

SELECTED WORKS OF CHOKAN VALIKHANOV

*Pioneering Ethnographer
and Historian of the Great Steppe*

EDITED BY
TRANSLATION BY

NICK FIELDING
DR ARCH TAIT

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Chokan Valikhanov', written in a cursive style.

PIONEERING ETHNOGRAPHER AND HISTORIAN
OF THE GREAT STEPPE

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FOREWORD

In this volume we have collected, for the first time for international English-speaking readers, a selection of the historical and ethnological writings of Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov (1835–65), the renowned Kazakh scholar. Valikhanov was a descendant of the great Genghis Khan and received an education that was exceptional for the time. He loyally served his own people, the Kazakhs, but lived and worked at a time when the Russian Empire had embarked on an overt policy of destroying what remained of Kazakh independence and was gradually imposing a military and colonial administration on the steppelands that later became the territory of Kazakhstan.

This volume presents Chokan Valikhanov's most important scholarly works, which are devoted to exploring aspects of the geography, history, ethnology and economics of Central Asia, while also offering his original views on the societies of the region. Valikhanov's situation obliged him to resolve issues of his own identity and place in society. Spiritually, he was a Kazakh. When he came into contact with the achievements of global civilisation, therefore, he had to define his own place and that of his people among the nations of the world.

In 2015, the academic community of Kazakhstan marked the 180th anniversary of the birth of this scholarly historian and ethnographer, who was an outstanding son of his country and champion of his people. It has become clear that today there is a need for a fundamentally new approach to studying his legacy, and also for research visits to countries bordering Kazakhstan and further afield, in order to seek out new sources and facts relating to his achievements. Many aspects of Valikhanov's life and work are in need of specialised study and more detailed analysis. To this day, Kazakhstan's public has little knowledge of such important and basic topics as his period in Paris, his expedition to Kashgar and the impact of his writings in Europe. We have little knowledge of what was written in the periodical press of Western Europe about his expeditions and discoveries.

Chokan Valikhanov has always been an important figure in Kazakh history. In 1985, the 150th anniversary of his birth, a large bibliography of works written about him between 1957 and 1982 was published. At a commemorative conference held that same year, philosophers, economists, geographers, philologists, orientalis, archaeologists and ethnographers from Kazakhstan, Russia and the republics of Central Asia and Transcaucasia exchanged their views and gave unanimous recognition to his scholarly achievements.

In this new translation of Valikhanov's writings, we have taken account of the achievements, but also the shortcomings, of previous publications. They have provided substantial commentaries and a carefully checked scholarly apparatus. Nevertheless, even after the publication of this volume, there remains a need for a modern eye to be cast over dates, descriptions, conceptual categories and so on. Valikhanov the artist, for example, has yet to receive the attention he deserves. There are also significant gaps in his biography, especially during the period of his life and work in St Petersburg. We also need a deeper understanding of his geopolitical and cultural environment and of the activities of other members of the Valikhanov family.

We hope that this new English edition of Valikhanov's selected works will help to overcome some of these deficiencies and offer the English-speaking public an insight into his works, many published here in English for the first time. The compilers of this collection have aimed to provide the reader with insights into the inner workings of Kazakh society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. We are confident that the reader will appreciate the work of this gifted Kazakh scholar, who lived at a difficult time for the Kazakh people, as they were losing their sovereignty and independence.

Kazakhs have a saying: 'A good person leaves behind a rich legacy.' It is a part of such a legacy that we have the pleasure of offering you here.

Dr Ziyabek Yermukhanovich Kabuldinov
Director, Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov
Institute of History and Ethnology
Almaty, Kazakhstan, 2020

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Born in November 1835 in the small fortified village of Kusmuryñ in the Aman-Karagai district of what is now Kostanay Region of Kazakhstan, Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov¹ was given the Muslim name of Mukhammed-Kanafya at birth – ‘Chokan’ was the name affectionately bestowed on him by his mother, Zeinep Shormanova. His childhood years were spent in the idyllic surroundings of Kusmuryñ and Syrymbet.

Chokan's forebears were renowned khans. His great-grandfather, Abylai Khan, was one of the most powerful Kazakh rulers of the eighteenth century. His grandfather, Uali, was the last Kazakh khan of the Middle *Zhuz*, officially recognised and approved by the government of Tsarist Russia. Chokan's father, Shyngys, graduated from Omsk Military Academy and was the senior khan of Kokshetau Outer District. His maternal relatives were the no-less famous Shormanovs of Bayanauyl Region; Musa Shormanov, for example, was a well-known social activist, folklorist and author of ethnographic and historical works about the Kazakhs of Pavlodar District.

The future scholar was clearly an exceptionally gifted child. He spent his earliest years in his family's yurt,² until in 1842 at the age of six he was enrolled by his father in a small private village school (*uchilishche*) that provided a secular education, mostly for Russians, and acted as a feeder school for the Cadet Corps in Omsk. Here he began his studies of Arabic, the main script for writing Kazakh at the time, as well as of Russian, Chagatai, Turkic and Persian.

Soon after, Chokan moved to the estate of his strongly pro-Russian paternal grandmother Aiganym, in Syrymbet. The house, on an estate granted by Tsar Alexander I to Aiganym's husband, Uali, in recognition of his loyalty to Russia, was said to have been the first European-style house built for and inhabited by Kazakhs. It was Aiganym who enrolled Chokan in the Siberian Cadet Corps. She herself developed extensive connections with Russian officials throughout

¹ This format of his name is the version under which he was known during his lifetime. He is also known as Shoqan Shyngysuly Walikhanov and several similar variants.

² A yurt is a mobile round home made from felt attached to a frame of wooden poles. Yurts have been the preferred dwellings of steppe nomads for around 5,000 years. In the case of Valikhanov, they would originally have been nomadic, but by the time he was born his family had become sedentary. Eventually they occupied the first European-style house ever built on the steppe.



her life, corresponding regularly with the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with the Siberian Committee in St Petersburg.

Chokan also mastered the fundamentals of sketching at an early age, learning from the Russian artists, topographers and geodesists who stayed for lengthy periods with the Valikhanov family. Exiled Decembrist revolutionaries, who were frequent guests in his home, played a major role in shaping his outlook and awakening in him a strong interest in science, literature and art, and in Western democratic values.

In 1847, at the age of 11, Valikhanov joined the Siberian Cadet Corps at Omsk, considered at the time to be one of Western Siberia's foremost educational institutions for the sons of wealthy noblemen. From the beginning, his studiousness and strict self-discipline marked him out, and he soon became absorbed in military and academic subjects, including more languages and calligraphy, as well as reading extensively in the sciences and works of literature.

Valikhanov's zeal and ambition earned him the admiration of fellow cadets and teachers. His friend and fellow student Grigory Potanin wrote, 'Chokan developed rapidly, outstripping his Russian comrades. By nature highly intelligent, he had other strengths besides.'³ On Sundays, cadets who had family in the city were granted leave. Valikhanov had neither relatives nor anyone he knew there, but he often found himself invited home at the weekend by the Tsarist official A.A. Sotnikov; by his drawing teacher, N. Pomerantsev; by his history teacher, A. Gonsevsky; and by the encyclopaedist K.K. Gutkovsky and others.

During his eight years at the military academy he formed a close friendship with Potanin, who went on to become an outstanding, socially engaged Russian geographer and ethnographer. Valikhanov remained an exceptional pupil and avidly read the works of major Russian and foreign poets and writers such as Alexander Pushkin, Mikhail Lermontov, Nikolai Gogol and Charles Dickens.

Yet despite being one of the most talented scholars at the institute, Valikhanov was not allowed to graduate and carry out the final year's coursework on the grounds that as a Muslim he was *inorodets* – a non-Russian, not Orthodox, an outsider. Nevertheless, after graduating as a cornet and joining the 6th Cavalry Regiment, in 1853 he was appointed adjutant to General Gustav Khristianovich Gasfort, the governor-general of Western Siberia. During his years in Omsk, he continued to meet members of the Russian intelligentsia, including the explorer and geographer Pyotr Petrovich Semyonov, the poet Sergei Durov of the Petrashevsky Circle and the great

³ Grigory Nikolayevich Potanin (1835–1920) was a Russian ethnographer and natural historian. As a renowned explorer of Inner Asia, he was the first to catalogue many of the area's native plants. On home soil, Potanin was an author and a political activist who aligned himself with the Siberian separatist movement, an activity for which he was sentenced to prison in 1867.

writer Fyodor Dostoyevsky, who had been exiled to this remote outpost. The two men were to form a close, lifelong friendship. (In the photograph on the following page we see Chokan Valikhanov, left, with Dostoyevsky; both men are in military uniform.)

With an excellent education behind him, Valikhanov participated in several scientific expeditions, something he had dreamed of during his studies in Omsk. Russian colonial administrators saw him as someone with a good knowledge of the life of the steppes and adjoining territories and the ability to pass unnoticed in places where a Russian would stand out. In late 1855 he accepted an invitation from General Gasfort to join an expedition led by Colonel M.M. Khomentovsky through Central Kazakhstan, the Tarbagatai Mountains and the Zhetysu Region, travelling as far as Lake Issyk-Kol in present-day Kyrgyzstan. In the course of this trip, which had as its main aim to obtain an oath of loyalty from the Kyrgyz Bugu Clan and to draw maps of the region around Lake Issyk-Kol, Valikhanov collected examples of local folklore and historical legends of the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz, including, for the first time, several versions of the ancient oral Kyrgyz epic, *Manas*, which have survived to the present day.

Later in 1856, Valikhanov embarked on a further expedition, this time to the largely unknown city of Kuldzha,⁴ lying just on the southern flanks of the Tian Shan Mountains in Chinese Turkestan, where he was tasked with taking part in trade negotiations with the Chinese authorities. He stayed in the city for three months, returning to Omsk in the late autumn. Russia was increasingly interested in these outlying areas of the Celestial Empire; as China's power declined, they were seen as potential areas for Russian expansion. This was particularly the case for the Ili Valley, a major cross-border route into China along which many Kazakh nomads travelled with their large herds of livestock.

On the completion of this expedition, in February 1857 Valikhanov was asked to go to St Petersburg to make a report to the Imperial Russian Geographical Society and while there, on 21 February, was elected to full membership, having been proposed by the renowned geographer Pyotr Petrovich Semyonov – later given the honorific title 'Tian-Shansky' – who greatly admired this young Kazakh scholar he had first met in Omsk.

The following year, in June 1858, Valikhanov set out on the expedition that would cement his reputation. In disguise as a Tashkent merchant, he joined a camel caravan made up of 43 men, 101 camels and 65 horses heading for Kashgar, a city in Chinese Turkestan on the other side of the Tian Shan Mountains that was closed to outsiders. Russian officials were increasingly concerned about reports of ongoing insurrection in Chinese Turkestan and were actively considering whether or not China's weakness in putting it down could be an opportunity for Russian expansion, particularly along the Ili Valley, which was seen as strategically important.

⁴ Now known as Yining.



It was Semyonov who was first to recognise the unique skills possessed by Valikhanov and the fact that he was able to gather vital information on the Kazakh tribes and other inhabitants of the steppelands. He wrote the following about the young Kazakh and his trip to Kashgar: 'Valikhanov was the single most capable officer at that time, in the staff of governor-general, who, being sent in a Kazakh costume to Kashgar, had the possibility, because of his maturity and talent, to collect precious (for Russia) pieces of information about the contemporary situation of not only Kashgar, but also all of the Altyshtahr and elucidate the causes of the disturbances that were occurring in Chinese Turkestan at that time.'⁵

No European had successfully visited the region before him. A journey undertaken by the German botanist and explorer Adolf Schlagintweit, who tried to enter this land closed to Europeans in August 1857, ended with his execution by decapitation in Yarkand.

Having arrived in deepest secrecy in October 1858, and risking his life, Valikhanov succeeded in gathering immensely valuable data about the history, ethnography, culture, geology, geography and botany of this previously unexplored region. He did not leave Kashgar until April 1859. His subsequent ground-breaking work *An Expedition to Kashgar: Conditions in Altyshtahr, or Six Eastern Cities of the Chinese Province of Nanlu (Little Bukharia)* was widely praised. It was an exceptional achievement that required extraordinary bravery, with the danger of discovery at every turn.

Valikhanov's health was badly affected by the trip to Kashgar and he was forced to spend some time recuperating in Omsk, where he was visited by his old friends Potanin and Dostoyevsky, who had been released from internal exile and was himself on his way to St Petersburg. He eventually started off for the Russian capital at the end of 1859, staying there until the spring of 1861, working on his writings.

The information gathered by Valikhanov was of huge importance to the Tsarist government, which in 1860 awarded him a decoration, promoted him to the rank of captain and gave him a 500-rouble reward. He was also granted an audience with Tsar Alexander II and took advantage of the occasion to appeal, in vain, for Tsarist officials to take a more benevolent attitude towards his people. He was also given a new job in the Asiatic Department of the General Staff, where he helped to draw up maps, and also worked at the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. He also revived his friendship with Dostoyevsky, who, along with his brother Mikhail, was publishing the magazine *Vremya* in the city. In the spring of 1861, however, a bout of what was now clearly seen to be

⁵ Quoted in Scott C. Matsushita Bailey, *Travel, Science and Empire: The Russian Geographical Society's Expeditions to Central Eurasia, 1845–1905*, unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Hawai'i, May 2008), p.105.

tuberculosis forced Valikhanov to leave St Petersburg and make his way back to Syrymbet in his beloved steppe.

In 1862, eager to be of service to his people and to protect them from the arbitrariness of Russian officials and local dignitaries, Valikhanov stood for election to the post of elder sultan of the Atbasar Outer District. His attempt failed, mainly due to the corruption of local officials, who foresaw a loss of income and prestige if he was elected.

After this failure, Valikhanov moved back to Omsk, where he worked on various aspects of legal reform on the steppe. Two years later, in 1864, and still dogged by ill health, he participated in a military expedition to South Kazakhstan under the command of General Mikhail Grigorievich Chernyayev, the aim of which was to consolidate Russian control over the region. The general's brutal treatment of the local people, particularly his decision not to negotiate with the Kyrgyz and instead to use overwhelming military force, obliged the young Kazakh and a number of sympathetic Russian officers to resign and leave the theatre of military operations. He never again worked for the Russian state.

His resignation was the culmination of what must have been a difficult quandary for the young man. Among the first of his people to be formally educated, he was used by the Russian military to gather information that would in turn be used to oppress and colonise them. Although he was in favour of modernisation and against the influence of Islam on the steppe, this dilemma clearly rankled with him, as can be seen from the fact that he made strong connections with Dostoyevsky and Potanin, both men who were opposed to the autocracy of the Tsars. The sentiments of the Decembrists who had often visited his home in his youth must also have had an impact on Valikhanov.

The last year of his life was spent in the *aul*⁶ of Sultan Tezek, a distant relative living in Almaty region. Here he married Tezek's sister and continued to collect historical and ethnographic materials on the Kazakhs of the Senior (Great) *Zhuz*. On 10 April 1865, aged only 29, this outstanding Kazakh scholar died, probably from TB. He was buried in the nearby cemetery of Koshentogan in present-day Almaty Region, close to Altynemel village. On his death, the Imperial Russian Geographical Society issued a statement stating that his journey to Kashgar 'represented the most outstanding geographical achievement since the time of Marco Polo'.

Here is what his contemporary, the Russian social activist and scholar Nikolai Yadrintsev, wrote about him: 'Last autumn in the Trans-Ili Region there died a Kazakh, Sultan Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, famed for his bold expedition to Kashgar, a city in Western China ... We can find no way more fitting to venerate the memory of Chokan Valikhanov than to hope

⁶ For nomads, an *aul* is an encampment of a small group of yurts of members of the same family.

that the Kazakhs will not have to wait for a second Valikhanov as long as the Buryats have had to wait for a second Dorzhi Banzarov.⁷ We are always ready to hail the appearance of educated non-Russians and consider their deaths a crying injustice on the part of fate.' A monument and gravestone were placed on his grave, the latter carved from local marble by Leopold Lastowski, an exiled Polish revolutionary. Russian academician Nikolai Veselovsky, who edited a collection of Valikhanov's works published in 1904, said that his short life was 'a meteor flashing across the field of oriental studies'.⁸

Through his scholarly research, Chokan Valikhanov made an immense contribution to the study of the history and culture of the peoples of Kazakhstan and Central Asia. His legacy is rich and diverse. Such works as *The Genealogy of the Kazakhs*, *A Note on the Judicial Reform* and *Relics of Shamanism among the Kazakhs* remain precious scholarly sources.

When he died, Valikhanov also left more than 150 sketches and paintings of the way of life of the Kazakhs and other peoples of the region. He was probably the first Kazakh artist to portray scenes on the steppe. The quality of his writing was recognised almost immediately and has continued to inform scholars ever since. As testimony to their deep respect for him personally, his Kazakh countrymen have named streets in his honour and there are monuments to his memory in a number of cities, including Almaty and Omsk. The Institute of History and Ethnology in Almaty is also named after him.

Valikhanov, who always remained *inorodets* – never quite 'one of us' – to the Russians because of his Kazakh background, turned out to be the person who provided them with the best insights into the functioning of nomadic society and the khanates of Chinese Turkestan. He made passionate pleas to Russian governors and policy makers to respect the legal and historical traditions of the steppe nomads, none of which were listened to. There can be little doubt that whilst Russian geographers, cartographers, botanists and biologists were able to map and classify the vast, newly acquired Central Asian territories, few had the insights that he did.

After Valikhanov's death, Dostoyevsky spoke warmly to his intended wife about his old friend: 'Do you see that big rosewood box? That is a present from my Siberian friend Chokan Valikhanov and I value it very much. I keep my manuscripts and letters in it, and other things that are precious to me for their memories.'⁹

⁷ Dorzhi Banzarov (1822–55). Regarded as the first Buryat scholar, he graduated from Kazan University in 1846. His chief work *The Black Faith, or Shamanism Among the Mongols* (1846) is regarded as the first scientific work on shamanism. The Buryats are a Mongol people that live in Eastern Siberia to the south and east of Lake Baikal.

⁸ Quoted in Kermit E. McKenzie (1989), 'Chokan Valikhanov: Kazakh Princeling and Scholar', *Central Asian Survey*, 8:3, 1-30, DOI: 10.1080/02634938908400671.

⁹ Quoted in Michael Futrell, 'Dostoyevsky and Islam (and Chokan Valikhanov)', *Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 57, no. 1 (January 1979), pp.16–31.

This book is the first since 1865 to include any new translations into English of articles by Valikhanov.¹⁰ In that year, stimulated by Russia's expansion into Central Asia and the decision to create a new province of Turkestan, translators John and Robert Michell published *The Russians in Central Asia*,¹¹ which contained a selection of essays that the Michell brothers thought would interest an English-speaking audience. The Michells were in favour of the Russian occupation of Central Asia, arguing: that 'As prosperity, coming in the wake of tranquillity, becomes more general in the plains of Turkestan, so will the demand for English manufactures and the means of purchasing them, now almost absent, become available. In the meanwhile, and apart from all political considerations, the continued efforts of Russian men of science to throw light on a region of the world so little known and so highly interesting, cannot but meet with the sympathy of the English public, and merit its warm approval.'¹²

The Michells' book contained 'An Essay on Dzhungaria (Abridged)', 'An Expedition to Kashgar', 'Alty-Shahr-Historical Review' and 'General View of Dzhungaria'. The first two of these essays are published here. Other essays were chosen for inclusion on the basis of their accessibility and to emphasise Valikhanov's focus on reform. His interest in the folklore and history of the steppe dwellers is evident in his essays 'Stories and Legends of the Great Horde' and the 'Historical Legends of the Batyrs'. His attempt to understand the structure of the tribal groups is detailed in his essays on the genealogy of the Kazakhs and the genealogical tree of the Kazakh khans. In addition, we are publishing Valikhanov's diary of his expedition to Kuldzha in 1856, his notes on trade in Kuldzha and Chuguchak¹³ and several of his writings on the Kokand Khanate. We are also publishing his outline notes on the Trans-Ili Region, as well as several essays on the nomadic territory of the Kazakhs and a special note on the Great (Senior) *Zhu*z of the Kazakhs.

