куня-Ургенчскаго бека, не имѣющій здѣсь даже приличнаго жилого помѣщенія. Видимо вновь основанное укрѣпленіе не будетъ имѣть никакого значенія и здѣсь не разовьется даже базаръ, тѣмъ болѣе, что прежде са- /36 об./ мостоятельное Чуманайское бекство, въ которомъ расположено укрѣпленіе, нынѣ присоединено къ Куня-Ургенчскому бекству. Такое измѣненіе совпало съ назначеніемъ на должность Куня-Ургенчскаго бека Исхака Ходжи, родного брата перваго сановника Ханства Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи. Видимо въ Ханствѣ есть тенденція къ образованію болѣе крупныхъ единицъ административнаго дѣленія – такъ и Питнякское бекство недавно было присоединено къ Хазараспскому и утратило самостоятельное значеніе.

Черезъ три часа ѣзды отъ Янги-Кала достигли древняго кладбища Азизляръ-Баба, гдѣ можно было переночевать на дворикѣ возле мазара; для насъ, по распоряженію Куня-Ургенчскаго бека были выставлены юрты. Кладбище святого привлекаетъ много паломниковъ и паломницъ. Женщины надѣются на помощь святого отъ безплодія и посѣщаютъ *мазаръ* въ большомъ числѣ еженедѣльно по четвергамъ. Всѣ паломники проводятъ здѣсь ночь съ четверга на пятницу, предаваясь суфійскому радѣнію (*зикръ*) подъ руководствомъ мѣстнаго *шейх*а, предварительно уничтоживъ значительное количество жертваннаго мяса. *Назр*омъ или приношеніемъ служатъ исключительно бараны, которыхъ тутъ же и съѣдаютъ сообща.

Мой пріѣздъ, въ сопровожденіи высланныхъ для встрѣчи хивинскихъ *нукер*овъ – всадниковъ, вооруженныхъ берданами, съ піясами въ видѣ открытыхъ патронташей, помѣшалъ исполненію всей программы поклоненія. Молящіеся до насъ уже совершили *зіарат*ъ, поклоненіе могилѣ святого и въ громадномъ котлѣ варили уже для всѣхъ супъ, послѣ котораго, часовъ въ 9 вечера, долженъ былъ начаться *зикръ* – радѣніе. Прибывшее войско съѣло весь сваренный супъ и пришлось начать варить новый котелъ, а время *зикра* тѣмъ временемъ прошло и радѣніе не состоялось, тѣмъ болѣе что ночью прибылъ сюда Куня-Ургенчскій *бек*ъ Сайидъ Исхакъ /37/ Ходжа, спѣшившій ко мнѣ на встрѣчу изъ Хивы, гдѣ онъ обыкновенно живетъ.

Въ Хивинскомъ Ханствѣ большая часть сановниковъ, управляющихъ бекствами, назначаются изъ жителей города Хивы, близкихъ ко двору Хана и не перевозятъ своихъ семействъ въ свою резиденцію, а живутъ въ бекствѣ одинокими, или женятся тамъ снова, создавая второю мѣстную семью. Большинство *бек*овъ, особенно братья перваго сановника, большую часть времени живутъ въ столицѣ Ханства, а въ бекство выѣзжаютъ только по дѣламъ, или для сбора податей.

На *мазарѣ* Азизляръ-Баба, къ моему пріѣзду, безъ всякаго съ моей стороны приглашенія, прибыло нѣсколько туркменскихъ *кетхуда* разныхъ родовъ, съ которыми я и началъ свои объясненія по поводу предстоящаго измѣренія земель для

опредѣленія поземельной подати и о прекращеніи очистки туркменскихъ каналовъ на счетъ Хивинскаго правительства. Оказалось, что эта группа Туркменъ Іомудовъ принадлежитъ къ числу такъ называемыхъ «Ханскихъ», или «дѣлающихъ Хану *куллукъ*», [то есть] кланяющихся Хану, какъ называютъ здѣсь тѣхъ Туркменъ, которые польстились на какія-нибудь льготы или подачки Хивинскаго Правительства, безпрекословно подчинились волѣ Хана и его Сановниковъ.

Въ Ханствѣ идетъ все время тайная дипломатическая агитація, направленная къ успокоенію непокорныхъ Туркменъ и ихъ порабощенію. Цѣль эта достигается привлеченіемъ на сторону Ханскаго Правительства отдѣльныхъ личностей, болѣе податливыхъ *кетхуда*, на которыхъ можно вліять удовлетвореніемъ ихъ корыстныхъ побужденій. Такой руководитель Туркменъ, перейдя на сторону Правительства, ведетъ къ нему и всѣхъ подвластныхъ ему Туркменъ, понуждая и ихъ подчиняться требованіямъ Правительства. Это вполнѣ возможно, потому что патріархальный строй жизни сохранился у Туркменъ еще вполнѣ и *кетхуда* пользуются неограни- /37 об./ ченнымъ вліяніемъ на массу народа.

Почти всегда хлопоты Ханскаго Правительства, направленныя къ порабощенію Туркменъ, приводятъ къ постепенному осѣданію Туркмен. Они понемногу начинаютъ заниматься земледѣліемъ, а вмѣстѣ съ осѣдлымъ образомъ жизни въ нихъ крѣпнетъ сознаніе необходимости охранить свое имущество и упрочить свое благосостояніе. Оружіе для такихъ замиренныхъ Туркменъ пріобрѣтаетъ уже значеніе охранительнаго, а не боевого матеріала, понемногу забывается и кровная месть, свирѣпствующая у чисто кочевыхъ Туркменъ. Такимъ образомъ, разлагающе действующая на доблесть Туркменъ упорная работа Хивинскаго Правительства, понемногу приводитъ ихъ къ мирной деятельности и повышаетъ ихъ достатокъ.

Группа Туркменъ, встрѣтившая меня въ Азизляръ-Баба, арендовала у Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи пожалованный ему Ханомъ значительный участокъ земли, который до того времени считался принадлежащимъ всѣмъ Туркменамъ. Такимъ образомъ,

Туркмены этой группы какъ бы нарушили обще-туркменскія традиціи, изъ личной корысти измѣнили обще-туркменскому дѣлу, узаконивъ своимъ согласіемъ на аренду земель, ихъ изъятіе изъ владѣнія кочевников. Произошла ссора между Туркменами, ослабившая протестовавшую группу Кулли-Іомудовъ и усилившая позицію Правительства. Взявшіе землю въ аренду Туркмены, потеряли связи съ Кулли-Іомудами и уже, конечно, должны были всецѣло подчиниться требованіямъ Правительства въ дѣлѣ поземельной реформы. Мнѣ ихъ даже мало пришлось убѣждать въ необходимости подчиненія.

Куня-Ургенчскаго *бек*а Сайидъ Исхака Ходжу я просилъ, отъ моего имени послать приглашеніе главному руководителю оппозиціи Махмудхану Атальханову, руководителю и *кетхуда* рода Урусъ-Кушчи, котораго /38/ я желалъ бы видѣть въ Куня-Ургенчѣ.

Бекъ объяснил мнѣ, что немедленно исполнитъ мою просьбу, но почти увѣренъ, что Махмудъ Атальхановъ и его единомышленники, не подчиняющіеся Правительству Хивы, не пріѣдутъ по приглашенію *бек*а, чтобы еще разъ подчеркнуть нежеланіе исполнять требованія правительственныхъ властей. Я просилъ, тѣмъ не менѣе, послать приглашеніе, и *бекъ* Исхакъ Ходжа это исполнилъ.

Махмудханъ Атальхановъ является руководителемъ оппозиціоннаго элемента среди Туркменъ Іомудовъ и, видимо, пользуется среди своихъ родичей значительнымъ вліяніемъ. Хивинское Правительство считаетъ его однимъ изъ самыхъ важныхъ агитаторовъ оппозиціи и неоднократно, какъ говорятъ въ народѣ, посылались люди, чтобы убить Махмудхана. Пока всѣ покушенія были безъ результатовъ, но о томъ, что голова Махмудхана оцѣнена въ 1000 *тилл*ей мнѣ говорилъ въ Петро-Александровскѣ Туркменъ Шахъ-За, секретный агентъ среди Туркменъ, доставлявшій моему предмѣстнику Генералъ-Маіору Глушановскому нѣкоторые свѣдѣнія о дѣлахъ въ Туркменіи. О себѣ Шахъ-За сказалъ, что и его голова оцѣнена въ 600 *тилл*ей и убѣдительно просилъ поскорѣй пріѣхать лично въ Туркменію и выслушать жалобы Туркменъ, чтобы насколько

возможно облегчить ихъ участь. Я, сообразивъ свое время, обѣщалъ Шахъ-За, что мы увидимся черезъ мѣсяцъ, в Іюлѣ текущаго года и онъ, обрадованный, отъ меня уѣхалъ.[90]

Еще въ Кунградѣ мнѣ говорили, что вскорѣ после возвращенія изъ Петро-Александровска въ Туркменію Шахъ-За былъ внезапно арестованъ спеціально за нимъ посланными Ханскими *нукер*ами и его повели въ Хиву. Съ дороги Шахъ-За удалось бѣжать, но его опять поймали и доставили въ Хиву, гдѣ арестовали въ арестномъ домѣ при зимнемъ дворцѣ «Арк», прикрѣпивъ цѣпью за ногу. Туркмены, разсказывавшіе мнѣ объ арестѣ Шахъ-За, объяснили этотъ арестъ тѣмъ, что Шахъ-За имѣетъ сношенія съ Начальникомъ Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла и пере- /38 об./ даетъ ему о всѣхъ несправедливостяхъ Хивинскаго Правительства по отношенію къ Туркменамъ.[91] Туркмены опасались главнымъ образомъ за жизнь старика Шахъ-За, котораго могли просто убить и который просто могъ умереть отъ страха при арестѣ. Арестъ Шахъ-За, виднаго родовича и убеждённаго борца за интересы Туркменъ, произвелъ на его единоплеменниковъ очень сильное впечатленіе и объ этомъ много говорили. Меня просили по пріѣздѣ въ Хиву просить Хана освободить Шахъ-За, если онъ къ этому времени будетъ еще въ живыхъ.

Я обѣщалъ Туркменамъ сдѣлать все возможное для облегченія участи Шахъ-За.

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90 Хивинский автор Хасан Мурад Лаффаси сообщает полное имя Шах-За – Шахджан Шамиев, см.: Хасан Мадаминов (Лаффаси), *Отрывки из истории Хивинского ханства. Период 1910–1913 гг.*, л. 92.

91 Несмотря на то, что Лыкошин повсеместно отмечает, что Шах-За являлся секретным осведомителем его предшественника в должности Начальника АДО Глушановского, в действительности можно заключить, что и сам Лыкошин имел встречу с Шах-За в Петро-Александровске и получал от него информацию, непосредственно перед отбытием в Хивинское ханство. Несколькими параграфами ниже Лыкошин также признает, что арест Шах-За был предпринят Хивинскими властями в связи с «желаніемъ Хивинскихъ сановниковъ показать мнѣ, что тайна агентуры Шахъ-За открыта», см.: ниже, с. 185.

Въ Куня-Ургенчѣ разговоры объ арестѣ Шахъ-За все продолжались и мнѣ кажется, что *бекъ* Исхакъ-Ходжа, часто посылавшій въ Хиву донесенія о моихъ передвиженіяхъ, упомянулъ и о томъ, что объ арестѣ Шахъ-За доведено до моего свѣдѣнія. Нѣкоторое время я не говорилъ ничего *бек*у, но когда онъ самъ упомянулъ о Шахъ-За, *бекъ* Исхакъ Ходжа объяснилъ, что Шахъ-За по слухамъ, обвинили въ томъ, что онъ возмущаетъ туркменское населеніе противъ Правительства, а ему, Исхакъ Ходжѣ, поручено произвести дознаніе о преступной дѣятельности Шахъ-За.

Арестъ туркменскаго агента Начальника Отдѣла незадолго до моего пріѣзда въ Туркменію я лично объясняю желаніемъ Хивинскихъ сановниковъ показать мнѣ, что тайна агентуры Шахъ-За открыта и, кромѣ того, устрашающе подѣйствовать и на незговорчивыхъ Туркменъ, къ руководителю которыхъ – Махмудхану – Шахъ-За былъ очень близокъ. Я рѣшилъ сдѣлать видъ, что лично меня арестъ Шахъ-За мало интересуетъ, но добился все-таки заявленія *бек*а Исхакъ Ходжи, что дознаніемъ его ничего преступнаго со стороны Шахъ-За не открыто.

Второй маневръ для обвиненія Махмудхана Атальханова въ противоправительственной пропагандѣ заключался въ слѣдующемъ. Во время моего пребыванія в Ку- /39/ ня Ургенчѣ, въ домѣ *бек*а Исхака Ходжи,* распространили слухъ, доведённый и до моего свѣдѣнія сопровождавшимъ меня волостнымъ управителемъ Нукусской волости ввѣреннаго мнѣ Отдѣла Инаятомъ Ніязовымъ: одинъ изъ мирныхъ Туркменъ Аминъ, находящійся во враждѣ съ Махмудханомъ Атальхановымъ, разсказалъ, что за три дня до моего пріѣзда въ Куня-Ургенчъ, пріѣхали трое русскихъ рабочихъ изъ Петро-Александровска и объяснили, что имѣютъ письмо отъ одного изъ Петро-Александровскихъ купцовъ Турдыбая къ Куня-Ургенчскому купцы Бабаджанбаю

* [Лыкошин:] Этотъ домъ принадлежалъ прежде Диванбеги Матъ-Мураду, но съ арестованіемъ его сыновей, былъ конфискованъ и признанъ казеннымъ. Теперь въ немъ квартира Куня-Ургенчскаго бека.

по поводу установки у послѣдняго водоподъемной машины. Сами рабочіе сказали, что ихъ спеціальность – установка машинъ подобнаго рода. Въ Куня-Ургенчѣ никакого Бабаджанбая не оказалось, и никто въ услугахъ рабочихъ не нуждается.

Этимъ однако разсказъ о пріѣзде рабочихъ не кончился и Аминъ, видимо желая обвинить Махмудхана Атальханова въ противоправительственной пропагандѣ, разсказалъ, что трое русскихъ рабочихъ объяснили ему по секрету, что они посланы Великимъ Княземъ Николаемъ Константиновичемъ** для помощи Туркменамъ. Рабочіе говорили далѣе, что имъ хорошо извѣстны всѣ невзгоды, переносимые Туркменами въ Хивинскомъ Ханствѣ и что все зло происходитъ отъ Сайида Ислама Ходжи, который имѣетъ громадное вліяніе на молодого Хана. Рабочіе высказали намереніе посовѣтоваться съ Махмудханомъ Атальхановымъ о выборѣ трехъ депутатовъ со стороны туркменскаго населенія, которыхъ предложено доставить въ Петербургъ и тамъ добиться назначенія Ханомъ Азгари-Туры, старшаго брата нынѣшняго Хана.[92] /39 об./ Рабочіе просили у

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* [Лыкошин:] Эта ссылка, очевидно вымышленная, объясняется тѣмъ, что, когда Великій Князь производилъ работы на Лаузанѣ, братъ Махмудхана оказалъ Его Высочеству услуги и во время работъ стоялъ при немъ, въ качествѣ десятника-распорядителя рабочими.

92 Очевидно, имеется в виду Махмуд Аскар Тура (ум. 1915), старший брат Исфандийар-хана. Как старший сын покойного Мухаммад Рахим-хана II, Махмуд Аскар Тура неоднократно рассматривался различными фракциями при дворе в качестве альтернативы Исфандийар-хану, как имеющий, по их мнению, больше прав на престол, нежели его царствующий младший брат, см. например: *Хасан Мадаминов (Лаффаси)*, Отрывки из истории Хивинского ханства. Период 1910–1913 гг., лл. 64–64 об.; *Лыкошин*, Рапорт Г. Туркестанскому Генерал-губернатору, 10.02.1914, № 8; O‘zMA, ф. И-2, оп. 1, д. 348, лл. 4–5. Возможно, по этой причине, отношения между братьями оставались прохладными: старшему из братьев не только не было разрешено появляться при дворе, но, более того, по настоянию Исфандийар-хана, он был лишен эпитета «*тура*», характерного при передаче имен принцев крови, *Лыкошин*, Рапорт, 27.05.1914, № 90; O‘zMA, И-2, оп. 1, д. 348, л. 40 об. Лыкошин, которому удалось навестить Махмуд Аскар Тура в июле 1914 г., описывал его как «слабо соображающего», «бывшего человека», с «в конец расстроенной нервной системой»,

Амина 4 руб. за расходы, тотъ имъ отказалъ и они, нанявъ арбу, поѣхали по ихъ словамъ къ Махмудхану.

Весь разсказъ враждующаго съ Махмудханомъ Амина мнѣ показался неправдоподобнымъ и, когда *бекъ*, узнавшій объ этомъ случаѣ, просилъ меня снабдить его приказомъ об арестованіи трехъ русскихъ агитаторовъ противъ Хана, я отказалъ ему въ этомъ, объяснивъ, что не считаю вздорные разсказы Амина достаточнымъ основаніемъ для розыска и ареста какихъ-то рабочихъ.

Предположеніе мое подтвердилось: ни отъ Туркменъ, ни отъ ихъ враговъ, на всемъ пути отъ Куня-Ургенча до гор. Хивы я ничего уже не слышалъ о трехъ русскихъ рабочихъ и достовѣрно узналъ, что къ Махмудхану Атальханову никто изъ русскихъ не пріѣзжалъ.

К числу такихъ, порочащихъ доброе имя Махмудхана Атальханова въ глазахъ Хивинскаго Правительства, разсказовъ про него надлежитъ отнести и слухъ о томъ, что послѣ работъ на Лаузанѣ, Великій Князь назначилъ Махмудхана – Ханомъ всѣхъ Туркменъ, проживающихъ въ Хивинскомъ Ханствѣ и, какъ знаки его достоинства, вручилъ ему флагъ и револьверъ.[93] Враги Махмудхана разсказываютъ, что Махмудханъ, принявъ изъ рукъ Русскаго Великаго Князя Ханское достоинство, сталъ претендовать на власть надъ Туркменами и полученный флагъ, какъ

см.: *Лыкошин*, К вопросу о выселении в пределы России старшего брата Хана Хивинского Махмуд-Азгар Тури, 19.07.1914; O‘zMA, ф. И-2, оп. 1, д. 348, л. 34. Согласно донесений колониальных чиновников, Махмуд Аскар Тура скончался в январе 1915 г. «от внезапного прекращению деятельности сердца», *Колосовский*, Рапорт. 23.01.1915; O‘zMA, ф. И-2, оп. 1, д. 348, л. 37.

93 Речь, очевидно, идет об ирригационных изысканиях, проводимых в 1889–1890 гг. на нижней Амударье, в пределах Хивинского ханства, под руководством Великого Князя Николая Константиновича Романова (1839–1909). Изыскания были связаны с планами Н.К. Романова «повернуть» Амударью в «прежнее русло» и, таким образом, связать ее с Каспийским морем, см. подробнее: *Ekaterina Pravilova*, “River of Empire: Geopolitics, Irrigation, and the Amu Darya in the Late XIXth Century,” Cahiers d’Asie centrale, № 17/18, 2009. Pp. 255–287.

знамя, выставилъ у своей юрты. На самомъ дѣлѣ было такъ: когда Великій Князь работалъ на Лаузанѣ, у юрты Его Высочества стоялъ флагъ, который при отъѣздѣ люди Великаго Князя забыли здѣсь и бросили. Туркмены подобрали флагъ и создали по поводу его легенду, приписывающую небывалое участіе въ судьбахъ туркменскаго народа нашего Великаго Князя.

Посланный за Махмудханомъ Атальхановымъ *бек*скій *нукеръ* вернулся 7-го Іюня и доложилъ, что Махмудханъ обѣщалъ пріѣхать вечеромъ того же дня, но этого не случилось. До меня дошли слухи, что часть Туркменъ, съ Махмудханомъ во главѣ, собралась въ мѣст- /40/ ности Назаръ-Бендъ, а другая партія собралась на головѣ канала Сухбатъ. Получено было извѣстіе, что руководители этой послѣдней партіи Хасанъ-Ишанъ и Садыкъ-Ишанъ просятъ моего разрѣшенія повидаться со мной въ Акъ-Тюбе, такъ какъ въ Куня-Ургенчъ пріѣхать боятся. Одинъ изъ враждебно относившихся ранѣе къ Хивинскому Правительству Ишановъ – Мукумъ-Ишанъ пріѣхалъ въ Куня-Ургенчъ. Оказалось, что онъ за послѣднее время успѣлъ уже польститься на подачки Хивинскихъ Сановниковъ и сдѣлался преданнымъ слугою Хивинскаго Правительства, а отъ Туркменъ отсталъ. Поэтому-то Мукимъ-Ишанъ и не побоялся, какъ другіе его товарищи, пріѣхать въ Куня-Ургенчъ и даже получить здѣсь же отъ *бек*а приказъ на выдачу ему нѣкотораго количества пшеницы изъ Ханскихъ запасовъ.

Изъ разговоровъ мирныхъ Туркменъ выяснилось, что благосостояніе всего туркменскаго народа за послѣдніе годы въ конецъ подорвано распоряженіями Ханскаго Правительства. Правительство обязалось само чистить каналы Туркменъ, но исполняетъ эту обязанность крайне небрежно, а Ханскіе Сановники допускаютъ злоупотребленія, отпуская за деньги рабочихъ «*казучи*» и, такимъ образомъ, уменьшая число рабочихъ на каналѣ. Самимъ Туркменамъ чистить каналъ Сухбатъ разрешили только въ 1911 году, но и тутъ Хивинцы сумѣли поссорить Туркменъ съ Киргизами–Адаевцами, арендаторами земель Хивинскихъ Сановниковъ и, когда произошла драка, каналъ былъ закрытъ по распоряженію Правительства, какъ репрессія

противъ непокорныхъ Туркменъ. Притокъ въ каналы воды давно уже уменьшился, а озера пересохли; прежде Кулли (озерные) Туркмены вели свое озерное сельское хозяйство, выводя воду на поля изъ озеръ и засѣвая часть мокрыхъ земель послѣ спада воды. Теперь это сдѣлалось невозможнымъ и вся надежда на орошеніе арыками, а ихъ не хотятъ привести въ порядокъ. Единственный выходъ, по мнѣнію мирныхъ Туркменъ, это добиться передачи чистки каналовъ всецѣло въ руки пользующихся водой Туркменъ, безъ всякаго вмѣшательства Ханскихъ Сановниковъ.

/40 об./ При этомъ приходится хлопотать о запрещеніи установки чигирей въ верхней части канала Сухбатъ отъ водопріемника до урочища Акъ-Кала близъ Куня-Ургенча. Эти чигири представляютъ нововведеніе. Раньше, когда бекствомъ управлялъ Матъ-Мурадъ Диванбеги, къ нему обращались за разрѣшеніемъ поставить чигири вверху Сухбата, но Диванбеги, хорошо понимавшій ирригаціонное дѣло, категорически запретилъ поставку чигирей въ виду того, что въ зависимости отъ уклона мѣстности можно чигирями, поставленными вверху Сухбата, взять оттуда почти всю воду и ничего не дать ниже лежащимъ землямъ Туркменъ Кулли-Іомудовъ.

Въ послѣдніе годы вопросъ этотъ вновь былъ поднятъ и арендаторы земель Сановниковъ – Киргизы-Адаевцы, русскіе подданные, добились разрѣшенія поставить чигири и, какъ слѣдовало ожидать, забрали на свои земли всю воду Сухбата, оставивъ очень мало на долю чистившихъ каналъ Туркменъ. Изъ-за чигирей произошла драка, во время которой Туркмены разрушили чигири Адаевцевъ. Адаевцы подали жалобу, сильно преувеличивъ свои убытки.

Не особенно рассчитывая на то, что Махмудханъ Атальхановъ самъ пріѣдетъ въ Куня-Ургенчъ по приглашенію *бек*а, я сдѣлалъ распоряженіе, чтобы сопровождавшій меня Нукусскій волостной управитель Инаятъ Ніязовъ, если Махмудханъ въ ночь съ 7 на 8 Іюля не пріедетъ, рано утромъ выѣхалъ самъ и доставилъ его ко мнѣ въ Куня-Ургенчъ.

Инаятъ Ніязовъ аккуратно исполнилъ мое порученіе и въ ночь съ 8 на 9 Іюля Махмудханъ Атальхановъ, вмѣстѣ съ

нѣсколькими своими сторонниками, прибылъ въ Куня-Ургенчъ. Рано утромъ я позвалъ къ себе вождя Туркменъ съ его спутниками, тоже видными представителями той же народности и строго выговорилъ ему за то, что онъ не /41/ явился по моему приглашенію, переданному ему *бек*омъ. Махмудханъ, выслушавъ замѣчаніе, просилъ моего разрѣшенія объяснить причину неявки и рассказывалъ, что онъ боялся пріѣхать въ Куня-Ургенчъ безъ какого-нибудь провожатого со стороны русской власти, такъ какъ онъ хорошо знаетъ, что голова его оценена.

Недавно одинъ изъ ханскихъ нукеровъ былъ посланъ спеціально убить Махмудхана и стрѣлялъ въ него. Махмудханъ спасся только благодаря тому, что нукеръ плохо стрѣляетъ. Недавно арестовали и увели въ Хиву виднаго представителя Туркменъ Шахъ-За и убили *нукер*ы Туркмена Тайчели.*

/41 об./ Дальнѣйшія объясненія съ Махмудханомъ Атальхановымъ, *кетхуда* туркменскаго рода Урусъ-Кушчи, 60 лѣт отъ роду, выяснили положеніе Туркменъ въ Хивинскомъ Ханствѣ въ настоящее время.

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* [Лыкошин:] Разсказывая объ этихъ несправедливостяхъ Ханскаго Правительства, Махмудханъ, конечно, умолчалъ о томъ, какъ Туркмены расплачивались съ *нукер*ами. Потомъ изъ бесѣды съ разными лицами мнѣ удалось выяснить, что *нукер*ъ, стрѣлявшій въ Махмудхана, былъ тутъ же убитъ Туркменами, а убійство Тайчели, возмутившее всѣхъ Туркменъ противъ Хана, произошло такъ: одинъ изъ *юзбаш*ей – начальниковъ нукеровъ – Анна Сагатъ, желая отличиться предъ Ханскими Сановниками, подкупилъ двухъ Туркменъ и поручилъ имъ за 100 *тилл*ей доставить ему голову Туркмена Тайчели. Убійцы исполнили взятое на себя порученіе и привезли въ мѣшкѣ голову Тайчели. Анна Сагатъ отправился съ головой убитага Туркмена въ Хиву и тамъ, укрѣпивъ голову на палку, помѣстилъ около дворца, гдѣ собираются Сановники. Его замѣтили, представили Сайидъ Исламу Ходжѣ и по его представленію Анна Сагатъ получилъ 200 *тилл*ей и богатые подарки. Туркменамъ между тѣмъ удалось поймать одного изъ предателей-убійцъ Тайчели и онъ выданъ былъ родственникамъ убитага. Родственники убитаго немедленно умертвили Туркмена, служившаго юзбаши Анна Сагату и, разрѣзавъ его трупъ на части, развѣсили въ разныхъ мѣстахъ для устрашенія. Такъ жестоко Туркмены расчитались за смерть Тайчели. Разсказалъ это другой *юзбаши* въ Куня-Ургенчѣ – врагъ *юзбаши* Анна Сагата.

Значительная часть Туркменъ, какъ я уже говорилъ выше, привлечена Ханскимъ Правительствомъ на свою сторону и опасенія Хана, что Туркмены вообще помѣшаютъ Его Свѣтлости провести въ жизнь поземельно-податную реформу въ значительной степени преувеличены. Такихъ Туркменъ, которые не могутъ примириться съ предстоящимъ измѣреніемъ земель, очень мало, настаивающихъ же на исполненіи Ханскимъ Правительствомъ принятаго имъ на себя обязательства чистить для Туркменъ ихъ каналы осталось еще меньше, такъ какъ всѣ Туркмены хорошо понимаютъ несостоятельность производимыхъ Ханскими Сановниками работъ по очисткѣ каналовъ и охотно принялись бы за очистку своихъ каналовъ сами, но этого не разрѣшаетъ Правительство, а если разъ, по настоянію Начальника Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла имъ и разрѣшили самимъ чистить верхнюю часть канала Сухбатъ, то и чистка этого арыка, названнаго въ честь вмѣшательства русской власти – Урусъ-Ярганъ, т.е. «русскими прорытый», принесла мало пользы: только годъ каналъ работалъ хорошо, а на слѣдующій годъ Хивинцы сами подучили Киргизъ-Адаевцевъ затѣять драку съ Туркменами и, вмѣсто разбора дѣла на мѣстѣ, арыкъ просто былъ закрытъ по распоряженію Ханскаго Правительства и Туркмены снова остались безъ воды.

Ханскіе Сановники только по наружности принимаютъ мѣры къ умиротворенію Туркменъ, на самомъ же дѣлѣ, они всегда стараются держать эту народность въ состояніи легкаго броженія. Такое состояніе Туркменъ даетъ прежде всего Сановникамъ случай отличиться предъ Ханомъ по службѣ въ роли усмирителей туркменскихъ волненій, а кромѣ того даетъ этимъ же Сановникамъ, для которыхъ въ высшей степени невыгодна поземельно-податная реформа, возможность, ссылаясь на протестъ Туркменъ, оттягивать измѣреніе земель. Въ настоящее вре- /42/ мя Сановники за пожалованныя имъ крупныя земельныя угодья ничего не платятъ Хану; послѣ же измѣренія земель ихъ помѣстья предположено обложить податью. Очевидно, что Сановникамъ остается только ловкими маневрами поддерживать броженіе среди Туркменъ и внушать Хану опасенія за

могущія произойти серьезныя столкновенія съ Туркменами, когда приступятъ къ измѣренію ихъ земель. И Ханъ, видимо, не свободенъ отъ такого опасенія, по крайней мѣрѣ въ первое мое посѣщеніе Хивы Его Свѣтлость совѣтовался со мною о томъ, какъ поступить, чтобы и послѣ измѣренія границъ общинъ русскими землемѣрами, при переходѣ работы въ руки туземныхъ *танапкеш*ей, обезпечить спокойствіе въ странѣ и устранить возможныя столкновенія.

Въ эту поѣздку я уже не слышалъ отъ Хана таких опасеній, потому что и дѣло съ Туркменами сравнительно наладилось, но все-таки Его Свѣтлость желалъ бы для измѣренія внутренней ситуаціи воспользоваться *танапкеш*ами – туземцами изъ русскихъ подданныхъ и къ нимъ придать русскаго регистратора, который могъ бы вести записи *танап*ныхъ измереній, а вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ, своимъ присутствіемъ на работахъ, предотвратить сопротивленіе Хивинцевъ проведенію въ жизнь поземельно-податной реформы.

Какъ сказано выше, Ханскіе Сановники поддерживаютъ броженіе среди Туркменъ. Отличнымъ средствомъ для возбужденія недовольствъ среди нихъ служитъ покровительство русскимъ подданнымъ – Киргизамъ рода Адай Темирскаго, Красноводскаго и Мангышлакскаго уѣздовъ, которые въ большомъ числѣ постоянно проживаютъ въ Хивинскихъ владѣніяхъ. Киргизы эти находятся въ полномъ распоряженіи Ханскаго Правительства и всегда готовы ссориться съ Туркменами въ угоду Хивинцамъ, а стоитъ только Туркменамъ подраться съ Киргизами, какъ тѣ жалуются русскимъ властямъ и къ Хивинскому Хану посту-/42 об./ паетъ настойчивое требованіе удовлетворить претензіи русскихъ подданныхъ Киргизъ, что Хивинское Правительство и дѣлаетъ, видя въ этомъ могучее средство для обузданія и устрашенія Туркменъ. Такимъ образомъ, при посредствѣ Адаевцевъ и русская власть помогаетъ Хивинцамъ тѣснить Туркменъ.

Въ послѣднее время наиболѣе непримиримымъ врагомъ Хивинскаго Правительства былъ Махмудханъ Атальхановъ и его близкіе родичи; и вотъ на этомъ основаніи Адаевцами подано 2

жалобы: одна – на грабежъ, а другая – на разрушеніе чигирей и въ обеихъ жалобахъ показаны громадные, ни съ чемъ не сообразные убытки. Виновниками указаны Махмудханъ и его родственники. Объ эти жалобы будутъ разобраны лично Ханомъ, или Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжей нынѣшней осенью и можно впредь сказать, что вознагражденіе за вредъ и убытки, понесенные нашими Киргизами, сократится до неузнаваемости и претензіи кончатся пустяками.

Махмудханъ Атальхановъ не признаетъ себя виновнымъ ни въ какихъ бы то ни было дѣйствіяхъ, направленныхъ во вредъ Ханскому Правительству и неудовольствіе на него Хана объясняетъ постояннымъ служеніемъ интересамъ туркменской народности, къ которой онъ самъ принадлежитъ и угнетенное положеніе которой въ Хивинскомъ Ханствѣ его постоянно тревожитъ. На каждомъ шагу Хивинцы стараются вредить Туркменамъ, не признаютъ за ними правъ, предоставленныхъ другимъ народностямъ Ханства и обращаются съ ними пренебрежительно, какъ съ дикарями.

При содѣйствіи Начальника Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла Махмудхану Атальханову удалось добиться разрѣшенія Хивинскаго Хана на очистку Туркменами водопріемника Лаузанъ и народъ работалъ 59 дней подрядъ при 4.000 рабочихъ въ головѣ канала, а потомъ, еще мѣсяцъ чистили среднее теченіе канала.

Когда очистка была кончена, въ верхней части канала появилось очень много желающихъ брать изъ него /43/ воду, не затративъ ничего на очистку канала; Туркмены же платили каждому рабочему [по] 1 руб. въ день, на хозяйскихъ харчахъ.

Киргизы-Адаевцы, арендовавшіе земли Ханскихъ Сановниковъ и пользовавшіеся прежде изъ особаго канала Казакъ-Ябъ, берущаго начало прямо изъ Аму-Дарьи, бросили свой каналъ, не очищая его и, перейдя на Лаузанъ, поставили чигири, которыми забрали себѣ значительную часть воды. Туркменамъ, чистившимъ арыкъ, воды совсѣмъ не осталось и посѣвы ихъ пропали отъ недостаточнаго орошенія полей.

Въ верхней части Лаузана расположены значительные участки жалованныхъ земель Хивинскихъ Сановниковъ и

родственниковъ Хана: Тура Мурада, Атаджана Туры, Джуманіязъ Дивана, Юнусъ Махрама и Шейхъ-Назарбая. Эти земли тянутся по берегамъ канала на 10 верстъ внизъ до урочища Урунъ, гдѣ Лаузанъ впадаетъ въ прежнее русло Аму-Дарьи, извѣстное нынѣ подъ названіемъ Дарьялыкъ. Землевладѣльцы-сановники раздали свои земли половинщикамъ (*ярымчи*), между которыми есть и Туркмены разныхъ родовъ, и Киргизы. Когда краемъ раньше управлялъ Матъ-Мурадъ Диванбеги, онъ, несмотря на всѣ просьбы Сановниковъ, не позволялъ ихъ половинщикамъ ставить на Лаузанѣ чигири и они безъ нихъ обходились, такъ какъ воды въ Аму-Дарьѣ тогда было больше. Бывали случаи, что не хватало воды, но чигири все-таки не ставились и половинщики земель Сановниковъ Туркменамъ не мѣшали пользоваться водой.

Группа Туркменъ Кулли-Іомудовъ, подвѣдомственныхъ Махмудхану Атальханову, ничего не имѣетъ противъ [по]*танап*ного измѣренія земель. Они всѣ земли считаютъ принадлежащими Хану и хлопочутъ только о томъ, чтобы за ними было укрѣплено право самостоятельнаго водопользованія изъ Лаузана. Имъ необходимо разрѣшеніе самимъ, безъ всякаго вмешательства Хивинскихъ Сановниковъ, чистить водопріемникъ и проводить воду по каналу извѣстному подъ названіемъ Урусъ-Ярганъ и, въ случаѣ необходимости, также чистить самимъ и голову канала Сухбатъ. /43 об./ Кромѣ того, необходимо категорическое воспрещеніе постановки чигирей отъ головы каналовъ Сухбатъ и Урусъ-Ярганъ до урочища Акъ-Кала. Верхніе владѣльцы, какъ и раньше должны пользоваться изъ своего канала Ханъ-Ябъ.

Группа Кулли-Іомудовъ никогда не платила атлычной подати, а вносила *дагъ-якъ* – десятину съ полученнаго урожая. Ту же подать они согласны платить и послѣ того, какъ имъ разрѣшено будетъ чистить арыкъ самостоятельно. Чистку канала Туркмены просятъ совершенно предоставить имъ, разрѣшивъ производить работы осенью и весною по ихъ усмотрѣнію, безъ всякаго вмѣшательства Хивинскихъ властей и безъ взысканія *афанакъ-пули* – денегъ въ пользу сановника, наблюдающаго за работами.

Изъ числа собравшихся въ Куня-Ургенчѣ туркменскихъ *кетхуда* категорически согласились на *танап*ное измѣреніе земель и на очистку каналовъ, безъ всякаго вмѣшательства [со стороны] Хивинскихъ Сановниковъ: 1) Махмудханъ Атальхановъ, 2) Арабъ-калъ, 3) Абди-бай, 4) Матъ-Хасанъ Караходжа, 5) Мурадъ Ніязъ-бай, 6) Алла-бай Худжукъ и 7) Ата-бай Худжукъ. У Туркменъ, подвѣдомственныхъ *кетхуда* Амину, вовсе не оказалось земли годной для обработки.

Кетхуда: 1) Аразъ Кули Бугукъ, 2) Анна Ханъ и 3) Карачалбай заявили, что сами они не желаютъ просить у Хана разрѣшенія самимъ чистить свои каналы, но если Ханъ признаетъ нужнымъ сдѣлать такое распоряженіе, то они охотно ему подчинятся, также какъ и распоряженіямъ объ измѣреніи земель, но высказываютъ пожеланіе, чтобы и при новой организаціи очистка каналовъ въ ихъ владѣніи были оставлены тѣ земли, какими они теперь владѣютъ по наслѣдству.

Махмудханъ Атальхановъ и его сторонники возразили на это, что при очисткѣ канала самими Туркменами, придется передѣлить всѣ земли и въ раздѣлъ пойдутъ не только наслѣдственные участки трехъ помянутыхъ *кетхуд*а, но и всѣ земли, тоже наслѣдственныя, находящіеся нынѣ /44/ во владеніи соглашающихся хлопотать объ очисткѣ *кетхуда* безъ всякихъ исключеній.

Переговоры съ Туркменами въ Куня-Ургенчѣ на указанныхъ выше рѣшеніяхъ были покончены, и я предложилъ представителямъ Туркменъ ѣхать вмѣстѣ со мной въ Хиву для того, чтобы тамъ окончательно договорившись съ Ханскимъ Правительствомъ, добиться согласія Хана на удовлетвореніе наиболѣе насущныхъ нуждъ Туркменъ.

Выѣхали мы въ сопровожденіи конвоя изъ нукеровъ; Туркмены, собравшіеся въ Куня-Ургенчѣ, слѣдовали за мной, а Махмудханъ Атальхановъ согласился ѣхать со мной только при томъ условіи, если я разрѣшу сопровождавшему меня волостному управителю Инаяту Ніязову быть все время съ нимъ во время поѣздки и въ Хивѣ, чтобы охранить его жизнь отъ покушеній оружіемъ или ядомъ.

До Акъ-Тюбѣ, слѣдующаго пункта, гдѣ должны были собраться другіе туркменскіе представители, намъ предстояло пересѣчь Дарьялыкъ – сухое русло Аму-Дарьи, по которому воды Лаузана проходятъ на земли Туркменъ и чрезъ урочище Кыркъ-Кыръ, арыки – Калпакъ-Ярганъ, Таджибай и Инакъ, доехать до берега Ша-Мурада.

Въ Дарьялыкѣ очень мало воды, вся мѣстность до Акъ-Тюбе производитъ впечатлѣніе пустыни, гдѣ когда-то процвѣтала культура. Это – туркменскіе земли, заброшенныя вслѣдствіе прекращенія здѣсь орошенія. Озера пересохли и дно ихъ обратилось въ пески, бывшія поля густо поросли колючкой. Сады засохли. Вездѣ безлюдье. На берегу Ша-Мурада, гдѣ, судя по постройкамъ и полузасохшимъ насажденіямъ, еще недавно было густое туркменское населеніе, теперь почти никого не видно, всѣ разошлись на заработки, или угнали уцѣлѣвшій скотъ на пастбища Закаспійской Области къ тамошнимъ Туркменамъ – сородичамъ нашихъ.

Не могу умолчать о трогательной подробности: въ 1901 году какъ разъ здѣсь проѣзжалъ Генералъ-Лейтенантъ А.С. Галкинъ,[94] совершавшій также поѣздку по Туркменіи. Генералъ останавливался на берегу Ша-Мурада и раздавалъ /44 об./ конфеты туркменскимъ ребятамъ. Объ этомъ здѣсь до сихъ поръ хранится благодарное воспоминаніе. Мнѣ передали объ этомъ случаѣ еще раньше моей поѣздки, и я имѣлъ возможность взять въ запасъ ящикъ конфетъ для раздачи туркменскимъ детямъ.

Къ сожалѣнію, прошедшіе одиннадцать лѣтъ сильно измѣнили населенность берега Ша-Мурада. Дѣти не окружали здѣсь прибывшаго русскаго Начальника и для того, чтобы исполнить обычай и побаловать дѣтей, я долженъ былъ самъ собирать ребятъ къ своей ставкѣ. Кругомъ тихо, безлюдно.

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[94] Галкин Александр Семенович (1855–1920) находился в должности Начальника АДО в 1896–1903 гг. На момент вступления Лыкошина в должность начальника АДО, Галкин занимал должность Военного губернатора Сыр-Дарьинской области, в коей находился вплоть до своей отставки в 1916 г.

Рядомъ съ комнатой, гдѣ я отдыхалъ на Ша-Мурадѣ, въ небольшомъ дворикѣ, поставлены были юрты, гдѣ хозяинъ дома – Туркменъ принималъ сопровождавшихъ меня Туркменъ съ Махмудханомъ во главѣ. Туркмены наши сидѣли грустные, хмуры и мало говорили, но оживились, когда въ юрту вошелъ случившійся здѣсь же Туркменъ-Іомудъ изъ Закаспійской Области, русскій подданный.

Веселый молодой парень живо овладѣлъ разговоромъ и увлекъ своихъ собесѣдниковъ, начались разспросы. Русский Туркменъ разсказалъ, что сюда пріѣзжалъ уже сватать невѣсту для одного изъ своихъ братьевъ и нашелъ красавицу за 500 *тилл*ей, тогда какъ у нихъ въ Закаспійской Области, хорошую невѣсту можно найти не дешевле, какъ за 1000 *тилл*ей. Теперь онъ пріѣхалъ за невѣстой для второго своего брата и тоже высваталъ за такую же сумму красивую дѣвушку.

Полились разспросы Хивинскихъ Туркменъ о томъ, какъ живутъ ихъ родичи подъ русской державой. Это больное мѣсто Хивинскихъ Туркменъ, ихъ не покидаетъ мечта когда-нибудь сдѣлаться русскими подданными и пріобрести права, которыхъ они въ теперешнемъ положеніи своемъ лишены.

– А ружья у Васъ есть? – спрашиваетъ Хивинскій Туркменъ.

– Нѣтъ, мы не держимъ, отвѣчаетъ пріѣзжій, намъ ни къ чему ружья. У насъ всѣ живутъ спокойно, никто насъ /45/ не обижаетъ, а ссора случится, такъ у насъ есть *бояръ* – полковникъ, вѣдающій наши дѣла. Къ нему всегда можно обратиться съ жалобой, онъ справедливо разберетъ всякое дѣло и защититъ обиженнаго. Оружіе намъ не нужно.

– Ну, а судьи народные и у васъ вѣроятно не прочь поживиться на счетъ тяжущихся, – ворчитъ Хивинскій Туркменъ.

– Пусть бы попробовалъ, а малый *бояръ* – приставъ на что? Если на народнаго судью поступитъ основательная жалоба, онъ живо слетитъ съ места. *Бояръ* часто объезжаетъ нашу степь съ переводчикомъ и джигитомъ, ему все можно сказать. Мы очень благодарны нашимъ начальникамъ, каждый Туркменъ режетъ барана, чтобы угостить *бояра*, въ аулѣ – праздникъ, когда онъ у насъ.

Прошлый годъ, – разсказываетъ Закаспійскій Туркменъ, – и намъ тяжеловато было, такъ намъ выдали продовольственную ссуду и поддержали наше хозяйство въ трудную пору. Ну, а вамъ вѣрно не помогали?

Угрюмо молчатъ на эти разспросы Хивинскіе Туркмены. Веселые разсказы заѣзжаго родича возбуждаютъ только зависть въ обездоленныхъ.

Когда проѣзжій Туркменъ упомянулъ, что въ Красноводскомъ уѣздѣ у нихъ хорошо идетъ и скотоводство, и земледѣліе, а подати кибиточной платятъ только 6 руб. 50 коп. въ годъ, Хивинскіе Туркмены грустно переглянулись, а при восхваленіи справедливости и доступности русскихъ начальниковъ, Махмудханъ поймалъ муху, оторвалъ ей голову и сказал съ горечью.

– А у насъ въ Хивѣ, что муху убить, что Туркмену голову отрубить – для Хивинцевъ все равно.

Дальше разговоры перешли на любимую тему – нельзя ли какъ-нибудь и Хивинскимъ Туркменамъ перейти въ русское подданство и моему волостному управителю пришлось объяснять кочевникамъ, почему такой переходъ для нихъ въ настоящее время не мыслимъ.

Въ Ак-Тюбе насъ встрѣтилъ мѣстный *бекъ* Баба-Диванъ, который видно сначала затруднялся какъ ему слѣ- /45 об./ дуетъ отнестись къ прибывшимъ со мной Туркменамъ. Онъ отнесся къ нимъ, на всякій случай, пренебрежительно несмотря на то, что среди Туркменъ находился старикъ Алла Куджукъ, прежде бывшій въ силѣ при Диванбеги Матъ-Мурадѣ и покровительствовавшій тогда этому же *бек*у.

Только къ вечеру *бекъ* решилъ, что оказать туркменскимъ старшинамъ гостепріимство следуетъ во всякомъ случаѣ и принялся ихъ кормить и устраивать на ночлегъ. *Бекъ* самъ живетъ въ Ильялы, а въ Акъ-Тюбе отъ него поставленъ *юзбаши*, который отъ имени *бек*а и правитъ этой частью провинціи.

Послѣ ночлега въ Акъ-Тюбе рано утромъ прибыли въ Ильялы, гдѣ необходимо было переговорить съ ближайшими Туркменами и пригласить ихъ также ѣхать съ нами въ Хиву. Верстахъ въ трехъ отъ Ильялы находится памятникъ русскимъ воинамъ,

павшимъ въ бою у Чандыра въ 1873 году.[95] Въ огороженномъ глинобитнымъ заборомъ садикѣ стоитъ обелискъ изъ жжёнаго кирпича съ чугунной доской. Садикъ плохо орошается, поэтому большая часть посадокъ сохнетъ. Имѣется караульщикъ, поставленный *бек*омъ и памятникъ въ общемъ содержится чисто.

Въ Ильялы значительный базаръ, торгующій преимущественно съ Туркменами. Русскихъ торговцевъ нѣт, есть только Татары и Персы.

Прибывшихъ сюда туркменскихъ *кетхуда* послѣ переговоровъ я направилъ въ Тахтабазаръ, гдѣ передъ отправленіемъ въ Хиву черезъ Газаватъ было назначено еще совѣщаніе съ Туркменами.

Въ Ташаузѣ пришлось ознакомиться съ находящимися здѣсь хлопкоочистительными заводами Черникова, Ярославской большой мануфактуры и Баккалова. Всѣ три завода очищаютъ въ годъ до 120 т[ысячъ]. п[удовъ]. своего хлопка, скупленнаго хозяевами, а потомъ работаютъ на частныхъ заказчиковъ. Въ текущемъ году, послѣ голода, значительно умень- /46/ шилась площадь посѣва хлопчатника, особенно мѣстнаго сорта (*гаувача*). Здѣшній мѣстный туземный хлопокъ считается качествомъ лучше бухарскаго и идетъ на подмѣсь къ американскому на русскихъ фабрикахъ.[96] Скупка сѣмянъ люцерны въ этомъ году

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[95] Вскоре после захвата Хивы в мае 1873 г., российские войска предприняли карательную экспедицию в туркменские кочевья. Ожесточенные столкновения между российскими и туркменскими отрядами произошли, в частности, 13-15 июня 1873 г. у селения Чандыр (недалеко от г. Ильяли), подр. см.: *Alexander Morrison*, The Russian Conquest of Central Asia 1814–1907. A Study in Imperial Expansion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. Pp. 367–369.

