

Notes on the Present State of the Khanate of Khiva

by
the Commandant of the Amu-Darya Department
Colonel Nil Lykoshin

Petro-Aleksandrovsk, 1912

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./ *caiouques* 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 *caiouques* 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 *caiouques*, or *kīmas* as they were called by locals. According to the data collected by the Russian colonial administration in 1910, the total number of *caiouques* in the Khanate was 215. They were divided into several groups according to their carrying capacity: large-size *caiouques* (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 *poods*), middle-size (500–800 *poods*), and small-size (less than 500 *poods*). Each *caiouque* required 6–13 members of crew to sail: see Lobachevskii, *Voенно-statisticheskoe opisanie*, p. 85; V.A. Girshfel'd and A.S. Galkin, *Voенно-statisticheskoe opisanie Khivinskogo oazisa*, Pt. 1 (Tashkent: Tipografiia Turkestanского voennogo okruga, 1902), pp. 110–111.

deign to move from his Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace⁷ 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 *das-tarkhān*, I was met merely by the *Bīk*⁹ of the city of Khanqah Ḥājji-Bāy Aminiddinbaev¹⁰ and by the brother of *Vazīr-i Akbar* Sayyid

⁷ Nūrallāh-Bāy Palace – the main residence of Isfandiyār Khān in the city of Khiva. According to ‘Abdullāh 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 ‘Abdullāh Baltaev, *Khīva īsdalīklārī*. MS Tashkent, O‘zRFAShI, 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; O‘zMA, 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 ‘Abdullāh Baltaev, in 1865 Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II dug a garden measuring forty *tanāps* (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 ‘Abdullāh Baltaev, *Khīva īsdalīklārī*, fols. 35b–36b.

⁹ *Bīk* – the term along with *hākīm* used to denote the governor of a distinct province in the Khivan Khanate.

¹⁰ Ḥājji 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: “Ḥājji-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 Aminidinbaev, 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 *dastarkhāns*, 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,

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 'Avaž-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 as [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 *chīghīrs*. As it transpired from a conversation with a large farmer breeder ‘Avaž-Bāy Madyarov, who has a deep insight into the matter, *chīghīrs* 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 – *āb-khūrs*¹² – set up their *chīghīrs* 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 *chīghīrs* 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 *tanāps*¹³ [of land] (=4500 sq. *sazhens*), or roughly two *desiatinas*,¹⁴ would cost 50 roubles. Construction [of a *chīghīr*] and its exploitation for [watering] 5 *tanāps* [of land] entails an expense of 100 roubles, yet if one builds not one, but two *chīghīrs*, then their work would be more efficient and with two [*chīghīrs* in use] one could water not 10, but rather 15 *tanāps* of land, and thus the cost for irrigation would be reduced.

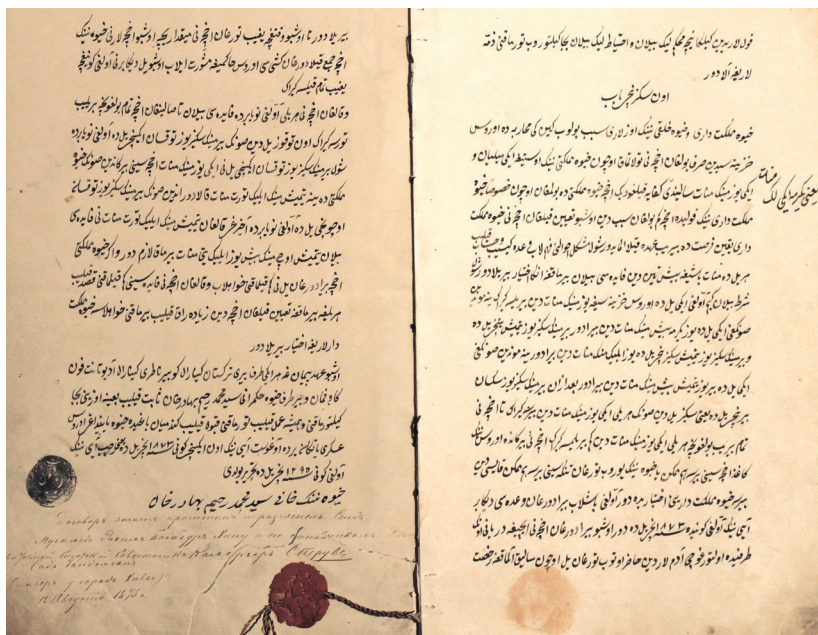
After an overnight stay in the well-furnished house of the local *Bīk*, where the most beautiful [things] were the Moorish styled high terraces [standing] upon carved pillars of elm (*gūjūm*), early in the morning of 29 May we rode out on a [coach pulled out by] a *troika* of bay horses, sent by the 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

¹³ *tanāp* – 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 *Btk*'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

verts 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-*nūkers* 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 vasa 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.