His interest in persuading the Russians not to abolish long-established legal practices as existed on the steppe is shown by his 'Letter from Omsk' in which he urges caution before getting rid of traditional judges and courts. The same is true of his note on the judicial reforms.

Valikhanov's interest in the culture of the Kazakhs is evident from his 'Letter to Professor Berezin', his old tutor, in which he answered detailed

¹⁰ For Valikhanov's collected writings, see Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, *Sobranie sochinenii v piati tomakh*, 5 vols (Almaty, Izd-vo Akademii nauk Kazakhskoi SSR, 1961–72) (in Russian), which is where the essays in this collection originate.

¹¹ John and Robert Michell, *The Russians in Central Asia: Their occupation of the Kirghiz Steppe and the Line of the Syr-Darya; Their political relations with Khiva, Bokhara and Kokan; also descriptions of Chinese Turkestan and Dzungaria by Capt. Valikhanof, M. Veniukov and other Russian Travellers* (London, Edward Stanford, 1865).

¹² *Ibid.*, p.vii.

¹³ Now known as Tacheng.

questions about various ethnographic terms found in the decrees of the khans, and in his translations of epic poetry from the steppe.

These articles and notes vary in terms of completeness. Some are fully formed and are translated from their printed Russian versions. Others are extracted from documents that were found after Valikhanov's death and which are in various states of completeness. We have tried, where possible, to give an indication of the condition of the original material. In some cases there are gaps in the text, mainly due to the fact that the original material also contained gaps or words that were unreadable. In a few cases, cuts in the original text were made before they were published in Russian in Valikhanov's collected writings.

Throughout these texts, we have included Valikhanov's original notes as footnotes. They are marked with his initials. Other footnotes come from the original Russian editors of Valikhanov's works, and from ourselves. Explanations of terms or individuals with whom the reader may be unfamiliar are contained in the Glossary and were written both by Valikhanov's original editors and by ourselves. Throughout the text, we have used the terms 'Kazakh' instead of the term 'Kyrgyz', when referring to the Kazakh people. For various complicated reasons, the Russians mostly referred to the Kazakhs as 'Kyrgyz' until well into the twentieth century. Thus we say 'Kazakh steppe' instead of 'Kyrgyz steppe', etc., as was often written in the nineteenth century.

After almost a century during which scholarship on the Great Steppe was either dominated by ideological theory from the Soviet Union or simply non-existent due to lack of access to important materials held in Russian archives, there is now a resurgence of interest in the history and ethnology of these regions. It is to be hoped that this publication of a selection of Valikhanov's writings will stimulate further research into this important period and into the life and career of Valikhanov himself.

We should also point out that although every effort has been made to ensure that Valikhanov's works are presented as clearly as possible, we have not attempted to publish a fully scholarly version of his writings. That is a project for another time. For non-Russian speakers in particular, it will require a reassessment of the original materials and further integration of Valikhanov's writings into the Western canon of writings on Central Asia. Rather, this volume should be treated as an introductory reader that shows the depth and breadth of Valikhanov's knowledge and research. We ask for our readers' forgiveness if at any point we have not accurately represented his original intentions. We are also aware that very occasionally Valikhanov uses language and phrasing when discussing regional issues that would not be used today. In the interests of authenticity, however, we have not excluded such comments or perspectives and would ask our readers to assess them in the light of the times in which they were written.

In terms of translation of Russian, Kazakh and other Central Asian terms, we have generally applied Library of Congress romanisation, without diacritics.



However, we have made a few exceptions for some names in common usage in order to aid further online research and accessibility in regards to pronunciation.

Finally, it is important to note that even though Valikhanov supported Russia's mission to colonise Central Asia, he was never servile or uncritical of what he considered were often high-handed attitudes expressed by Russians towards his people. He constantly challenged Russian policy, urging officials to listen to the people and not just the tribal leaders. He believed that Russian support for Islam was inimical to Kazakh culture, and that it would increase anti-Russian sentiment. Nonetheless, he remains the most outstanding champion of his own culture, and in so doing stimulated the beginnings of an indigenous written literature and increased awareness of Kazakh cultural heritage both for his compatriots and for those from further afield.

Nick Fielding, August 2020

Editor's acknowledgements

This book originated in a discussion in 2016 between myself and Dr Z.E. Kabuldinov, director of the Chokan Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology in Almaty, who responded with great enthusiasm to the suggestion of publishing some of Valikhanov's writings for an English-speaking audience. A specially appointed editorial board made up of his staff ensured that it went as smoothly as possible. I would like to record here my thanks to Dr Kabuldinov and his staff for all their help during this long gestation period.

Many other people have contributed to the publication of this edition of Valikhanov's writings. In particular, I would like to thank Dr Arch Tait for his superb translations from the Russian originals of the 20 essays that make up this selection. This is a challenging task for a translator, as in some cases the original manuscripts were in note form, making it difficult to extract a sense of what the author was trying to do. Nonetheless, Arch has succeeded brilliantly in bringing Valikhanov's texts to life.

I would also like to record my appreciation for the enthusiastic backing for this book from H.E. Erlan Idrissov, Ambassador of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and to his staff, in particular to Ms Aigerim Seisembayeva, who has never complained about my many calls on her time to answer questions and sort out problems. At Cambridge University Press, I would like to thank James Ord and his colleague Annie Michailidou, and the rest of their team, for helping this book to become a reality, and I offer special thanks to Dr Chris McNab,

whose thoroughness in checking the texts has no doubt saved me much embarrassment. Thanks also to Mitchell Albert for his diligent proofreading. I sincerely hope that readers of these wonderful essays will draw as much pleasure as I have and will wonder, like me, why it has taken 150 years or more for them to be published in English. I take full responsibility for any remaining errors in the text.

Members of the editorial board of the Chokan Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology in Almaty: Z.E. Kabuldinov, A.K. Shashayev, S.A. Asanova, S. Oteniyazov, N. Fielding, B.K. Smagulov, O.B. Kuanbai, D.M. Abdrakhmanov, T.A. Ryskulov, A.A. Zhunisbayev, B.B. Burkhanov, R. Zakarya, R. Rakishev.

Chapter 1

The Genealogical Tree of the Kazakh Khans and Sultans

Commentary

These are several genealogical tables with brief notes. They contain information on the genealogy of the Kazakh khans and sultans, beginning with Barak, whose descendants were the patriarchs of the three Kazakh *zhuzes*. It also contains information on descendants of Abylai Khan from six of his wives, and on descendants of Uali Khan, Chokan's grandfather. These tables were compiled by Valikhanov at various times and he worked on them using literary sources and oral information from the khans living in his time. Reprinted from the text of *Sobranie sochinenii Sh.Sh. Ualikhanova*, vol. 3, pp. 484–8. The original manuscripts are preserved in RGALI, *fond* 118, *opis* 1, *delo* 339, *list* 3 and Arkhiv Akademii Nauk (AAN), *fond* 23, *opis* 1, *delo* 7, *listy* 1–5.

So, one line of Kazakh sultans is known by the title of Sultans of the Red Banner and, according to legend, is descended from a certain Central Asian adventurer. The patriarch of this line of sultans was Ondan,¹ known as Long Arrow Ondan. He was from Kurama, which is near Angren. One time at a feast, having drunk immoderately, he boasted that he had killed a noble man of Kurama. Drawing his bow with an arrow of 12 girths, he leapt on a pedigree stallion, rode out of range of vengeance, and came to Alibek Agi,² a friend of his father, for advice.

‘You are a good fellow,’ the *bek* told him, ‘and I feel sorry for you. You cannot stay here. On the steppes beyond the River Shu there are nomadic tribes who respect the sultans and *khojas*. A *khoja* you could not be, but you can be seen as a sultan. You are brave and an archer of the highest quality. Go there and pretend you are a sultan.’

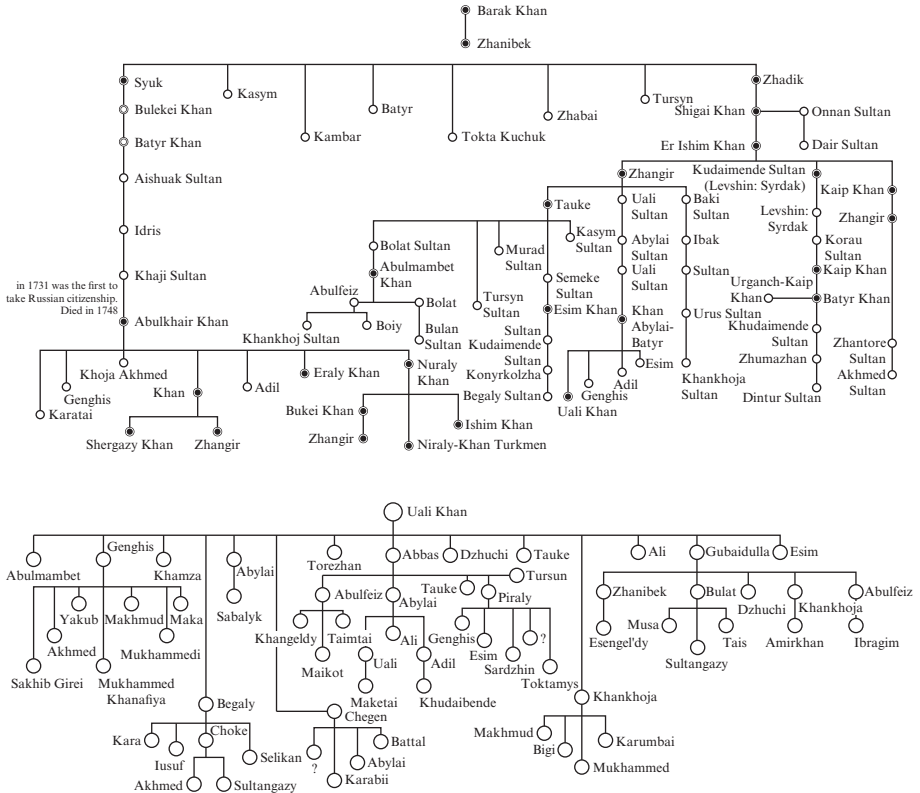
He went to the Lesser Nogai, and from there to the Kazakhs, and for his courage was acknowledged to be a sultan, and he became khan and leader

¹ Full name: Uzyn Okty Ondan اوزون اوكتى اوندان (Kazakh) – Long Arrow Ondan.

² Alibek was the father of the famous Tole *Bi*.

of their warriors. The famous Khan Oraz-Mukhammed was the son of this Ozsan.³ However, the author [of the *Zhalaiyri Collection of Chronicles*]⁴ calls Ozsan the brother of Taukel Khan and Esim Khan.

Genealogical tables of the Kazakh Khans and Sultans



³ Ozsan is Ondan.

⁴ جامع التواريخ *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* (Collection of Chronicles) by Kadyrghali Zhalaiyri. See the commentary on 'Extracts' from جامع التواريخ. This publication is hereafter referred to as the *Zhalaiyri Collection of Chronicles* or جامع التواريخ.

Abylai Khan

Abylai Khan had 12 wives, by whom he had 40 daughters and 30 sons:

1. By his first wife, Karashash Khanym, the daughter of Abulkhair, or Kaip of Khiva, Abylai had no sons, only two daughters, one of whom was married to Daiyr Khan, the son of Barak, and the other to Sultan Kudaimende.
2. Saiman Khanym, the daughter of the Karakalpak *bek* Sagyndyk-Shuakbai, mother of Uali Khan.
3. Babak Khanym, the daughter of the Kashgar *bek* Kenzhe-Sart, who emigrated to China.
4. ... of *khojas*, sister of the famous Kazakh saint, Sargaldak.
5. Topysh, or Tubch,⁵ daughter of the Kalmyk prince Khochu-Mergen, a relative of Galdan-Tseren, who stayed for some time with Abylai in the Horde.
6. Tokhta Khanym, also the daughter of a Kalmyk *noyon*.
7. Tatch Khanym,⁶ captured from the Kyrgyz. By her, Abylai had two daughters, one of whom was married to Tursyn, the son of Tauke Khan. See Table 1, Sameke Khan.
8. Ores Khanym, known as Sulu⁷ (the Beautiful). Captured from the Kalmyks.
9. Tulak Khanym.
10. Sain Koben.
11. Shagan Khanym.
12. Muntum.

The last four wives of Abylai were all Kalmyks and had no children. The ninth was a maid of Saiman Khanym, and the tenth was a maid of Karashash Khanym.

⁵ In the Kazakh original: *توپش* – Topysh.

⁶ In the Kazakh original: *توپش خانم* – Topysh Khanym.

⁷ In the Kazakh original: *ترغاوت اوروس سولو* – Ores-sulu of the Torghuts.

Chapter 2

The Genealogy of the Kazakhs

Commentary

During his short life, Chokan Valikhanov left behind a rich legacy as a researcher. As an adjutant to the governor of Western Siberia from 1855 to 1856, he studied the genealogy of the Kazakhs, comparing the material he found in the chronicles with the writings of different nationalities. This work on the genealogy of the Kazakhs was left incomplete at his death.

Here is a division of the Kazakh clans in the strictly observed order traditional to them. The very order of the division determines a tribe's rights of precedence and power, which, as the Kazakhs understand it, are expressed in the tribe's physical seniority in terms of the date of birth of its patriarch. This is of great importance in their system of tribal law and is understood entirely in genealogical terms. Accordingly, the nature of the relationship between the hordes – and of clans within a particular horde – corresponds to the rights of seniority among blood brothers. The relationship of the clans to their horde corresponds to that of sons to their father, and to the senior clan of the most senior horde the relationship is that of a nephew to an uncle. This patriarchal clan system is seen at its most dramatic in the clashes between individual improvisational singers of the steppe from different clans over the relative pre-eminence and seniority of their forebears,¹ but this is not the place to go into that. Accordingly, let us return to the Kazakh tribes.

The Kangly, Shanyshkyly and Kereit tribes, through the shared name of *Kazakh*, belonged and still belong to the Kazakhs, although they separated from the hordes after the death of Esil Khan (who lived around 1630) and now, together with Clan Konyrat of the Middle Horde (which separated under Uali Khan in the first quarter of the nineteenth century), roam in Bukhara, Kokand and Tashkent, but mainly in the Karatau Mountains and along the River Talas alongside Uzbek clans. I consider it unnecessary to talk of the antiquity of the Kipchak, Kangly, [Uisun] ..., Zhalaıyr, Naiman, Kereit and Kirit, because this will be known to anyone with the least acquaintance with the history of

¹ *Ata-baba.*

Genghis Khan and his conquests. The Kangly and Kipchak are mentioned as powerful Turkic peoples by Eastern historians already in the legendary era of Oghuz. Abulghazi tells us that, even before the Mongol invasion, the Kangly lived along the shores of Issyk-Kol, the Rivers Dzhud² and Talas,³ and that the Kipchak (Abulghazi, Rummyantsev edition, p. 49)⁴ for 400 years, from the reign of Oghuz to that of Genghis Khan, lived on the territory of the Rivers Don, Edil and Zhaiyk, which is why the land they inhabited was called Desht-i-Kipchak. Konstantin Bagryanorodny calls the Turkish Patzinak people⁵ long-time inhabitants of the lands along the Rivers Atil, Geikh and Tanais; indeed, the Patzinak, Kuman and Uz, as kindred peoples of the same tribe, were entirely known to the Byzantines by the end of the seventh century. The Cuman-Polovtsians, whom many scholars identify as the Kipchak, are mentioned under the year 1078.

In the reign of Botandat (*Izvestiya vizantiiskikh istorikov* [Proceedings of the Byzantine Historians], part 4, p. 134), the Naiman, Zhalaiyr and Kereit were, according to Eastern historians, Mongol peoples and had their own khans even before Genghis. The Naiman lived near Karakorum, the Zhalaiyr, both Great and Little ... made up according to ...⁶

The Kereit were neighbours of the Naiman and, according to Abulghazi, were the strongest of all the tribes [اول زماند اکرایت دین کوچلی ایل یوق یردی].⁷ The Konyrat were Mongols ... The Kiyat were related to Genghis Khan and his descendants with the result that their *beks* ... had great political importance and power. We encounter the Dulat, Suan and Uisun in Rashid-ad-Din's *Collection of Chronicles* under the names of [Duglat and Uishin]⁸ and they are among

² Copyist's error. Should read 'Dzhu', that is, the River Shu.

³ Lake Issyk-Kol lies at the point where the borders of China, Kokand and the lands of the Kazakh Great Horde converge. The Kyrgyz roam its valley, bounded to the north by the snowy Kungei Mountains and to the south by the Kirgiznen-Alatau. The River Shu (I take Abulghazi's 'Dzhu-Suy' to be this river) flows from the northern slopes of the Kirgiznen-Alatau Mountains. The River Talas flows into Lake Karakol and originates in the snowy ridge separating this river from the Shu. To this day, the Kazakh clans [Kangly, Konyrat, Ysty, Shanyshkyly and so on] roam the course of the River Talas in the Karatau Mountains in the steppe valley between the Rivers Shu and Syr. In Abulghazi, the names of these places are written as [Ystyk-Kol, Zhu and Talash]. – *CV*.

⁴ Abulghasi Bahadurchani, *Historia Mongolorum et Tatarorum, nuns primum tatica edita, auctoritate et manificentia I. C. N. de Romanzoff* (Casani, 1825) p. 49. Text in Turkic.

⁵ That is, the Pechenegs.

⁶ Abulghasi Bahadurchani, *Historia Mongolorum*, p. 53. Text missing from original.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Rashid-ad-Din, 'Sbornik letopisei. Istoriia mongolov. Vvedenie o turetskikh i mongol'skikh plemenakh', *Trudy Vostochnogo otdeleniia Russkogo arkhelogicheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 5 (St Petersburg, 1858) pp. 166, 207.

the ten⁹ Mongol tribes descended from the Norun¹⁰ and the Kiyat [انيرون, قيات]. The movement of the Usun people from the north-west borders of China to what is today the Ili District (in the present nomadic territories of the Kazakh Great Horde) is mentioned by Chinese historians as early as the second century BC.¹¹ We encounter the Argyn tribe very late, among the Mongol peoples of the Chagatai Horde. Hulagu had a wife from the Argyn tribe.

The names of the Uak and Kereit are not, as far as I know, among the ancient Mongolo-Turkic tribes, but in the Kazakh epic *Edige* there is a representative of the Uak among the *beks* of Tokhtamysh. On the origin of the names Alshyn, Baiuly and Alimuly, see below.

The Kurlaut (an ancient Mongol tribe) now constitute a section of Clan Kipchak among the Kazakhs. Such a uniting of the Mongol Kurlaut tribe with the Turkic Kipchak people, in the form or with the status of a branch of it, really is strange. However, Levshin tells us¹² there is a union of various Mongol and Turkic tribes of the Golden and Chagatai Hordes, which, because of shared interests and certain circumstances, merged into a single political entity. Examples of such unions in the history of Mongolo-Turkic tribes are not uncommon. We know of the Mongol union of the Oirat and the Turkic union of the Uighur.

In the troubled times preceding the founding of the khanates of Kazan, Crimea and Astrakhan, the first Golden Horde and Chagatai tribes, fragmented and scattered in all directions and to different lands by predatory uprisings, formed alliances to safeguard their rights in their nomadic territories. They would invite some prince of Genghisid descent to join them and proclaim him khan. By this means, a politically separate community (قوم)¹³ was made up from clans belonging to different tribes, irrespective of [their antecedents]. This is how the Nogai Horde in Sarychak, the Moghul-Ulus Horde in Tashkent, and the Kazakh Horde on the steppes beyond Seikhun River were founded and became established. This hypothesis is all the more persuasive in view of the remarkable composition of the Kazakh clans, among whom you find Kipchak of the Golden Horde tribe, Argyn of the Chagatai tribe and Uisun, who are neighbours of Uighur and Dzhungar. For greater clarity, let us examine their own legends about the origins of their peoples.

