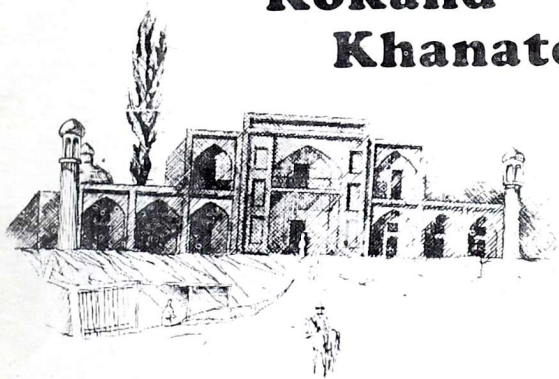


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T. Kenensariiev



**The Kyrgyz
and
Kokand
Khanate**



Osh — 2000

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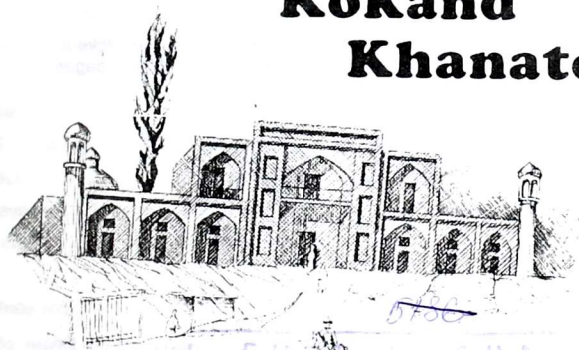
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T. Kenensariiev

The Kyrgyz and Kokand Khanate



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Kenensariiev T.

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New ideas about the Kokand Khanate's establishment, its stages of development, roles and places of the Kyrgyz and their biys at the government are presented in this book.

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Translator's Note

This book has been translated to interpret the history of the Fergana Valley and the Kyrgyz people before the coming of the Russians, for the ordinary reader in English, who has some interest in the subject.

The Central Asian Republics, ever since the momentous days of 1991, when they gained sovereign status, have been playing an ever growing part in world affairs, and perhaps there is need and scope for defining the political, economic and ethnic status of these countries in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries when they had their own native, feudal government. This book gives a general idea about the political, ethnic and social background of the Kokand State and the part played by the Kyrgyz people and the biys in it's development.

In the course of translating this book I have received help from many. I thank all of them. I must specially thank Ms. Orungul, Ms. M.S. Louisa, Ms. G. Yulia and A. Sultan. My thanks are also due to Mr. Bakyt Omorkulov, Director of the Centre for Indian Studies. I would also like to thank Tahir Mirzayev for typing the manuscript. Finally, I am greatly indebted to Professor T. Kenensariiev for much encouragement.

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January, 2000

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Relations.

Preface

The Kyrgyz people were one of the Turkic tribes. This is a historical truth. It is a well-known historical fact that the Kyrgyz had their own independent state from the fifth to tenth centuries. After that they lost their independence and regained it only towards the end of the twentieth century. But we cannot say that from the tenth century till the end of the twentieth century the Kyrgyz people did not have their own land, home and state. During this period the Kyrgyz people together with other Turkic people took an active part in building a state. There is no dispute about the fact that the Kyrgyz were a native people of the Karakhanid State. The Kyrgyz people lived in the Karakhanid State from about 942-1137 A.D. The capital of this State was Balasagin. Balasagin was an important place as many intellectuals lived here –like Jusup who is the author of the famous book *Kutalchu Bilim*. Mahmood Kashgari author of the *Dictionary of the Turkic People* lived in Barskan. The second important city was Barskan which was the native city of the author of the *Dictionary of the Turkic People*. Undoubtedly the Kyrgyz intellectuals contributed prominently to the flowering of Renaissance in the East. They developed the culture, economy and politics of their state and Kyrgyzstan became a developed state. This is why the Kyrgyz influenced the development of other states in and around Kyrgyzstan. Like, they influenced the development of the states by Chagatai, Haydun, Qamar ad-din, Ahmedin and Muhammad. We must remember that prominent leaders of the Kyrgyz through their intense political activities tried to carve out an united state. These leaders have become legendary because of their long struggle for state hood - Adigine, Tagay, Salavas biy (leader of the people), Kubat biy, Aji biy, Atake and Ormon Khan were prominent leaders who struggled incessantly for statehood.

It is a historical truth that there is no power without people and there is no people without power. It is also a fact that the state cannot exist without its territory. From 6th to 19th centuries in spite of difficult social conditions the Kyrgyz people because of their indomitable will power struggled for statehood. Their will power and ability to struggle have become legendary.

The rise and growth of the Kokand state during the last two centuries was historically significant. According to Soviet historians the Kokand state was antipeople and the Kyrgyz people were exploited by the state. But we must remember that from Ancient to Modern times there wasn't any state in the world which enjoyed all round prosperity. Similarly generations of Turkic people in the Fergana Valley saw the ups and downs of life. Therefore, it is but natural that Kyrgyz also went through similar experience and so they cannot be isolated from the history of the Kokand State. The Kyrgyz along with other tribes participated in the victory and defeat of the Kokand state. This is a historical truth. Therefore the history of the Kyrgyz from the 18th century till the 70th years decade of the 19th century was an integral part of the history of the Kokand history.

Eminent historians in their writings have shown the close connection between the Kyrgyz people and the Kokand state. Like, Anvarbek Hasanov¹, Relation between the Kyrgyz people, the Kokand state and Russia from 50th –70th years of 19th century; Kushbek Usonbaev², Social and Economic

¹ *Хасанов А. Взаимоотношения киргизов с Кокандским ханством и Россией в 50—70-е гг. XIX в. —Ф., 1961; The same author. Народные движения в Киргизии в период Кокандского ханства.—Ф., 1977.*

² *Усенбаев К. Общественно-экономические отношения киргизов в период господства Кокандского ханства.—Ф., 1961; The same author. Присоединение Южной Киргизии к России.—Ф., 1960.*

relations of the Kyrgyz during the Kokand Period; Vladimir Ploshkih¹, Essays about land Relations in South Kyrgyzstan on the eve of Russian Rule. These historical works are important but the Uzbek historians seem to have done more minute study of the history of the Kokand state. In this book we would like to analyze in detail the history of the Kokand state. May be our views in this book are not similar to the views of the Uzbek historians. It is said that truth comes from argument. We want to state new points of view about the role of the Kyrgyz people and the Kyrgyz biys in the development of the Kokand state².

¹ *Плоских В.М.* Очерк земельных отношений в Южной Киргизии накануне вхождения в состав России.— Ф., 1965; The same author. Очерки патриархально-феодалных отношений в Южной Киргизии (50—70-е гг. XIX в.).— Ф., 1968; The same author. Киргизы и Кокандское ханство.— Ф., 1977.

² The readers are informed the news about the mixing of Kyrgyz biys to the Kokan Khan spheres from the latest article. (Look at: *Кененсариев Т.* Эл тарыхы жер тамырында. //САЯСИЙ ТРИБУНА.—1991.—№ 2.; The same author. Курманжан датка — тарыхый инсан.//Курманжан датка.—Ош, 1991; The same author. Кыргыздар. //ОШ ЖАҢЫРЫГЫ—22-24th of August. —1992; The same author. Кокон хандыгы жана кыргыздар.//ZAMAN—КЫРГЫЗСТАН.— 7, 14th of March. —1997; *Молдокасымов К.* Полот хан. //Мурас. —1991.—№ 7; The same author. Искак Молдо Кокондун акыркы ханы.//ZAMAN—Кыргызстан.— 19, 25 of November. —1995; The same author. Алымбек датка — Кокондун баш увазири.//КЫРГЫЗ РУХУ.—1995.—№ 7,8; *Эркебаев М.* Алымбек датка. (Тарых, тагдыр, инсан.).//ZAMAN—КЫРГЫЗСТАН. —30th of June, 7, 14th of July.—1995; The same author. Курманжан датка (тарыхый баян).//ZAMAN—КЫРГЫЗСТАН. — 19, 20, 21th of May. —1996 and others.)

Chapter I

Ethno-Political situation in the Fergana Valley before the establishment of the Kokand state

The South Kyrgyz tribes lived at the foothills of the mountains which surrounded the Fergana Valley. At that time the inhabitants of Fergana were Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Kipchak and some other Turkic tribes¹, settled Sarts², Tajik, some town and village settlers, nomadic and semi-nomadic people. This was the general pattern of settlement. This is the reason why we can not study the political, economic and even cultural development of this ethnical groups separately.

For a better understanding of this aspect we must take into account the nature of the political condition of Kokand State from XVIII to XIX centuries. This would mean from the time of displacement of ancient Davons and Sakas and their settled and nomadic population till the emergence of a new civilization in the Fergana Valley sometime in the middle of first millennium B.C. In history, Fergana is called "River Civilization" as artificial irrigation played a very important role in the economic development of the valley. Therefore, from the economic point of view, it was very important to own irrigated land. In the Middle Ages, people of Fergana Valley were divided into two types according to certain social and economic criteria:

¹ In our opinion (tribes) (uruular) will be right. Because the formation of Uzbeks lasted till the beginning of the XX century. Nomadic and half nomadic Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Kipchak and Turkic tribes mixed with nowadays Uzbek and Kyrgyz people and they kept their independence before uniting to Russia.

² The term «Sart» is a historically true term, because, present Uzbeks before registration of the population, 1924, were given as two different nations, «Sart» and «Uzbeks».

1. Settled farmers and people whose occupation was handicraft and trade.

2. Nomadic people who were occupied with cattle-breeding.

The power and influence of these two groups formed the basic structure of the state. This two groups were further sub-divided into five groups based on the occupational structure:

1. Land and irrigation system - traditionally they belonged to the settled and nomadic people.

2. Agriculture and handicrafts were the main occupation of the settled groups. They were the owners of their production.

3. Trade was in the hands of the settled groups.

4. Cattle-breeding and dairy production was in the hands of nomadic people.

5. Power and policy were in the hands of the nomadic people.

So the nomadic people controlled political power and to some extent economic power. But economic power was mainly in the hands of the settled people. So, there was some sort of balance between political power and economic wealth. Therefore, these two groups were interdependent and could not progress independently¹.

From the end of the 13th century till 1370 Central Asia was devastated by Timur or Tamerlane (1336-1405) as he is known in history. He was the son of Taragay from the Barlos tribe of the Mongols. Taragay was a boy of his tribe. Timur founded the Timurid dynasty in Samarkand in 1370. Amir Timur who conquered vast areas of the world died in 1405 in Otrar (modern Chimkent in Kazakhstan). The Timurid dynasty till the XVI century was

¹ *Кененсариев Т. Некоторые причины возникновения межнационального конфликта и возможные пути его устранения.// Ренессанс и регресс.— Б.,1996.— р.178.*

controlled by famous persons like, Shahruk (1407-1447); Ulugbek (1447-1469); Sultan Hussein (1469-1505); and the last Timurid Zaheruddin Babur (1483-1526). In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Uzbeks who lived on the North of the Aral Sea, led a nomadic life. The Uzbeks at that time consisted of ninety two tribes which were under Muhammad Sheybani. He was a descendent of Siban Khan and Siban was the son of Bateiy. Bateiy was the son of Joochun who was the eldest son of Chingiz Khan-Sheibani founded the Sheibanid dynasty. At that time Fergana was controlled by Sultan Babur. Babur was the son of the Omar Sheikh a descendent of the Timurid dynasty. Babur defended Fergana from the Uzbek tribes under Sheybanid Muhammad's leadership several times. Unfortunately, his victory was short-lived. Finally in 1512, he escaped from Fergana and reached Afghanistan. In 1526 at the first battle of Panipat in India he was victorious and then laid the foundation of the Great Mongol Empire in India.

From XVI-XVII century, Fergana was under the influence of Ashtarnanid dynasty (1559-1765) which was founded in Bukhara Ashtarnanid power in Maverennagrd (Fergana Valley) became weak due to internal strife. Strong nomadic Uzbek tribes such as the Mangit, Keneges and Miyancala, fought among themselves for capturing central power. As a result the people of the Maverennagrd suffered and its economy became weak.