[96] До российского завоевания местное население Хорезма высеивало главным образом местный сорт хлопчатника – *гуза*. В 1885 г. одна из российских компаний – Товарищество Ярославской Большой Мануфактуры, – имевшая представительство в Хивинском ханстве, выписала партию семян американских сортов хлопчатника, с целью последующего культивирования в регионе. Первоначально, распространение этих сортов в ханстве продвигалось довольно медлено. Однако, по мере совершенствования технологий очистки волокон от семян, американские сорта постепенно

не начиналась; еще и такой крупный скупщикъ, какъ Крафтъ ничего еще не пріобрѣлъ, рынокъ переполненъ люцерновымъ сѣменемъ и цѣны еще не установились.[97]

Мѣстные русскіе купцы обратились ко мнѣ съ просьбой похлопотать, чтобы всѣ мосты на каналѣ Шаватъ,[98] имѣющемъ для Ташауза значеніе судоходнаго пути, были приподняты настолько, чтобы подъ ними свободно проходили груженые каюки средняго размѣра (*кема*). Въ настоящее время проходятъ только небольшіе каюки, у которыхъ носовая часть сдѣлана особенно низко, для прохода же каюковъ повыше и побольше приходится въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстахъ разбирать настилку мостовъ и по проводѣ судовъ снова все возобновлять.

Слуга Ташаузскаго бека Алла Назаръ, недавно возвратившійся сюда изъ Петро-Александровска, гдѣ онъ лежалъ въ больницѣ, разсказалъ случай изъ своей жизни, рисующій темныя стороны Хивинскаго правосудія. Молодой парень Алла Назаръ ухаживалъ за женой мѣстнаго полицейскаго – *пашаба*. Однажды мужъ засталъ любовника стоящимъ за пологомъ (*пашаханы*) его жены и принесеннымъ изъ сосѣдней комнаты ножомъ серьезно ранилъ Алла Назара. Его вынесли на улицу, гдѣ русский купецъ Черниковъ, какъ умѣлъ промылъ и забинтовалъ рану. Раненаго съ большими затрудненіями черезъ пять

стали получать все большее распространение. В результате, к 1912 г.уже порядка 90 % всех площадей под посевом хлопка (14 % от всех орошаемых земель ханства) были засеяны т.н. «*американ*», тогда как посевы местного сорта хлопчатника занимали не более 10 %, см.: *Н.А. Краснослободский*, Материалы для изучения хлопководства. Вып. III. Хлопководство в Хиве. Санкт-Петербург: Типография В.Ф. Киршбаума, 1912. Сс. 9–12.

97 По данным российской администрации, непосредственно перед Первой мировой войной, только в Гамбург из Хивы вывозилось порядка 400.000 пудов семян люцерны, см.: Господину Начальнику Аму-Дарьинского отдела, 09.02.1916; O‘zMA, ф. И-2, оп. 1, д. 290, л. 57.

98 Канал Шават (Шахабад) служил одной из важнейших логистических артерий, связывающих Амударью с главнейшими экономическими центрами ханства: гг. Новый Ургенч, Ташхауз и Хилали, см. *Сметкевич*, Очерки Хивинского оазиса (статья первая), с. 397.

дней доставили въ Петро-Александровскъ въ больницу,[99] гдѣ онъ пролежалъ 40 дней и поправился. Тѣмъ временемъ оскорбленный мужъ пожаловался въ Хиву, но дѣло рѣшилось совершенно неожиданно: судъ рѣшилъ, что виноватъ самъ *пашшабъ*, такъ какъ если онъ засталъ любовника у своей жены, онъ долженъ былъ сразу убить ихъ обоихъ на мѣстѣ, а если онъ этого не сдѣлалъ, то значитъ жалоба его несправедлива и ею онъ намѣренъ лишь прикрыть совер- /46 об./ шенное имъ насиліе надъ Алла Назаромъ, котораго онъ, как показали свидѣтели, ранилъ на улицѣ ударомъ ножа. Виновнаго приговорили къ штрафу въ 200 *тилл*ей (360 руб.), который былъ взысканъ и раздѣленъ такъ: разбиравшій дѣло Юсуфъ Есуалъ-баши получилъ 100 *тилл*ей, потерпевшему Алла Назару въ возмѣщеніе расходовъ по леченію – 50 *тилл*ей, а остальныя 50 *тилл*ей пришлись на долю *нукер*овъ за хлопоты по приводу прикосновенныхъ къ дѣлу лицъ.

13 Іюля рано утромъ выѣхали въ Газаватъ объѣздными дорогами, такъ какъ большой каналъ Газаватъ сильно разлился и затопилъ обыкновенную дорогу. Въ текущемъ году каналъ чистили подъ непосредственнымъ наблюденіемъ Ханскаго Сановника Якубъ Ходжи (брата Исламъ Ходжи), и очистка была произведена добросовѣстно, воды въ каналѣ больше, чѣмъ нужно для орошенія и произошли разливы.

Въ Газаватѣ, въ саду одного изъ Ханскихъ Сановниковъ ожидалъ меня присланный Ханомъ для встрѣчи Сановникъ Якубъ Ходжа (братъ Исламъ Ходжи),[100] Ханскій экипажъ и конвой *ну-*

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[99] Очевидно, что его лечение было осуществлено в г. Петро-Александровске, где находилась больница-лазарет на 80 мест. Расчитанные изначально на прием военных лиц, возможности лазарета также позволяли осуществлять прием определенного числа гражданских лиц, в том числе из числа местного населения Хивинского ханства, см.: *Лобачевский*, Военно-статистическое описание, с. 98.

[100] Обращает на себя внимание, что данный пассаж является едва ли не дословным повторением того, что было отмечено Лыкошиным в предшествующем параграфе. Подобный повтор – отнюдь не единственный в тексте *Записок* и, наряду с некоторыми другими фразеологическими

*кер*овъ. Здѣсь пришлось довольно долго отдохнуть, такъ какъ Ханъ только къ вечеру этого дня предполагалъ переѣхать на жительство во дворецъ Нурлабай изъ дворца Таза-багъ, гдѣ онъ жилъ послѣдніе двѣ недѣли.

Къ городу Хивѣ подъѣхали около 6 часовъ вечера и на границѣ насъ встрѣтилъ у Ташъ-Купрюка *Вазири Акбаръ* Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа и строительная комиссія новыхъ ханскихъ построекъ съ Инженеромъ Эппингеръ и переводчикомъ В.Н. Корниловымъ.

Къ нашему приезду во дворецъ Нурлабай, куда уже переѣхалъ на жительство и Ханъ, дворъ оказался заполненнымъ различными строительными материалами.

Его Свѣтлость принялся за достройку новаго зданія для пріемовъ, составляющаго одинъ изъ фасовъ дворцоваго корпуса, расположенный перпендикулярно къ задней наружной стѣнѣ Ханскаго гарема. Это отдѣльное большое зданіе изъ жжёнаго кирпича, совершенно европейскаго /47/ типа, съ большими комнатами, окруженное террасами. Восточный стиль напоминаютъ только колонны, украшенныя поясками изъ цвѣтного глазированнаго кирпича разныхъ цвѣтовъ. Эти колонны такъ украшаются здѣсь во всѣхъ значительныхъ зданіяхъ и украшеніе это, видимо, нравится самому Хану, какъ характерно-хивинское, потому что и въ проектированной по-русски постройкѣ для почтовой конторы Ханъ приказалъ ввести цвѣтные пояски изъ глазированнаго кирпича.

Вѣроятно, вновь строящаяся часть дворца будетъ представлять изъ себя парадную, приемную часть дворца, такъ какъ пріемная стараго типа, гдѣ я представлялся Хану въ первую

особенностями текста, может свидетельствовать, возможно, о незавершенности работы с точки зрения последующей редакторской правки. Принимая же во внимание также и иные обстоятельства составления этого текста (как, например, ограниченность во времени, с которой столкнулся Лыкошин), отмеченные в вводной части настоящего издания, можно предположить, что Лыкошин местами был в большей степени озабочен необходимостью скорейшего завершения работы, нежели качеством прозы.

свою поѣздку, теперь уже разобрана и мѣсто, гдѣ она находилась выравнено. Старый корпусъ, гдѣ находится между прочим и посольское помѣщеніе, будетъ, говорятъ, тоже перестроенъ заново. Плотничные работы въ новой части дворца исполняютъ нѣмцы изъ меннонитской колоніи Акъ-Мечеть, а для лѣпныхъ работъ изъ алебастра выписанъ лучшій мастеръ изъ Бухары. Ему предстоитъ отдѣлать главнымъ образомъ одну угловую восьмиугольную комнату. Самъ Ханъ внимательно слѣдитъ за ходомъ постройки и ежедневно даетъ свои указанія мастерамъ.

Хивинцы увѣряют, что этотъ дворецъ строится по плану самого Хана, но мнѣ кажется, что въ составленіи проекта зданія принималъ участіе европейскій архитекторъ и при томъ обладающій хорошимъ вкусомъ. Зданіе обѣщаетъ быть очень красивымъ и предположено освѣтить его электричествомъ. Большіе окна, при узкихъ простѣнкахъ, вѣроятно, сдѣлаютъ зданіе холоднымъ и одно время существовалъ проектъ парового отопленія дворца, но это оказалось очень дорого и рѣшено сдѣлать хорошія изразцовыя печи.

По случаю перестроекъ во дворцѣ Ханъ принялъ меня въ другой комнатѣ, находящейся вблизи его мѣста для пріема – *саляма* и разбора жалобъ. Въ этой комнатѣ находится длинная покрытая ковромъ кровать покойнаго Хана, /47 об./ снаружи у окна стоитъ одно изъ сидѣній подъ деревянной крышей, которые имѣются въ каждомъ дворцѣ и исполняютъ назначеніе трона. Всѣ эти некрасивыя, грубо сделанныя и плохо выкрашенныя сидѣнія – издѣлія нѣмцевъ-колонистовъ изъ Акъ-Мечети, какъ и вся деревянная обстановка дворцовъ.

По принятому обычаю, представляясь Хану по прибытіи, Начальникъ Отдѣла не говоритъ о дѣлахъ и дѣловые разговоры ведутся уже въ слѣдующей аудіенціи, на другое утро. Придавая важное значеніе туркменскому дѣлу, по которому я пріѣхалъ, я испросилъ разрѣшеніе Хана въ этотъ же первый визитъ познакомить Его Свѣтлость съ положеніемъ дѣла и, получивъ любезное согласіе Хана, подробно изложилъ ему, что и почему мною было сдѣлано и какіе получились результаты отъ моихъ переговоровъ съ Туркменами. Ханъ видимо былъ очень

заинтересованъ удачнымъ исходомъ умиротворенія Туркменъ и нѣсколько разъ благодарилъ меня за вмѣшательство въ это дѣло.

Я просилъ Хана совершенно забыть всякіе провинности Махмудхана Атальханова предъ Хивинскимъ Правительствомъ и принять его милостиво, какъ человѣка, своимъ разумнымъ образомъ дѣйствій въ значительной мѣрѣ повліявшему въ пользу соглашенія съ Туркменами, привыкшими считаться съ мнѣніемъ Махмудхана. Просилъ также и о немедленномъ освобожденіи старика Шахъ-За – арестованнаго агента моего предмѣстника по туркменскимъ дѣламъ. Мнѣ показалось, что Ханъ даже не зналъ объ этомъ арестѣ этого виднаго представителя туркменской народности и что сдѣлано это самостоятельно Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжей, который сильно сконфуженный доложилъ, что Шахъ-За уже нѣсколько дней тому назадъ освобожденъ изъ-подъ стражи. Такъ и не выяснилось, за что, собственно, арестовали бѣднаго старика-Туркмена, и я еще больше укрѣпился въ своемъ предположеніи, что сдѣлано это было отчасти въ пику Начальнику Отдѣла, а отчасти должно было служить угрозой Туркменамъ, не подчиняющим- /48/ ся распоряженіямъ Ханскаго Правительства.

Я видѣлъ потомъ совсѣмъ больного, изможднаго лишеніями и страхомъ за жизнь старика Шахъ-За и оказалось, что у него отобрали при арестѣ и не возвратили послѣдняго ишака, на которомъ онъ ѣхалъ и послѣ освобожденія сдали подъ надзоръ одному изъ старшихъ полицейскихъ, у котораго онъ, въ сущности, находился тоже подъ арестомъ, только безъ оковъ. Туркмены возмущены были несправедливостью Хивинцевъ по отношеніи къ Шахъ-За. Такъ не заслуживаютъ симпатій составляющихъ Хивинскій народъ отдѣльныхъ племенъ.

По моей просьбѣ, Ханъ приказалъ Сайидъ Исламу Ходжѣ на другой же день, при моем участіи, обсудить съ Туркменами подробности ихъ соглашенія съ Ханскимъ Правительствомъ, и я откланялся.

Ханъ, как обычно, сейчасъ же отдалъ мнѣ визитъ въ посольскомъ помѣщеніи, а затѣмъ также, согласно принятому порядку, состоялся парадный обѣдъ съ Сановниками.

Утромъ 14 Іюля я, съ разрѣшенія Хана, предлагавшаго мнѣ это и раньше, смотрѣлъ артиллерійское ученіе въ одномъ изъ двориковъ, прилегающихъ къ дворцу помѣщеній. Очень оригинальное впечатлѣніе производили «номера» въ халатахъ и большихъ бараньихъ шапкахъ (*чугурма*), твердо заучившіе пріемы при орудіи. Фейерверкеръ слабо заучилъ переведенныя на узбекскій языкъ командные слова и произносилъ совершенно непонятные подчасъ выраженія, вроде «*бирлянди*», что должно было означать команду «первое».[101] По словамъ фейерверкера, однажды производилась стрѣльба изъ орудій боевыми снарядами по мишенямъ, выставленнымъ въ степи за городомъ. Номеровъ при орудіяхъ обучено двѣ смѣны, они служатъ при дворце по 15 дней въ мѣсяц, какъ и *нукер*ы.

Отъ свиданія съ малолѣтнимъ наслѣдникомъ Хивинскаго Хана я на этотъ разъ уклонился, во-первыхъ, для того, чтобы не вводить этихъ визитовъ въ обычай при моихъ пріѣздахъ въ Хиву, а кромѣ того, и для того, чтобы не безпокоить больного мальчика. Наслѣдникъ, говорятъ, /48 об./ съ радостью выслушалъ отъ одного изъ сановниковъ сообщеніе о томъ, что я къ нему не приду и весело бросился играть со своими товарищами, которыхъ онъ только что передъ тѣмъ заставилъ бороться между собою для развлеченія.

Ненадолго заходилъ къ Хану утромъ для обоюдныхъ привѣтствій съ добрымъ утромъ и предупредилъ Хана, что сегодня собираюсь съѣздить посмотрѣть меннонитскую колонію въ Акъ-Мечеть. Колонія Акъ-Мечеть находится въ верстахъ 12 отъ гор. Хивы и отдѣляется отъ нея полосой зыбучихъ песковъ. Дорога часто заливается при переполненіи водой каналовъ. Но зато близь лежащіе озера порастаютъ свѣжей травой и камышомъ, обезпечивая кормъ скоту.

Въ тѣсную кучку собрались нѣмецкіе домики, ни у кого и двора нѣтъ, а все тѣсные узенькіе переулочки раздѣляютъ

[101] Отдавая команду «*бирланди*», фейерверкер очевидно подразумевал «*бирланжи*», что должно было означать «первый» на хорезмском диалекте чагатайского/староузбекского языка.

владѣнія. Колонія изъ 24 дворовъ по виду напоминаетъ скорѣе окраину какого-нибудь маленькаго немецкаго города. Такъ разселились колонисты случайно и сами теперь не рады тѣснотѣ. Въ 1884 году имъ пришлось перейти сюда съ другого мѣста, гдѣ они поселились первоначально. Раньше съ разрѣшенія нынѣ покойнаго Хана Рахимъ Багадура, меннониты заняли мѣсто въ Ильянъ-Тау, около Кипчака, близь берега Аму-Дарьи, но скоро убѣдились, что жить имъ тамъ невозможно.[102] Дикіе Туркмены, пользуясь тѣмъ, что меннониты не могутъ по своим религіознымъ убѣжденіямъ противиться злу насиліемъ и не имѣютъ оружія, стали систематически отбирать у нѣмцевъ скотъ и даже

[102] В 1870-е гг. вследствие принятого в России закона о всеобщей воинской повинности, часть меннонитов Екатеринославской, Таврической и Самарской губерний приняло решение о переселении в Туркестан, на что получила соотвествующее разрешение Туркестанского генерал-губернатора К.П. фон Кауфмана. Первая группа в составе 71 семейств прибыла в Ташкент осенью 1880 г. В следующем 1881 г. местной администрацией были выделены значительные угодия в Аулиеатинском уезде, где меннониты образовали ряд (пять) колоний-поселений. Между тем, 30 из прибывших семейств приняли решение направиться из Ташкента в Бухару (в последующем к ним присоединилось еще 23 вновь прибывших семейства). Столкнувшись с категорическим отказом бухарских властей принять переселенцев, последние, по совету генерал-майора Королькова, обратили внимание на Хиву. Хивинский хан Мухаммад Рахим II не только разрешил прибывшим 52 семействам поселиться в пределах ханства (первоначально в районе Кипчака, а в последствии с 1883 г. в местечке Ак-Мечеть недалеко от Хивы), но даже даровал им четыре льготных года освобождения от выплаты налогов. В отличие от своих единоверцев в Аулие-Ата, получивших в пользовании значительные земельные наделы, меннониты Хивы занялись главным образом столярным, слесарным и кузнечным ремеслом. Регулярно пользуясь заказами самого хана и высших сановников, они, как видно, в частности, из последующего описания Лыкошина, достаточно преуспели в свое деле. Оставаясь долгое время после переселения подданными России, хивинские меннониты лишь в 1904 г. были формально «уволены из подданства России», см. подробнее: *Н.Х. Кнауэр*, Христианские секты в Туркестане // К истории христиан в Средней Азии (XIX – XX вв.). Ташкент: O‘zbekiston, 1998. Сс. 247–261; *В.Л. Гентшке*, К истории появления меннонитских общин в Туркестане (конец XIX – начало XX века) // Общественные науки в Узбекистане № 6, 2001. Сс. 61–65.

убили одну женщину за то, что она рѣшилась защищать свою корову, которую у нея хотели увести. Нѣмцы обратились съ просьбой къ Хану, и онъ приказалъ отвести колонистамъ большой садъ одного изъ родственниковъ Ханской семьи. Нѣмцы получили около 20 *танап*овъ земли, огороженной высокимъ глинобитнымъ заборомъ и, чтобы скорѣй устроить жилища для своихъ семействъ, всѣ пристроились къ забору, образовавъ нѣчто вродѣ караванъ-сарая съ однимъ общимъ дворомъ. Тѣснота появилась сразу, неудоб - /49/ ства были большія, но зато за имущество здѣсь можно было быть спокойнымъ, окрестные туземцы, мирные землѣдельцы, признавали неприкосновенность чужой собственности и не обижали колонистовъ.

Такъ и до сихъ поръ на томъ же мѣстѣ въ страшной тѣснотѣ живутъ меннониты и живутъ мирно, даже безъ ссоръ между собою.

Женщинъ въ поселкѣ не видно, или они всѣ по хозяйству, или не въ обычаѣ можетъ быть имъ показываться чужимъ безъ особой надобности. Встрѣтилъ меня утвержденный Ханомъ староста или *форштееръ*,[103] какъ его называютъ колонисты, Отто Тейсъ[104] съ другимъ очень старымъ колонистомъ и, пригласивъ въ на диво чисто убранный домикъ, угощали меня молокомъ. Хозяйка не показывалась, староста самъ хозяйничалъ, какъ у туземцевъ.

Всѣ домики колонистовъ одинаково чисто содержатся, видимо это даже не зависитъ отъ степени достатка хозяевъ, а

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103 От немецкого: «Vorsteher» – староста, глава.

104 Отто Тейса можно с высокой степенью вероятности идентифицировать с Отто Тоенсом, автором именного списка жителей меннонитской колонии Ак-Мечетъ, составленного, очевидно, по требованию российской администрации в начале 1912 г., в котором он упомянут как «староста Тейс», см: «Список меннонитов – жителей селения Ак-Мечеть в Хивинском ханстве, 01.01. 1912», GMIQ, инв. № КП 3644. Шотландская путешественница Элла Робертсон Кристи, посетившая колонию несколькими месяцами ранее Лыкошина, также сообщала о встрече с неким «Otto Toens», см. её: Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand, p. 76.

составляетъ потребность. Парадные комнаты меблированы и окна наглухо закрываются, чтобы темнотой спастись отъ мухъ.

Когда меннониты переселились въ Акъ-Мечеть, покойный Ханъ предлагалъ имъ денежную помощь, но они отказались отъ всякихъ пособій и согласились только принять отъ Хана въ подарокъ небольшой органъ для своего молитвеннаго дома. Молитвенный домъ просторный, хорошо построенъ и каждый изъ прихожанъ имѣетъ свое мѣсто на скамье, гдѣ его молитвенникъ остается послѣ богослуженія.

Имѣется небольшое помѣщеніе для хорошо оборудованной и снабженной всѣми необходимыми пособіями школы.[105] Есть и квартира, нѣтъ только учителя. Сѣтуютъ нѣмцы-меннониты, что имъ не позволяютъ пригласить учителя изъ-за границы, германскаго подданнаго изъ Маріенбурга,[106] откуда большинство здѣшнихъ колонистовъ переселилось, побывавъ предварительно въ Таврической и Самарской губ[ерніяхъ]. Желаніе имѣть учителя изъ Германіи, Германскаго подданнаго, объясняется не только /49 об./ присущимъ всѣмъ нѣмцамъ ультра-патріотизмомъ, но главное расчетами матеріальными.

Колонистамъ Акъ-Мечети необходимъ такой учитель, который не только въ состояніи былъ бы учить ихъ дѣтей грамотѣ, но могъ бы своимъ нравственнымъ вліяніемъ оказывать на нихъ и воспитательное воздѣйствіе, готовя вѣрующихъ меннонитовъ, а въ молитвенномъ домѣ могъ бы говорить назидательныя проповѣди. Нуженъ имъ слѣдовательно пожилой человѣкъ и пасторъ-учитель вмѣстѣ. Въ Маріенбургѣ есть вполнѣ подходящій человѣк, который готовъ за небольшую плату, пріѣхать въ

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105 Элла Кристи отмечала, что местная школа была расчитана на 20 учащихся, см.: *Ella R. Christie*, Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand, p.76.

106 Речь, очевидно, идет о городе Мариенбург (польск.: Мальборк), расположенном в Западной Пруссии, на территории современной Польши. В городе имелась значительная община меннонитов, см.: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malbork; https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mennoniten_in_Westpreu%C3%9Fen .

Акъ-Мечеть и исполнять обязанности учителя, видя въ этомъ доброе дѣло, способное дать ему нравственное удовлетвореніе.

Пробовали меннониты уже неоднократно выписывать для себя учителей изъ русскихъ нѣмцевъ, но все неудачно. Одни изъ приглашенныхъ оказывались не въ состояніи грамотно отвѣтить по-нѣмецки на обращеніе къ нимъ, другіе оказывались слишкомъ молоды, малообразованы и не соотвѣтствовали вышеуказаннымъ требованіямъ къ учителю.

Русскіе учителя требуютъ плату не менѣе 500-600 руб. жалованья въ годъ, при готовой квартирѣ съ отопленіемъ и освѣщеніемъ, что для маленькой колоніи въ 24 двора[107] слишкомъ дорого. Правда этого рода учителя хорошо умѣютъ преподавать дѣтям русскій языкъ, но живущимъ въ Хивѣ нѣмцамъ не такъ нуженъ русскій языкъ, какъ знаніе своего родного языка и вѣроученія.[108]

Все населеніе колоніи отлично владѣетъ туземнымъ нарѣчіемъ и съ русскими, не говорящими по-нѣмецки, но знающими туземный языкъ, объясняются по-узбекски.

Колонисты не могутъ заниматься сельскимъ хозяйствомъ по недостатку земель. Только для огорода каждый хозяинъ имѣетъ небольшой участокъ. Держатъ мо- /50/ лочный скотъ для своихъ потребностей, а садоводствомъ не занимаются.

Главный промыселъ всѣхъ колонистовъ – это столярно-плотничное ремесло. Покойный Ханъ, вѣроятно, имѣлъ въ виду извлечь пользу изъ знанія меннонитами деревяннаго дѣла, такъ какъ въ Хивѣ своихъ плотниковъ нѣтъ и, поселяя нѣмцевъ у себя, Ханъ пріобреталъ знающихъ, трезвыхъ и трудолюбивыхъ мастеровъ.

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[107] Согласно именного списка жителей меннонитской колонии Ак-Мечеть, на 1 января 1912 года колония насчитывала 141 жителя, см: “Список меннонитов – жителей селения Ак-Мечеть в Хивинском ханстве.

[108] По свидетельству Лобачевского, относящегося к 1910 г., жители меннонитской колонии в Ак-Мечети «прекрасно» владели местными языками, тогда как русского, за редким исключением, «совершенно не знают», *Лобачевский*, Военно-статистическое описание, сс. 49–50.

Въ первые годы существованія колоніи здѣсь были хорошіе столяры, но они постепенно покинули колонію, такъ какъ разбогатѣвъ здѣсь, решили возвратиться въ Германію. Остались посредственные плотники-самоучки, но ихъ умѣнья совершенно достаточно для исполненія заказовъ Хивинцевъ и Хивинскаго Хана, не требующихъ особаго изящества въ работѣ.

Работы есть сколько угодно, и взрослый работникъ получаетъ около 2 руб. въ день. Условія отличныя и работящіе нѣмцы богатѣютъ. Цѣну за свою работу нѣмцы назначаютъ сами по окончаніи работы и съ ними не торгуются. Благодаря этому работа меннонитовъ въ общемъ дорога и простой нѣмецкій фургонъ, который изъ Россіи можно выписать за 80-120 руб., здѣсь можно заказать только за 100-150 руб.

Кромѣ утверждённаго Ханомъ старосты съ печатью, въ колоніи имѣется еще почетный колонистъ Ризенъ,[109] котораго Ханъ считаетъ мѣстнымъ *кетхуда* – руководителемъ нѣмецкой общины и ежегодно, наравнѣ съ сановниками своего двора, жалуетъ халатомъ (*сарупа*).

Староста Тейсъ торгуетъ лесомъ, доставляя его своимъ плотникамъ, а Ризенъ выписываетъ прямо изъ Золингена скобяной товаръ лучшаго качества.[110] Съ этими лицами въ ихъ торговлѣ уже никто не конкурируетъ, представляя имъ монополію въ избранномъ ими родѣ торговли.

Всѣ заказы принимаются артелью и исполняются при условіи раздѣленія труда. Существуетъ трудовая /50 об./ помощь. Такъ, когда въ колоніи появляется новый поселенецъ, не знакомый

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[109] Речь, очевидно, идет об Эмиле Ризене, 22 февраля 1856 года рождения, см.: «Список меннонитов – жителей селения Ак-Мечеть в Хивинском ханстве». Элла Кристи также повествует о посещении ею дома некоего Эмиля Ризена (Emil von Riesen) и его супруги (Anna von Riesen), которого с высокой степенью вероятности можно идентифицировать с упоминаемым здесь «почетным колонистом Ризеном», см.: *Ella R. Christie*, Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand, pp. 75–76.

[110] Золинген – город, расположенный в земле Северный Рейн-Вестфалия, Германия. В начале XX в. город считался одним из центров германской металлургии, а также был известен производством скобяных изделей.

съ плотничнымъ ремесломъ, его заставляютъ вставлять стекла (этому легко научиться) и уже никто въ колоніи за это дело не берется, давая возможность и стекольщику воспользоваться монополіей, поднять цѣны и поскорѣе выбраться изъ нужды. Однако, какъ только нужда миновала, монополія вставки стеколъ передается другому, болѣе нуждающемуся.

Всѣ семьи здѣсь живущія близко перероднились между собой и дальнѣйшіе браки затруднительны: приходится добывать жениховъ и невѣстъ изъ меннонитскихъ же колоній Ауліеатинскаго уѣзда, куда и обращаются въ нужныхъ случаяхъ.

Хорошо зажиточно живутъ меннониты, но скучно среди нихъ, у нихъ нѣтъ ни пѣсни, ни пляски и всякое веселье считается грѣхомъ.

15 Іюля съ утра во дворецъ стали собираться пріѣхавшіе со мною туркменскіе *кетхуда* на предложенное совѣщаніе. Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа заходилъ ко мнѣ, чтобы подробнѣе выяснить мой взглядъ на то, что необходимо разрѣшить Туркменамъ по ихъ просьбѣ и отъ чего можно воздержаться.

Для руководителей совѣщанія приготовили длинный столъ на террасѣ дворца, а Туркмены на разосланныхъ коврахъ помѣстились передъ столомъ на землѣ.[111]

Я разъяснилъ собравшимся цѣль нашего совѣщанія и перечислилъ вопросы, подлежащіе обсужденію, а затѣмъ просилъ сидѣвшаго рядомъ со мной *Вазири Акбара* Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжу высказать Туркменамъ все, что онъ находитъ нужнымъ по поводу предстоящей поземельно-податной реформы

[111] В одном из своих отчетов Лыкошин приводит именной список туркменских предводителей, принявших участие в совещании во дворце Нуруллабай 15 июля 1912 года. Из 29 присутствоваших старшин, 9 человек представляли интересы т.н. верхних (*юкари*) йомутов из окрестностей г. Тахта; нижние или озерные (*кулли*) йомуты были представлены 15 предводителями, включая Махмудхана Атальханова. Примечательно, что согласно указанного списка, в совещании также приняли участие 4 представителей туркменского племени имрели, об участии которых ничего не сообщается в тексте *Записки*, см.: *Лыкошин*, Список «кетхуда», принимавших участие в совещании в г. Хиве; O‘zMA, ф. И-2, оп. 1, д. 314, лл. 67 об.–68.

и отношенія Туркменъ къ задуманнымъ Ханомъ Хивинскимъ нововведеніямъ.

Подробно объяснилъ Исламъ Ходжа значеніе реформы и необходимость для Туркменъ подчиниться новому порядку обложенія земель по площади и принять на себя всецѣло очистку оросительныхъ каналовъ. Туркмены внимательно слушали и когда Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа окончилъ свою рѣчь и попросилъ высказаться Туркменъ, первыми заговорили представители верхнихъ (*юкари*) Іомудовъ изъ тѣхъ, которые ведутъ болѣе осѣдлый образъ жизни и занимаются земледѣліемъ. Они стали объяснять, что и при своемъ обращеніи къ Хану Хивинскому въ Мартѣ текущаго года, когда просили объ отмѣнѣ измѣренія земли, вовсе не протестовали противъ реформы, что у нихъ въ мысляхъ никогда не было восставать противъ распоряженій Хана, но они считали себя обязанными довести до свѣдѣнія Его Свѣтлости просьбу своего народа – не измѣнять установившагося издавна обычая. Въ настоящее время *кетхуда* верхнихъ Іомудовъ увѣряли въ той же покорности, но просили разрѣшенія возвратиться въ свои аулы и переговорить съ народомъ, прежде чѣмъ дать Хану окончательный отвѣтъ.

Просьба эта, несомнѣнно, была подсказана Туркменамъ-*кетхуда* лишь желаніемъ оттянуть отвѣтъ и сдѣлать видъ, что они сами являются только выразителями мнѣнія народа, тогда какъ всѣ эти лица гораздо болѣе народа заинтересованы въ оставленіи въ силѣ прежнихъ порядковъ обложенія податью. Все это крупные землевладѣльцы, обрабатывающіе значительные участки, уплачивая подать за одинъ *атлыкъ* въ размѣрѣ 21 руб. 60 коп., как бы за 30 *танап*овъ, тогда какъ посѣвная площадь ихъ участковъ значительно больше одного *атлык*а.

Я объяснилъ *кетхуда*, что они и приглашены во дворецъ Хана, какъ руководители и начальники Туркменской народности, что зная ихъ положеніе въ народѣ и полное имъ подчиненіе Туркменъ во всѣхъ дѣлахъ, я считаю совершенно излишними ихъ объясненія съ народомъ и прошу теперь же высказать ихъ желаніе и согласіе на приведеніе въ исполненіе намѣченной Ханомъ поземельно-податной реформы.

Туркмены настаивали на своемъ и просили отпустить ихъ на 1 ½ месяца, до окончанія Рамазана, въ аулы для совещаній съ народомъ, увѣряя въ то же время въ своей преданности Хану.

Вопросъ объ отсрочкѣ остался открытымъ, такъ какъ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа нашелъ нужнымъ, прежде отвѣта на просьбу верхнихъ Туркменъ, доложить объ этом Хану.

/51 об./ Обратились къ Кулли-Іомудамъ съ Махмудханомъ Атальхановымъ во главѣ и тѣ единогласно выразили полную готовность на измѣреніе ихъ земель и отмѣну очистки ихъ каналовъ попеченіемъ Правительства. Они просили только, чтобы имъ разрѣшили чистить каналы совершенно самостоятельно, безъ всякаго вмѣшательства и руководительства со стороны Ханскихъ Сановниковъ и безъ взысканія такъ называемыхъ *афанакъ пули*[*] въ пользу руководителей работъ. Кромѣ того, Кулли-Іомуды просили разрѣшить имъ при предстоящей очисткѣ Лаузана вести работы по своему усмотрѣнію, выставляя рабочихъ нынче осенью и весной 1913 года, какъ кому будетъ удобнѣе, просили разрѣшить имъ подѣлить послѣ очистки землю годную для орошенія по числу выставленныхъ на очистку канала рабочихъ (*казучи*) и, наконецъ, воспретить совершенно чигирное орошеніе полей кѣмъ бы то ни было въ верхней части канала Урусъ-Ярганъ отъ водопріемника до урочища Акъ-Кала около Куня-Ургенча.

Высказанныя Кулли-Іомудами пожеланія всѣ имели полное основаніе и исполненіе этихъ просьбъ имѣло весьма важное значеніе для ихъ благосостоянія, нарушеннаго нынѣ вмѣшательствомъ Ханскаго Правительства въ дѣло орошенія по Лаузану.

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[*] [Лыкошин:] Подъ именемъ *афанакъ-пули* (отъ *афанакъ* – обойма, прикрѣпляющая желѣзную лопату къ дереву) извѣстна плата, взыскиваемая съ каждаго рабочаго въ пользу руководящаго работами Сановника, но неофиціально такъ же называютъ деньги, которыя Сановники получаютъ съ лицъ обязанныхъ выставлять на очистку каналовъ ирригаціонныхъ рабочихъ – *казучи*, за отпускъ съ работы или разрѣшеніе не выставлять рабочихъ. Это главный доходъ Сановниковъ и главное зло въ очисткѣ каналовъ.

Дальнѣйшее вмѣшательство Ханскихъ Сановниковъ въ ирригаціонныя работы внушало опасенія, что, снова поссоривъ Туркменъ съ другими участниками работы, Сановники подъ предлогомъ усмиренія, закроютъ работы. Дѣленіе земли по числу выставленныхъ рабочихъ было крайне необходимо для того, чтобы, объявивъ раздачу земель участникамъ очистки, собрать на работу возможно болѣе Туркменъ, желающихъ заниматься земледѣліемъ. Только при значительномъ числѣ рабочихъ и при томъ заинтересованныхъ лично въ успехѣ работы можно рассчитывать на основательную очистку канала, при маломъ же числѣ рабочихъ выполнить эту работу просто немыслимо.

/52/ Расположенные въ верхней части канала Урусъ-Ярганъ чигири, какъ сказано выше, въ состояніи забрать всю воду, протекающую по каналу и ничего не дать внизъ на поля Туркменъ. Поэтому категорическое воспрещеніе установки чигирей въ верхней части канала было признано Туркменами мѣрой крайне необходимой, которая была раньше твердо установленна распоряженіями управлявшаго Туркменіей Матъ-Мурада Диванбеги.

Въ виду необходимости доложить Хану о результатѣ совѣщанія и испросить его согласіе на исполненіе заявленныхъ Туркменами пожеланій, я распустилъ собравшихся и просилъ прийти на другой день утромъ за окончательнымъ отъ имени Хана отвѣтомъ.

Въ совѣщаніи на сторону Туркменъ сталъ Куня-Ургенчскій *бекъ* Сайидъ Исхакъ Ходжа (братъ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи) и категорически высказался за необходимость общаго передела земли по Лаузану въ зависимости отъ числа выставленныхъ каждымъ землевладѣльцемъ рабочихъ (*казучи*) и за закрытіе чигирей въ верхней части Сухбата, до Акъ-Кала. Это заявленіе *бек*а, шедшее нѣсколько въ разрѣзъ съ мнѣніемъ большинства старыхъ Ханскихъ Сановниковъ, произвело весьма отрадное впечатлѣніе на Туркменъ, столь рѣдко видѣвшихъ со стороны Сановниковъ справедливое къ себѣ отношеніе.

Тотчасъ послѣ совѣщанія я отправился къ Хану вмѣстѣ съ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжей и послѣ подробнаго доклада посладняго о ходѣ совѣщанія съ Туркменами, Ханъ пожелалъ знать мое мнѣніе о передѣлѣ туркменскихъ земель по числу

выставленныхъ каждымъ земледѣльцемъ рабочихъ /52 об./ (*казучи*) на очистку канала и по вопросу о закрытіи чигирей въ верхней части Сухбата.

Я высказался совершенно опредѣленно въ пользу передѣла земель по числу рабочихъ, как мѣры обезпечивающей возможность собрать на работы много людей и вполнѣ справедливой. Высказался я также категорически за совершенное закрытіе чигирей въ верхней части канала Сухбатъ у урочища Акъ-Кала, какъ единственнаго средства прекратить ни съ чѣмъ несообразный захватъ воды на земли, расположенныя въ верхней части канала и дать воду нижележащимъ полямъ Туркменъ, въ настоящее время совсѣм неорошаемыхъ.

Ханъ безусловно согласился исполнить всѣ желанія Куллы-Іомудовъ, какъ они были выражены на совещаніи, поручилъ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжѣ передать Махмудхану Атальханову, что Ханъ весьма доволенъ его покорностью и разумнымъ отношеніемъ къ намеченнымъ Ханомъ нововведеніямъ въ дѣлѣ податного обложенія. Относительно же верхнихъ (*Юкари*) Туркменъ было рѣшено отпустить ихъ совсѣмъ и не ожидать ихъ отвѣта послѣ совѣщанія ихъ съ народомъ, такъ какъ *кетхуда* этой части Туркменъ совершенно опредѣленно высказались о готовности ихъ подчиниться распоряженію Хана объ измѣреніи земель и очисткѣ каналовъ самими Туркменами и совѣщаніе съ народомъ не можетъ измѣнить ихъ рѣшенія въ главномъ. Если же у этихъ Туркменъ будутъ какія-либо просьбы, связанныя съ новой реформой, то Ханъ обѣщалъ разсмотрѣть ихъ, когда населеніе ихъ окончательно формулируетъ и *кетхуда* доложатъ Хану.

Такъ было рѣшено объявить на другой день представителямъ Туркменъ и предупредить *кетхуда* верхнихъ Туркменъ, что въ случаѣ какихъ-либо безпорядковъ въ средѣ подвѣдомственныхъ имъ Туркменъ, вся отвѣтственность за спокойствіе населенія будетъ лежать на нихъ, какъ на лицахъ, управляющихъ населеніемъ.

Остальную часть дня я посвятилъ необходимымъ визитамъ и осмотру тѣхъ достопримѣчательностей города Хивы, которыхъ я еще не видѣлъ въ первый свой пріѣздъ сюда.

/53/ Дворецъ Таза-Багъ, гдѣ жилъ покойный Ханъ Рахимъ Багадуръ и гдѣ нынѣшній Ханъ проводитъ тоже большую часть года, не производитъ впечатлѣнія особенно грандіознаго или оригинальнаго зданія: те же одноэтажныя комнаты съ высокими террасами на рѣзныхъ столбахъ и четырехугольные дворики, вымощенные кирпичомъ.

Интересна въ этомъ дворцѣ большая комната, гдѣ проводилъ день покойный Ханъ Рахимъ Багадуръ. Эта такая же большая комната, какъ и во дворцѣ Нурлабай, безъ мебилировки, если не считать большой деревянной кровати, раскрашенной нѣмецкими плотниками изъ Акъ-Мечети. Все здѣсь осталось как было при покойномъ Ханѣ, даже любимые пузырьки Хана стоятъ по мѣстамъ, пустые и наполненные духами, как при покойномъ коллекціонерѣ этихъ предметовъ. Покойный Ханъ любилъ собирать коллекціи или лучше сказать просто большое количество разныхъ предметовъ и въ томъ числѣ одно время увлекался пузырьками и флакончиками отъ духовъ.

Сначала покупались въ большомъ количествѣ и доставлялись ко двору Хана на нѣсколько тысячъ рублей флаконы съ духами. Духи не были нужны Хану, ему нужны были только флаконы и потомъ кто-то изъ Сановниковъ надоумилъ, что можно выписывать пустые флаконы и гораздо дешевле. Стали выписывать пустые пузырьки и флаконы и Ханъ, налюбовавшись собранными рѣдкостями, дарилъ нѣкоторые флаконы Сановникамъ, для ношенія въ нихъ жевательнаго табака (*носъ*).

На стѣнахъ комнаты обращаютъ на себя вниманіе мраморные доски съ искусно вырѣзанными на нихъ стихами восточныхъ поэтовъ. Покойный Ханъ самъ любилъ сочинять стихи, любилъ и произведенія восточной поэзіи. Была, видимо у Хана и библіотека, но теперь остались на мѣстѣ только пустые шкафы, вродѣ поставленныхъ другъ на друга ящиковъ.[112]

[112] А.Н. Самойлович, посетивший Хиву в мае 1908 г., имел возможность доступа к двум ханским библиотекам, одной – во дворце Кухна-Арк, и другой – во дворце Таза-Баг, о которой повествует Лыкошин. Характеризуя библиотеку при дворце Таза-Баг, Самойлович отмечал наличие при ней

Могила чтимаго Хивинцами святого Палванъ-Ата великолѣпно отдѣлана узорчатыми фарфоровыми плитками вродѣ изразцовъ, какъ на могилѣ Наджмиддина Кубро въ Куня-Ургенчѣ.

/53 об./ Недавно построенное Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжей новое медресе на 80 учениковъ очень красиво и просторно. Не удалось только строителю довести до конца задуманный имъ высокій минаретъ изъ кирпича съ цвѣтными украшеніями изъ глазированныхъ глиняныхъ плитокъ. Оказалось, что если довести постройку минарета до конца, то съ вершины его легко можно будетъ видѣть все, что дѣлается внутри дворца Таза-Багъ и, между прочимъ, можно будетъ видѣть женъ Хана, такъ ревниво скрываемыхъ отъ взоровъ постороннихъ. И, несмотря на близкое родство строителя съ Ханомъ и его семьей, Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжѣ приказано было укоротить минаретъ, почему послѣдній и вышелъ несоразмѣрнымъ и некрасивымъ.[113] Такая же участь постигла и другой минаретъ, задуманный еще выше и не конченный за смертью его строителя, какого-то прежняго Хана. Выстроенъ только нижній высокій барабанъ, а вершину не достроили.

«целого штата придворных переписчиков», занимавшихся перепиской различных рукописей, см. *Самойлович*, Краткий отчет о поездке в Ташкент и Бухару и в Хивинское ханство, с. 7. Согласно данных А. Эркинова, библиотека Мухаммад Рахим-хана II насчитывала несколько тысяч томов, см.: *Aftandil Erkinov*, A.N. Samojlovich's Visit to the Khanate of Khiva in 1908 and His Assessment of the Literary Environment // International Journal of Central Asian Studies № 14, 2010. P. 118. Примечательно, что спустя всего четыре года после визита Самойловича, Лыкошин застает в наличии лишь «пустые шкафы». См. далее о составе и источниках пополнения библиотек Кунградских правителей Хивы, *Нурёгди Тошов*, По следам дворцовой библиотеки: рукописная культура в Хорезме при Конгратах, Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2023.

113 Речь идет еще об одном медресе, возведенном Саййид Ислам Ходжей и носящем его имя, однако не сохранившемся до сего времени. Хивинский автор Балтаев, который по собственному признанию, принимал участие в возведении этого сооружения, сообщал, что медресе имело 40 худжр и 6 дахм. К 1912 г. строительство двух минаретов было завершено уже на 80 %. Однако вскоре после трагической смерти Саййид Ислам Ходжи (август 1913 г.), здание медресе, включая минареты, было разрушено по распоряжению Исфандияр-хана, см. *Балтаев*, Хива исдаликлари, лл. 56а–57б.

Рядомъ съ медресе Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа строитъ новое европейское помѣщеніе для открытой имъ новометодной школы (*мактабъ*), гдѣ преподаетъ молодой Татаринъ Абдурашитовъ изъ Оренбургскаго Хусаиновскаго училища. Этотъ учитель, по словамъ Хивинцевъ, очень быстро выучиваетъ своихъ учениковъ грамотѣ на родномъ языкѣ и скоро выучиваетъ арабскому чтенію, но консервативно настроенные родители учащихся въ новой школѣ мальчиковъ не вѣрятъ въ прочность быстро усвоенныхъ знаній и не увлекаются новометоднымъ мактабомъ. На лѣто занятія въ этой школѣ прекращены, и ученики распущены на каникулы (*таатиль*).

Центральный дворецъ – *Аркѣ*, или зимній, гдѣ теперь никто не живетъ, интересенъ оригинальной отдѣлкой фарфоровыми плитками высокой террасы, на которой прежніе Ханы сидѣли во время *саляма* и разбора жалобъ, а нынѣшняго – Хана Сайидъ Исфандіяръ Багадура на этой же террасѣ поднимали на беломъ войлокѣ во время восшествиія на престолъ.

/54/ Интересна въ этомъ дворцѣ, такъ называемая «русская» комната покойнаго Хана. Стѣны украшены золоченой рѣзьбой изъ дерева, а въ одной стѣнѣ много небольшихъ нишъ. Въ этихъ нишахъ стоитъ бесчисленное множество самыхъ обыкновенныхъ чайниковъ и чайныхъ чашекъ туземнаго фасона (*пиала*). Покойный Ханъ видимо любилъ собирать все что угодно, только бы собрать однородные предметы въ большомъ числѣ.

Въ этой же комнатѣ за бархатными занавѣсками устроена сѣнь для трона и хранится въ сундукахъ Ханская казна. Сундуковъ довольно много, но никто не знаетъ сколько и какой монетой хранится тамъ казна, а разсказъ о томъ, что послѣ смерти покойнаго Хана Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа насчиталъ 32 милліона, требуетъ подтвержденія.

Рядомъ съ дворцомъ, близь воротъ, выходящихъ на бойкую базарную улицу, находится арестный домъ, или *уй,*[114] какъ здѣсь

[114] *Уй* – дословно: «дом», однако в хивинских источниках часто встречается использование данного термина также в значении места содержания

называютъ. Это довольно тѣсное и плохо освещѣнное помѣщеніе съ каменнымъ поломъ и каменными скамьями. Арестованные содержатся здѣсь на общей цепи, но ошейники, прежде одѣвавшіеся на шею, перенесены теперь на правую ногу каждаго арестованнаго. Неудобство все-таки большое, всѣ арестанты должны слѣдовать за своимъ товарищемъ, когда тотъ идетъ въ дальнее помѣщеніе за естественной надобностью. Кормятъ арестованныхъ за счетъ приношеній благотворителей. Ежедневно, освободивъ отъ оковъ, всѣхъ арестованныхъ водятъ поливать Ханскій садъ Таза-багъ, это для нихъ и моціонъ, и развлеченіе.

Окончивъ осмотръ старыхъ достопримѣчательностей города, я подробно осмотрѣлъ «Новую Хиву», какъ Ханъ называетъ свой любимый кварталъ Ташъ-Купрюкъ, гдѣ по его приказанію строятся новыя городскія ворота со стороны Новаго Ургенча, большое Ханское медресе, больница и почтовая контора. Здѣсь же поблизости Ханъ рѣшилъ построить себѣ новый дворецъ и разбить садъ на 50 *танап*ахъ земли, доставшейся ему по наслѣдству отъ бабки. По здѣшнему мелкому земледѣлію садъ на 50 *танап*ахъ (около 17 десятинъ) считается очень большимъ.

/54 об./ Ханскія постройки, немного замедленныя вслѣдствіе выписки цемента, на который прежде не рассчитывали, для кладки фундамента, очень быстро подвигаются теперь благодаря выдающейся энергіи Инженера Ф.М. Эппингера, помощника строителя Инженера Роопъ. Старый опытный инженеръ умѣло ведетъ работу и зданіе почтово-телеграфной конторы, которое я просилъ кончить раньше другихъ, доведено уже до перемычекъ надъ косяками.

Въ главномъ зданіи больницы выложенъ на цементѣ фундаментъ и работа идетъ успѣшно.[115] Къ осени рассчитываютъ

арестантов, см. например, *Sartori, Abdurasulov*, Seeking Justice, pp. 67, 160, 162.

115 Открытие больницы состоялось в 1913 г. Во главе больницы стал московский врач А.Ф. Анисимов. Малоизвестный, но весьма примечательный факт, связанный с деятельностью новой больницы в Хиве, был отмечен исследователем М. Ниязматовым. Согласно его данным, в том же году для

закончить зданіе почтово-телеграфной конторы вчернѣ и постройки обѣщаютъ выйти очень солидными и красивыми.[116] Все высоко, широко, просторно и свѣтло. Зданія слишкомъ даже роскошныя для Хивы. Медресе Хана строится вровень съ прочими зданіями русскаго типа, не опережая этихъ построекъ. Для каждого зданія назначенъ особый производитель работы подъ общимъ руководствомъ Инженера Эппингера, а всѣ вмѣстѣ строители, под председательствомъ Надворнаго Совѣтника Корнилова составляютъ общій строительный Комитетъ, вѣдающій болѣе серьезныя дѣла по постройкамъ. Садъ новаго еще только проектированнаго дворца Хана только обозначенъ флагами, къ работамъ тамъ не приступали.