The Kazakh people (which is what the Kazakhs call themselves, and what they are called by their Asian neighbours) are divided into three ‘hundreds’, or *zhuzes*,¹⁴ which the Russians call ‘hordes’ and which, by their seniority, they call the Great (Senior), Middle and Junior Hundreds (*Uly Zhuz*, *Orta Zhuz* and *Kishi Zhuz*).

⁹ Probably a slip of the pen. Should read ‘sixteen’. See *ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁰ Usually written as *Nirun* – نيرون *Ibid.*

¹¹ Iakinf, *Opisanie Dzhungarii i Vostochnogo Turkestana*, pp. 42–3.

¹² A. Levshin, *Opisanie kirgiz-kaisatskikh ili kirgiz-kazachikh ord i stepei*, part 2 (St Petersburg, 1832) p. 42.

¹³ *Kauym* (Arabic). A community, people, union, society.

¹⁴ Should read *zhuz*.

The Senior Hundred or, as it is now customary to say, the Great Horde, comprises four main clans: the Dulat, Zhalaiyr, Alban and Suan, who are known collectively as the Uisun. This is the name of a powerful tribe that formerly belonged to their alliance, but later joined the Dzhungars and Uighurs. (Remnants of the Uisun in fact exist to this day as a branch of Clan Dulat and are known as the Sary-Uisin.)

The nucleus of the Middle Horde comprises the clans Argyn, Kipchak, Konyrat and Naiman; then there are secondary clans that joined later, which the Kazakhs call *zhetiru* – seven-clans [comprising seven smaller clans]: the Uak and Kereit. The Little Horde consists mainly of two tribes, the Alimuly and Baiuly, and of a further one ... a *zhetiru*. The collective name of the clans of the Little Horde is Alshyn, just as Uisun designates all those of the Great Horde.

Tradition registers the beginnings of the Kazakh or Alash people fairly precisely. If Tamerlane in 1392, on his first campaign against Tokhtamysh, killed the children of Alash and the first Kazakh khan, we may assume that Alash himself must have lived at some time in the mid-fourteenth century. There is no doubt that Cossacks originated and developed in Asia and spread from the Tatars to the Russians. In the Russian chronicles (the Pskov chronicle), the Cossacks of Ryazan are mentioned in 1444, when they came to the aid of Moscow and [fought] the Tatars. In Ukraine in 1517, according to the historian Okolsky,¹⁵ they then went to Belgorod (Akkerman) under the command of their hetman, Przeclaw Lanckoronski (see Karamzin, note 411 to vol. 5 and chapter 4).¹⁶

It is unsurprising that they appeared earlier among the Tatars. The vast, ungoverned Kazakh steppes, like the Ukraine for Russia, were a magnet attracting the daring and the warrior-like in search of freedom and rich pickings. If the Russian Cossacks of Zaporizhia and the Don very soon coalesced into a separate nationality strikingly different from the Great Russian population, there is no doubt that the hordes' troubled times of internecine strife, making outcasts not of particular individuals, as in Russia, but of whole tribes, contributed to the formation of a separate Kazakh community from very different tribes, just as the Russian Cossacks were made up from a coming together of strongly individual personalities from quite different tribes.

That is why I entirely accept the idea of the formation of the Tatar Kazakhs into a union of Alash, a Kazakh community, and believe that the Kazakh myth of Alash and Alas, as a description of that beginning, is well founded. Among Asiatic peoples, freedom and independence could be realised only in the person of a particular khan as their chief. The strengthening of the Kazakhs through a union of several recalcitrant (بوسو) tribes breaking away from the Kipchak and Turkestan hordes developed gradually, of course, and was accomplished unnoticeably. In terms of the seniority of tribal unions, the Great and Middle

¹⁵ Okólsky, *Orb. Polon*, vol. 3, p. 318.

¹⁶ N.M. Karamzin, *Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiiskogo*, vol. 5 (St Petersburg, 1842) p. 174.

Hordes have seniority (see above on the clan division of the Kazakhs) over the Cossacks (the Little Horde, as we noted above, derives from the first vagrant pioneers).

We may assume that Kazakhs joined a union of tribes that had formed in the Kazakh steppes. The nomadic steppe life and predatory inclinations, a shared ethos and legacy of the nomadic tribes of the steppe, would have attached the name of *kazak* (قزاق) to the new union of their branches which, as we may deduce from the *Sheibani-name*, had a fairly honourable meaning, signifying spiritual superiority and wholesomeness that corresponded to European notions of chivalry.¹⁷

The nomadic steppe-dweller, to distinguish himself from his settled kinsfolk, the Uzbek and Nogai, was proud to bear the name of ‘Kazakh’, a footloose steppe-dweller, a nomad. G. Levshin says firmly that in the sixteenth century, in the Kipchak and Chete steppes, there were two powerful realms: Ulus-Moghul, under the rule of Dadan Khan, and Kazakh, and that at that time the Kazakhs were being augmented by, or were forcing to join them, a collection of outcasts of many peoples who had separated from the Golden Horde: Kipchak, Naiman, Konyrat, Zhalaiyr, Kangly and other branches whose names are now borne by the most powerful lines, clans and branches of the Kazakh hordes.

Observing the formation of some minor Kazakh clans under the last khans, we can readily explain, or even deduce a general rule, for the formation of tribes and unification of Kazakh hordes. Abylai Khan in one of his raids in 1757 on the Kyrgyz (in order to differentiate them from the Kazakhs, the Russians gave them the additional epithet of *Dikokamennyi*, black [Kara-Kyrgyz], while the Chinese called them ‘Burut’) brought several hundred *zhesir* (captives) into his own horde. These Burut, roaming together with Clan Atygai of the Argyn tribe of the Middle Horde, gradually became assimilated and now comprise a section of that clan with the names of Zhana-Kyrgyz and Bai-Kyrgyz. In order to obtain the genealogical right of clan kinship, they claim descent from one of the 12 sons of Daut (the patriarch of the Atygai). Another example: the Kereit Clan of the Great Horde seceded from the Kazakh union and joined its Uzbek fellow Kereits. A modest remainder, which subsequently returned to the steppe, joined the seven-clan line of the adjacent Little Horde and now comprises a branch of it and claims descent from the patriarch of that line.

The Kazakhs themselves, as I noted above, attribute the names of their clans to those of their patriarchs. However, of the Kipchak, the Naiman, the Konyrat and other basic clans, it is said that they are ancient peoples dating from the time of Genghis, and in the contemporary general alliance of the hordes each of the tribes participating is seen as an inalienable unit ...¹⁸ and accepts its genealogical status.

¹⁷ In the *Sheibaniad* it is often said that Murza so-and-so or Bahadur so-and-so ‘excelled in cossackry’. The Zaporozhian Cossacks had every reason to call themselves knights! – *CV*.

¹⁸ A space has been left, evidently for the Kazakh word *tutas* or *butin*.

In fact, the Little Horde are considered the direct descendants of the first *batyrs* to adopt the Cossack way of life,¹⁹ who gave the original, distinctive direction to the life of their union. This is based on the ancient Mongol law which, it should be noted, still has great force and importance for them, that the right to inherit the legacy of the parents, their property, belongs to the youngest son or the youngest member of the family, who is called the *kenzhe*. This is why the name Alshyn, the tribal name of this entire horde, is derived from the name of the first judge (*bi*), Maiky, of the Kazakhs. One branch of the Baiuly Clan of this horde is actually called Alasha.

The Turkestan Uzbeks, as can be seen from their clan structure, also comprised a union of tribes, but a far broader union than that of the Kazakhs. These are the clans of the Bukhara Uzbeks: Konyrat – in Karshy; Mangyt – in Bukhara; Kytai – in Zharkorgan; Kipchak – in Talekan; Naiman – in Zeidin; Zhalaiyr – in Pundzhshamba; Sary Yabu – in Karshi; Sary-Kita – in Korgan; Diakhli, Ming, Mitan, Bakhrin, Barkut, Katagan, Shender, Karakalpak and others. Besides those of Bukhara, the Zhuz clan in Kokand is Lakai and the Zhuz in Gisar is Konyrat; in Baisun, Urgench and Khiva it is Durman; [in] Kauadian²⁰ it is Kattan; in Kunduz, Moitan; in Kumush, Kanezy; in Geibak²¹ and Tashkent, Kipchak; in Khiva and Kokand, Yabu – also in Bolor. Among the Crimean and Kuban Nogai tribes there are Naiman, Kipchak and Konyrat tribes and, what is particularly remarkable, Kyrgyz and Kazakh clans²² (among the Caucasian Nogai). Among the Bashkir *volosts* there is a Kipchak Clan which, in respect of its basic *volosts*, is a Bashkir offshoot.

¹⁹ See, below, the legend of the Kazakhs regarding their antecedents. – *CV*.

²⁰ Also, 'Kabadian' (present-day, Mikoianabad), a city in the valley of the River Kafirnagan.

²¹ Probably 'Zeibak'.

²² It is known that in the sixteenth century the Nogai had cities and roamed what are now known as the Kazakh steppes. To the east, the boundary of their lands was, it can be surmised from surviving legends and remains of mosques attributed to them, the Alatau Mountains. The Kyrgyz who live in the mountains and valleys of Issyk-Kol say that their lands were previously roamed by the Nogai, and that they themselves come partly from assimilation with them. They say also that there used to be several Nogai cities on the banks of their lake, but an earthquake caused the shore to collapse. On stormy and windy days, Lake Issyk-Kol frequently casts up evidence of these earlier habitations. The legend of the Nogai cities may be the ultimate explanation of this phenomenon. The Nogai evidently enjoyed close and friendly relations with the Kazakhs, their neighbours to the south-west, and with the Kyrgyz to the north-east. (The Kyrgyz lived along the Rivers Yenisei and Tomi and the Black and White Rivers Yusa, and could be found as far east as the Rivers Abakan and Angara.) At all events, the legends of the Kyrgyz tell of blissful times and good neighbourly relations between the Nogai and the Kazakhs, and all their *zhyls* close to this time begin in that manner. The Nogai in the mid-seventeenth century, under pressure from the Kalmyks in the east, may in their movement westward have carried with them a small portion of the Kazakhs and

The unification of almost the same tribes with Mongolo-Turkic roots in three separate peoples, the clan rights of the union paralleling a fraternal union, finally the confirming legends and historical evidence of the *Sheibaniad* and Abulghazi about the wars of the Uzbeks, where, preserving their clan rights and hierarchy from ... of clans and acting ... alien ... each tribe in the person of its chief, a *bi*, functions separately, coordinating its actions only with the common interest of the union personified by the khan. This all seems to confirm my hypothesis of their origin as a union of tribes from the Golden and Chagatai Hordes which were displaced by troubles and unrest in the fifteenth century from their indigenous lands, which were brought into a state of disorderly agitation or flight (*bosu*),²³ which became completely fragmented, and ended up in a variety of different places and lands mixed up with ... other fragments of other tribes. Their first [priority] was self-preservation and, taking account of local conditions, smaller sections of the tribes either sought protection from more powerful parts by joining them, while remaining [separate] entities, or entered closer, fraternal relations and subdivisions among themselves, forming a community, a concentration of peoples, to safeguard themselves from the violence of stronger, less-fragmented tribes. This may be how the first ... unions formed.

Kyrgyz, who roamed together with them. Although in the *Book of the Great Map* it is said that the Nogai mostly roamed the River Ural to the Blue Sea, on the basis of what Müller relates, it can be assumed that the Nogai nomadic territories extended much further to the west from the Esil, which was the boundary of one Nogai horde and to where Koshim fled for the last time. Müller states that there were several Nogai *uluses* in the Tara steppes paying tribute to the Russians, and that in 1594 *volosts* and towns in Siberia were paying tribute to the Nogai Alei Murza, namely, Merzlyi Gorodok, Turash and the Malogorod *volosts* beyond Tara, up the River Irtysh, and the Vuziuk *volosts* near Lake Chan, the town of Tunus [Koshim's frontier post] (along the river Tura), *volosts* on Lake Ubinskoe near Baraba (Changula, Lugui, Kelem and others). See G.F. Müller, *Istoriya Sibiri* (1750) pp. 272 and 295.

It is strange and noteworthy that almost all the nomadic peoples of the Central Asian steppes attribute everything ancient to the Nogai, and many consider them their ancestors. That is claimed by the Karakalpaks and by the Kyrgyz who, judging by the sparse facts of the history of this people, must have had kinship or geographical links with them. Where does the name 'Nogai' come from and what does it mean? In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, there was in our steppes a great ferment of nomadic tribes with no designation of territories. Major change was imminent, and a new life was needed. – *CV*.

²³ To express distraught, panicky flight of nomadic tribes from invasion or plundering, or indeed from mere rumours of impending danger, the Tatar language has some expressive verbs: *bosmak* (*bosu*) – to take to your heels, to save your skin; *urkme* – to run in fear, in alarm. There have been several instances among the Kazakhs of such migrations: on one occasion the Middle Horde fled from the River Shu to the environs of Orenburg on rumours that the Dzhungars were advancing to inflict *shabu*. The Great Horde on that same occasion migrated from Lake Balkhash to Bukhara. – *CV*.

However that came about, the unification of Turkic Kipchak and Argyn tribes, tribes formed very late under Hulagu, clearly points towards the later origins of the Kazakhs, and that their origin was a mixing of Turks and Mongols, but with a significant weighting in favour of the Mongol foundation. It is extremely difficult, almost impossible, to identify reliably the moment when this union took on a new life and emerged as an independent and integral nation, although popular tradition offers fairly precise testimony.

That does not, however, amount to historical fact. Folk legends about any life, and especially historic lives, are exceptionally interesting. I hesitate to say important. In this respect, the legends of the Kazakhs have an honourable place owing to their exceptional simplicity, clarity and lack of supernatural and fantastic elements, and the fact that they are largely confirmed by what we find in Abulghazi and especially Rashid-ad-Din's *Jami-at-tavarih*, which is itself remarkable for the fact that it was written by a Kazakh. Despite their oral transmission over a period of many years and by the lips of many generations, all the ancient *zhys* and legends, thanks to the astonishing talent and memory of the improvisers and the love of the people itself for songs, *zhys*, legends and tales about the exploits of their ancestors, have been preserved to the present day with little distortion. All the versions, collected in quite different parts of the vast area of the steppes, are remarkably consistent. Of the Kazakhs it can be said without fear of contradiction that they are the surviving heirs of the ancient Tatar culture, with all its superstitions, customs and entertainments, but with more intellectual distinction, with an immense stock of poetic historical legends, with the lays of improvisers who lived at different times with a love of music and entertainments, and with an immense code of specific rights of the people, with judicial hearings and policing measures.

There is not a single memorable event, not a single remarkable person, since this unique nation came into being, whose renown has not been retained in the people's memory. One has been extolled by an improviser, the name of another has been perpetuated in the memory of our forebears by some famed and immortal musician, a *shybyzgyshy*²⁴ or *kobyzshy*. Every venerable Kazakh chieftain knows the entire genealogy of his own clan and, in order to be a well-bred and decent person, diligently studies the law of his people under the guidance of an aged and respected *bi* renowned for his knowledge of the law. The chief will hone his rhetorical skill, memorising numerous sayings, proverbs and humorous stories, using them to embellish his speeches. He is expected to make them engrossing and, in moderation, humorous, which is something Kazakhs love.²⁵ Alas, however, it seems that in ten years' time we will be able only to say that is how it all used to be, so greatly is our people changing.

Noteworthy among the legends of the origins of the Kazakhs is the *zhyr* of an *akyn* of the Argyn tribe, of Clan Atygai, of the Kudaiberdy line and

²⁴ More accurately, *sybyzgyshy* – a musician playing the pan pipes.

²⁵ A Kazakh proverb is used as striking proof of an argument of great antiquity. – *CV*.

Baimbet-Shal branch, a contemporary of my great-grandfather, Abylai Khan. The people who know this epic are now very few. At least, I have as yet had no opportunity of hearing it. It is said that Shal in his *zhyr* has brought together all the legends relating to the origins of the Kazakhs and compiled a complete genealogy of the khans, chiefs and tribes descended from Alash (which, of course, includes the entire [Kazakh] people) and up to Kudaiberdy Batyr, one of the 12 sons of Daut, the patriarch of 12 lines of Clan Atygei. We do not have this epic to hand, and do not consider it indispensable for our present purpose, so we shall offer for your consideration a common folktale known to every Kazakh with even the slightest pretension to a white beard and an old ear (*karikulak* – one who has heard many things).²⁶

Long, long, long ago, there lived in Turan a ruler known by the name of Abdullah, and also of Abdul-Aziz Khan, and this ruler had a leper son named, because of that, Alasha – motley. His father, in accordance with the ancient custom of expelling all who are stricken by this contagious canker, duly expelled his own son. At the same time many of his subjects, disaffected by Abdullah's cruelty and driven by hunger, decamped to the steppes to the north of the River Syr, to the sands of Karakum and Borsyk, and began 'cossacking'.

The bold and dashing *batyrs* grew to 300 in numbers and soon acquired fame, power and wealth. Some years passed, disasters struck, the Cossack band suffered constant defeat at the hands of their neighbours. The outlaws of the steppe faced famine, and their lack of a leader bred dissension among the members of the brotherhood and led them into disorder and internal strife. To add to their troubles, Abdullah himself, taking advantage of the situation, began seeking them out, and it was only through the working of Providence that they were saved from perishing. In this lamentable state of affairs, a wise elder appeared among the [remaining] 200. Alash ('the outsider, foreigner'), delivered such a powerful and persuasive speech to them that the Cossacks proclaimed him their chieftain and judge, and on his advice they invited the leper son of Abdullah, Alasha, to be their khan.²⁷

So it came to pass that the vagabond Cossacks of the steppe, becoming an orderly community and in some sense a nation (if the word can be applied to a nomadic people), to mark their independence and identity, to commemorate

²⁶ The legends communicated by Levshin in his *Opisanie kirgiz-kazachikh ord i stepei* simply do not exist among the Kazakhs. One of them is an adaptation of one of ours. The Kazakhs never tell Russians the truth about their past and invariably invent something completely contradictory. When the Siberian Kazakh Border Administration was intending to establish a code of Kazakh law, it sent an official called Sotnikov to enquire about their legends, so that they would have a full understanding of their mentality and customs. The Kazakhs, fearing that their past ways of 'cossackry' would lead to their being turned into regular Cossacks, concocted something completely false and declared themselves to be descended from Mohammed and the Arabs. – *CV*.

²⁷ The legend of Alash [Khan]. It is entirely obvious that this is of later origin and has been drastically [altered]. – *CV*.

their khan Alasha and their patriarch and judge, Alash, named themselves Alash or, after the number of their hundreds, *Ush Alash* (three hundred). (This is a considerable tangle of Alash). However, despite their outward rebirth, their neighbours, and Abdullah himself, continued to view them as vagrants and robbers. They continued to be known as Cossack [*kazak*] even after the Alash and his [Abdulla's] son Alasha, with their full complement of 300 men, availing themselves of famine and sickness among Abdullah's people, forced him to recognise their independence in writing. Thus, did the Alash become a people, with Alasha as their khan.

Hereafter, the legend says more definitely that Aksak-Temir (Tamerlane), in his first campaign against Tokhtamysh, passing through the nomadic *Kazakhs* of Karakum, took note of them, plundered their *uluses* and hanged two khans – Amet and Samet – and sent teachers (*mashaikh*) to them to spread the true rules of faith and to eradicate shamanism. All the ruins of mosques, gravestones and mausoleums belong to this and subsequently to ... to the steppe ...²⁸. Before Tamerlane, the Kazakhs worshipped the spirit of their ancestors – *aruak* – fire as a purifying force, the Moon, the Sun, the Earth, and the animals that constituted their wealth, deifying each variety in an individual god: the 'horse father', *Onar-Ata*,²⁹ the cow father, [*Zengi Baba*]. Other animals were not worshipped as sacred, but they venerated all things that were of benefit to them.