Clearly, Maverennagrd was in the throes of political chaos in the beginning of the XVIII century during the Ashtarhanid rule. But Fergana Valley had not faced a similar situation. The reason was that Fergana Valley was different from other oases of Central Asia. The difference was mainly due to geopolitical factors. Its territory was small and it was surrounded by mountains on the north, east and south. On the West Fergana was connected with Maverennagrd by a narrow strip of land (near Kojent at the bank of river Syr Daria). These and other factors prevented serious political disorder in Fer-

gana. Therefore, in the beginning of XVIIIth century Fergana was free from external aggression. Like, at this time, NadirKhan of Iran who conquered Bukhara did not invade Fergana because of its distance. Moreover, in the beginning of the XVIII century the strong tribes Juzes who occupied Jizak, Oro-Tobo and Kojent (place which are situated between Bukhara and Fergana) saved Fergana from Bukhara.

Secondly, the structure of Fergana's native ethno-political power was important. In the XVIII century the Kazaks and northern Kyrgyzs attacked Fergana from the north¹. By the end of the XVII century the Kyrgyz from Tengir-Too came to Fergana due to the pressure of the Jungars (Kalmak). Prior to the reign of Chingiz Khan the Kyrgyz of Fergana were known as On-nul (ten-sons) or Andijan Kyrgyzes. We must remember the fact that in VIth century, Istemi Kagan became a part of Turkic Kaganat (state), the people who were from Tenir-Too. And Jeti-Suu and were called Turkic ten tribes people. May be there is some connection between them.

After the reign of Chingiz Khan Fergana came under the influence of the famous Dolon's descendants. Akuul, his son Otuz uul with their tribes were near the Alai mountains. In XIV century Otuz uul's sons Adigine his brother Tagai biy were famous in the Fergana Valley. Tagai under the name Ali-Sheikh served Timur. Sons of Akuul were considered as a part of Otuzuul tribe. So prior to XVII century, Fergana Kyrgyzes were divided into groups called: - old (onuul-ten sons) and new (otuzuul-thirty sons)². The author is of the view that if this was so, than the Kyrgyzes who came from Tengir-Too, were friends of Tagai biy and may be they were one of the tribes of Sari-Buga and Lalym Kushchu, who were in the service of Timur. Towards the

¹ *Махмуд ибн Вали*. Море тайн относительно доблестей благородных. (География).—Т.,1977.—17,19,40.

² *Аттокуров С.* Тагай бий (Тарыхый очерк).—Б.,1994.— р. 9.

end of the XVIII century they lived in Talaş. The Kushchú were one of the powerful Kyrgyz tribes in Fergana sometime in the middle of the XVIII century. According to some information when the Chinese conquered East Turkestan in the fifties of the XVIII century, nine thousand Kyrgyz-Kipchaks and other tribes migrated to Fergana¹.

So the different representatives of the various Kyrgyz tribes who continued to live in Fergana from the middle ages were: Kipchaks including Kyrgyz-Kipchaks, Noigut-Kipchaks and others; semi-settled Turkic people; Karakalpaks and Karamuruts along with settled Uzbek tribes who came here in the XVI century, formed a powerful ethno-political group of settled people called «ilatia»

The different ileitia groups united as a defensive measure against the enemies. This sort of unity was a positive measure. From 1741-1745, Kubat biy (Kushchu-Kyrgyz tribe) co-operated with the Kokon biys and liberated Fergana from the enemies².

People who lived in the towns and villages of Fergana had similar social and economic structures but their ethnic structures were different.

In XV-XVI centuries settled people of towns and villages, who spoke the Iranian language assimilated with Turkic people and were called «Sarts». Later in XVIII century, the settled Uzbeks, Turks and other ethnic groups were called «Sarts». The term Sart was not used in any ethnic sense. From the middle ages it was used in the sense meaning farmers, craftsmen and traders. In a number of towns and villages, like Kojent, Kanibadam, Isfara, Kasan, Chust etc, lived the Tajics. Usually people from different ethno-

¹ *Бейсембиев Т.К.* "Тарих-и Шахрухи" как исторический источник. —А— А., 1987.—р.8.

² *Гуревич Б.П.* Международные отношения в Центральной Азии в XVIII — первой половине XIX в.—М.,1983.— р.64.

political groups lived in one village. For example, in Kokon town, four groups lived along with Samarkandi, Kashkari, Kuhistanis. They migrated to Kokon during XVII-XVIII centuries from neighboring territories due to political chaos. They formed a group which was called «Sartia».

The fact that people of different ethnic groups lived in Fergana had some positive effects. Existence of such heterogeneous population meant that they were Inter-dependent and their joint efforts strengthened the economy and also balanced the policies of the ruling power. On the one hand, there was nomadic and semi-nomadic people and on the other, the settled inhabitants of villages and towns. Their mutual relation, tended to balance the ethno-political, social and economic factors.

Unlike, other territories of Central Asia, conditions in the Fergana Valley were conducive for the development of statehood. Fergana was small in area and at the same time it was far from Bukhara and Samarkand, which were prone to constant external invasions. The different ethnic and ethno-political groups, which lived together for a long time always united to defend themselves against external invasion. All these facts led to political stability and economic prosperity

At the beginning of the XVIIIth century Fergana was separated from Bukhara. In Fergana the Kojent biys and Akboto Kyrgyzes lived in the South-Western part while the Central and Eastern parts of the territory were under the influence of the religious leaders.

Chapter II

The Foundation of the Kokand State and stages of its development

According to Kokand history, Shahrukh became a biy in the Fergana valley in 1709 with the help of nomadic feudals. Some native historians of the Fergana valley in their works on the Khans of the State, emphasise on certain political events before the advent of Shahrukh.

These works state that after the death of Sheibanid Muhammed in 1610, Babur returned to Samarkand from Kabul with the help of the Persians who ruled over Kabul at that time. In 1511, Babur biy fought against Ubaidula Khan and was defeated. After this defeat Babur, his son and two wives escaped to Hindustan. He fled to Hindustan through the southern mountains of Fergana valley. He passed through the Alai mountains, too. The nomadic Uzbek tribes influenced to Babur's passing through the Alai mountains, because the Uzbek tribes occupied the road which led to the South of Samarkand.¹ May be because he wanted to take a last look at his native place. While Babur was passing through Kojent and Kanibadam(modern, Leilek district and Tajikistan's Kojent region), his wife Seidafak gave birth to a son. Babur was apprehensive about being pursued by his enemies, so he abandoned his new born son near the road. He also left his expensive belongings and gold belt on the way. Near this road lived the Kyrgyz, Kypchak and Uzbek tribes. They led a nomadic life. The native people soon discovered that the abandoned

¹ *Наливкин В.* Краткая история Кокандского ханства.—Казань, 1886.— р.48.

child was Babur's son. These people took care of the child. They found a woman from the Uzbek ming tribe who nursed the child. The child was named Altyn Beshik. This important event took place in 1512. For a long time, these nomadic people concealed the origin of the child – that he was Babur's son, as they feared that the arch enemies of the Timurids the Sheibanids would kill him. They hoped that when the child grew up he would help them. They married him to four women of four tribes – Kyrgyz, Kypchaks, Juz and Ming tribes. According to sources, Babur from Hindustan had secretly sent an envoy to the nomadic people requesting them to send back his son. They didn't agree to return his son Altyn Beshik. This had some political importance. Altyn Beshik lived among the Ming tribe and later he became their leader and lived in Aksi. The Ming Tribe had helped Altyn Beshik in his political career and tried to use him and his descendants to promote their own political interests. Altyn Beshik had a son from his wife of ming tribe. The son's name was Tengirjar. There was a time when Altyn Beshik was a Murid of Kojo Magzum Agzam, who lived in Samarkand. According to history in 1540, Agzam came to Aksi and left his relative Kojo Nizam for the upbringing of Tengirja. Later Tengirjar with the help of Kojos (political power of Fergana was based on the land of Kojos) became a biy of Fergana after the death of his father Altyn Beshik. This was after 1597 because Fergana became independent only after the death of Sheibanid Abdymomun. According to sources Tengirjar's descendants didn't live in Aksi. Maybe Tengirjar's descendants were forced out of Aksi by the Kojoes who were afraid of losing power. According to Nalivkin, the last descendants of Tengirjar lived in Margalan. There were some biys among the descendants of Tengirjar who lived in Fergana from XVI-XVII century. They were – Jar Muhammed, Abil Qasim, Ubaidulla (Sultan Asyl biy), Shahrukh biy, Rustam biy. The last biy came to power in 1694. He left two sons – Pasil Atalik (Atalik was the most important

official who helped the biys to rule the state) and Ashirkul who came to power after Rustam biy. Ashirkul's son Shahrukh biy came to power in 1709 and founded the Kokand state.

This view of the origin of the Kokand state is not the only one. According to some sources sometimes during the XVIII century, Akboto was the ruler of Kojent and Akboto was a Kyrgyz¹. Akboto was married to Shahrukh's daughter and so he was the son-in-law of the founder of the Kokand state. According to the nomadic traditions only the most powerful ruler could marry his rival's daughter. This fact makes it clear that Akboto helped Shahrukh to come to power. Under such circumstances the Mings and the Kyrgyz united for the time being. There were two reasons for this unity-first they united because of matrimonial alliance and secondly, because, they wanted to get rid off the Kojoes.

Tengirjar was the ruler of Fergana but he did not exercise effective control over the entire area in the beginning of the XVIIIth century. There were two reasons for this – the Kojoes had intensified their influence over the area and because of the passive political attitude of the biys. Naturally, therefore, after Tengirjar, his successors exercised power over Margalan only as major part of Fergana was under the influence of the Kojoes. This was the state of affairs when Shahrukh biy came to power in 1709. He conquered Rishtan, which is a village in Uzbekistan's Fergana region and inhabited by the Tajiks. These facts do not prove that Shahrukh was the founder of the Kokand State. Undoubtedly, Akboto was stronger militarily and politically.

Some time later, Shahrukh biy wanted to establish alliance with the Kojoes. For this purpose he invited the eldest Kojoe from Chadak. Shahrukh wanted him to marry a girl from the Ming tribe but instead all guests were

¹ Материалы по истории киргизов и Киргизии. —М., 1973.—Вып.1.

killed on the orders of Shahrukh during the ceremony. He suddenly captured Namangan and spread his power.

In 1721, Shahrukh founder of the Kokand state passed away. Soviet historians, generally speaking, are of the view that Kokand state was only an Uzbek state as the ancestors of Shahrukh were official biys of the Ming tribe from XVI century onwards. However, the fact is that the Kokand rulers who considered themselves biys from 1709 till 1803 were descendants of the Timurids from the paternal side and from the Ming tribe on the maternal side.

The development of the Kokand State can be divided into three major parts:

1. 1709 – 1800 Formation of the Kokand state. Kokand state was formed as a political and administrative unit. It's economy and polity were developed. Fergana Valley and Kokand State were united.
2. 1800 – 1840 This was a period of development and prosperity of the Kokand State. The Kokand State organized its administration soundly, consolidated its political power and spread it beyond the Fergana Valley.
3. 1842 – 1876 This was the period of decline of the Kokand State. Increasing political and social crisis weakened the Kokand State and finally led to its decline. The decline was hastened by popular uprisings, social crisis and mutual rivalry among feudal lords from 1873 - 1876.

We will now analyze the three stages of Kokand's history.

1. The first stage was from 1709 – 1800. During the first stage the leaders of Kokand state were:

Shahrukh biy (1709 – 1721)

Abdurahim biy (1721 – 1734)

Abdikarim biy (1734 – 1747)

Erdene biy (1750 – 1769). His original name was

Abdul Qaum.

Narboto biy (1770 – 1798). His original name was Abdul Hamid.