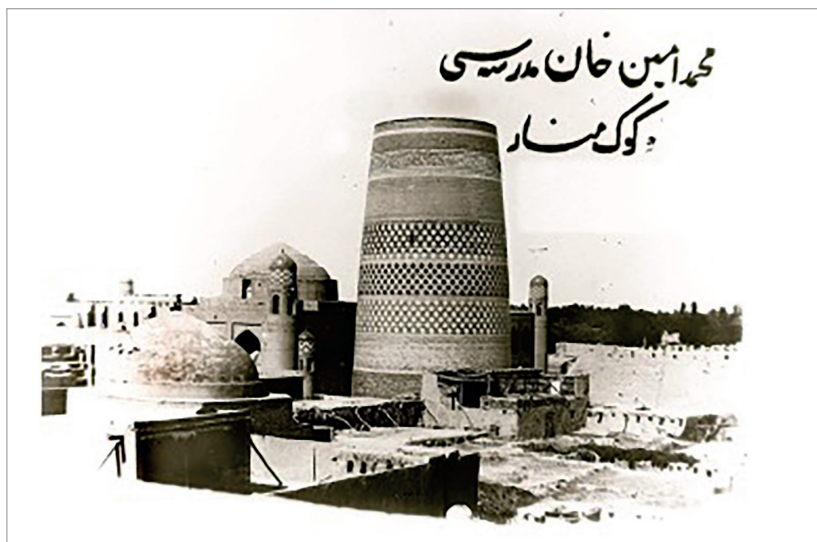
¹⁷ The full name of this dignitary was Muḥammad Yūsuf Yasāvulbāshī b. ‘Awaḥ Niyāz Maḥram. He occupied the office of *yasāvulbāshī*, which by the early 20th century came to be regarded as one of the highest offices in the Khivan administrative hierarchy, in the initial years of Isfandiyār Khān’s reign. There were usually two *yasāvulbāshīs* at the court of the Khan, both acting at the same time. Along with Muḥammad Yūsuf Yasāvulbāshī the same post was occupied by Shaykh Nazar Bāy Yasāvulbāshī, a son of Mat-Murād Divānbīgī. For more on the individuals who occupied this post under the Qongrats, 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’svo Gafura Guliyama, 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 *maḥrams* 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/

¹ *arʒ* or *ʿarʒ-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 *maḥrams* 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 *feierwerker* [=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 *Feierwerker*, 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

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 sons²⁹ 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

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 Murad 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 Rasulev³³ 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 (Hasan-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 *Muẓaffāt-Hākīmī*,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 *Muẓaffāt-hākīmī* or *Amūdaryā muẓaffātī hākīmī* – 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 knives”), 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

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 'Abd al-'Azīz 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; O'zMA, f. I-2, op. 1, d. 290, l. 5; *Telegrammy G. Turkestanskomu General-gubernatoru*; O'zMA, 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; O'zMA, 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; O'zMA, f. I-1, op. 31, d. 1104, ll. 156–156 ob. The February Revolution which occurred 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 'Abdullāh 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 *katkhudās*,* 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* lands⁴⁵ 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

* [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 multiplicity of designation 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 Asfandiār-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 [Turk-est-*an*] 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 *yābs*,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 *yābs* 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 *tanāpkashs*⁴⁸ and [local] commissions may entail undesirable

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 *Tanāpkash* – 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] *dachas* to the ill-informed [local] *tanāpkashs*; 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] *tanāpkashs*, 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

to be provided by the Khivan government. In the Khivan Khanate, the term *tanāp* 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, *Voeno-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 straight-away 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 Ishāq Khvāja, who is the *Bīk* of Kuhna-Urgench);⁵⁰ the house is built very spaciouly 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 Ishāq 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 ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, 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 $\frac{1}{2}$ *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 *poods*: 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 *kibitkas*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:

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 Turkestan 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.

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 *nūkers*, who are horsemen equipped [partly] with Berdana-type rifles⁵⁸ and partly with sabers alone or with the locally made *multuks*.