Нынѣшній Ханъ Сайидъ Исфандіяръ Багадуръ очевидно задумался цѣлью воздвигнуть себѣ памятникъ въ видѣ красивыхъ и дорогихъ построекъ въ своей столицѣ и не щадитъ денежныхъ средствъ на задуманныя постройки, не останавливается даже передъ значительными затратами такъ, что иногда въ Ханской казнѣ не хватаетъ денегъ и приходится прибѣгать къ займамъ.

работы во вновь организованной больнице была приглашена врач Умма-Гульсум Асфандиярова (1880–1937), являвшаяся по утверждению Ниязматова, родной дочерью хивинского правителя Исфандийар-хана, см.: *там же*. Имеющиеся сведения подтверждают присутствие Умма-Гульсум Асфандияровой (1880–1937) в хивинской больнице в качестве акушера-гинеколога в 1913–1914 гг., где, в частности, впервые в истории Хивы ее была проведена операция кесарево сечение, подробнее, см.: *М. Махмудов*, «Гулсум Асфендиарова – первая врач-казашка», https://greylib.align.ru/827/gulsum-asfendiarova-pervaya-vrach-kazashka.html. Нет никаких данных, однако, свидетельствующих о ее родственных связях с хивинским правителем. Более того, достоверно известно, что Умма-Гульсум Асфандиярова была третей дочерью Султана Джафара Асфандиярова, служившего переводчиком при канцелярии Туркестанского генерал-губернатора.

116 Официальное открытие почтово-телеграфной конторы в Хиве состоялось 1 ноября 1912 г., см. *Лыкошин*, Г. Туркестанскому генерал-губернатору, 28.11.1912 № 49, лл. 174–182. По словам очевидца событий Абдулла Балтаева, церемония открытия почтово-телеграфной станции вызвала скопление значительного количества людей на улицах Хивы, см. *Балтаев*, Хива исдаликлари, л. 46b

Конфискація имуществъ наслѣдниковъ Матъ-Мурада Диванбеги дала значительный притокъ средствъ въ Ханскую казну, и большая часть этихъ капиталовъ видимо пойдетъ на новыя постройки.

Передъ вечеромъ Ханъ опять пригласилъ меня побесѣдовать, и мы довольно долго говорили о дѣлахъ /55/ Туркменъ и предстоящемъ измѣреніи земель въ Ханствѣ. По моему совѣту Ханъ рѣшилъ осенью текущаго года внести въ казначейство 40.000 руб. и просить распоряженія Его Высокопревосходительства Г. Главнаго Начальника края о командированіи въ Хиву весной 1913 года возможно большаго числа землемѣровъ для обхода границъ ирригаціонныхъ общинъ и разрѣшенія пригласить достаточное число туземныхъ землемѣровъ-*танапкеш*ей для выясненій размѣровъ отдѣльныхъ владѣній. Къ *танапкеш*амъ Ханъ желалъ бы приставить русскаго регистратора немного знакомого со съемкой, который могъ бы вести списки владѣльцевъ съ указаніемъ количества имѣющихся у каждаго изъ нихъ земель. Очевидно присутствіе русскаго регистратора разсматривается и какъ мѣра полезная противъ мелкихъ столкновеній *танапкеш*ей съ землевладѣльцами и какъ средство получить точныя записи размѣровъ владеній.

16 Іюля рано утромъ снова собрались всѣ туркменскіе *кетхуда* и имъ было объявлено и разъяснено рѣшеніе Его Свѣтлости Хана Хивинскаго объ измѣреніи земель и очисткѣ каналовъ самими Туркменами, безъ помощи Ханскаго Правительства.

Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа передалъ Махмудхану Атальханову благоволеніе Хана за его покорность и благоразуміе *кетхуда* Кулли-Іомудовъ, разъяснилъ, что Іомудамъ разрешено приступить къ чисткѣ каналовъ самостоятельно нынѣшней осенью и будущей весной, разрѣшено подѣлить землю сообразно съ числомъ выставленныхъ каждымъ землевладѣльцемъ на очистку канала рабочихъ, а чигири въ верхней части Сухбата до урочища Акъ-Кала разрѣшено закрыть до особаго распоряженія. За измѣрениемъ земли и порядкомъ на работахъ, если понадобиться, будетъ наблюдать Куня-Ургенчскій *бекъ* Сайидъ Исхакъ Ходжа. Туркмены всѣми силами должны избѣгать всяких ссоръ и недоразумѣній при работахъ.

Затѣмъ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжа объявилъ Махмудхану Атальханова, что ему предстоитъ еще дать отвѣтъ по предъявленнымъ къ нему русскими подданными Киргизами искамъ за ограбленіе ихъ и разрушеніе чигирей. *Вазири Акбаръ* поясн- /55 об./ нилъ, что осенью онъ, по порученію Хана, приѣдетъ въ Куня-Ургенчъ и тамъ приступитъ къ разбору жалобъ, принесенныхъ на незаконныя дѣйствія Махмудхана Атальханова и его родичей.

Махмудханъ Атальхановъ доложилъ, что самъ онъ никому не причинилъ никакого насилія, но что если его родичи окажутся въ чем-либо виновными, то онъ съ готовностью вознаградитъ всѣ убытки, происшедшіе изъ-за самоуправства Туркменъ, когда дѣла эти будутъ разобраны подъ руководствомъ Сайида Исламъ Ходжи въ Куня-Ургенчѣ.

Прежде чѣмъ покинуть Хиву и разъѣхаться по домамъ представители Кулли-Іомудовъ пришли ко мнѣ попрощаться и поблагодарить за помощь в ихъ дѣлѣ.

Около 10 часовъ утра и я попрощался съ Ханомъ, который очень благодарилъ меня за хлопоты по туркменскому дѣлу и просилъ содействовать скорѣйшему командированію въ Хиву русскихъ землемѣровъ и приглашенію туземныхъ *танапкеш*ей для измеренія земли. Я обѣщалъ Его Свѣтлости сдѣлать все отъ меня зависящее для скорѣйшаго осуществленія намѣченной Ханомъ реформы.

Переночевавъ въ Новомъ Ургенчѣ, повидавшись съ живущими тамъ русскими коммерсантами, я 17 Іюля возвратился въ г. Петро-Александровскъ.

Изложивъ въ послѣдовательномъ порядкѣ все видѣнное и слышанное мною въ Хивинскихъ владѣніяхъ, постараюсь сдѣлать общіе выводы:

1) Хивинское Ханство продолжаетъ быть деспотіей олигархическаго типа, съ нѣсколько патріархальнымъ оттѣнкомъ. Ханъ считаетъ Хиву своимъ помѣстьемъ, доставшимся ему по наслѣдству, которымъ онъ правитъ только для своей пользы. Понятіе о долгѣ ГОСУДАРЯ по отношенію къ подданнымъ врядъ ли доступно Его Свѣтлости, по малому знакомству съ происходящимъ въ другихъ государствахъ. Вся власть, благодаря

слабому характеру Хана, находится въ рукахъ придворныхъ вельможъ. Главнымъ же образомъ въ рукахъ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи, который все можетъ.

/56/ На мѣстахъ поставлены исключительно лица, преданныя Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжѣ, а по возможности, его братья и родственники, солидарные съ нимъ по родству. Фамилія Матъ-Мурада Диванбеги окончательно уничтожена; сыновья продолжаютъ быть въ опалѣ и безвыѣздно сидѣть въ своихъ домахъ, а имущество ихъ сдѣлалось достояніемъ Хана. Недвижимости большею частью закрѣплены за Наслѣдникомъ Темиръ Газы-Ханъ Турой.

Конфискація имуществъ наслѣдниковъ Матъ-Мурада Диванбеги дала Ханской казнѣ значительную прибыль, но въ глазахъ народа дѣйствія Хана и его Сановниковъ, по отношенію популярныхъ въ Ханствѣ сыновей Матъ-Мурада, не встрѣтила [sic] одобренія. Покойный Диванбеги считался лучшимъ другомъ покойнаго Хана, много сдѣлалъ для Хивы и славился твердымъ характеромъ, справедливостью и любовью къ народу. Сыновья Матъ-Мурада также снискали себѣ популярность тѣми же качествами и обвиненіе въ заговорѣ противъ Хана кажется народу вымышленнымъ, тѣмъ болѣе что никто не видѣлъ подлиннаго листа съ подписями заговорщиковъ, на которомъ основано было ихъ обвиненіе. Не видѣлъ этого листа и предмѣстникъ мой Генералъ Глушановскій, которому объяснили, что въ спискѣ соглашенія заговорщиковъ также неуважительно написано про Хана, что никому и показать нельзя этих ругательствъ.

Народъ же объясняетъ все дѣло съ заговоромъ личной враждой Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи къ наслѣдникамъ Матъ-Мурада Диванбеги и желаніемъ новаго Правительства завладѣть путемъ конфискаціи значительнымъ богатствомъ фамиліи Матъ-Мурада.

Дѣйствительно, во время правленія покойнаго Хана Рахима Багадура между родами Матъ-Мурада Диванбеги и Ибрагимъ Ходжи (отца Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи) шла непрерывная борьба изъ-за первенства и вліянія на Хана. Чтобы ослабить вражду, покойный Ханъ настоялъ на бракѣ Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи

съ дочерью Матъ-Мурада Диванбеги, очень умной женщиной, имѣвшей сильное вліяніе на мужа и при дво- /56 об./ рѣ, благодаря выдаче дочери ея за Наслѣдника Сайидъ Исфандіяра Туру, нынѣшняго Хана. Жена Сайидъ Ислама Ходжи, благодаря своему вліянию, умѣла охранить неприкосновенность своихъ братьевъ, сдерживая властолюбивые порывы своего супруга и братья ее оставались на своихъ мѣстахъ у власти. Когда мужъ въ чемъ-нибудь серьезно перечил женѣ, она угрожала ему скандаломъ, обѣщая переѣхать на правый берегъ Аму-Дарьи и поселиться въ г. Петро-Александровскѣ, подъ покровительствомъ Начальника Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла. Угроза эта всегда была дѣйствительна и мужъ слушался жены.

Послѣ смерти жены Сайидъ Ислама Ходжи братья ея, сыновья Матъ-Мурада Диванбеги, лишились поддержки – начались придворныя интриги, окончившіеся исторіей съ заговоромъ въ отсутствіи Сайидъ Ислама Ходжи, бывшаго въ то время на Кавказѣ и паденіемъ всѣхъ представителей рода Матъ-Мурада Диванбеги.

Народъ больше всего пораженъ смѣщеніемъ и арестомъ Хусаинъ-бека, на которомъ видѣли въ парадныхъ случаяхъ погоны русскаго Полковника. По мнѣнію народа, эта принадлежность Хусаинъ-бека къ русской арміи должна была несомнѣнно спасти его отъ всякихъ насильственныхъ противъ него дѣйствій Хивинскаго Правительства.

Благодаря аресту видныхъ Сановниковъ въ Хивѣ создалось не особенно удобное положеніе: умные, популярные въ глазахъ народа Сановники прежняго Ханскаго Правительства сидятъ безвыѣздно въ своихъ домахъ, за ними установлено наблюденіе, а мѣсто ихъ у власти заняли по преимуществу бездарности, положеніе которыхъ крѣпко только благодаря сильному вліянію на Хана его перваго Сановника *Вазири Акбара* Сайидъ Ислама Ходжи. Нѣкоторыя должности смѣщенныхъ Сановниковъ и до настоящаго времени остаются вакантными.

Въ памяти народа свѣжи воспоминанія о прежнемъ Ханѣ Мухаммадъ Рахимъ Ханъ Багадурѣ, пользовавшагося въ народѣ большой популярностью. Ханъ нравился Хивинцамъ своею

богатырскою наружностью, чисто узбекскимъ /57/ происхожденіемъ, справедливостью, твердостью и самостоятельностью. О покойномъ Ханѣ много говорятъ, вспоминая различные эпизоды изъ его жизни, сравненіе съ прежнимъ Ханомъ не всегда въ пользу новаго.

2) Смѣщеніе Сановниковъ съ конфискаціей имуществъ и послѣдующіе перемѣны въ составѣ служащихъ, съ замѣною старыхъ *бек*овъ новыми, съ сокращеніемъ числа бекствъ и соединеніемъ мелкихъ бекствъ въ одно крупное привело не только народъ, но и стоящихъ у власти, къ неувѣренности за свое положеніе и цѣлость своего имущества. Замѣтенъ страхъ, что все можетъ быть отнято завтра же и каждый старается жить только настоящимъ. Въ народѣ совершенно нѣтъ сознанія права, потому что распоряженія власть имущихъ основаны исключительно на произволѣ, соответствующемъ собственной ихъ силѣ въ данную минуту. Ханскіе *нукер*ы часто позволяютъ себѣ несправедливости и поборы, опираясь на безнаказанность со стороны поддерживающихъ ихъ *бек*овъ.

3) Борьба съ Туркменами Ханскаго Правительства и рознь между Туркменскими родами создаетъ атмосферу постояннаго броженія, дающаго возможность Ханскимъ Сановникамъ выслуживаться при усмиреніяхъ. Назначеніе особаго лица для управленія Туркменами, которое явилось бы въ то же время и представителемъ Туркменъ при Ханскомъ дворѣ, не встрѣчаетъ сочувствія среди Сановниковъ и потому не одобряется Ханомъ.

4) Въ Ханствѣ, по-видимому, не существуетъ росписи государственныхъ доходовъ и расходовъ и задуманныя Ханомъ сразу дорогостоющія постройки: 1) Больница на 50 кроватей; 2) Почтово-телеграфная контора; 3) Двое въѣздныхъ городскихъ воротъ; 4) Ханское медресе съ усыпальницей (*сагана*) для Хана; 5) Европейское зданіе во дворцѣ Нурлабай; 6) Новый дворецъ въ мѣстности Ташъ-Купрюкъ съ садомъ на 50 *танап*овъ и 7) Желѣзные мосты въ различныхъ мѣстахъ Ханства, по-видимому, замѣтно нарушаютъ балансъ Ханской казны, особенно если принять во вниманіе предстоящіе Хану расходы по содержанію боль- /57 об./ ницы и проектированной имъ большой

новометодной школы для Хивы, о которой самъ Ханъ упомянулъ въ разговорѣ со мной. Недостатокъ денегъ приводитъ къ необходимости займовъ и къ одному купцу уже обращались за суммой 100.000 *тилл*ей, но получили, кажется, только 50 тысячъ и то, подъ страхомъ отобрать имущество.

При такихъ условіяхъ вся надежда на повышеніе доходности Ханства при помощи новаго обложенія. Сама по себе мѣра эта хороша и справедлива, но врядъ ли обложеніе будетъ проведено до конца равномѣрно. Скорѣй можно предположить, что много окажется крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ, освобожденныхъ отъ податей властью Хана за заслуги или по родству. Ханъ оставляетъ за собой распредѣленіе податей и не согласенъ допустить общественныя раскладки, какъ дѣлается у насъ.

При деспотическомъ образѣ правленія и отсутствіи сознанія права у населенія, всѣ реформы являются призрачными и произволъ врядъ ли возможно устранить реформами при такихъ условіяхъ. Примѣромъ призрачности реформы можетъ служить назначеніе содержанія Сановникамъ. Юсуфу Есаулъ-баши, послѣ пріѣзда въ Хиву посольства Генералъ-лейтенанта Галкина, было выдано въ содержаніе или въ награду 8.000 *тилл*ей. Старый Сановникъ такъ былъ тронутъ вниманіемъ къ нему Хана, что поднесъ Его Свѣтлости подарки на значительно большую, чѣмъ самъ получилъ, сумму.

Ханскіе жены, по обычаю не могутъ посѣщать своихъ родныхъ, но если это и разрѣшается разъ въ годъ, то жена Хана возвращается во дворецъ съ подарками на 100-150 тысячъ *тилл*ей; такъ было однажды съ дочерью Сайидъ Исламъ Ходжи, испросившаго свиданіе съ дочерью за такую высокую плату.

Каково же можетъ имѣть практическое значеніе установленіе определённаго содержанія служащимъ, если имъ еще часто даются порученія – построить домъ и разбить садъ (какъ *наиб*у въ Куня-Ургенчѣ), или доставить по 10.000 пудовъ саксаула и угля для Ханскаго дворца (какъ *наиб*у въ Дарганъ-Ата). Никто изъ Сановниковъ не увѣренъ, что счетъ его по исполненію порученія будетъ сполна оплаченъ /58/ и не смѣетъ требовать расчета, а долженъ ждать его какъ милости.

Всѣ дефекты современнаго управленія Хивой при существующемъ тамъ режимѣ могутъ быть устранены только медленной созидательной работой дружественнаго русскаго правительства и постепеннымъ пробужденіемъ въ Хивинскомъ народѣ черезъ наблюденіе жизни ихъ единоплеменниковъ на правомъ берегу Аму-Дарьи, сознаніе права и законности.

Мощное вліяніе въ этомъ отношеніи несомнѣнно окажетъ проведеніе въ Хиву желѣзной дороги и развитіе путей сообщенія въ Ханствѣ.

Другое сильно дѣйствующее средство оперативнаго характера, это обращеніе Хивинскаго Ханства въ русскую губернію, когда это будетъ признано своевременнымъ и полезнымъ.

Начальникъ Аму-Дарьинскаго Отдѣла,
Полковникъ *Лыкошинъ*

Notes on the Present State of the Khanate of Khiva

by
the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department
Colonel Nil Lykoshin

Petro-Aleksandrovsk, 1912

/12/ Upon being promoted to the office of the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department by the SUPREME [royal] edict on 13 March 1912, I managed to arrive in the town of Petro-Aleksandrovsk within only a month, on 13 April of that year. And on the very next day [circumstances] forced me to head to the village of Nukus of the Chimbay sector,[1] where I was awaited by my predecessor [in the office] Major-General Glushanovskii,[2] who at that moment was supervising the works for the watering of the Quvānish-Yarma [irrigational] system, in accordance with the funds allocated [for those purposes].[3] I took charge and remained there, since given the significant amount of the workers involved and complexity of the works undertaken, transferring control to another individual did not seem possible. The works were completed only in the middle of May and therefore I was able to undertake my initial visit to Khiva, to have an audience with the Khan of Khiva, only on 28 May; I set off from Petro-Aleksandrovsk [on that day] at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

In accordance with established practice, I informed [the Khivan authorities] about my intention [to pay a visit to the Khan] by means of oral notifications [handed over] through Nūr-Muḥammad Aminiddinbaev, the so-called Khivan Consul at the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department, who was permanently resided in the town of Petro-Aleksandrovsk.

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1 Nukus was an administrative center of Chimbay sector or *uchastok* – one of two administrative subdivisions on the territory of the Amu-Darya Department; also see above: *Introduction*, p. 42.

2 Nikolai Galaktionovich Glushanovskii (1853–?) was Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department in 1905–1911.

3 Most likely Lykoshin refers here to works aimed at cleaning the Tash-Uzak and the Kuk-Uzak, two arms of the river that together fed Quvānish-Yarma, one of the biggest irrigation canals in the eastern part of the Amu-Darya lower delta. The clogging of these river arms, reportedly, significantly reduced the flow of water into Quvānish-Yarma and as such compromised the well-being of the population living along its course. The cleaning works were initiated by the Russian colonial administration and lasted for forty days, from 1 April to 10 May 1912; see further: K. Sarybaev, *Agrarnyi vopros v Karakalpakii (konets 19th – nachalo 20th vekov)* (Nukus: Karakalpakstan, 1972), pp. 54–56.

Upon leaving the city [of Petro-Aleksandrovsk] in the direction of the [Amu-Darya] river crossing, the Commandant of Department is regarded as being a guest of His Serene Highness,[4] the Khan of Khiva, and [hence] his further itinerary to the capital of the Khanate is performed according to the established order and etiquette.

An escort of 26 Cossacks, with the ensign of the Department Commandant, was dispatched to the city of Khanqah in advance, for crossing the Amu-Darya by /12 ob./ *caiouque*s seemed to be rather time-consuming.

After leaving [Petro-Aleksandrovsk] at 3 in the afternoon on 28 May I did not reach the opposite bank [of the Amu-Darya] until 6 o'clock in the evening.[5] Crossing [the river] in *caiouque*s took me so long because the most part of the crossing took place through the Amu-Darya's branches (*arna*) and was carried out by means of straps, whereby a *caiouque* with passengers is pulled out by the rope tied to a small mast, by five or six people employed by the person who has taken the lease on the crossing; [these workers] walk along the shore.[6] Every now and again, these barge haulers have to

4 The official ceremony of the bestowal of the title 'His Serene Highness' (*Ego Svetlost'*) upon the Khivan ruler Isfandiyār Khān had taken place earlier on 19 January 1911, during the visit to Khiva by A.S. Galkin, Military Governor of Syr-Darya province; see: A.V. Samsonov, *Otnoshenie Voennomu ministru, 08.03.1911*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 291, ll. 2–2 ob.

5 Lykoshin seems to have crossed the Amu-Darya at the Qāra-Bāgh river crossing located in the vicinity of Petro-Aleksandrovsk and, on the opposite side, close to the Khivan city of Khanqah. By means of the Qāra-Bāgh crossing, the potential wayfarer could cross to the "the Khivan" side of the river and thence sail further along the Shahabad (Shavat) Canal up to Khanqah: see A.N. Samoilovich, "Kratkii otchet o poezdke v Tashkent i Bukharu i v Khivinskoe khanstvo v 1908 godu", p. 5. The total distance from Petro-Aleksandrovsk to the city of Khiva via the Qāra-Bāgh crossing was 67 *versts*: see V. Lobachevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie Turkestanskogo voennogo okruga. Khivinskii raion* (Tashkent: Tipo-litografiia shtaba Turkestanskogo voennogo okruga, 1912), p. 116.

6 In the Khivan Khanate a good deal of commodities and people were transported using *caiouque*s, or *kīma*s as they were called by locals. According to the data collected by the Russian colonial administration in 1910, the total number of *caiouque*s in the Khanate was 215. They were divided into several groups according to their carrying capacity: large-size *caiouque*s (with a load

cross – moving waist-deep in water – the shallow river branches or move along the sticky ground of the coastal strip of the [river] islands. All this greatly slows movement, which is already difficult under the scorching rays of sun typical for this time of year.



A caiouque on the Amu-Darya, photo by Ella Robertson Christie (1912).

People in Khiva had been long aware about my arrival to the [Amu-Darya] Department and they were apparently expecting that I would hasten to pay a visit to the capital of the Khanate. The Khivan Consul [in Petro-Aleksandrovsk] kept inquiring daily about when I planned to visit the Khan and kept conveying to me that His Serene Highness, being in anticipation of my first visit, did not

capacity of 800–2,000 *pood*s), middle-size (500–800 *pood*s), and small-size (less than 500 *pood*s). Each *caiouque* required 6–13 members of crew to sail: see Lobachevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie*, p. 85; V.A. Girshfel'd and A.S. Galkin, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie Khivinskogo oazisa*, Pt. 1 (Tashkent: Tipografiia Turkestanskogo voennogo okruga, 1902), pp. 110–111.

deign to move from his Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace[7] to the garden of Tāza-Bāgh;[8] and that [such movings] commonly take place this time of year. With the best will in the world, for the reason intimated above, my meeting with the sovereign of Khiva could not happen earlier, immediately after my assuming the office of the Department's Commandant; and this fact, perhaps, initially led to a certain frustration on the part of the Khan and especially on the part of his dignitaries, who jealously guard the dignity and greatness of their lord.

I myself in turn could have pointed out that, upon coming ashore on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, under the tents with the laid *dastarkhān*, I was met merely by the *Bīk*[9] of the city of Khanqah Ḥājjī-Bāy Aminiddinbaev[10] and by the brother of *Vazīr-i Akbar* Sayyid

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7 Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace – the main residence of Isfandiyār Khān in the city of Khiva. According to ʻAbdullāh Baltaev, the palace was named after the person who had owned that place in the early 19th century. Later on, these lands were purchased by the Qonghrat dynasts and turned into a hereditary possession of the Khivan rulers. In the early 20th century, Isfandiyār Khān, in his capacity as crown prince, set about building a palace using brick, in "the European style". With Isfandiyār Khān's accession to the throne, Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace became one of his main residences, where he spent most part of the year: see ʻAbdullāh Baltaev, *Khīva īsdalīklārī*. MS Tashkent, OʻzRFAShI, inv. no. 11645, fols. 38a–39b. Lykoshin, who visited the palace in November 1912, noted that the edifice had electric lighting as well as an electric power station. According to his estimation, the renovation of the palace cost the Khivan budget 72,000 roubles: see N.S. Lykoshin, *G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no. 49*; OʻzMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 289, l. 175.

8 Tāza-Bāgh or Qibla Tāza-Bāgh was a summer suburban residence of the Khivan rulers Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II and, later on, Isfandiyār Khān, in the locality bearing the same name. According to ʻAbdullāh Baltaev, in 1865 Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II dug a garden measuring forty *ṭanāp*s (*ca.* 15 *ha*) in the locality of Tāza-Bāgh, where he further erected a palace. His son and successor Isfandiyār Khān landscaped the place ever further: see ʻAbdullāh Baltaev, *Khīva īsdalīklārī*, fols. 35b–36b.

9 *Bīk* – the term along with *ḥākim* used do denote the governor of a distinct province in the Khivan Khanate.

10 Ḥājjī Muḥammad Bāy b. Amīn al-Dīn Bāy (d. 1915), then a governor of Khanqah. In one of his service notes Lykoshin provides the following attestation of the official: "Hājjī-Bāy Aminiddinbaev, 39-year-old; has furnished his house in Khanqah in very luxurious manner. Owing to his splendid hospitality he has

Islām Khvāja, who was specially dispatched by His Serene Highness, the /13/ Khan of Khiva. On the occasion of the first visit of the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department [to the Khanate], the meeting could have been arranged in a more dignified manner.

In the carriage provided by the Khan I headed further through dense forest-tugai (*yūmalāq*) towards the city of Khanqah, where lodging for the night was scheduled, so that I could leave from there early the [next] morning to arrive in the city of Khiva at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon and be in time to meet the Khan, once the [ceremony of] *salām* by his dignitaries had been performed.

The reception at the [house] of *Bīk* of Khanqah Ḥājjī-Bāy Aminiddinbaev, who owing to his hospitality has gained wide popularity among the Russian visitors to Khiva, was organized in lavish manner, in accordance with the Khivan standards. I spent the night in a house furnished in the European manner, where all tables were covered with lavish *dastarkhān*s, filled with mountains of sweets, while the host took all possible pains to bring all possible comforts to his guests.

The city of Khanki (or rather, Khanaka or Khanqah), like the majority of Khivan cities, consists of a group of distinct farmsteads. All inhabitants, along with all their belongings and even cattle, reside in the rectangular [edifices called] *dula*, surrounded by a high fence, which resemble in their structure small fortresses with battlements and embrasures in the walls. A lack of security, [especially] in the past, has evidently given rise to an appropriate kind of dwelling; with the gates closed, [such edifices] could serve not merely as a dwelling, but also as a shelter in case of an attack by steppe robbers, or by a crowd of poorly armed enemies.

Such farmsteads become more frequent towards the center of town and, eventually, next to the bazaar, they merge into a solid settlement. The bazaar is quite large, and in places it is covered. The city has a cotton-cleaning factory owned by Pavel Aleksandrovich Manuilov, a merchant based in Petro-Aleksandrovsk; a tannery,

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earned the most glowing reviews from everyone who has visited Khanqah", see: Lykoshin, *Sovremennoe raspredelenie vlasti v Khanstve Khivinskom, 1912 god*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 314, ll. 64–64 ob.

[owned by] by [a certain] Pilikin, the former's son-in-law; /13 ob./ a newly erected cotton-cleaning factory and oil mill, owned by the local merchant ʿAvaż-Bāy Madyarov.

At the entrance to the settlement of Khanqah one has to cross the wide canal of Gazavat, along which one can reach [the town of] Takhta by *caiouque*. At present one crosses [the channel] on a quivering wooden bridge. The Khan of Khiva, being concerned with improving the communication lines [within the Khanate], has ordered the erection of steady bridges of the European kind across this as well as other major canals; and the iron parts of the [new] bridge in Khanqah have already been delivered and are [currently] lying on the right bank of the Gazavat Canal in the vicinity of the old bridge. People are presently awaiting delivery of cement, [which is required] for the [erection of] a concrete base [of the new bridge], as well an [arrival of] an engineer – who is to be sent by the Stuken Company in Moscow. This company has got the commission for all bridges that are being erected in the Khanate, and [soon] a technician [in charge of] the [bridges'] installation is to be sent here from Moscow.



A bridge over one of the Khivan canals, photo by Khudaybergan Devonov, early 20th century. Photo credit: IQDM, inv. no. is not specified.

In Khanqah, like in many other places of the Khanate of Khiva, the population water their fields exclusively by means of *chīghīr*s. As it transpired from a conversation with a large farmer breeder ʿAvaż-Bāy Madyarov, who has a deep insight into the matter, *chīghīr*s are absolutely essential given the conditions of land use, and only in large farms can they be replaced with expensive devices of some other type. Organizing agricultural commercial partnerships for the acquisition of [irrigational] devices seems unfeasible, given the complete lack of propensity for cooperative enterprises among the locals. In addition to the reasons for the maintenance of *chīghīr*-based irrigation that have been outlined by O.A. Shkapskii in his *Land ownership and land use in the Amu-Darya Department*,[11] ([namely] the necessity of regulation of the water flow and fear of erosion), the main [reason] though is the lower speed of water flow in the small canals, which means that for the [purposes of] /14/ flow irrigation (*āyāq*), one would have to spend a lot of time accumulating water and lifting it [into fields] for watering by rotation, as has been practiced by the farmers in Turkestan, who irrigate [their fields] by rotation, [by means of] pouring water into the fields. To avoid a delay during watering, all the farmers along the canal – *ābkhūr*s[12] – set up their *chīghīr*s and thus are able to water their fields simultaneously from the main canals that are in common use. The locals believe that watering [fields] by means of *chīghīrs* is more efficient when the water slowly flows into the field and soaks the ground little by little, rather than if one fills the entire field at once with a layer of water. Construction of a *chīghīr* with the capability

[11] Lykoshin is clearly referring to O.A. Shkapskii, *Amu-Dar'inskie ocherki. K agrarnomu voprosy na nizhnei Amu-Dar'e* (Tashkent: Tipo-litografiia V.M. Il'ina, 1900). The description of the principles of operation of *chīghīr*s is provided on pp. 54–61 of the given book.

[12] *ābkhūr* – a community of water-users; in Khorezm the population living along the canal were divided into distinct water-users' communities, see Ia.G. Guliamov, *Istoriia orosheniia Khorezma s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei* (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo AN UzSSR, 1957), p. 261.

to irrigate up to 5 *ṭanāp*s[13] [of land] (=4500 sq. *sazhen*s), or roughly two *desiatina*s,[14] would cost 50 roubles. Construction [of a *chīghīr*] and its exploitation for [watering] 5 *ṭanāp*s [of land] entails an expense of 100 roubles, yet if one builds not one, but two *chīghīr*s, then their work would be more efficient and with two [*chīghīr*s in use] one could water not 10, but rather 15 *ṭanāp*s of land, and thus the cost for irrigation would be reduced.

After an overnight stay in the well-furnished house of the local *Bīk*, where the most beautiful [things] were the Moorish styled high terraces [standing] upon carved pillars of elm (*gūjūm*), early in the morning of 29 May we rode out on a [coach pulled out by] a *troika* of bay horses, sent by the Khan, further along the road towards the city of Khiva, in such a way as to be able to cover the distance of 24 *versts*[15] to the village of Guja before the heat, then to make a stop there and to continue the journey, so as to arrive to Khiva by about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Such a halt [in Guja] was especially important for the 25-strong Cossack escort that was accompanying me from Petro-Aleksandrovsk. [These Cossacks of] the 6th *Sotnia* of the 4th Orenburg Cossack regiment clearly overfeed their horses. All the Cossacks set out on the journey on very fat horses and, despite the fact that I had sent out the [Cossack] escort in advance of my own departure [from Petro-Aleksandrovsk], so that they spent a night in Khanqah, upon our arrival at the village of Guja, one horse was already ill with colic. The Cossacks explained that fact with reference to the changes in [horse] feed, from oats to barley, yet it appears to me that the Cossacks [merely] tried hard to feed /14 ob./ their horses with barley, delivered in excess by the [local] *Bīk* – and, furthermore, even a relatively slow ride could damage very fat horses. The issue with the sick horse was resolved, as the treatment was commenced in a timely manner, though in general the escort is a

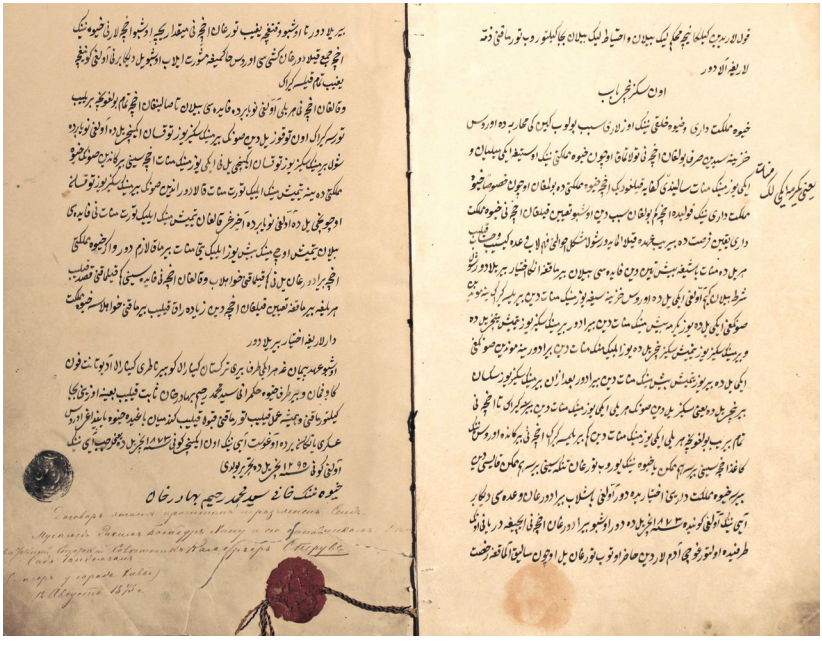
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13 *ṭanāp* – square measure; in 19th-century Khorezm it consisted of 3.600 *gaz*, or was equal 0,37–0,39 *ha*.

14 *Desiatina* – Russian measurement of area, equivalent to 2¾ acres or 1.09 hectares.

15 *Versta* – Russian measurement of distance, equivalent to 1066,8 metres.

major nuisance for one who is in a hurry on business, and it is worth taking it along to Khiva only on ceremonial trips to the [Khivan] capital. Provisions for the horses and people ought to be provided by the local Khivan authorities; [since they] do not take money for anything, such expenses lay a burden on the local population, who [in effect] bear the *Bīk*'s expenses of receiving guests.



The final pages of the Gandemian Treaty of 1873 (version in Turkic),
Photo: IQDM, inv. no. KP 345/4

In Guja there is a state-owned ambassadorial house, poorly built and carelessly maintained: it is damp [inside] and probably very cold in winter. Nevertheless, it was convenient timing to get some rest, and after waiting out the hottest time [of the day] there, we set off with the escort. A Cossack [holding] a crimson ensign of the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department (the monogram C.A.D. was embroidered on the canvas with silk) was riding up front [of the procession], and the rest of the Cossacks were riding next to the equipage of the Commandant of the Department. Five

*verst*s before reaching Khiva, in the Gandemian Garden,* where in 1873 a peace treaty with Khiva was signed,[16] we were awaited by [a group of dignitaries] sent by the Khan, [namely] the "*Vazīr-i Akbar*" – Sayyid Islām Khvāja, the chief dignitary of the Khanate, along with his son, also a dignitary, Yūsuf Yasāvulbāshī,[17] an old man who served under the late Khan, and *Makhkamabāshī* – the Head of Khan's Chancellery. Along the way to the Garden, the horsemen-*nūker*s of the [Sayyid] Islām Khvāja's escort were lining the route. Tea was served on the terrace in the Garden, and very soon we continued our trip. Having entered /15/ the city [of Khiva] through the Gandemian, a.k.a Khanqah Gate, we [drove further] along narrow streets, passed by the madrasa of Muḥammad Amīn-Khān,[18]

* [Lykoshin:] The Khivan way of rendering the garden's name sounds so corrupted that it was hardly possible to pinpoint its [original] meaning, and therefore some further inquiry was required. [It turned out that] the correct spelling of the garden is "*Gandūm-Kān*", that is "a place of abundant wheat crop".

16 Lykoshin is referring here to the events of 12 August 1873: two months after the Russian military victory, a peace treaty was signed in the Gandemian Garden by the ruler of Khiva Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II, on the one hand, and the first governor-general of Turkestan K.P. von Kaufman, on the other. The Gandemian treaty of 1873 formalized the vasal status of the Khivan Khanate, see Semour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865–1924* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 58–60.

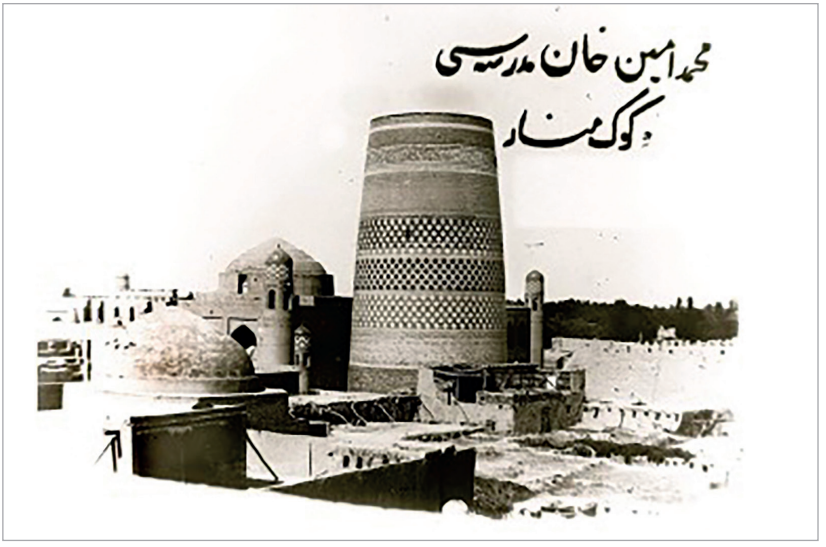
17 The full name of this dignitary was Muḥammad Yūsuf Yasāvulbāshī b.'Aważ Niyāz Maḥram. He occupied the office of *yasāvulbāshī*, which by the early 20th century came to be regarded as one of the highest offices in the Khivan administrative hierarchy, in the initial years of Isfandiyār Khān's reign. There were usually two *yasāvulbāshī*s at the court of the Khan, both acting at the same time. Along with Muḥammad Yūsuf Yasāvulbāshī the same post was occupied by Shaykh Naẓar Bāy Yasāvulbāshī, a son of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī. For more on the individuals who occupied this post under the Qonghrats, see: Paolo Sartori and Ulfat Abdurasulov, *Seeking Justice at the Court of the Khans of Khiva (19th – Early 20th Centuries)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020), pp. 21–35.

18 The Madrasa of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, the biggest madrasa of the Khivan Khanate (designed for 260 students), was erected in the early 1850s by the order of the Khivan ruler Muḥammad Amīn Khān. Coupled with the uncompleted minaret – *Kalta Minār* – built by the same ruler, the edifice constitutes one of the hallmarks of the historical city of Khiva, see further: A. Man'kovskaia, and V. Bulatova, *Pamiatniki zodchestva Khorezma* (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo Gafura Guliama, 1978), pp. 121–122.

with a high minaret, and [finally] reached the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace, where Isfandiyār Khān Bahādur generally resides. He also has at his disposal a winter palace and the Tāza-Bāgh Garden; the winter palace is mostly uninhabited, whereas he [usually] spends part of the summer season in the [Tāza-Bāgh] Garden. This time though he had not moved out there [=to the Tāza-Bāgh Garden] yet, for [he intended] to give me a reception in the [Nūrallāh-Bāy] Palace, as prescribed by custom.

At about 5 o'clock in the afternoon we drove up to the palace and, having driven around to the right of the main gate, through the side entrance, we came to a halt by the gate of the diplomatic suite.[19] This was a rather old and poorly furnished house with several rooms. The main [room] – a very long hall – included a laid dining table; it was followed by a small living room, furnished with European furniture, [and there was also] a *dastarkhān* spread over the table with [all the necessary items] for tea. Each of the newly arrived guests was assigned a separate bedroom with the necessary furnishings and finery. After getting myself in order and having some tea with the chief dignitary who had brought me to the palace, I asked Sayyid Islām Khvāja to notify the Khan about my arrival and to enquire when His Serene Highness would deign to meet me. Soon afterwards, Sayyid [Islām] Khvāja conveyed to me the Khan's invitation to come before him on the same day in the evening, after the customary [ceremony of] *salām* and [after the ceremony of] hearing the subjects' grievances, which the Khan listens to every day after the *salām*.

[19] According to Baltaev, the diplomatic suite at the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace was initially erected by the Khān Muḥammad Raḥīm II in 1874. It was built of brick "in the European style", see: 'Abdullāh Baltaev, *Khīva īsdalīklārī*, fols. 69a–69b. In July 1912, during his visit to Khiva, Lykoshin reported that the diplomatic premises were undergoing massive renovation, see infra, p. 321.



Kalta Minār and the Madrasa of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, photo by Khudaybergan Devonov. Credit: IQDM, inv. no. KP 5918/3.

Given that the windows of the diplomatic suite looked into the large outer courtyard of the Khan's palace,* in anticipation of the audience I could easily observe [this] ceremony, which the Khan performs every day without fail, [thereby rendering a] singular service /15 ob./ to his people – [a service] which has given the Khan the reputation of being a ruler who is available to each of his subjects, personally listening to their grievances and restoring justice through his orders and decisions.[20]

* [Lykoshin:] The inner premises [of the palace] are occupied by the Khan's harem, where he resides with his family; [the harem] extends into the palace courtyard, fenced by a blank wall with only a door. No one, even close relatives of the Khan himself and of his wives, is allowed into the harem. [Editor's note: Lykoshin's description of the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace matches the blueprint of the palace provided by 'Abdullāh Baltaev, who himself took part in reconstruction work at the palace; see his *Khīva īsdalīklārī*, fol. 69b].

20 Lykoshin is referring here to the ceremony of the Khivan sovereign's listening to the grievances and petitions of his subjects; the ceremony was performed regularly at the palace and is known in the sources and in colloquial usage as

At about six o'clock in the evening, the usually deserted courtyard, decorated with tall columns in the Moorish style, suddenly came to life: people who were in charge of preparing everything necessary before the exit of His Serene Highness from the inner premises, came in and started running back and forth. Some time later, the harem door opened, and from there in slow manner Isfandiyār Khān Bahādur not simply walked but rather proceeded with a solemn gait to the place where he sits to mete out judgment and punishment.

Not far from the only entrance into the courtyard there is a small stone platform, covered with a large felt mat. The Khan sits on the dais in Asian style, and before him they lay out an ancient gun in its case and a small hatchet, also old: these are the insignia of power. The Khan wears an expensive gold-trimmed sabre of the Asian type, and on his head, in place of the usual *chugirma*,[21] he has an equally large hat of lamb fur, but with a red top; this hat is the equivalent of a crown. By the Khan's hand they place a kettle of green tea (*kuk-chāy*) and a cup.

Even before the Khan's entrance, a *maḥram*[22] takes up a position not far from the Khan's dais and stands perfectly still, with his sword out. From time to time, these *maḥram*s are silently replaced by others who have just come into the courtyard.

The old man Yūsuf Yasāvulbāshī opens the ceremony. He is the first who comes in through the front door, [then] stops next to it and, folding his arms at his waist, pronounces "*salām*", addressing the Khan. After that, other high-ranking dignitaries, one by one, enter the same door and they give a deep bow to the Khan, though without saying "*salām*". The Yasāvulbāshī [in the meantime] /16/

ʿ*arż* or ʿ*arż-dād*. For more on the ceremony and its role in the governance, see Sartori and Abdurasulov, *Seeking Justice at the Court of the Khans of Khiva*.

21 *Chugirma* is a traditional male headdress in Khorezm, manufactured from furs of various types, mostly from astrakhan fur (caracul).

22 *Maḥram* (lit. 'confidant') was a chamberlain, an individual close to the Khivan khan. Some of the *maḥram*s were also endowed with the right to access dynasts' private chambers (*ḥarām*).

remains [at his position] by the door and unlike the other dignitaries he does not leave [the audience-hall] after giving a bow. [The ceremony of] *salām* lasts twenty minutes, until all the dignitaries have taken turns to bow.

The time for looking into the people's grievances has come. All [the supplicants] enter [the audience-hall] through the same front door, so the dignitaries, who standing at the door on the other side, know who is going to file a claim with the Khan and on what [particular] matter and, if needed, what measures they themselves should take. This is perhaps why there are not many complaints about high-ranking officials or about the orders they made; the people complain to the Khan about each other and request the restoration of their rights that have been violated by similar [lay] subjects.

The petitioner, having entered through the door, stops at the entrance, at some distance from the Khan, so his grievance is pronounced in a very loud patter, the supplicant almost yelling, as if he hopes to prove the severity of his grievances and to penetrate the soul of the Khan with his cries.

The Khan, having allowed the supplicant to finish his brief complaint, says only one word, turning to the Yasāvulbāshī. This is probably an order to sort out the case. The petitioner exits and another enters.

It is hard to say how rigorously matters of grievance brought to the Khan are investigated and what outcomes they entail. However, it transpires from the accounts of well-informed people that it is not rare for even the most elemental pieces of evidence to be lost in this simplified oral dispensation of justice.[23] [It can happen that] the grievance has not been sorted out and the case has not been resolved, and the grievance is brought for a second time before the

[23] The practices of dispensation of justice related to *ʿarż* seem not to have been completely "oral" as Lykoshin presumed. Recently a significant paper trail left by the *ʿarż* in Khiva has been revealed. This is an extensive collection of records issued by various officials of the Khanate of Khiva, which illuminate how the royal court reviewed and processed petitions submitted by subjects; see further: Sartori and Abdurasulov, *Seeking Justice at the Court of the Khans of Khiva*.

Khan, who wants to know the current state of the matter. Then the first person to whom the matter has been entrusted, e.g. Yūsuf Yasāvulbāshī, summons the petitioner himself, and asks him, "What did I tell you, when you came last time with your grievance?" The petitioner, who alone has a good recollection of the details of the case, tells him to whom [=to which official] he was sent last time [to resolve the case]. They summon the official to whom /16 ob./ the petitioner had been sent [earlier] and [since the former also does not remember the details of the case], he [=the Yasāvulbāshī] has no choice but to question the selfsame petitioner [about the preceding course of investigation of the petition]. God knows whether in such cases they manage to find out who is to blame for the delay [in resolving the case], or whether these all inquiries exhaust the petitioner and he [eventually] quits his case, [it is clear however] that ordinary people in Khiva have little faith in the ability to achieve satisfaction of their grievances, [especially] if they do not have a powerful patron. Should be there a patron and [sufficient] funding, such a lucky beggar may expect a swift and favorable resolution of the case.

Following the end of the hearing of grievances, there is the second *salām*, that is the greeting of the Khan by the junior-ranking dignitaries, the Khan's relatives and the household staff who serve at the palace. For that they enter [the audience room] at once in a crowd, line up in a single file line and bow! Among those who take a bow is a Russian auxiliary *feierverker* [=artillery-man][24] wearing a uniform. He is a chief of the [Khan's] artillery, in command of two cannons, which have been granted to Khan by the SOVEREIGN EMPEROR.[25] The *feuerwerker* comes in along with cannoneers [who are under his command]. They are Khivans, five in number, wearing robes.

Once the *salām* of junior rank dignitaries is over, the *Vazār-i Akbar* Sayyid Islām Khvāja, the Khan's chief dignitary and a relative

[24] *Feierverker*, from the German *Feuerwerker,* was an artillery rank in the Russian imperial army, equal to the status of *Unteroffizier* (Under Officer).

[25] More on these cannons see below, p. 256, fn. 40.

of his, then slowly approaches the Khan and respectfully sits down on the step of the dais. Next approaches Sayyid Islām Khvāja's son, dressed like his father, and he sits below his father. He is followed by the *Makhkamabāshī*, the chief of the Khan's chancellery, who does not however sit down. A brief chat about the current state of affairs takes place; the Khan then puts on his simple *chugirma* instead of the red-top hat that he has been wearing [during the ceremony], and the official part of the reception is over.

In the same courtyard, when necessary, criminals are punished in the Khan's presence; [someone] counts off the number of lashes to which they have been sentenced, which are inflicted with a thick whip (*darra*), /17/ which is fashioned from several belts sewn together. If the punishment is to be performed on a day when the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department is at the palace, the punishment is significantly decreased in honor of the guest. On the day of my arrival in Khiva no punishment took place in the palace; presumably at that time there was nobody who had been sentenced.

On ordinary days, after this [routine], the Khan goes to his inner premises, but on the day of my visit a meeting with me was still to come, and so the Khan headed slowly to his audience room, located right in front of the diplomatic suite, where I was lodged. The Khan was followed [by a courtier], who carried his fur hat, a pistol, an ax, and a teapot with a cup.

The courtiers began to hurry, and moved European furniture, which is usually not there, to the Khan's audience room. They also brought in a coffee table end table as well as several armchairs.