The founder of Kokand State Shahrukh had three sons – Abdu Rahim, Abdu Karim and Shadi. Abdu Rahim succeed his father in 1709 and ruled till 1734, till his father's death, Abdu Rahim was looked after by Akboto, the ruler of Kojent. At that time Kojent was independent of Bukhara and Chadak and its ruler was Akboto, the son of Mamamtraim Atalik. There are different versions regarding the tribe to which Akboto actually belonged. Some say he was a Kyrgyz and some consider him to be an Uzbek¹. He probably belonged to the Ichkilik Kyrgyz tribe. Since he became the biy of Juz tribe, he was called Akboto biy Juz. There are substantial facts to prove that Akboto was a Kyrgyz. His personal body guards and military leaders were all Kyrgyz but not from the Uzbek Juz Tribe². Akboto biy was the son-in-law of Shahrukh biy and before father-in-law death he allowed Abdu Rahim (eldest son of Shahrukh) to govern some parts of Kojent. Strangely enough Akboto was apprehensive about Abdu Rahim's plans. Akboto's suspicion was that in order to capture power Abdu Rahim would kill him (Akboto). Therefore, Akboto planned to kill Abdu Rahim. But Abdu Rahim came to know about Akboto's plan and so escaped to his father Shahrukh's territory. Shahrukh managed to establish peace between the two and soon after he died. Abdu Rahim succeeded his father in 1721 but he was far from being friendly with Akboto. In 1725, he killed Akboto and his two sons and then he united Kojent with Kokand³. After that Abdu Rahim captured Oro-Tobo, Anjian, Samarkand (1729) and Katta-Kurgan. According to some sources the Kyrgyz controlled Samarkand for about six years⁴.

¹ *Наливкин В.* Краткая история... — р. 57, 71.

² *Материалы по истории киргизов и Киргизии.* — М., 1973. — Вып. I.

³ *Материалы по истории киргизов и Киргизии.* — М., 1973. — Вып. I.

⁴ *Галицкий В.Я., Плоских В.М.* Старинный Ош. — Ф., 1987. — р. 40.

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These victories were not due to the military power of the Kokand State but due to the internal political chaos which made them prone to external attacks. Abdu Rahim married Hakim biy's daughter Ai-Chuchuk who was from the Keneges Tribe and fought against the Bukhara State. Abdu Rahim and the Keneges come to some sort of political agreement which lasted till the 1860s. In 1734 when Abdu Rahim biy came to Kojent from Samarkand, he was murdered by the same man who had killed Akboto. It was during Abdu Rahim's reign that the Kokand Ordo (Kyrgyz word meaning State) was founded at Eski-Korgon. But according to historical sources there was no town here till the 1830s.

Abdu Karim biy (1734 – 1747) came to power after the death of his elder brother Abdu Ranim. When he was declared the ruler of Fergana, he moved from Kojent to Eski-Korgon and built a new town which was called Kokon. According to native sources, Kokon was founded in 1740¹.

The Kalmaks captured Fergana several times from 1741 – 1750. The biys of Kokon: Abdu Karim, Oro-Tobos Akim, Fazil biy together with the Kyrgyzes and Kipchaks of Fergana, drove away the Kalmaks from Fergana.

Abdu Karim spent his last years in Kojent. He had only one son – Abdurahman² who was declared as the Khan of Kokon by the native feudals after the death of Abdu Karim in 1747. He was too young so the feudals made Abdu Karim's youngest son Erdene a Khan. By that time Erdene had captured Oro-Tobo twice. Erdene wanted to be all powerful and so he killed young Abdurahman³. But the rest of the family members of Abdurahman fled to Shakhrisabz. After several times according to the customs the Khan must

¹ *Наливкин В.* Краткая история... — p.59.

² *Бейсэмбиев Т.К.* "Тарих-и Шахрухи" как исторический источник. — А— А., 1987. — p.93.

³ Abdurahman had 3 sons. The first one is Narboto, and two younger sons were born from the second wife (Shahruh and Aji).

be eldest, the Kyrgyz biyz brought Erdene's brother Baba biy which was a hostage of Kalmaks in the Eastern Turkistan. And in 1752 Baba biy became the Khan of Kokand. But after 10 months Baba biy was killed and Erdene. Erdene biy then became all powerful with the help of the native feudals¹.

The reign (1748/53 – 69) of Erdene biy then saw the growth of the political power of Kokond State. In 1740, there was a Kokond-Kyrgyz military regiment which was supported by Erdene. This regiment was led by Kubat biy an influential leader of the South Kyrgyzes. As a result, the Kalmaks did not come to Fergana. In 1758 Erdene biy formed a military unit from the Adgine tribe led by Aji biy², after Kubat biy went to Eastern Turkistan and joined the uprising against the Sin Empire led by Jusup Kojo. Kubat biy's help came at a very difficult moment of the movement. In 1759 the Chinese forces chased the rebels in Kashkar up to the eastern mountains of Fergana. In retaliation the joint military forces of the Kyrgyz and Kokons comprising of about nine thousand soldiers killed thousands of Chinese soldiers³.

This onslaught checked the expansion of the Sin Empire in Central Asia. This event is considered a landmark in the history of Central Asia. This event is also known in Kyrgyz folklore and from the toponym Kalmak – Kirgin (Kirgin means destruction). According to Chinese geography, Fergana (1759-1760) was divided into Anjian, Namangan, Margalan, Kokon. Oro-Tobo and Kojent were sometimes under Bukhara's power and sometimes under the Kokond's power and sometimes independent.

The Sin Empire captured East Turkestan in 1755-1758. Diplomatic relations between Kokon and China was established after that. During the reign of Erdene the economy of Fergana improved. The tax system was standard-

¹ Сапаралиев Д. Взаимоотношения кыргызов с народами Центральной Азии и с Россией в ХУШ в.—Б., 1995.— р. 46—52.

² at the same page — р. 87, 102

³ Гуревич Б.П. Международные отношения...— р.160.

ized. Kokon became a prosperous town. In 1760 about twenty thousand people lived in Kokon and there were four madrassas and many inns.

The Kyrgyz lived in Kokon State from the time of its foundations. But the people from the eastern mountains of Fergana, who lived in Osh and Uzgen towns entered the Kokond State only in 1860s and by 1864 Osh and Uzgen became towns of Kokond State.

Erdene biy had only five daughters and no son. That's why he invited Narboto to live in Kara-Tobo near Kokon¹.

Narboto biy's reign (1770 – 1800) saw the beginning of the gradual decline of the Kokond State. Narboto had two step brothers Shahrukh and Aji biy. Their mother was from the Chatkal Kyrgyz. By the end of the XVIIIth century Aji biy was a "bek" of Namangan. In 1798, he led an uprising against his step brother Narboto. He was defeated and escaped to his maternal relatives in Chatkal. Later Kokand's administration was stabilized and by the beginning of the XVIIIth century an independent small Kokand state emerged as a powerful state.

The second part of Kokon history was from 1800 – 1842. The Khans who ruled during this period were Alim Khan (1800 – 1810), Omar Khan (1810 – 1822), Madali Khan (1822 – 1842). Fergana joined Kokand State at the beginning of the XIXth century. For the first time, Alim biy called himself a Khan and he tried to make Kokand state a famous state. In true Khan style he tried to consolidate his rule. He began by killing his relatives whom he considered threats to his regime. The first to be killed was his father's brother Aji biy. Out of his three sons, two – Ulugbek and Sherali escaped to Chatkal. The third son Becogli stayed with his mother in Fergana. Later, after the death of Ulugbek, Sherali came to Talas and stayed there with his uncle Aji biy till

1842. After the murder of Aji biy, Alim Khan got two more persons killed – one was his relative Bekboto and the other was Rustambek, the Akim of Kanibadam. Alim Khan strengthened his rule through murders and did not care for the welfare of the people and the economic development of the state. He was obsessed with the predatory policy and this led to uprisings and external aggression. Like, Buzuruk Kojo the ruler of Chust led a revolt and in 1803, Junus the akim of Tashkent captured Fergana and the Juz tribe captured Kojent once again. But Alim Khan was a brave warrior and he proved his martial skills when he won in a war which lasted from 1798 till 1805. After this, Fergana valley and Kojent became part of Kokan state. An important part of Alim Khan's internal policy was military reforms. He raised a standing army comprising of Tajiks and nomads and ten thousand cavalry. The soldiers were armed with rifles. With such a strong army, Alim Khan was able to fulfill his ambition of expansion. He captured Oro-Tobo in 1806, Kurama in 1808 and Tashkent in 1809. Alim Khan was killed when he was on his way to Syr-Darya.

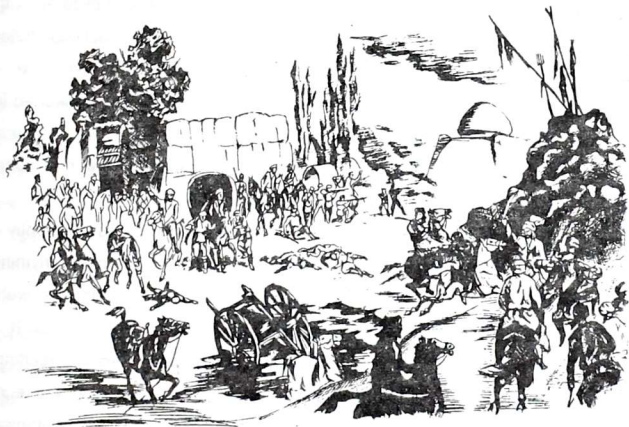
Omar Khan the next ruler (1810 – 1822) continued his brother and predecessor Alim Khan's policy of aggression, loot and plunder with the help of Tajiks. In 1816, he captured the town of Turkistan and the area on the southern bank of Syr-Darya. But Omar Khan was also known for his internal policy of development of the Kokand State. During his time the economy improved and the state treasury became rich. Fergana's economy developed through a network of irrigation system. Economic development, peace and political stability enabled the nomadic Kyrgyz, Kypchaks and others to lead a settled life: new towns were founded, hospitals were built. On the whole, internal condition of Kokon town improved greatly. During this time, the area of Kokon also increased. In 1830 Fergana included several districts in the Pamirs, Badakhshan, Kojent, Jizak, Tashkent, South Kazakstan, entire Kyr-

gyzstan and Kashkar oasis were in the Kokand State. The State's external policy was sound too. The Kokon – Peking Agreement of 1832 was seen as an important aspect of external policy.

This prosperity of Kokon state showed a downward trend during the reign of Madali Khan (1822 – 1842). Madali Khan never cared for the good of the state and wasted his time in fun and frolic. His desperate feudals asked Emir Nasirulla of Bukhara to help them. Nasirulla was waiting for this opportunity. He came to Kokon in 1841 and in 1842 captured Fergana. Kokon was plundered and Madali Khan along with his relatives were killed. Ibragim Khaial a puppet of Nasirulla came to rule Kokon. But the Bukhara emirate failed to retain his hold over Kokon. This was because the nomadic Kyrgyz and Kipchaks were strong in Fergana. Therefore, The Kyrgyz biys began to look for a suitable heir. Their choice fell on the fifty year old Sherali, the son of Alim Khan who at that time was staying at his uncle's home in Talas. The man who came to see the Kyrgyzes at that time was Nuzup who was from the Kirk-uul tribe and well known in the state. In 1842, Sherali come to Aksi with Nuzup. Nuzup made Sherali a Khan. The South Kyrgyz tribes supported Sherali and he came to power and Nuzup became an Atalik.

The third part of the history of the Kokand State was from 1842 to 1876. The Khans were: Sherali Khan (1842 – 1844), Kudaiyar Khans's first reign (1844 – 1858), Mala Khan (1858 – 1862), Kudaiyar Khan's second reign (1862 – 1863), Sultan Seit Khan (1863 – 1865), Kudaiyar Khan's third reign (1865 – 1875), Nasiridin Khan (1875) and Iskak-Polot Khan (1875 – 1876). The third and final phase of the history of the Kokand State is known as the period of decline of Kokand State. In spite of internal development, inner political crises and incessant inter-tribal conflicts sapped the foundation of the Kokand state. The Kyrgyz and Kipchak feudals fought for power. There were numerous uprisings as the general people were subjected to feudal exploita-

tion. The major anti-feudal mass movement was from 1873 – 1876. A destabilized Kokand State was like an open door for the Russian Empire. The Russians entered the Fergana Valley in 1875 and in 1876 Kokand State became a part of Russia.



*Chapter III***Kokand State and Ethno-Political Relation**

Ethno-political power in the Kokand State became complicated with the widening of its geographical area and due to the political instability in the neighboring state. According to the *Tarikh – e – Shahrukh* of Mulla Niyaz Hukandi the ethnical people (mentioned in this book) are: Sarts, Mings, Turks, Juzes, Kirks, Kyrgyzes, Tajiks, Kazaks, Turkmens, Karakalpaks, Kuramas, Kenegests, Karatigins, Vattands, Darvazis, Şamarkanids, Iranians, Afghans and some others.