There are twice the number of *nūkers* as there are of rifles, and they perform service on a daily [basis], changing every 15 days. Of these *nūkers*, who somewhat resemble a regular army, there are:

In Khiva	50	
– Gazavat	40	
– Manaq ⁵⁹	40	
– Tash-Hawz	50	For 350 Berdana-type rifles there are 700
– Hilali	40	people, who serve on a double-shift basis for
– Aq-Tepa	40	15 days each [shift].
– Kuhna-Urgench	70	
– Qonghrat	20	
– Manghit	20	
In total:	350	

There are further 1,500 mounted *nūkers* [equipped] with swords and *multuks*.

The 300 three-line rifles plus 30,000 rounds of ammunition that were granted by the SOVEREIGN EMPEROR are being held in reserve.

* [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 *nūkers* in Kuhna-Urgench, whereas, in fact, as I was able to determine on the spot, there are 180 [*nūkers* from among] locals and further 40 [*nūkers* from among] Kirgizs, otherwise known as *Kazakhs*, under [the command of] six *yūzbāshīs*.

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 *tanāps* 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 *nūkers* [to the Khan’s army],

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 *tanāps* 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 *tanāps* [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 *tanāps* 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 'Abdullāh Baltaev, *Rivālūtsiyadīn avval qīshlāq khvājālīqīdā būlghān Kh-vārazm dīhqanlārīnī aḥvālī va kūrgan 'azāblārī*, MS Tashkent, O'zRShI, 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 *ṭillās* for each *āṭlīq* [estimated at] 30 *tanāps*: 9 [*ṭillās*] for land [itself] and 3 [more] *ṭillās* 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 *tanāps* [= 1 *āṭlīq*], or 72 kopecks for each *tanāp*.

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 *āṭlīqs* 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 *āṭlīqs* 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] *āṭlīqs* is being done by the honored Turkmens, the so-called “*kātkhudās*”; who could be both senior and junior [*katkhudās*], whether empowered or not by the distinct seal of the Khivan Government (*muhrdār*). /26/ 2,000 *ṭillās* of the total amount of the tax [levied from the *āṭlīqs* in that district] are being allocated in favor of such individuals [= *katkhudās*], whose number in the Takhta-Bazar district reaches 60, whereas [the remaining] 10,000 [*ṭillās*] = 18,000 roubles are being transferred to the Khanal treasury per annum.

In the Takhta-Bazar district there are the following *katkhudās*, those who are distinguished with the seals – *muhrdārs* [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) Arāz-Bīk (near Takhta);

Of the clan Oshaq:

6) Ūshāq-Bīkī (the [exact] name is not identified).⁶⁷

average size of one *āṭlīq* was established at the rate of ca. 30 *ṭanāp*, from which the Khivan authorities would yield a payment of 12 *ṭillās*, 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, *Rossiiia 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 Yomut'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 *ṭillās* 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 ‘*amaldārs* – 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 *nūkers* to the robbery site; in response the Turkmen *kathhudās* 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

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 Hājī (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 *katkhudās* 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 *nūkers* 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 *tanāps* [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*. *Ayasāvul* /27/ appointed by the Khan does the collecting.

* [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 *Shari'a*” noting that “they have a *qāzī* [for that purpose]”). It is possible to conjecture that etymology of this term stems 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 *kibitkas* 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.

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-Rahmān b. Muḥammad Laṭīf Mustajirr Samarqandī, [Notes]. MS, St. Petersburg, AVIVR RAN, f. 33, op. 1, d. 134, fol. 137a.

The [size of one] *ātliq* there [in Manghit] was also previously assessed at the rate of 50 *tanāps* [of land]; later on, it was reduced to 30 *tanāps*. The dwellers of Manghit pay 21 roubles and 60 kopecks for each of the 300 *ātliqs* [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 $400 \times 2 = 800$ *ṭillās* or 1,440 roubles annually; [in addition] the population pays 4,000 roubles for the workers [mobilized] from among the *vilāyat*'s population.

The *katkhudās* Murād Qāzī and *Bīklārbīgī*, who reside in Manghit, are ill-disposed towards all initiatives of the /27 ob./ Khan's Government.

Up to 15,000 *tanāps* 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 *ātliq*-tax accrues in full to the treasury; for their assistance in collecting it the *katkhudās* are rewarded by means of the exemption of their own lands from tax.