Soon, Sayyid Islām Khvāja came to me and conveyed Khan's invitation to come and greet him. Nobody stopped me, as Minorskii described his reception,[26] and nor did they force me to walk slowly,

[26] Lykoshin is clearly referring to Vladimir Fedorovich Minorskii (1877–1966), a renowned Russian imperial diplomat, who served in Turkestan, Iran, and Turkey. Later, following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Minorskii moved to Europe, where he gained wide prominence as a scholar of oriental studies. In 1909–1911 Minorskii was serving as a diplomatic officer at the Governor-general of Turkestan. In 1909 he undertook a tour of inspection in the Khanate of

or to hurry up; in my opinion, this could not have been done intentionally within the 40 footsteps across the courtyard which separate the diplomatic suite from the Khan's audience-hall. I walked without trying to adjust my footsteps to those of Sayyid Islām Khvāja, who moved a bit slowly, so it may be that I forced the dignitary to walk a little faster than he usually does.

It turned out, though, that I entered the audience-hall very appropriately, rising in the estimation of the courtiers, because when I walked past the audience hall windows, the Khan got up from his chair and himself walked across the room to the [entrance] door in order to meet me there. [It is hard to tell] whether this happened by chance or whether the Khan merely did not pay much attention to the details [of the protocol] of the meeting, but when, having handed over my cap and gloves to the *maḥram*, who was standing in the front room and held out his hands [to accept my stuff], I afterwards entered the audience /17 ob./ room, the Khan met me right at the very entrance door. It could have happened the other way around: I might have entered [the audience room] a little earlier, and in that case, I would have had to cross the room in order to greet the Khan. This, according to local concepts, would have conferred less significance and esteem [upon my person], but given that the Khan himself met me [at the entrance], this was [considered in a sense] of paying me a distinct honor – or [at least] that is how it was explained to my translator by the junior-ranking courtiers [at the palace].

With the help of the interpreter, I greeted the Khan* and congratulated him on his accession to the Khanal throne. The Khan [in turn] very graciously congratulated me on my new promotion to the office of the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department; then

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Khiva, whereupon he compiled the detailed report to which Lykoshin seems to have referred here. For more on Minorskii, see: C.E. Bosworth, "Minorsky, Vladimir Fed'orovich" *Encyclopædia Iranica* (2004), https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/minorsky-vladimir.

* [Lykoshin:] After the reception, the Khan changed into a robe with a saber, the epaulettes of the Major-General of the Retinue of His Majesty [the Emperor Nicholas II] and with all [Imperial] awards, including [the order of] the White Eagle.

we both walked up the steps to the elevated part of the reception room, heading towards the table with chairs around that had just been brought there. The Khan invited me and my interpreter to sit down. The latter asked my permission and then we all sat down. Sayyid Islām Khvāja, who came in after me, also sat down.

There began a rather inconsequential conversation; [there were] questions on my family members' health, on the progress of work on irrigating Quvānish-Yarma, wherefrom I had recently returned (a fact that was known in Khiva), as well as on my own health, etc. The Khan recalled our meeting in 1891, when he [in the capacity of] the Heir, paid a visit to Tashkent, and I, as Assistant to the Head of the City [of Tashkent], arranged a reception in his honor in the Native part of the city. We [also] recalled our [subsequent] meeting in Samarkand, where Isfandiyār Tūra met me at [the residence of] General Gesket, the former Military Governor of the Samarkand Province.[27]

The end of the conversation was about the fact that time passes imperceptibly and that one [of us] who, at our last meeting in 1891, had been a young man and had not even had a beard, now matured, and became a bearded man, while the other, /18/ who previously had had a beard, had now got older and turned grey. [Though] said observation was not particularly pleasant to me – it was I who had grown old – I had no choice but to admit the justice of what was said [by the Khan].

During receptions, the Khan smokes and offers his guests expensive Egyptian cigarettes, which have been ordered for him at the price of 85 roubles per thousand. The cigarettes are made of some special kind of tobacco, and do not have a mouthpiece. The position of the guest who has not got a mouthpiece on him is rather awkward, yet smoking cigarettes has come to be part and parcel of the reception's etiquette. Some of the most important dignitaries [at the court] also order Egyptian cigarettes, whose price though does not exceed 65 roubles per thousand.

[27] Sergei Danilovich Gasket was military governor of the Samarkand Province in 1905–1908.

After the conversation with the Khan, I realized that I needed to request permission to talk the next morning about business and the Khan asked me to come to him at about 10 o'clock in the morning.

Everything that one sees in the palace's court leaves an indelible impression. Discernible through the entire ceremonial of the Khan's life as well as his attitude towards his subjects there is an air of antiquity. This centuries-long etiquette is strictly maintained even nowadays, and the people are accustomed to the Khan's direct intervention [even] in the petty matters of his subjects, in the conviction that only thus may one seek justice.

It is said that under the late Khan, [people's] grievances were resolved by [the Khan] himself, in greater detail, and that the Khan personally oversaw the execution of his orders [on those matters]. Today this state of affairs has changed significantly and it is the Khan's chief dignitary, *Vazīr-i Akbar* Sayyid Islām Khvāja, who has assumed the principal importance in dealing with the cases; there have been some occasions, where [even] after the decision made by the Khan, [Sayyid Islām Khvāja] at his own discretion changed the direction of proceedings.

The people, being accustomed to the autocracy of the Khan, are unhappy at changes to the [established] order; and given particularly that under the new order Sayyid Islām Khvāja's confidants and relatives have acquired more significance and influence than before, there have formed two courts – [one] of the Khan [himself] and /18 ob./ [another] of the *Vazīr-i Akbar*, [both of them] exercising influence on the people's affairs. This should be borne in mind by anyone who is looking for vindication of his claim, for the current order makes it far more difficult to to secure justice; furthermore, the currently reigning Khan Isfandiyār Bahādur does not enjoy such authority among the dignitaries as did [Muḥammad] Raḥīm Khān Bahādur, a native Uzbek. The new Khan also cannot be forgiven [by some people] for the fact that he was born of a slave, or *chūrī*,[28] and

[28] *chūrī* – a term used in the Khivan Khanate to designate bondwomen of predominantly Iranian origin. The information provided by Lykoshin about Isfandiyār Khān's provenance does not seem precisely correct. It was not Isfandiyār's

people also regard him not as an independent [ruler], but someone who in all matters is susceptible to the influence of Islām Khvāja.

The most salient matter which has occurred under the new reign [of Isfandiyār Khān] is the depriving of the late Mat-Murād Divānbīgī's sons[29] of their offices and the confiscation of their property; the people regard this as an unfair decision, and they [particularly] condemn the transfer of all confiscated assets [of the disgraced officials] to the Heir Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra, still a thoughtless child, who is unable to object to the transfer to his name of assets that have been confiscated, as people see it, by means of intrigue; and that fact places him [=the Heir] now during his childhood in a rather awkward position in the eyes of his future subjects.

The Khivans ascribe the fall of these old khanal servants, the sons of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī, as well as the confiscation of their property, exclusively to the intrigues of Sayyid Islām Khvāja, who sought to become the all-powerful counselor of the Khan, and who on his way to power removed all representatives of the family of the late [Mat-Murād] Divānbīgī, who under the late Khan used to enjoy salient influence.

Already under the late Khan, there sparked enmity between Mat-Murād Divānbīgī and the Sayyid Islām Khvāja's father.[30] Both prominent dignitaries used to fight for power, and Raḥīm Khān

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mother, but rather his grandmother who seems to have been a *chūrī*. According to Bābājān Tarrāh, Isfandiyār's mother, Qūtlī Bīka (1854–1918), was born from the marriage of Pahlavān Niyāz Khvārazmī, a renowned late-19th -century Khivan poet, musician and courtier and captive girl of Iranian origin. Later on, Qūtlī Bīka was given in marriage to the Khivan ruler Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II. It was from that marriage that Isfandiyār Khān was born: see A. Otamurodova and O. Abdurahimov (eds.), Bobojon Tarroh-Xodim, *Xorazm shoir va navozandalari*, (Tashkent: Tafakkur qanoti, 2011), p. 85, fn. 1.

29 That is, Muḥammad Murād Divānbīgī's sons; in Khorezm both in local parlance and in official usage the name Muḥammad was given in its shortened form as Mamat. Similar renderings were adopted with regard to compound names, e.g. Mat-Murād rather than Muḥammad Murād, Ma-Sharīf rather than Muḥammad Sharīf, etc.

30 Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khvāja (d. 1889), a father of the *Vazīr-i akbar* Sayyid Islām Khvāja was a maternal uncle of the Khivan ruler Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II;

Bahādur, in an attempt to put an end to the enmity between two families – both of which he treated equally well –, took steps to secure the marriage of the present *Vazīr-i Akbar* Sayyid Islām Khvāja with the daughter of [the late] Mat-Murād Divānbīgī.[31] The [new] wife of Islām Khvāja happened to be a very smart and powerful /19/ lady, and [soon] came to gain significant influence at the court. Not only did she manage to level the enmity between her father-in-law and [her father] the Divānbīgī, but after Mat-Murād [Divānbīgī]'s death, owing to her influence on [her husband Sayyid] Islām Khvāja she continued to uphold her brothers' [positions at the court]. After the death of Islām Khvāja's wife, however, everything has changed; Islām Khvāja's kinship with the Mat-Murād Divānbīgī's family has come to an end, as has this smart lady's [erstwhile] influence. There then began various intrigues, culminating with all the *Divanbegi*-ites being deprived of their offices and arrested, and their property being confiscated. The people were especially struck by the judgment imposed on Ḥusayn-Bīk [an elder son of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī], who had been admitted into the [Imperial] Cossack troops. Power fell completely into the hands of Sayyid Islām Khvāja and his close relatives, while the Khan's treasury was enriched by the confiscation [of the assets of the Divānbīgī's sons].

As soon as I returned to the diplomatic suite, the Khan, accompanied by Sayyid Islām Khvāja, immediately paid me a [reciprocal] visit. The Khan slowly entered [my premises], and I met him in the middle of the hall; this all was performed in accordance with established etiquette. The Khan then sat down on the sofa at the table covered with the *dastarkhān*. This time I myself offered him a cigarette, which he then smoked. The Khan conversed in a very polite manner, recalling again our previous meetings. At some point he

on the details of his biography, see Tarroh-Xodim, *Xorazm shoir va navozandalari*, pp. 36–37.

31 The Khivan authors also confirm that a daughter of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī – Sa'ādat Jān Bīka – was married to Sayyid Islām Khvāja: see Tarroh-Xodim, *Xorazm shoir va navozandalari*, p. 77, and Davlatyor Rahim, *Muhammad Murod Divonbegi* (Tashkent: Kamalak, 2016), p. 112.

asked why I, being fluent in Uzbek, was conversing with him with the assistance of an interpreter. I explained that I was guided in this case by the same delicacy which also guided His Serene Highness, who, despite being in command of colloquial Russian,[32] only on the rarest occasion resorts to that language, being fearful of making a mistake. The Khan found this explanation satisfactory. After sitting for another five minutes, he leisurely headed back [to his premises] and I saw him off to the middle of the hall. While saying goodbye, the Khan asked me to consider his house as my own and make use of it as I would please. This phrase is rather stereotypical and commonly said in similar cases, and the guest in turn is expected to thank [the host] for his warm reception.

/19 ob./ At about 8 o'clock in the evening a long table was laid for dinner in the diplomatic suite. A soft chair designed for the Khan was brought in and placed at the head of the table, and beech chairs [were placed] for everyone else. My translator Rasulev[33] was placed next to the Khan, and to my right was the Khan's translator, Court Councilor V.N. Kornilov.[34] The latter was followed by the

[32] Vasilii Ian, a colonial officer and, later, a prominent Soviet novelist, while describing his meeting with Isfandiyār Khān in 1903, also recalled that the latter "was fluent in Russian", see his "Golubie dali Azii. Zapiski vsadnika." In V. Ian, *Sobranie sochinenii v chetyrekh tomakh* (Moscow: Pravda, 1989), pp. 524–525. Laffasī provides further details of the Khivan ruler's educational background. According to him, Isfandiyār learned Russian from a certain Tatar Ahmadjān Atiev who served as a translator in the chancellery of the Khivan ruler, and owing to this, Isfandiyār "was able to read and write in Russian," see: Hasan Madaminov (Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī), *Otryvki iz istorii Khivinskogo khanstva. Period 1910–1913 gg.*; O'zMA, f. I-125, op. 1, d. 609, l. 62.

[33] 'Alī Muḥammad Rasulev (Rasulov) was a translator at the chancellery of the Commandant of the ADO during Lykoshin's tenure.

[34] V.N. Kornilov, a retired Russian officer, who, following retirement, owing to his good command of the local languages, was employed by the chancellery of the Khivan Khan in 1900. The Scottish traveler Ella Robertson Christie, who when she visited Khiva in spring 1912 resided in Kornilov's house, provided a detailed description of both the officer himself and his wife N.A. Kornilova: see Ella R. Christie, *Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand. The Remarkable Story of a Woman's Adventurous Journey Alone Through the Deserts of Central Asia to the Heart of Turkestan*, (London: Seeley, Service and Co. Limited,

Qūshbīgī,[35] a young man, whom the Khan had just introduced to me, as well as by other dignitaries, seemingly in accordance with their ranks. The places to the left of the Khan, along the length of the table, were occupied by the [Khan's] dignitaries, also according to their ranks, with the only difference that the first place on the left side, right next to the Khan and in opposite to me, remained unoccupied (there was an empty place-setting); the Khan's chief dignitary *Vazīr-i Akbar* Islām Khvāja was sitting in the next place along, below the empty place. If one were to ask about of the allocation of the places [around the table], they would answer that an [empty] place is reserved in case another guest comes along together with the *Mużafāt-Ḥākimī*,[36] i.e. the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department; but this is simply an explanation to conceal the local custom whereby even the highest ranked subject of the state is not allowed to sit next to his sovereign.

Over dinner there was a rather superficial conversation, of the sort that people deem appropriate on such occasions, though there was also a timely topic – the unveiling of a memorial to EMPEROR ALEXANDER III in Moscow. A certain Mat-Vafā Yusufovich

1925), pp. 69–81. He clearly was working at the Khivan court when Lykoshin assumed the office of the ADO Commandant. Lykoshin's successor Kolosovskii would still mention Kornilov as a translator at the Khivan court in the early 1917, see: Kolosovskii, *Ego Prevoskhoditel'stvu N.V. Kuropatkinu*, *19.02.1917*; O'zMA, f. I-461, op. 1, d. 1889-a, ll. 104–105.

35 The *qūshbīgī* was a high-ranking official at the Khivan court. During the first decades of Qonghrat rule in Khorezm, the office of *qūshbīgī* was considered, along that of *mihtar*, as one of the highest ranks in the Khivan administrative hierarchy, and its holders were thus often referred to in the Khivan sources by the epithet of "vizier". By the end of the 19th century the holders of the *qūshbīgī* office seem to have lost their erstwhile status, whereas the office itself came to be regarded as increasingly nominal. In one of his service notes, for instance, Lykoshin provides the following reference to the *qūshbīgī* whom he encountered during his visit to Khiva in June 1912: "Jānī-Bīk Khudoyarov, 21 years old, does not seem to enjoy any significant influence at the court," see his, *Sovremennoe raspredelenie vlasti*, l. 63 ob.

36 *Mużafāt-ḥākimī* or *Amūdaryā mużaffātī ḥākimī* – the term used in the vernacular sources to designate the office of Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department.

Bakkalov,[37] the Minister of Trade and Industry, or *Karavānbāshī* according to the local designation, who was sent [to Moscow] by the Khan as a representative of Khiva, kept telegraphing the Khan in detail about the [course of] celebrations in Moscow; on the day of my meeting with the Khan it was notified [by Bakkalov] that the SOVEREIGN EMPEROR is to arrive in Moscow on 28 May. Bakkalov's telegrams are received in [the city of] New Urgench, and immediately forwarded to Khiva by special courier. An hour and a half after they have been received, the telegrams are delivered to Islām Khvāja, who after having read the dispatch – he can read in Russian – informs the Khan about the content.

/20/ At the dinner, the Khan recalled that when in 1891 he sent me his portrait, [in return] I sent him mine with an inscription in Uzbek, and that although [the Khan had found] my handwriting rather peculiar, it was easily and conveniently readable.

After the dessert, champagne was served,[38] though the Khan's glass was filled with lemonade; the Khan, getting up from his seat, proclaimed a toast to the health and longevity of the SOVEREIGN EMPEROR and the Reigning House [of the Romanov family]. This pledge, as well as the following one, to the health of the Commander-in-Chief of the [Turkestan] Region, General of the Cavalry A.V. Samsonov,[39] was followed by a unanimous "*hurra*" by all present. Then I raised a glass to the health of His Serene Highness as well

37 For more on this individual, see *Introduction*, pp. 90–91.

38 A.S. Stetkevich, the author of a detailed survey of the Khivan Khanate compiled at the end of the 19th century, reported that by that time most Khivan court officials not only were able to use properly the cutlery ("the forks and knifes"), but also became addicted to drinking "a kind of poor-quality root beer, which they call champagne": see his "Ocherki Khivinskogo oazisa (okonchanie)" *Voennyi sbornik* 3 (1892), p. 206.

39 Aleksandr Vasil'evich Samsonov (1859–1914), Governor-General of Turkestan in 1909–1914. Lykoshin's promotion to the office of Commandant of ADO was due in no small part to Samsonov's support. The latter seems to have been a principal addressee of the *Zapiska* as well as of most of the other service notes written by Lykoshin over course of his tenure; for more see the *Introduction*.

as to the prosperity of the Khanate of Khiva. His Serene Highness responded with a toast to my health.

[Then] the dignitaries all together left the table, and the Khan remained with me a while longer, then wished me a good night and headed to his quarters.

[Later] in the evening, when I asked V.N. Kornilov what time the next day would be convenient to pay visits to the highest dignitaries, he replied that it might be convenient to visit them early in the morning, because later on, after the *salām* had been performed, all the dignitaries would be busy all day long. I thought that such description of the dignitaries' daytime activity was rather exaggerated, and by means of [additional] inquiries I was able to find out that after the *salām* the dignitaries rest for quite a long time at their home, indulging in an afternoon nap. The timeframe [for paying visits] suggested to me by Kornilov coincided in effect with the morning *salām* of lower-ranking dignitaries, who come to bow to their patrons in the same manner as the latter, in turn, does to the Khan. I found it inconvenient to [pay a visit] to the dignitaries at such a time and [therefore later] in the evening I informed Sayyid Islām Khvāja that I was going to pay visits to him and to [Yūsuf] Yasāvulbāshī after breakfast, at about 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

I spent the entire morning of [the next day] 30 May in conversation with dignitaries, who came to me just to chat. The venerable old man Yūsuf Yasāvulbāshī stopped by; then Muḥammad Sharīf Divān, who with his excellent handwriting rewrites the Khan's letters addressed to me, also paid me a visit; next came Nūr-Muḥammad Bāy, the [Khivan] Consul in Petro-Aleksandrovsk, who earlier had accompanied me on my trip /20 ob./ to Khiva; [he was followed by] one more of the Khan's Yasāvulbāshī and finally by the *Vazīr-i Akbar* Sayyid Islām Khvāja, who was accompanied by Kornilov. The conversation [with Sayyid Islām Khvāja] was on non-business-related issues, though I took advantage of the opportunity and asked Sayyid Islām Khvāja to provide me with a list of the Khanate's officials of all ranks. Tellingly, earlier my translator Rasulev, at my request, had already approached Yūsuf Yasāvulbāshī, who also occupied a distinct position at the Khan's court, on the same

matter, yet the Yasāvulbāshī candidly stated that that regarding such issues one ought to ask Sayyid Islām Khvāja. Clearly, nothing happens there without the knowledge of the *Vazīr-i Akbar*.

As I said above, during the audience [given] to the Commandant of the Department, the Khan usually keeps the Heir Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra next to him. When I met the Khan, the Heir was not present there and, therefore, on the day when the audience took place, after the dinner, while saying goodbye to the Khan, I expressed my willingness to meet the Heir on the following day, before coming to the Khan for the [scheduled] business meeting.

For that reason, at 9 o'clock in the morning, I entered a special courtyard, wherein the Heir resided. In the foreground one's attention was caught by two cannons covered with canvas under a canopy, which had been granted [to the Khan] by the SOVEREIGN EMPEROR.[40] From time to time the Khan's cannoneers conduct drills in the same courtyard, under the command of the auxiliary *feuerwerker*.[41]

We were led into a room, in the middle of which was standing a very pale boy with a lifeless face, aged about seven years old; [42] he

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40 The cannons along with the artillery shells were presented to the Khivan Khan by the Russian authorities in 1909: see N.G. Glushanovskii, *Ego Svetlosti Khanu Khivinskomu, 11.02.1909, no 1005*, IQDM, inv. no. 4180. According to Lobachevskii, despite the limited amount of the artillery units, they "were distinguished with distinct affection" by Isfandiyār Khān: see Lobachevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie*, pp. 39–40.

41 Lobachevskii further reported that the cannons were under the command of a retired Russian officer, converted to Islam: see his *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie*, p. 40. See also above, p. 245.

42 Sayyid Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra (d. 1916) was the elder son of Isfandiyār Khān. The Khan also had four daughters; his younger son was born in 1914. In early 1911 the Russian authorities reached out to Isfandiyār Khān with a request to specify the name of his successor to the Khivan throne, in case of his death. Even though the practice of specifying the heir's name was not characteristic of the Khanate's political culture, upon the Russian authorities' insistence, Isfandiyār Khān submitted a plea to the Russian emperor requesting confirmation of his seven-year-old son Sayyid Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra as a crown prince. Despite the fact that the confirmation was issued on 23 June 1911 by the special edict of Nicholas II, upon Isfandiyār Khān's insistence its content was not publicized and was

was a rather [foolish] boy, and […], and despite the reassurances of his mentors did not dare to say a single word. Tūra-Jān [= the Heir] was surrounded by his young dignitaries – his age or a little older – who were either relatives of the Khan or the sons of his dignitaries.

All these boys were perfectly dressed, many of them wearing the same gold-decorated checkers as did their fathers; but one of them, for some unknown reason, was dressed in a racing jockey's suit. Sayyid Islām Khvāja came along with me; his son ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz stood out favorably among /21/ the Heir's entourage. It is very possible that he is deemed to be a chief courtier of Tūra-Jān's [entourage].

We sat down at the table and had some tea; I tried to talk to Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra in Uzbek, but the boy got very embarrassed and was not able to answer, and his teachers responded on his behalf. Around us, in a lively fashion, the Heir's peers were ebulliently chatting and even surreptitiously messing about. I found it hard to look at this poor frail youth, and I found myself wanting to tell his parents that the Heir required a lot of fish oil, a radical change to his mode of living, and persistent treatment against the hereditary disease [that assails] the Khanal family.[43] I was also introduced to the *Kūkaldāsh* – the Heir's milk-brother, a son of his wet nurse, who appeared to be a healthy, rosy-cheeked lad. Having said goodbye to

"kept secret": see N.G. Glushanovskii, *G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 15.04.1911, no. 80*; OʻzMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 290, l. 5; *Telegrammy G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru*; OʻzMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 290, ll. 8, 32.

43 Sayyid Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra died on 17 January 1916: see Kolosovskii, *Telegramma*, *16.01.1916;* OʻzMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 290, l. 45. Following his death, the imperial authorities once again raised the issue of succession. Isfandiyār Khān, however, referring to the early childhood of his second son, kept postponing the decision, see: S. Chirkin, *Zametka po voprosu o naslednike Khana Khivinskogo*, *10.06.1916*; OʻzMA, f. I-1, op. 31, d. 1104, ll. 156–156 ob. The February Revolution which occured in Russia soon thereafter seems to have diverted the attention of Russian authorities from the matter, and the heir was never appointed. In the fall of 1918 Isfandiyār Khān was murdered by the order of the Turkmen Yomut leader Junayd Khān. With the latter's support Sayyid ʻAbdullāh Khān (r. 1918–1920), a younger brother of the late khan, was placed on the Khivan throne.

the Heir, along with Sayyid Islām Khvāja I headed straight through the courtyard of the larger palace to the Khan's audience room, where we were due to talk about business.



Sayyid Isfandiyār Khān (r. 1910–1918) and the Heir Sayyid Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra (d. 1915). Photo credit: IQDM, inv. no. KP 2841.

Both the meeting and reception were completely identical to the previous day's, the only [difference being that] the Khan, like me, was not wearing his military awards. Proceeding point by point, I set out to acquaint the Khan with matters that required our joint discussion, starting with the misunderstandings that had occurred between the Khan's Government and the Turkmens. The Khan in an excited manner complained about the Turkmens' disobedience and the impossibility of governing them without intervention on the part of the Russian authorities, owing to the stubborn resistance

of the influential Turkmen leaders, or *katkhudā*s,* to all the Khan's initiatives, especially in the matter of implementing the [various] beneficial reforms that the Khan had drawn up for his subjects at the time of his accession to the throne and announced to the people in a [special] manifesto, or *yārlīq*, as the locals call such edicts.[44]

I familiarized the Khan with the data I had at my disposal, which portrayed the unenviable condition of the Turkmens, the stepchildren of Khiva; and I [also] reminded the Khan about his decision made during discussion of the procedure of enacting the land-taxation reform, [namely] to start land assessment from the *vilāyat* lands[45] and only afterwards to move on to the lands belonging to the Turkmens. The Khan and Sayyid Islām Khvāja referred immediately to the fact that nowhere in the minutes of the meeting was there any explicit discussion about such a procedure, and that for that reason the Khan had not considered it necessary to adhere to such

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* [Lykoshin:] Pers: *kyari-khidat* – leader, chieftain. [Editor's note: etymology of the term *katkhudā* (*ketkhudā*) stems from Persian: *kedh* – "house" *khudā* – "master, lord". In the Khivan Khanate the term was commonly related to the elders of community. On the multiciplity of desination used to distinguish the Turkmen tribal aristocracy's members, see above: *Introduction*, p. 93, fn. 236.].

44 *Yārlīq* – a royal warrant issued on behalf of the Khan of Khiva; for more on the structure and the content of this documentary genre: see Yuri Bregel, "Documents from the Khanate of Khiva (17th–19th centuries)" *Papers on Inner Asia* (Bloomington, Indiana: 2007): 2–5. In this particular case Lykoshin refers to the Manifesto issued by Isfandiyār Khān on 11 September 1910. The *yārlīq* in question announced the Khivan ruler's intention to carry out reforms in the Khanate, notably among these the establishment of fixed salaries for officials, the imposition of a land tax in accordance with the new cadaster, and so on: see *Manifest Khivinskogo khana Asfandiiar-Bakhodur khana o predlozhennykh reformakh v Khivinskom khanstve*; MS St. Petersburg, OR RNB, f. 1240, d. 119, l. 1. For more on the reforms and their consequences: see Ul'fat Abdurasulov and Paolo Sartori, "Neopredelennost' kak politika: razmyshliaia o prirode rossiiskogo protektorata v Srednei Azii" *Ab Imperio* 3 (2016): 134–147.

45 *Vilāyat* – a term frequently used in the Khivan sources to designate the settled population of agricultural zones of the Khorezmian oasis in contrast to the nomadic and semi-nomadic groups such as Turkmens, Karakalpaks and Kazakhs; for more on this term and its usage in Khivan sources: see Yu.E. Bregel', "Termin vilaiet v khivinskikh istochnikakh" *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka* 1968 (Moscow: Nauka, 1970): 32–39.

a procedure. It fell to me to refer to paragraph II of the minutes of the meeting, where though it was not stated in categorical terms that the land assessment should start with [the surveying of] the *vilāyat* lands – it seems that [this matter] was discussed in detail during the meeting, – nevertheless it was clear from the content of the description of the sequence of measures designed for the land reforms' implementation that the land assessment ought to start with [the surveying of] the lands of the "villages" [=rural communities], and only then ought one to proceed with the surveying and assessment of the Turkmens' lands. The Khan complained about the delay in sending land surveyors to him, and I let His Serene Highness know that, in my opinion, it would be important to start with the allocation of 30,000 roubles in advance [as a payment] for the coming year for hiring land surveyors and also to provide the same sum for the following years, whereupon the Commander-in-Chief of the [Turkestan] Region may then find it possible to issue instructions for the dispatch to Khiva of the required number of land surveyors and other officials to prepare materials for the land assessment reform. The Khan agreed that these were exactly [the steps] that ought to be undertaken; I also said that I deemed it important to start [the land surveying] works in the Khanate in a timely manner also because during the current year the surveying and statistical parties of the Resettlement Administration are going to complete land measuring works in the Amu-Darya Department and that it is possible that the personnel of these parties may be used for the [land] examination of the Khanate of Khiva.

The Khan said that he found it hard to imagine that the land surveying in the Khanate by the Russian land surveyors would be conducted on the basis of the "villages" [=rural communities], as is stated in paragraph II of the minutes of the meeting,[46] and I could

[46] Lykoshin is clearly referring here to the minutes of the meeting that took place on 20-22 January 1911 in Khiva with the participation of high-ranking Khivan officials and representatives of the Russian colonial administration. Over the meeting, a document – conventionally titled *Program of reforms* – was drawn up, which in its essence presented the commitments undertaken by the Khivan

not agree more with His Serene Highness's opinion that this point requires further clarification. /22/ The fact is that the rural economy of the Khivan oasis differs sharply from that in the Turkestan Region (excluding the Amu-Darya Department, where the agriculture is similar to that in Khiva). The difference lies in the fact that in Khiva there are no villages – at least as we generally understand them – and that the entire rural economy is based on individual farmsteads running along the entire length of the *yāb*s, [47] or main irrigation canals, and it is only in so-called towns that the residential area is represented by farmsteads being clustered together in any density.

Thus, when the land surveying takes place, it may in practice be necessary to start measurements not on the basis of villages, as stated in paragraph II of the minutes of the Meeting, but rather on the basis of distinct *yāb*s or communities of water-users.

Furthermore, the Khan expressed his apprehension that once the work of the Russian land surveyors in the Khanate is completed and the larger areas of [rural] communities' lands are included in the cadastral surveys and Russian surveyors leave the Khanate, then the [continued] measurement and assessment of land [thereafter] by *ṭanāpkash*s[48] and [local] commissions may entail undesirable

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authorities with regard to the implementation of the reforms announced earlier by the Khivan Khan (see the p. 238, fn. 13 above). The document in question was compiled in two versions, Russian and Chaghatay, and contained sections relating to distinct spheres of administrative, financial, and judicial life. The two initial paragraphs ("On the Renumeration of Officials" and "Reform of Land Taxation") were considered as crucial ones, the implementation of which would determine the success of reforms; see further Abdurasulov and Sartori, "Neopredelennost' kak politika", pp. 139–142.

47 The term *yāb* or *yāp,* along with *arna*, was used in Khorezm to designate major irrigational canals. Both terms may have been used with regard not only to the artificial canals but also to some of the Amu-Darya's distributaries, which were also utilized for the irrigational purposes; see Guliamov, *Istoriia orosheniia Khorezma s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei* (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR, 1957), p. 243.

48 *Ṭanāpkash* – a native land surveyor, who according to the *Program of reforms* was supposed to measure the surface of land within each rural community, or within the multiple plots owned by single household. The larger assessment was meant to be carried out by the Russian land surveyors, whose payments were

complications, if not riots, given the people's possible discontent with the way of land apportionment.

I told the Khan that it did not seem to me particularly convenient – given that the Russian land surveyors were going to provide demarcation of the only external boundaries of [the *dachas*] – to entrust detailed measurement of [the surfaces of land within] *dacha*s to the ill-informed [local] *ṭanāpkash*s; I therefore proposed that all measuring of the Khanate's irrigated lands, including the [internal] surveying of the courtyards, should be conducted to the very end by the Russian land surveyors. I noted that this would cost more, [but] said that such a way of land measuring would most likely go smoothly, and [that the data obtained] would serve as reliable material for land-tax assessment of the Khanate.

Indeed, it would be hard to expect correct measuring from the [local] *ṭanāpkash*s, given that the accuracy of their measuring significantly differs from the accuracy of surveying with technical instruments; and in the absence of correct data, /22 ob./ the commissions that would carry out tax assessments and, to this end, classify lands [into fiscal categories], would have full scope for acting in a biased fashion to the advantage of dignitaries and rich landlords, and to the detriment of the poor people. The Khan promised to think about this.

Regarding the theft by Turkmens of cattle belonging to the Aday-Kirgizs,[49] who are Russian subjects, the Khan referred to his letter to the Turkestan General-Governor, wherein it was stated that at the current moment, i.e. when the letter had been written, the

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to be provided by the Khivan government. In the Khivan Khanate, the term *ṭanāp* meant not only a unit of area (see above, fn. 12) but also a rope, by dint of which the surface of land was measured: see Yu.E. Bregel', *Khorezmskie turkmeny v XIX veke* (Moscow: Vostochnoi literatury, 1961), p. 356 (endnote 106).

49 Lykoshin seems to refer here to the Kazakhs ('*Kirgiz*' was the generic term used by the Russians to denote the Kazakh population) of the Aday tribe, some clans of which inhabited the Khivan Khanate. In the early 20th century Russian authors reported that within the Khanate the majority of Aday Kazakhs were living in the vicinity of Kuhna-Urgench: see Girshfel'd and Galkin, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie Khivinskogo oazisa*, pt. 2, pp. 73–74.

Khan had difficulties in securing restitution for the Aday-[Kirgizs], as in order to solve the case, either he himself or Sayyid Islām Khvāja (acting on the Khan's orders) would have to travel to the site of the incident, to Turkmeniya, but it was impossible to do so straightaway upon receipt of the letter from the Commander-in-Chief of the [Turkestan] Province, as owing to crop failure the impoverished population was unable to host and entertain the Khan along with his numerous retinue and escort. Therefore, the Khan intended to resolve that case with the the Aday-[Kirgizs] in autumn [, by means of] going to Turkmeniya in person, or by dispatching Sayyid Islām Khvāja there.

I conveyed to the Khan various appeals which I had brought along, regarding the charitable activities of [various] institutions, where His Serene Highness has an honorary membership, and [I managed] to secure his promise of making large donations for each of the appeals. Upon returning home, I had breakfast with the dignitaries; the Khan was not [present] at the table. Then, I set off to pay visits to some of the [Khivan] dignitaries and to see the sights of the city of Khiva. [For that purpose] I was provided with the Khan's carriage. First of all, I paid a visit to the chief dignitary, Sayyid Islām Khvāja. He owns a house that he acquired himself (the family home is in the possession of his brother Isḥāq Khvāja, who is the *Bīk* of Kuhna-Urgench);[50] the house is built very spaciously in accordance with the common Khivan manner, with high terraces on high carved elm pillars. These pillars are the same shape as those found throughout the Khanate and constitute a thin round column resting on a ball, beneath which there is a very thin /23/ cylindrical joint with a massive stone or wooden base. The columns are apparently of Moorish style, as are the carvings on them. There are a lot of square courtyards connected [with one another] in Islām Khvāja's house; the columns are notably high, while their carvings have an amazing subtlety of working.

[50] The brothers of *vazīr-i akbar* Sayyid Islām Khvāja – Sayyid Isḥāq Khvāja and Sayyid Ismā'īl Khvāja – at the time of Lykoshin's inspection were the governors respectively of Kuhna-Urgench and Hazarasp.

Some rooms are furnished in European style; they have wallpaper, upholstered furniture, portraits on the walls, and even a grand piano, which, obviously, has not been played for a long time. The host met me very kindly, yet with heavy bearing. All high-ranking Khivans are clearly afraid of losing their dignity in front of others, and therefore they conduct themselves with exaggerated bearing. Islām Khvāja once again introduced to me his son ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, whom I had already met among the Heir's retinue, and expressed his intention to give his son a Russian education in the field of agriculture, making him an agronomist. For now, the boy has not even been taught Russian, and he is just completing his Muslim education.

I also paid a visit to the Khan's translator, the Court Councilor V.N. Kornilov. He has lived in Khiva for many years, [along with] a huge family. [He] keeps complaining about the necessity of living here [in Khiva], away from his children who are studying in Tashkent. [He] lives prosperously, though not lavishly.[51]

The Khan's translator remains modest and seemingly does not enjoy particular influence at the court. The [Khivan] dignitaries treat him in a patronizing fashion, though they value him for his proficiency in Russian as well as for his [rich] experience, acquired by many years of service. The Khivans treat translations of the Governor-General of Turkestan's letters [to the Khivan Khan] with great care; they spot insignificant details in the meaning of words, attaching great salience to the subtleties of correspondence, so as, if necessary, to [justify] their actions by means of relying on particular expressions [contained in the letters]. I was asked to verify Kornilov's translation of several uncertain passages [of the letters], /23/ and I managed to establish the original meaning, explaining the [meaning of the] Russian phrases in Uzbek; [it transpired that my interpretation] differed slightly from that [by Kornilov], as Sayyid Islām Khvāja had presumed.

I also paid a visit to the venerable Yūsuf Yasāvulbāshī. This old dignitary adamantly refuses to imitate the youth in their efforts to

[51] For more on this individual, see above, pp. 252–253, fn. 34.

conduct their life in an outwardly European manner. He owns a small old house, humbly furnished in the Asiatic manner and, despite the considerable [financial] means at his disposal, there is no luxury, not even in the Asian sense [of the meaning]. Nevertheless, the host always remains in a complacent mood, obviously being not much concerned about [the matters of the] domestic politics and considering his position under the new Khan as fully secured. His face gives no sign of that nervous excitement and fear which is so noticeable on [the faces of the other] dignitaries, those who are currently concerned with their careers. The old man received me very cordially.

This was followed by an inspection of the new edifices that had been conceived by the Khan Isfandiyār Bahādur. In the locality of Tash-Kupruk, at the city's exit on the road to [New] Urgench, Khan is constructing a large madrasa – a higher educational institution – made of baked bricks; a bit closer to the city [he is also constructing] two large edifices in the European architectural style, also of baked bricks – one for a hospital and another for the post and telegraph office; both [edifices are being built] with offices and apartments for the employees.

The madrasa's basement and the plinth with insulating layer have been already erected; the remaining [parts] of the buildings are just being started by the recently arrived Feodor Martynovich Eppinger, an assistant to Engineer Roop.[52]

Engineer Roop had [initially] designed the hospital and post office's buildings [to be laid on] lime foundations; but while dispatching Engineer Eppinger here, he instructed him to lay a concrete foundation instead, which seems to be absolutely essential given the proximity of the water table (only ½ *arshin* from the surface). Although the Construction Commission, appointed by the Khan, decided to lay a lime foundation [for both buildings], /24/ nevertheless,

[52] This individual can most likely be identified as Evgenii Eduardovich Roop (1816–1917). At the time described in Lykoshin's *Zapiska*, Roop was the Chief of the main directorate of military-technical supervision (GVTU) at the Russian Ministry of War; see https://enc.rusdeutsch.ru/articles/2295.

given that hospital was going to be named after our [imperial] HEIR, THE CROWN PRINCE, I asked the Khan to make this edifice worthy of the name of the person in whose honor the hospital is being built, and therefore to lay a concrete foundation. The Khan agreed; but given that this [latter amendment] would delay the construction process and also the fact that I had been instructed to urge greater speed in the construction of this building, I telegraphed to the Commander-in-Chief of the [Turkestan] Region regarding my decision, and His Excellency approved my [following] suggestion: to proceed for now with the construction of those buildings that can be laid on a lime foundation, and in the meanwhile to postpone the construction of the hospital's main premises until receipt [of a sufficient amount] of cement, for the purchase of which in Russia the Khan sent telegraphed instructions to Mat-Vafā Yusupovich Bakkalov, who is due to set off from Moscow to St. Petersburg [to fulfill the Khan's order]. At the time of my arrival [at the construction site], there were about 400,000 baked bricks prepared for the constructions, while Bakkalov has been instructed to deliver timber and lime.[53]

In the evening, I took leave of the Khan, intending to leave early in the next morning. While saying goodbye, the Khan asked me to convey to the Commander-in-Chief of the [Turkestan] Region his sincere gratitude to His Excellence for his assistance and valuable advice. The Khan also expressed his confidence that I would familiarize myself in depth with Turkmen affairs, in order to report to His Excellency [= the Governor-General of Turkestan] about the true state of affairs. I promised to make every possible effort to get myself acquainted in depth with Turkmen affairs and asked the Khan's permission to get from Sayyid Islām Khvāja all the information pertaining to the Turkmens available in the Khan's chancellery.

[53] Timber seems to have been one of the most sought-after commodities in the Khanate. The amount of timber imported to the Khanate had been increasing over the last decades of 19th and early 20th century. In 1912 the amount of imported timber reached 240,000 *pood*s: see M. Niiazmatov, *Poisk Konsensusa. Rossiisko-khivinskie geopoliticheskie otnosheniia v XVI – nachale XX v.* (St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie, 2010), pp. 348–349.

Having received this permission, I bade farewell to the Khan, and spent the rest of the evening with Sayyid Islām Khvāja, discussing the Turkmens.

Regarding the population size of the Khanate of Khiva, Sayyid Islām Khvāja reported that the figures of 519,437, as shown in the book by Girschfeld and Galkin (Pt. II, p. 56),[54] were deliberately downgraded, and that thus at the present time the population figures of the [Khanate of] Khiva should be numbered at /24 ob./ one million [people] of both sexes. The same figures were given to Mr. Minorskii in order to avoid discrepancies. It seems that [the officials] in Khiva are not able to provide any reasonably accurate data about the population size, for they themselves do not possess such information. Given that it was not in my remit to establish the precise figures of the population, I therefore used the figures previously given to Mr. Minorskii, with a slight adjustment to the number of households in [the locality of] Takhta-Bazar, updated recently by Islām Khvāja: Minorskii reports about 8,000 *kibitka*s[55] in Takhta-Bazar, whereas their amount should be numbered as just 7,000.

If we regard the calculations based upon the number of households belonging to distinct ethnicities as more accurate than those [based] upon overall population size, we get the following figures of the Khanate of Khiva's population, disaggregated by ethnicities:

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[54] Lykoshin is clearly referring here to the detailed military-statistical survey of the Khivan Khanate, composed in the early 20th century by Russian military officers. One of the authors, Captain V.A. Girshfel'd, was seconded to Khiva for that purpose by the Turkestani authorities. On the basis of the materials that he was able to collect in the period 1897–1899, Girshfel'd compiled the first draft of the survey. General A.S. Galkin, then the Commandant of the ADO, made some revisions to the text, which was published soon thereafter under the authorship of both officers: see V.A. Girshfel'd, and A.S. Galkin, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie Khivinskogo oazisa. Sostavleno General'nogo shtaba Kapitanom Girshfel'dom. Pererabotano Nachal'nikom Amu-Dar'inskogo otdela General-maiorom Galkinym*. Pt. 1-2 (Tashkent: TurkVO, 1902, 1903).

[55] *Kibitka* was a term used by the Russian authorities for nomadic households. Each *kibitka* was estimated as of 4–5 individuals: see Bregel', *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, p. 42, fn. 121.

1	Khiva and immediate surroundings	48,000 households	Uzbeks
2	In other cities	11,000 households	Uzbeks
3	Darghan and Sadivar	1,000 households	Tajiks[56] and Turkmens of the Ata clan
4	Takhta-Bazar	7,000 households	Yomut Turkmens
5	Qūba-Tāgh and Manghit	2,000 households	Yomut [Turkmens] of Qūba-Tāgh
6	Porsu	7,000 households	Chowdur Turkmens
7	Hilali	7,000 households	Yemreli and Qaradashli Turkmens
8	Kuhna-Urgench	7,000 households	Bayram-Shali and Qara-Choqa Yomuts[57]
9	Qonghrat	9,000 households	Karakalpaks and Kirgizs
	Total:		
	Households	99,000	
	Uzbeks along with Tajiks and Ata Turkmens	60,000 households	
	Yomut Turkmens of the various clans	30,000 households	
	Karakalpaks and Kirgizs	9,000 households	

Thus, the Turkmen comprise 1/3 of the total population of the Khanate.

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[56] By Tajiks one should evidently understand the natives of the neighboring Emirate of Bukhara who moved to Khorezm. Captain Stetkevich reported in 1887 that although some groups of "Tajiks" of Khorezm still lived in distinct communities in various places across the Khanate, most of them had completely "merged with the Uzbek population" and no longer spoke Tajik; see his "Ocherki Khivinskogo oazisa (okonchanie)" *Voennyi sbornik* 3 (1892): 201.

[57] According to Bregel', in 19th– and early 20th-century Khorezm, Yomut Turkmens were represented predominantly by members of one of two main tribal branches known as *Bayram-Shali,* which, in turn, was represented there by various subdivisions, such as clans of Oshaq (or *Ūshāq* in the Khivan chancellery's records), Okuz (*Ūkūz*), Orus-Koshchi (*Ūrūs-Qūchī*) and Salakh (*Salākh*). The number of the representatives of another tribal branch – *Qara-Choqa* (aka *Choni Sheref*) – was far lower; they were represented in Khorezm by members of Mashriq Clan alone: see Bregel', *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, p. 27.

/25/ For the purposes of restoration of order, whenever necessary, as well as for levying taxes and maintenance of ordinary services, the Khivan Government has at its disposal the following number of armed horsemen:* in each city there are so-called *nūker*s, who are horsemen equipped [partly] with Berdana-type rifles[58] and partly with sabers alone or with the locally made *multuk*s.

There are twice the number of *nūker*s as there are of rifles, and they perform service on a daily [basis], changing every 15 days. Of these *nūker*s, who somewhat resemble a regular army, there are:

In Khiva	50
– Gazavat	40
– Manaq[59]	40
– Tash-Hawz	50
– Hilali	40
– Aq-Tepa	40
– Kuhna-Urgench	70
– Qonghrat	20
– Manghit	20
In total:	350

For 350 Berdana-type rifles there are 700 people, who serve on a double-shift basis for 15 days each [shift].

There are further 1,500 mounted *nūker*s [equipped] with swords and *multuk*s.

The 300 three-line rifles plus 30,000 rounds of ammunition that were granted by the SOVEREIGN EMPEROR are being held in reserve.

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* [Lykoshin:] I have to convey here [only the data] reported to me by Sayyid Islām Khvāja; in effect, this information is not particularly accurate. For instance, according to Sayyid Islām Khvāja's registers, there are only 70 *nūker*s in Kuhna-Urgench, whereas, in fact, as I was able to determine on the spot, there are 180 [*nūker*s from among] locals and further 40 [*nūker*s from among] Kirgizs, otherwise known as *Kazakhs*, under [the command of] six *yūzbāshī*s.

58 Berdan rifles, referred in the local sources as *birdānka*, were widely prevalent among the Khanate's population.

59 Makan in the text.

There are 20 old Khivan cannons, along with two more, those donated by the SOVEREIGN EMPEROR [OF RUSSIA].

The Turkmens possess lots of firearms that have been delivered to them via Gurgan.[60] The Khivans are unable to prevent the sale of weapons into Turkmeniya, since they have been transported clandestinely along various steppe /25 ob./ roads, which are inaccessible for monitoring.[61] The Berdana-type rifles are sold [there] for 100–125 roubles, whereas three-line rifles, with internal magazine, known [among the locals] as "*bīsh-ātar*" (i.e, "shoots five times")[62] are being bought now for 200 roubles.

In Sayyid Islām Khvāja's opinion, it is imperative to disarm the Turkmens, and towards this end to inform them that within a three-year period they must either destroy their firearms, or to sell them to the Khivan [authorities] at an agreed price; if after the [stipulated] period firearms still remain in the Turkmens' possession, they must be taken away without any remuneration. The Turkmens may object that they need firearms for self-defense, but this is unreasonable, as they can always approach the representatives of the [Khivan] Khan's Government for help in any matter.

The settled non-Turkmen population of the Khanate of Khiva (68,000 households) possesses 406,000 *ṭanāp*s of land; this is the so-called *vilāyat* of Darghan and Sadivar.

In Takhta-Bazar there are 7,000 *kib[itkas]* of Yomut Turkmens, who previously used to deliver 1,000 *nūker*s [to the Khan's army],

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60 The implication here is that the firearms were smuggled in Khorezm from the territory of Gurgan region in Iran.

61 By casting the whole blame on the Khivan authorities for not being able to prevent smuggle weapons into Khanate, Lykoshin opts to turn a blind eye to the fact that significant number of rifles were taken into Khanate from Orenburg by Russian-subject Tatar entrepreneurs, see: Stetkevich, "Ocherki Khivinskogo oazisa (okonchanie)," p. 208. This is aside from the fact that on some occasions Berdana rifles were purchased by the local population directly from Russian soldiers stationed in the Amu-Darya Department: see Sartori and Abdurasulov, *Seeking Justice at the Court of the Khans of Khiva*, p. 165.

62 *Bīsh-ātar* (Turkic for "firing five shots") seems to have been a local designation of the three-line Mosin rifle with an internal magazine of five shots.

for which they were given [in return] 50,000 *ṭanāp*s of land, exempted from taxation. When [following the Russian takeover of Khiva] military service by the Turkmens was abolished, [the Khivan authorities] started instead to levy taxes from those 50,000 *ṭanāp*s [that were at the Turkmens' disposal]. Over Major-General N.A. Ivanov's tenure in the capacity of the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department,[63] the Turkmens complained [that the taxation] levied from them was too high; it was decided [therefore] to impose [taxes] upon 30,000 *ṭanāp*s only, and the [land tax] *sālghūt* [from that amount of land was to constitute] 12,000 *ṭillās,*[64*] that is to say 21 roubles and 60 kopecks for [each] *āṭlīq*.[65] While levying

[63] Nikolai Aleksandrovich Ivanov (1842–1904) was the first person holding the office of the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department (1873–1877); later in 1901 Ivanov was promoted to the office of the Governor-General of Turkestan, a position that he held until 1904.