Mulla Niyaz in his book mentions about certain ethnic tribes frequently – they are: Sarts, Kyrgyzes, Kipchaks¹. However, he does not mention anything about the Uzbeks. The reason was because the nomadic Uzbeks were called Mings, Kirks, Kenegest's and settled Uzbeks were called Sarts. It is important to remember that all these ethnic terms had specific meaning. Like, the ethnical terms Sart, Kyrgyz and Kipchaks had political and economic meaning in Kokand State. The term "Sarts" showed the social-ethnical condition of the State and is used while describing economic problems. Terms like Kyrgyz and Kipchak were used in connection with political events.

Unfortunately there is no demographic information about the Fergana Valley. We do not know the number of people who lived in the Valley. We get some elementary idea from A. Kun's information, which says that in 1870 in

¹ Бейсембиев Т.К. "Тарих-и Шахрухи" как исторический источник...—
р.79.

Fergana Valley, there were about 132 000 settled people and about 60 000 nomadic people. Total population was about 960 000¹.

Ethnic groups which lived in the Kokand State exercised great influence on the socio-economic and political conditions. The ethno-political composition was a blessing in disguise for Kokand State. Such mixed ethnic population acted as some sort of a balancing factor in politics and saved the state from external threats.

The history of Kokand state is replete with war, conflicts, political rivalry and popular uprisings. This was probably true of all states during medieval times. Such ethno-political condition retarded the rise and growth of nation states. All ethnic groups took part in the political life of the Kokand state. Four political powers played very important role in the history of the Kokand state. These four political powers: Sarts, Mings (uzbeks) Kyrgyzes and Kypchaks. The politically powerful Mings (uzbeks) formed the nomadic feudal group and joined the "Ilantias" in the XVIIIth century. But in the XIX century they gradually settled and joined the "Sartias". From 1709 to 1760 the Mings were most powerful political group. Power was divided between this group and the Kyrgyz biys – Akboto biy, Kubat biy and Aji biy from 1741 – 1760. From 1760 onwards the Mings monopolized power and gradually joined the Sartias. No doubt the Mings from 1800 – 1840 remained politically important but in economic matters the leaders were "Sarts" and "galchars".

After the political crisis of 1840 – 1842 the Kyrgyz biys returned to their original historical area and by 1842 – 1844 they took power in their hands led by Nuzup biy². From 1844 – 1856, the Kypchaks gained political prominence

¹ Кун А. Некоторые сведения...//BC.—1876.—№ 4.— p.437.

² From the beginning of XIX century of 40th till the destroying of Kokand government, biys of Kyrgyz kings' great political role were underlined by esearching. (Look at: Усенбаев К. Общественно-экономические... — p.35.)

under their leader Musulmankul "Mingbashy". The word "Mingbashy" means "commander". The Kyrgyzes regained political prominence in 1856 and retained it until 1865. From 1856 – 1875 the Mings were powerful but the Kyrgyz-Kypchaks took active part in the State's politics. This is clear from the active role played by Abdirahman, Sher Datka, Narmanbet Datka, Kedeibai Datka and Kurmanjan Datka. From 1873 – 1876 the Kyrgyz tried to regain political supremacy and Iskak became a Khan.

The "Sartias" occupied a special place in the political hierarchy of Kokand State. They influenced economic policy of the state. The "Sarts" did not have political power themselves but they helped the "Mings" and "Juzes". In the XIX century the "Sarts" mixed with the "Juzes". The important thing, to be remembered is that the "Sarts" had economic power under different political situations. Hence all the tribes had to acknowledge their (sarts) superiority.

Chapter IV

Kokand State in the first half of the 19th century: General Political Condition And The Kyrgyz People

In the second half of the 18th century the ethno-political condition of the Kyrgyz was complicated. At that time the Kyrgyz tribes were divided into several political groups, within the geographical limits of Fergana. The South-Kyrgyz tribes were – Ichkiliks, Adigine, Munduz, Saruu, Basiz, Kushchu, Bagish, Sayak and others. These South-Kyrgyz tribes lived in the Fergana Valley along with other tribes such as Uzbek, Kipchak, Tadjik and others. All these tribes actively participated in the foundation of the Kokand State in 1709. There is some historical information about the South Kyrgyz tribes in certain Chinese official documents. According to these sources, the tribes who lived in the area between Andjian and Kashkar were called "burut". They were many in number and they lived on vast stretch of land. Their leaders were called "biys" and each biy had his own land. The biys were independent of each other. They were so powerful that even the Jungars could not defeat them¹.

By the end of the 18th century, the Fergana Valley, Pamir, Badakshan, Oro-Tobo, Jizak and Kojent joined the Kokand State. From that time, onwards, the Kyrgyz became permanent inhabitants of the State.

At that time the tribes in North Kyrgyzstan were independent of each other. According to historical sources the Kushchu, Saruu, Kitai and Munduz

¹ Бичурин Н.Я. (Иакинф). Описание Чжуньгарии и Восточного Турке-стана в древнем и нынешнем состоянии.—СПб., 1829.— р.147—48.

tribes lived in Talas; the Soltoes and Sayaks lived in Chui and Susamir; the Saribagish and Sayak lived in Kochkar and Jungal; the Saribagish lived on the West and North-West of Issyk-Kul and on its northern, southern and eastern coasts lived the Bugu and Sayak and others. In the North, important tribal rulers were – Tinibek from Munduz; Berdike from Saruu; Jetimbii from Kushchu; Tuluberdi, Jaiil, Kanai and Jangorach from Soltoes; Sadir, Janbolot, Kachike and Tailak from Sayak; Tinoy, Atake, Esengul, Ormon from Saribagish, Birnazar, Bekmurat from Bugu tribes and other biys who ruled their tribes independently¹.

According to historical information the Kyrgyzes of the North and South had close relations in ethno-political and traditional life. B.Soltonoev stated that the "Fergana Kyrgyzes joined the Kokon Kyrgyzes to form their own state; the Kokon Kyrgyzes came to Fergana when the Kazaks and Kalmaks compelled them; the Kokon Kyrgyzes had trade relation with the Fergana Kyrgyzes"². The interests of the Kyrgyz people living in the North and in the Fergana Valley were linked with the political events from 14th to 17th century when they lived in the Alai and Anjian³.

Till the end of the 18th century the Kyrgyz tribes were divided among themselves by internal strife and disorder, as a result they could not consolidate themselves politically. This was an opportunity for the external enemies who frightened the North Kyrgyzes by their aggressiveness. Like, the Kazak's Sultans attacked the North Kyrgyzes. At that time, the internal and external policy of the Kyrgyzes was well developed keeping in view the external aggressoin of the Kokand army in Talas, Ketmen-Tobo, Chui, Tien-

¹ Солтоноев Б. Кызыл-кыргыз тарыхы. — Б., 1993. — 1-китеп. — p.167—175.

² Солтоноев Б. Кызыл-кыргыз тарыхы. — Б., 1993. — 1-китеп. — p.176.

³ Аittoкурров С. Тагай-бий. — Б., 1994. — p.7—11,48,62,67; The same author. Тайлак баатыр. — Б., 1994. — p.11.

Shan, Issyk-Kul. However, the North Kyrgyzes were able to save their independence and the power of the Kokand's in the North. Under such circumstances, feudal relations in the North consolidated.

It was during this time (first half of the 19th century) that popular protests against the Kokand rule began to germinate in the North. In 1821, the Kyrgyzes in the North, under their leader Tentek-Toro rose in revolt against the Kokand State. They took Chimkent and Sairam but because of Tentek-Toro's weak leadership the Kokand government won. The second uprising is known as "Ihegejurush" or "K. Hanaidin Kachusuu". This uprising was led by the Solto, Saru tribes under their leader Kanai biy¹. Between 1824-25, the rebels crossed Ile and went to Balkash after fighting against the Kokand government.

Tailak the son of Iriskul biy took a prominent part in the political events of the time. When Tailak and his brother Atantai were in Ile, Alibek from Sayaks attacked Kurtka but ran away when chased by the Kokand army. Tailak and Atantai who had just come from Ile were caught by the Kokand army. They were liberated after the intervention by Medet Datka and Northern biys who had come to Kokand to mediate between Madali Khan and Tailak. In 1825 began a movement against the Sin Empire and Janger sent his amassador to Kyrgyzstan, Kokand and Bukhara. It was during this time that Madali Khan liberated Tailak and this came as God sent opportunity for Janger. Tailak was sent to help Janger as he (Tailak) had considerable influence over the Narin Kyrgyzes².

At about the same time (1825), Bayan Batu the general of the Sin Empire, in order to catch Janger who had escaped to Tien-Shan, attacked

¹ Солтоноев Б. Кызыл-кыргыз тарыхы... — I-китеп. — p.179—80; Аттокуров С. Тайлак баатыр... — p.14.

² Аттокуров С. Тайлак баатыр... — p.15.

Tailak in the Narin area. But Bayan Batu faced a setback as his army was destroyed¹.

The Kyrgyz tribe actively participated in Janger's movement in 1825-26². According to informations Tailak fought against Kokand power in 1832 and maintained his independence till 1838. However, the case of the Northern Kyrgyzes was different³. Their attitude towards the Kokand State was quite different. For example, during the Kanai Kachuu uprising led by the Solto tribe, some Kyrgyzes from Talas, Issyk-Kul and Narin did not support, tribes like the Sayaks and others remained indifferent and on the contrary they helped the Kokand State to build two fortresses at Jamgal and Kurtka.

A very important reason why the Northern Kyrgyzes did not rise against the Kokand power was because of fear of their powerful neighbour China. Also because at that time they looked upon the Kokand State as a "native state". Moreover, most of the Southern Kyrgyzes were inhabitants of the Kokand State and they considered this State as their own. All these factors deeply influenced the Northern Kyrgyzes who did not revolt against the Kokand State. Apart from these facts, inner contradictions among the various tribes in 1830, prevented a popular revolt against the Kokand State. Like, when Tailak fought against the Kokand power the Saribagish and Bugues tribes remained neutral but the Solto tribe was against Tailak. As a result, relations between the Solto and Sayaks became cold.

The political condition of the Northern Kyrgyzes took a significant turn when Niyazbek uulu Ormon (1830-54) of the Saribagish tribe played an

¹ Солтоноев Б. Кызыл-кыргыз тарыхы...—I-китеп.— р.191—92; Валиханов Ч.Ч. Соч. —СПб., 1904. —Записки РГО по отд. этнографии. —Т.ХХIX.— р.128—129.

² Аттокуров С. Тайлак баатыр...; Кузнецов В.С. Цинская империя на рубежах Центральной Азии...— р.75—99.

³ Аттокуров С. Тайлак баатыр...— р.85.

important role in the political events of the North. At that time the Kokand State had stabilized. But this stability was threatened by mutual rivalry among the various tribes. During the year 1850, Kudayar Khan and Musulmankul of the Kipchak tribe were rivals for political power. Kudair Khan took an aggressive stand and used some harsh methods to control the warring tribes. This influenced the Southern Kyrgyzes and as a result the influence of the Kokand power over the Kyrgyzes lessened to some extent. Therefore, the Kokand State in 1858 tried to regain its control over the Kyrgyz. The weak Kokand State had no other option but to seek the intervention of the powerful Czarist Russia. By 1857, the power of the Kokand State had become considerably weak in Chui, Talas, Oluya-Ata, Chimkent. Mirzakmat the bek of Tashkent was an important reason for popular discontent in Pishpek and Oluya-Ata¹.

According to the Russian scientist N.A. Seversov, popular rising began in Tashkent and then spread to Talas, Chui, Chatkal². Mirzakmat bek came to Oluya-Ata but failed to suppress the massupsurge. In fact, he could not face the rebels and had to take shelter in the fortress. Malabek came from Kokand stohhed the revolt.

The rising of the Kyrgyz-Kipchaks in 1857, had profoundly influenced the Northern Kyrgyzes. All these events made the Kokand goverment very apprehensive about its stability and future. Worse still, the goverment feared that the Northern Kyrgyzes would join hands with Czarist Russia. Therefore, as precautionary measures the Kokand goverment began strenghtening the existing fortresses and build new fortresses. At that time the strongest fortress was Oluya-Ata in the North and it was controlled by Atabek Datka.

