

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹⁰ See further: Abdurasulov and Sartori, “Neopredelennost’ kak politika”, pp. 129–134.

⁹¹ See further: Ulfat Abdurasulov, “‘‘Tainy Khivinskogo dvora’’: politicheskaia bor’ba v Khive v period Rossiiskogo protektorata” *Vostok Svysh’e* 38/3 (2015): 40–41.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹⁵ See infra: *Zapiska*, p. 124.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁰ See *infra*: *Заметка*, p. 172.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

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

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

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

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

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

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

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

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