We do not learn from Kazakh legend when the family of Orys came to them, or which of his children was the first Kazakh khan. Although the Kazakh legends speak of Zhanibek being their khan, they give no clear answer to the question of whether he himself was the first to come to them, or his ancestors were. In the *Zhalaiyri Collection of Chronicles* we also find nothing definite: it says only on p. 14,³⁰ in passing, that the right-hand wing of the troops of Orys were Kangly, numbering 2,000 men, and the left wing were the people of Myn-Alash.³¹

²⁸ There are a great many ruins on the Kazakh steppe: remains of towns, mosques, [fortifications], so-called 'bastions' scattered along the rivers of the southern and western part of the steppe. The former, that is the towns, are attributed to the Nogai. The northern strip is generously endowed with tumuli, stone obelisks with images of the human figure and *babas* like those which, in Little Russia, are called Tatar, and in Siberia, 'Chudal'. In the eastern part, besides ... similar to those of the Nogai, there are tumuli with obelisks [*oba*], *babas* and several Lamaic ruins. One of these is called Abylai on the River Abylaikitke, 70 *versts* [45 miles] from Oskemen, built in the seventeenth century ... described in detail by Pallas (P.S. Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reiches* (St Petersburg, 1771); and Levshin, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, p. 203. – CV.

²⁹ Copyist's error. Should read *Kambar-Ata*.

³⁰ Page reference is incorrect. See *Sbornik letopisei [Zhalaiyri]*, *Biblioteka vostochnykh istorikov*, ed. Professor I.N. Berezin, vol. 11, part 1 (Kazan, 1854), p. 170. [Turkic text.]

³¹ Alash, as was said above, is the generic name for the union of Kazakhs. The word is never used by Kazakhs with an epithet such as 1,000 Alashes (Alash-Myny). They speak of their people as a union: Ush-Alash, Alty-Alash, Ush-Myn-Alash, Alty-Myn-Alash. Be that as it may, the addition [of *ush*, *alty* or *myn*] to Alash is not always taken in a

We know from the legends that Zhanibek was a wise sovereign, and that is why the Kazakhs never fail to add to his name the epithet *Az*, and we know that his vizier was the intelligent and eloquent orator Zhirenshe-sheshen.³² His sayings and similes are used as proverbs by Kazakhs to this day, and his very name has become generic for an orator. To the question of when the sultans of the Orys family came, the legends, as already noted, are entirely silent. We know that the line of their khan Alasha came to an end with the murder of his sons by Tamerlane, and we know also that their steppe served as a hiding place for all the princes defeated and expelled from the Horde.

However, despite their complete ignorance of the legends in Abulghazi and [*Zhalaiyr*], the Russian chronicles finally offer a certain amount of chronological information that explains and defines this epoch and the period of Zhanibek, the first known khan according to Kazakh legend. Kazakh society, which had already once been ruled by a khan, could not, either in the interests of retaining its independence or in accordance with generally accepted Mongol principles, dispense with an aristocracy, the ‘white-boned’³³ [*ak suiek*]

numerical sense because it is said immediately afterwards that in the people of Alash-Myny there were ... souls, and from the use of the word *myn* elsewhere in the book (p. 30), in respect of the descendants of [Genghis Khan], that all the thousands of *mirs* (دنیا منکی) existing on the face of the Earth (that is, among the descendants [of Genghis Khan]), having under their jurisdiction controlled the throne, indicates a collective meaning of the word as ‘crowds’, ‘social masses’.

If 1,000 of the world دنیا منکی means the whole mass of humanity, then *Myn Alash* – 1,000 Alashes – means the union, society of Alash. [*Zhalaiyr*] never uses the name of his own people. When speaking of the Kazakh sultans and khans, he says: ‘in that people there reigned ...’, ‘that nation had ...’, and only at the very end does he reveal that the *Zhalaiyr* were a venerable tribe among the *Myn-Alash* people. – *CV*.

³² *Sheshen*, meaning wise, is used by Kazakhs to this day. The word is Old Mongolian and had this meaning: one of the ancestors of Genghis Khan, known to Eastern [writers] as ..., is named Pibibagai-setsen (*Gesch. Der Ost. M.*). Khalkhas (Northern Mongolia) pronounce the word ‘*sotseng*’, ‘*setsen*’. – *CV*.

³³ Kazakhs describe as ‘white bone’ khans and sultans descended from Genghis and *khojas* descended from Mohammed. The common people, for differentiation, call themselves *kara* (black). The sultans have never belonged, and do not now belong, to the union of Alash. At popular assemblies in olden times, all Kazakhs of pure ‘black’ blood were obliged to shout *Uran-Alash!*, while their sultans and slaves, who were invariably Kalmyks and Kyrgyz, formed a different circle and shouted *Arkar!* Although the Kazakh proverb that ‘without sultans there can be no people, as a yurt cannot stand without supports’ shows acceptance that an independent people needs an independent chief, the sultans had no authority over the mass of the people. The Kazakhs say, ‘The *khojas* are Sart and the sultans are our slaves,’ justifying this degrading metaphor by explaining that, just as slaves must tend the herds and be present to control them, so the sultans serve the same purpose with them. The actual ruling of the people was wholly in the hands of the tribal chiefs, and the khans were there only to implement the people’s will. If they were displeasing to the people, the black bone [could remove them].

among themselves, or exist without khans or sultans. After the sons of Alasha they did have khans, but who were these?

Here is what is known historically of the family of Orys. His ancestors were, according to Abulghazi, the junior branch of the Juchikhanids whose patriarch was Tokai-Timur.³⁴ When the reign of the Batukhanid line ended, this house, in the person of Orys Khan, declared together with Tokhtamysh, who was a member of a different branch of the same clan of Juchikhanids, their claim to the Sarai throne, and for the first time achieved khan status with Orys, who reigned until 1360.³⁵ Judging by the time of his reign and the similarity of his name, he may be the same khan who ruled after Kulpa and whose name is given in the Russian chronicles as Nauryz, murdered by his son ... Kydyr Khan. At all events, the Russian annals contain no mention of an Orys Khan.

There are altogether a great many contradictions in what Eastern historians have to say about this khan. Grigoriev (*Istoriya Mongolov*, p. 41) says that Orys was a direct descendant of Batu and that he went to war with Tamerlane to avenge the death of his son, Bugai Sultan. Grigoriev goes on to say that Timur-Kutluk was the son of Bugai Sultan. This is in flat contradiction to the testimony of Abulghazi. According to Abulghazi, author of the *Genealogical History of the Tatars*, Orys was a descendant not of Batu, but of Tokai-Timur, while Timur-Kutluk, although he belonged to Clan Tokai-Timur, was descended from a different line: Juchi, Tokai-Timur, Az-Timur. He had two sons: Kozha and Aboi. Orys was the grandson of Kozha, while Timur-Kutluk was the son of Ali-Timurbek and the great-grandson of Aboi (Abulghazi, p. 111).³⁶ Abulghazi says³⁷ there was a certain Kutluk-Kabh of Clan Ak-Mangyt. He had one son and one daughter, who was taken by one of the sons of Amir-Timur. From their union Timur-Kutluk was born. This information manifestly contradicts his own testimony. Clearly the name Amir-Timur

In recent times, the sultans are obliged for their status to Abylai Khan, who several times suppressed people's militias, thereby doing away with the limitations on their power and firmly establishing his authority over the horde. He was the first to rule as a despot, and acquired the right to impose the death penalty, which until then had been the prerogative of the entire people. – *CV*.

³⁴ Abulghazi, *ibid.*, pp.178–9. Succession: Genghis Khan; his son, Juchi; his son, Tokai-Timur; his son, Az-Timur; his son, Kozha; his son was Badakul-Oglan and his son was Orys Khan; his son, Kuiryshyk Khan; his son, Barak Khan; his son, Abusaid, known as Zhanibek Khan. He had nine sons in the following order: Irandzhi, Makhmud, Kasym (who fought with Mukhammed Khan of Sheiban and killed him). After him Itik, Zhanish, Kanbar, Tanish, Usak, Zhauk. Mukhammed-Sheibani Khan was killed not by Kasym Khan, but by Shah Ismail in 1510, so there is a mistake here. It must have been Kasym Khan himself who became a *shahid* in this battle, definitely not the Sheibani Khan of the Uzbeks. Similarly, Zhadik [جادهك] is mistakenly written [جاوك] – *CV*.

³⁵ N.M. Karamzin, *Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiiskogo*, ch. 1, note 87.

³⁶ Abulghazi, *ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[امير تيمور] is a copyist's error and should read Kutluk-Timur. Kutluk-Timur, according to Abulghazi, is the name of the grandfather of Timur-Kutluk. His father, according to Abulghazi and [*Zhalaiyri*], was Ali-Timurbek Oglan [على تيمور بيك اوغلان]. The latter called him simply Timurbek.

Be that as it may, Orys, the patriarch of the Kazakhs, was the khan of the Golden Horde during the reign and banishment from the horde of Tokhtamysh, who took refuge with Timur and lived with him until such time as, with the overthrow of Mamai, with Timur's help, he succeeded in becoming khan. Orys too was beaten in the war with Tokhtamysh, and his progeny, Mr Grigoriev contends (see his article *Istoriya Mongolov*), seeking to escape the pursuit of Tamerlane, had to flee in all directions. His son, Kuyrshyk, was also a khan in the horde. Karamzin, relying on a translation of the historian Sherefedin-Ali-Ezdi, says that in 1395, during his second campaign against Tokhtamysh, Tamerlane installed Kuyrshyk-Oglan, the son of Orys, in the horde as khan. His son Barak, according to Abulghazi, was khan of the Golden Horde. We know also from the Russian chronicles that in 1422 (Karamzin's *History*, note 24 to the fifth volume of the second chapter [*sic*]), Tsar Barak came to Odoev with a certain Khan Kuidodat, or Chudandaht (Soloviev's *Istoriya Rossii*, vol. 4, note 27). According to Schildberger in his *Journey*, Kerei Berdy was driven out by Kibak (Thebac). Edige took the kingdom of Zegre, but he in turn was driven out by Makhmut. Tsar Waroch drove out Makhmut and was himself also driven out by the same person. However, Waroch³⁸ returned, drove out and killed Makhmut and retook power.

Schildberger calls this Barak the son of Kyrzhak (undoubtedly a distortion of Kuyrshyk) and places him as the 36th khan of the horde. Here is the order of the khans after Kerei-Berdy: 28) Kerim-Berdy; 29) Kebek (son of Tokhtamysh); 30) Chegre; 31) Dzhabar-Kerei-Berdy (son of Tokhtamysh); 32) Seid-Akhmet; 33) Dervish, son of Ilagi; 34) Magomet; 35) Daulet-Berdy (son of Tash-Timur); 36) Barak (son of Kyrzhak); 37) Geias-ud-din Shadi-bek; 38) Mukhammed (son of Timur Khan). In the history we wholly recognise our Barak in this Varak, who, according to Abulghazi, was driven out by Makhmet, the son of Khan ... Ichkili Khasan Oglan, also of the family of Tokai-Timur.

We are, however, quite unable to explain the myth of the origin of the Kazakhs. Abulghazi, the historian of the Mongolo-Turkic root, in his *Genealogical Tree of the Turkic Peoples*,³⁹ paid no attention to the Kazakh, which incurred the righteous indignation of the esteemed describer of my

³⁸ That is, Barak, the son of Kuyrshyk.

³⁹ *Rodoslovnaya istoriya o tatarakh, perevedennaya na frantsuzskii yazyk s rukopisnykh tatarskikh knig, sochineniya Abul'gazi-Bayadur-khana* [Genealogical Tree of the Tatars, translated into French from manuscript Tatar books, composed by Abulghazi-Bayadur-Khan], translated from French into Russian in the Academy of Sciences by Tretyakovskiy, vol. 2 (St Petersburg, 1770), p. 100. This information is missing from the Rumyantsev edition of Abulghazi in Russian. There is altogether in this translation a lot of – CV.

native land, Mr Levshin. As an immediate neighbour of the Kazakh, he had every opportunity and incentive, not least, to show gratitude for the hospitality of Esim, the Kazakh khan who sheltered him in his residence in Turkestan during his cossacking days. He should have said something detailed and thorough, and not just casually mentioned in passing a few genealogies of the Kazakh sultans from Genghis to Zhanibek.

In the works of Rashid-ad-Din and Juvayni and other Eastern writers, to judge by their time and contents, there can be no more information. They speak of the history of the Chagatai khans and Ilkhans, about the Kazakhs. We have found nothing in the *Sheibani-name* either, apart from certain fragmentary information, which, however, tells us precisely nothing (*Sheibani-name*, p. ...). Mukhammed-Sheibani Khan, before his campaign in 1510 against Merv, chased the Kazakhs to Mount Ulytau.⁴⁰ It is also said that they all went together with Muryndyk beyond Tashkent.⁴¹

It is beyond question that, in respect of information about the Kazakhs, first place is held by the *Collection of Chronicles* published by Berezin (Kazan, 1854).⁴² This is all the more notable for presenting the only documents about the past life of the Kazakhs, although it contains no historical facts. The complete genealogy of the Kazak sultans and khans does, however, enable us to verify at least one of the [historical] tales of the Kazakhs against contemporary data and to assess the trustworthiness of the information in the book itself against Russian information to be found in embassy papers and documents about relations with the Nogai.

The *Collection of Chronicles* جامع التواری was written at the end of the reign of Boris Godunov, around Year 1000 of the Hijra, when Sultan Oraz-Mukhammed was ruling the city of Kasym ... with whom [the author of the chronicle was in Russia] whose name is unknown ... This chronicle is written wholly in Arabic⁴³ and ... in translation, but contains a host of Uzbek⁴⁴ similes and proverbs of the steppe.

Sharing the exile of Oraz-Mukhammed, the author was made his khan [secretary]. The author says he has written the chronicle in recognition of the hospitality and patronage of Tsar Boris [Godunov]. It is known that Oraz-Mukhammed Sultan, later Khan of Kasym, was the son of Ondan Sultan⁴⁵ and a nephew of the Kazakh and Kalmyk khan, Tauke. In 1587 this sultan

⁴⁰ *Sheibani-name*, *Biblioteka vostochnykh istorikov*, ed. Professor I.N. Berezin, vol. I (St Petersburg, 1849), p. 164. [Turkic text.]

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 100. 'Burunduk was the Kazakh khan.' – CV.

⁴² *Sbornik letopisei (Zhalaiyri)*, *Biblioteka vostochnykh istorikov*, vol. 2, part I (Kazan, 1854).

⁴³ Error. Should be 'Turkic'.

⁴⁴ In the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, the Kazakhs were also called Uzbeks.

⁴⁵ Also spelled 'Onnan'.

was captured by the army commander Danila Chulkov, together with Siberian prince Seidyak.⁴⁶ In the *Siberian Chronicles* he is referred to only as the sultan and crown prince of the Kazakh Horde. In the same year he was despatched to Moscow, where he was received courteously by Tsar Boris and was, a few years later, made khan of Kasym. The author of the book, as is evident from his words, was a fellow countryman of Oraz-Mukhammed Khan and belonged to the Clan of the Crested Tamga⁴⁷ of the Zhalaiyr تراق تمغالی جلاير and was his companion in captivity. The beneficence and favour shown by Tsar Boris Fyodorovich to his khan and to himself were the reason for the writing of his book. Based on what the author tells us of himself, it is clear that he was a compatriot of Oraz-Mukhammed Sultan and was from the main clan of the Zhalaiyr [*tarak tamgaly* — crested tamga]. The Zhalaiyr are among the senior Kazakh clans and are members of the Great Horde.

In the union of the Uzbeks there were Mankit (Karakalpaks) and Kyrgyz. A distinctive feature of the peoples descended from the Uzbek lines is clearly seen in the sub-branches of clans, where you find the names of various Mongolo-Turkic peoples.

The Kipchak are to be found among the Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Nogai, Naiman and also Kereit and so forth. According to Uzbek legends, theirs is the name of the first union of the 96 tribes. Three lines are the Myn, Yuz and Kyrk, under the common name of Turkic (these are descendants of ancient Turkic peoples), the Uki, Unkodzhi, Zhalaiyr and others. Actually, a separate union of Kazakhs was the second of the [Nogai] and Uzbek branches to emerge; the date of this transformation is not known, but it was only shortly before Tamerlane who, during his 1392 campaign against Tokhtamysh, murdered the children of Alasha, the first Kazakh khan.

After the annihilation of the descendants of Alasha Khan, Kazakh legend considers Zhanibek, the son of Barak, to be their khan. At all events, according to legend, Zhanibek was the first Kazakh khan from the family of Zhoshy Khan (Juchi Khan). Abulghazi calls the sons of Zhoshy the khans of the Kazakhs. The reign of Zhanibek, when the two related hordes of the Nogai and Kazakhs lived together, is extolled in the Kazakh epic poems as a golden age. It is to this period that the majority of legends belong, the moral pronouncements of Zhirenshe-Sheshen⁴⁸ (the wise orator), [Az]-Zhanibek and the Nogai philosopher Asan Kaigy (Asan the Hapless), which are repeated

⁴⁶ The circumstances of this capture are given in great detail in the chronicle. See *Opisanie kirgiz-kaisatskikh ord i stepi*, p. 50; [P.I.] Nebolsin, *Pokorenje Sibiri* (St Petersburg, 1849); P.M. Stroev, *Esipovskaia letopis* [The Chronicle of Esip]. ‘Some few days later Prince Seidyak went out from the City of Sibir and with him was the tsarevich of the Kazakh Horde Sultan. – CV.

⁴⁷ *Tamga*. Different Kazakh clans have their own *tamga* [insignia] and *uran* [war] cry. The *uran* of all Kazakhs. [*sic*]

⁴⁸ The name has been copied incorrectly.

by the inhabitants of the steppes to this day. According to legend, there was at that time a migration ⁴⁹ *بوسو* from south to north. The first must relate to the emigration by the Uzbek khan of the entire [horde], and the second may have occurred from the consolidation [*zhete*] and expansion of their boundaries to the River Ili and Lake Balkhash.

The eighteenth century was a time of horror and internal wars. The legends relating to it are exceptionally gloomy and funereal. Foreign enemies harass them from their native lands and rend asunder the union of the Kazakhs and Nogai. The Nogai, harassed by the Kalmyk Kho-Urluk, move away beyond the Rivers Ural and Volga, and the Kazakhs go south. In 1636 we see one Kazakh khan, Esim, in Turkestan and the other, Turup,⁵⁰ in Tashkent. The lament, well known in the steppes, over the dividing of the Nogai and the Kazakhs is played to this day by steppe musicians on the [*kobyz*] and reduces the elderly *aksakals* to tears. 'When one hundred thousand Nogai were in flight, when Urmambet *Bi* died and the blackest forests caught fire,' sings the Boian of the steppe.

The saying '*he has created havoc like a piebald foal*'⁵¹ is explained by the legends of the Kalmyks. In Kuldzha, I spoke to one old [Tuulchi] expert on Oirat history. He sang me all his ancient songs about the advance of Kho-Urluk and the victories over the Nogai and the Kazakhs. Just as the Kazakh legends of this era are bleak and dismal, so are the legends of the Kalmyks exultant and full of pride. In his song I found the explanation of the above proverb. The Nogai were fearfully anticipating attack by the Kalmyks any day. The Kalmyks, however, fearful of the strength of the Nogai, did not dare to attack. Suddenly, one night in the Nogai *uluses*, a piebald foal broke free and created havoc among the herd. The Nogai fled in fear, abandoning their native land and livestock, and after that the Kalmyk *taisha*, Sary-Mandzhu, invaded the forests of Orsk and proclaimed that henceforth these lands belonged to them.

⁴⁹ *Bosu*. Migration, relocation.