¹ *Наливкин В.* Краткая история Кокандского ханства...— p.187.

² *Северцов Н.А.* Месяц плена у коканцев.—СПб.,1860.— p.70—72.

The mid nineteenth century was a significant period in the history of the Kokand State. Popular revolts which began during this time finally led to the decline of the Kokand State. In 1857 a minor revolt began against Kudair Khan and by 1858, it turned into a massive mass movement and there were about six thousand rebels. The Alai Kyrgyzes played an important role in these political developments. They used the rising of Alimbek Datka and fought against Kudair Khan. They were successful as they reached Margalan and captured it¹.

The Kokand State it seemed was destined not to be stable and peaceful. In 1858, there was very serious political rivalry in the Kokand State for capturing power. Finally, Malabek became the Khan. During this political turmoil, Alimbek from the Adigine tribe played a very critical role. Alimbek became a "datka" in 1831 and was well known for his statesmanship. During the rule of Sherali Khan (1842-44). Alimbek datka, Bolot datka and Seiilbek datka opposed Sherali's taxation policy. In the same year Alimbek datka joined Satibaldi and Rahmatulla in a protest movement against Sherali. In 1847, Alimbek datka was the head of the Katta Torqis army. He encircled Kashkar but China suppressed the revolt². After this Alimbek datka came to Alai with about 20,000 solders. After returning to Alai, Alimbek retained a low political profile and played no role in the affairs of the Kokand State but in 1858, he played the most important role in an uprising against Kudair Khan.

¹ Усенбаев К.У. Общественно-экономические отношения киргизов в период господства Кокандского ханства.—Ф.,1961.— р.48.

² Боотаева Б. Кыргызы между Кокандом, Китаем и Россией.—Б.,1995.— р.50,60.



Alimbek datka

Malabek Khan of the Kokand State proved to be a clever and practical ruler. In order to strengthen his rule, Malabek embarked upon a policy of appeasement. He began by giving importance to prominent political leaders. He made Alimbek akim of Anjian, Seitbek akim fo Kojent; Otombai became akim of Tashkent and Moldo Qasim became the commander of the Noo fortress¹. Thus Malabek managed to

stabilize his state's internal condition and at the same time establish a peaceful external policy. He paid great attention to defence matters. In this respect, his first task was to

¹ *Наливкин В.* Краткая история...— р.188—89; *Галицкий В., Плоских В.* Старинный Ош.—Ф.,1987.— р.46—47.

strengthen the borders of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakstan in order to meet the challenge of Russian aggression.

In the beginning of 1860 Czarist Russia was able to subjugate Chui as it was internally weak. In order to check Russian expansion, Malabek sent Kanat Shah from Tashkent and Alimbek Datka from Kokan to Chui.

Kanat Shah's army comprised of an artillery division and about 20,000 soldiers. They were laymen who had no knowledge about army rules, warfare and strategy. This proved to be a major handicap. By comparison the Kokand army was more efficient and professional. As a result the Kokand army was able to defeat Kanat Shah's army without any difficulty. Another reason for Kanat Shah's defeat was the mutual rivalry between him and Alimbek Datka.

In 1860, when Tokmok, Pishpek fortresses were lost Malakhan sent Kanat Shah to Chui and at the same time also sent Alimbek Datka to resist the Russian aggression. At Pishpek, the two armies met and their respective leaders quarrelled among themselves. This lack of unity among the leaders had a very negative impact on the basic unity of the Kyrgyz. During the battles near Rivers Uzun-Agach, R. Kara-Kastek and R. Kaskeleng, Alimbek Datka's army did not come to the aid of Kanat Shah's army. Kanat Shah had no other option but to retreat. Alimbek Datka gave no reason for his action. The author thinks that Datka probably wanted to unite the Kyrgyzes of the North and South and establish an independent State or to capture Kokand State. This is why he tried to establish a good rapport with the Russians. But Alimbek had to pay a heavy price for not helping Shah's army during the battle at river Uzun-Agach¹. He was pursued and he had to retreat to Alai.

¹ Сулайманов Э., Кененсариев Т. Старинный Ош: путешествие в глубь истории. // Известия Академии наук Киргизской ССР/Общественные науки. — 1988. — № 2. — p.76.

But Datka did not give up, he tried to mobilize the Mongush and Adigine tribes of the Kyrgyz, set up a strong state and then attack the Kokand State. But the situation was not favourable. So he went to the Naryn area and appealed to the Naryn Kyrgyz for help¹. In 1861, he met the prominent leaders of the Naryn Kyrgyz tribes and tried to mobilize support. These leaders were - Umotaalu Manap, Aji Manap and Torogelde Manap. All these Manaps were important feudal lords and their support was essential. These feudal leaders after their meeting with Alimbek became hostile towards both Kokand and Czarist Russia. Seeing the increasing influence of Alimbek over the Kyrgyz, Mala Khan the successor of Kudair Khan tried to cultivate friendship with Alimbek and invited him to visit Kokand State. But Alimbek got Mala Khan killed and then defeated Mala Khan's army².

This kind of situation made Alimbek realise the need to mobilize the Kyrgyz people into one feudal State instead of depending on Russia or the Kokand State. His plan was revealed in Alimbek's letter in 1861 to Dugamel, the Russian general³. Dugamel informed about this to another Russian general Kolpakovsky and they decided that in case Alimbek sought help from Russia then, he should be helped. Gorchakov, the Russian foreign minister, supported this plan and made Czar Alexander II, to support the plan also⁴. Alimbek united the Kyrgyz who lived in the Tenirtoo area of the North in 1861 and with them he returned to the Fergana Valley.

At that time the Kokand State was passing through a difficult phase. In 1862 there was an uprising against the ruler of Kokand State - Mala Khan.

¹ Джамгерчинов Б. Очерки политической истории XIX в.—Ф., 1966.— р.182.

² Джамгерчинов Б. Очерки политической истории...—р.182.

³ Ўзбекистандын борбордук мамлекеттик тарыхый архиви.—715-ф.—1-оп.—25-нш.—95-барак.

⁴ Ўзбекистандын борбордук мамлекеттик тарыхый архиви.—715-ф.—1-оп.—25-нш.—98-барак.

But the uprising was crushed. In 1862 February, there was another uprising against Mala Khan. This time it was a serious threat to Mala Khan's position as it was led by prominent Kyrgyz feudal leaders called Biys. They were Alimbek, Kydyr Biy, Qasim Biy, Kudainazar Biy and others. Mala Khan was killed and Shah Murad a boy of 15 year became the Khan of Kokand State¹. Shah Murad was the son of Sarimsak who was a nephew of Mala Khan.

Alimbek became the vazir of Shah Murad. Political rivalry was unabated because the opposition wanted Kudair to become the Khan of Kokand State again. Prominent leaders of the opposition were Kanat Shah at that time the ruler of Tashkent and Rustom Bek. This is why Kanat Khan refused to visit the Kokand State. On the contrary, Kanat Shah invited Kudair Khan at Tashkent and declared him as the Khan of Kokand State. As a retaliation Shah Murad mobilized an army of 14,000 with the help of Kipchak Biys and encircled Tashkent. But Shah Murad's attempt was unsuccessful and he returned to the Fergana Valley after 53 days as the Amir of Bukhara had captured Khodjent at that time². When Shah Murad went to capture Khodjent, the armies of Kanat Shah and Kudair Khan captured Kokand State.

Kudair Khan once again became the ruler of the Kokand State. After his coming to power, hostility between him, Shah Murad and the Biys of Kipchak tribe broke out as they had supported Shah Murad. Thus Kudair Khan was engaged in further strife against his rival and the problem regarding Russia was neglected. There was some relief for Kudair Khan during such a critical moment. Moldo Alimkul the akim of Margalan and a famous statesman joined Kudair Khan.

¹ *Мулла Нияз Мухаммед...* Тарих-и Шахрухи. История владельцев Ферганы. —Казань, 1885.— p.108.

² *Герентьев М.А.* История завоевания Средней Азии.—СПб.,1906.—1-том.— p.267.

In order to contain opposition to Kudair Khan Moldo Alimkul got two famous and influential Biys - Kidir Biy and Irsal Biy killed¹. They belonged to the Kyrgyz Kipchak tribe. Moldo Alimkul next targeted Alimbek. Alimbek at the invitation of Moldo Alimkul visited the Kokand State. He was killed by Choton at the orders of Moldo Alimkul². However, Moldo Alimkul did not serve Kudair Khan for long. Soon he became the leader of the Kyrgyz - Kipchak opposition to Kudair Khan. In 1862 Kyrgyz- Kipchak tribes under the leadership (Khal datka, Alibai datka, Jumabai datka, Mambet, Mirzabek, Tashbek) biyz under the leadership Alimkul. The Kyrgyz Kipchak under the leadership of Moldo Alimkul bravely resisted Kudair Khan. They waged wars against Kudair Khan. They captured Namangan, Margalan and Khodjent and held sway over these areas for some time. The Kipchaks appealed to the Kyrgyz people of the North to unite and fight against Kudair Khan. The North Kyrgyz were also hostile to the Kokand State.

The political situation in Kokand State became very complicated and Kudair Khan was in difficulties. In 1863, there was a uprising against him by the Kipchak - Kyrgyz tribes. Kudair Khan's army was defeated by the rebel's army. The army of Jakip Bek sent by Muzaffar, the Amir of Bukhara, to help Kudair Khan was also defeated. In 1863, Muzaffar with an army of 12,000 captured Kokand State and came upto Osh. Muzaffar was impressed by the efficiency and bravery of the Kyrgyz biys in the mountains and so he decided to meet Kurmanjan.

¹ Усенбаев К.У. Общественно-экономические отношения киргизов в период господства Кокандского ханства.—Ф.,1961.— р.43.

² Бейсембиев Т.К. "Тарих-и Шахрухи" ...— р.123—124; June 27, 1862, in his information letter to the Western-Sibir general-government noted — «Alymbek was killed through hand of kara-bukaras» (Look at: *Боотаева Б.* Кыргызы между Кокандом...— р.62.)



Kurmanjan Datka

akim of Andijan¹.

In 1863, Moldo Alimkul the leader of the Kyrgyz - Kipchak with his army encircled Kokand State. Moldo Alimkul easily captured Kokand State which was almost without a leader. Muzaffar was busy in defeating an uprising in Shakhrisiabzd. For the second time Kudair Khan fled from Kokand State. The Kyrgyz - Kipchak successfully captured Mala Bek's 12 year old son called

Kurmanjan and her elder son Jarkinbay met Muzaffar and Kudair Khan in Madei. In 1862 after the murder of Alimbek Datka many favoured giving the title Datkar to his eldest son Jarkinbay. But Jarkinbay seeing his mother's wide spread influence among the Kyrgyzes in the South, wanted Kurmanjan to be honoured with the title of Datkar. This decision of Jarkinbay was supported by the relatives of Alimbek and so Kurmanjan became a Datkar. Jarkinbay became the

¹ *Кененсариев Т. Курманжан датка.//“Курманжан датка”.—Ош,1991.— р.9.*

Sultan Saiyd. Moldo Alimkul was famous for his statesmanship. So he made the regent (Atalik) of Sultan Saiyd. Moldo Alimkul became the real ruler of Kokand State¹.

Moldo Alimkul being a farsighted ruler, took some initial decisions which were important strategically. He built forts along the borders on Russia and strengthened them. He strengthened the forts of Suzak, Cholo Korgon. But such fortifications were not of much use as the Kokand State's army had become weak due to the continuous internal strife in the Kokand State and its war against Bukhara. Therefore, naturally Moldo Alimkul was unable to resist the onslaught of powerful Russia.

Moldo Alimkul tried to resist Russian expansion. As a part of this policy, he asked Narman Bet to strengthen Tashkent and the fortress of Merke came under Kokand State. Narman Bet asked his Kyrgyz relatives and Manaps of Chui to help him and Moldo Alimkul. Narman Bet sought financial help from them. But only two tribes helped financially. In 1864, Narman Bet Datkar came to Oluya Ata and held meeting with the Kyrgyz - Kipchak Biys.