[64] *ṭillā* – a Khivan golden coin; during the time under discussion, the two currencies mainly in use in the Khivan Khanate were the Khivan *ṭillā* and Russian rouble (or *manāt* in the local parlance). Though the exchange rate between the two currencies was not stable, the average rate during this period had been fluctuating between 1.6 and 1.8 Russian roubles (*manāt*) for one Khivan *ṭillā*: see ʿAbdullāh Baltaev, *Rivālūtsiyadīn avval qīshlāq khvājalīqīdā būlghān Khvārazm dīhqanlārīnī aḥvālī va kūrgan ʿazāblārī*, MS Tashkent, OʻzRShI, inv. no. 11978, fol. 23a.

[*] [Lykoshin:] From the subsequent conversation it became evident that during General Ivanov's tenure the dispute over *āṭlīq*-lands taxation was settled on the conditions that the Turkmens [from that time on] were to pay 12 *ṭillā*s for each *āṭlīq* [estimated at] 30 *ṭanāp*s: 9 [*ṭillā*s] for land [itself] and 3 [more] *ṭillā*s for [expenses for] cleaning the canals – [a duty] that the [Khivan] Government took over. Thus, the *āṭlīq*'s fee was established at the rate of 21 roubles and 60 kopecks for 30 *ṭanāp*s [= 1 *āṭlīq*], or 72 kopecks for each *ṭanāp*.

[65] The term *āṭlīgh* or *āṭlīq* usually refers to lands allotted predominantly to Turkmen tribes that settled in Khorezm under the rule of the Qonghrats with rights of possession in return for military service. The term *āṭlīq* (from *āṭlī* – 'cavalryman') would suggest that Turkmens were expected to fill the ranks of the cavalry of the Khivan army. See Bregel', *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, pp. 100–105. After the establishment of the Russian protectorate over Khiva in 1873, the fiscal status of *āṭlīq*s seems to have been subjected to changes. Given that the practice of military service by the Turkmens in the Khivan army was virtually brought to an end, from that time onwards the Turkmens, who had *āṭlīq*s at their disposal, would reportedly pay a land-tax at a fixed rate called *sālghūt-kisma*. The

the *āṭlīq*-tax, the allotment among the [holders of] *āṭlīq*s is being done by the honored Turkmens, the so-called "*kātkhudā*s"; who could be both senior and junior [*katkhudā*s], whether empowered or not by the distinct seal of the Khivan Government (*muhrdār*). /26/ 2,000 *ṭillā*s of the total amount of the tax [levied from the *āṭlīq*s in that district] are being allocated in favor of such individuals [=*katkhudā*s), whose number in the Takhta-Bazar district reaches 60, whereas [the remaining] 10,000 [*ṭillā*s] = 18,000 roubles are being transferred to the Khanal treasury per annum.

In the Takhta-Bazar district there are the following *katkhudā*s, those who are distinguished with the seals – *muhrdār*s [by the Khivan Khan]:

Of the clan Salakh:
1) Qūl-Jān Sardār (from [the locality of] Izmukhshir);
2) Jān-Jān Bīk (near Takhta);
Of the clan Okuz:
3) Shāh-Murād Bakhshī ([from] Diraqli);
Of the clan Orus-Koshchi:
4) Dūrdī-Vakīl (Buzkumgan);
Of the clan Quchuk:[66]
5) Arāż-Bīk (near Takhta);
Of the clan Oshaq:
6) Ūshāq-Bīkī (the [exact] name is not identified).[67]

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average size of one *āṭlīq* was established at the rate of ca. 30 *ṭanāp, f*rom which the Khivan authorities would yield a payment of 12 *ṭillā*s, that is 21 roubles and 60 kopeks, or 72 kopeks for each *ṭanāp*, see: Lykoshin's reference above; see Bregel', *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, p. 101; T.G. Tukhtametov, *Rossiia i Khiva v kontse XIX–nachale XX v. Pobeda Khorezmskoi narodnoi revoliutsii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1969), p. 97.

66 Most likely Lykoshin refers here to the Yomut clan of Qojuk (or Qūjūq in the Khivan sources).

67 Ūshāq Bīkī is perhaps to be identified as the figure noted in contemporary Khivan sources and colonial officers' records as Sayyid Muḥammad Bīk (d. 1920), a chieftain of the Youmut's clan of Oshaq. Sayyid Muḥammad Bīk Ūshāq seems to have played a prominent role in the political developments in the Khanate over the subsequent years. Available sources also indicate

Of these individuals, the most hostile to all Khanal initiatives are: 1) Qūl-Jān Sardār, 2) Shāh-Murād Bakhshī, and Dūrdī-Vakīl. In the area [of Takhta-Bazar] all people sympathize with the reforms designed by the Khan, and everyone wishes that the disarmament of the Turkmens may be achieved.

Every year the Khan dispatches people to this area to carry out irrigation works (2,000 irrigation workers, or '*bīgār*',[68] to clean out the water intake and the lower stretches of the Gazavat Canal; the work lasts 10 days, and factoring in the journey time to the place of work it takes 12 days). Each worker gets two *ṭillā*s for 10 days [of work] from the treasury, while the population pays [an additional] 10 roubles to every worker from its own pocket. Thus, the Khivan treasury spends for these activities 7,200 roubles [annually], and the population spends 20,000 roubles.

It also happens sometimes that the *'amaldār*s – the officials assigned to supervise irrigation works – release some workers from the work, charging them a [certain] sum of money for their /26 ob./ release. On such occasions every Uzbek who has been appointed to the work happily pays 13 roubles [for their release].

In March 1912, the Turkmens plundered a caravan. There were up to 100 of them; they lay in ambush on the road from Takhta-Bazar to Porsu and plundered the peaceful Turkmens of the Chowdur tribe as well as [some of] the Uzbeks of the *vilāyat*; they [furthermore] murdered a *nūker*, who had been sent [to that area to] collect taxes. The [Khivan] Government had to send 600 *nūker*s to the robbery site; in response the Turkmen *katkhudā*s Qūl-Jān Sardār, Shāh-Murād Bakhshī and Dūrdī-Vakīl sent their people [to the Khivan officials] to resolve the case without further violence; they made

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that in summer 1920 he was arrested upon the order of the government of the Khorezmian Soviet People's Republic and was shot soon thereafter: see Pahlavān Niyāz Ḥājjī (Yusupov), [*Khāṭiralar*]. MS Khiva, Private Collection, fols. 426b–431b.

[68] *Bīgār*, a corvée, a duty of supplying workers for construction or maintenance of irrigation system; rarer for construction of roads, fortresses, and buildings. In the Khivan Khanate it was a duty imposed on the majority of population: see Yuri Bregel, "Bīgār," *Encyclopædia Iranica* IV (1990), pp. 249–251.

the robbers return [to the owners] everything that they had taken but did not ensure the payment of a *khūn*[*] to the relatives of the murdered *nūker*. Nor did they extradite the murderer [to the Khivan authorities]; [in the meantime] the sum of 1,800 roubles was to be paid as a *khūn*. The *katkhudā*s refused to pay the *khūn*[69] as well as [to cover] to the Government's expenses [for sending the troops], although the Khan spent 400 roubles in dispatching 600 *nūker*s for 15 days.

The custom of blood feud is still actively performed among the Turkmens of that area; according to their custom, or *kauliyat*,[70] in vengeance for a relative's death one is entitled to kill all the male kin of the murderer up to the third generation; but assassination of the relatives from the side of [the murderer's] wife is prohibited.

It is in this area that the highest number of firearms has been noted: there are nearly 4,000 Berdana-type rifles and 1,000 three-line [rifles] with [internal] magazines.

The richest Turkmens live here [in Takhta-Bazar]. They are also engaged in agriculture, cultivating up to 30,000 *ṭanāp*s [of land], and there are riparian forests [in that area]. Cattle breeding is so well developed there that if one estimates *zakāt*[71] at 1/40 of [the cattle's] value, this group of Turkmens would be liable to pay up to 9,000 roubles per a year, whereas they [in fact] pay annually only 360 roubles of *zakāt*. A *yasāvul* /27/ appointed by the Khan does the collecting.

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[*] [Lykoshin:] According to [local] custom, compensation for somebody who has been murdered, regardless of their age, constitutes 1,800 roubles for men, and 900 roubles for women.

69 *khūn* – a compensation for murder.

70 I have not found any mention of the term *kauliyat* in Khivan vernacular sources. Judging from the context in which Lykoshin used this term, he seems to have referred to the Turkmen customary law as being operated in parallel with, if not in opposition to, *Shari'a*: "cases [among Chowdurs] are solved not according to the *kauliyat*, but according to the *Sharī'a*" noting that "they have a *qāżī* [for that purpose]"). It is possible to conjecture that etymology of this term steems from Arab.: *qawl* – "utterance; declaration", see, infra, p. 277

71 *Zakāt* – the Islamic tax, which was widely applied in the Khanate of Khiva also to livestock.

In the locality of Qūba-Tāgh, in the Manghit *Bekstvo*, there reside various clans of Yomut-Turkmens, who through their maternal lineage are however all descendants of Persian slaves.[72] These non-pureblooded, or *chala* (crossbreed), Turkmens have a special status [among the Turkmens]; [if one of them is murdered] the *khūn* is to be paid only half the [usual amount]. There are up to 2,000 *kibitka*s of such Turkmens [in the locality of Qūba-Tāgh]. Their concentration there has come about in the following way: a pureblooded Turkmen gets married to a real [pureblooded] Turkmen woman; later on, he gets a second wife from Manghit. Since this latter cannot boast of a pure Turkmen origin, her son's rights differ from those of the sons of the Turkmen's first wife, a pure-bred Turkmen woman. [With the passage of time] the Turkmen makes his son by the first wife marry and keeps that son with himself; as for his son [by the second wife from] from Manghit, because this latter individual is partly of slave blood [inherited] from the mother's side, the Turkmen sends him to Manghit, gets him to marry a Manghit girl, and arranges his life there. The Turkmen spends one night with his second wife, and two nights with his first wife, a pure-bred Turkmen woman; this is how, in accordance with the custom, the marital cohabitation is conducted. The son of non-full-blooded Turkmen origin receives a lesser share of inheritance than the pure-bred Turkmen.

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[72] According to Bregel, the separation of this Turkmen group (known in sources as *Qāra-Yilgīnlī*) from the rest of the Khorezmian Yomuts occurred as early as in the reign of Allāh-Qūlī Khān (1825–1842). Initially the Khivan Khan presented the members of this group with the lands in the lower streams of the Daryaliq river branch, in the locality of Qāra-Yilgīn, south-east of Kuhna-Urgench. In the 1840s most of the *Qāra-Yilgīnlī* moved to Qūba-Tāgh in the vicinity of the town of Manghit; see Bregel', *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, pp. 28–29. In 1912 Lykoshin refers to the representatives of this group still inhabiting areas next to Qūba-Tāgh, whereas another part, according to his report, was living in vicinity of Kuhna-Urgench: see infra, p. 278. Further on the etymology and provenance of this group in Khorezm: see Mīrzā Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Laṭīf Mustajirr Samarqandī, [*Notes*]. MS, St. Petersburg, AVIVR RAN, f. 33, op. 1, d. 134, fol. 137a.

The [size of one] *āṭlīq* there [in Manghit] was also previously assessed at the rate of 50 *ṭanāp*s [of land]; later on, it was reduced to 30 *ṭanāp*s. The dwellers of Manghit pay 21 roubles and 60 kopecks for each of the 300 *āṭlīq*s [at their disposal], in total – 6,480 roubles per annum.

The Khan [in his turn] dispatches 400 workers to clean Manghit-Arna (the lower streams) and Jamshid-Yāb (the distributaries). For that [purpose] the Khan spends 400 x 2 = 800 *ṭillā*s or 1,440 roubles annually; [in addition] the population pays 4,000 roubles for the workers [mobilized] from among the *vilāyat*'s population.

The *katkhudā*s Murād Qāżī and *Bīklārbīgī*, who reside in Manghit, are ill-disposed towards all initiatives of the /27 ob./ Khan's Government.

Up to 15,000 *ṭanāp*s of land are being cultivated there. [If one were to estimate the real] number of cattle [in their possession], they would be liable to pay up to 1,800 roubles of *zakāt*, whereas they [instead] pay less than 900 roubles. The amount of rifles numbers up to 500; it is unclear of what type.

The *āṭlīq*-tax accrues in full to the treasury; for their assistance in collecting it the *katkhudā*s are rewarded by means of the exemption of their own lands from tax.

There are 7,000 *kibitka*s of the [Turkmens of the] Chowdur tribe in [the locality of] Porsu. These Turkmens live in peace and pay annually 21 roubles 60 kopecks from each of the 550 *āṭlīq*s [at their disposal]. [The Khan's Government] dispatches 1,000 [irrigation] workers, [paying to each] two *ṭillā*s for 10 [working] days. The water comes from the Qlich-Niyaz-Bay Canal. The workers [provided by] the Government are responsible for cleaning only the head of the canal, while the lower reaches of the canal are cleaned by the [local] Turkmens by their own means.

Only one *katkhudā*, Palvān Yūzbāshī,[73] who lives in the vicinity of Porsu, is ill-disposed towards the Khan, whereas others – Qūl-Bāy,

[73] In the Khivan Khanate the term *yūzbāshī* (lit., 'commandant of one hundred', 'centurion') denoted a middle-rank military or administrative official. According to Yuri Bregel', in case of Khorezmian Turkmens the presence of such additions to certain chieftains' names did not necessarily indicate their formal

Aḥmad, Qakhna and Mat-Murād – have the rank of *yūzbāshī* and comply with the orders of the *Bīk* of Porsu. Up to 30,000 *ṭanāp*s of land are being cultivated [there]. The number of cattle is not that numerous here, and like the dwellers of *vilāyat* they [= the local Chowdurs] pay 700 *ṭillā*s as *zakāt* per year. The custom of blood feud (*qāndār*) has completely disappeared among this group of Turkmens; it does not exist [any longer]. [Legal] cases are solved not according to the *kauliyat*, but according to the *Sharīʿa*; they have a *qāżī* [for that purpose]. The [local] women enjoy freedom in choosing a groom [by their own]; these Turkmens are not concerned about the origin of the [Turkmens of] Manghit and marry their sons to the local girls [from Manghit]. They do not have firearms; they are engaged in agriculture and trade. Robberies in that area have completely ceased.

There are 7000 *kibitka*s in [the locality of] Ilyali (or more correctly Hilai-Bilali). The [Turkmens of] Yemreli tribe [resided in that area] pay [land-tax as calculated] from 700 *āṭlīq*s, whereas the [members of tribe of] Qaradashli – as for 300 [*āṭlīq*s]; in total for [each of] 1,000 *āṭlīq*s [they pay] annually 21 roubles and 60 kopecks. The following Yemreli *katkhudā*s are hostile to the Khan: 1) Shir-Khān, 2) Qīshīq Yūzbāshī, 3) Abrāl-Bīk and 4) Qakhna-Bāshī. There are no outstanding or influential *katkhudā*s among the Qaradashli [Turkmens], although there are some minor ones, about fifteen in number. Both /28/ tribes [living] in that area possess firearms: up to 3,000 rifles, of which about 300 are three-line [rifles with internal] magazine.

About 45,000 *ṭanāp*s of land are being cultivated there. Water is used from the Shavat Canal. Annually, 2,000 public workers are dispatched there [by the Government] for cleaning [the Shavat canal]. Cattle breeding is well-developed, [in theory] the *zakāt* should be rated at no less than 2,000 *ṭillā*s, but [in fact] only 1,000 *ṭillā*s are being paid per annum. These Turkmens are mostly engaged in trade, and as they themselves explain it, they need firearms to protect them

belonging to the Khivan army or to the khanal administrative hierarchy; see his *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, pp. 130–132.

from the Yomuts living in Takhta-Bazar. [The custom of] blood feud is still preserved there, and [legal] cases are solved according to *kauliyat*; the women are not free to pick up their husbands [at their volition]; however, these Turkmens do not seem concerned about the origin of the [Turkmens living in] Manghit.

There are 8,500 *kibitka*s in Kuhna-Urgench, including [a group of] *Qāra-Yilgīnlī* (Persian Yomuts);[74] for each of 250 *āṭlīq*s [at their disposal] they pay 21 roubles 60 kopecks. [They] use water from the Kuhna-Urgenchi canal– Khan-Yab, as well as from Lawzan, and Shah-Murad (the mouth of which is called Sukhbat).

18 years ago, the Lawzan Canal was dug out by public workers,[75] and the [local] Turkmens used its water. The [Turkmens] then stopped paying taxes, and the Government [in return] stopped cleaning the canal and it got silted up. In the past year of 1911, the *Kūllī*-Yomut Turkmens[76] cleaned out the canal by their own and started using its [water], naming [the newly] dug mouth [of the canal] Urus-Yab; in 1912 the [Khivan] Government started cleaning out the canal, but [owing to] the fight that occurred between [local Turkmens] and the Kirgizs, the maintenance works were stopped, and [since then] the canal has not been used.

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74 On this Turkmen group, see above, p. 275, fn. 72.

75 Lykoshin clearly refers to events that occurred in 1894 relating to the construction of the New Lawzan Canal (*Tāza Lawzan*). In 1894 the Khivan authorities, upon the insistence of the Russian administration, launched the construction of the New Lawzan Canal. The project, designed by the Russian engineer Kh.V. Gel'man, aimed at the construction of a new canal that would enable the irrigation of a significant area of land in the western parts of the Khanate along the Daryālīq (or the Old Bed). For more on this enterprise and its consequences: see Akifumi Shioya, "*Povorot* and the Khanate of Khiva: a New Canal and the Birth of Ethnic Conflict in the Khorazm Oasis, 1870–1890s," *Central Asian Survey* 33/2 (2014): 232–245; see also above: *Introduction*, pp. 94–95, fn. 238.

76 On the *Kūllī-Yāmūt*s, or Lakeside Yomuts, see above: *Introduction*, pp. 94–95.

The Khan dispatches 1,500 workers for cleaning the Khan-Yab [canal]
[He also delivers]:

For [cleaning] Shah-Murad [canal]	1,000 [workers]
For Lawzan	500 [workers]
In total	3,000 workers

Each worker is paid two *ṭillā*s. The area of cultivated land in that area is about 20,000 *ṭanāp*s. The [local] Turkmens have a large amount of cattle there, some owners have in their possession 500–1,000 camels, yet [the amount of] *zakāt* they pay [from their cattle] is /28 ob./ [only] 300 *ṭillā*s. The area is [mostly] uninhabited, there are many *tugai* forests there and no bazaars.

The [following] *katkhudā*s are ill-disposed towards the Khan's initiatives: 1) Maḥmūd-Khān, 2) ʻArab-Kal, 3) ʻAbdī-Bāy, 4) Mat-Ḥasan Qāra Khvāja, 5) Anna-Khān, 6) Qarchāl-Bāy, 7) Amik, 8) Arāż-Qulī-Buguk, 9) Muḥammad Ḥasan Ishān, 10) Ṣiddīq Ishān, 111) Amīn Ishān, 12) Murād Niyaz-Bay, 13) Allāh-Bāy Kūchūk, 14) Āta-Murād Chatuk, 15) Jumʻa Ūstā, and 16) Sarichī.

The custom of blood feud and *kauliyat* has been maintained [by the Turkmens] of that area; women do not enjoy free choice of picking husbands, the [men] get married to the women of Manghit, though do not treat them as equals. The Turkmens of the area have at their disposal about 5,000 guns, of which ca. 500 are those with [internal] magazines.

All the data provided by Sayyid Islām Khvāja on the Turkmens' condition in the Khanate, in my opinion, seems to be one-sided, and presented in such a way as to blame the Turkmens alone for every [sin], thereby portraying them as robbers who do not wish to comply with the [Khivan] Government's orders. As will be seen from the following narration, this is not entirely correct. In effect, the Khivan Government itself often treats the Turkmens unfairly and, having recognized their strength, [the Government in its policy *vis-à-vis* the Turkmens] has been guided by the principle of *divide et impera*, [namely] by making the Turkmen chieftains squabble with one another, getting some of them onto its [=the Government's] side; or

whenever necessary, raising against the Turkmens the Russian-subject Kirgizs from the [Russian] *uezd*s of Krasnovodsk, Mangishlaq and Temir, who have long lived in the Khanate and are loyal to the [Khivan] Government. These Kirgizs, as Russian subjects, enjoy [certain] privileges and therefore it has been convenient [for the Khivan authorities] to get them to quarrel with the Turkmens, and then, at the behest of the Russian authorities, exert repressions against those Turkmens. Things are similar when it comes to the supposedly endless robberies executed by [Turkmen chieftain] Maḥmūd-Khān [Atal'khanov] and his kinsmen. It transpires however that the cases such as this /29/ have to do with the [unlawful] demolition of *chīghīr*s on Lawzan [Canal], those belonging to the Aday-Kirgizs, [which brought about] significant damage to the latter. The fact is that in the upper stream of the Turkmen canal [named] Urus-Yab located on the lands of the Khan's dignitaries, which are watered from the Khan-Yab [Canal]. The landowners – the dignitaries – rent out their lands to Russian-subjects Kirgizs, and those tenants, instead of using the waters of the Khan-Yab [Canal] ([which are also] owned by the Turkmens) in the right manner, take so much water for themselves that nothing is left for the [downstream] Turkmens, who [in fact] have cleaned out the canal. Naturally, the Turkmens do not want to comply [with such a state of affairs], but having had no assistance from the Khan's Government, they [have no other choice but to] demolish the *chīghīr*s [of those Kirgizs]. This is how the Khan's struggle against the Turkmens goes on; little by little the number of individuals fighting for the Turkmens' rights has dwindled, and many of them, out of vested interest, have sided with the [Khivan] Government, and [by doing so] they get the same status as the dwellers of *vilāyat*. The data provided by Islām Khvāja is inaccurate, as will be seen from comparison with the information that I have collected on the ground; the latter may also be not entirely accurate, yet it differs significantly from Sayyid Islām Khvāja's data. For example, it subsequently transpired that the *Kūllī*-Yomuts of the Kuhna-Urgench area have never paid land-tax [in the form] of *āṭlīq*, they always pay it [in the form of] *dahyak*, [i.e.] a tithe from the harvested crop collected from their lands.

Having finished my business in the city of Khiva, on the morning of 31 May I left for Petro-Aleksandrovsk via New Urgench. The Khan gave orders to arrange for me an overnight stay in the city, in the house of his Minister of Trade and Industry Mat-Vafā Yusufovich Bakkalov. Since Bakkalov himself, on my arrival, was in Moscow, where the Khan had sent him on a mission to [attend] the opening ceremony of the monument to EMPEROR ALEXANDER III, Bakkalov's son, Ṣālīḥ Bāy, was sent to arrange my reception.

At the entrance to the city [of New Urgench] I was met by the local *Bīk* Alāh-Bīrgān, the brother of Yūsuf Yasāvulbāshī, /59 ob./ the Khan's dignitary. Having got myself lodged at Bakkalov's house, I met the merchants and representatives of trading companies who resided in New Urgench, including the Head of the Branch of Russian-Asian Bank; all those persons, at my invitation, dined with me at Bakkalov's house.

During and after dinner, which was rather informal, yet still businesslike, I managed to talk at greater length with the most prominent representatives of the Russian population of New Urgench and get acquainted with their needs and wishes.

Mr. Podobed, the Chief of the New Urgench postal and telegraph office, handed me a blueprint, drawn at my request, as well as a brief memorandum about the reconstruction works required for the [Post] office's premises in view of the increase of staff. I had already talked on that matter to the Khan, and His Serene Highness promised me in advance to do everything that needs to be done [regarding reconstruction works]. [His] only request was that I personally have a look at the office's premises and share my opinion on whether what has been requested by the Chief of the [Post] office is indeed necessary. I examined the office and gave instructions on what else should be done.

In terms of health care, the Russian residents of New Urgench are more or less provided for; at their own expense they have set up a paramedic outpatient center, which is well-equipped and provides [medical] services not only to the Russian, but also the native population of New Urgench; meanwhile [medical services] for the native population are provided for a small fee.

I also received more general complaints [from the Russian residents of New Urgench] about the slow and unproperly organized delivery of mail as well as about delays in telegraph messaging, which occur every time that damage [to the line] occurs. [Such delays] occur due to the absence of a second controller (for which there is presently a vacancy) at the Control station in [the locality of] Darghan-Ata. This means that the chiefs of the stations in Charjui and Petro-Aleksandrovsk have to search for ages for the place where the damage occurred, [starting] from both ends of the line, whereas the damage may have occured in the immediate vicinity of the Darghan-Ata station. With regard to the postal delivery, I was told, /30/ as an illustration, about how the [courier-] *jigit* has been sent to Pitnak [for the purpose] of collecting the mail, but on [some occasions] comes back [to New Urgench] empty-handed; [this happens] because the postman, [who delivers the mail] from Charjui [to Pitnak] has got stuck [somewhere *en route*]. [In such cases] the sole horseman-courier, who has been sent from New Urgench [to Pitnak], fears that he will be late for the dispatch of the next mail from New Urgench, and hence be fined accordingly; therefore, he does not wait for the arrival of the delayed mail [from Charjui], but heads home empty handed.

Regarding the matter of the appointment of an overseer [for the telegraph station] in Darghan-Ata, I have initiated the necessary correspondence. As for the inconveniences with the delivery of mail from Pitnak, the issue has been resolved there on the spot; [it has been agreed] that the post-keeper ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Bāy, at my request, in cases of delay in mail delivery from Charjui, should dispatch another horseman from New Urgench [to Pitnak] with mail, so that the postman who has [already] been sent can stay in Pitnak until [the arrival of] delayed mail from Charjui and then take it back to New Urgench, without being concerned about [timely] delivery of the next mail dispatch to Pitnak.

In terms of [public] education, the Russian population of New Urgench has not been provided for at all; and since most of the residents are not independent merchants, – there are only a few of these –, but rather employees and agents of various companies,

there are thus no significant funds for the establishment and maintenance not only of a pro-gymnasium, but even a three-year city school with [emphasis on teaching] foreign languages, which would enable the preparation of children for entering secondary educational institutions. It has been agreed that [at this point] it is too early to embark upon the issue of [establishing] an independent educational institution here, and that for the moment they should content themselves with a [private] lady teacher, who has been currently preparing the children of Russian residents of New Urgench for [admission to] educational institutions, by giving private lessons at home.

There were further complains about the inconvenience of how the Russian authorities deal with the Russian residents of New Urgench via the Chancellery of the Khan of Khiva. This matter is all the more complicated by the fact that all their cases are processed via the local *Bīk* [of New Urgench], who despite being very friendly to and solicitous about the Russian residents does not understand Russian at all. I proposed to do away with this /30 ob./ inconvenience by making an appeal [to the Russian authorities, requesting] the establishment of a [distinct] Russian settlement in New Urgench with its own rural-level administration, so that it would be possible [for the Russian authorities] to communicate with the Russian residents of New Urgench through the medium of an elected elder [of the settlement], bypassing thereby the Khan's Chancellery. This proposal was accepted very sympathetically, and it has been decided by autumn [of the current year] to draw up the respective verdicts and initiate a petition about the establishment of a [distinct] Russian settlement here in New Urgench.

In the evening of the same day, my new acquaintances [from among the Russian community] invited me to the summer premises of their public gatherings (there are winter premises as well) and I spent an evening among the Russian residents of New Urgench and their families; they constitute a common homogeneous colony, whose members are very benevolent to one another and realize the necessity of [maintaining] communication and solidarity among Russian people in this distant realm.

On 1 June, I got back to Petro-Aleksandrovsk, [moving] along the way through Khanqah. The water level in the Amu-Darya rose significantly but crossing the river by *caiouque* still took four hours; such an inconvenient river crossing greatly complicates the intercourse of those who live on the opposite banks of the river. [However] it is hardly possible to improve the crossing given the unsteadiness of the water course on the Amu-Darya.

On that particular day, as I was able to learn later upon my return [to Petro-Aleksandrovsk], the state-owned steamer of the Amu-Darya Flotilla [named] "The Emperor Nicholas II" set off from Petro-Aleksandrovsk for Charjui;[77] at the time of its departure there was also a private steamer "General Samsonov" next to it, belonging to the "Khiva" [Steamship] Society.[78] The captain [of the private steamer] offered those who wished to travel to Charjui to go on his steamer for [a price of] four roubles, without meals, and many of the native residents preferred to travel on the private steamer. This seems to have been the first voyage of a private steamer with passengers [along this given course].

On 7 June, I set off again to the Khanate of Khiva for an inspection of the farmstead of Captain /31/ Schlefendorf in the village of Darghan-Ata, as well as for resolving the local population's grievances against the Armenian Grigory Totevosov, who [also] lives in Darghan-Ata. The two items of correspondence [related to these two cases] were handed over to me by [my predecessor] Major-General

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77 The Amu-Darya flotilla was established in 1877 "for the purposes of transportation of goods and private individuals along the Amu-Darya River," on the territory between Kazalinsk in the north and Charjui in the south. By 1913 the flotilla included six steamers, including one named after Emperor Nicholas II, and thirteen barges: see M.Iu. Iuldachev, "K istorii Aral'skoi flotilii" *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane* 12 (1961): 30–39; S.A. Sulaimanov, *Istoriia Aral'skoi i Amudar'inskoi flotilii (1847–1920 gg.)* (Abstract of PhD dissertation, Nukus, 2010), pp. 15–16.

78 The "Khiva" steamship company was a private enterprise, established by two Russian entrepreneurs, Sirotkin and Lapshin. It had at its disposal a dozen vessels of various types for transportation both across the Aral Sea and along the Amu-Darya River; see: Sulaimanov, *Istoriia Aral'skoi i Amudar'inskoi flotilii*, pp. 16–17.

Glushanovskii rather belatedly and in unfinished state and required my personal examination and inquiries on the spot.

In the afternoon, we set off along with our saddle-horses on the *caiouques*, this time not via the Qāra-Bāgh River Crossing but via the one [named] the Hazarasp [Crossing]. On the left bank, upon the Khan's orders, we were met by *Maḥram* Qurbān Niyāz Khalifaev, who is a *Nā'ib*[79] of the *Bīk* of Hazarasp Sayyid Ismā'īl Khvāja (a brother of *Vazīr-i Akbar* Sayyid Islām Khvāja). The *Bīk* himself was in Khiva at that time. Heading through the *tugai* forest [called] *yūmalāq*, which though located on the left bank of the Amu-Darya nevertheless belongs to Russia and therefore is being guarded by the Russian forest guards, we drove 18 *verst*s and by the evening arrived in the city of Hazarasp. [Although] the distance as the bird flies from Petro-Aleksandrovsk [to Hazarasp] is hardly more than 18 *verst*s, owing to the [difficulty of the] river crossing, it takes half a day to cover that distance.

From Hazarasp we rode parallel to the bank of the Amu-Darya, along the route that is in use both in winter and summer for the transportation of mail to Charjui on camel packs and along which people travel when steamers stop sailing in the winter.

The distance from Hazarasp to Pitnak is 25 *verst*s; here [in Pitnak] a postman, who takes mail from Charjui to New Urgench and Khiva, hands it over to a distinct *jigit*.

[In Pitnak] there are 150 householders, who [either themselves] serve as *nūker*s or hire [someone to serve on their behalf]; 130 households of *Khvāja*s and *Sayyid*s, 130 households of *Shaykh*s, and further 20 households of stone-makers. All these individuals pay no taxes; and in total there are about 1,000 households.[80] *Sālghūt* [=the

[79] In the Khivan Khanate the term *nā'ib* usually applied to the deputy of the provincial governor.

[80] According to the data collected by Stetkevich, although the families of *sayyid*s, *khvāja*s and *shaykh*s came to constitute distinct communities, they were engaged, in much the same way as ordinary people, in agriculture, trade and crafts. Among the privileges enjoyed by the members of those groups were exemption from taxes and from participation in corvée. According to information reported to Stetkevich by the Khivan minister Mat-Murād Divānbegī

land-tax] is levied from only 225 households. There are up to 8,000 *ṭanāp*s of cultivated land, of which 400 *ṭanāp*s are under rice fields. The district is governed by Īgām-Birdī Avazbirdiev, 65 years old, [who is] the *Nā'ib* of the *Bīk* of Hazarasp. In 1910 he was sent to Tashkent on an embassy to [take part in] the [Agricultural] Exhibition; he took along the showpieces from Khiva, /31 ob./ for which he was nominated for an award by the Exhibition Committee. Further, 33 *verst*s [up from Pitnak] is [the locality of] Sadivar, where one can see the building of the postal station, standing out among the farms on the riverbank.

24 *verst*s on from Sadivar there is another similar isolated station – Danishar. The Russian hydrometric station is also located there [in Danishar]. Observations are conducted by Petr Kharitonov, who graduated from the hydrometric school in Tashkent and lives here [in Danishar] along with his mother.

33 *verst*s on there is the next station – Jaghir-Band, or "Dul-Dul Āṭlaghān" (lit: [the place] jumped over by Dul-Dul), as that place is otherwise known among the locals. There is a legend that one often encounters all across the Turkestan Region, that at one time, the fourth Caliph Ali was passing by on his horse [called] Dul-Dul and in that place jumped over the Amu-Darya from the right bank to the left. On the left bank [local] people point out the site where Ali fed his horse, as well as the footprints of the Caliph's horse. Indeed, Dul-Dul constitutes the narrowest part of the Amu-Darya's watercourse, which is obstructed there by a stone weir. Here is a [most convenient] place for [building] a bridge across the Amu-Darya and for a barrage, – if one day a decision is made to employ engineering technologies to subdue the hitherto recalcitrant river, – so that

in the 1880s, in the Khivan Khanate there were nearly 3,000 families of descent groups: see Stetkevich, "Ocherki Khivinskogo oazisa (okonchanie)", pp. 202–203; on the fiscal privileges of the descent groups in Khorezm, see further William Wood, "A Collection of Tarkhan Yarliqs from the Khānate of Khiva" *Papers on Inner Asia* 38 (Bloomington, 2005); Ulfatbek Abdurasulov, "Atā-ī Mulk and Yārlīqlī-Mulk: Features of Land Tenure in Khiva" *Der Islam* 88/2 (2012): 308–323.

to use all the excess water flowing along Amu-Darya for irrigation needs on both banks, [thus] preventing its [water] from spilling on arbitrarily or debouching uselessly in the Aral Sea.

From Jaghir-Band to Darghan-Ata one needs to cover further 40 *versts,* so we arrived at the [latter] place in the evening of 10 June and lodged in the [post-telegraph] station [located] at the house of Muḥammad Niyāz Ḥalfā, who heads that village, as an assistant to the *Bīk* of Hazarasp. Here, for quite a long time, for more than three months, has been living Īgām-Birdī Avazbirdiev, the *Nā'ib* of Pitnak, who has been charged with the construction of new premises for the Darghan-Ata Postal-telegraph station, including apartments for the station's head and his /32/ staff. That [new] building of [the station] belongs to Sayyid Islām Khvāja and he rents it out for 500 roubles per year. The house does not look cozy, the rooms are small, and it has been built very cheaply, intending to get some profit from the rent.

There are 300 households in total in the village of Darghan-Ata, of which 100 are Bukharan subjects, 50 are Turkmens of the clan Ata; 7 are Yomuts; and the rest are the Khivans. The Russian subjects also have farms here – on the *āṭlīq*-lands leased from the Khivan Khan by [the following individuals:] Mr. Lukianov, the Head of the Postal and telegraph office, the Armenian Totevosov and Captain Schlefendorf. The latter raises water his plot [for watering purposes] by means of an oil engine pump.

In Darghan-Ata people sow predominantly wheat, cotton, and clover. The [local] Tajiks, Khivans and Yomuts use water from the public Khan-Yab Canal, while the Ata Turkmens use their own canal [named] Ata-Yab. There are 20 shops at the [local] bazaar; market days are on Saturdays. [The dwellers of] Darghan-Ata pay about 1,000 *ṭillā*s as *sālghūt*. The Khan's [following] dignitaries own land there: Yusūf Yasāvulbāshī, 1,000 *ṭanāp*s; Yūnus Yasāvulbāshī (currently out of office), 1,000 *ṭanāp*s; Īgām-Birdī Nā'ib, 1,000 *ṭanāp*s; and the heirs of 'Ibadullāh Khvāja (an uncle of Islām Khvāja), 350 *ṭanāp*s. The local *Nā'ib* delivers annually 10,000 *pood*s of saxaul to the Khan's court and to his dignitaries (he buys it on the spot for 10 kopecks per *pood*) as well as 10,000 *pood*s of saxaul-wood

charcoal (at 13 kopecks per *pood* on the spot). The delivery of that fuel to Khiva costs 13-15 kopecks per *pood*. The *Nā'ib* travels to Khiva four times in a year [bringing] along gifts. For the purpose of collecting the *sālghūt* from [the locals] the *Bīk* of Hazarasp Sayyid Ismā'īl Khvāja either comes to [Darghan-Ata] personally or sends his agent.

The residents of Darghan-Ata have an additional source [of income] in their economies, namely, collecting the root of the plant [called] *buyān* (licorice root), which grows here in such abundance that if its growth were not stubbornly prevented, it would completely suppress other agricultural plants there. To get rid of the *buyān* they [=the locals] sow rice; after sowing rice for one or two years, there is /32 ob./ no *buyān*, and then wheat or cotton can give a good crop. With the passage of time the *buyān* becomes noticeable again.

For the second year in a row, one of the English companies has been sending a clerk to Darghan-Ata, who through [the Company's] agent, living in Charjui, has been buying up the *buyān* roots, which had been dug out by locals during the winter. Previously, up to 700,000 *pood*s of the [*buyān*] roots have been bought there, now it is scheduled to purchase and send to Hamburg up to 1 million *pood*s of the roots.[81] The roots are bought for 7½ – 10-12 kopecks per *pood*. The locals store up as much of the crop as possible, in readiness for the buying season.

Some Russian peasants also attempted to engage themselves in agriculture there as smallholders, but they abandoned [that endeavor] due to lack of funds and owing to the perpetual destruction [of

[81] Lykoshin seems to refer here to the British company "MacAndrews & Forbes", which in 1908 established a plant for pressing licorice root in the city of Charjui. The main part of the licorice roots purchased by the company in Bukhara and Khiva, aside from that sent to the Russian markets, was sent through the port of Batumi to the USA, Great Britain and Germany. The relatively low purchase price and lack of competition seems to have rendered this enterprise very profitable: just for the right to purchase the roots from the local population, the company paid nearly 100,000 pounds annually to the Russian government; see Niiazmatov, *Poisk konsensusa*, pp. 397–398. See also: *Introduction*, pp. 50–51, fn. 99.

the crops] by the locals' cattle. The Head of the [post-telegraph] station, Lukianov, fulfills his job well.

There is a bazaar in Darghan-Ata and a small cotton refinery [owned] by *Bājmān*[82] (collector of customs duties) Sayyid Murād Aminov.[83] The warehouses and yard premises look very good, but the plant with its oil engine is good for nothing. There is only a gin and a small motor-powered mill [in the plant]. The engine is in complete disarray, and apparently a mechanic is brought in only once in a while, during the cotton-picking season, yet even in doing so they hire a cheaper employee, without requiring him to have a great proficiency in mechanics, as long as he knows how to start a single gin.

Upon our departure, following the inspection of the cotton refinery, the confidant [of the refinery's owner performed the ritual of] "*qand sindūrdī*", as they call [that custom] here, or literally, "broke sugar". The bread is often being brough up to greet someone, however presenting [the guest] with sugar considered as distinctly honorable; for that purposes they beat off several small pieces from a whole chunk [of sugar] and bring them up to the guest on a tray, instead of [bringing up] bread and salt [as is customary elsewhere in Russia].

[The breaking of] sugar is an indispensible attribute of greeting the Khan [upon his visit]; the custom furthermore is followed even in the house of the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department upon the Khivan Khan's visits to Petro-Aleksandrovsk.

In the Khivan Khanate [the custom of] breaking sugar has been also performed even during adjudications, [whereby the pieces] are distributed among people present there, thus /33/ inducing them to act as the witnesses of the [judicial] decision; the distribution of sugar [in such cases] signifies that the event has [indeed] taken place. [84]

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82 Phonetic rendering of *bājbān* – custom officer.

83 On Sayyid Murad Aminov's cotton refinery in Darghan-Ata, see Niiazmatov, *Poisk konsensusa*, pp. 244–245.

84 Although Lykoshin reports about wide prominence of the custom of "breaking sugar", we have been able to find only one other source that alludes to said

The sugar of local [production] can be broken quite easily: it is very soft and crumbles. The sugar is yellowish, and poorly refined; [it is produced] in [the form of] small five-pound chunks. Across the entire Khanate of Khiva one can meet that nasty [kind of] sugar, produced [by] some unknown factory in Kiev, with an inscription [on the package] in French and Uzbek. In French it is written that sugar is double refined, whereas in Uzbek it is written merely "*qand a'lā, a'lā*, *a'lā*", which means "sugar of the highest quality", what we call "*extra fin*". This what the inscription says, whereas the quality of sugar is beneath any criticism, and nowhere in Khiva, except perhaps for larger cities, one can find another [sugar of better quality] – the people seem content with such poor-quality sugar; still, it is quite usable for breaking up on ceremonial occasions.

In general, the road along the left bank of the Amu-Darya from Hazarasp to Darghan-Ata (172 *verst*s) is deserted. It is only in the vicinity of so-called cities – to which number one may include Hazarasp, Pitnak and Darghan-Ata, – that [urban] culture exists, with the Khivans' individual square-shaped buildings, which grow denser towards the center of the settlement, or *qal'a*. Wheat is sown there in large amounts; and so is rice in in the vicinity of Pitnak. Should one however ride some five *verst*s from the center of the settlements, the cultivation comes to an end there, passing into uncultivated areas covered by loess deposits, interspersed with proper sand dunes or [even] by quicksand or moving sands, in some places. This steppe is without vegetation, if we do not count the salsola, or

practice. The source in question are notes by a certain Mīrzā 'Abd al-Raḥmān Samarqandī, who between June and July 1873, acting as an aide to the Russian Orientalist Alexander Kun, produced an extensive body of field notes, especially on customary practices of the local population in distinct localities of the Khanate. While taking notes about the wedding ceremonies performed by some local groups, he briefly speaks about the ceremony of breaking sugar and allocating pieces among the guests (*qand-rā shekaste taqsīm mīkunand*), see: Mīrzā Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Laṭīf Mustajirr Samarqandī, [*Notes*]. MS, St. Petersburg, AVIVR RAN, f. 33, op. 1, d. 134, fol. 55b.

"*azāraspan*",[85] which grows lushly there in green bushes creeping along the ground. The locals call that steppe *qīr,* in contrast to the genuine sands, [which they call] *qūm* or *chaga*. Closer to the bank of the Amu-Darya, near Jaghir-Band and further along the road to Darghan-Ata, [one can meet] not particularly dense *tugai* [thickets]. The Amu-Darya is visible almost all the way along the route, at a distance of 2-6 *verst*s from the road.

/33 ob./ The [lodging] stations along that route are all arranged at the Khivan Government's expense; they are fixed up in such a way that they they completely fail to meet their purpose as lodging places for wayfarers. The Khan's employees, having received funds for the construction of the new stations, usually attach a *pech'*,[86] as they call it here – a distinct room heated with a stove – to their own houses, where the *Bīk* or *Nā'ib* lives. They allocate for the stations' purposes the most unpleasant place, somewhere in the backyard [of their homesteads]. Upon arrival of a certain high-ranking persona, the *Bīk* or *Nā'ib* lodges the visitor at his own house, whereas those wayfarers who do not occupy a high position and are therefore not eligible to claim distinct consideration from the *Bek*, have no other choice but to lodge at the station – in the *pech'* – in great privation.

Commonly [the station] consists of a single room with two small windows, which have the usual kind of frames but no shutters. In the corner there is a poorly folded Utermark furnace[87] that is capable

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85 Lykoshin most likely refers here to the peganum harmala (or wild rue) plant which is widely known in Central Asia by the name "*hazār-ispand*" or "*isiriq*". The extract of the plant has long been widely used by the local population as an antibacterial agent, particularly for fumigation purposes.

86 From Russian: *pech'* – stove. Judging from Lykoshin's account, it becomes evident that the Khivans came to equip some of the premises with the Russian type of masonry stoves, otherwise known as *pech'*, clearly for heating purposes. The presence of this heating device gave the name to entire premises, which came to be known under the name *pech'*.

87 An Utermark furnace commonly looked like a vertically positioned cylinder made out of glazed brick and studded with iron. Starting from the first half of the 19th century Utermark furnaces became widespread in Russia.

neither of heating nor of drying a completely damp room. In opposite corner [of the room], in lieu of washbasin there is a Sart-style pit, or *ābrīz*, bricked with stones, with holes for water drainage. The room is humid owing to the fact that it has been built without a base on the saline soil, so the dampness spreads from below up along the walls, and then remains within them such that [the walls] cannot be dried. So, it seems nasty, dark and damp down there [in the room]. There are no [rural] elders [in those settlements], except for Pitnak, where a certain Goltz, a Khivanized [former Russian] soldier, fulfills this duty for a monthly allowance of 30 roubles. This elder is also in charge of the transmission of mail to New Urgench; he lives not at the station but in another house, and comes to the station only occasionally, when required, to inquire about the mail delivery, or about people passing by.

My assistant, Captain Troshkin, was recently summoned to Charjui on business and he needed to travel along the same route and then across the territory of the Khanate of /34/ Bukhara. [As he reported afterwards], the stations there [=in the territory of the Emirate of Bukhara] were in an even worse [condition] than ours [in Khiva], though ours could hardly boast of comfort. It is desirable to improve these stations and bring them up to the level of at least our *zemskie* stations located [in the Amu-Darya Department] along the road from Petro-Aleksandrovsk to Nukus. One encounters located here and there [in the Amu-Darya Department], rather well furnished and warm premises, with elders constantly in attendance to keep order and deliver everything that is required to the wayfarers.

I had to combine my next trip to the [Khanate of] Khiva – which aimed at inspecting Turkmeniya and resolving misunderstandings between the Turkmens and the Khan resulting from the Turkmens' disagreements with the reforms proposed by the Khan – with a preliminary tour across certain parts of the Amu-Darya Department that are under my jurisdiction.

Having set off from Petro-Aleksandrovsk on 25 June it was not before 4 July – via Guldursun-Qal'a, Qizil-Qal'a, Sultan-Uvays-Baba, Kentau, Khvaja-Kul, Nazar-Khan, Besh-Tube, Nukus,

Chimbay[88] – that I reached [the town of] Qonghrat, located [on the left side] in the Khanate of Khiva.

I needed to visit Qonghrat not only because the encampments of the *Kūllī*-Yomut (or Lakeside Yomut) Turkmens began at that point, but also because in the vicinity of Qonghrat there remained the barracks of a [Cossack] squadron that had been previously stationed there, and I needed to inspect the premises in order to come to a decision about their possible usage. Being previously unaware about the exact boundaries of the Kirgiz[-populated] *volost* of the Amu-Darya Department, which abutted the [Khivan] provinces of Qonghrat and of neighboring Yangi-Bazar, I assumed that upon the inquiry of the Engineering Department about the [possible] usage of the barrack premises, it would be worth proposing to hand the premises over to the authorities [of Qonghrat], so as to establish a Kirgiz-Russian boarding school in the city. [However,] having visited the spot, I came to realize that since the two aforementioned Kirgiz *volost*s abut onto the Qonghrat [province] only [by their] edges, establishing the school, in accordance with my [erstwhile] design, [in Qonghrat] within the [territory of the] Khanate of Khiva, would be inconvenient, as it [=the school] would be located far /32 ob./ from the centers of the [both Kirgiz-populated] *volost*s. Furthermore, because the premises that I inspected have already been standing without maintenance for five years, they have fallen into such decay that our Kirgiz [subjects] would be barely able to afford the renovation [to make the premises bearable] for the school ['s needs]; therefore, it would be more suitable, once needed, to construct new premises for the school [right] on the territory of those *volost*s. I have [no choice but] to notify the Engineering Department that the barrack premises of the [former] Cossack squadron cannot be utilized by the local administration [of Qonghrat] for any purpose whatsoever; and we have no other choice but to sell the premises, at the earliest

[88] These settlements were located on the right, or "Russian", side of the Amu-Darya River, that is to say within the jurisdiction of the Amu-Darya Department. By crossing the Amu-Darya in the vicinity of the town of Qonghrat, Lykoshin stepped into the territory of the Khanate of Khiva.

convenience, for firewood, so as to avoid their further depreciation or destruction, owing to the adverse weather and embezzlement. The local *Bīk* keeps a warden at the buildings, but this supervision is not sufficient as the warden sometimes goes to the city on his own business, and at that time the locals can damage the premises by taking away some smaller items. The swift sale of the building is absolutely essential, whereas the proposal of the Head of the Charjui Engineering Department to donate for free the construction materials of the Cossack barracks to assist in the construction of a church in Petro-Aleksandrovsk is completely unacceptable, as the expenses of the upriver transportation of the materials would far exceed the costs of materials; therefore the Church Building Committee cannot accept such a gift without [causing] obvious detriment to the [project] of the church's construction.

If sale at auction is considered as unprofitable, then the only place where construction materials after the dismantling of the premises could be sent is Nukus, if it is decided to construct a ranger station in the state garden (in the place of the former apartment of the Chimbay district bailiff) or the premises for the postal-telegraph office; regarding the establishment of the latter [office] there has been an ongoing correspondence for some time. It would be possible to deliver materials from Qonghrat to Nukus for a more or less affordable price, thanks to the fact that they can be loaded on *caiouque*s in Qizil-Jar, [which is only] 15 /35/ *verst*s from Qonghrat, and then be delivered to the construction site by water, along the Amu-Darya and [further on] along the Kuk-Uzak, one of the channels of the Quvānish-Yarma.