⁵⁰ Distorted by the copyist. Should read, 'Tursyn'.

⁵¹ In Kazakh, *Ala taidai buldirgen*.

Chapter 3

The Bayanaul District – A Letter from Omsk, 10 March 1857

Commentary

Here is probably one of Valikhanov's early articles, written in late 1856; there is a note by Karl Kazimirovich Gutkovsky that mentions Valikhanov as the author. It differs somewhat from Valikhanov's usual writing style, a fact presumably due to intervention by the newspaper's editor. Gutkovsky had appealed to the Imperial Russian Geographical Society to facilitate the publication of manuscripts left by Valikhanov after his premature and unexpected death in April 1865. These Valikhanov documents were preserved and published for the first time in 1904 under the editorship of academician N.I. Veselovsky.

First, a word of explanation. Of the two Kazakh hordes under the Siberian Board, the Middle and Great Hordes – the Little Horde is administered from Orenburg – the former is divided for the purposes of the government into two vast provinces: that of the Siberian Kazakhs and that of Semey. These provinces are divided into districts, the districts into *volosts*, and the *volosts* into branches and *auls*. Administration of the provinces is entrusted to military governors, while administration of the districts is concentrated in district offices consisting of three assessors and other ranks of a civilian ministry, as well as of assessors who are Kazakhs, under the chairmanship of a senior sultan, popularly elected and approved by the governor-general for this position.

These individuals comprise the general staff of the office and by administrative rulings issue all instructions and decide legal issues and punishments within the limits of the authority vested in them by law.

From this it is easy to appreciate the truly paternal concern of our government for its new subjects by placing their administration in the hands of Kazakhs who are able to understand the needs of their people better than others and who, themselves seeing more clearly with every passing year the beneficent guidance of the government, can confidently introduce everything that conduces to the improvement and welfare of their fellow tribesmen.

I cannot pass in silence over the great importance of the assessors, because it is much different from the importance of those bearing a similar title in our courts. The assessors in the district courts of the Kazakh steppe

must be sowers, among a people who have but recently become part of an enlightened nation, of all that is best, most sincere and humane. In the light of the intelligence, willpower, honesty, nobility and warm-heartedness of the assessors, how much good may they not bring to the hundreds of thousands of their people? Is not such a vocation worthy of the veritably sublime level of the education of these young people so imbued with patriotism? ... In addition to this government office there are, for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, military detachments in every district.

Such is also the manner in which Bayanaul District is governed. Its office is located in Bayanaul, which is for the present called a village, until such time as it reaches the level of development of a city, which cannot be far off, given the extraordinary, tireless and enlightened ambition today to develop and advance Western Siberia in all the matters under its jurisdiction, seeking out every means to attain that end.

Besides the governmental division, the Kazakhs have also a generic division, which determines the rights of clans and the relations of one line to another in accordance with a hierarchy of blood relationships. All the three hordes that together comprise the union of the Kazakhs consider their patriarch to be a certain Alash, which means 'the stranger' – literally, 'not one of us'. It is difficult to give a literal translation of the word *Kazakh*. Some say the word means 'a rider'; others, better acquainted with the language, translate it as 'vagabond' or 'itinerant'. Who Alash was and where he came from is a question to which different legends give different answers. One states that Alash was really Alat, a Siberian Tatar. Great will be the renown of the first scholar to explain the origins of the Kazakh people.

One of the offspring of Alash was a son called Argyn, the patriarch of the vast Clan Argyn. He had several wives, and by the eldest – in Kazakh, the *baibishe* – he had just one son, Meiram. His descendants are known under the generic name of *baibishe balasy*, that is, the sons of the eldest wife, and they are celebrated in the legends for their wealth, power, belligerence and indomitability. Those descended from Argyn's other wives, who lack the distinction of descendants of Meiram, are called *momyn* – the meek. The Kazakhs of the Bayanaul District have the distinction of being descended from the indomitable Meiram. Meiram had two sons: Kuandyk and Suiindik. From the former are descended the Altai, Karpyk and Toky clans, which are included in Akmola district, and from the latter come the Aidabol and Karzhas clans which, together with the Basentiin Clan, constitute one of the 'meek' *volosts* of Bayanaul District.

The third way in which the Kazakhs are divided is into estates: 'white bone' and 'black bone'. Those who are 'white bone' are the sultans, descendants of the Mongols who conquered the Kazakh steppes and who can claim descent from one of the sons of Juchi-Tokai-Timur, the grandson of Genghis Khan. Before the advent of the sultans, the princes of Kazakh clans were *bis*, the

chiefs of the most venerated tribes and representatives of the senior line in the clan.¹

To the present day, Kazakhs resort in some cases to the court of the *bis*, who have retained their status, if in a much-devalued form. Despite the conquest of the Kazakhs by the descendants of the Mongols, there have never been slaves within this people. Such slaves as there were came from other tribes and had been captured during raids or were people who voluntarily became enslaved.

In the clans of the Kazakhs of the Bayanaul District, the sultans were less influential than in some others. The Bayanaul clans were ruled by strong chiefs who were *bis*.² *Bis* especially renowned among the people were Shon of Clan Aidabul, and Shorman in Clan Karzhas – known as Sheshen ('the Wise'). Shorman was famous for his intelligence and cunning and possessed a rare way with words. At 14 years of age he was already a clan chief and *bi*, and in one difficult lawsuit magnificently defended his fellow clansmen against Khan Uali. Sheshen was the father of the present ruler of the district, that is, the senior sultan and lieutenant colonel of the army, Musa Shormanov.

The first contact between the Kazakhs and Russians came in the reign of Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich, whose officials made contact with the Little Horde. It did not produce any useful results. Real relations began under Peter the Great, who had it in mind to subjugate Khiva in order to open a trade route to India and China. The Kazakh Sultan Kaiyp, later khan of Khiva, sent Peter a letter in 1718 with a proposal of everlasting peace and friendship³ and in 1732, under Empress Anna Ioannovna, Abulkhair, khan of the Little Horde, and Sameke of the Middle Horde, both of whom were sultans, like all khans, took an oath of eternal fealty to Russia. As a consequence, in 1735 State Councillor Ivan Kirillovich Kirillov laid the foundation stone of Orenburg.⁴ Although the successors of Sameke – the rulers of the Middle Horde, Khan Abilmambet and Abylai Sultan (later Khan) – confirmed the oath of allegiance, they were swayed by the ignorance and obstinacy of their fellow clansmen to actions contrary to the views of the Russian government, obliging it to abolish their status as rulers of the horde.

Even during the lifetime of Uali, the last khan of the Middle Horde, moves were made to introduce substantive and durable reforms. In 1800 there was a proposal to establish a frontier court in Petropavlovsk (Tobolsk Governorate) to deal with litigation between border residents and Kazakhs, under the

¹ The word *bi* is an ancient Turkic word. It existed and exists among all Turkic peoples in the forms of *bek*, *bey* and *bi*. The word has many meanings. In Transcaucasia, *bek* has the meaning of 'prince'; for the Turks, *bey* has the same meaning; while Kazakhs have the verb *bilik*, which means to judge, to debate; accordingly, for them, *bi* primarily meant a judge. – *CV*.

² Levshin, *Opisanie*, vol. 2, p. 68.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

chairmanship of Abbas, the son of the khan, but this remained a project only on paper. After Uali's death, the style and dignity of the khan was abolished, and in 1822 a Siberian institution was created to govern the Kazakhs. It was analogous to the standard provincial administrations of the empire, and to further it the province of Omsk was established. This encompassed the Middle Horde. The province was divided into districts with their own administrations and offices. In 1838 Omsk Province was abolished, and a frontier board was established to administer the Kazakhs, under the chairmanship of the head of the border troops.

The establishment of districts and opening of offices took place in the following order: in 1824, offices were opened in Karkaraly and Kokshetau; in 1831, in Ayagoz; in 1832, in Akmola and, on 22 August 1833, in Bayanaul. Two further districts were founded subsequently: in Kusmuryin in 1834 and in Kokpekty in 1844.

With the partitioning in 1854, in accordance with the plan of the present governor-general of Western Siberia, Infantry General G. Kh. Gasfort, for the Kazakh districts of the Middle Horde to form the two provinces mentioned above, the steppe took on an entirely new profile. An inner Semey district, of Kazakhs who had long roamed the right bank of the River Irtysh, which is part of Semey Province and lies within the borders of Tomsk and Tobolsk governorates, was approved. In that same year of 1854, the order was given to form, from several *volosts* of Ayagoz district, a new Kapal office, which opened in the present year of 1857. Administration of these latter two districts is wholly in the hands of special military-district commanders. All the villages of Semey Province have, in anticipation of the projected development there of agriculture, industry and trade, been re-categorised as cities.

It would be fascinating to know the profound considerations of the present and future situation of the Kazakh steppe from which the governor-general proceeded when presenting to His Majesty his project for the partitioning of the steppe into provinces and for the arrangement of the steppe in general. This work was based on deep thought, on excellent study and tireless visits to the region. Since this does not fall within the scope of my travel impressions, I will confine myself to pointing out just one result. The introduction of two provinces comprising the Middle Horde, which occupied a vast steppe territory covering 400,000 square miles, has eliminated the problem of the extreme difficulty of administering the Kazakhs from Omsk alone, and has made it possible for two commanders to supervise the swift and more efficient resolution of issues. They are able to ensure detailed observation of the provinces entrusted to them and to pinpoint the needs and issues affecting the Kazakhs. With the confirmation of the two provinces, any idea of the existence of a Middle Horde beyond our borders was destroyed. By a stroke of the pen, so to speak, without the slightest doubt or hesitation, a huge country divided into two provinces, together with its population of some 400,000 inhabitants, with all its future hopes, was firmly merged for all time within the frontiers of the empire!

After this major government action, following the governor-general's loyal proposal to His Majesty, our presently reigning emperor ordered the establishment of the Alatau district, comprising the Ili Region in Central Asia together with Fort Vernyi, known locally as the city of Alma-Aty, which is on approximately the same latitude as Pisa and Florence.⁵ This district, encompassing the nomadic territories of the Great Horde, generously endowed with natural resources and the fruits of the most southerly, luxuriant vegetation, will undoubtedly play an important role in the future development of our trade and industry, especially since it is surrounded by the borders of China, Tashkent and Kokand to the east and south. The navigable River Ili, which divides it in two halves, promises to facilitate our trade significantly, passing as it does close to the city of Kuldzha, capital of the western provinces of China, which is 270 miles distant from Fort Vernyi. The Ili flows into Lake Balkhash, which is already open to shipping. From this lake a fine land route leads along riverbanks with spacious pastures by way of Karkaraly and Bayanaul to the hill station of Koryakovskaya, and thence along the River Irtysh via Omsk to Tyumen, a notable trading city in Western Siberia, and back by the same route. It is clear that the Alatau District will have an enviable role to play in Russia's trade relations and that Fort Vernyi is destined to be key to our trading with Central Asia. What more remains to be said about the great importance of this newly approved project? The facts speak for themselves.

The abolition of the status of the khans, the division of the steppe into districts and the introduction of the Siberian institution, which represented a completely new order, resulted, as was only to be expected, in unrest. Sultan Kasym in 1825, and subsequently his sons Sarzhan and Kenesary, led a revolt of the discontented, and caused disturbances until 1846, when these were terminated by armed force. Kenesary, the most intrepid of the rebels, pursued from all directions by Cossack detachments, fled to the Kungei Alatau mountains and died in a terrible skirmish with the Kyrgyz, a most predatory people. Of the Kyrgyz, a number, namely Clan Bugu, agreed in 1855 to become Russian subjects.

Despite the unrest, consolidation of the Siberian institution made good progress, and by 1844 or so all the seceded *volosts* had been returned. Bayanaul Kazakhs also had some involvement in the revolt. Led astray, in 1842, after two years of roaming the sands of the hungry, arid steppe, deprived of livestock and property, they decided, against the will of Kenesary, to bow their guilty heads. Taizhan Aznabaev, a Kazakh assessor in the Bayanaul office, as an official who had betrayed his oath of loyalty, was shot in Akmola to deter others. This was the last disciplinary measure on the part of the government. Since then, calm and submission, consolidated year by year, and meek circumspection have been yielding the most gratifying results.

⁵ As defined by P.P. Semyonov, fellow of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. From his extremely interesting letters published in the 1856 *Vestnik* [Bulletin] of the society. (Editorial note in the Ministry of Defence newspaper, *Russkii invalid*.)

Chapter 4

On Kazakh Rule in the Great *Zhuz*

Commentary

This document was written in 1855 as an official note from Gustav Khristianovich Gasfort – sometimes written as Hasford – the governor-general of Western Siberia, after he visited the Zhetysu Region in the south of what is now Kazakhstan, with Valikhanov as his adjutant. Another copy of the note is preserved in the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, which includes insertions in Gasfort's handwriting that differ substantially from the ideas expressed by Valikhanov.

The note first raises the question of the need for, and feasibility of, the accession of South Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan to Russia, a policy implemented only ten years later, in 1865. It also reveals Valikhanov's profound knowledge of the geography and history of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, and also of the territorial distribution of the Kazakh tribes in the mid-nineteenth century. According to G.N. Potanin, quite a few such notes were drafted by Valikhanov during his service in Western Siberia.

The note makes a recommendation for the rational administration of the Kazakhs of the Great (Senior) *Zhuz*, which had just become part of Russia. It proposes a democratically based system with participation of representatives from the Kazakh people. It is recommended that everything should be done to take consideration of the needs and customs of the local population, and emphasises the need to merge the military and civilian authorities. Valikhanov saw subordination of the military authority to a civilian administration as a means of containing its arbitrariness.

The original version of this article can be found at *Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv, fond 400, opis 263/916-a, delo 8, listy 1–24*.

Around us, on the borders of the empire, the peoples are awakening and the benighted ignorance in which they have been held for many centuries is beginning to be dispelled.¹ The internal turmoil in China, which has stirred up people's minds in this still dormant colossus, must be expected, in the natural

¹ In the margin is a note: 'Consolidating the influence of the Siberian Department in the Kazakh, and especially the Semye, steppe, and reinforcing the troops. Department of the Siberian Corps. With map of the Kazakh steppe of the Siberian Department. Annotation in pencil, handwritten by His Majesty: "Views to be presented on the military aspects, and everything relating to civilian administration to be passed for discussion to the Siberia Committee." 23 October 1856 Adjutant General Sukhazanet.'

course of events, to be resolved by a coup of some kind. On the other hand, in Bukhara, in the Mohammedan khanates of Central Asia, the inflammatory edicts of the Turkish sultan have appeared, which the Emir of Bukhara is doing his best to propagate among the Muslims by sending out emissaries. The word is that English gold, too, has appeared, and people from Istanbul. There is no doubt that in the near future, in the bazaars of Central Asia, where today Russian wares are without equal and without rivals, English goods will appear, and along with them the latest firearms perfected in Europe. All this makes it imperative to take active precautionary measures. To bring even greater clarity, we consider it time well spent to undertake a brief review of the situation on our Central Asian border.

With the occupation of Fort Perovsky on the River Syr Darya, and in the Trans-Ili Region of the Vernyi fortifications, Russia has expanded to the very gates of Central Asia and laid the cornerstones, or the boundary markers, of a frontier that should separate the possessions of the empire from the khanates which lie to the south of these two points.

This border is altogether still little known and has not yet been officially defined. It is considered notionally to run along the River Shu, but this exists only as a convention between the Russians, Kazakhs and Kokandians.

The lands of the Kazakhs of the Siberian Department that are contiguous with the realms of Central Asia today occupy the whole southern part of Western Siberia, encompassing a vast area in excess of 450,000 square miles. This entire steppe, which has no defined border in the south, is protected on our side by a virtually impassable, barren desert called the Hungry Steppe. This extends from west to east some 470 miles, from the border of the Orenburg Kazakhs to Lake Balkhash. From there the border continues a further 400 miles to the east, delimited by the same lake, the River Ili and the Vernyi fortifications constructed in the Trans-Ili Valley.

To the south of the steppes of the Siberian Department are the Ulytau hill station and the Aktau fort. In these barren, uninhabited desert areas, only camel caravans find a meagre supply of fodder, and of water in the few, far from abundant and widely spaced wells.

The left flank of the steppe, which constitutes the present Semey Province, is girded from the south and east by the high, snow-covered range of the Alatau Mountains. It directly faces the former Dzhungaria and Little Bukharia, which were conquered in the past century by the Chinese during the reign of Emperor Qianlong. The actual southern extremity of this flank, although it faces and is contiguous with the Kokandian realms, is, nevertheless, readily defensible. Russia's position has been consolidated in the Trans-Ili Valley, where a commanding position is now occupied by Fort Vernyi, located at the junction of the main routes leading to Tashkent, Kuldzha and Kashgaria, and between the navigable River Ili and the ridge of the Dikokamennyi Mountains. It will be further consolidated if all the Kyrgyz tribes swear allegiance to Russia.

They are to this day being oppressed by the Kokandians and it would, of course, be in their interests to enjoy the protection of Russia.

It does not appear possible to provide the southern frontier with a coherent border by establishing it along the Orenburg section of the River Syr Darya, nor along the northern margin of the Hungry Steppe or lower down the River Shu which, in the entire lower half of its course, affords not a single spot suitable for a permanent installation. It would be impracticable to provision a stronghold on this section of the River Shu owing to the virtual impossibility of crossing the Hungry Steppe, with its lack of fodder and fuel, and, indeed of water (except along the River Sarysu). Only the upper section of the River Shu, from where it emerges from the Dikokamennyi Mountains to where it is closest to Lake Balkhash, offers all necessary conditions for settlement, and provisions could be supplied not only from the Trans-Ili fort of Vernyi and from Kapal but, with time, also across Lake Balkhash, whose southern tip is no more than 70 miles from the River Shu.

From the headwaters of the River Shu, the best natural direction for the future line might be the summits of the Kungei Alatau Mountains and their northern spur, parallel to the River Shu, to the River Syr Darya near the city of Azret, or Turkestan. Bearing in mind that half the route from the headwaters of the River Shu to Tashkent is nomadic territory of the Kazakhs of the Great Horde of the Zhalaiyr and Dulat clans, and that the Kokandians keep these Kazakhs subservient only by means of a number of fortified positions from which they send out armed teams to collect the *zakat* (dues), we may say with considerable certainty that, if the Kokandians were to be removed from the area, we would be in a better position than they are in terms of hope for support from those Kazakhs, whom we should not constrain in their nomadic roaming and way of life.

The establishment of good governance in the Kazakh steppe of the Siberian Department, in accordance with the interests, needs and nomadic customs of the population of these vast steppes, has always been the object of special attention and concern of our supreme authority.

In 1854, on the basis of an August Decree delivered to the governing senate on 19 May of that year, the Kazakh steppe was divided into two parts. In one of these, comprising the right flank of the steppe and consisting of five outer districts, the existing administration was left in place but renamed the Province of the Siberian Kazakhs. From the other, located on the left flank and comprising the Kokpekti and Ayagoz districts that lie on the right bank of the Irtysh River, the Inner Kazakh district, the Kapal military district, the cities of Semey and Oskemen and the Bukhtarma Fort, a special province was formed and given the name of Semey Province on the basis of a provision that received the Royal Assent.

The considerations prompting the division of the Kazakh steppe of the Siberian Department into two parts and the formation of a special

administration on the left flank were, principally, in the first place to separate the huge population of the Kazakhs of the Siberian Department, dispersed over an unmanageable territory, and to lead each of the above two parts to civil education by a special path, in accordance with the interests and forms of governance and the circumstances of the area itself. While preserving on the right flank the predominantly pastoral way of life of the Kazakhs, agriculture and a settled way of life would be developed on the left.

In the second place, the intention is to accelerate on the left flank the development of a sense of citizenship and industry, so important for political, military and financial considerations. The eastern part of this flank, today's Semey Province, adjoins the borders of China, while the southern is adjacent to Tashkent and Kokand. The great political and commercial importance of this region, endowed with all the gifts of Nature, calls for close supervision and consolidation of a settled way of life.