The unstable internal political condition made Kokand State prone to Russian attack. Russia in the meantime was making plans for future attack against Kokand State. Foreign minister Gorchakov was of the view that Russia should avoid military campaign against not only the Kokand State but entire Turkestan. Gorchakov said that there were other effective means of making Turkestan a dependent state of Russia instead of outright military conquest. First, Russia should support the process of political destabilization in Kokand State. Second, to conduct some military attacks against Kokand State so that it will require huge sums of money for the maintenance of the army to repulse Russian attacks. As a result, the economy of the Kokand

¹ *Бейсембиев Т.К. "Тарих-и Шахрухи" ...—126р.; Усенбаев К. Общественно-экономические отношения...— р.44.*

State will become weak. Third, to aid and abet the fighting among the various states of Central Asia, in order to prevent a strong united front. However, Gorchakov's methods were not in tune with Russian foreign policy. Gorchakov wrote that: "Russia was not so interested in capturing vast areas but establish a strong and permanent colony."¹ This view of Gorchakov was seen as a policy to make Central Asia a Russian colony gradually instead of through outright military conquest. Gorchakov wanted Russia to develop the culture of Central Asia and have a paternal attitude towards the Central Asian States. These ideas of Gorchakov were not favoured by many Russian politicians and the military at that time.

Political events in the Western part of China had deeply influenced the Kyrgyz people living in the Tien-Shan and Issyk-Kul areas. In 1864, Rasheeddin Biy led an uprising against China in these areas where China had political sway. At that time at Kashgar, Sydykbek Biy, led an uprising against China too². The Kyrgyz, Uighurs and the Tadjiks took part in both uprising. According to historical sources, these uprising were very important from historical and political view points³. After these two successful uprisings, Kashgar, Jarkent, Kucha, Aksuu gained independence from Chinese rule. As a result, Rasheeddin became a Khan and Sydykbek became the Akim of

¹ Authorless. Россия и Англия в Средней Азии.—Вестник Европы.—14 год —Т.V.—СПб.,1879.— p.734—35.

² In Valihanov's report after return from Kahskar the following information about Sydykbek is written. Sydykbek was a biy of kyrgyz toraigr kypchak tribe. He was the ancestor of the appointed Akimsa as Hakim-bek in Tash-Malyk town in 1758 during destruction of Jungar impery for service to Stin power. In 1857 Sydykbek deserved of the local power representative's honour and received red roll and hat. (the information is taken from Sh.Kadyrov's book «Видные ученые о Киргизии». See: above book — Ф.,1963. — p. 22).

³ *Байтур Анвар*. Кыргыз тарыхынын лекциялары.-2-китеп.—Б.,1992.— p.111.

Kashgar¹. In 1863, Siddiq Bek, declared that Rasheeddin was unpopular among the people. He therefore, asked Moldo Alimkul to send Buzuruk as a Khan to Kashgar. Buzuruk was the son of Jangir Kojo.

In 1864, Alimkul Atalik sent Buzuruk Kojo to Kashgar as the Khan. Buzuruk came to Kashgar with Jakip Bek² who was the commander of the army. Both became popular in Kashgar. Siddiq Bek's plan was to hand over political power to Buzuruk and he himself would occupy some important post in the government. But Jakip Bek did not favour these ideas of Siddiq Bek. Jakip Bek's view was that both Buzuruk and Siddiq Bek would be hostile to each other³. As a result, Siddiq Bek left Kashgar and Jakip Bek became the most important person in the politics and government of Kashgar. Jakip Bek became popular because of his policies. He captured successfully Jarkent and Koton, Siddiq Bek, after leaving Kashgar, made some unsuccessful attempts at capturing Kashgar in 1865. In one of the battles he defeated Jakip Bek's army⁴.

In 1864, Moldo Alimkul thought of extending help to Jakip Bek and Buzuruk against Siddiq Bek. While on his way to Kashgar, Moldo Alimkul strengthened the fortress at Kurtaka and then attacked Chui. But before he

¹ Куропаткин А. Исторический очерк Кашгарии. // ВС.—1878.— № 1.— Ч. 1. — р. 109.

² Жакыпбек тарыхта “Бакдоолот” деген ат менен белгилүү. (Look at: *Веселовский Н.* Бадаулет Якуб-Бек. Аталык Кашкарский.—СПб., 1898.)

³ Куропаткин А. Исторический очерк Кашгарии. ...—Ч. 1.— р. 114.

⁴ Байтур Анвар. Кыргыз тарыхынын лекциялары...—2-китеп.— р. 112. The main role in Jakypbek's army was played by local kyrgyz besides kashkarians and kokonds, especially the army power consisted of army power by horse. There were Aldash byi, Omurkul bek, Mukambet-Junuskan, Mukambet kojo, Abdylda pangsat, Zamanbek among his soldiers and served kyrgyz, kypchak byis, beks came from Kokon and kashkar. It was known from the latest researches the main role was also played by byi of ichkilik tribe naiman group, in 1863 he got the honour of «Datka» Tashbek datka from 1867 in Jakypbek's «Jetishaar» state. (Look at: *Миталин уулу Ж.* Ташбек датка.—Ош, 1993.— р. 15—30.)

could reach Kashgar, he got the news that the fortress at Kurtaka was taken by the Russians. England was critical of Russian policy in Central Asia - and viewed all these events as an attempt on Russia's part to capture Central Asia. General Chirneev advised Milutin, the Russian defence minister to take Tashkent and make it a Russian vassal state. However, the general's ideas did not find any supporters in the government of Russia¹.

General Chirneev, however, did not give up his idea of taking Tashkent. In 1865, when the Kokand State and the Amir of Bukhara were engaged in a bitter struggle Chirneev's army took the fortress of Niyaz Bek near Tashkent. All food and water supply to the fortress was cut off by Chirneev's army. Chirneev's army clashed with the army of Moldo Alimkul which was defending Tashkent. Moldo Alimkul's death in this war left Kokand army leaderless and defenceless which was easily defeated by Russia and Tashkent was captured by Russia in 1865.

The death of Moldo Alimkul is described differently in the sources. Like, according to, Kasymbekov's novel «Singan Kilich (Broken Dagger)», he was a victim of a treacherous plot of the opposition. This view of Kasymbekov is substantiated by other writings. Like, in the writings of Veselovskiy - He was the Russian investigator in the East. In his poem, «Coming of the Russians», he states that Alimkul was killed by his own soldiers. According to Muhammad Salika Kore, an inhabitant of Tashkent, Moldo Alimkul during the struggle was attacked by unknown men and was wounded. Although Alimkul was wounded he led the struggle on Durmancha hills. But when he began to lose his consciousness he was taken to Tashkent. And he died on that day. He was taken to Tashkent where he died in May 1865. He was buried at

¹ *Макиев А.И. Исторический обзор Туркестана и наступательного движения в него русских.*—СПб.,1890.— р.230.

the Sheikh Hantaur cemetery in Tashkent¹. Moldo Alimkul's death was a landmark in the history of the Central Asia. He was the undisputed leader in the Fergana Valley where lived the Kyrgyz, Kipchak, Uzbeks, Tadjiks. Moldo Alimkul wanted to consolidate the Kokand State but he could not translate his plans into action. In 1865, Amir Muzaffar captured Kokand State. He defeated the Kyrgyz-Kipchak army and Kudair Khan became the ruler of Kokand State for the third time. But Kudair Khan's weak government failed to give political stability to Kokand State. As a result, the Kokand State was under the dominating influence of Czarist Russia.

¹ Look at: *Мухаммед Салих Кори Ташкенди*. Новая история Ташкента. // Рукопись № 7791 Института востоковедения АН Узбекистана. // Соколов Ю. Ташкент, ташкентцы и Россия.—Т.,1965.— р.147,151,154.

Chapter V

Political Condition in the Fergana Valley
in the second half of the 19th century

The second half of the 19th century was historically significant for the Fergana Valley. Political conditions became critical during this period. It began with the death of Alimkul on May 9, 1865, at Tashkent. Sultan Seyit who was with Alimkul at the time of his death was in despair. He was unable to decide his future course of action. The best warriors – the Fergana Kyrgyz-Kypchaks had abandoned the young Khan for the Kokand State which was then under the leadership of the Kyrgyz leader Bekmamat¹. To make matters worse even the army was politically divided. There were two sets of opinions among the troops in Tashkent regarding contemporary political situation. One division was in favour of handing over the town of Tashkent to the Russian army². The other division was in favour of staying in the Kokand State. This division asked the Amir of Bukhara for help. At the same time, the Amir of Bukhara sent his secret ambassadors – Essen Kojo and Kazi Kalan to Muzaffar the Amir of Bukhara³. The Amir invited Sultan Seyit to Bukhara. He sent Iskandar Bek to escort him to Bukhara. When Iskandar Bek and Mir Ahmed Mir Alimov together with Sultan Seyit left for Bukhara on May 10⁴, then the majority of the soldiers did not

¹ *Наливкин В.* Краткая история...— p.202.

² *Набиев Р.Н.* Из истории Кокандского ханства.—Т.,1973.— p.69.

³ *Бейсембиев Т.К.* "Тарих-и Шахрухи" как исторический источник...— p.128; *Соколов Ю.* Ташкент, ташкентцы...— p.155.

⁴ *Соколов Ю.* Ташкент, ташкентцы...— p.159.

want to be at the mercy of the Amir and they returned to Fergana following Atabek, naib, commander of one division of the Kokand army.

According to some historical sources when Sultan Seyit came to the territory of Jizzak, the Amir's troops killed him¹. Even the guide Iskandar Bek was killed when he reached Bukhara². Kokand State at that time was without a Khan. Once again Kudayar Khan tried to be the ruler of the Kokand State. This was Kudayar Khan's third attempt for being the Khan of the Kokand State. He asked the Amir of Bukhara for help. In return he promised to give the Amir of Bukhara, one – fourth of his territory³.

When Amir Muza'ffar was at Samarkand, the commanders of the Kyrgyz-Kypchak forces reached the Fergana Valley from Tashkent. They organized a meeting in the north of Kokand State. The name of this place is Saray. After this meeting Mirza Ikin the leader of the Kyrgyz army suggested that the 16 year old Kudaikul Bek should become ruler of the Kokand State⁴. Kudaikul was one of the sons of Shadi Biy who was the third son of Shahrukh Biy (1709 – 1722). The nick name of Kudaikul was Belbakchi Khan as he sold belts in Kokon. Soon Kudaikul was taken away and the Kyrgyz-Kypchak forces came to Ordo. Commander Baimat from the Kypchaks was sent to Tashkent⁵.

The new Khan ask the people to collect "hundred-thousand dilde" (dilde was the name of the currency in the Kokand State) to fight against the Russians. He left for Tashkent after staying at Kokand State for 14 days. He went with the Kyrgyz-Kypchak forces. It was said that the Amir of Bukhara with

¹ *Надивкин В.* Краткая история...— p.202.

² *Бейсембиев Т.К.* "Тарих-и Шахрухи" как исторический источник...— p.128.

³ *Набиев Р.Н.* Из истории Кокандского ханства...— p.70.

⁴ *Бобобеков Х.* Тарихимиздаги конли излар.// Мерос.—Т.,1991.— p.270.

⁵ *Надивкин В.* Краткая история...— p.202—203.

Kudayar Khan went to Kojent. Hence the Kyrgyz-Kypchak forces took their artillery and left the Kokand State. The citizens of this state plundered the vacant town of Kokand themselves. On July 15, 1865, Amir Muzaffar came to Kokand. On that day the Kyrgyz-Kypchak forces attacked Kokand several times but they did not take it.

The Kyrgyz-Kypchak forces under the leadership of Aldayar Bek moved back to Osh along with the army of Amir Muzaffar. Most of the Kyrgyz-Kypchak forces were destroyed by the army of Kudayar Khan which was pursuing them¹. After the death of Alimkul, Kudaikul with his regiment of artillery along with Bekmamat, Mirza Akmat and Buzuruk Khan went to Kashgar. But Kudayar Khan pursued them also and overtook them at Sopus-Korgon. After the fighting was over Kudaikul Khan went towards Chon-Alai with one section of the Kyrgyzes. While nearly 3 to 4 thousand Kyrgyzes went towards Kashgar. But about 800 soldiers were captured by Kudayar Khan who returned to Ordo as a winner².