However, even such usage of the construction materials located in Qonghrat would be possible only if the 6th Squadron of the 4th Orenburg Cossack Regiment, stationed nowadays in the locality of Nukus, continue to be stationed there in their own well-functioning barracks. If, as rumor has it, this squadron will be transferred [from Nukus] to the regimental headquarters, then lots of [empty] military premises would appear in the village of Nukus, which would also require further utilization for the needs of the civilian agencies.

After inspecting the barracks, I lodged for the night in the house of the Orenburg merchant Kamalov, a Tatar who has been trading here for 35 years. The owner, an old man, [is engaged in] trading manufactured goods, and lives permanently in the city of Orenburg, but he permitted [the use of] his house [in Qonghrat] for receiving high-ranked individuals upon their visits to Qonghrat. The local *Bīk* does not have good premises here and therefore he also needs to use [for reception purposes] Kamalov's house, which is the only one [in the city fitted out] in European manner; even General Subbotich,[89] who came to inspect the Cossack squadron [in Qonghrat] in 1908, lodged in that house.

In Qonghrat, the Khivan city located right on the Khanate's border with Russia, there is a large native bazaar, which supplies the entire population of the Steppe with Russian manufactured items. Trade is sluggish during the summer season, when the locals are busy with agricultural activities, and they visit the city's bazaar only in case of extreme need. However, in the fall and winter there is brisk trading in the bazaar, mainly with nomads of neighboring Russian *volost*s, up to the [Caspian] littoral, as well as with the Khivan Turkmens and Kirgizs, who roam west of Qonghrat. On occasions, up to 400 goats are slaughtered here in a single market day.

/35/ There are no Russian traders in Qonghrat; [only] Tatars and Armenians trade here. The entire population of the city has been experiencing great inconvenience because of the difficulties of receiving and sending post. It is virtually impossible for merchants [to keep going with their activities] without a [properly functioning] mail service. The nearest point to Qonghrat, where once a week one can receive or send just simple letters, is the village of Nukus,

[89] Dean (Dejan) Ivanovich Subotich (1852–1920) was Governor-General of Turkestan in 1905–1906. Lykoshin seems to have been mistaken while referring to Subotich's visit to Khiva in 1908. As is widely known, in 1906 Subotich was forced to resign from the office of the Governor-General of Turkestan on charges of supporting liberalism and he left the region soon thereafter. Although his visit to Khiva in 1905 has been recorded, nothing is known about a putative visit to Khiva in the years following his resignation.

which is connected to Petro-Aleksandrovsk by means of the *zemstvo* post service. The post is sent from the village of Nukus with a specially hired courier-*jigit,* and more often than not it is delayed. The *jigit* has to cover some 400 *verst*s per week, but his horse serves without rotation and therefore he needs to ride at a slower pace; and there is no one on the road who oversees the timely circulation of post. This is the state of the mail delivery service [from Petro-Aleksandrovsk] to the village of Nukus; [the post-delivery] from that point is even worse: there is no postal service whatsoever, and those who live in Qonghrat have to hire jointly a special *jigit* so as to dispatch him to Nukus once a week, before the mail arrives there. The road [from Qonghrat to Nukus] is nearly 100 *verst*s, and is poorly maintained all the way along and flooded in some junctures; sending a horseman once a week incurs a significant expense, some 75 roubles monthly, which is paid by all residents of Qonghrat. Kamalov's company alone spends five roubles per month for the postman; the other merchants pay less; and a further 10 kopecks are charged [by the postman] from one-off clients for delivery of a single letter from Nukus. The residents of Qonghrat are keenly awaiting the establishment of a governmental postal-telegraph office in the village of Nukus since the improvement of communications is absolutely crucial for the local merchants.

In recent times the delivery of merchandise to Qonghrat has become notably easier. The "Khiva" Steamship Company has embarked upon /36/ reloading cargoes headed to Qonghrat from the [Aral] sea steamers onto river-going [steamers], and delivering them to the Qizil-Jar pier, which is 15 *verst*s from Qonghrat. Immediately upon the river steamer's arrival [at Qizil-Jar] they [= the Company's staff] notify residents of Qonghrat, who then send conveyances to fetch the delivered commodities.

In the city of Qonghrat itself, on the land owned by the local *Bī* Qūtlū-Murād Taji-Muradov, there is a monument to the Russian soldiers who fell at Qonghrat in 1873. This is a small obelisk of baked brick, with a cast-iron cross on the top and an inscription on a cast-iron board: "*In memory of the soldiers fallen at the city of Qonghrat in 1873*". Next to the monument there are several more

modest graves with wooden crosses, which apparently belong to soldiers, and two [more] graves – of an officer and a child –, decorated with glazed bricks. At my request, the *Bī* promised to enclose the Russian cemetery with a gated adobe fence. That would be the most convenient way to protect the safety of the graves of our compatriots, fallen in a foreign land.

On 5 July, early in the morning, [moving] along the Tirkish tract, we continued our journey up to [the locality of] Yangi-Qal'a. The road runs there mostly along the bottoms of long-dried lakes, overgrown with stunted riparian bushes. These dried-up lakes testify to the significant decrease in the amount of irrigational water [in the area]; many lands seem to be abandoned, becoming gradually covered by dunes of moving sand.

Thirteen or fourteen years ago, some 50 *verst*s from Qonghrat, on the bank of the large Bek-Yab Canal, there was erected a quadrangular fortification [named] Yangi-Qal'a. This is just a space enclosed by a high adobe fence, three *desiatina*s in area. There are three gates in the fence, and in the middle [of the fortress] lives the assistant (*nā'ib*) to the *Bīk* of Kuhna-Urgench, who lacks here even a decent set of living quarters. Apparently, the newly established fortification will not have any significance and even a bazaar will not prosper there, particularly since recently /6 ob./ a distinct *Bekstvo* of Chumanay, where the fortification is located, has been [recently] merged into the [larger] *Bekstvo* of Kuhna-Urgench. That [territorial] modification coincided with the promotion of Isḥāq Khvāja, who is a brother of the Khanate's chief dignitary Sayyid Islām Khvāja, to the office of the *Bīk* of Kuhna-Urgench. It seems that there is a tendency in the Khanate towards the formation of larger administrative units: in a similar way, the *Bekstvo* of Pitnak was recently attached to the [*Bekstvo* of] Hazarasp and lost its [erstwhile] status.

From Yangi-Qal'a, after having ridden for three hours, we reached the ancient cemetery of 'Azīzlār Bābā, where we were able to lodge for the night in the courtyard near the *mazār*. At the behest of the Kuhna-Urgench *Bīk*, here the *yurta*s were set for our [needs]. The [local] saint's cemetery attracts plenty of pilgrims, [both] men and women. Women seek the saint's help in curing infertility, so

they visit the *mazār* in large numbers every week on Thursdays. The pilgrims spend Thursday nights there, devoting themselves to the [ritual of] Sufi zeal (*dhikr*) under the leadership of the local *shaykh*, having first consumed large amounts of meat that has been sacrificed. Rams are exclusively used as *nadhr*, or offerings; [after being cooked] they are eaten immediately by all participants.

My arrival [at the *mazār*] togther with an escort of Khivan horsemen or *nūker*s, who were sent to meet me, armed with Berdana [rifles] and with belts in the form of open bandoliers, seems to have hampered the performance of the entire project of worship [by the pilgrims]. The pilgrims had already performed *ziyārat* – an act of worship on the saint's grave – and upon our arrival they were cooking a soup for everyone in a huge cauldron; after which the "*dhikr*", or devotion, was supposed to start at 9 o'clock in the evening. But since the approaching troops ate all the soup that had been prepared, [the pilgrims] had to start cooking a new cauldron [of soup]; in the meanwhile, the time for [performing] *dhikr* passed and the ritual did not take place, particularly because the *Bīk* of Kuhna-Urgench Sayyid Isḥāq [37] Khvāja – who was rushing to here from Khiva, where he usually lives, in order to meet me – also arrived that night.

In the Khanate of Khiva, most of the dignitaries who govern over the *Bekstvo*s are appointed from among the residents of the city of Khiva, those who are close to the Khan's court; and [after assuming the office] they do not move their families to the new residence, but [prefer to] live alone in the *Bekstvo*s, or marry there again, raising a second, local, family. Most of the *Bīk*s, especially the brothers of the chief dignitary, live most of the time in the Khanate's capital, and visit their *Bekstvo* only on business or for tax collection.

Prior to my arrival, a group of Turkmen *katkhudā*s of various clans had also arrived at the ʻAzīzlār-Bābā *mazār* without any invitation from my side; with them I started my talks about the upcoming [campaign of] land measurement for the new land tax assessment as well as about the termination [of the practice] of cleaning the Turkmen canals at the Khivan Government's expense. It transpired that this group of Yomut Turkmens belong to the so-called "Khanal Turkmens" (or those who "make *qūllūq* to the Khan" – which is to

say, those who make a bow to the Khan). This is how [the locals] term those Turkmens who have been lured by distinct privileges and handouts from the Khivan Government and have started to comply unreservedly with the wishes of the Khan and his dignitaries.

In the Khanate, there is constantly underway a covert diplomatic agitation, aimed at calming the bellicose Turkmens and at [achieving] their enslavement. That goal is being achieved by attracting some individuals from among the more compliant *katkhudā*s – those who can be manipulated owing to their selfish motives – to the cause of the Khan's Government. In going over to the side of the [Khivan] Government, a Turkmen chieftain of this kind brings all his Turkmen [tribesmen] under [Khanal] authority, making them obey the government's demands. This is quite possible, given that a patriarchal way of life is still fully maintained among the Turkmens, and the *katkhudā*s enjoy /37 ob./ unlimited influence among the populace.

The efforts by the Khan's Government at enslaving the Turkmens almost always entail the Turkmens' gradual sedentarisation. Little by little they begin to engage in agriculture, and with [growing] adherence to the sedentary lifestyle a [new] consciousness emerges among them, one which has to do with the need to protect their property and enhance their well-being. For such pacified Turkmens military arms acquire the function of a [purely] defensive rather than a belligerent one, while blood feuds, which rage among genuinely nomadic Turkmens, are slowly fading away. Thus, the persistent efforts by the Khivan Government which has an eroding effect upon the Turkmens' [sense of] valor, has been gradually enticing them towards peaceful activities and improving their well-being.

The group of Turkmens who met me in 'Azīzlār-Bābā have [recently] rented a significant plot of Sayyid Islām Khvāja's lands, from among those which were granted to the latter by the Khan, but previously had been regarded as the property of all Turkmens. It transpired, therefore, that this group of Turkmens, for the sake of personal gain, has breached a tradition that is common to all Turkmens; they betrayed the common Turkmen cause by giving their consent to lease the lands, and [by doing so] they justified

the removal of [said lands] from the possession of the nomads. A quarrel has broken out between the Turkmens, which has further weakened the [entire] rebel group of *Kūllī*-Yomuts and has strengthened the Government's position. The Turkmens who took said lands on lease have lost their ties with the [rest of the] *Kūllī*-Yomuts, and clearly have to fully comply with the Government's requirements with regard to the land reform. I therefore did not even need to convince them to comply [with the governmental initiatives].

I asked the *Bīk* of Kuhna-Urgench Sayyid Isḥāq Khvāja to send an invitation on my behalf to the principal headman of the [Turkmen] opposition, Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov, the chieftain and *katkhudā* of the Orus-Koshchi clan, whom I /38/ sought to meet in Kuhna-Urgench.

The *Bīk* explained to me that although he was ready to fulfill my request immediately, he was almost certain that Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov and his associates, who did not obey the Khivan Government, would not heed the *Bīk*'s invitation, so as to demonstrate, yet again, their unwillingness to comply with the demands of the [Khivan] governmental authorities. I asked him nonetheless to send an invitation, and the *Bīk* Isḥāq Khvāja complied with this.

Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov is the headman of the opposition faction of the Yomut Turkmens, and evidently enjoys considerable influence among his tribesmen. The Khivan Government regards him as one of the main firebrands of the opposition and there are rumors that people have repeatedly been sent to kill Maḥmūd-Khān. So far, none of these attempts have been successful, but in Petro-Aleksandrovsk I learned from a Turkmen called Shāh-Zā,[90] – a secret agent, who [lives] among the Turkmens and used to deliver information regarding the state of affairs in Turkmeniya to my predecessor Major-General Glushanovskii, – that a price of 1,000 *ṭillā*s has been put on Maḥmūd-Khān's head. Regarding himself, Shāh-Zā

[90] Thanks to the accounts of the Khivan author Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī we have been able to identify this individual's name as Shāh-Jān Shamiev: see Hasan Madaminov (Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī), *Otryvki iz istorii Khivinskogo khanstva. Period 1910–1913 gg*., l. 92.

told me that a price of 600 *ṭillā*s had been placed on his head, and he kept urging me to come to Turkmeniya at the earliest convenience, so as to listen to the Turkmens' complaints and do whatever possible to alleviate their fate. Having looked at my schedule, I promised Shāh-Zā that we would see each other in a month, i.e. in July of the current year, and, delighted, he took his leave.

While in Qonghrat I was told that soon after returning to Turkmeniya from Petro-Aleksandrovsk, Shāh-Zā was detained by the Khan's *nūker*s – who were dispatched specifically for that reason – and he was taken to Khiva. Although Shāh-Zā managed to escape *en route*, he was caught soon again and taken to Khiva, where he is being kept with his legs in irons at the jail in the [Khan's] winter palace, or *Arq*. The Turkmens who told me about Shāh-Zā's arrest explained his detention by the fact that Shāh-Zā stayed in touch with the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department and had been /38 ob./ informing the latter about all the injustices [committed] by the Khivan Government with regard to the Turkmens. [91] The Turkmens were mainly concerned about the old man Shāh-Zā's life: he could easily be killed [by the Khivan authorities] or could simply die of fright while under detention. The detention of Shāh-Zā, a prominent member of the clan and a dedicated fighter for the Turkmens' interests, left a very strong impression on his fellow tribesmen; they kept talking about it a lot. I was asked [by the Turkmens] to intercede with the Khan, upon my arrival in Khiva, so as to secure Shāh-Zā's release, should he remain alive by that time.

I gave a promise to the Turkmens that I would do my utmost to alleviate the fate of Shāh-Zā.

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[91] Although Lykoshin repetedly emphasises that Shāh-Zā had been acting as informer for his predecessor in the office of the ADO Commandant Major-General Glushanovskii, he admits nevertheless that he himself had a meeting with that Turkmen individual in Petro-Aleksandrovsk and used the latter's intelligence, shortly before he undertook this tour to the Khivan Khanate. In a later paragraph Lykoshin furthermore admits that Shāh-Zā's detention indicates "the Khivan dignitaries' intention to demonstrate to me [=Lykoshin] that Shāh-Zā's discreet activities as an [the Russian] informer have been revealed," see infra. p. 302

Rumors about Shāh-Zā's detainment kept circulating in Kuhna-Urgench, and it seems to me that *Bīk* Isḥāq Khvāja, who frequently sent reports to Khiva about my journey, also notified [the Khivan authorities] that [the circumstances] of Shāh-Zā's detainment had been already brought to my attention. For some time, I did not touch upon this issue [in conversations] with the *Bīk* Isḥāq Khvāja, but when he himself mentioned Shāh-Zā, the *Bīk* explained that rumor had it that Shāh-Zā was accused of turning the Turkmen population against the [Khivan] Government, and he, Isḥāq Khvāja, had been instructed to make an inquiry about Shāh-Zā's criminal activities.

The arrest of the Turkmen informer of the Commandant of the Department, right before my arrival in Turkmeniya, in my personal opinion indicates the Khivan dignitaries' intention to demonstrate to me that Shāh-Zā's discreet activities as an informer have been revealed and, furthermore, to make a frightening impact on those refractory Turkmens whose leader Maḥmūd-Khān [Atal'khanov] maintains close relations with Shāh-Zā. I decided to give the impression that Shāh-Zā's arrest was of little interest to me personally, though I managed to get *Bīk* Isḥāq Khvāja's acknowledgment that [so far] the investigation has not discovered anything criminal on Shāh-Zā's part.

The second maneuver [by the Khivan authorities] in order to inculpate Maḥmud-Khān Atal'khanov in anti-governmental propaganda was as follows. During my stay in Kuhna- /39/ Urgench, at the house of *Bīk* Isḥāq Khvāja,* rumors were spread, which were brought to my attention by the governor of the Nukus *volost* (one of the [administrative] units entrusted to me), 'Ināyat Niyazov, who accompanied me [on this journey]: one of the peaceful Turkmens, [named] Amin, who was on hostile terms with Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov, stated that three days before my arrival, three Russian workers from Petro-Aleksandrovsk had arrived in Kuhna-Urgench and had said

* [Lykoshin:] The house had previously belonged to Mat-Murād Divānbīgī, but upon the detention of his sons it was confiscated in favor of the [Khivan] treasury. The house is now used as the residence of the *Bīk* of Kuhna-Urgench.

that they had a letter from Tūrdī-Bāy, one of the Petro-Aleksandrovsk merchants, to Bābā-Jān Bāy, a merchant in Kuhna-Urgench, regarding the installation of a water-lifting machine on the latter's property. The workers further explained that their specialty was the installation of equipment of that kind. [Yet] there proved to be no one [named] Bābā-Jān Bāy in Kuhna-Urgench, and no one requires the workers' services.

This, however, was not the end of the story about the arrival of the [Russian] workers: Amīn, apparently aiming to apportion blame on Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov for [disseminating] propaganda against the [Khivan] Government, [in his statement] insisted that they [=the Russian workers] were sent by the Grand Duke Nikolai Konstantinovich* in order to help the Turkmens. The workers further said that they were well aware of all the hardships experienced by the Turkmens in the Khanate of Khiva, and that the origin of the evil is Sayyid Islām Khvāja, who possesses tremendous influence over the young Khan. The workers expressed their intention to talk to Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov about the selection of three deputies from among the Turkmen population, who, as they further proposed, would be taken to St. Petersburg, whereby they could intercede [before the Imperial Government] about the appointment of ʿAṣqarī-Tūra, the elder brother of the current Khan, as a [new Khivan] Khan.[92] /39 ob./ The workers asked Amīn for four roubles

* [Lykoshin:] This reference seems to be fictional and may be attributed to the fact that at the time when the Grand Duke was supervising the works on the Lawzan [Canal], Maḥmūd-Khān's brother did a favor to His Highness by being present at his service in the capacity of foreman.

92 Lykoshin here refers to Maḥmūd ʻAṣqar-Tūra (d. 1915), an elder brother of Isfandiyār Khān. As an elder son of the late Khan, Maḥmūd ʻAṣqar-Tūra was considered by some parties at the court and beyond as better entitled than his younger brother to succeed the Khivan throne; see for instance Hasan Madaminov (Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī), *Otryvki iz istorii Khivinskogo khanstva. Period 1910–1913 gg*., ll. 64–64 ob.; Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 10.02.1914, no. 8*; OʻzMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 348, ll. 4–5. Perhaps for that reason relations between the brothers were distinctly frosty: not only was Maḥmūd ʻAṣqar Tūra banned from attending the court ceremonies, but also, at Isfandiyār Khān's insistence, he was deprived of the title "*tūra*",

to cover expenses, [but] he refused; and, having hired a cart they headed off, as they said, to Maḥmūd-Khān.

Amīn's entire story seemed implausible to me, given his hostility towards Maḥmūd-Khān, and once the *Bīk*, who [also] learned about that case, asked me to provide him with an order to detain the three aforementioned Russian agitators against the Khan, I refused to do so, explaining that I did not consider Amīn's absurd stories to be sufficient grounds to search for and detain the mysterious workers.

My assumptions proved to be correct: all the way from Kuhna-Urgench to the city of Khiva, neither from the Turkmens, nor from their opposers, did I hear anything about the three Russian workers; and I managed to get reliable information that no Russians had come to Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov [lately].

To the litany of the stories designed to besmirch the good name of Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov in the eyes of the Khivan Government, one may further add the following hearsay: after completion of the [irrigational] works on the Lawzan [Canal], Grand Duke [Nikolai Konstantinovich Romanov] promoted Maḥmūd-Khān to the Khan of all Turkmens living in the Khanate of Khiva and, as symbols of his new status, handed him a flag and a revolver. Maḥmūd-Khān's opponents say that Maḥmūd-Khān, having received the status of Khan from the Russian Grand Duke's hands, started to claim power over the Turkmens, and he set up the flag that he had received as a banner in front of his *yurta*. In reality, what happened was as follows: while the Grand Duke was [supervising] the works at

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which was conventionally applied to the names of princes of the blood: see Lykoshin, *Raport G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 27.05.1914, no. 90*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 348, l. 40 ob. Lykoshin, who paid a visit to Maḥmūd 'Aṣqar Tūra in July 1914, described him as "almost insane" and "a completely sick man," who suffers from "disorders of the nervous system": Lykoshin, *K voprosu o vyselenii v predely Rossii starshego brata Khana. 19.07.1914*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 348, l. 34. According to the colonial officers' records, Maḥmūd 'Aṣqar Tūra died on 23 January 1915 "from a sudden heart attack": Kolosovskii, *Raport, 23.01.1915*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 348, l. 37.

Lawzan,[93] there was a flag set near His Highness's *yurta*, which the Grand Duke's servants, upon their departure, forgot to take along and left there. The Turkmens took possession of the flag and fashioned a legend about its origin, presenting this vignette as an indication of the the unparalleled involvement of our Grand Duke in the Turkmen people's life.

A *nūker* of the *Bīk* who had been dispatched to Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov came back on 7 June and reported that Maḥmūd-Khān promised to come in the evening of the that day; however, this did not happen. Rumors reached me that a group of Turkmens, headed by Maḥmūd-Khān, had gathered in the locality of /40/ Nazar-Band, while another party [had gathered] on the upper head of the Sukhbat Canal. It was reported that the leaders of the latter group, Ḥasan Ishān and Ṣādiq Ishān, were asking my permission to meet me at Aq-Tepa, as they feared to come to Kuhna-Urgench. Muqīm Ishān, one of the *Ishān*s, who had previously been on bad terms with the Khivan Government, arrived in Kuhna-Urgench [in person]. It transpired that being unable to resist the temptation of [receiving] a pittance from the Khivan dignitaries, he had recently become a humble servant of the Khivan Government and detached himself from the [rest of the] Turkmens.

That explains why Muqīm Ishān, unlike his other associates, did not fear to come to Kuhna-Urgench, where [upon arrival] he received the *Bīk*'s ordinance to grant him a certain amount of wheat from the Khan's reserves.

From conversations with peaceful Turkmens, it became evident that the well-being of the entire Turkmen population had been significantly undermined by the [various] regulations of the Khanal

[93] Lykoshin clearly refers to the explorations conducted in 1889–1890 under the leadership of Grand Duke Nikolai Konstantinovich Romanov (1832–1909), a nephew of the Russian Emperor Alexander II, in the lower reaches of the Amu-Darya River. The explorations aimed at finding possible ways of turning the Amu-Darya River towards its "former course" and thus making it flow to the Caspian Sea: see Ekaterina Pravilova, "River of Empire: Geopolitics, Irrigation, and the Amu Darya in the Late XIXth Century" *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 17/18 (2009): 255–287.

Government. Although the Government has taken responsibility for cleaning the Turkmens' canals on its own, it has fulfilled that duty in an utterly sloppy way; the Khan's dignitaries commit abuses, [such as] accepting bribes so as to release workers, or "*qāzūchī*s", [from their duties], thus reducing the number of people working on the canal [cleaning]. Only once in 1911 were the Turkmens permitted to clean up the Sukhbat Canal by their own, but even on that occasion the Khivans managed to embroil the Turkmens with the [neighboring] Aday-Kirgizs – the tenants of the lands owned by the Khivan dignitaries –, and when [consequently] a fight broke out [between the Turkmens and the Aday-Kirgizs], the Canal was closed by the [Khivan] Government, as an act of repression against the disobedient Turkmens. The water inflow into the [Turkmens'] canals has long since decreased, and the lakes have dried up; previously the *Kūllī* (or 'Lakeside') Turkmens used to conduct here lakeside agriculture by means of watering their fields directly from the lakes, or by sowing the plots of the wetlands after the water level [in lakes] had fallen. Nowadays this has proven impossible and [their] only hope is for [artificial] watering by means of ditches, yet the [Khivan Government] does not want to put them [=the ditches] in order. The only way out [of the current situation], in the opinion of peaceful Turkmens, is to ensure that the cleaning of canals is handed over exclusively to the hands of the Turkmens, those who use water of the ditches, without any interference from the Khan's dignitaries.

/40 ob./ In such circumstances, there is a need to take steps to ban the installation of *chīghīr*s in the upper part of the Sukhbat Canal, starting from the place where the water enters the Canal down to the Aq-Qal'a Tract in the vicinity of Kuhna-Urgench. These *chīghīr*s constitute an innovation. In previous times, when Mat-Murād Divānbīgī ruled over the [Kuhna-Urgench] *Bekstvo*, he was [repeatedly] asked for permission to install *chīghīr*s at the upper stream of the Sukhbat [Canal]; but the *Divānbīgī*, who had a deep expertise on irrigation affairs, categorically forbade the installation of *chīghīr*s, in view of the fact that, given the slope of the terrain [in that locality], the *chīghīr*s placed at the top of the Sukhbat Canal would take nearly all the water without leaving anything to the

lands of *Kūllī*-Yomut Turkmens, [located] in the lower [reaches of the canal].

In recent years the issue has been raised again, since the Russian-subject Aday-Kirgizs, – the tenants of the [Khivan] dignitaries' lands [located in the upper stream of the canal], – have managed to obtain permission to install their *chīghīr*s and, as anticipated, they have taken all the waters of the Sukhbat [Canal] for their plots, leaving very little to the Turkmens, who [in actual fact] performed the cleaning of the canal. [Soon] a fight broke out over the *chīghīr*s, during which the Turkmens destroyed the *chīghīr*s of the Aday-[Kirgizs]. The Adays filed a complaint [with the Khivan court], in which they greatly overestimated their [real] losses.

Having little reason to believe that Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov would appear in Kuhna-Urgench at the *Bīk*'s invitation, I instructed the governor of the Nukus *volost* ʿInāyat Niyazov, who was accompanying me [on this trip], that if Maḥmūd-Khān would not appear on the night of 7–8 July, he [= ʿInāyat Niyazov] was to head off [to Maḥmūd-Khān's encampment] early in the morning and summon him to Kuhna-Urgench before me.

ʿInāyat Niyazov carried out my order diligently, and on the night of 8–9 July, Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov, along with some of his associates, arrived in Kuhna-Urgench. Early in the morning, I summoned the Turkmen chieftain along with his associates – who similarly were prominent members of the same ethnic group – and I strongly expressed to him my displeasure at his failure to /41/ show up to my invitation, which had been handed over to him through the *Bīk*. Maḥmūd-Khān, after listening to my reprimand, asked for my permission to explain the reason for his failure to appear; he further told me that he had feared to come to Kuhna-Urgench without having an escort provided by the Russian authorities, for he was well aware about the fact that a price had been placed on his head.

[Maḥmūd-Khān further stated that] some time ago, one of the Khan's *nūker*s was sent specifically to kill him and managed to fire a shot at him. It was only because the *nūker* proved to be a bad shot that Maḥmūd-Khān managed to escape with his life. Recently, the prominent representative of the Turkmens Shāh-Zā was detained

and taken to Khiva, and yet another Turkmen [named] Tāychilī was killed by the *nūker*s.*

/41 ob./ Further explanations [provided] by Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov, the 60-year-old *katkhudā* of the Turkmen Orus-Koshchi clan, cast some light on the current state of affairs with regard to the Turkmens in the Khivan Khanate.

The Khan's Government, as I mentioned above, has managed to entice most of the Turkmens over to its side; [thus] the Khan's concerns at how the Turkmens may prevent His Serene Highness from implementing the land-tax reform seem to be largely overestimated. The number of Turkmens who are irreconcilably opposed to the upcoming land apportionment is very limited; [the number of those] who insist that the Khanal Government should fulfill the responsibility that it has undertaken to clear canals for the Turkmens is even fewer, since all Turkmens have come to realize the inefficiency of

* [Lykoshin:] While talking about the atrocities of the Khivan Government, Maḥmūd-Khān of course kept silent about the way in which the Turkmens avenged themselves on these *nūker*s. It was only afterwards while talking to some people that I was able to clarify that the *nūker* who shut at Maḥmūd-Khān was killed by [Turkmens] straight away [after making his murderous attempt]. And that the assassination of Tāychilī, which antagonized the Turkmens against the [Khivan] Khan, unfolded in the following way: one of the [Khivan] *yūzbāshī* [called] Anna-Sagat [Editor's note: this individual can almost certainly be identified with a certain Ārna Ṣiḥat Yūzbāshī mentioned in the Khivan sources under similar circumstances], seeking to distinguish himself before the Khivan dignitaries, bribed two Turkmens with 100 *ṭillā*s and instructed them to deliver Tāychilī's head. The murderers executed the order and managed to deliver Tāychilī's head in a bag. Anna-Sagat [=Ārna Ṣiḥat] then took the head to Khiva, where he hoisted the head on a stick, and put it straight in front of the [Khan's] palace, where the dignitaries commonly convene. His move was noted, and he was introduced to Sayyid Islām Khvāja; upon the latter's proposal, Anna-Sagat [=Ārna Ṣiḥat] was given [a reward to the sum of] 200 *ṭillā*s along with other luxury gifts. The Turkmens in the meantime managed to capture one of the betrayer-murderers, who was passed on to the victim's relatives. The latter executed that Turkmen, who did a favor to the Yūzbāshī Anna-Sagat [=Ārna Ṣiḥat], and after cutting up his body into pieces, hung these up in various places so as to intimidate [the enemies]. In this cruel way, the Turkmens got even for Tāychilī's murder. This was told by another [Khivan] *yūzbāshī* in Kuhna-Urgench, an enemy of Anna-Sagat [=Ārna Ṣiḥat] Yūzbāshī.

[maintenance] works carried out by the Khan's dignitaries, and they [=the Turkmens] would readily set about cleaning their canals by themselves, but this is not permitted by the [Khivan] Government. And only once – at the insistence of the [former] Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department – were the Turkmens allowed to clean the upper part of the Sukhbat Canal by their own; yet the cleaning of that irrigation ditch – named as "Ūrūs-Yārghān", i.e. "Dug by the Russians", owing to the Russian government's intervention – was of little help: the canal functioned well only for an year, and the following year the Khivans incited the Aday-Kirgizs to get embroiled in a fight with the Turkmens, and instead of [there being a proper] investigation of the case on the spot, the canal was simply closed upon the Khanal Government's order, and the Turkmens were left once again without water.

The Khan's dignitaries merely give the appearance of undertaking measures to pacify the Turkmens; in reality, they always try to keep this [Turkmen] ethnicity in a state of slight ferment. Such a policy with regard to the Turkmens above all enables [Khivan] dignitaries to distinguish themselves before the Khan by introducing themselves as pacifiers of outbreaks among the Turkmens; it furthermore enables the same dignitaries, who find the land-tax reform highly disadvantageous [for their own interests], to postpone the [process of] land measurement on account of ongoing instances of unrest among the Turkmens. As of the present time, /42 ob./ the dignitaries pay nothing to the Khan's [treasury] for the large land plots that have been granted to them [by the ruler], yet following the [upcoming] land survey their estates too ought to be subjected to taxation. Apparently, [under current circumstanes] the only thing the dignitaries can do is to maintain a state of discontent among the Turkmens by means of subtle maneuvers and [by so doing] inspire fear in the Khan[']s mind] about possible clashes with the Turkmens once the measurement of their [=the Turkmens'] lands starts. And the Khan is evidently not free from such fears; at least on my first visit to Khiva, His Serene Highness consulted with me on how to proceed [with the land survey] so that that upon completion of measuring the boundaries of the [rural] communities by the Russian

land surveyors, [fulfillment of further] works [on the measuring the surface of individual plots] may be entrusted to the native surveyors, or *ṭanāpkash*s, so as to maintain tranquility in the country and avoid any possible disturbances.

During the [present] trip I heard no such concerns from the Khan, because the situation with the Turkmens had somewhat improved; yet, for the assessment of the internal surfaces [of the land units], His Serene Highness would like to hire native surveyors, or *ṭanāpkash*s, from among the Russian subjects, and [he also wishes that] a Russian registrar should be attached to them, who could keep records about the assessment of the surface units (*ṭanāp*), and, at the same time, by his very presence at the [assessment] works, could prevent the Khivan residents' opposition to the implementation of the land-tax reform.

As mentioned above, the Khan's dignitaries maintain a state of ferment among the Turkmens. One excellent means of stirring up discontent among the Turkmens is to provide patronage for Kirgizs of the Aday clan – the Russian-subjects from the [Russian] districts of Temirsk, Krasnovodsk and Mangyshlak, who in large numbers reside permanently within the Khivan territory. These [groups of] Kirgizs are at the complete disposal of the Khan's Government, and they are constantly ready to start quarrelling with the Turkmens, to the advantage of the Khivans; yet as soon as a fight breaks out between Turkmens and Kirgizs, the latter [as Russian subjects] file a complaint with the Russian authorities, and the Khivan Khan /43/ receives an insistent instruction [on behalf of the Russian colonial authorities] to satisfy the claims of the Russian-subject Kirgizs, which the Khivan Government duly does, regarding it as an efficient means of curbing and intimidating the Turkmens. Thus, by means of the Aday-[Kirgizs] the Russian administration helps Khivans to oppress the Turkmens.

In recent times, the most implacable adversary of the Khivan Government has been Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov and his close kinsmen; the Aday-[Kirgizs recently] have filed two claims [against him], one [accusing him] of robbery, and another of destroying *chīghīr*s; both complaints attest to massive and incomparable

[material] damages [suffered by the Kirgizs]. Maḥmūd-Khān and his kinsmen are specified as the culprits. Both claims will be dealt with this fall either by the Khan himself or by Sayyid Islām Khvāja, yet one can say in advance that the [amount of] compensation for the harm and the losses incurred by our [=Russian-subject] Kirgizs will be reduced significantly, and the claims will end up as mere trifles.

Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov does not admit any wrongdoing for any actions aimed at harming the Khan Government; he furthermore explains that the Khan's disfavor towards him is because of his [=Atal'khanov's] perpetual service in the interests of the Turkmen ethnic group, to which he himself belongs, and with whose oppressed position in the Khivan Khanate he has been always concerned. The Khivans try to harm the Turkmens on every occasion; they do not recognize their [=the Turkmens'] rights as they do with regard to the other [ethnic] groups of the Khanate, and they treat them [=the Turkmens] with scorn, like savages.

[Some time ago] with the assistance of the [former] Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department, Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov managed to secure the Khivan Khan's permission for the cleaning of the Lawzan water canal by the Turkmens [themselves]; 4,000 workers worked at the head of the canal for 59 days in a row, and then for yet another month they cleaned the middle reaches of the canal.

When the cleaning was over, a lot of individuals turned up at the upper part of the canal, seeking to get /43 ob./ water from it [=the canal], without having spent anything on cleaning the canal, while the Turkmens had paid each worker one rouble per day, [plus they paid for] meals from their [own] pockets.

The Aday-Kirgizs, who were leasing the lands belonging to the Khan's dignitaries and had earlier used the water of the separate Qazaq-Yab Canal, which originated directly from the Amu-Darya, [now] abandoned their own canal without cleaning it out, and moved to the Lawzan [Canal], whereupon they set up their *chīghīr*s and took a significant part of the water for their needs. There was no water left for the Turkmens who had cleaned the irrigation ditches, and their crops died owing to a lack of watering.

In the upper part of the Lawzan [Canal], there are considerable plots of lands that have been granted to [the following] Khivan dignitaries and the Khan's relatives: Tūra Murād, Āta-Jān Tūra, Jum'a Niyāz Divān, Yūnus Maḥram and Shaykh Naẓar Bāy. Their plots stretch along the banks of the [Lawzan] Canal for 10 *verst*s down to the Urun Tract, [up to the point] where the Lawzan [Canal] flows into the erstwhile bed of the Amu-Darya nowadays known as Daryaliq. The landowners and dignitaries allocated their lands to sharecroppers (*yārīmchī*), among whom there were Turkmens of diverse clans and Kirgizs. When this area had previously been governed by Mat-Murad Divanbegi, despite all the requests of the dignitaries, he had never allowed the sharecroppers to set their *chīghīr*s on the Lawzan [Canal]; and they still were able to manage even without them [=*chīghīr*s], as there was more water in the Amu-Darya at the time. Even on the occasions when there was not sufficient water, *chīghīr*s still were never installed, and therefore the sharecroppers of the dignitaries' lands did not prevent the Turkmens from using the water.

The group of *Kūllī*-Yomut Turkmens, those subordinated to Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov, has no objection against the [upcoming] land survey. They deem all the lands [in the Khanate] to be the property of the Khan, and their only concern is to secure their right of unconditional use of the Lawzan [Canal]'s water. They seek the [Khan's] permission to clean by their own – that is without any interference from Khivan dignitaries – the water intake [of the Sukhbat Canal], and then to bring water through the canal known as Urus-Yargan and, when necessary, to clean up the head [part] of the Sukhbat Canal, all by their own. /43 ob./ It is essential to secure a categorical prohibition on the setting of *chīghīr*s [in that area, starting] from the head of the Sukhbat and Urus-Yargan Canals down through the Aq-Qal'a Tract. [Furthermore,] the [land users] on the upper stream ought to use [water] from the Khan-Yab Canal, as was the case previously.

This group of the *Kūllī*-Yomuts has never paid the *āṭlīq* [land-] tax, only *dahyak* (a tithe from the harvest). They are ready to keep on paying the same dues once they get permission to clean up the

irrigation ditches on their own. The Turkmens ask that the cleaning of the canals be left completely to them, and also that they themselves be permitted to carry out [maintenance] works in autumn and spring at their own discretion, without any interference from the Khivan authorities and without the levying from them of *afanak-pūlī* – a fee for the dignitary who oversees the [maintenance] works.

Of those Turkmen *katkhudā*s who gathered in Kuhna-Urgench [during my presence], the following gave their explicit consent to the [conducting of] per-*ṭanāp* land-measurement, and to the cleaning of the canals [by themselves] without any interference from the Khivan dignitaries: 1) Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov, 2) 'Arab-Kal, 3) Abdi-Bāy, 4) Mat-Ḥasan Qāra-Khvāja, 5) Murād Niāz-Bāy, 6) Allāh-Bāy Kūjūq and 7) Āta-Bāy Kūjūq. The Turkmens who are under the supervision of the *katkhudā* Amīn have no lands suitable for cultivation.

The *katkhudās*: 1) Arāż Qulī Bugūk, 2) Anna-Khān and 3) Qārachāl-Bāy state that although they are not going to seek the Khan's permission to clean their canals by themselves, if the Khan deems it necessary to issue such a ruling they will nevertheless willingly obey, as they will also obey further rulings regarding the [upcoming] land measurements; they however expressed their expectation that even in case of [the adoption of] new arrangements about the cleaning of canals, those lands that they have hitherto owned by [right of] inheritance ought to be left in their possession.

Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov and his associates objected to this, [saying] that once the cleaning works are underway, the Turkmens would need to make a [new] re-apportionment of all the lands, and that apportionment ought to be extended not only on the hereditary plots belonging to the three aforementioned *katkhudā*s, but on all lands, without any exceptions, including those – also hereditary ones – which are currently /44/ in the possession of those *katkhudā*s who agree to petition for the [Turkmens'] right to clean the canals [themselves].

My negotiations with the Turkmens in Kuhna-Urgench thus concluded with the abovementioned resolutions, and I invited the Turkmens' representatives to accompany me to Khiva, so as, upon

finalization of the agreement with the Khan's Government, to secure the Khan's agreement that he would meet the most urgent needs of the Turkmens.

We set off, accompanied by an escort of *nūker*s; the Turkmens who had previously gathered in Kuhna-Urgench also came along, but Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov agreed to join me only on the condition that I would authorize 'Ināyat Niyazov, the governor of the [Nukus] *volost*, who accompanied me [on that trip], to stay next to him [Atal'khanov] all the time through the trip, including in Khiva, so as to protect his life from [possible] assassination attempts, whether by [means of] weapon or by poisoning.

Before [reaching] Aq-Tepa, the next point where other Turkmen representatives were supposed to gather, we had to cross Daryaliq – the dry bed of the Amu-Darya, along which the water of the Lawzan [Canal] reaches the Turkmens' lands – and [thence] through the Qirq-Qir Tract and further through the ditches of Qalpaq-Yargan, Taji-Bay and Inaq, [we] reached the banks of the Shah-Murad [Canal].

There is very little water in Daryaliq; the whole area up to Aq-Tepa gives the impression of a desert where once upon a time cultivation had flourished. These are the Turkmens' lands, now abandoned owing to the cessation of irrigation. The lakes have dried up, and their beds have turned into sands; the former fields are thickly overgrown with thorns. The gardens have dried up. Everything seems deserted. On the banks of the Shah-Murad [Canal], where, judging from the buildings and half-dried plantations, until recently there was a rather dense Turkmen population, nowadays not a single person is to be seen: everyone has gone off in search of work, or has driven out their surviving cattle to the pastures of the Trans-Caspian Region, to their Turkmen kin.

I must mention a touching detail: in 1901, this area was visited by Lieutenant-General A.S. Galkin,[94] who also undertook a trip to

[94] Aleksandr Semenovich Galkin (1855–?) was the Commandant of ADO in 1896–1903. By the time Lykoshin assumed the office of the ADO Commandant, Galkin had been promoted to the position of the Military Governor of the Syr-Darya Province, which he held until 1916.

Turkmeniya. The General made a halt on the banks of the Shah-Murad [Canal], where he handed out /44 ob./ sweets to the [local] Turkmen children. The appreciative memory of that episode still persists here. I was told about that story even before my trip, so I had the opportunity to take along a box of sweets for distribution to the Turkmen children.

Unfortunately, the past eleven years have greatly affected the population on the banks of the Shah-Murad [Canal]. Children did not surround the Russian senior officer upon his arrival, and in order to fulfill the custom and pamper the children, I had myself to gather the children to my quarters.

Next to the room where I was lodged [upon our arrival] at Shah-Murad, the *yurta*s were set up in a small courtyard, and a Turkmen, the owner of the house, hosted those Turkmens, with Maḥmūd-Khān at the helm, who were accompanying me [on our trip to Khiva]. Our Turkmens were sitting there, sad and gloomy; they spoke little, but perked right up once a certain Yomut Turkmen – a Russian subject from the Trans-Caspian Region who happened to be here – entered the *yurta*.

The cheerful young fellow took lively charge of the conversation and enthralled his interlocutors; there began a series of questions. The Russian Turkmen [man] said that when he had come here to find a bride for one of his brothers, he found a beauty for 500 *ṭillā*s, whereas in the Trans-Caspian Region, a good bride was to be found for no less than 1,000 *ṭillā*s. Now he had come to find a bride for his second brother and had again managed to find a beautiful girl for the same amount.

There was a flood of questions from the Khivan Turkmens about what life was like for their kinsmen under Russian rule. This is a sore point for the Khivan Turkmens: they never abandon the dream of one day becoming Russian subjects, so as to acquire the rights that they have been deprived of in their current status.

– Do you have guns? – asks one Khivan Turkmen.

– No, we don't, – responds the visitor, – we don't need guns. We live in peace, no one offends us, and if a quarrel arises, then we have a '*boyar*' – a [Russian] colonel in charge of our affairs. One

can approach him with a grievance at any time, and he will justly resolve the case and ensure protection to the offended. We have no need of guns.

– Well, you've surely got people's judges, who do not mind making a profit from the litigants, – grumbles a[nother] Khivan Turkmen.

– They'd better not try, after all what is a junior *boyar* or a *pristav* there for? If someone files a justified complaint against a people's judge, the latter is swiftly removed [from office]. The *boyar* often heads off to the steppe [for inspections], along with an interpreter and a horseman-*jigit*, and one can tell him everything [he wants]. We are very grateful to our [Russian] authorities; every Turkmen fellow will slaughter a ram so as to host the *boyar* – it is a great occasion when he stays with us.

– Last year, – the Turkmen [fellow] from the Trans-Caspian region goes on –, we too experienced some hardships, yet [the authorities] provided us with food-loans and thereby they upheld our economies at that vulnerable juncture. It seems that no one helped you [in such ways], did they?

The Khivan Turkmens are silent and moody while [listening to] these enquiries. The charming stories of their visiting kinsman causes nothing but envy in these destitute people.

When the visiting Turkmen mentioned that in the Krasnovodsk Uyezd they have well-developed cattle breeding and agriculture, and they pay only 6 roubles 50 kopecks per year as the *kibitka*-tax, the Khivan Turkmens only shared a sad look, and while [the visitor] was praising the justice and availability of the Russian officials, Maḥmūd-Khan caught a fly, tore off its head and remarked with [sense of] sorrow:

– Whereas here in Khiva, killing a fly or chopping off a Turkmen's head: it's all the same to the Khivans.

Then the conversations turned to a popular topic – whether it is possible by some means for Khivan Turkmens to become Russian subjects. My *volost* governor [ʻInāyat Niyazov] had to explain to the nomads why such a move would be inconceivable at the present time.

In Aq-Tepa we were met by Bābā-Divān, the local *Bīk*, who at first seemingly was at a loss as how /45 ob./ to treat the Turkmens who arrived along with me. To be on the safe side, he treated them with disdain, even though among the Turkmens there was an old man Allāh Kūjūk, who previously in the time of Mat-Murād Divān-bīgī had enjoyed influence and used to patronize the same *Bīk*.

It was not until the evening that the *Bīk* came to the decision that at any rate he should show the Turkmen chieftains some hospitality, so gave instructions to feed them and arrange everything for their overnight stay. The *Bīk* himself lives in Ilyali, whereas in Aq-Tepa there is a *yūzbāshī* appointed [by the *Bīk*], who governs that part of the province on the *Bīk*'s behalf.

After staying the night in Aq-Tepa, early in the [following] morning we arrived in Ilyali, where I needed to talk to the local Turkmen [chieftains] and invite them to go along with us to Khiva. About three *verst*s from Ilyālī there is a monument to the Russian soldiers who fell in the battle at Chandir in 1873.[95] In a garden surrounded with an adobe fence, there is an obelisk made of burnt bricks with a cast-iron board. The garden is poorly watered, so most of the plants have dried out. There is a guard assigned by the *Bīk* and, in general, the monument is kept clean.

There is a significant bazaar in Ilyali which trades mainly with the Turkmens. There are no Russian merchants though: only Tatars and Persians.

After negotiations with those Turkmen *katkhudās* who had arrived here [in Ilyali], I dispatched them further to Takhta-Bazar, where – before heading off to Khiva via Gazavat – yet another meeting with the Turkmens was scheduled.

[95] Following the subjugation of Khiva in May 1873, the Russian troops undertook a punitative expedition against the Turkmens of Khorezm. A series of fierce battles between Russian and Turkmen forces unfolded between 13–15 July 1873 at the village of Chandir (next to Hilali) located ca. 85 km away from Khiva, see further: Alexander Morrison, *The Russian Conquest of Central Asia 1814–1907. A Study in Imperial Expansion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 367–369.

In Tash-Hawz, I had to get acquainted with the [conditions of] cotton cleaning factories, those owned of Chernikov, the Yaroslavl Large Manufactory, and [Mat-Vafā] Bakkalov. All three factories annually clean up to 120 thousand poods of [raw] cotton purchased by their owners; after that they execute [the orders] of private customers. This year, following the crop failure, the area given over to cotton cultivation – especially of *ghavacha*, its local variety – has significantly /46/ decreased. The local indigenous cotton is believed to be of better quality than the cotton produced in Bukhara and it has been used by the Russian factories as an addition to the American [variety].[96] The purchase of alfalfa seeds this year has not hitherto started, and not even major buyers, like Kraft, have bought anything yet; the market is overflowing with alfalfa seeds and prices have not yet been established.[97]

The local Russian merchants requested me to provide due assiatance [on the following matter:] all the bridges across the Shavat Canal – an [important] shipping route for Tash-Hawz – to be sufficiently raised so that loaded *caiouque*s of medium size (*kīma*) could freely pass beneath.[98] At present, only small-sized *caiouques*, with

[96] Prior to the Russian conquest, the local population of Khorezm mainly sowed local varieties of cotton. In 1885, the Partnership of the Yaroslavl Large Manufactory ordered a batch of seeds of American varieties, yet the dissemination of the new sorts in the Khanate developed rather sluggishly. As the technologies of separating out the seeds and cotton advanced, thus enabling much greater productivity, the American varieties of cottons came to gain more prominence among the local population. As a result, by 1912 nearly 90 percent of cotton fields in the Khanate were sown with American varieties of cotton (*amirikān*), whereas the local variety was sowed only on the remaining 10 percent: see N.A. Krasnoslobodskii, *Materialy dlia izucheniia khlopkovodstva. III. Khlopkovodstvo v Khive* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia V.F. Kirshbauma, 1912), pp. 9–12.

[97] According to the information of the Russian colonial administration, in the years preceding WWI, the annual amount of exported alfalfa seeds from Khiva to Hamburg alone was 400,000 *pood*s: see *Gospodiny Nachal'niku Amy-Darinskogo otdela, 09.02.1916*; O'zRMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 290, l. 57.

[98] Shavat (Shāhābād) Canal was one of the major logistical arteries of the Khanate, which connected the Amu-Darya River with the Khanate's principal economic centers, such as Urgench, Tash-Hawz, Hilali, and others, see: Stetkevich, "Ocherki Khivinskogo oazisa (Stat'ia pervaia)", p. 397.

distinctly low bows, are able to sail underneath, whereas for the passage of higher and larger *caiouque*s one needs to disassemble, in certain places, the flooring of bridges and to restore everything again, after vessels have passed by.