By Royal Command, in 1853 the Trans-Ili Valley was occupied 270 miles further to the south of Kapal, and in 1854 work began on the construction of Fort Vernyi there and the establishment of Cossack settlements, both in the Trans-Ili Valley, in the upper reaches of the River Lepsi and in the vicinity of Urzhar, adjacent to the Chinese border. The locations for these settlements have been chosen and occupied. Half the settlers arrived in 1855, and the remainder in the present year of 1856.

The Trans-Ili Valley is a highly strategic area in the Alatau district. The fertile soil of the valley, transected by the navigable River Ili and girded on the south-east by a ridge of snow-covered mountains, the excellent vegetation and climate, and its abundance of pure, fresh water make it the best land in Western Siberia. The Trans-Ili Region is extremely important in political, military and commercial respects. Located where three nations meet, and at the junction of the main routes to Tashkent, Kuldzha and Kashgaria, it is a bulwark against invasion by the Kokandians and Chinese. Occupying it strengthens orderliness and stability within the Great Horde; great influence is gained on the affairs of Kokand and Tashkent; the trading routes to these places are safeguarded; and closer relations with the Kyrgyz open the prospect of trade routes to Kashgaria, Yarkand, Tibet and other parts of Central Asia.

The annexation of the Trans-Ili Valley has already led, in 1855, to one of the major Kyrgyz clans, the Bugu, adopting Russian citizenship, and there is no doubt that other Kyrgyz lines will follow their example. At the same time, that accession has attracted the attention of neighbouring Kokand and Tashkent, especially after the occupation of Akmeshit.

The Kokandians, well aware of the implications of the occupation of the location beyond the River Ili, have for their part begun strengthening the defences of their border forts at Pishpek, Merke and Aulie-Ata. In every way they can, they incite the Kyrgyz and Kazakhs of the Great Horde (who are Russian subjects) to act in concert with them.

The Kazakhs of the Great Horde are presently under the authority of a special commissioner, an officer from military staff headquarters, who rules them on the basis of an instruction drafted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which received the Royal Assent on 10 January 1848. This instruction granted the commissioner the power to use military detachments deployed in the Zhetysu Region only in case of an emergency requiring immediate action, for the prevention of treason or an uprising, for repelling by force an invasion by tribes not subordinate to Russia, or to persecute gangs of predatory brigands [*barymtashys*].

With the occupation of the Trans-Ili Valley and the adoption of Russian citizenship by a section of the Kyrgyz, the importance of the Commissioner of the Kazakhs of the Great Horde has become greater and the scope of his responsibilities has increased. His place of residence has already been moved from Kapal to Fort Vernyi, from where he can keep a close eye equally on the Great and the Kyrgyz Hordes, and on everything taking place on the Kokand border.

Under these circumstances it is essential that, in addition to having oversight of the Kazakhs, the commissioner should be directly in command of all troops deployed in the Ili Region, and also be the chief administrator of the region. By concentrating military and civilian control in one pair of hands, it will be easier to direct the efforts of his subordinates to the single goal of rationally managing the vast expanse of land between the Rivers Karatal and Shu, which is occupied by the Kazakhs in the tribes of the Great Horde. The combining, in the hands of the present commissioner, of the entire command and control of troops and of the region and the tribes inhabiting it, will give this official, invested with the confidence of the government, that degree of seniority in the eyes of the Horde which for Eastern peoples is inseparable from the concept of power and authority. In these circumstances, dissipation of authority in the region would be inefficient and deleterious. One has only to look at the map, and to consider the situation of this region relative to the neighbouring lands and tribes, to see that the entire region from beyond the River Shu to the summits of the mountains of the Kungei Alatau, Boraldai and Karatau is occupied by nomadic Kazakhs, predominantly Dulat and Zhalaiyr, who belong to the Great Horde and are reluctantly subordinate to the Kokand government. The latter has built several fortifications along the upper part of the River Shu, more to ensure the subservience of the nomads than to provide security against Russia.

For these reasons, we would propose that the Commissioner of the Kazakhs of the Great Horde should be restyled ruler of the Ili Region, endowing him, as stated above, not only with the power of administering the Kazakhs, but also with command of the troops in the Ili Region and, most important, civil administration there.

In respect of administration of the Kazakhs, the ruler of the Ili Region should operate within the guidelines of the instruction, given under the Royal

Assent for the Commissioner of the Great Horde, under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the governor-general of Western Siberia as at present. In respect of his command of the troops and civil administration of the region, he should be provided with a special instruction from the governor-general of Western Siberia and from the commander of the Independent Siberian Corps. As the bestowing on the ruler of new responsibilities and expansion of his range of activities will increase the burden of his duties, we consider it essential that he be assigned an aide, a civilian official, specifically for administration of the Kazakhs and civil relations; and also a permanent representative of the Kazakhs, this representative being elected from among the Kazakhs for a term of three years by their common consent. Detailed proposals on this aspect of the matter were communicated to the minister of foreign affairs on 16 September of this year.

Chapter 5

The Western Region of the Chinese Empire and the City of Kuldzha: The Diary of an Expedition to Kuldzha in 1856

Commentary

This is a record of Valikhanov's travel impressions between 1 August and 15 October 1856. A considerable portion of the diary is devoted to issues of trading relations between Russia and China, which are highlighted with a special subtitle by Valikhanov, not structurally integrated in the diary: 'On the Functioning of Trade in Kuldzha' (*listy* 28–38). First published in *Izbrannye proizvedeniya Ch. Valikhanova* (Alma-Ata, 1958), and in an abridged version in *Druzhiba narodov* no. 12 (Moscow, 1958), pp. 160–83. The manuscript is preserved in the Russian Academy of Sciences Archive, *fond* 23, *opis* 1, *delo* 4, *listy* 1–26, 68–73.

1 August 1856

The Chinese border picket at Borokhudzhir

Chance brought me to China. It is six days now since I left Kapal and have been awaiting my travelling companions with Tatarinov. The Uigentas passage is without doubt one of the most favourable passes in the whole of the Alatau Mountains, with the exception perhaps only of Santas, which is even more convenient. 'Uigentas' means literally a mound of stones. The name comes from a small tumulus, constructed from bits of rock, as are many Kazakh graves. It is a barrow the like of which there are thousands on the steppe. Nevertheless, the Uigentas barrow is renowned and has given its name to an entire mountain valley and passage. Legend relates its founding to one of the Dzhungar khans, or *kontaishys*. Batyr, as I recall.

The Uigentas Valley is a mountain plateau formed in the west by the Rivers Agynykatty and Kargaly, and in the east by the Rivers Usek and Borokhudzhir (which at its confluence is called Turgen). This is a low, swampy hollow on an upland elevation, covered with numerous streams or springs, known as *saz*. To the north are the snowy mountains of the Alatau. To the east, towards

China, near Uigentas, a branch separates which is known by a variety of names: Kabyrgen, [Iren-Kabyrga, Eren-Kabyrga] and so on. There are branches of the Rivers Kyzylkiya and Satyly flowing westwards to the River Koksou. Through Uigentas the chain links with the Altynemel Mountains. The path through Uigentas presents no particular difficulties, apart from a few rather steep ravines formed by the course of springs flowing into the Kargaly. In 1852 Colonel Kovalevsky passed through the town with a detachment of armed Cossacks. The first and most awkward ravine is called Keskenterek. It divides the separate hillock Araltobe from the Uigentas upland.

Uigentas affords no especially picturesque views, unlike other mountain passes of the Alatau, and makes not a tenth of the impression that fills your heart when travelling through Santas at the River Tobe. To right and left one views the solid grey bulk of mountains, with here and there sparse forests, spruce or completely bare. Only the level surface of the passage itself, a solid green carpet of *kipets* [*Koeleria macrantha*, crested hair-grass], may goad you, if you are an enthusiast for prickly vegetation, to gallop along it at the speed of an arrow to demonstrate your dashing equestrian skills.

After the monotonous mountain views, the endless jutting rocks, the incessant gushing of the springs, the dense mat of flowers, this divertissement is somehow pleasantly refreshing. We all weary of living on the broad, smooth plains of Russia and cannot wait to go to the Caucasus, the home of snowy Kazybek, and we long to see the Alps. We need mountains, Lermontov's 'columnar poplars' and 'racing, splashing springs', but when fate casts you into such a setting you are at first enchanted, but then begin to weary of the columnar poplars and racing, splashing springs, and again long for freedom, for the lowlands, for the flatness of the steppe where the white birch grows, and the achingly familiar pine. There a man can breathe more freely, your thoughts expand, and everything is less constrained. Everything, your desires and your deeds, is as boundless as the steppe. Those dour, wild mountain views, picturesque as they may be, somehow burden you with cares. You are arrested by a magnificent waterfall, you are constantly having to concentrate. At one moment there is hardly room to pass above a terrifying abyss, towering cliffs, roaring rivers – everything is somehow angry, unreal, and these impressions incline you to feverish activity. You constantly feel something is missing. It is impossible for a people which lives in the mountains to be cheerful and carefree. Only a steppe dweller can know the value of golden indolence. Only he can live without grief and sadness, taking no thought for the morrow. Only a steppe dweller can be so happy he has not a care in the world and knows the value of basking in tranquillity.

Mountains foster Circassians. From birth they struggle with nature, facing danger at every step. All around are hard, cheerless cliffs, and far below there foams the roaring torrent of the River Terek, upending boulders. Those are the mountain dweller's teachers. What examples he has! What predatoriness there is in the beasts and birds of the mountains! A bulky griffon vulture tears at a

bloody corpse; a predatory hawk attacks a defenceless pheasant, but an eagle steals its prey. A bear, a tiger, fill the forest with terror and relentlessly harry the hapless deer.

How far is that from the landscape, the natural world inhabited by the steppe dweller. He lives surrounded by freedom and happiness even among the birds and the beasts of God's earth. The bright, placid waters of a broad river or of some unencompassable lake flow quietly by. Ducks and geese and swans swim proudly on the waters, raising a great hubbub, but it is all in amity. No one troubles anyone else. A weightless gull bathes luxuriously in the azure of the sky. A lark of the steppes peals its song in the heights, fluttering its sweet wings. Everywhere there is such carefree lethargy. A thousand grasses ripple on the steppe, limitless as the sea, the steppe with its poor little flowers, so small and frail, spread out like a green cloth. Comes a breeze, the grass will ripple evenly and rustle gently. Life is everywhere: the bees and butterflies hover from flower to flower. I am a steppe dweller and have digressed. It is time to return to the matter in hand.

After crossing the Uigentas mound, there are streams that merge and arc down from Kusmuryrn Hill to the Koitas eminence. These streams, on account of the dampness of the locality, are called *saz* (salty soil), although, in fact, there is nothing saline about them. From Kusmuryrn we entered hilly terrain by way of Koitas. These were the last hills from Alatau to the steppe, opening on to the River Ili. We crossed this ridge along the Karasai gorge and entered the narrow valley of the Borokhudzhir. This little river, like all the rivers of the Zhetysu Region, was fast-flowing and had a stony riverbed.

From the hill on which we were riding there opened a view of the entire course of the river. It flowed, a thin ribbon, along a gorge, bordered to right and left by grey *gols*, sections of cliff. Everything was empty and stony, and only a dense grove of fine poplars was a pleasing blue in this wilderness, like a shady oasis in a sandy steppe. There were horses grazing, which testified to the presence of humans.

This was the Chinese frontier picket, enclosed in a natural mantle of greenery. A sentry posted on a nearby mountain, upon our approach, yelled loudly, '*Boran!*' (Man!). Several shaven heads, with tufts of hair on top, peeped out from behind a clay wall and immediately disappeared again. Inquisitiveness is something only barbarians show, and an enlightened Chinese must in no circumstances behave like one of the left-buttoners.¹ With due ceremony, in accordance with Chinese rules of etiquette and a proper sense of our own importance, we rode up to the riverbank, having ahead of us the lead horseman indispensable in Chinese etiquette and, at a distance from the sentry befitting our status, pitched camp.

¹ A pejorative word used by Chinese lords in relation to people of a different nationality. [The Chinese buttoned their jackets from right to left.] Here in the sense of non-Chinese. – *CV*

When we had completed our domestic arrangements and entered our yurt, Chinese from the border post appeared. One rode ahead, and, as was proper for a *loya*, a respectable gentleman, lowering the halter, advanced in the most tranquil manner imaginable. He was accompanied on foot by other visitors. Entrusting his horse to the stewardship of a shabby-looking Kalmyk, the mandarin soon entered the yurt and, with his body leaning forward, squawking like a trained starling, commenced his salutations. He first enquired about the state of our stomachs. ‘*Chilyaofan?*’ (Have you eaten?) Then he asked about or, as the Chinese say, ‘sniffed’, our health on behalf of the *jiang-jun*² and his colleague the *hebe-amban*,³ enquired about our journey, and ‘sniffed’ a few other matters. The whole time he was speaking, he firmly maintained the same posture, only occasionally gesturing with his hands. He was invited to be seated. Red-faced and wearied by the heat, he took out a dirty cloth and wiped his face.

When he had rested, he went on to say that he, as a Manchu⁴ by origin, had been sent by the *jiang-jun* himself as a guide to meet and conduct us to Kuldzha, and that his official position at the commercial court was that of *dulai*, or runner. He knew a little Tatar and communicated with us in a hilarious mishmash of Chinese and Turkic words. All long words he abbreviated or divided into monosyllables and pronounced them in his Chinese fashion. *Dulai*, as we addressed him, was an excellent fellow. His physiognomy was rather agreeable and resembled more the type of our Bashkir than of a Chinese. His face was less lean and his cheekbones less pronounced than those of a Chinese, his narrow, bulging eyes were set on a straight line and his nose was even slightly too raised for someone from a Mongol tribe. His sparse but long moustache was combed straight and covered his lip. It appeared to be something of a preoccupation, because he was constantly brushing it over his mouth, or perhaps he was trying to conceal his black, decayed teeth with it. He was wearing a dark blue woollen *kurma*,⁵ beneath which there could be seen a grey robe suited to riding, with a slit to both front and back. A black cloth hat with two sable tails indicated that he was on an assignment, and a matte white ball indicated his rank of subaltern. While the *dulai* was engaging us with his learned conversation and demonstrating his worldly sophistication to us barbarians with his fine manners, a Solon⁶ officer arrived and offered us gifts on behalf of the *jiang-jun*. It was hilarious to see how shocked the Chinese were by our declining the gifts, and how desperately they tried to explain to us the intricacies of their customs and ceremonies. Presenting these gifts was an

² *Jiang-jun*. Vice-regent, governor-general. He had authority over Dzhungaria (Bei Lu) and Eastern Turkestan (Nan Lu).

³ *Hebe-amban*. Deputy governor-general.

⁴ Valikhanov spells this word in two ways: Mandzhu and Manchu.

⁵ *Kurma*. An outer garment.

⁶ Solon. A resettled warrior obliged to plough the land and supply the Chinese frontier troops.

expression of goodwill between two friendly nations. They protested that it was not in accordance with the courtesy and dignity of an important person (as they described our colonel) not to accept the gifts.

The Chinese government, like any Asian state, arranges such gifts at the expense of its people, and obliges the officer to ensure they are delivered, because providing a guest with food is an old custom of the empire. In the event that the gifts are declined, it is the hapless officer who incurs the opprobrium, the unfortunate incident being attributed to his failure to present the gift in the required manner. In view of this circumstance, and also the simple-hearted admission of the Chinese that his face would be black in the eyes of the *jiang-jun*, we took delivery of two sheep, ten pounds of rice and the same amount of flour. For the Chinese, as for other Asians, to have a 'black face' means to be dishonoured. It is the same as *rui siyah* among the Persians.

2 August

From Borokhudzhir to the River Usek is bare, sandy steppe, which near Borokhudzhir becomes hilly and, at the third picket, becomes a plateau extending the rest of the way to Kuldzha. The soil is clay and consists of layers of a loose litter of sandy clay. The flowing of water and the spring snows have eroded these hills to form ravines and channels. On the steppe there is no vegetation apart from *zhusan* (a stunted wormwood), wormwood (*Artemisia*), mugwort (*Artemisia vulgaris*),⁷ tumbleweed,⁸ prickly bushes of small pea tree (*Caragana*) and *shenge*⁹ (of the same family). Beside a stream, the vegetation was more diverse: on the banks of the Borokhudzhir we saw huge bushes of Chinese hemp¹⁰ and *shi* [*Lasiagrostis*].¹¹ It seems that lizards and snakes are the sole masters of this domain. The first came in a host of different varieties, green and nimble; the latter were short-tailed and gliding everywhere underfoot. Of birds we encountered only larks and the steppe variety of Pallas's sandgrouse (*Syrrhaptes paradoxus* Pall.).

The day was hot, there was not the slightest breeze, and the sun had heated the earth to the point where you could not set foot on it. Across such a steppe and in such heat we stumbled a full 15 miles until we reached the first irrigation *aryk* [ditch] of the River Usek. Weary and tormented by the heat, we took especial pleasure in availing ourselves of the shade of several grey willows growing there, and rested to wait for our camels, which were coming on behind. We rode directly to the River Usek, leaving behind Chinese picket No. 3 on the right side of the ravine.

⁷ *Ermen* (Kazakh).

⁸ *Ebelek*. Tumbleweed.

⁹ *Shengel* (*Shengil*). A prickly bush, Russian salt tree.

¹⁰ A variety of wild hemp.

¹¹ *Shi*. A steppe reed used for plaiting mats and strengthening buildings.

The Chinese officers accompanying us also stopped, but they chose to relax in the hovel of a Solon ploughman where, they later admitted, they had bitten onions and drunk their stinking vodka – *jiu* – needless to say, at the owner's expense. Having finished their meal they, no doubt to the great relief of the poor soldier to a cupful of whose fermented milk they had helped themselves, came back to us and suggested we should break our journey at the Usek which, they assured us, was only another couple of *versts* away. As the water in the ditch was muddy and there was no fodder for the horses, we had no option but to mount them and again, putting our trust in Allah, bend our heads to the scorching rays of the Chinese sun.

An exhausting ride of this kind presents a strange and sorry spectacle. The horses, lowering their heads, took short steps; their riders were somehow slumped and, leaving the reins to dangle, gave themselves over to God knows what thoughts. The weariness and reluctance of man and beast were equally evident. Even now our Chinese proceeded in accordance with the rules of propriety and rode in procession, preceded by a scrawny Solon armed with a bow and arrow, the indispensable *din-ma*,¹² the nail-man. The official gentlemen sat idiotically on their wide, chair-like saddles and smoked their copper *ganzas*.¹³ By now their hats had been replaced by a black head covering of coarse *daba*¹⁴ pancaked on their heads in the manner of the *papanaki*¹⁵ of the Imeretians. The cloth was entwined with their pigtail to prevent it from falling off and, with the front corners hanging on their foreheads, it afforded them abundant shade.

Here too the steppe was barren and sandy. Only along the banks of the stream were there a few trees growing. We were delighted to see them, imagining we would be able to take our ease in their shade. But alas, we now discovered there was no possibility of halting at the Usek because of the complete absence of fodder. Everywhere there was sand and stones, and not a blade of grass to be seen. Indeed, we were unable to find even a clear site for erecting the yurt, despite extensive reconnaissance. We decided to stop where we were, beneath the trees, and sustain ourselves, that is, our stomachs, just a little.

In pleasurable anticipation of a meal, I went to bathe in the river, and our people began preparing tea and *zakuski*. In spite of that, I was so tormented by thirst that I finally lost patience and began drinking warm *kumys*. This only intensified my thirst. I tried to cool the drink and gave orders to tie the skin with the *kumys* to a branch and lower it into the river. I drank the *kumys* with water, but nothing helped. At last the long-awaited tea was served. What an amazing and invaluable drink this Chinese leaf affords in hot weather! Nothing, absolutely nothing, can quench a thirst like tea. Praise be to Allah! Our problems

¹² A distorted Chinese word. In this case, a spy, scout.