Jakip Bek did not give shelter to the Kyrgyz and Kypchak soldiers for a long time in Kashgar because his army had sufficient number of East-Turkish nomadic Kyrgyzes. As a result most of them returned to Fergana and very soon the Kyrgyz-Kypchak forces mobilized themselves and continued with their invasions. They very soon captured Aravan near Osh³.

Amir Muzaffar was afraid of nomadic people and hence did not want to rule over the Fergana Valley. Therefore he installed Kudayar Khan on the throne of Kokand State for the third time. The Amir returned to Bukhara and he took with him the famous craftsmen and artists of the place. He also took

¹ Гейнс А.К. Собрание литературных трудов.—Т.2.—СПб., 1898.— р.322.

² Куропаткин А. Исторический очерк Кашгарии.—ВС.—1878.—№ 1.— Ч.1.— р.115—117.

³ Наливкин В. Краткая история...— р.203.

away a lot of wealth and many beautiful girls from Kokand. It is said that the Amir took away Kudayar Khan's sister¹.

The Kyrgyz-Kypchak nomadic people were brave fighters. They always fought for power and this was a matter of concern not only for Amir Muzaffar and Kudayar Khan but also for the Russians. Writings of Russian scholars and others reveal such thinking among the Russians. Like, N.A. Krijanovsky wrote that the Kyrgyz-Kypchak tribes wanted to banish Kudayar Khan from the Kokand State and then they would start a war against the Amir of Bukhara². The nomadic people who lived around Osh supported Kudayar Khan's brother Sultan Murat who was the Akim of Margalan and Osh. Sultan Murat collected Zakat (money for charity) from Osh territory. He was in Osh for this purpose in the spring of 1866. Therefore, naturally the nomadic people in and around Osh had the opportunity to gather around Sultan Murat. According to the opinion of Madaub (he was a Bek and a relative of Kudayar Khan) the Kyrgyz-Kypchak tribes wanted to make Sultan Murat Bek the Khan instead of Kudayar Khan³. But ironically Sultan Murat himself was against this conspiracy and he reported the matter to Kudayar Khan. Consequently, the conspiracy was nipped off in the bud. However, the nomadic people did not give up and continued with their struggle for capturing power.

The Kyrgyz-Kypchak biys submitted to Kudayar Khan temporarily. All that they needed was a powerful leader. They got a very powerful and effective leader very soon. Kurmanjan Datka the famous woman leader led the brave nomadic people to victory. Kurmanjan commanded widespread respect. The Russians hailed her as one of the best warriors and leaders of Kyrgyzstan. She belonged to the Alai region in South Kyrgyzstan. She had great capacity

¹ *Набиев Р.Н.* Из истории Кокандского ханства...— р.70.

² ОБМСТА.—ВУА фонду.—2-болум.—2-болук.—6795-документ.

³ *Наливкин В.* Краткая история...— р.204.

and power for mobilizing her people. Kurmanjan was officially given the title of Datka (commander) when she had come from Alai specially to greet the Khan of the Kokond State. Her son Abdilda Bek was made the Akim of Osh and he was given the right to collect taxes¹. Kurmanjan Datka due to her widespread influence and popularity was able to calm down the agitated Kyrgyz-Kypchak tribes. But fight for power continued. Kojent became a town of Kokand State after the defeat of Bukhara's forces by the Russian army at Irjar Fort in 1866 and Moldo Toichu Datka became the Akim of Kojent. He ruled till the capture of Kojent by the Russian army. All these facts show the nature of temporary relation between the agitated Kyrgyz-Kypchak tribes and the Khans of the Kokand State.

Internal struggle and chaos made the Kokand State very weak and it was unable to resist external aggression. But such weak internal condition was an opportunity for powerful Russia and it took full advantage of the situation. Kudayar Khan became the ruler for the third time with the help of others. This made his position very weak and he knew very well that he would never be able to face a strong Russia as he was no match for the Russians. Therefore, in order to save his throne he decided to surrender to the Russians and accept their supremacy. Kudayar Khan revealed this policy in his letter of greeting to General Romanovsky whose forces had captured Kojent. Kudayar Khan wrote that «he saved his friendship with the Russian Emperor. He did so in order to guard the frontiers of his state. In fact he was waiting with his army of 35 thousand soldiers at Shaitan Mazar fortress to face the Russian army but when the Amir's army was on it's way back to Bukhara the Russian army caught them and he (Kudayar Khan) went back. If he wanted to break his friendship with the Russian Emperor then he would have in-

¹ Молдокасымов К. Курманжандын коз жашы.—Б.,1991.— р.7.

vaded Kojent. This would have helped the Amir of Bukhara. But by the Grace of God the Russian army invaded Kojent successfully and he extended his greetings to General Romanovsky»¹. The letter of Kudayar Khan was in bad taste as he congratulated the Russians for success fully capturing Kojent which was a part of the Kokand State. The fact was that Kudayar Khan was very weak and had no support base because of his anti people policies. He was greedy for power and so he wanted to save his throne at any cost.

By the second half of the XIX th century the Kokand State was in a very bad shape and it was fast declining. Every aspect of the State and its administration had become weak. The Kokand State by 1866 was limited only within the Fergana Valley. The good relation between Bukhara and the Kokand State was over. The Khans of the State specially Kudayar Khan was busy with internal problems. Besides, Tashkent which was a town of Kokand State till 1865 was lost as by 1867 it became a centre of Turkish province and Kudayar Khan had to establish diplomatic relation with Tashkent. Kudayar Khan realised that he had to face many problems and he was unable to rise to the occasion. Therefore, he had no other option but to bow before Russia. K.Kaufman, therefore, informed St' Petersburg that there was no need of any aggressive policy as the people of Bukhara and the Kokand State had developed good relation with the Russians². In 1866, Governor – General Krijanovsky of Orenburg informed D.A.Milutin the minister of war, that the Kokand State was already subdued and it's ruler Kudayar Khan had become a vassal of Russia and so there was no need of any policy of ag-

¹ Каримов Ш., Шамсутдинов Р. Туркистон Русийё босқини даврида.— Андижон, 1995.— р.24.

² Киняпина Н.С., Блиев М.М., Дегоев В.В. Кавказ и Средняя Азия во внешней политике России.— М., 1984.— р.280.

gression¹. Later relation between Russia and the Kokand State developed on these lines.

The year 1868 is very important in the history of the Kokand State. On 29th January, 1868 Kudayar Khan and K.P.Kaufman signed a trade agreement. Ostensibly, it was a trade agreement but in reality it was a crucial political document as it dealt with the political future of the Kokand State. After signing this document, Kudayar Khan actually compromised with the sovereignty and independence of the Kokand State and it became a vassal state of Russia. Kudayar Khan's actions also proved that he had accepted the vassalage of Russia. He allowed Russian civil and military officers to visit Kokand State for investigation of its (Kokand State) administration². As a result, eminent Russian officers, like, Ivanov, Krauze, Struve, Vereshagin, Fedchenko and others came to the Kokand State.

Kudayar Khan had no say in the foreign affairs of his on state and he had to consult Kaufman in internal matters. He could only take up some developmental work, like, constructing buildings, repair irrigation systems, etc. In 1871, Kudayar Khan provided Tashkent with wheat at very cheap rate when the country faced severe drought like situation. The Khan had to do it at Russia's orders³. So, for all practical purposes the Kokand State had become a semi-colony of the Russian Empire⁴.

¹ *Серебренников А.* Туркестанский край. Сборник материалов...—Ч.2. —Т.,1914.— р.231.

² *Боголюбов А.* Очерки войны в Средней Азии.//ВС.—Т.31.— р.152.

³ *Алымбаев Ж.* Орусия жана Борбордук Азия: Тарыхый мамилелердин айрым маселелери.//ZAMAN—КЫРГЫЗСТАН..—1995-жыл, 10-март.

⁴ *Джамгерчинов Б.* Очерки политической истории... — р.302.



Kudayar Khan

Russia's policy towards the Kokand State based on the agreement of 1868 was firmly implemented and it continued till the end of 1870. In the meantime, internal condition of the Kokand State continued to deteriorate and Kudayar Khan failed to control this sharp decline. From 1840 till 1876 the Kokand State was beset with political and economic problems. From 1860s till 1870s of the XIX century the crisis in the Kokand State became very critical and this proved decisive in the final debacle of the State. This crisis was mainly economic in nature arising out of the feudal set up of the State. The geographical limits of the Kokand State had narrowed and the

government's taxation policy became more and more oppressive for the general people. The number and amount of taxes increased sharply which went against the people but benefited the feudal lords.

The state treasury was almost empty and the best and easiest way to fill the treasury was through internal taxes. In reality, political power and land ownership were not separate from each other but were concentrated in the hands of one person – the Khan of the Kokand State who was the supreme authority in all matters of the State. The Khan controlled political power and the government and at the same time he was the owner of state wealth and this made him the biggest land lord of the Kokand State. The autocratic notion that the "Khan is the State and the State is the Khan", was firmly rooted in the Kokand State and it had social acceptance. Such social approval gave legitimacy to the Khan's autocracy and he took decisions and implemented policies arbitrarily. To arrest the fast deteriorating financial crisis, the Khan imposed several new taxes on the people. He also increased the existing taxes. The feudal lords and religious leaders were exempted from paying the taxes. The feudal lords did not pay taxes but they extracted several types of feudal dues from the depressed peasantry. This type of arbitrary taxation suited the narrow, class interests of the ruling class. After all, there was no difference between the State treasury and the Khan's personal wealth. It was one and the same. Therefore, tax rates were fixed by the Khan, the beks and the feudal lords arbitrarily. Such autocratic system led to the total suppression of the peasantry and the poor working classes. The need of the hour was a proper system of taxation and not any arbitrary policy to suit the needs of the ruling class.

The taxation policy and the general economic condition of the Kokand State has been studied by eminent scholars, like, K.Usenbaev,

V.N.Ploskikh¹. There are ample source materials in Russian language about the economic condition of the Kokand State. Besides, the writings of eminent scholars in Russian, there are archival sources in Russian also.

Sometime in 1874, Veinberg informed Kaufman that the Kokand State imposed eighteen types of taxes on the people². The main source of tax was land and agriculture. Some of the important taxes were Kharaj or land tax; 1/5th of the produce for irrigation tax; 1/10th of the produce for land not fertile and hence not good for cultivation; tana or garden tax; tax on animals and peasants had also to give cattle to the feudal lord; tax on bridge, summer pasture, etc. The most oppressive tax was the one regarding horses. Each farmer had to give one horse for the Khan's army. Besides, paying the numerous taxes, the poor people were subjected to forced labour – they had to build houses for the Khans, dig canals, cultivate the Khan's field, etc. People were even killed if they disobeyed the Khan. High taxation was not the only oppressive measure the poor had to face. They even had to give their sons and daughters to the rich. But Kudayar Khan led an affluent life style and spent a lot of money for his 36 wives³. A.Kun very aptly stated that the Kokand State imposed taxes on all types of human activities.

Isa Oluya an important officer in the Khan's government was responsible for the arbitrary fixation and increase of taxes in the Kokand State. Isa Oluya was a close confidant of Kudayar Khan and hence his taxation policy was actively supported by the Khan. Isa Oluya rose from a humble beginning to

¹ *Усенбаев К. Общественно-экономические отношения киргизов в период господства Кокандского...; Плоских В. Киргизы и Кокандское ханство...*

² *Киняпина Н.С., Блиев М.М., Дегоев В.В. Кавказ и Средняя Азия во внешней политике России.— М., 1984.— р.301.*

³ (Look at: *Пантусов Н. Сборы и пошлины в бывшем Кокандском ханстве.// ТВ.—№ 16,17.—1876-жыл; Кун А. Очерк Кокандского ханства.// Изв. РГО.—Т.12.—Отд.2.—СПб.,1876.— р.6—7.*

become the Bek of Sharikhan (Kokand State). He held many important posts in Kudayar Khan's government.

Taxes were collected by armed middlemen called 'Zeketchiler' (tax – collector), who were appointed by the Khan. Sometimes, taxes were collected by the local feudals also. The zeketchiler collected taxes during four months in the year – October, November, December and January. The zeketchilers were notorious for corrupt practice and extortion. Their oppressive methods led to mass revolts in the Kokand State in the second half of the XIXth century.