There are 7,000 *kibitkas* 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 *ātliqs* [at their disposal]. [The Khan's Government] dispatches 1,000 [irrigation] workers, [paying to each] two *ṭillās* 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 *tanāps* 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 *ṭillās* 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 *Sharī'a*; they have a *qāzī* [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 *kibitkas* 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 *āṭlīqs*, whereas the [members of tribe of] Qaradashli – as for 300 [*āṭlīqs*]; in total for [each of] 1,000 *āṭlīqs* [they pay] annually 21 roubles and 60 kopecks. The following Yemreli *katkhudās* are hostile to the Khan: 1) Shir-Khān, 2) Qīshīq Yūzbāshī, 3) Abrāl-Bīk and 4) Qakhna-Bāshī. There are no outstanding or influential *katkhudās* 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 *tanāps* 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 *ṭillās*, but [in fact] only 1,000 *ṭillās* 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 khalal administrative hierarchy; see his *Khorezmские туркмены*, 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 *kibitkas* in Kuhna-Urgench, including [a group of] *Qāra-Yilgīnlī* (Persian Yomuts);⁷⁴ for each of 250 *ātliqs* [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 Turkmens⁷⁶ 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.

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*-Yāmūts, 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 *ṭillās*. The area of cultivated land in that area is about 20,000 *ṭanāps*. 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 *ṭillās*. The area is [mostly] uninhabited, there are many *tugai* forests there and no bazaars.

The [following] *katkhudās* are ill-disposed towards the Khan's initiatives: 1) Maḥmūd-Khān, 2) 'Arab-Kal, 3) 'Abdī-Bāy, 4) Mat-Ḥasan Qāra Khvāja, 5) Anna-Khān, 6) Qarchāl-Bāy, 7) Amik, 8) Arāz-Qulī-Buguk, 9) Muḥammad Ḥasan Ishān, 10) Šiddīq Ishān, 11) Amīn Ishān, 12) Murād Niyaz-Bay, 13) Allāh-Bāy Kūchūk, 14) Āta-Murād Chatuk, 15) Jum'a 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] *uezds* 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 *chīghīrs* 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 *chīghīrs* [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, Šālīh 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 improperly 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 occurred 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 ‘Abd 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 *B7k* [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 Totevosoy, 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

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’inskoii 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’inskoii 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 Khali-faev, 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 *versts* 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 *versts*, 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 *versts*; 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 *nūkers* or hire [someone to serve on their behalf]; 130 households of *Khvājas* and *Sayyids*, 130 households of *Shaykhs*, 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 *sayyids*, *khvājas* and *shaykhs* 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 Divānbeḡī

land-tax] is levied from only 225 households. There are up to 8,000 *tanāps* of cultivated land, of which 400 *tanāps* 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 *versts* [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 *versts* 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 *versts* 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 water-course, 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 Yārliqlī-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 *ṭillās* as *sālghūt*. The Khan's [following] dignitaries own land there: Yūsūf Yasāvulbāshī, 1,000 *ṭanāps*; Yūnus Yasāvulbāshī (currently out of office), 1,000 *ṭanāps*; Īgām-Birdī Nā'ib, 1,000 *ṭanāps*; and the heirs of 'Ibadullāh Khvāja (an uncle of Islām Khvāja), 350 *ṭanāps*. The local *Nā'ib* delivers annually 10,000 *poods* 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 *poods* 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 *poods* of the [*buyān*] roots have been bought there, now it is scheduled to purchase and send to Hamburg up to 1 million *poods* 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 brought 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 indispensable 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

⁸² Phonetic rendering of *bājbān* – custom officer.

⁸³ On Sayyid Murad Aminov's cotton refinery in Darghan-Ata, see Niazmatov, *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 *versts*) 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 the vicinity of Pitnak. Should one however ride some five *versts* 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 *versts* 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 furnace⁸⁷ that is capable

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-ispan*” 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,

Chimbay⁸⁸ – 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 *volosts* 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] *volosts*. 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 *volosts*. 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 *caiouques* in Qizil-Jar, [which is only] 15 /35/ *versts* 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 *volosts*, 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 *versts* 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 *versts*, 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 *versts* 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 Tajī-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 Turkish 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 *versts* 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 *desiatinas* 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 Ishāq 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 *yurtas* 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*] together with an escort of Khivan horsemen or *nūkers*, 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 Ishāq [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 *Bekstvos* 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 *Bekstvos*, or marry there again, raising a second, local, family. Most of the *Bīks*, 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 *katkhudās* of various clans had also arrived at the ‘Azīzlār-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 Turkmen belong to the so-called “Khanal Turkmen” (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 *katkhudās* – 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 *katkhudās* 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 Ishāq 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* Ishāq 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 *ṭillās* has been put on Maḥmūd-Khān's head. Regarding himself, Shāh-Zā