¹³ *Ganza*. A mouthpiece, hookah, pipe for smoking.

¹⁴ *Daba*. Hand-made cotton fabric.

¹⁵ *Papanaki*. Large felt hat with a broad brim.

were over! We were so at peace we were in a fit state of mind to drink our vodka to the accompaniment of Chinese duck, which along with a few chickens and cucumbers we had bought on our journey from the Solon ploughman. The heat was so strong that one of our birds laid an egg right there on the sand.

While we were spending time beneath a willow tree and ingesting our bucolic repast, the camels crossed the river and made for the River Burkhanu, which afforded an abundance of fodder and drinkable water. Eventually it was time for us too to mount our horses. Restored by the tea, we mounted them in good spirits and rode off apace. After the Usek, the character of the steppe begins to change somewhat. A vast expanse dotted with forests opened before us. To the right was the River Ili, and ahead, bluish, there were low, sandy valleys. It is curious that here, wherever there is flowing water, plant life appears and flourishes. By now along the Usek there were growing, apart from *shengel* and meadow-sweet, the trunks of quite tall willows (*Salix cinerea*) and oleaster (*zhide*),¹⁶ and, a little further along the *aryks*, fine elms with bright green leaves began to appear, and barberry. The further we proceeded, the more the steppe came to life. Its melancholy, lifeless character was mitigated by the greenery of the trees, which became increasingly dense.

In the canals, of which there were thousands here, the vegetation was tall and abundant. Various campanula, cornflowers and tall, straight stems of mallow with large white or pink flowers, liquorice, low-growing reeds and other plants grew in profusion, both beside the canals and in places where canals used to be. Altogether, there was noticeably more life here, although the ground was the same as on the barren steppe that surrounded us on the far side of the Usek. Even greater variety and vitality was imparted to the scene by immense fields sown with wheat, millet, *konak*¹⁷ and *dzhugara* (*gaoliang*).¹⁸ Particularly beautiful were the tall, curved ears of *dzhugara*, with their broad, glossy, brightly coloured leaves. You could only gaze in amazement at this sandy, saline steppe, on which there was no loam at all and which, of its own accord, produced only bitter *zhusan*, prickly *ebelek* [*Ceratocarpus arenarius*], poor thornbushes, bushes of pea shrub and thorny *shengel*. This highly unpromising soil had been overcome by Chinese patience and, with persistent toil, forced to yield what was desired. Only a Chinese could even have contemplated cultivating such a wasteland. Nevertheless, he fully achieved his goal. He ploughed up the land without any preliminary fertilisation, sowed it and laced it with water-filled canals. It is to the blazing southern sun and the life-giving effect of water that this all owes its existence.

Here is an example for our farmers in the governorates of Astrakhan and Orenburg, where such areas are considered completely unusable and are left without cultivation. We rode among these cornfields and marvelled, and the Solon farmers in turn marvelled at us and our tight-fitting clothes. They left

¹⁶ A fruit tree typical of the Central Asian riparian woodland and oases.

¹⁷ *Kunak*. Turkestan millet (*Setaria italica*).

¹⁸ *Gaoliang* (*Dzhugara*). Manchurian millet, a grain and fodder plant of the sorghum family.

their work to gaze and comment. We were a particular entertainment for the children. Tanned by the sun, their bodies as black as Chinese *kanfa*,¹⁹ the little boys ran naked and, the tufts of hair on their shaved heads bobbing, rushed to their mothers who, with a pipe clenched between their teeth, themselves gazed in amazement and said, ‘*Ulus!*’

Life was in full swing: here and there stood the temporary hovels of the Solon, and nearby unwashed women in Chinese smocks were sitting around. Naked children roasted in the sun, while a husband, wearing only a hat and a long underwear smock, threshed grain, sitting on a horse that was harnessed to a roller it dragged behind it. Along the road trundled their wagon trains. Enormous carts with two great wheels, piled high with miscellaneous junk, deeply rutted the sandy road, the wheels leaving behind, until the next major rainfall, an indelible track. The driver, sitting on his box like an exotic Chinese mushroom, goaded the horse with a long stick, uttering a wild, drawn-out sound: ‘Uhu ... Uhu ...’ Sometimes gigs appeared, full of six to ten passengers and harnessed to six or seven horses, with always a single horse at the root and the others harnessed ahead of the first.

We almost lost our way. It was impossible to see, beyond the trees, where our men had pitched camp. We immediately began to survey our surroundings. To the left, close to the road, was a hilly ridge. Far away to the right we could see the broad ribbon of the Ili, and around it the dark silhouette of a city and the grove surrounding it. This was the city of Turgenkent, located where the Borokhudzhir flows into the Ili. In front, bright groves of trees were growing densely along the canals and riverbanks, but towards the Ili they were sparser and eventually disappeared completely, so that the angle formed by the confluence of the Usek and the Ili was open steppe. But then, near the Ili, the woods were dense and dark. While we were looking through our spyglasses and making out in distant groves the white signs of the city walls, one of our Kazakhs spotted white yurts through the trees. We whipped up the horses and literally galloped to our camp, relishing the prospect of a long rest. Among the bushes of elm (*Ulmus campestris*) and dense willows our yurts stood, alongside an *aryk* bordered with lush flowers. The camels, relieved of their packs, were dozing lazily, and the horses, set free to graze, shook their manes as if unable to believe their luck and eager to confirm they no longer had a two-legged tormentor still atop them.

After a hot, fatiguing day full of labour, how especially delightful it is to lie in a yurt in the cool of evening, in loose clothing or, better still, in none and, raising the felt around the yurt, let the breeze blow freely, and take your ease. It is a sublime pleasure not given to everyone. The mere recollection of what is past, what has been experienced, intensifies it a hundredfold. The one annoyance is – the mosquitoes! The midges and other gnats that keep us from unconditional enjoyment of the comforts of the steppe and a feeling of

¹⁹ *Kanfa*. Chinese silk (satin) fabric.

keif.²⁰ I do not now remember why, but that evening is etched in my memory as an exceptionally agreeable moment, like our camp at Kudorga during the expedition to Lake Issyk-Kol.

There truly was something especially agreeable and soothing in Nature itself. The weather was neither hot nor cold, but balmy and temperate. The air was pure, the views were pleasing, and then there was the picturesqueness of the very location of our camp, the raised, almost transparent lattices of the white yurts. Near the fire and all around, groups of Cossacks were smoking pipes, Kazakhs were roasting *tostik*, brisket, on the embers, or busying themselves at the cooking pot with the meat. In the shadow of the trees, the Cossacks rest in various poses, some with coats spread over the branches for shade. Near them their lances form a cone, and rifles are on their stands with ammunition scattered about. Around is the detachment's kit, sacks of flour and sundry sacks, the sentry detail lethargically looking across enviously at his resting *kameraads*.²¹ The *schugurennye*²² camels (which is what Kazakhs in their language of the steppes call resting camels) lie in a row chewing the cud, and from their heavy breathing and their perspiration rise blue wisps of steam. Scattered in among the bushes, the tethered horses nibble the grass, straining with their whole body to reach further out. The whole picture is illuminated by the bright, marvellously pink light of the setting sun. The water, the leaves on the trees, the flying beetles, the mosquitoes and flies, glint and glitter with the same pinkish *couleur*.

The heat subsides and Nature revives. The air is filled with the humming of a thousand different insects; the little birds sing in the osier beds. From neighbouring fields come the cries of geese, ducks and quail. Noisy, bustling, joyful living breaks out everywhere, a complete contrast with the deadening silence of the day. The evening rouses even our Chinese, who all this time had been sleeping like logs beneath a tree.

Dulai turned up again with his companion, and again brought two sheep, and again brought us rice. In the Tatar language, in his usual laconic way, he 'sniffed' the health of the big man and again enjoined on us the vital necessity of accepting the gifts. Here, for its uniqueness, is an example of his patois: 'Big man ... journey long ... ask ... slept well. *Jiang-jun* and *hebe-amban* ... tell ... big man ... *yusun bar* (it is the custom), there is sheep ... there is rice some things there is. White tsar, *Khuan-di khamitu chidande* ... equals, friends ...' At this he put together his two thumbs and said: '*Shu yanzy*.' (*Shu* is the Tatar for 'behold,' *yanzy* is the Chinese word for 'sort'. Two of a kind.) He concluded, 'Go, big man ... say ... *yusun bar* – it is the custom!' For those who know the Tatar language, it may not be inappropriate to present the actual original of the Chinese language in all its unique originality:

²⁰ *Keif* (Arabic). Contentment, enjoyment, pleasant relaxation.

²¹ *Kameraad* (Dutch). Comrade.

²² From the Kazakh *shokturu* – to make a camel kneel.

چونك – يول يراق – سورانك بار – يخشى كلنك بار – ثزان زون، خبه انبان ... يبارنك بار – قوی
 بار – كورچ بار – نمه، نمه بار – چونك كچی سورانك، يوسون بار، اق پادشاه ايجن خان – دوست،
 ايكايانك حاميتو يداین، شوينكزی دوست.

On this occasion, Dulai's blackmail was tolerated one last time. We had, in fact, plenty of sheep of our own, and in accepting their gifts were obliging ourselves to reciprocate. The officials were so pleased by our acquiescence that they drank the rum we offered them with great abandon. They got so drunk they began demonstratively expressing their warm feelings and liking for us, doing so with particular emphasis by putting together their two thumbs.

Dunchi, the translator they had with them, suggested he should sing us his song and asked the permission of his superiors. At first the officials, acting in accordance with etiquette, were reluctant, but eventually they were singing along with the performer. Dunchi sang in Kalmyk, in Tatar, and, eventually started improvising in Kazakh. The Solon live alongside Kazakhs and know the Tatar language well.

All night long we heard around us the creaking of carts and the singing of Kalmyk, Solon, and that quirky shouting of their drivers. The Chinese really sing rather well [...]

3 August

All day we travelled through groves of trees and past irrigation canals. We constantly came across fields, people working in them, here and there isolated private farms. To the right we passed the towns of Yarkand and Tychkan, residence of the *Sibo-zangi*²³ (the regimental major – Kazakhs would call him the *Chibchzheen*),²⁴ and headed directly for Akkent. We were riding all the time through woodland consisting of elm, oleaster and willow. These places were also thickly covered with the small, prickly salt bush. Besides the plants we had seen when we camped overnight, we spotted various climbing plants in the trees. Hops (*Humulus lupulus*), an ivy-like creeper with a white fibrous stem, covered the salt bushes with purple flowers so densely that they seemed like bundles of harvested flax. Occasionally we encountered barberry and wild rose (*Rosa cinnamomea*). Here too the soil was the same, and even in places became loose sand, but the plentiful water everywhere in the surroundings supported the growth of these species. When we had come 10 miles, we saw a dense grove of tall elms, willows and pleasing pyramidal poplars, between whose trunks we glimpsed the white walls of clay houses. The outward appearance of the city is fairly clean, and it is surrounded by a wall.

We entered by way of a bridge across a moat. In the streets, behind the walls of the houses, there were everywhere elms, willows and poplars that cast long shadows. There was an imperturbable stillness, and it was as if we had

²³ *Sibo-zangi*. A Chinese officer of the Sibio Manchu tribe.

²⁴ *Chibchzheen*. More precisely, *shybzhyyn* (Kazakh). A restless person, fusspot, fidget.

entered an abandoned ancient city. Only a little Chinese girl and two small boys, peeping around a corner, gave the game away. She was very dark, but had a pleasant face and flowers sticking out of her hair, which was drawn back *à la chinoise*. She wore a blue nankeen dress with wide sleeves, decorated with two rows of white ribbon. The boys were bare, their heads close-shaven. The bigger one had a little pigtail sticking up on the top of his head, and the little one had hair just on his temples. It was plaited and looked like horns.

This first city exuded the spirit of empire, unsociable and aloof. Each house stood apart and was surrounded by a wall, and it seemed as if the owner had locked himself in behind his four walls, like a vassal in mediaeval Europe, in order to see nothing of his neighbours or have to speak to them. The streets were very dusty. From the large vegetable gardens outside the city, in which women and children were working, and from the fields, it was evident that the Solon workers were diligent and prosperous. Their temple was surrounded by a park of pyramidal poplars. Carved gates and dragons proclaimed its presence. What beautiful trees these poplars are, with their straight, white trunks; how pleasingly the breeze ruffles their silvery leaves! One just longed to pitch a tent in their shade and fall asleep.

A strange desire, you may be thinking! But anyone who has undertaken exhaustingly long journeys will surely understand the attraction of this straightforward, even primitive desire. Leaving the city, a couple of miles beyond it we pitched camp for the night and settled down to our tea. In the city our people had managed to buy melons, watermelons and apples, and we feasted on these. All night we were much plagued by mosquitoes.

4 August

Early morning. Reveille. A drumbeat. We need to cross alluvial sands that form a hilly ridge all the way to the River Ili. It is a crossing the horses will find difficult, and we have decided to get it over with during the coolness of morning and, as the Kazakhs say, in the *salkynshyk*.²⁵ After two miles, we left the wooded tract of Shubar Agash, which extends from the Usek to the mountains, and entered a terrain of shifting sand.

A Chinese officer from the picket accompanied us from where we had camped for the night. With nothing else to do, we talked to this old warrior. He came from a Solon family, and from subaltern had been promoted to *jiang-jun* second class, a rank he had held for the past year and a half. The old man told me that they, the Solon, all served in the army and were awarded ranks depending on how well they served. He himself had been in a lower rank for eight years and said that his son would also begin service as a common soldier. This rule applies even to the offspring of their *amban*.²⁶ Only those

²⁵ More precisely, *salkynshak* (Kazakh). Coolness.

²⁶ *Amban*. Chief, general.

who die in war have their pension passed on to their son. He was wearing a conical cane cap with red hair in it. It was a semi-shako, only worn when serving locally. If he was sent to another section, he would wear a black hat with a sable tail and a feather. Thus engaged in conversation, we entered the area of deep sands: so deep, indeed, that they form quite high dunes. It was curious to speculate how this sand could have formed a whole range, like a barrier wall, as if banked up by human agency. These sands are perpendicular to the course of the river for a distance of 35 miles and are some 7 miles wide.

What a desolate landscape! Apart from the endless sand there is nothing to see. Here and there it is covered by the barren bushes of a steppe plant the Kyrgyz call *yuzgen*. This twisted bush has no leaves. Its lower stems are silver-white, and its thin twigs are green. It has something resembling a flower on it, small wizened leaves, perfectly circular, in several rows. In places you find hostas and an ugly yellow plant with a spiky, cone-like protuberance, and some other grass. Other than that, there is nothing. The tracks of snakes, lizards and rats intertwine and form a complex, intricate lattice. Despite the fact that it was early and cold, thousands of nimble short-tailed lizards were darting about, and in one place a huge black snake was lazing. It was only too evident that this fearsome reptile was solely and completely in command of this dreadful place.

It was good we had taken advantage of the cool of morning to navigate safely this miniature Sahara. Camels love sand. Their soft, fleshy feet walk over its yielding layers as if it were carpet, but even they are visibly fatigued by the constant inclines. There are many desert places on the Kazakh steppe, some of them frightening, extending several hundreds of miles, but none are as lifeless as this place. On the banks of the Ili, the Syr [Darya] and Sarysu there are sandy deserts for vast distances, but there is more life in them. More vegetation, at least: saxaul, salt bush, needlegrass (*Lasiagrostis*) and other bushes form veritable woodlands.

Thanks be to Allah! We finally reached solid ground. A truly striking change occurred as we descended the last sand dune, and the whole nature of the terrain altered dramatically. There was no sequence, no gradual transition. Again, a level steppe stretched before us, but with different plants and a different ambience. At first the ground was stony, with pebbles and scree. The pretty bushes of tamarisk, and the salt tree inevitable on the steppe, brought variety to the terrain. As we proceeded, the steppe more closely resembled what we had seen previously, but there were fewer elms and oleasters, and such as there were seemed but small shrubs. Crossing the River Korgas, we endured a sustained attack by the myriad hordes of mosquitoes, which by their numerousness formed a dense shadow over us. From the intensifying heat any other shade would have been very welcome, but not the one provided by the mosquitoes. We can say that at Korgas we all fell victim to the bloodthirsty ways of these insects. The dense reeds and riparian vegetation, watered by the river, gave birth and refuge to these wilfully malign creatures.

Beyond the river was a Chinese picket, whose officer met and escorted us to where we were to spend the night. In view of the dirty walls of these quarters,

we pitched a tent, drank tea and fell into the deep sleep of heroes, although for a pillow I had only a hamper, whose angularity cut disagreeably into the back of my head. I felt nothing and slept soundly, like a sultan on the soft couches of his harem sinking into the luxurious tenderness of some 'rose of delight'. Indeed, I dreamed of something of the sort. I felt the pressure, but imagined it to be the snowy white arm of some beauty who was embracing my head. I felt the heat, but it seemed to me that was just the scented breath of my companion for the night. Needless to say, I was terribly miffed when wakened with the news that the camels had already been brought up.

The deeper we went into China, the more we were struck by the liveliness and the people. So now, in front and to the left of us we could see Chinese towns and villages. More exactly, we could see bluish groves in which, quite literally, the towns were immersed. Here we must give the Chinese their due: if the wanderer on his way through the bare, ghastly steppe saw jutting up only the walls of their low earthen houses, his exhausting journey through the wilderness would be a hundred times more grim and unbearable, like travelling through the Nubian Valley. Instead, what pleasure you feel in approaching these oases of greenery after being exposed to the rays of the sun scorching the defenceless steppe. We had the pleasure of riding round Korgas, one of these garden cities that luxuriate, as it were, in their greenery. To the right, a mile away, we passed the city of Chimfanze²⁷ with its hostelry for travellers. Also to the right, but further in the distance, near the mountains, there were many similar green dots, and these were the settlements of the Solon and Sibö – Upper, Middle and Lower Kupchan.

Korgas is the main city of the settlement, where the regimental commander of the Sibö resides. His title is *khozhurtai*, representative of the *amban*, subordinate to the brigadier general who lives in Ili²⁸ and is under the *jiang-jun*. Korgas consists of three parks, suburbs situated less than a mile from each other. In Chimfanze there are parks and vegetable gardens. Our people bought apples, peaches and various vegetables there. Remarkably, in the settlements we ate cucumbers similar to our own, large and juicy and not at all like the thin, ugly Chinese *kiyar*.²⁹ We pitched camp for the night 2 miles from the city, on a river overgrown with reeds. There was a community near our site. Chinese on foot and on horseback, Chinese in ornate carriages harnessed to a variety of animals, were passing back and forth incessantly, like ants busy in their anthill. All the night long we heard the creaking of their huge wheels, which were probably inadequately lubricated with sesame oil, and the cries of their drivers. From time to time an idle son of the Middle Flower³⁰ would sing. [...]

²⁷ Now Chengpanzi

²⁸ Chinese name of the city of Kuldzha. Valikhanov says в Иле.

²⁹ A cucumber.

³⁰ A synonym for the Chinese state.

Among those who passed by, our eye was caught by a certain *loya*, not so much by the man himself as by his carriage. This was the second time we had seen a Chinese gentlemen's gig. On two wheels was set coachwork like a miniature house, with windows to the sides. It was covered in blue canvas and the wheels were painted to match. A lead hinny and a wheeler hinny (as is the tradition in China), crowned with bells, were harnessed to draw it. Above the wheeler mule was a rectangular canvas canopy attached at one end to the top of the coachwork, and at the other to two brackets inserted perpendicularly into the end of the shafts. Ahead rode, as always, a lead horseman, and behind came a convoy. As befits the dignity of any decent gentleperson, the coachman was required to walk beside the carriage with a long stick, and periodically goaded the hinnies. They all proceeded in a serene and dignified manner. We were greatly intrigued this first time, but subsequently saw many sights of the same ilk. In wonder we would put a finger to our lips, and our trust in Allah. *Mashallah!*³¹

The mosquitoes here were just as tireless as on the River Korgas so that, rising in the morning, we had a terrible itching and swelling all over our faces. All evening I carried a gun, but had no luck. I could hear a quail calling almost at my feet, but was unable to locate it.