The Kokand State had become unpopular due to its anti-people policies. The State ordered the Kyrgyzes settled in the fertile areas of the Fergana Valley to settle elsewhere. The Kyrgyz people had no choice but to leave their land and settle in areas near the mountains. This policy of the Kokand State was not necessary and at the same time it caused immense hardship to the people. This naturally led to popular discontent.

The second half of the XIXth century was a very critical period for the Kokand State. This period saw the final decline of the Kokand State which was beset with political and economic problems. The crisis was further aggravated by popular revolts. High taxes, feudal oppression and extortion by the zeketchilers led to wide spread discontent among the people of the Kokand State. As a result, from the 1860s onwards, there were a series of mass revolts in various parts of the state. Some were very serious and posed a challenge to the Khan's power and authority. The first major revolt was in 1867, when the people of Kyzyl-Korgon (Alai) rebelled against the ruler Kui Datka and killed him. The Kokand Khan's army crushed the revolt¹.

¹ Плоских В.М. Киргизы и Кокандское ханство...— р.307.

The second major mass revolt was in 1870. Nothing is known about this revolt. But it must have been a serious one because Kudayar Khan asked the Amir of Bukhara for help. After this, there were a number of popular revolts led by the Kyrgyzes and Kipchaks.

The zeketchiler's policy of oppression and extortion was directly responsible for the mass uprising in Soh in 1871. Soh is near Batken in South Kyrgyzstan. The Soh uprising was crushed by a special force led by Atabek. Atabek was specially sent with a strong army of two thousand soldiers from Kokand for controlling the revolt. Atabek's army defeated the Soh rebels and about twelve of them were hanged in Kokand.

The Soh rebellion was a major one and it was caused by economic and political factors. The first important reason for the Soh revolt was high taxation. The Akim of Soh collected many taxes and the people were overburdened by it. The anti-people policy of the zeketchilers further aggravated the situation. Secondly, a Tajik became a biy in Soh when there were many prominent Kyrgyz leaders. The Kyrgyzes in Soh were divided into three major tribes – Noiguttar, Bostonurusu and Jokeseik. Each tribe had famous leaders. The well – known leaders of the Noiguttar tribe were – Bash biy, Ait-mambet biy, Akul biy, Qasim biy. Janokul biy was the leader of the Bostonurusu tribe and Mulla Shamruza was the leader of the Jokeseik tribe¹.

Since the Kyrgyzes had such prominent leaders, it was natural for them to expect a Kyrgyz to become the biy of Soh but when a Tajik became a biy their tribal pride and feeling was hurt. The death of Sultan Murat was also an important reason for the uprising in Soh.

There was another important reason for the uprising in Soh. In 1870, Mala Khan's son Sultan Seit appeared in Fergana. He had gone to Bukhara

¹ Федченко А.П. Путешествие в Туркестан.—М., 1950.— р.293.

with Iskandar Bek. According to Nalivkin «Short History of the Kokand State» Sultan Seit Khan was killed by the Amir's people while he was on the way to Bukhara. But it is generally believed that Sultan Seit was not killed and in 1870 he returned to Kokand¹. According to Fedchenko «Travels to Turkestan», Sultan Seit came to Kokand at the invitation of the Kyrgyz biys. They sent him a letter with their signatures and requested him to come to Kokand. Kudayar Khan came to know about this letter and he got Sultan Seit killed. The Khan also killed all those biys who wrote the letter to Sultan Seit². This was an important reason for the revolt in Soh.

After the death of Sultan Seit, the rebels wanted Nazir Bek as the Khan of Kokand State instead of Kudayar Khan. But their plan was not successful. From all these accounts, it is clear that the Soh revolt had great political importance. But their plan was not successful. From all these accounts, it is clear that the Soh revolt had great political importance³.

There was another revolt in 1871. M.A.Terentev wrote about this uprising. It was known as "Batir Khan's rising". High taxes led to this revolt. Batir Khan was Kudayar Khan's brother – in – law. He was the Khan's second wife's brother. Some feudals wanted to make Batir Khan the ruler of the Kokand State⁴. But Kudayar Khan found out about this plot and it was nipped off in the bud and 17 persons involved in this plot were caught. There were more uprisings after this also and Alai remained as the centre of mass revolts in the Kokand State.

¹ *Наливкин В.* Краткая история...— р.202.

² *Федченко А.П.* Путешествие в Туркестан...— р.303—304.

³ In works of B.M. Ploskin «Kyrgyzes and Kokand kingdom...», р. 307; K. Usonbaev «Social-economical relations...», «Uniting of Southern Kirghizia...»; A. Hasanov «People moving of Kirgizia...», and H.N. Bababekov «People moving in Kokand kingdom...» you can find additional information about Soh fights.

⁴ *Терентьев М.А.* История завоевания...—Т.2.— р.333.

This type of critical political and economic conditions of the Kokand State (1866-1873) was an open invitation for Russia to capture power. But before capturing power Russia signed agreements with neighbouring states. Russia signed an agreement with China in the east and with Kashgar and Bukhara in the south. Russia signed an agreement with Khiva also. The international diplomatic situation was also in favour of Russia. In 1872 at Berlin, the emperors of Russia, Germany and Austria – Hungary signed a defensive pact known as the League of the Three Emperors. This treaty had an important effect on Anglo-Russian rivalry as Russia now had supporters in world politics. These supporters were Germany and Austria-Hungary, the two powerful countries of the world. In 1873 Russia signed a vassal agreement with Khiva. Therefore, Russia was diplomatically very secured and she could go ahead with plans of capturing the Kokand State.

Kudayar Khan's anti-people policies made his government very unpopular and mass uprisings were frequent. All these factors added to the political crises in the Kokand State. The final blow was dealt by Polot Khan. In 1872-1873, there was a massive revolt by the suppressed people under the leadership of Polot Khan. This movement was popularly known as the peoples' movement and Kokon's rising. It lasted for three years. This movement is important in the history of the Kyrgyzes and much has been written about it. However, scientists have different opinions about the causes, aim and nature of this movement. This aspect of the history of the Kyrgyzes require further and in-depth investigations.



Iskak Asan uulu Polot Khan

Conclusion

The Kyrgyz Khans played crucial role in the power structure of the Kokand State, specially during difficult political situation. Fergana Valley was inhabited by many tribes. The ethno-political and socio-economic condition was conducive for the development of the Kokand State. Feudalism was the only form of power structure. The general Uzbek, Tajik and the Kyrgyz people suffered under the feudal order of the Kokand State. The Kokand rulers extended the boundaries of their state to Talas, Chui Valley, Tien-Shan through political manoueverings. The Kokand Khans subordinated the Kyrgyz the same way as they subjugated other tribes of the Fergana Valley. The Kyrgyz of the Fergana Valley considered the Kokand State as their own home- land. This made the Khans of South Kyrgyzstan play an active role in the politics of the Kokand State. However, the situation was different in the North. The Kyrgyz people from Narin, Chui and Issyk-Kul areas never accepted the Kokand State the way the people in the South did. So, naturally this led to a number of uprisings against the Kokand State in these areas. Like, the uprisings led by Tailak and Kanaikachu. So, the subjugation of the Kyrgyz people can be described as a part of the Kakand State's feudal suppression. And the people of North and South Kyrgyzstan were subjected to political, economic and social exploitation.

The Kyrgyz in the Fergana Valley belonged to the Turkish – Turain tribe. They cannot seen separately from the Kokand State. The Kyrgyz of the South were always with the Kokand State, no matter what happened. This is

a historical truth. Thus from the beginning of the XVIII century till the 70s of the XIX century, the history of the Kyrgyz people is seen as a part of the history of the Kokand State.

Supplement № 1

Genealogy of Kudayar Khan¹

Kudayar Khan son of Sherali Khan, son of Ajib Khan, son of Abdurakhman Khan, son of Abdurkarim Khan, son of Shahrukh Khan, son of Shakhmust Khan, son of Sultan Aseel, son of Abul Qasim, son of Muhammad Amin Khan, son of Kudayar Sultan, son of Ilik Altin Beshik, son of Babur Padshah, son of Mirza Umar Sheikh, son of Mirza Sultan, son of Abu Sayeed, son of Sultan Mirza, son of Miran Shah, son of Amir Timur, son of Amir Taragy, son of Amir Barkul, son of Amir Ilinge, son of Amir Andjil, son of Karanjar, son of Amir Sugunjin, son of Barukhi Khan, son of Irumjee Khan, son of Khajulu, son of Bartan Khan.

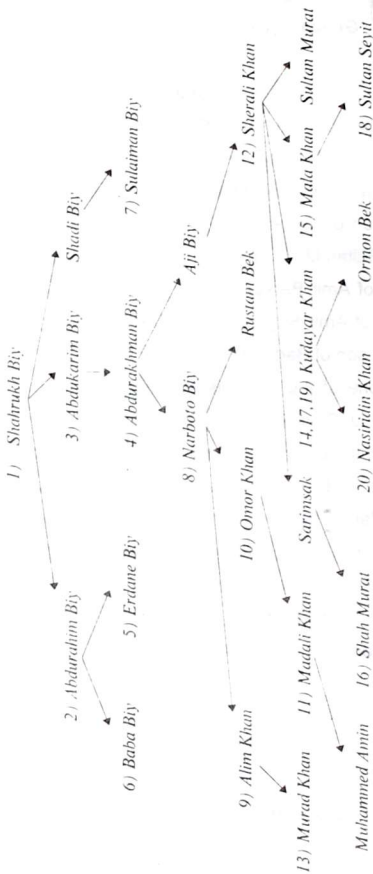
Esugey was one of the 10 sons of Bartan Khan. The tenth son of Bartan Khan was Kajulu. Chingiz Khan was the son of Esugey.

Bartan Khan was the son of Kabul Khan, son of Tuman Khan, son of Dutumnen Khan, son of Buka Khan, son of Bodonchar Khan. Bodonchar Khan's father was Malik Bayaud and his mother was the legendary figure Alan Goa. It is a generally accepted fact that Malik Bayaud belonged to the Kyrgyz tribes living near the River Enesei.

This information is taken from – Tarikhi – Shahrukhi written by T.K. Beisembiyev. This is an important historical source.

¹ *Бейсембиев Т.К. "Тарих-и Шахрухи" как исторический источник...—6-тиркеме.*

Genealogy of the Kokand Khans¹. (A brief survey)



21) Iskak Asan uulu Polot Khan

¹ The table was based on the 7th enclosed of the same page. The leaders are expressed through the numbers. Two times voted, 1873 spring and September 27, 1875, Ishak Asan son of Polot was include into the special table.

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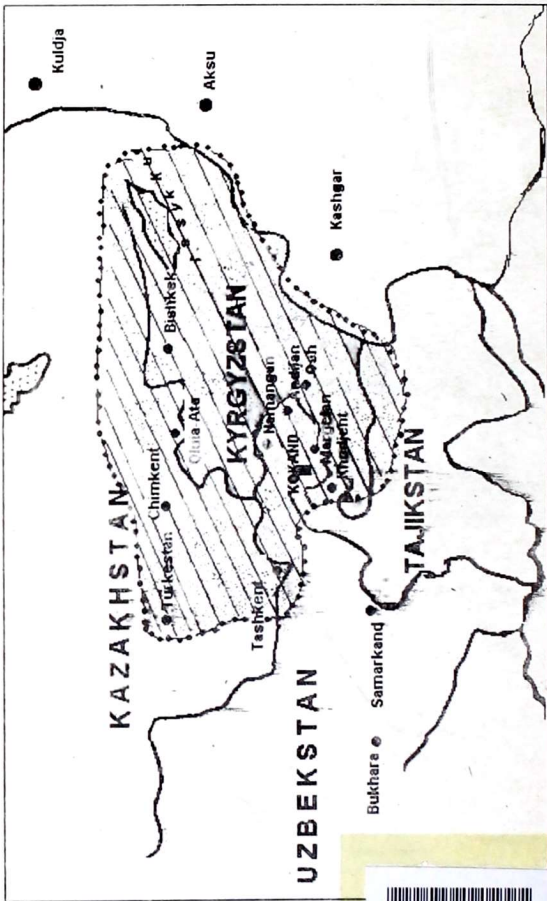
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