⁹⁰ Thanks to the accounts of the Khivan author Hasan-Murād Laffasī we have been able to identify this individual's name as Shāh-Jān Shamiev: see Hasan Madaminov (Hasan-Murād Laffasī), *Otryvki iz istorii Khivinskogo khanstva. Period 1910–1913 gg.*, 1. 92.

told me that a price of 600 *ṭillās* 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 *nūkers* – 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.

⁹¹ Although Lykoshin repeatedly 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 disreputable 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* Ishāq 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* Ishāq 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, Ishāq 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* Ishāq 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 inculcate Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov in anti-governmental propaganda was as follows. During my stay in Kuhna- /39/ Urgench, at the house of *Bīk* Ishāq 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 'Aşqarī-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 'Aşqar-Tūra (d. 1915), an elder brother of Isfandiyār Khān. As an elder son of the late Khan, Maḥmūd 'Aşqar-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 (Hasan-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; O'zMA, 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 'Aşqar 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

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 'Aşqar 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 'Aşqar 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 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 *Ishāns*, 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 pitance 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 "*qāzūchīs*", [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 *chīghīrs* 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 *chīghīrs* constitute an innovation. In previous times, when Mat-Murād Divānbīgī ruled over the [Kuhna-Urgench] *Bekstvo*, he was [repeatedly] asked for permission to install *chīghīrs* at the upper stream of the Sukhbat [Canal]; but the *Divānbīgī*, who had a deep expertise on irrigation affairs, categorically forbade the installation of *chīghīrs*, in view of the fact that, given the slope of the terrain [in that locality], the *chīghīrs* 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 *chīghīrs* 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 *chīghīrs*, during which the Turkmens destroyed the *chīghīrs* 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* 'Ināyat Niyazov, who was accompanying me [on this trip], that if Maḥmūd-Khān would not appear on the night of 7–8 July, he [= 'Ināyat Niyazov] was to head off [to Maḥmūd-Khān's encampment] early in the morning and summon him to Kuhna-Urgench before me.

'Ināyat 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 *nūkers* 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 *nūkers*.*

/41 ob./ Further explanations [provided] by Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov, the 60-year-old *kathhudā* 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 *nūkers*. 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 Şihat Yūzbāshī mentioned in the Khivan sources under similar circumstances], seeking to distinguish himself before the Khivan dignitaries, bribed two Turkmens with 100 *tillās* and instructed them to deliver Tāychilī's head in a bag. Anna-Sagat [=Ārna Şihat] 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 Şihat] was given [a reward to the sum of] 200 *tillās* 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 Şihat], 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 Şihat] 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-Yārgḥān”, 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 circumstances] 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 *tanāpkashs*, 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 *tanāpkashs*, 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 (*tanāp*), 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 *chīghīrs*; 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 *chīghīrs* 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 *versts* 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 *chīghīrs* on the Lawzan [Canal]; and they still were able to manage even without them [= *chīghīrs*], as there was more water in the Amu-Darya at the time. Even on the occasions when there was not sufficient water, *chīghīrs* 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 *chīghīrs* [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 Turkmens *katkhudās* who gathered in Kuhna-Urgench [during my presence], the following gave their explicit consent to the [conducting of] *per-tanāp* 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) Arāz 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 *katkhudās*, but on all lands, without any exceptions, including those – also hereditary ones – which are currently /44/ in the possession of those *katkhudās* 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 *nūkers*; 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 *yurtas* 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 *ṭillās*, whereas in the Trans-Caspian Region, a good bride was to be found for no less than 1,000 *ṭillās*. 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 [‘Ināyat 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 *versts* 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 punitive 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 assistance [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 *caiouques* 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 poods: see *Gospodiny Nachal'niku Amy-Darinskogo otdela, 09.02.1916*; O'zRMA, f. 1-2, 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 pervaiia)", p. 397.

distinctly low bows, are able to sail underneath, whereas for the passage of higher and larger *caiouques* one needs to disassemble, in certain places, the flooring of bridges and to restore everything again, after vessels have passed by.