Allāh-Naẓar, a manservant of the *Bīk* of Tash-Hawz, who recently returned from Petro-Aleksandrovsk, where he was treated in the hospital, recounted a case from his life that illustrates the dark sides of Khivan justice. A young fellow, Allāh-Naẓar, used to flirt with the wife of a local policeman, or *pashshāb*. On one occasion the husband found the lover [=Allāh-Naẓar] standing behind his wife's canopy (*pashakhāna*), and severely wounded Allāh-Naẓar with a knife that he brought from the next room. He [=Allāh-Naẓar] was carried out into the street, where a Russian merchant named Chernikov washed and bandaged the wounds as best he could. Five days later, the wounded man, with great difficulty, was taken to the hospital in Petro-Aleksandrovsk, where he lay for 40 days and managed to recover.[99] In meanwhile, the offended husband filed a claim with the [court in] Khiva, but the case was resolved in a completely unexpected [fashion for the petitioner]: the court ruled that it was the *pashshāb* himself who should be blamed, for if he found a lover with his wife, he should have killed both of them on the spot, and if he failed to do so, then his claim is [=should be considered as] unsound; and that by [filing] the claim, he only intended to cover up the violence he /46 ob./ committed against Allāh-Naẓar, whom, as witnesses testified, he wounded with a knife [while being already] on the street. The guilty person [=the *pashshāb*] was sentenced to [pay] a fine of 200 *ṭillā*s (360 roubles), which were collected and divided as follows: Yusūf Yasāvulbāshī, who examined the case, got 100 *ṭillā*s, the victim, Allāh-Naẓar, got 50 *ṭillā*s as compensation for the treatment expenses, and the remaining 50 *ṭillā*s went to the

[99] Most probably he was treated in the army hospital located in Petro-Aleksandrovsk. Although the 80-person hospital was primarily intended for soldiers, it also received patients from amongst the civilian population, including those living in the Khivan Khanate, see: Lobachevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie*, p. 98.

*nūker*s for the trouble of delivering those involved in the case [to the court].

On 13 July, early in the morning, we set off for Gazavat by means of a detour, as the large Gazavat Canal had burst its banks and flooded the usual road. This year, the [Gazavat] Canal was cleaned under the direct supervision of the Khan's Dignitary Ya'qūb Khvāja (a brother of Islām Khvāja), and since the cleaning was carried out in good faith, more water [flow] occured in the canal than was needed for irrigation, and it caused flooding.

In Gazavat, in the garden of one of the Khan's dignitaries, the Dignitary Ya'qūb Khvāja (a brother of Islām Khvāja),[100] the Khan's equipage and an escort of *nūker*s, [all] sent by the Khan for a meeting, were awaiting me. I had to rest here for quite a long while, since the Khan was planning to move to the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace from the Tāza-Bāgh Palace, – where he had spent the preceding two weeks – only by the evening of that day.

We arrived at the city of Khiva at about 6 o'clock in the evening, and at the city limits, at Tash-Kupruk, we were met by *Vazīr-i Akbar* Sayyid Islām Khvāja, the [members of the] Construction Committee of the Khan's new buildings with the engineer Eppinger [at the helm], as well as by the translator V.N. Kornilov.

Upon our arrival at the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace, whither the Khan had already moved, the [palace] yard turned out to be filled with various construction materials.

His Serene Highness has undertaken to complete the construction of the new reception premises that constitute one of the facades of the [Nūrallāh-Bāy] Palace edifice, located perpendicularly towards the rear outer wall of the Khan's harem. This is a distinct large burnt-brick building, [designed] in a completely European

[100] This passage is almost a word-for-word repetition of what has been said by Lykoshin in the previous paragraph. Such repetitions appear here and there throughout the text, reflecting the unedited status of the *Zapiska*. Lykoshin seems to have been concerned less with the elegance of the phraseology of his text than with its factuality and the pressing need to submit it in timely fashion to his superiors.

/47/ style, with large rooms, surrounded by terraces. The only things redolent of the Oriental style are the columns, decorated with the belts of colored glazed bricks of various colors. Columns of this nature adorn all significant constructions here, and the Khan himself evidently likes this characteristically Khivan mode of decoration, because the Khan has given instructions to add colored bands of glazed bricks even to the [new] post office building, which is due to be built in the Russian style.

Most likely, the newly constructed part of the palace will look like the front, reception part of the palace, since the reception room of the old type, where I had presented myself to the Khan on my first visit, has now been dismantled and its [former] place has been leveled. The old part [of the palace], where, inter alia, the embassy premises are located, will also, they say, be rebuilt anew. The carpentry works in the new part of the palace are being provided by the Germans of the Mennonite colony in Aq-Masjid; and they [= the Khivan authorities] have sent for the best craftsman from Bukhara to do the alabaster stuccowork. Above all, he is to decorate one of the corners of the octagonal room. The Khan himself is closely monitoring the progress of the construction and gives his instructions to the craftsmen on a daily basis.

The Khivans assure us that this palace is being built according to the Khan's design, yet it seems to me that a European architect, one with good taste, took part in drawing up the building's blueprint. The building promises to be very beautiful, and there is a proposal that it be illuminated with electricity. Large windows with narrow walls will likely make the building chilly; at some point there was a project for [setting up] steam heating in the palace, but this turned out to be very pricey and it has been decided to put in good, tiled stoves.

Given the reconstruction [works] in the palace, the Khan received me in another room, near the place where he receives *salām* [from the dignitaries] and hears the [subjects'] grievances. In this room there is the long, carpeted bed that belonged to the late Khan; /47 ob./ outside by the window there is one of the seats under a wooden roof, which might be found in each of the [Khan's] palace

and which is used as the [Khan's] throne. All these ugly, roughly made and poorly painted seats, like all the other wooden furnishings in the palaces, are the products of German [Mennonite] colonists from Aq-Masjid.

According to accepted protocol, the Commandant of the [Amu-Darya] Department, while introducing himself to Khan upon assuming the office, is not supposed to talk about business, and all business-related conversations are to be conducted during subsequent audiences the next morning. [But] given the utmost importance of the Turkmen matter, for which [purpose] I had come [to Khiva], over my very first visit I asked the Khan's permission to brief His Serene Highness on the current state of affairs [with the Turkmens], and, having received the Khan's gracious consent, I explained to him at lengh what I had done and why, and what [kind of] results had been achieved owing to my negotiations with the Turkmens. The Khan, who seemed very interested in the successful pacification of the Turkmens, repeatedly thanked me for engaging in that matter.

I asked the Khan to forgive completely all Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov's misdemeanors towards the Khivan Government and to accept him graciously, as someone who, through his rational course of actions [over the course of negotiations], would greatly facilitate the establishment of terms with the [rest of the] Turkmens, since [the latter] were accustomed to take account of Maḥmūd-Khān's opinion. I also asked for the immediate release of the old man Shāh-Zā, my predecessor's informer on Turkmen affairs. It appeared to me that the Khan had not even been aware about the [circumstances of] the detention of this prominent Turkmen representative, and [it transpired that] this was done by Sayyid Islām Khvāja on his own initiative; the latter, looking rather embarrassed, reported that Shāh-Zā had already been released from custody a few days ago. It has never become clear what was the real reason behind the detainment of the poor old Turkmen, and I became even more convinced of the view that this was done partly as a rebuke to the Commandant of the Department and partly as a threat to those Turkmens who did not want to comply with /48/ the ruling of the Khanal Government.

Later, I saw Shāh-Zā, a very old man worn out by deprivations and fear for his life, and it turned out that they [=the Khivans] while arresting him, took away his only donkey, which he used to ride, and have never given it back; after his release he was handed over to the supervision of one of the senior police officers, who kept him virtually under arrest, though without shackles. The Turkmens were outraged by the Khivans' injustice towards Shāh-Zā. That is not how one could win the sympathies of the various [Turkmen] tribes that constitute [part and parcel of] the Khivan population.

At my request, the Khan instructed Sayyid Islām Khvāja on the following day to engage, with my participation, in negotiation with the Turkmens about details of their agreement with the Khan's Government [on the land measurement]. After that I took my leave.

Immediately afterwards, the Khan, in his customary manner, paid me a [return] visit at the ambassadorial premises, and then, in accordance with the established practice, a ceremonial dinner was held with [the participation of courtly] dignitaries.

On the morning of 14 July, with the consent of the Khan, who himself had proposed this for me on earlier occasions, I watched an artillery exercise [held] in one of the courtyards adjacent to the palace. The "gun crew", who were clothed in robes and large lamb hats (*chugirma*) and had firmly memorised the techniques of using the canons, left a rather peculiar impression. The *feuerwerker* seems to have poorly learnt the command words translated into Uzbek and on some occasions, he uttered completely incomprehensible expressions such as "*birlandi*", which was supposed to convey the command "the first".[101] According to the *feuerwerker*, once have these guns been used to fire live shells at targets exposed in the steppe outside the city. There are two sets of gun crew; like the *nūker*s, they serve at the palace, by rotation, [each] for 15 days per month.

This time I refrained from meeting with the juvenile heir of the Khivan Khan, first so as not to turn such visits into [established]

[101] Instead of saying *birlandi*, the artilleryman was clearly supposed to say *birlān-jī*, which means "the first" in the Khorezmian dialect of Chaghatay/Old Uzbek.

practice [every time] upon my arrival in Khiva, and secondly so as not to bother a sick boy. The heir, so I was told, /48 ob./ was happy to learn from one of the dignitaries that I would not come to see him and joyfully rushed to play with his comrades, whom shortly before he had forced to fight with each other, just for the sake of amusement.

On the [following] morning I paid a short visit to the Khan to exchange mutual salutations and to wish him him a pleasant morning; I also let the Khan know that on that day I was planning to visit the Mennonite colony in Aq-Masjid. The colony of Aq-Masjid is located 12 *verst*s from the city of Khiva and is separated from [the city] by a strip of quicksand. The road [to Aq-Masjid] is frequently flooded every time the canals overflow with water. Owing to this fact, however, the nearby lakes are overgrown with fresh grass and reeds, providing [abundant] feed for livestock.

The German-type houses are grouped closely together; no one has a yard [there], and the properties are divided just by tight narrow lanes. The colony of 24 homesteads looks more like the outskirts of some small German town. The colonists did not deliberately plan to settle there like that, and now they are unhappy at such cramped conditions. In 1884 they had to move here from another location, where they had previously settled. Earlier, with the permission of the late Khan [Muḥammad] Raḥīm Bahādur, the Mennonites had settled in Ilan-Tau, near Qipchaq, on the bank of the Amu-Darya, but soon it transpired that life there was unbearable for them.[102] The

[102] In the 1870s following the adoption of the new legislation on universal military service in Russia, some groups of Mennonites in the Yekaterinoslav, Tauride and Samara *guberniya*s decided to move to the Turkestan Region, where they managed to receive permission from the Turkestan Governor-General K.P. von Kaufman. The initial group, consisting of 71 families, arrived in Tashkent in the fall of 1880. In 1881, they were allocated lands in the Aulie-Ata District, where the Mennonites established five settlements. In the meanwhile, 30 families from among those that had arrived in Tashkent parted from the others and decided to go to Bukhara. However, having met with a refusal from the Bukharan authorities, they headed off further to Khiva (soon thereafter, 23 more newly arrived families joined this group). The Khan of Khiva, Muḥammad Raḥīm II, not only allowed those 52 families to settle within the Khanate (initially he granted them lands next to the town of Qipchaq, and later in 1883 they were moved to the

wild Turkmens, taking advantage of the fact that Mennonites reject resisting evil by means of violence and [therefore] do not possess weapons, started to take cattle from the Germans in a systematic manner and even killed a [Mennonite] woman, since she decided to protect her cow, which they [=the Turkmens] wanted to take away. The Germans appealed to the Khan and the latter instructed the colonists to take a large garden belonging to one of the members of the Khan's family. The Germans got about 20 *ṭanāp*s of land, surrounded by a high adobe fence and, and in order to swiftly arrange the dwellings for their families, everyone built [their house] up against the fence, forming something like a caravansary with a common yard. It was cramped from the very outset, and /49/ the nuisances were sizable – but at least there was no need for people to worry about their property: the surrounding native population, mostly peaceful farmers, have acknowledged the inviolability of other individuals' property, and have done nothing to offend the colonists.

It is in such fashion that the Mennonites continue down to the present to live in the same place in terribly cramped conditions, still very peacefully, even without quarrels among themselves.

Women are not visible in the village; either they are all engaged in housework, or it may be not customary for them to appear before strangers without [particular] reason. I was met by Otto Teis,[103]

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locality of Aq-Masjid in the vicinity of Khiva), but even bestowed upon them the privilege of being exempted from tax for four years. Unlike their fellow believers in Aulie-Ata, who had in their possession sizeable land plots, the Mennonites of Khiva were engaged mainly in carpentry, metalwork and blacksmithing. Regularly using the orders of the Khan himself and the highest dignitaries, as can be further evidenced from the subsequent description of Lykoshin, they were quite successful in these spheres of activity. The Khivan Mennonites retained Russian subjecthood for a long time after their resettlement and were formally "dismissed from Russian citizenship" as late as 1904. See N.Kh. Knauer, "Khristianskie sekty v Turkestane", in L.I. Zhukova et al (eds), *K istorii khristian v Srednei Azii (XIX – XX vv.)* (Tashkent: O'zbekiston, 1998), pp. 247–261; V.L. Gentshke, "K istorii poiavleniia mennonitskikh obshchin v Turkestane (konets XIX – nachalo XX veka)" *ONU* 6 (2001): 61–65.

[103] This individual can likely be identified with a certain Otto Toens. In the register of the residents of the Mennonites' Colony of Aq-Masjid, composed,

who was appointed by the Khan as [community] headman or "*forsteer*",[104] as the colonists have come to call him, and who along with another very old colonist invited me into a wonderfully clean and tidy house and gave me a drink of milk. The hostess did not appear, and the headman himself was taking care [of everything], in the same manner as is customary among the native population.

All the colonists' houses are kept equally clean; evidently this has nothing to do with how wealthy the owners are but seems to be an imperative. The front rooms are furnished, and the windows are tightly closed, so as by [means of] darkness to keep flies away.

When the Mennonites had just moved to Aq-Masjid, the late Khan offered them financial assistance, but they rejected all benefits [offered by the Khivan ruler] and agreed only to accept a small organ for their meetinghouse as a gift from the Khan. The meetinghouse is spacious and well-built, and each of the parishioners has their own place on the bench, where their prayer book remains after the service.

There is also a small set of premises for a well-equipped and well-furnished school.[105] There are also living quarters [for a teacher], but there is no teacher. The Mennonite Germans complain that they are not allowed [by the Russian authorities] to invite a teacher from abroad, a German subject from Marienburg[106] from whence most of the local colonists [originally] came [here], after spending

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apparently, at the request of the Russian colonial administration in the early 1912, this individual is listed as headman Toens (Russian rendering: "*starosta Teis*"), see *Spisok mennonitov – zhitelei seleniia Ak-Mechet' v Khivinskom khanstve, 01.01. 1912*; IQDM, inv. no. KP 3644. Ella Robertson Christie, who managed to visit the Mennonites' colony in spring 1912, just a few months earlier Lykoshin, also reported about her encounter with a certain OttoToens: see her *Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand*, p. 76.

104 Evidently must be read as "Vorsteher", German: 'headman'.

105 Ella Christie reported that the local school was designed to accommodate twenty students: see *Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand*, p.76.

106 The author is refering here to the town of Marienburg (Polish: Malbork) in West Prussia (nowadays Poland), which seems to have ccommodated a relatively large community of Mennonites: see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malbork; and https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mennoniten_in_Westpreu%C3%9Fen.

some time in the governorates of Taurida and Samara. The desire to hire a teacher from Germany, a German subject, might be explained not only by the [sense of] ultra-patriotism which is /49 ob./ common to all Germans, but most importantly by material calculations.

The colonists of Aq-Masjid are looking for a teacher who not only could teach their children how to read and write but given his moral virtues could also have an edifying impact on them, by bringing them up as [genuine] Mennonite believers, and by conducting edifying sermons in the meetinghouse. Therefore, they need someone of ripe age and a pastor-teacher all in one. There is a quite suitable person in Marienburg, who is ready to move to Aq-Masjid and act as a teacher for a small wage, since he considers that [endeavor] as a virtuous action that might bring him moral redemption.

The Mennonites have already tried several times to hire a teacher from among the Russian Germans, but to no avail. Some of the invitees were unable to reply in correct German to the appeal made to them; others turned out to be too young, or poorly educated, or could not meet the afore-mentioned requirements for the teacher.

Russian [i.e. Russian German] teachers ask for a wage of at least 500–600 roubles per year, plus ready-made living quarters, with heating and lighting, which is too much for a small colony of 24 households.[107] True, these kinds of teachers are good at teaching the Russian language to the children, yet the Germans who live in Khiva do not need Russian as much as they need proficiency in their own native language and in [the basics of] their creed.[108]

The entire population of the colony is fluent in the local dialect [of Uzbek], and with those Russians who do not speak German but speak the local language, they communicate in Uzbek.

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[107] According to the register of the residents of the Mennonites' Colony in Aq-Masjid, as of 1 January 1912 the total number of the colony's residents constituted 141: see *Spisok mennonitov – zhitelei seleniia Ak-Mechet' v Khivinskom khanstve, 01.01. 1912*.

[108] In 1910 Lobachevskii reported that the dwellers of the Mennonite colony in Aq-Masjid had "an excellent" command of the local languages, whereas only a few of them could speak Russian: see Lobachevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe opisanie*, pp. 49–50.

Due to lack of land the colonists cannot engage in agriculture. Each [household] owner possesses a small plot, just as a kitchen garden. They keep /50/ dairy cattle for their own needs, but do not practice any horticulture.

Carpentry is the principal business of all the colonists. The late Khan seems to have hoped to benefit from the Mennonites' proficiency in woodwork; given that there are no carpenters in Khiva, by settling the Germans in his region the Khan acquired knowledgeable, sober-minded and hardworking craftsmen.

In the initial years of the colony's existence, there were [some particularly] good carpenters [among the colonists], but they gradually left the colony, as after getting rich here [through carpentry], they decided to return to Germany. There remained only mediocre self-taught carpenters, yet [even] their proficiency is quite sufficient to fulfill orders of the Khivans or [even] of the Khivan Khan, who do not expect particular craftsmanship from [Mennonites].

There is as much work here as one can handle, and an adult [carpenter] worker earns about two roubles per day. [Working] conditions are excellent and [any] hardworking German could get rich [here]. The Germans set the price for their work themselves at the end of the work and no one haggles with them. Thanks to this, the Mennonites' handiwork generally commands a high price, and a simple German wagon, which could be ordered from Russia for 80–120 roubles, has been produced here [by the Mennonite carpenters] for 100–150 roubles.

Along with the [community] headman, [whose authority is] approved by the Khan [and who possesses] a seal of authority, the colony also has a venerated colonist called Rizen,[109] whom the Khan regards as a local "*katkhudā*" – an elder of the German community –

[109] In the register of the colony's residents from January 1912 we find further information on an individual named "Emil Rizen, born on 22 February 1856": see *Spisok mennonitov – zhitelei seleniia Ak-Mechet' v Khivinskom khanstve, 01.01. 1912*. Ella Robertson Christie refers to a certain Emil von Riesen and his wife Anna von Riesen, whom she met during her visit to the Mennonites' colony: see her *Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand*, pp. 75–76.

and to whom, along with [other] dignitaries of the court, every year the Khan awards a [ceremonial] robe (*sarūpā*).

The headman Teis [=Toens] trades timber, delivering it to the [colony's] carpenters, while Riesen orders the best quality hardware goods directly from Solingen.[110]

All orders are undertaken by the [entire] artel and executed through [the principle of] the division of labor. There exists the practice of labor /50 ob./ assistance. This means that when there appears in the colony a new settler who is not [as yet] familiar with carpentry, he is given the task of setting glass (as this is easy to learn) and no one in the colony takes on that business, so as to give the [new] glazier the opportunity to take advantage of the monopoly, raise his prices and swiftly get out of poverty. However, as soon as [he can] break from indigence, the monopoly of setting glass is transferred to another, needier person.

All families, living as they do in close vicinity, have interbred with each other, and further-flung marriages are difficult; one needs to seek for grooms or brides among the [distant] Mennonite colonies of the Aulie-Ata *uezd* – which people do, when necessary.

The Mennonites live well and prosperously, but life among them is boring: they practice neither songs nor dances, and any fun is considered as a sin.

On July 15th, in the morning, the Turkmen *kakthudās* who had come [to Khiva] with me started to gather at the palace for the scheduled meeting. Sayyid Islām Khvāja came to me to learn more about my opinion on what ought to be allowed to the Turkmens upon their requests and which [of their requirements] could be [turned down].

A long table for the leaders of the meeting was set on the terrace of the palace, while the [remaining] Turkmens sat around the table on the carpets set out on the ground.[111]

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110 Solingen is a city in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany, which in the early 20th century was prominent due to cutlery and hardware manufacture as well as for its iron-foundries.

111 Elsewhere Lykoshin provides a full list of 29 Turkmen leaders who were present in the meeting at the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace on 15 July 1912. Along with nine

I explained to the attendees the goals of the meeting and listed the issues under consideration; I asked the *Vazīr-i Akbar* Sayyid Islām Khvāja, who was sitting next to me, to tell the Turkmens whatever he deemed necessary about the upcoming land-tax reform as well as about the Turkmens' attitude with regard to the [set of] innovations conceived by the Khivan Khan.

Islām Khvāja outlined in detail the significance of the [upcoming] reforms and the importance of the Turkmens' submission to the new terms of the land-tax assessment, which would be based upon the [size of] surface of land plots. [He further stated] that they [= the Turkmens] should completely take over the cleaning of irrigation canals. The Turkmens listened intently, and once Sayyid Islām Khvāja finished his speech, he asked the Turkmens to speak out. The first to speak were the representatives of the Upper or *Yūqārī* Yomuts, those who conduct a more sedentary lifestyle and are more engaged in agriculture. They began to explain that in March of that year, in bringing an appeal to the Khivan Khan, asking him to abstain from [conducting] the measurement of [their] lands, by no means did they mean to protest against the reforms, as they would never dream of opposing the Khan's rulings; they merely deemed themselves obliged to bring to the attention of His Serene Highness the request of their tribesmen not to alter long-established customs. As for the current moment, the *katkhudā*s of the Upper Yomuts asserted their obedience [to the Khan's initiative] and requested his permission to return to their *aul*s and talk to their people, before giving the Khan a final answer [with regard to the initiatives outlined by Sayyid Islām Khvāja].

representatives of the *Yūqārī* or Upper Yomut Turkmens from the environs of the town of Takhta and 15 representatives of the *Kūllī*-Yomuts from the environs of Kuhna-Urgench, including Maḥmūd Khān Atal'khanov, there were also four members of the Turkmen Yemreli tribe from the environs of Ilyaly, whom Lykoshin does not mention in the *Zapiska*: see Lykoshin, *Spisok "ketkhuda", prinimavshikh uchastie v soveshchanii v g. Khive*; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 314, ll. 67 ob–68.

These requests were expressed by the Turkmen *katkhudā*s only as a means to buy more time before giving the answer [regarding the Khan's initiatives], by pretending that they were nothing more than mere spokesmen of their people's opinion, while in fact all these individuals are far more interested in retaining [the benefits] of the previous land-tax assessment than the [ordinary] people under their [jurisdiction]. All these [individuals] are large-scale landowners, who, having significant plots of land, pay land-tax 21 roubles and 60 kopecks for one *āṭlīq* i.e., 30 *ṭanāp*s [of land], whereas the [real] size of plots [at their disposal] far exceeds the size of one *āṭlīq*.

I explained to the *katkhudā*s that they had been invited here to the Khan's palace as leaders and chieftains of the Turkmen people, and that, being aware as I was of the authority [they enjoy] among their tribesmen and the complete subordination of the Turkmens to them in all matters, I considered that it was completely unnecessary [for them to go back to their *aul*s and] explain things to their tribesmen, and [hence] I asked them to state then and there their willingness and consent with regard to implementation of the land-tax reform, conceived by the Khan.

The Turkmens kept insisting on their proposal: they were asking to let them go to their *aul*s for one and a half months, until the end of Ramadan, [so as] to arrange meetings with their tribesmen; at the same time [they kept] making assurances of their loyalty to the Khan.

Thus, the the matter remained open, as Sayyid Islām Khvāja found it necessary to report about that matter to the Khan, before giving an answer to the Upper Turkmens' request.

/51 ob./ [Then, the floor] was given to the the *Kūllī*-Yomuts led by Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov, and they expressed unanimously their full compliance with the [upcoming] land measurement as well as with the termination of the [Khivan] Government's [practice of] cleaning their canal. They requested only that they should be allowed to clean their canals completely on their own, without any interference and guidance from the Khan's dignitaries and without the collection of so-called

"*afanak-pūlī*"* in favor of the supervisors of the works. In addition, the *Kūllī*-Yomuts also asked for permission to organize the upcoming cleaning [works] on the Lawzan Canal and to provide workers at their own discretion, either this fall or in spring of 1913; [they also] requested permission to allocate, after cleaning [the canal], their lands suitable for irrigation [among the Turkmens of their clans] in accordance with the number of workers (*qāzūchī*s) which [every clan and household] put up for the canal cleanings; and, finally, [they asked] for the complete prohibition of irrigation of plots [by means] of *chīghīr*s in the upper part of the Urus-Yargan Canal, [starting] from the water intake up to the Aq-Qal'a Tract, near Kuhna-Urgench.

The wishes expressed by *Kūllī*-Yomuts were all fully justified, and the fulfillment of these requests is crucial for their well-being, which presently suffers from interference by the Khan's Government in the matters of irrigation on the Lawzan [Canal].

There are some concerns about further interference by the Khan's dignitaries in [the Turkmens'] irrigation affairs, and about the possibility that [Khivan] dignitaries could again embroil the Turkmens with other people doing the works, and then cancel the works under the pretext of calming things down. The apportionment of the land according to the number of workers supplied would be crucial so as to make clear that land would be distributed to those individuals who would take part [in the maintenance works], and thus to entice as many Turkmens who want to engage in agriculture as possible. Only if there are a significant number of workers – and, furthermore, workers with a personal stake in the [maintanance] works' success – can one be confident that the canal will be thoroughly

* [Lykoshin:] The term *afanak pulī* (from *afanak* – a clip that attaches an iron shovel to a stick) [generally] denotes a fee levied from each [irrigation] worker in favor of the official who supervises the [irrigation] works; in colloquial usage the term also denotes an [informal] fee that is paid to officials by those individuals [=householders] who are required to deliver workers or *qāzūchī*s to irrigation works, either for letting them [= the *qāzūchī*s] leave [their duties] during the course of works or for the [privilege of] exemption from the duty of providing workers. This fee constitutes the officials' main source of income – as well as an absolute bane for maintenance works.

cleaned, whilst with a small number of workers it would be simply unconceivable to perform that [amount of] work.

/52/ The *chīghīr*s located in the upper part of the Urus-Yargan Canal, as mentioned above, can take all the water flowing through the canal, without leaving anything to the Turkmens' fields in the lower part [of the canal]. Therefore, a categorical prohibition on the installation of *chīghīr*s in the upper part of the canal was deemed by the Turkmens as an absolutely essential measure, as it had previously been firmly established by the rulings of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī, who governed over Turkmeniya.

In view of the need to report to the Khan about the results of the meeting as well as to ask for his approval on the fulfillment of the wishes expressed by the Turkmens, I dismissed the [meeting's] attendees and asked them to come the following morning to hear the Khan's final decision.

During the meeting, the *Bīk* of Kuhna-Urgench, Sayyid Isḥāq Khvāja (the brother of Sayyid Islām Khvāja), sided himself with the Turkmens in speaking out categorically in favor of the idea that there should be a general redistribution of lands located along the Lawzan [Canal] based upon the number of workers (*qāzūchī*) provided by each landowner; [he also spoke] in favor of prohibiting the [use of] *chīghīr*s in the upper part of the Sukhbat Canal, up to [the locality of] Aq-Qal'a. Such a statement by the *Bīk*, which was somewhat at odds with the opinion of the majority of the Khan's old dignitaries, made a very gratifying impression on the Turkmens, who only on rare occasions have experienced fair treatment from [the Khan's] dignitaries.

Immediately after the meeting, I went to the Khan along with Sayyid Islām Khvāja; and after the latter's detailed report on the course of the meeting with the Turkmens, the Khan wished to know my opinion on the [proposals to] redistribute Turkmens' lands based upon the number of workers (*qāzūchī*) provided by each landowner /52 ob./ for the canal cleaning works and to prohibit *chīghīr*s in the upper part of the Sukhbat [Canal].

I expressed clear support for [the project of] redistributing lands based upon the number of workers, as [I regarded this as] an entirely fair measure that would also enable the recruitment of more

individuals for [irrigation] works. I also spoke out categorically in favor of the complete prohibition of the *chīghīr*s in the upper part of the Sukhbat Canal near the Aq-Qal'a tract, since [I regarded this measure as] the only means of ceasing the unauthorized appropriation of water by [the users] of the lands located in the upper streams of the canal as well as of providing water for the Turkmens' fields further downstream, which at present are entirely un-watered.

The Khan agreed to fulfill unconditionally all the proposals of the *Kūllī*-Yomuts just as they were articulated at the meeting; [he further] instructed Sayyid Islām Khvāja to convey to Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov that the Khan was very pleased with his obedience and his reasonable attitude towards the innovations introduced by the Khan regarding [the new] practices of land-tax assessment. As for the Upper (*Yūqārī*) Turkmens, it was decided to let them go [to their *aul*s] and not await their response which they wanted to articulate after consultations with their tribesmen, since the *katkhudā*s of this group of Turkmens had [already] expressed their readiness to comply with the Khan's [new] rulings with regard to the measurement of lands and [also with regard to] the cleaning of the canals by the Turkmens themselves; hence the consultations with the tribesmen could not affect their [prior] decisions in principle. Should these Turkmens have further requests regarding the newly [introduced] reforms, the Khan promised to consider them once the [Turkmen] population finally articulates them and their *katkhudā*s report [accordingly] to the Khan.

It was decided to announce these [decisions by the Khan] to the representatives of the Turkmens on the following day and [also] to give a warning to the *katkhudā*s of the Upper Turkmens that in the case of any unrest among the Turkmens under their jurisdiction, all responsibility for retaining peace among population will fall on them [= the *katkhudā*s] as the individuals who are in charge of [governing] the people.

I spent the rest of the day paying due visits [to the dignitaries] and seeing those attractions in the city of Khiva which I had not been able to see on my first visit here.

/53/ The Taza-Bāgh Palace, where the late Khan [Muḥammad] Raḥīm Bahādur used to live and where the current Khan also spends

most of the year, does not give an impression of a particularly grand or distinct edifice: [it comprises] the same single-storey premises with high terraces on various pillars and quadrangular courtyards paved with bricks.

What is remarkable in the palace is the large room where the late Khan [Muḥammad] Raḥīm Bahādur used to spend his days. The room is as large as a [similar] room [of the reigning Khan] in the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace, [yet] without furniture, except for a large wooden bed decorated by the German [Mennonite] carpenters from Aq-Masjid. Everything here has remained as it was under the late Khan; even the Khan's favorite vials – [either] emptied or filled with perfume – stand on their places, as used to be the case during the lifetime of the late collector of those items. The late Khan was fond of building up collections or, to put it pithily, [he was fond of collecting] any items in large numbers, which at some point could have included vials and bottles of perfume.

At first, bottles of [various types of] perfume were bought in large quantities for several thousand roubles and delivered to the Khan's court. The Khan did not use perfume, he needed the bottles only; later, one of the dignitaries suggested that it would be more convenient, and much cheaper, to order empty bottles alone. [So] they started ordering empty bottles and vials, and the Khan, after having admired the collected rarities, used to present certain vials to his dignitaries, [who used them] for the purposes of carrying chewing tobacco (*nās*).

On the walls [of this room] there are striking marble panels with artfully carved verses of the oriental poets on them. The late Khan liked to write poetry himself and was fond of works of oriental poetry. The Khan evidently also used to have a library, but nowadays there remain just empty cabinets in the form of boxes stacked on top of each other.[112]

[112] A. Samoilovich, who was in Khiva in 1908, had a chance to visit both of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II's libraries: one in the Kuhna Arq Palace, and another in his summer residence in Tāza-Bāgh. While describing the latter library, the one described here by Lykoshin, Samoilovich noticed the presence

The grave of Saint Pālvān-Āta, venerated by the Khivan people, is artfully decorated with patterned porcelain tiles, like the grave of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā in Kuhna-Urgench.

/53 ob./ The new madrasa for 80 students, recently erected by Sayyid Islām Khvāja, is very charming and spacious. The only thing that the constructor failed to complete in the way it was planned is a high minaret of brick with colored decorations made of glazed clay tiles. It transpired that if the construction of the minaret were to be completed, then from the top of it one could easily observe everything that was going on inside the Tāza-Bāgh Palace and, in particular, it would be possible to observe the Khan's wives, who are so jealously hidden from the gaze of strangers. And, despite the close kin ties of the [minaret's] conceiver [= Sayyid Islām Khvāja] with the Khan and his family, Sayyid Islām Khvāja was instructed to shorten the minaret, which is why the latter came out rather ill-proportioned and ugly. The same fate has befallen another minaret, which had been conceived to be even higher, yet has been not finished due to the death of its conceiver, one of the former Khans: only the lower high drum has been constructed, while the top has not been completed.[113]

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of "a number of court scribes," who were engaged in taking copies of the most important manuscripts: see his "Kratkii otchet o poezdke v Tashkent i Bukharu i v Khivinskoe khanstvo", p. 7. According to an estimation made by Aftandil Erkinov, the library in Tāza-Bāgh must have included several thousands of volumes: see his "A.N. Samojlovich's visit to the Khanate of Khiva in 1908 and his Assessment of the Literary Environment" *International Journal of Central Asian Studies* 14 (2010): 118. It is suprising that just four years later Lykoshin would find there nothing but "empty boxes". For more on the contents and ways of replenishment of the libraries of the Qonghrat dynasts of Khiva, see Nuryogdi Toshov, *Po sledam dvortsovoi biblioteki: rukopisnaia kul'tura v Khorezme pri Kongratakh* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2023).

113 The author seems to be referring here to yet another madrasa commissioned by Sayyid Islām Khvāja which bore his name, but which has not survived to this day. 'Abdullāh Baltaev, who states that he took part in the construction of the edifice, reported that the madrasa was designed to have 40 *hujjra*s and had 6 *dakhma*s. By 1912 the construction of two minarets of the madrasa had been 80% completed. However, soon after Islām Khvāja's tragic death in August

Near the madrasa, Sayyid Islām Khvāja is constructing a new European building for the needs of the new-method school (*maktab*), [recently] opened by him, where a young Tatar [called] Abdurashitov, from the Khusainov school in Orenburg, [serves as] a teacher. According to the Khivans, this teacher is very quick in teaching his students to read and write in their native language, and then, in teaching [them] to read Arabic [texts]; however, the conservative-minded parents of the students – attendees of the new school –, do not believe in the efficiency of the swiftly acquired knowledge, and [therefore] they are not enthused by the new-method *maktab*. [At present] during the summer, the classes at this school are discontinued and the students are released for the [summer] break (*ta'ṭīl*).

The central palace – the Arq, or winter palace – where no one currently lives, is remarkable owing to the original decoration with porcelain tiles of the high terrace, where the former Khans used to sit during the [ceremonies of] "*salām*" as well as as when hearing [subjects'] grievances, while on the [same] terrace the reigning Khan Sayyid Isfandiyār Bahādur was raised on a white felt during [the ceremony] of ascension to the [Khivan] throne.

/54/ The late Khan's so-called "Russian" room, located in this palace, is also interesting. The [room's] walls are decorated with gilded wood carvings, while in one of the walls there are a lot of small niches. In these niches are a countless number of the most ordinary teapots and teacups of the native style (*piāla*). The late Khan seems to have been fond of collecting any kind of homogeneous items in great number.

In the same room, behind velvet curtains, there is a canopy for the throne, where the Khan's treasury is kept in chests. There are quite a lot of chests, but no one knows the exact amount [of money held], and in what [particular] coins the treasury is being kept; rumors that following the death of the late Khan, Sayyid Islām Khvāja was able to count 32 million [roubles?] are yet to be verified.

1913, the madrasa, including the minarets, was destroyed on Isfandiyār Khān's orders: see 'Abdullāh Baltaev, *Khīva īsdalīklārī*, fols. 56a – 57b.

Next to the palace, by the gate that overlooks the bustling bazaar street, there is a jail, or "*ūy*",[114] as people have come to call it. This is a rather cramped and poorly lit space with stone floors and stone benches. The inmates are all kept there on a single chain, though the shackles that were previously tied around people's necks have been recently moved to the right leg of each inmate. This still causes great inconveniences, [as] all prisoners have to to follow their comrade once he needs to go to a distant room for [attending to] natural functions. The inmates are fed using money from the donations of [various] individuals. Every day the prisoners are freed from their shackles and taken to the Khan's garden Tāza-Bāgh so as to water the place; this constitutes both a physical exercise and an entertainment for them.

Having seen the old sights of the city, I carefully inspected the "New Khiva" – this is what the Khan calls his favorite quarter, Tash-Kupruk, where, upon his order, on the side of the city going towards New Urgench, a new city gate is being erected, [along with] a large Khanal madrasa, as well as a hospital and a post office. There, nearby, the Khan decided to erect a new palace for himself and to set up a garden on 50 *ṭanāp*s of land inherited from his grandmother. Given the local small-scale [type of] farming, a garden of 50 *ṭanāp*s (about 17 *desiatina*s) should be considered as very large one.

/54 ob./ [The construction of] the Khan's edifices slowed down a bit owing to the necessity of ordering cement, which had not initially been planned for laying the foundation [of the buildings], but as of now [the construction works] are proceeding very swiftly thanks to the outstanding energy of the engineer O.M. Eppinger, a construction assistant to the engineer Roop. The old, experienced engineer [Eppinger] oversees the [course of] works in a skillful manner, and the postal-telegraph office building, which I have requested should be completed before the other [buildings], has already got as far as putting lintels over the door joists.

[114] *Ūy* – lit. house, though in Khivan sources the term also designates a place of detention: see Sartori and Abdurasulov, *Seeking Justice*, pp. 67, 160, 162.

In the main hospital premises, a cement foundation has been laid out, and work is progressing well.[115] It is expected that the postal-telegraph office's premises will be completed, in rough form [at least], by the fall, and the building promises to be quite solid and beautiful.[116] All [edifices under construction] look high, wide, spacious, and light. The buildings are actually going to be too luxurious for Khiva. The Khan's madrasa is being constructed at the same pace as the premises of the Russian style, and not outstripping the pace of other constructions. There is a special work manager, responsible for [the construction of] each building, under the general supervision of Engineer Eppinger. All together the builders constitute a General Construction Committee under the chairmanship of Court Councilor Kornilov, which is in charge of the most important construction matters. The garden at the newly designed Khan's palace has been laid out just with flags; no work has been commenced there yet.

The reigning Khan Sayyid Isfandiyār Bahādur seems to be planning to construct a monument to himself in the form of beautiful and

115 The hospital in Khiva commenced its activities in 1913, under the leadership of doctor A.F. Anisimov from Moscow: see Niiazmatov, *Poisk konsensusa*, pp. 350–351. The same author further reports that soon thereafter the Khivan authorities also employed a female doctor, Umma-Gulsum Asfendiyarova, who, according to Niiazmatov, was a daughter of the Khivan ruler Isfandiyār Khān, see: *ibid*. While it seems to have been true that Umma-Gulsum Asfendiyarova was indeed employed as an obstetrician-gynecologist in the Khivan hospital in 1913–1914 (she furthermore was known as someone who performed the first cesarean section delivery in Khiva, see: Madirim Makhmudov, "Gulsum Asfendiarova – pervaia vrach-kazashka", https://greylib.align.ru/827/gulsum-asfendiarova-pervaya-vrach-kazashka.html), it is highly unlikely that she could have had any kinship ties with the Khivan ruler. Available evidence indicates that she was a third daughter of Sultan Jafar Asfandiyarov, who during the years under discussion was serving as a translator at the Chancellery of the Turkestani Governor-General.

116 The opening ceremony of the postal-telegraph station in Khiva was held on 1 November 1912, soon after Lykoshin's inspection: see Lykoshin, *G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru, 28.11.1912, no 49*, ll. 174–182. According to ʻAbdullāh Baltaev, an eyewitness to the event, the ceremony caused great excitement among the dwellers of Khiva; see his *Khīva īsdalīklārī*, fol. 46b.

expensive buildings in his capital, and [in doing so] he is sparing no money for the designed edifices, and do not even stop at significant costs, so that sometimes there are insufficient funds in the Khan's treasury, and they have to resort to loans. The confiscation of the property of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī's heirs has provided a substantial inflow of funds to the Khan's treasury, and much of that capital is evidently being spent on new buildings.

Before the evening, the Khan invited me again for talk; we discussed at length about /55/ the Turkmens' affairs as well as about the upcoming land survey in the Khanate. On my advice, the Khan decided to wire 40,000 roubles to the [Russian] Treasury this fall, and to request His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the [Turkestan] Region to give orders to send to Khiva as many [land] surveyors as possible by the spring of 1913, so as to carry out a measurement of the limits of [each] irrigation community, and also request [the Commander-in-Chief's] permission to hire a sufficient number of the local land surveyors, or *ṭanāpkash*s, to establish the dimensions of individual households. The Khan wishes that a Russian registrar, with some familiarity with carrying out surveys, should be assigned to the [local] *ṭanāpkash*s, so that he could keep a list of [land]owners, indicating the amount of land in everyone's possession. The presence of a Russian registrar is evidently regarded [by the Khivan authorities] both as a helpful measure to avoid minor clashes between *ṭanāpkash*s and landowners, and as a means of obtaining accurate data on the size of the [individual] landholdings.

Early in the morning of 16 July, all the Turkmen *katkhudā*s gathered again [in Khiva], where the decisions of His Serene Highness the Khivan Khan on the land measurement as well as on [the matter of] the cleaning of canals by the Turkmens themselves, without the assistance of the Khan's Government, were announced and explained to them.

Sayyid Islām Khvāja furthermore conveyed the Khan's appreciation to Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov, the *katkhudā* of the *Kūllī*-Yomuts, for his obedience and prudence; [he also] explained that the Yomuts were allowed to start cleaning works of the canals on their own volition this fall and next spring; [they were further]

allowed to apportion their lands in accordance with the number of workers delivered by each landowner for the canals' cleaning; and [he additionally stated] that the *chīghīr*s in the upper part of the Sukhbat [Canal] as far as the Aq-Qal'a tract are to be closed until a further ruling [of the Khan]. If necessary, Sayyid Isḥāq Khvāja, the *Bīk* of Kuhna-Urgench, will supervise the land measurement [works] and ensure that the works proceed in good order. The Turkmen [*katkhudā*s] should do everything they can to avoid any quarrels and misunderstandings over the course of the [upcoming land measurement] works.

Then, Sayyid Islām Khvāja announced to Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov that he is still to be called to account with regards to the claims filed against him by the Russian-subject Kirgizs, concerning the robbery and destruction of *chīghīr*s that he [allegedly] commited. The *Vazīr-i Akbar* [further] explained /55 ob./ that in the fall, on the Khan's order, he would come to Kuhna-Urgench, where he would consider those complaints filed against the illegal actions of Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov and his kinsmen.

Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov replied that he himself has never commited any violence, but that if his relatives are proved guilty, he would readily reimburse all the losses incurred by such Turkmens' arbitrariness, once these cases are resolved under Sayyid Islām Khvāja's leadership in Kuhna-Urgench. Before leaving Khiva and heading off home, the representatives of the *Kūllī*-Yomuts came to me to say goodbye and to thank me for my assistance in their matters.

At about 10 o'clock in the morning I said goodbye to the Khan, who thanked me greatly for taking the trouble of dealing with the Turkmens' affairs and [also] asked my assistance in the swift dispatch of the Russian land surveyors to Khiva as well as in the invitation of local *ṭanāpkash*s for the land measurements. I promised His Serene Highness to do everything in my power to facilitate the swift implementation of the reforms conceived by the Khan.

After spending the night in New Urgench and having met with the Russian entrepreneurs living there, on 17 July I returned to Petro-Aleksandrovsk.

Having set out in sequential order everything I saw and heard in the Khivan realm, I shall try to draw the following conclusions:

1) The Khanate of Khiva continues to be a despotic regime of the oligarchic type, with a somewhat patriarchal tinge. The Khan regards Khiva as his own estate, inherited by him [from his ancestors], which he is to govern for his own benefit solely. The notion of the SOVEREIGN's commitments in relation to his subjects is hardly conceivable to His Serene Highness, owing to his poor familiarity with what is happening in other states. Given the Khan's weakness, all [real] power lies in the hands of the court dignitaries. First and foremost, [power is concentrated] in the hands of Sayyid Islām Khvāja, who can do whatever [he wills].

Only individuals [personally] devoted to Sayyid Islām Khvāja – his brothers and relatives, and those who are aligned with him by means of kinship – have been assigned to positions of authority. The family of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī has been destroyed once and for all; [his] sons are still in disgrace and confined to their houses, while their properties have been appropriated by the Khan. Most of their immovable properties have been assigned to the Heir Timūr-Ghāzī-Khān Tūra.

The confiscation of the property of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī's heirs has provided the Khan's treasury with significant income, yet in the eyes of the population, the actions of the Khan and his dignitaries in relation to Mat-Murād's sons, who used to enjoy popularity in the Khanate, have not met with [people's] approval. The late *Divānbīgī* seems to have been the late Khan's best friend; he did a lot for Khiva and became renowned for his strong character, sense of justice and love for the people. Mat-Murād's sons also gained popularity owing to similar qualities, and the accusation that they conspired against the Khan seems fictitious to the people, all the more so since no one has seen the authentic document with the signatures of the conspirators, upon which the [Khan's] accusation is based. Nor did my predecessor General Glushanovskii see the document; [instead] it was explained to him that since the document [compiled] by the conspirators also speaks disrespectfully about the [reigning] Khan, such words of abuse [towards the Khan] could not be shown to anyone.

The people explain the whole matter as [a product of] conspiracy on the part of Sayyid Islām Khvāja and his personal enmity towards the heirs of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī, and the new Government's eagerness to seize the significant wealth of Mat-Murād's family.

Indeed, over the reign of the late [Muḥammad] Raḥīm Bahādur Khān, there had been a continuous struggle between the clans of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī and Ibrāhīm Khvāja (the father of Sayyid Islām Khvāja) for gaining pre-eminence at and influence over the Khan. To ease the enmity, the late Khan insisted on the marriage of Sayyid Islām Khvāja to Mat-Murād Divānbīgī's daughter, a very intelligent woman, who managed to enjoy influence both over her husband [Sayyid Islām Khvāja] and at /56 ob./ the court, thanks to her daughter's marriage to the Heir Sayyid Isfandiyār Tūra, [who is] now the [reigning] Khan. The wife of Sayyid Islām Khvāja, thanks to her influence, was able to protect the immunity of her brothers, restraining the power-hungry impulses of her husband, and her brothers [thus] managed to preserve their position in power.

Every time the husband had a serious argument with his wife on whatever matter, she threatened him with a scandal, promising to move to the right bank of the Amu-Darya and settle in Petro-Aleksandrovsk under the protection of the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department. The threat seems to have always proven effective, and the husband put up with his wife.

Following the death of Sayyid Islām Khvāja's wife, her brothers, the sons of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī, have lost support; there began [various] court intrigues, which ended with a conspiracy plot – which took place in Sayyid Islām Khvāja's absence, who was at that time in the Caucasus – and with the fall of all representatives of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī's clan.

The people are primarily struck by the [fact of the] dismissal and the detainment of Ḥusayn-Bīk [one of Mat-Murād's sons], who was seen on ceremonial occasions [wearing] the shoulder straps of a Russian colonel. According to public opinion, the fact of Ḥusayn-Bīk's belonging to the Russian army alone should have spared him from any violent actions from the Khivan Government.

Owing to the arrest of the prominent dignitaries, an awkward situation has transpired in Khiva: the intelligent dignitaries of the former Khan's Government, who enjoy popularity in the eyes of the people, are being detained in their houses, [where] they are kept under surveillance, while their positions in power have been occupied mainly by the second-raters, whose positions are strong only due to the influence on the Khan that his chief dignitary *Vazīr-i Akbar* Sayyid Islām Khvāja enjoys. Some of the displaced dignitaries' positions remain vacant to the present time.

Reminiscences of the late Khan Muḥammad Raḥīm-Khān Bahādur, who enjoyed a greater popularity among his subjects, are still alive in the memory of the people. The Khivans esteemed the [late] Khan owing to his heroic appearance, purely Uzbek provenance, sense of justice, firmness and independence. The [people] talk a lot about the late Khan, recalling various episodes from his life, and comparisons of the late Khan with the new one are not always to the latter's advantage.

2) The dismissal of dignitaries, the confiscation of their properties as well as the subsequent changes in the [courtly] staff, coupled with the replacement of the old *Bīk*s with new ones, and a reduction in the number of *bekstvo*s and by the merging of petty *bekstvo*s with larger ones, has brought about an [increasing sense of] uncertainty among not only the [ordinary] people, but also those in power with regard to their position and the integrity of their property. Fears that everything might be taken away tomorrow have been noticeable [among the dignitaries], and everyone tries to live only in the moment. There is absolutely no sense of justice among the [ordinary] people, as the orders of those in power are based solely on arbitrariness stemming from their personal power at a given moment. The Khan's *nūker*s often commit acts of injustice and extortions, believing in their impunity from the *Bīk*s' sides, [since] the latter support them.