Allāh-Nazar, 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-Nazar, used to flirt with the wife of a local policeman, or *pashshāb*. On one occasion the husband found the lover [=Allāh-Nazar] standing behind his wife's canopy (*pashakhāna*), and severely wounded Allāh-Nazar with a knife that he brought from the next room. He [=Allāh-Nazar] 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-Nazar, 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 *ṭillās* (360 roubles), which were collected and divided as follows: Yusūf Yasāvulbāshī, who examined the case, got 100 *ṭillās*, the victim, Allāh-Nazar, got 50 *ṭillās* as compensation for the treatment expenses, and the remaining 50 *ṭillās* 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.

nūkers 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] occurred 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 *nūkers*, [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 length 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 *nūkers*, 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 *birlānjī*, 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 *versts* 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 *guberniyas* 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 *tanāps* of land, surrounded by a high adobe fence 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

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 “for-steer”,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 Marienburg¹⁰⁶ from whence most of the local colonists [originally] came [here], after spending

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 Khivinskoi 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 Otto Toens: see her *Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand*, p. 76.

¹⁰⁴ Evidently must be read as “Vorstehér”, 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 referring here to the town of Marienburg (Polish: Malbork) in West Prussia (nowadays Poland), which seems to have accommodated 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.

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 Khivinskoi 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, *Voenna-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 “*kathhudā*” – 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 Turkmen 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] Turkmen sat around the table on the carpets set out on the ground.¹¹¹

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 *katkhudās* of the Upper Yomuts asserted their obedience [to the Khan's initiative] and requested his permission to return to their *auls* 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 *katkhudās* 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 land-owners, who, having significant plots of land, pay land-tax 21 roubles and 60 kopecks for one *āṭlīq* i.e., 30 *ṭanāps* [of land], whereas the [real] size of plots [at their disposal] far exceeds the size of one *āṭlīq*.

I explained to the *katkhudās* 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 Turkmen to them in all matters, I considered that it was completely unnecessary [for them to go back to their *auls* 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 Turkmen kept insisting on their proposal: they were asking to let them go to their *auls* 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 Turkmen's request.

/51 ob./ [Then, the floor] was given to the the *Kūllī*-Yomuts led by Maḥmūd-Khān Atal'khanov, and they expressed unan- imously their full compliance with the [upcoming] land meas- urement as well as with the termination of the [Khivan] Gov- ernment's [practice of] cleaning their canal. They requested only that they should be allowed to clean their canals comple- tely 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 (*qāzūchīs*) 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 *chīghīrs* 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 [maintenance] 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 *qāzūchīs* to irrigation works, either for letting them [= the *qāzūchīs*] 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 *chīghīrs* 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 *chīghīrs* 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 Ishāq 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] *chīghīrs* 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 *chīghīrs* 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 *chīghīrs* 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 *auls*] and not await their response which they wanted to articulate after consultations with their tribesmen, since the *katkhudās* 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 *katkhudās* 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 *katkhudās* 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 *katkhudās*] 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

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 surprising 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 *hujjras* and had 6 *dakhmas*. 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'fīl*).

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 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 *tanāps* of land inherited from his grandmother. Given the local small-scale [type of] farming, a garden of 50 *tanāps* (about 17 *desiatinas*) 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 – pervaya 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 Turkestan 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 ‘Abdullāh Baltaev, an eyewitness to the event, the ceremony caused great excitement among the dwellers of Khiva; see his *Khiva ṭsadalīklārī*, 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 *tanāpkashs*, 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] *tanāpkashs*, 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 *tanāpkashs* 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 *katkhudās* 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 *chīghīrs* 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 Ishāq Khvāja, the *Bīk* of Kuhna-Urgench, will supervise the land measurement [works] and ensure that the works proceed in good order. The Turkmen [*katkhudās*] 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 *chīghīrs* that he [allegedly] committed. 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 committed any violence, but that if his relatives are proved guilty, he would readily reimburse all the losses incurred by such Turkmen's' 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 Turkmen's' 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 *tanāpkashs* 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 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-Aleksandrovska 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 *Bīks* with new ones, and a reduction in the number of *bekstvos* and by the merging of petty *bekstvos* 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 *nūkers* often commit acts of injustice and extortions, believing in their impunity from the *Bīks*' sides, [since] the latter support them.

3) The fight of the Khan's Government against the Turkmen 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 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 *tanāps*, 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 *tillās*, though it seems that they got only 50 thousand [*tillās* 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 *tillās* [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 *tillās* [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