3) The fight of the Khan's Government against the Turkmens as well as tensions among the Turkmen clans entail an atmosphere of constant fermentation [in the society], which leaves room for the Khan's dignitaries to curry favor [with the Khan] by means of

pacifying [the insurgent Turkmens]. The [proposal about the] appointment of a distinct individual to govern over the Turkmens and at the same time to as act as the Turkmens' representative at the Khan court does not meet any sympathy among the dignitaries and therefore has not been approved by the Khan.

4) It seems that there are no records of state revenues and expenditures in the Khanate; and the [various] expensive edifices conceived by the Khan, [namely] 1) the hospital with [a capacity of] 50 beds; 2) the postal-telegraph office; 3) two entrance gates to the city; 4) the Khan's madrasa with a tomb (*saghāna*) for the Khan; 5) the European-style premises at the Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace; 6) a new palace in the locality of Tash-Kupruk with a garden of *50 ṭanāp*s, and 7) iron bridges in various parts of the Khanate, are evidently upsetting the balance of the Khan's treasury, especially if one takes into account the Khan's upcoming expenses for the maintenance of the /57/ hospital and of the large new-method school, which he designed for Khiva, and about which the Khan himself told me in a conversation. The lack of funding leads to the necessity of loans; one merchant has already been asked for the amount of 100,000 *ṭillā*s, though it seems that they got only 50 thousand [*ṭillā*s from him] – and this was under the threat of depriving him of his property.

Under such conditions, the only hope is increase of the Khanate's income by dint of new taxation. In itself, this measure seems to be fine and just, but it is hardly likely that the taxation would be accomplished in a fair manner. Rather, it can be safely assumed that there would remain many large landowners exempted from taxation by the will of the Khan, either on account of [their] services or due to kinship [ties]. The Khan reserves [the right of] distribution of taxes and is unwilling to permit communal apportionments [of taxes], as have been adopted at our side [of the Amu-Darya River].

Given the despotic form of government and the lack of legal consciousness among the population, all reforms seem to be illusory, and under such circumstances there is little scope for eliminating arbitrariness. The disbursement of remuneration to dignitaries may serve as an example of the illusoriness of the [conceived] reforms. Yūsuf Yasāvulbāshī, following [the visit of] the embassy

of Lieutenant-General Galkin to Khiva, was given 8,000 *ṭillā*s [by the Khan] to cover expenses, or as a reward. The old dignitary was so touched by the Khan's consideration that he presented His Serene Highness with a gift for a much larger price than he himself received.

The Khan's wives, according to custom, cannot visit their relatives, if they are permitted do so once a year, then the wife returns to the palace with gifts worth 100-150 thousand *ṭillā*s [for the Khan], as was the case once with the daughter of Sayyid Islām Khvāja, who requested a meeting with his daughter for such a high price.

What sort of practical merits could be expected from establishing a fixed allowance to the officials, if they are still often commissioned to build a house or lay out a garden (like the *Nā'ib* of Kuhna-Urgench), or deliver 10,000 poods of saxaul and coal for the Khan's palace (like the *Nā'ib* of Darghan-Ata)? None of the dignitaries can be sure that his invoice for the execution of the order will be fully paid; they hardly /58/ dare to demand reimbursement but must rather wait for it as an act of favor [from the Sovereign].

All the shortcomings of the current government of Khiva under the existing regime can be eliminated only by means of gradual and inventive work by the friendly Russian government as well as by the gradual awakening of a sense of law and legality among the Khivan people by means of observing the life of their fellow tribesmen, [namely those who live] on the right [Russian] bank of the Amu-Darya.

A formidable effect in this regard could be undoubtedly achieved by the construction of a railway line to Khiva and by the amplification of communications within the Khanate.

Another highly effective means with operational utility is the conversion of the Khanate of Khiva into a Russian governorate, once such a move is deemed as opportune and expedient [by the Russian Crown].

Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department
Colonel *Lykoshin*

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Index of places

Ambar-Manaq, town, see Manaq
Amu-Darya Department (ADO) *17*, *18*, *23*, *24*, *27*, *32*, *33*, *34*, *35*, *36*, *37*, (*37*), *38*, (*40*), *41*, *42*, *43*, *44*, *45*, *46*, *47*, *48*, *54*, *59*, (*67*), *68*, (*69*), *70*, (*77*), *89*, *93*, (*94*), (*95*), *106*, *115*, *116*, 231, (231), 232, 233, 234, 235, 237, 239, 246, 247, (252), 253, (254), 256, 260, 261, (267), (270), 271, 289, 292, 293, (293), 301 (301), 302, 309, 311, (314), 322, 343, 346
Amu-Darya, river *17*, *39*, *40*, (*40*), *41*, *42*, *43*, *44*, *45*, *46*, *47*, *50*, *52*, *94*, (*94*), (*95*), *105*, (231), 232, (232), 233, 234, (261), 284, (284), 285, 286, 287, 290, 291, (293), 294, (305), 311, 312, 314, (318), 324, 343, 345, 346
Aq-Masjid, village *53*, 321, 322, 324, (325), 326 (326), 327 (327), 335
Aq-Tepa 269, 305, 314, 317
Aral Sea *42*, (*43*), (*101*), (284), 287, 296
Ārāl, province *105*
ʻAzīzlār Bābā, shrine *52,* 53, *94*, 297, 298, 299
Badrikent, village *103*
Bīsh-Qalʻa *105*
Bukhara, the Emirate *26*, *42*, *107*, (268), (288), 292, 318, (324)
Bukhara, city 321
Caucasus (*51*), *63*, *66*, 343
Central Asia *9*, *10*, *28*, *34*, *105*, *107*, (291)
Chandir, village 317, (317)
Charjui, city *13*, *39*, (*43*), 282, 284, (284), 285, 288, 292, 294
Chimbay, village *52*, *54*, 293, 294
Chimbay, sector (*uchastok*) *42*, (*42*), 231, (231)
Chimkent, county (*uezd*) *32*, *42*
Danishar, settlement *50*, 286
Darghan-Ata, town *50*, *54*, 268, 270, 282, 284, 287, 288, 289, (289), 290, 291, 346
Daryaliq (*Daryāliq*), old riverbed *94*, (*94*), (*95*), (275), (278), 312, 314
Gandemian Garden *48*, 240, (240)
Gazavat, town *52*, *54*, *105*, 269, 317, 320
Gazavat, canal 236, 273, 320
Guja, village *48*, *54*, 238, 239
Hazarasp, town *39*, *50*, *54*, (263), 285, 286, 287, 288, 290, 297
Hilali, town 217, 268, 269, 277, 317, (317), (318)
Ilyali, town see, Hilali
Jizzakh, county *34*, *42*
Kaluga, city *22*
Kazalinsk, county and town *42*, (*43*), (284)
Khanqah, town *39*, *41*, *47*, *48*, *50*, *54*, 232, (232), 234, (234), 235, (235), 236, 237, 238, 284
Khiva, the Khanate (Khivan Khanate) *17*, *18*, *19*, (*19*), *20*, *21*, *22*, (*22*), *23*, *25*, *26*, *27*, *33*, *37*, (*37*), *38*, (*38*), 39, *40*, (*41*), *42*, *44*, *45*, *46*, *47*, *48*, *49*, *50*, *51*, *52*, *53*, (*53*), *55*, *56*, *57* (*57*), *58*, *59*, *60*, *62*, (*63*), *64*,

(*64*), *65*, (*65*), (*67*), *68*, *70*, *71*, *73*, *74*, (*74*), *75*, *76*, *77*, *78*, *79*, *80*, *81*, 82, 83, 85, 87, *90*, (*90*), (*91*), *92*, *93*, *94*, (*94*), (*95*), *96*, *97*, *98*, *99*, *100*, *101*, *102*, (*102*), *103*, *104*, (*104*), *105*, *106*, *107*, (*107*), *108*, *109*, *110*, *111*, *112*, *113*, *114*, *115*, *116*, 231, 232, (*232*), 233, 234, (234), 235, 236, 237, 239, 240 (240), (242), (244), 245, 246, (246), 248, (249), (250), (252), (253), 254, (254), 255, 256, (256), 259, (259), 260, 261, (261), 262, (262), 263, 264, 267 (267), 268, (268), 269, (269), 270, (270), 271, (271), 272, (272), 273, (273), (274), (276), 278, (278), 279, 280, 283, 284, (285), 286, (286), (288), 289, 290, (290), 292, 293, (293), 295, (295), 297, 298, 299, (301), 303, 304, 306, 308, 310, 311, 312, 316, (318), (319), 323, (324), 327, 328, (336), 340, 341, 342, 345, 346

Khiva, city *10*, (*19*), (*21*), *22*, *24*, *39*, *40*, *45*, *47*, *48*, *49*, *50*, (*52*), *53*, *54*, *55*, *56*, (*57*), *58*, *59*, *60*, *63*, (*63*), *64*, *66*, (*66*), *67*, *68*, *71*, *74*, *77*, *78*, *81*, *82*, *87*, *88*, *91*, *92*, *93*, *94*, *99*, *103*, *104*, *105*, *113*, *114*, *115*, 231, (232), 233, (234), 235, 238, 239, 240 (240), (241), (244), (252), (253), 254, 255, (260), 263, 264, 268, 269, 285, 288, 298, 301, 302, 304, 308, (308), 309, 313, 314, 315, 317, (317), 319, 320, 322, 324, (325), 329, 334, (335), 338, 339, (339), 340, 341, 344, 345, 346

Khorezm *19*, *21*, *36*, *51*, *53*, (*58*), (*80*), (*91*), *93*, *95*, *98*, *99*, (*99*), *100*, (*101*), *102*, *109*, (237), (238), (243), (250), (253), (261), (268), (270), (271), (275), (286), (317), (318)

Khorezmian People's Soviet Republic *79*, *103*, (273)

Khujand, town *33*

Kuk-Uzak, river arm (231), 294

Kuhna-Arq Palace *19*, *87*, 301, (335), 337

Kuhna-Urgench, town *25*, *52*, *54*, *94*, (262), 263, (263), 268, 269, (269), (275), 278, 280, 297, 298, 300, 302, (302), 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, (308), 313, 314, 330, 332, 333, 336, 341, 346

Lawzan, canal (*94*), (*95*), 278, (278), 279, 280, (303), 304, 305, 311, 312, 314, 332, 333

Madrasa of:

– Muḥammad Amīn Khān 240, (240), 242

– Sayyid Isfandiyār Khān (*66*), 265, 338, 339, 345

– Sayyid Islām Khvāja *80*

– Sayyid Islām Khvāja (destroyed) 336, (336), 337, (337)

Manaq (Ambar-Manaq), town 269

Manghit, town 268, 269, 275, (275), 276, 277, 278, 279

Moscow, city *30*, 236, 253, 254, 266, 281, (339)

Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, mausoleum 336

New Urgench (Urgench) *39*, *49*, *50*, *54*, 254, 265, 281, 282, 283, 285, 292, (318), 338, 341
Nukus, village *42*, *43*, *52*, *54*, 231, (231), 292, 294, 295, 296, 307, 314
Namāzgāh Mosque *71*
Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace *48*, *49*, *54*, *74*, (*74*), *80*, *83*, *84*, 234, (234), 241, (241), (242), 320, (329), 335, 345
Orenburg, city (270), 295, 337
Pālvān-Āta (Pahlavān-Āta), mausoleum 336
Perovsk, town and county *42*
Pervonachal'niy, village *43*, (*43*)
Petro-Aleksandrovsk, Fort *17*, *18*, *24*, *25*, *36*, *39*, *41*, *42*, *43*, *46*, *47*, (*47*), *49*, *50*, *51*, *54*, *56*, *62*, *74*, *76*, *93*, (*94*), *106*, 231, 232, (232), 233, 235, 238, 255, 281, 282, 284, 285, 289, 292, 294, 296, 300, 301, (301), 302, 303, 319, (319), 341, 343
Pitnak, town *50*, *54*, 282, 285, 286, 287, 290, 292, 297
Porsu, town 268, 273, 276, 277
Postal-telegraph station, Khiva *66*, *74*, 338, 339 (339), 345
Pskov, guberniya *29*
Pyatigorsk, town *63*, (*63*)
Qāra-Bāgh, river crossing *47*, (232), 285
Qara-Qum *101*
Qibla Tāza-Bāgh see: Tāza-Bāgh Palace
Qonghrat, town *52*, *54*, 268, 269, 293, (293), 294, 295, 296, 297, 301
Qūba-Tāgh, locality 268, 275, (275)
Quvānish-Yarma *47*, (*47*), 231, (231), 248, 294
Russia (the Russian Empire) *17*, (*36*), (*37*), *40*, (*51*), *75*, *106*, *108*, (257), 266, 270, 285, 289, (291), 295, (324), 328
Sadivar *50*, 268, 270, 286
Saint-Petersburg, city *22*, *29*, *30*, *46*, *62*, *63*, (*63*), *67*, *75*, *76*, *79*, *90*, *93*, *106*, *107*, 266, 303
Samara, city and guberniya *35*, (324), 327
Samarkand, city and province *18*, *30*, *33*, *34*, *39*, *42*, *93*, *116*, 248, (248)
Second Saint Petersburg Military Gymnasium *29*, *30*
Shah-Murad, canal *94*, *97*, 278, 279, 314, 315
Shurakhan, village and sector *41*, *42*, (*42*)
Sukhbat, canal *54*, 278, 305, 306, 307, 309, 312, 333, 334, 341
Syr-Darya, province *42*, *43*, *55*, *68*, (232), (314)
Syr-Darya, river *101*
Takhta (Takhta-Bazar), town *52*, *105*, 236, 267, 268, 270, 272, 273, 274, 278, 317, (330)
Taldiq, river arm *41*
Tāsh-Ḥavlī Palace *71*
Tash-Hawz, town *54*, 269, 318, (318), 319
Tash-Uzak, river arm (231)
Tāza-Bāgh, locality *83*, *84*, (234)
Tāza-Bāgh Palace (Qibla Tāza-Bāgh) *84*, 234, (234), 241, 320, 334, (335), 336, (336), 338
Tāza-Khīva (*Novaia Khiva*) 66, (66), 74, 338

Tashkent, city *9*, *22*, *25*, *32*, *33*, *36*, *42*, *46*, *48*, *55*, *56*, *62*, *67*, *74*, *76*, *93*, *106*, *115*, 248, 264, 286, (324)
Tash-Kupruk, village (66), 265, 320, 338, 345
Trans-Caspian Region *95*, 314, 315, 316
Turkestan Governor-Generalship (Turkestan Region, Russian Turkestan) *17*, (*17*), *25*, *27, 28*, *29*, *30*, *31*, *33*, *34*, *35*, *37*, (*37*), *41*, *42*, *43*, *44*, *45*, *46*, *55*, *56*, *60*, *68*, *72*, *76*, *82*, *90*, (*90*), *98*, *107*, *111*, *112*, *115*, *116*, 237, (240), 246, 254, (254), 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, (267), (271), 286, (295), (324), (339), 340
Turkmeniya *52*, 263, 270, 292, 300, 301, 302, 315, 333
Ūghlān ʻAzīz Bābā, cemetery *84*
Ura-Tube, town *30*, *33*
Urgench see New Urgench
Yangi-Qalʻa, town *52*, *54*, *94*, 297
Vilāyat 259, (259), 260, 270, 273, 277, 280
Zair, settlement *43*

Index of persons

ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz b. Sayyid Islām Khvāja 257, 264
ʻAbd al-Karīm Maḥram *84*, *86*, *87*, *88*
ʻAbdullāh Baltaev *74*, *77*, *80*, (*80*), *81*, *83*, *84*, *85*, *86*, *87*, *88*, (*92*), (234), (241), (242), (336), (339)
ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Bāy Bakkalov *92*
Abdurashitov, Tatar teacher *75*, 337
Aḥmadjān Atiev, Tatar teacher 252
Aleksandrova Elena, wife of N.S. Lykoshin *39*
Alexander III, Russian emperor *14*, 253, 281
ʻAlī Muhammad Rasulev (Rasulov), translator 252, (252), 255
Āmān Kildī Bāy b. Mat-Murād Divānbīgī *23*, *63*, *73*
Ārna Ṣiḥat (Anna-Sagat) Yūzbāshī (308)
ʻAshūr Maḥram *90*, (*90*), *91*, *93*
ʻAṣqar Maḥmūd Tūra b. Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II (*18*), (*19*), 303, (303), (304)
ʿAvaż-Bāy Madyarov, entrepreneur 236, 237
Bābā Jān Qātfān *59*, *83*, (*84*)
Bābājān Tarrāh *77*, *78*, (*78*), *79*, *85*, (250)
Baranovskii Alexander (*21*), (*37*)
Bartol'd, Vasilii *34*, *35*
Bregel, Yuri (*93*), (*101*), *102*, (268), (275)
Christie, Ella (Isabella) Robertson *39*, 233, (252), (326), (328)
Davlat Kīldī Dūghma Maḥram *61*
Davlat Murād Maḥram (Tāza-Maḥram) *61*, (*61*)
Riesen von, Emil 328 (328), 329

Eppinger, Fedor Martynovich 265, 320, 338, 339
Frank, Allen *110*
Galkin, Alexander Semenovich (*17*), *55*, *56*, *64*, *68*, (*68*), *70*, *71*, *97*, *110*, (232), (267), 314, (314), 315, 346
Gasket, Sergey Danilovich (248)
Glushanovskii, Nikolai Galaktionovich *20*, *24*, *68*, 231, (231), 285, 300, (301), 342
Ghulām ʻAlī Pahlavān, Turkmen chieftain *103*
Ḥājjī Bāy Aminiddinbaev (Ḥājjī Muḥammad Bāy b. Amīn al-Dīn Bāy) 234, (234), 235
Ḥājjī Pāshā b. Sayyid Islām Khvāja *21*
Ḥasan-Murād Laffasī (Hasan Madaminov) (*19*), *64*, (*64*), *74*, *77*, *78*, *81*, (*81*), *82*, *85*,*86*, *91*, *113*, (252), (300)
Ḥusayn Muḥammad Bāy Divānbīgī (Ḥusayn-Bīk) b. Mat-Murād Divānbīgī *23*, *24*, (*24*), (*33*), *62*, *63*, *67*, *73*, *79*, *81*, 251, 343
ʻIbādullāh Tūra b. Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II (18)
Ivanov, Nikolai Alexandrovich (*18*), 271, (271)
Jānī-Bīk Khudoyarov, *qūshbegī* 253
Junayd Khān, Turkmen *103*, *117*, (257)
Kaufman, Konstantin Petrovich von *41*, *48*, (240), (324)
Kolosovskii, Vladimir Pavlovich *18*, (*18*), (*33*), *45*, (*69*), *89*, *106*, (253)
Kornilov, V.N., translator 252, (252), (253), 255, 264, 320, 339
Kuropatkin, Aleksei Nikolaevich *34*
Lunin, Boris Vladimirovich (*31*)
Lykoshin, Nil Sergeevich *17*, (*17*), *18*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *27*, *28*, *29*, *30*, (*30*), *33*, *(33*), *34*, *35*, *36*, (*37*), *39*, *44*, *45*, *46, 47*, *48*, *49*, *50*, *51*, *52*, *53*, *54*, *55*, *56*, *59*, *60*, (*66*), (*67*), *68*, (*68*), *69*, *70*, *71*, *72*, *73*, *74*, *75*, (*77*), *82*, *92*, *93*, *94*, (*94*), *95*, *97*, *98*, *99*, *105*, *108*, *109*, *110*, *111*, *112*, *113*, *114*, *115*, *116*, (231), (232), (234), (240), (242), (247), (253), (259), (269), (270), (271), (274), (293), (295), (301), (302), (303), (308), (314), (320), (329), (330), (332), (335), (336), (346)
Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov (Maḥmūd Khān Ātāl Khān ūghlī), Turkmen chieftain *52*, *53*, *94*, *96*, 279, 280, 300, 302, 303, (303), 304, 305, 307, 308, (308), 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 322, (330), 331, 334, 340, 341
Mamed-Kaka (Murād Qahqa), Turkmen *113*
Manuilov, Pavel Alexandrovich 235
Martson, Fedor Vladimirovich *28*
Mat (Muḥammad)-Murād Divānbīgī *22*, (*22*), *23*, *62*, *64*, *66*, *68*, *71*, *73*, *89*, (240), 250, (250), 251, (251), (285), (302), 306, 312, 317, 333, 340, 342, 343

Mat-Niyāz Divānbīgī *41*
Mat-Vafā Yusufovich Bakkalov (Muḥammad Vafā Karavān-bāshī) *81*, *90*, (*90*), *91*, *92*, *93*, 253, 254, 266, 281, 318
Mikhailova (Lykoshina), Sof'ia Nilovna *28*, (*28*), *31*
Minorskii, Vladimir Fedorovich 246, (246), (247), 267
Morrison, Alexander *27*, *28*, *34*, *36*
Muḥammad Amīn Khān *104*, 240, (240), 242
Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II *18*, (*18*), *19*, (*19*), *22*, *24*, *46*, *60*, *61*, (*61*), *62*, *63*, *78*, (*78*), *79*, (*79*), (234), 240, (240), (241), 249, (249), 250, (250), (303), 321, 324, (324), 326, 328, 334, 335, (335), 337, 342, 343, 344
Muḥammad Sharīf Divān 255
Muḥammad Yār Tūra b. Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II *18*
Muḥammad Yūsuf Tūra b. Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II *18*
Muḥammad Yusūf Yasāvulbāshī *73*, 240, (240), 243, 245, 255, 256, 264, 265, 281, 287, 319, 345
Nicholas II, Russian emperor *14*, *63*, (247), (256), 284, (284)
Nūr-Muḥammad Aminiddinbaev (Nūr-Muḥammad Bāy), consul 231
Ostroumov, Nikolai Petrovich (*30*)
Pahlavān Niyāz Ḥājjī (Yusupov) (*63*), *77*, *79*, (*80*), *81*, *89*
Pahlavān Niyāz Khvārazmī (250)
Peter I, Russian emperor *39*, *41*
Pugovkina, Oksana (*28*), *33*, *34*
Qūch Muḥammad Khān, Turkmen chieftain *103*
Qurbān Muḥammad Sardār see Junayd Khan
Qūrbān Niyāz Būzchī *85*, *86*, *87*, *88*
Qūtlī Bīka (250)
Rasulev, translator see 'Alī Muhammad Rasulev
Roop, Evgenii Eduardovich 265, (265), 338
Rosenbach von, Nikolai Ottonovich *44*
Samoilovich, Alexander Nikolaevich (*21*), (*40*), (335)
Samsonov, Alexander Vasil'evich (*19*), *25*, *26*, *33*, *34*, (*37*), (*38*), *46*, *47*, *55*, *56*, *68*, *72*, 73, *76*, *82*, *84*, *85*, *88*, *107*, (*107*), *112*, *115*, *116*, 254, (254), 260, 263, 266, 284, 340
Sa'ādat Jān Bīka b. Mat-Murād Divānbīgī 251, (251), 343
Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān (257)
Sayyid-Āta *58*, (*58*)
Sayyid 'Ibadullāh Khvāja *18*, 287
Sayyid Isḥāq Khvāja b. Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khvāja 263, (263), 297, 298, 300, 302, 333, 341
Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khvāja *23*, (250), 343
Sayyid Isfandiyār Bahādur Khān (*18*), *19*, (*19*), *20*, *21*, (*21*), *23*, *24*, (*24*), *48*, *49*, (*49*), *59*, *60*, *61*, *62*, *63*, (*63*), *68*, (*68*), *70*, *71*, *74*, *78*, *79*, *80*, *82*, *83*, *85*, *86*, *87*, *88, 90*, (*90*), *92*, (*92*), (232), 233, 234, (234), (*240*), 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 247, 248, 249, (249), 250, (250),

251, 252, (252), 253, 254, 255, 256, (256), (257), 258, 259, (259), 260, 261, 262, 263, 265, 266, 281, 285, 287, 292, (303), 309, 310, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, (337), 338, 339, (339), 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346

Sayyid Islām Khvāja b. Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khvāja *21*, (*21*), *22*, *23, 48*, *54*, *56*, *58*, *59*, *60*, (*60*), *61*, *62*, *63*, (*63*), *64*, *65*, (*65*), *66*, *67*, *68*, *69*, (*69*), *71*, *73*, *74*, *75*, *76*, *77*, (*77*), *78*, (*78*), *79*, *80*, *81*, *82*, *83*, *84*, *85*, *86*, *87*, *88*, *89*, *91*, *92*, *93*, *113*, 234, 235, 240, 241, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, (250), 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 263, (263), 264, 266, 267, (269), 270, 279, 280, 285, 287, 297, 299, 303, (308), 311, 320, 322, 323, 329, 330, 331, 333, 334, 336, (336), 337, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 346

Sayyid Ismāʻīl Khvāja b.Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khvāja (263), 285, 288

Sayyid Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra, prince *32*, *49*, *72*, 250, 256, (256), 257, (257), 258, 323, 324, 342

Sazonov, Sergey Dmitrievich *82*

Semenov, Alexander Alexandrovich (*37*), *72*

Semenovskii, Mikhail Ivanovich *29*

Shāh Murād Bakhshī, Turkmen chieftain *103*, (*104*), 272, 273

Shāmmī-Kal, Turkmen chieftain *113*, (*113*), *114*, (*114*), *115*

Shāh-Zā (Shāh-Jān Shamiev), Turkmen *55*, (*94*), 300, 301, (301), 302, 307, 322, 323

Shaykh Naẓar Bāy Yasavūlbāshī b. Mat-Murād Divānbegī *23*, *63*, *73*, *85*, *86*, *88*, *89*, *114*, 240, 312

Shkapskii, O.A. 237, (237)

Stetkevich, A.S. (254), (268), (285)

Sukhomlinov, Vladimir Alexandrovich 77

Susanin, Vladimir Nikolaevich (*17*)

Tāychilī, Turkmen 308, (308)

Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra (Tūra-Jān) see Sayyid Timūr-Ghāzī Tūra

Toens, Otto 325, (325), (326), 329

Tseil, Sergey *59*, *91*

Umma-Gulsum Asfendiyarova (339)

Yūnus Yasāvulbāshī 287

Index of social, political and religious groupings

Aday-Kirgizs see, Kazakhs, Adays
'Arabshahids, dynasty 100
Armenians *43*, 284, 287
Asiatic Department of the Russian General Staff *59*, *91*
Divanbegi-ites' (*divanbegiitsy*) *22*, *24*, *57*, *58*, *60*, *62*, (*66*), *67*, *68*, *69*, (*69*), *70*, *71*, *72*, *74*, *79*, *89*, *93*, 251
German Mennonites *53*, 321, 322, 324, (324), 325, (325), 326, (326), 327, (327), 328, (328), 329, 335
Jews *43*
Karakalpaks *40*, (259), 268
Kazakhs (259), (262), 268, (269), 278, 280, 293, 295, 310, 311, 312, 341
Kazakhs, Adays 262, 263, 280, 306, 307, 309, 310, 311
*Khvāja*s 285, (285)
Khivans 24, 69, 71, 85, 111, 245, 250, 264, 270, 287, 290, (291), 306, 309, 310, 311, 316, 321, 323, 328, 337, 344
Kirgizs see, Kazakhs
MacAndrews & Forbes Company *50*, (*50*), (288)
Ministry of Defense, Russia (*37*), 89, 106, (265)
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russia (*37*), (*38*), *82*, *89*, *106*
*Nūker*s 273, 274, 305, 307, (308)
Persian Yomuts see, Turkmens, Qāra-Yilgīnlī
Poles *43*
Okhranka, Russian secret police *36*, (*36*), *92*
Qonghrats, dynasty *18*, *19*, (*19*), *60*, *81*, *99*, *100*, *101*, (*101*), *102*, (*102*), *104*, (234), (240), (253), (271), (336)
Romanovs, dynasty *59*, (*95*), 254
Sarts *105*, 292
*Sayyid*s 285, (285)
*Shaykh*s *58*, 285, (285), 298
Tajiks 268, (268)
Tatars *75*, (252), (270), 295, 317, 337
Turkmens *18*, (*18*), *25*, *36*, *40*, *46*, *49*, *52*, *53*, *54*, *55*, *56*, *75*, *76*, *93*, (*93*), *94*, (*94*), *95*, *96*, *97*, *98*, *99*, (*99*), *100*, *101*, *102*, *103*, *104*, *105*, *106*, *107*, *108*, *109*, *110*, *111*, *112*, *113*, *114*, *115*, *116*, (*116*), 258, 259, (259), 260, 262, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271, (271), 272, 273, 274, 275, 278, 279, 280, 292, 295, 298, 299, 301, (301), 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, (308), 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, (317), 322, 323, 325, 329, (329), 330, 331, 332, 333, 340, 341, 344, 345
Turkmens, Ata *105*, 268, 287
Turkmens, Chowdur *101*, 268, 273, (274), 276, 277
Turkmens, Goklan *101*
Turkmens, Qaradashli 268, 277
Turkmens, Qāra-Yilgīnlī 275, (275), 278
Turkmens, Yemreli *101*, 268, 277, 278, 279, (330)
Turkmens, Yomuts *52*, *53*, *54*, *57*, *93*, *94*, *95*, *97*, *101*, (*101*), *103*, *104*, *105*, *112*, *113*, *115*, *116*,

(257), 268, 270, 275, (275), 278, 287, 298, 300, 315, 340
Turkmens, Yomuts of Qara-Choqa (=Choni Sheref) branch 268, (268)
Turkmens, Yomuts of Mashriq clan (268)
Turkmens, Yomuts of Bayram-Shali branch 268, (268)
Turkmens, Youmuts of Qojuk clan 272, (272)
Turkmens, Yomuts of Okuz clan (*101*), (*104*), *113*, *114*, (*114*), *116*, (268), 272
Turkmens, Yomuts of Orus-Koshchi clan (*101*), (268), 272, 300, 308
Turkmens, Yomuts of Oshaq clan (*101*), (268), 272, (272)
Turkmens, Yomuts of Salakh clan (*101*), (268), 272
Turkmens, *Kūllī*-Yomuts *52*, *53*, *54*, *94*, (*94*), (*95*), *105*, 278, 279, 280, 293, 300, 306, 307, 312, (330), 331, 332, 333, 334, 340, 341
Turkmens, *Yūqārī*-Yomuts *52*, 330, (330), 331, 334
Ural Cossacks 40, (40), 43, (43)
Uzbeks *32*, *105*, 249, (268), 273, 344
Yāsh Khivāliklār 79

Index of islamicate terminologies

ābkhūr 237, (237)
afanak-pūlī 313, 332, (332)
arna 232, (261), 276
āṭlīq (*āṭlīgh*) 271, (271), 272, (272), 276, 277, 278, 280, 287, 312, 331
ʻarz-dād *56*, (*57*), (242), (243), (244)
bājbān 289, (289)
bīk *110*, 234, (234), 235, 238, 239, 263, 277, 281, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, 291, 294, 295, 297, 298, 300, 302, (302), 304, 305, 307, 317, 319, 333, 341, 344
bekstvo 275, 297, 298, 306
birdānka (269)
bīsh-ātar 270, (270)
buyān 288
ḥākim (234)
hazār-ispand (azāraspan) 291, (291)
dahyak 280, 312
dhikr 298
jigit *96*, 282, 285, 296, 316
kauliyat 274, (274), 277, 278, 279
katkhudā *52*, *53*, *54*, *93*, *94*, *95*, *109*, 259, (259), 272, 273, 274, 276, 277, 279, 298, 299, 300, 308, 313, 317, 328, 330, 331, 334, 340, 341
kibitka *96*, 267, (267), 316
maḥram *61*, (*90*), *91*, 243, (243), 247
makhkamabāshī 240, 246
mużafāt-ḥākimī 253, (253)
manāt (*92*), (271),
mazār *52*, *94*, 297, 298
nadhr 298
nā'ib 285, (285), 286, 287, 288, 291, 346
pashshāb *87*, 319

pech' 291, (291)
qand sindūrdī *51*, 289, (289), (290)
qūshbīgī 253, (253)
salām *22*, *71*, *72*, 235, 241, 243, 244, 245, 255, 321, 337
sālghūt *25*, *65*, 271 (271), 285, 287, 288

Указатель географических наименований

Арк, дворец см. Кухна-Арк
Азизлар-Баба, мазар 181, 182
Ак-Мечеть (меннонитская колония) 203, 205, 206, (206), 207, (207), 208, 209, (209), 216
Ак-Тепе (Ак-Тюбе), местность 155, 188, 196, 198
Ак-Калъа, урочище 189, 194, 213, 214, 215, 221
Амбар-Манак см. Манак
Аму-Дарьинский отдел (АДО) 121, (121), 123, 126, 127, 135, 141, 147, (157), 173, 176, 184, 185, 191, 193, 224, 227
Амударья, река (121), 122, (122), 124, (160), (163), 168, (168), 169, 170, 174, (176), 177, (187), 193, 194, 196, (200), 206, 224, 227
Аральское море (168), 170
Ата-Яб, канал 171
Аулие-Ата, уезд (206), 211
Бек-Яб, канал 180
Бухарский эмират (Бухара) (172), 175, 203, (206)
Гандемиан, местность 128, (128)
Газават, город 155, 199, 201
Газават, канал 125, 158, 201
Гамбург 172, (200)
Германия (172), 208, 210, (210)
Гужа, селение 127
Данишар, селение 170
Дарган-Ата, селение 154, 156, 166, 168, 171, 172, (172), 174, 226
Дарйалик, проток (160), (163), 194, 196
Джагирбенд, местность 170, 171, 174
Джамшид-Яб, канал 161
Дуль-Дуль Атлаган см. Джагирбенд
Закаспийская область 196, 197
Золинген, город 210, (210)
Ильяли см. Хилали
Иран (156)
Кавказ 224
Казак-Яб, канал 193,
Казалинск, уезд (168)
Карабах, переправа (122), 169
Кипчак, город 206, (206)
Клич-Нийаз-Бай, канал 161
Кок-Узяк, проток (121), 17
Красноводск, уезд 164, 192, 198
Куба-таг (Кубадаг) 154, 160, (160)
Куваныш-Джарма, проток 121, (121), 135
Кунград, город 154, 155, 176, (176), 177, 178, 179, 180, 184

Куня-Ургенч, город 149, (149), 154, 155, (155), (160), 163, 165, 180, 181, 183, 185,186, 187, 188, 189, 190, (190), 195, 213, 214, 217, 221, 222, 226
Кухна-Арк, дворец 184, 218
Лаузан, канал 163, (163), (186), 187, 188, 193, 194, 196, 213, 214
Манак, город 155, (163)
Мангит, город 154, 155, 160, (160), 161
Мангит-Арна, канал 161
Мангышлак, уезд 164, 192
Мариенбург, город 208, (208)
Медресе Мухаммад Амин-хана 128, (128)
Медресе Саййид Ислам Ходжи (разрушенно) 217, (217), 218
Медресе Саййид Исфандийар-хана 219, 220, 225
Москва, город 125, 141, 165
Наджмиддин-Кубра, комплекс 217
Назар-Бенд, местность 188
Новый Ургенч, город 141, 151, 165, 166, 167, 169, 175, (200), 219, 222
Нукус, селение и волость 121, (121), 176, 177, 178, 179, 189
Нуруллабай (Нурлабай), дворец 123, (123), 129, (129), 202, (211), 216, 225
Оренбург (156), 178, 218
Палван-Ата, комплекс 217
Петро-Александровск, город 121, (122), 142, 165, 168, 169, 173, 176, 177, 179, 183, 184, (184), 185, 200, 201, (201), 222, 224
Питнак, селение 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 174, 175, 180
Порсу, селение 154, 159, 161, 162
Правый берег Амударьи, см. Амударьинский отдел (АДО)
Россия (157), 169, (175), 178, (206), 210
Российская империя см. Россия
Садывар, местность 154, 156, 170
Самара, губерния (206), 208
Самарканд, город 135
Самарканд, область 135
Санкт-Петербург, город 152
Сыр-Дарья, область (196)
Сухбат, канал 163, 188, 189, 191, 194, 214, 215, 221
Таврида, губерния (206), 208,
Таза-Баг, дворец 123, (123), 129, 202, 216, (216), 217, 219
Таза-Баг (Кибла Таза-Баг), местность (123)
Тахта (Тахта-Базар), селение 125, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 159, 163, 199, (211)
Ташкент, город 135, 150, 170, (206)
Таш-Купрук, местность 151, 202, 219, 225
Таш-Узяк, проток (121)
Таш-Хауз, город 155, 199, 200, (200),
Темирск, уезд 164, 192
Туркестан (Туркестанское генерал-губернаторство) (134), 147, (157), 170, (176), (178), (206)
Туркмения (Хивинская Туркмения) 149, 156, 183, 184, 185, 196, 214

Тыркыш, урочище 180
Ургенч см. Новый Ургенч
Урус-яб, канал 163, 165, 191, 194, 213, 214
Урус-ярган см. Урус-Яб
Хазарасп, город (149), 169, 170, 171, 174, 180
Хазарасп, переправа 169
Ханка, город 122, (122), 124, (124), 125, 127, 168
Хан-Яб, канал 163, 165, 194
Хива, город (122), 123, (123), 124, 127, 128, (128), 132, 135, (140), 141, 142, 146, 149, 150, 154, 155, 165, 169, 171, 176, 181, 183, 184, 185, 187, (190), 198, 199, (199), 201, 202, 204, 205, (206), 215, (216), 219, (219), 220, (220), 222, 226
Хивинское ханство (Хива) (122), 123, 125, (126), (134), (141), (144), (145), 147, 148, 153, (154) (157), (160), 164, 168, 170, (172), 173, 174, (176), 178, 180, 181, 186, 190, 192, 193, (199), (200), (206), 209, (209), 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227
Хилали, город 154, 155, 162, 198, 199, (199), (200)
Хорезм (126), (154), (156), (157), (160), (173), (199)
Хорезмская Народная Советская Республика (158)
Чандыр, местность 199, (199)
Чарджуй, город 166, 167, 168, (168), 169, 172, (172), 175
Чимбай, селение 176
Чимбай, участок 121, (121), (140), 177
Шават см. Шахабад
Ша-Мурад, канал 196, 197
Шахабад, канал (122), 162, 163, 200, (200)
Янги-Калъа, местность 180, 181

Указатель личных имен

Абдулла Балтаев (123), (129), (217), (220)
Абдурашитов, учитель 218
Авазбай Мадияров 125
Александр III Романов 141, 165
Алла-Куджук, туркмен 198
Аллакули-хан (160)
Анисимов, А.Ф. врач (219)
Анна Сагат (Арна Сихат), туркмен (190)
Атаджан Тура 194
Бабаджан Таррах (137), (138)
Баба-Диван, бек 198
Брегель, Юрий (160), (162)
Джанибек (Худояров) Кушбеги 140, (140)
Галкин, Александр Семенович (122), 153, (153), 196, (196), 226
Гескет, Сергей Данилович 135, (135)
Гиршфельд, В.А. 153, (153)
Глушановский, Николай Галактионович 121, (121), 169, 183, (184), 223
Джунаид-хан, туркмен (145)

Дурди-Вакиль, туркмен 158, 159
Иванов, Николай Александрович 157, (157)
Игамберди Авазбердиев 170, 171
Инайат Нийазов 185, 189, 195
Исфандийар-хан см. Саййид Исфандийар-хан
Кауфман фон, Константин Петрович (128), (206)
Колосовский, Владимир Павлович (140)
Корнилов, В.Н. 140, (140), 142, 150, 202, 220
Кристи, Изабелла Робертсон (140), (207), (208), (210)
Кунграды, династия (140), (217)
Кутли-бика (137)
Кутлу-Мурад Бий Таджимуратов 179
Лыкошин, Нил Сергеевич (122), (123), (128), (129), (132), (137), (140), (142), (145), (146), (155), (156), (157), (159), (184), (186), (190), (196), (201), (202), (207), (211), (213), (215), (217), 227
Мануилов, Павел Александрович 125
Мат-Вафа (Мухаммад-Вафа) Баккалов 141, 152, 165, 199
Мат-Мурад (Мухаммад-Мурад) Диванбеги 137, (137), 138, (138), (169), 189, 194, 198, 214, 221, 223, 224
Махмуд Аскар Тура б. Мухаммад Рахим-хан II 186, (186), (187)
Махмудхан Атальханов, туркмен 164, 183, 185, 186, (186), 187, 188, 189, 190, (190), 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 204, (211), 213, 215, 221, 222
Минорский, Владимир Федорович 134, (134), 153
Мирза Абдурахман Самарканди (173)
Мухаммад Амин-хан (128)
Мухаммад Йунус Йасаулбаши 171
Мухаммад Йусуф Йасаулбаши 128, (128), 131, 132, 142, 143, 151, 165, 171, 201, 226
Мухаммад Рахим-хан II (128), (129), 136, 137, (137), 138, (138), 203, 206, (206), 207, 208, 209, 216, (217), 218, 223, 224, 225
Мухаммад Шариф Диван 141
Николай II Романов (144)
Ниязматов, Маримбай (219), (220)
Нур-Мухаммадбай Аминиддинбаев, консул 121, 142
Пахлаван Нийаз Камил Хорезми (137)
Покойный Хан см. Мухаммад Рахим-хан II
Расулев, Али Мухаммад, переводчик 139, (139), 143
Ризен, Эмиль 210, (210)
Романов, Николай Константинович 186, (186), 187, 188
Рооп, Евгений Эдуардович 151, (151), 219
Саадатжан-бика б. Мат-Мурад Диванбеги 138, (138), 224
Саййид Абдул-Азиз б. Саййид Ислам Ходжа 133, 144, 150

Саййид Ибадулла Ходжа (дядя Саййид Ислам Ходжи) 171
Саййид Ибрахим Ходжа (отец Саййид Ислам Ходжи) (138), 223
Саййид Ислам Ходжа б. Саййид Ибрахим Ходжа 128, 129, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, (138), 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149, (149), 150, 151, 152, 153, (155), 156, 164, 165, 169, 180, 182, 186, (190), 193, 201, 202, 204, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, (217), 218, 221, 222, 223, 224, 226
Саййид Исмаил Ходжа б. Саййид Ибрахим Ходжа (149), 169, 171
Саййид Исфандийар-хан (122), (123), 129, 130, 135, 136, (137), (139), 141, (143), (144), (145), 146, 149, 151, 152, 166, 186, (186), 202, 203, 204, 205, 212, 214, 215, 216, (217), 218, 220, (220), 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226
Саййид Исхак Ходжа б. Саййид Ибрахим Ходжа 149, (149), 180, 181, 183, 185, 214, 221
Саййид Йакуб Ходжа б. Саййид Ибрахим Ходжа 201
Саййид Мурад Аминов Баджман 172, (172)
Саййид Мухаммад Бек Ушак, туркмен 158, (158)
Саййид Темур-Гази Тура б. Саййид Исфандийар-хан 137, 143, 144, (144), 145, 205, 223
Салихбай Баккалов б. Мат-Вафа Баккалов 165
Самойлович, А.Н. (216), (217)
Самсонов, Александр Васильевич 142, (142), 149, 152, 221
Стеткевич, А.С. (141), (154), (169)
Субботич, Деан Иванович 178, (178)
Султан Джафар Асфандияров (220)
Тайчели, туркмен 190, (190)
Темир-Гази Тура (Тура-Джан) см. Саййид Темур-Гази Тура
Тоенс, Отто 207, (207), 210
Тотевосов, Григорий 168, 171
Умма-Гульсум Асфандиярова (220)
Хаджибай Аминиддинбаев, бек 124, (124
Хасан-Мурад Лаффаси (Хасан Мадаминов) (139), (184)
Хусайн-Бек см. Хусайн Мухаммаб Бай Диванбеги
Хусайн Мухаммаб Бай Диванбеги б. Мат-Мурад Диванбеги 138, 224
Шайх Назар Бай Йасаулбаши б. Мат-Мурад Диванбеги (128), 194
Шах-За (Шахджан Шамиев) 183, 184, (184), 185, 190, 204
Шах-Мурад Бахши, туркмен 158, 159
Шкапский, О.А. 126
Эппингер, Федор Мартынович 151, 202, 219, 220

Указатель этнических групп

Армяне 168, 171, 179
Бухарцы 171
Верхний Йомуты см. Туркмены Юкари-Йомуты
Казахи (146), 154, (155), 163, 164, 165, 176, 177, 178, 192, 193, 194, 222
Казахи-Адаевцы 149, (149), 188, 189, 191, 192, 193
Каракалпаки (146), 154
Киргизы см. Казахи
Киргизы-Адаевцы см. Казахи-Адаевцы
Меннониты см. Немцы-меннониты
Немцы-меннониты 203, 205, 206, 205, (206), 207, (207), 208, 209, (209), 210, 211, 215
Нижние (Озерные) Йомуты см. Туркмены Кулли-Йомуты
Персидские Йомуты см. Туркмены Кара-Йилгинли
Персы 199
Русские 132, 147, 148, (148), 165, 166, 167, 169, 171, 185, 186,187, 192, 199, 209, 221
Таджики 154, (154)
Татары (156), 178, 179, 199, 218
Туркмены 145, 146, (146), 149, 152, 153, (153), 154, 156, 157, (157), 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 176, 178, 181, 182, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, (190), 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 203, 204, 206, 211, 212, 214, 215, 221, 222, 225
Туркмены Ата 154, 171
Туркмены Имрели 154, 162, (211)
Туркмены Йомуты 154, (154), 156, 160, 163, 171, 182, 183, 197
Туркмены Йомуты, колено Байрам-Шали 154, (154)
Туркмены Йомуты, род Ушак (154), 158
Туркмены Йомуты, род Укуз (154), 158
Туркмены Йомуты, род Урус-Кушчи (154), 158, 183, 190
Туркмены Йомуты, род Салах (154), 158
Туркмены Йомуты, род Кожук (Кочук) 158
Туркмены Йомуты, колено Кара-Чока 154, (154)
Туркмены Йомуты, род Машрик (154)
Туркмены Кулли-Йомуты 163, (163), 165, 183, 189, 194, (211), 213, 215, 221
Туркмены Юкари-Йомуты (211), 212, 213, 215
Туркмены-Карадашли 162
Туркмены Кара-Йилгинли 160, (160), 163
Туркмены Чаудуры 154, 159, 161
Узбеки 154, 159
Хивинцы 133, 150, 156, 171, 174, 188, 191, 192, 193, 203, 204, 210, 217, 218, 224

Указатель непереводимых терминов

Абхур 126, (126)
Айак 126
Амалдар 159
Арз (арз-дад) 130, (130)
Арна 122
Атлик 157, (157), 161, 162, 165, 212
Афанак-пули 194, 213, (213)
Баджман 172
Бек 149, 162, 169, 170, 171, 175, 177, 180, 181, 183, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 198, 199, 214, 221, 225
Бигар 158, (158), (159)
Бий 180
Биш-атар 156, (156)
Вазири-Акбар 124, 128, 136, 138, 140, 142, 143, 169, 202, 211, 222, 224
Вилайат 146, (146), 156, 159, 162, 165
Гаувача 199
Гуджум 126
Гурген 156
Дарра 133
Дах-як 165, 194
Джигит 166, 167, 169, 179, 197
Дула 124
Зийарат 181
Закат (закят) 160, (160), 161, 162, 164
Зикр 181
Йаб 147, (147)
Йаримчи 194
Йарлык 145, (145)
Йасаул 160
Йасаул-баши 128, (128), 131, 132, 142, 143, 151, 171, 226
Йузбаши 162, (162), (190), 198
Казучи 188, 213, (213), 214, 215
Калъа 174
Кандар 162
Каулийат 159, (159), (160), 162, 163, 164
Кема (122), 200
Кетхуда 145, (145), 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 164, 181, 182, 183, 190, 195, 199, 210, 211, 212, 215, 221
Кукалдаш 145
Кушбеги (140)
Мазар 181
Мактаб 218
Махрам 131, (131), 134
Мехтар (140)
Музафат-хаким 140, (140)
Мултук 155
Мухрдар 157, 158
Назр 181
Наиб 169, (169), 170, 171, 175, 180, 226
Нукер 128, 155, (155), 156, 159, 169, 181, 184, 190, (190), 195, 201, 205, 225
Пашшаб 200, 201
Салам 124, 129, 131, 133, 142, 203, 218
Салгут 157, (157), 169, 171
Сарупа 210
Танап 126, (126), (148), 156, 157, (157), 160, 161, 162, 164, 170, 171, 192, 194, 195, 207, 212, 219
Танапкеш 148, (148), 192, 221, 222

Тилла 157, (157), 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 164, 171, 183, (190), 197, 201, 226
Уй 218, (218)
Хаким 124, (162)
Хун 159, (159), 160
Чала 160
Чугурма 130, (130), 133, 205
Чури 137
Шейх 181

This book presents a textual edition and English translation of an important historical source written in 1912 by N.S. Lykoshin (1860–1922), a Russian colonial officer and renowned orientalist. In his capacity as Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department (ADO), Lykoshin was tasked with overseeing affairs in the Khanate of Khiva, which since the Russian takeover of 1873 had been a Russian protectorate. During his tenure as ADO Commandant, Lykoshin produced a detailed administrative survey on the Khanate, which constitutes a bricolage of statistical data, ethnographic sketches, and travel notes replete with elements of novelistic playfulness; as such, the work represents one of the most detailed accounts of the Khivan Khanate to survive from the colonial era. The editor's introduction further leads the reader through the intricate world of contemporary Khiva – from institutional history to courtly politics, and even to contract-style assassinations and backroom intrigues.

Ulfat Abdurasulov is a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Institute of Iranian Studies at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

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