5 August

From a reed-fringed river that, incidentally, was remarkable for our discovery of water snakes, we proceeded in a west-south-westerly direction through another picket to the village of Orda-Khoza where, in the shade of a huge elm full of sparrows' nests, we laid down a carpet and rested to the gentle cooing of doves (of which there was no shortage).

We need to mention the road. To the right, near the mountains, a multitude of groves could be discerned. The closer we came to the Ili the denser they became. One of these groves enfolded the ancient Muslim town of Temir-Kutluk Khan, who is considered a saint. It has his famous tomb. The road we were travelling passes through state-owned fields planted with wheat, *konak* and Manchurian millet, or through hilly, pitted terrain, along which lush wild grass, thistle (*Cirsium lanceolatum*), plantain (*Plantago major*) and remnants of various cultivated grasses showed that the land had been ploughed in the past. A pheasant was raised for us, but our efforts to find it were in vain: it runs swiftly and soon disappears in the thick grass. Huge tree trunks and the crumbling walls of abandoned farmsteads watched morosely as we passed.

Muslim ploughmen were sitting beneath one tree, eating their meagre flatbread. Whether from the influence of the sun under which they roast all summer, or whether it is in their breed, the Turkestanis of the Six Cities are extremely black and have a countenance like that of Afghans. Deep, sunken

³¹ *Mashallah*. An exclamation of surprise or admiration.

eyes, a nose thin and curved like a Turkish sabre, thin lips and scrawny hips mark them out from other Central Asians. The influence of China has affected both their appearance and their morality.

They are unlike the inhabitants of West Turkestan, who are renowned for their fanaticism throughout the Muslim Orient and whose capital of Bukhara has the sacrosanct title of 'inextinguishable lamp of the true faith' (but is in reality a sink of iniquity and the lair of bigoted *ulamas*³² and money-grubbing *ishans*³³). These, for several years, have been arguing solely about the external rites of their faith, and from the depths of their madrasas spew out all over the Muslim world maniacal mullahs like Mansurov, *qazi-mullahs*³⁴ and like hypocrites. By contrast, these Muslims are more tolerant of other faiths and less attached to the outward routine of rituals. Although, of course, unsteadiness and a lack of firmness in faith sometimes lead to moral degradation, the Kashgar people are, perhaps, more steadfast in the basic, fundamental principles of their faith than some Mevlevi.

Among the good features of the Kashgar outlook is the freedom of women, who participate in all public meetings, and without whose presence, indeed, no assembly of the Majlis is possible. As regards the visible influence of Chinese civilisation, it has been limited to the fact that the hip of each Taranchi [a Kashgar settler] now sports a knife and chopsticks, while their head is adorned with a Chinese hat with a ball. This people has never enjoyed complete freedom, and the influence of their enslavement and dependence has imprinted on their faces an expression of sullen, melancholy despair.

But let us return to our story. While we, casting off our jackets, were sitting under our tree and enjoying the cool shade of its foliage, curious Chinese had gathered round the fire where our dinner was being cooked. The more regular features of the Solon differed noticeably from the wholly Mongol faces of the *shampan*.³⁵ *Shampan* is the name given to convicts from the inner provinces who have been sentenced to banishment and hard labour. These true descendants of the Han dynasties (as the Chinese call themselves) had surprisingly narrow and slanting eyes, a flat, barely protruding nose and broad cheekbones. They were of average height but haggard. Sparse tufts of barely noticeable hair protruded above a wide mouth and on their sharp chin. The Manchurians, Sibo and Solon, on the other hand, are tall and broad-shouldered. They are heavily built and slender-waisted. Their faces are more like those of our Bashkir than of the Chinese. Not a few of them have faces that are a fairly regular oval and have more prominent noses. The nose of our *dulai* friend is even rather too large. Among

³² *Ulama* (Arabic). The highest class of Muslim theologian, taking the place of judges in Muslim states.

³³ *Ishan*. The highest title in the Muslim clergy.

³⁴ *Qazi-mullah*. A judge engaged in judicial and investigative cases under Sharia law; a lawyer.

³⁵ *Shampan*. More precisely, *Shanpan*, *Chanpan* (Chinese).

the bystanders was one *bokhsho*, a Solon subaltern who was evidently well-off, judging by his clothing, and not stupid, judging by his impressive paunch.

In China, the stomach is considered to be the location the mind: if you have a remarkably large stomach, you clearly have a remarkable mind. This is a fact, the truth of which, since the time of the Qin Dynasty, no Chinese has dared to doubt, just as it would be ridiculous to doubt that $2 \times 2 = 4$. This *bokhsho*, apparently, was very vain about his 'mind' (as how could one not be proud of such a manifest sign of intellectual superiority). He looked appraisingly at our stomachs in order to ascertain the extent of the mental powers of Russians. Finding us distinctly flat-bellied, he turned away contemptuously and waddled proudly off, giving us to understand that he had formed a very low estimate of them.

In the retinue of the 'genius' *bokhsho* was a *shampan*, an old man with roguish eyes. He was accompanied by two frisky young girls, his daughters. These naughty rascals ran around near us, jumping and frolicking and very boisterous. They were wearing short nankeen shirts, underskirts and shoes. Their brows were shaven and the rest of their hair was drawn back. They were coquettishly wearing daisy-like flowers in the hair of their little heads. The girls were really quite pretty, in a Chinese way, of course. I took some sugar in my hands and began to entice them, repeating the only Chinese word I know: '*Haole!*' (Good.) My Chinese girls continued their clowning and beckoning me. The father of these little, slit-eyed nymphs, observing our scene, as a highly practical man of the world, swiftly decided all good gifts around us should be reverently accepted and, taking his daughters by the hand, came over to us and said, '*Haole!* Excellent. *Bukhe.*' He sat down and introduced himself. Telling us he was a native of Canton, he then pointed to his cheeks, drawing our attention to the blue spots, distinctive stigmas applied when he was deported. We fully understood how he came to be in the Western region.

In the meantime, I decided to engage the young lovelies in mimed conversation, but there was absolutely nothing I could say. The Chinese girls were greatly amused, and at each of my gestures laughed out loud, saying, '*Hao!*' (Good!) I delighted in the childish directness and natural merriment of these artless children of Nature. How pleased they were and how happily they gnawed the sugar they had been given! One of them even patted me on the head and said, 'Good gentleman Russian.' P.³⁶ gave them two silver coins. Heavens above! How genuinely delighted they were by the bright metal, how covetously they jingled the coins in their hands and showed them off to their father, and how they bragged. One said that hers was better and newer, the other – that hers was. Their father smiled and thanked us with a low bow. '*Ulus* very wonderful person,' the children cried, running over to the crowd and, to prove beyond all doubt the truth of their words, they showed off the money. O gold, gold! In China even the children know your worth.

³⁶ The initial 'P.' seems to refer to Colonel M.D. Peremyshlsky, who at that time served as the inspector/commissioner of the Alatau district of the Kazakhs of the Great Horde.

The *shampan* are industrious people: they were ceaselessly passing along the road from the field to the arable land. Lightly dressed and wearing broad-brimmed pancake-shaped hats, they were carrying cut *musui*,³⁷ or *shi*, or reeds for mats. Few of them were idle. The idlers staring at us were the exception: they were either officials, like the *bokhsho* with the intelligent belly, old people or children.

Our Cossack, sent ahead to Kuldzha, came back and reported that ‘the consul is pleased to expect you in the village seven miles away’. I cannot imagine how we rode through the village. The dust raised from the road by the coal carriers was as dense as any impenetrable gloom. The smell of onion and peppers and the pipe smoke was borne in this element and stopped you breathing. The cries of the drivers – now a protracted ‘*o-u, o-u, o-u*’, and then suddenly a sharp ‘*pur, pur, pur*’ – were everywhere to be heard. You felt you might at any moment fall under one of those enormous wheels and be pounded as soft as a beaten beefsteak.

Orda-Khoza is a purely Chinese village. It has everything there that is supposed to be in every decent township of the Celestial Empire. There is a whole succession of eateries and restaurants; there are ragged *shampan*; there is pipe smoke and onions; and the whole lot is well covered with a thick layer of dust. Carts line the street and shouts resound. Street life is in full swing. All the people sit out under the awnings of the restaurants, drinking tea paid for with their last *yarmak*³⁸ and drinking soup with onion and chillies.

How many grimacing faces passed by us! In their cone-shaped or pancake-shaped hats the *shampan*, bare-bodied, carried water or sheaves of gaoliang. They smoked their *dzhen-doi* and gave us silly smiles, while others winked slyly, as if to say, ‘What sort of people are you? Just look at us!’ The self-confidence of the Chinese is beyond all comprehension. They will never praise anything that is not Chinese. If they tried champagne they would ask where you had bought their *jiu*, their rice vodka.

This village was grimy. Beneath the awnings of the buildings sat the ragged sons of the Middle Flower and drank their tea. Great coal trucks stood in the street. Oxen harnessed to an ugly two-wheeled *tarataika* with bells raised thick clouds of dust that made it impossible to see who was riding by. The wild shrieking of the drivers grated on the ear. Our official *dulai* proudly announced that it was a gathering place for all passing through, and that the building with the awning over the tea-drinkers was a hotel. He enquired if we had anything comparable. Pressing on another 10 miles over a sandy-clay steppe, we came into another, more orderly village. To the left, near the foot of a mountain, two groves were to be seen. This was the town of Gomtu, also called Temir-Kutluk Khan.³⁹ A Muslim saint is buried there. Closer to us was the village of Chuchkaly. The village we had entered was called Tardzhi. It is populated with

³⁷ *Musui* (Chinese). Toadflax.

³⁸ *Yarmak*. A Chinese copper coin.

³⁹ More precisely, Tugluk-Telshr.

shampan and Taranchi. The grain, *dzhugara* [sorghum], millet and toadflax here were better and covered a greater area than in other places. Muslims in white smocks, [their skin] as black as coal, with regular facial features, were weeding the cornfields and shouted to scare away a flock of crows that flew in such numbers they eclipsed the sun. A stream flowed through the village, forming a pond where boys were bathing. They paid little enough attention to us. Russians travel with *mata*,⁴⁰ and so are nothing all that special. The consul was expecting us, and we had a splendid evening. On the meadow near the village the geese raised a terrible cackle and drew themselves to the attention of our hunters. While we were drinking tea, the Chinese gathered at the top of a bluff, lit up their pipes and, from a respectful distance, surveyed us from on high, without, however, showing signs of any great surprise.

The Chinese officer who met us on behalf of the *jiang-jun*, and the other who brought us provisions, accompanied us on our way. They wore conical black caps with a sable tail and ball. The black cap indicates they are on business from afar. The guard officers who escorted us from their post to the next, on the contrary, rode wearing cone-shaped straw hats, which indicated they were performing local duties. There was always one soldier riding ahead who wore a robe and bore a bow and quiver of arrows. This is the forward *vershnik*, whom the Chinese call the *din-ma* (nail-man), the invariable escort of every respectable person. The officers themselves rode on horseback, in accordance with the official 'ten thousand' ceremony. They were quietly smoking *ganza*.

At Borokhudzhir we went into the picket and viewed its sights. The picket is surrounded by a rectangular clay wall. Trees are planted on its western and eastern sides, so that the picket itself cannot be seen behind the trees. On the east side, the entrance was through the eastern garden. Here was a pedestal with something on it that resembled a birdcage. The Manchu officer informed us that this was a temple to the god of the soil and, sure enough, inside the cage sat a wooden effigy in the form of a woman. Upon entering the gate, we were struck by a terrible smell of garlic and a special sickly smell like the odour of a cellar.

We were taken by surprise by the unfriendly disposition of several dogs when we entered the green fenced guards' quarters, but their further encroachment was halted by the measures taken by the Solon soldier. Ahead of us stood a row of houses with black roofs. This was the officers' wing. To right and left were the barracks with the soldiers' kitchen. Great doors, huge windows with numerous cells covered with paper, and pear-shaped cornices contributed to our appreciation of their originality.

Inside, on the bare ground, were bunks on which the soldiers' belongings lay in disarray: boots, cloth leg wrappings and other appurtenances of everyday life. The officers' wing differed from the barracks only in its Manchu inscriptions. We entered the first cramped room, which was the reception room. The officers invited us to ascend the bunks, and one of them, to show the way,

⁴⁰ *Mata*. A cotton fabric.

squatted there, his legs tucked in, and banged the hard saddlecloth that served as bedding. There was nothing for it: we sat likewise. We exchanged pipes. The officer gave orders for tea to be served. Soldiers, who had been brought in to swell the numbers, brought a copper jug and mugs adorned with hundreds of sealed cracks, and poured thick black tea made from a compressed brick. We drank it politely.

At seven o'clock in the evening, on the eve of the Feast of the Transfiguration, that is, on 5 August, we entered Kuldzha. From the first guard post at Borokhudzhir to Kuldzha is a stretch of the most barren, empty, sandy steppe. As Russians, it would never have entered our heads to put villages in this desert; we would have had no idea how to do it without subjecting the settlers to great hardship. Chinese persistence, however, has triumphed. Many inhabitants have been settled on this territory. There are eight towns and several villages where the traveller, naturally without entering the houses, is able to rest pleasantly in the shade of tall trees, the pyramidal poplars that canopy the entire city, which is hidden within this grove. The houses are all of clay and look neat. There are no streets, but every house proclaims the empire and typifies its inward-looking unsociability. Every house is enclosed, like the whole city, behind an earthen wall and, it seems, has become enclosed in order not to see its neighbour and not to speak to it.

Upon our arrival in Borokhudzhir we were met, at the behest of the *jiang-jun*, by an official of the court of trade, a *dulai*, a courier, a kind of official for special assignments. He had a white ball on his hat. After chatting for a time, we parted from the official, the richer by two sheep, ten pounds of rice and a similar quantity of flour. In the morning, accompanied by the Chinese and our ceremonial convoy, so much to the taste of the Chinese, we moved on. At every place we stopped for the night, an officer gave us provisions, which it is not done to refuse, and which have to be reciprocated fivefold.

On 7 August we were visited by a general, two lieutenant colonels and several officers, who plagued us for precisely three hours. It was decided to begin negotiations on 11 August.

For want of anything better to do, I began looking around the room. There was a door to the right, and a fire was smoking on the floor, on a stone. Black as a chimney sweep, a soldier with his sleeves rolled up stood at the door, smoking a pipe. He was evidently a cook. A door to the left was half open and the room was so small it seemed likely it was a pantry. We asked if we could be shown the shrine. The officers agreed with alacrity and, with pipes in their mouths, went to the western garden and opened the gate. In the garden there was a sanctuary, surrounded by a wall, with little gates decorated with inscriptions and figures. Before the temple stood two pillars; to the right, close to the gate and under a canopy, a bell stood on a pedestal, and to the left, a tambourine. Two soldiers began beating with sticks, one – the bell, the other – the tambourine. This must have been to notify Fo [the shamanic god] he had visitors.

There were three little doors in the sanctuary itself, hung with curtains, and in the middle was a table with salt and a cup, and on a carved shelf in a

niche, wearing a wide silk robe, sat the fat god Guan Loya.⁴¹ He had a golden, Chinese kind of face, a long, narrow moustache, a beard and whiskers which reached down to his waist. His chest was bare. To the right, a white slit-eyed goddess stood by the table very tenderly holding a sword, or rather, a sword had been placed on her hands. To the left, as black as a Chinese boot, a god with big, slanting eyes grinned malevolently, revealing a row of rotten teeth as long as the fangs of a wild boar. In his right hand, the bulging-eyed Fo held a halberd,⁴² ornately decorated, while his left rested assertively on his hip. He was dressed in a jacket, and the overall impression was extremely aggressive. The goddess was wholly feminine, her meek face looking sleepy, and the sword lying on her hands looked far too heavy for her. The Sibos and Solons occupying the guard post profess the Fo religion, and this temple was Fo.

The Sibos and Solons occupy all the border posts of the Western region, provide the soldiers and are paid a salary like our Cossacks. The Solons were resettled from Dauria and from the province of Sakhalanyam (in Manchuria) back at the time of the first conquest of Dzhungaria, and the Sibos reinforced them after the Kashgar rebellion. Their military settlements are located from Kuldzha to the north along the Ili to the border posts of the empire. They are under the command of Brigadier General Abebu who, as one of the *koldais*, counsellors, lives in Ili. The *khozhurtai*, or regimental commander, is a Sibos by birth. The Sibos and Solons are divided into eight regiments, which are under the command of *zangis*, who have blue ball (staff officer) rank. The Solons occupy the terrain close to the River Ili, and the Sibos guard the mountains. They are, of course, the best and most warlike people in the empire. Their constant military service and relations with the Kyrgyz and Kalmyks maintain their spirit. They serve for one year in Tarbagatai and one year in Kashgaria (the Six Cities).

Every Sibos and Solon is obliged to serve in the army and begins with the rank of a simple soldier. They speak Kyrgyz extremely well, and many are so

⁴¹ Guan Loya. A famous knight of the Middle Empire in the era of the Eight Kingdoms. He lived around the third century BC. To the treacherous Chinese, who would attack their enemy at night or by surprise, the bold nobility of Guan Loya seemed superhuman. He would attack, like Russia's Svyatoslav, only after notifying the enemy that 'I am coming to get you.' For this he was deified. He was particularly active after the accession of the Manchurians. Guan Loya came to one of the Manchurian elders before the conquest of China and promised a victory. After the conquest, the Manchurians elevated him, as their patron, to the emperor's rank of *Khuan-di*, and he is now the god of military people and the protector of peasant homes. Incidentally, about religion in China: in China religious tolerance is very great. They worship both Fo (the shamanic god) and images of Buddha, but nevertheless understand that the true faith is, of course, the philosophical teaching of Confucius. There is here a curious effigy of Shakyamuni (anchorite of the House of Shikya). The idol is enjoying sex: a woman is sitting on his lap. – *CV*.

⁴² Halberd. A battleaxe, an ancient weapon on a long handle.

sophisticated they can improvise poetry in a purely Kyrgyz spirit. The following are the names of eight Sibo and Solon settlements ...⁴³

We decided to go from Tardzha to Ili-Kuldzha in the evening, across steppe pitted with *aryks* and covered with arable fields of gaoliang, millet and elm and poplar shrub, *shi* and tall feather grass [*Stipa*]. We rode past the orchards of Ili in much dust and accompanied by the consul in Kuldzha. From Chuchkaly to the mountains as far as Sairamkol, where Kalmyks, Chakhars and Torghuts roam, the groves are increasingly replaced by orchards. Approaching the banks of the Ili, completely barren sand dunes rise. The horses had great difficulty pulling their feet out and were in danger of toppling. The sand got in everyone's eyes. This day we covered 50 miles and entered the trading post at night.

The Russian trading post was founded in Kuldzha and Chuguchak in 1852 for the promotion of our Asian trade. The Chinese allocated the sandy bank of the Ili beyond Sarybulak for our buildings, considering it unsuitable for settlements. It is a tribute to the consul that he has succeeded in turning such a location into what is now his excellent trading post.

This consists of a huge stone house with a mezzanine for the consul, a building for the secretary and servants, a trading colonnade, trading rooms, a bathhouse, various amenities and two barracks. All this is surrounded by numerous walls with entrances in the Chinese fashion.

As the builders were Chinese, one cannot but note the diversity and mixing in the factory of European and Chinese elements. Thus, for example, the house of the consul has shutters of different colours and two fearsome dragons crouching on the roof. The roofs of all the other houses are clay, in Chinese style, with carved gutters and ornamentation. The furniture is of elm, its general design European, but in its particulars and the decoration of the legs there is a Chinese angularity. The cleanliness is very striking, after the dirt of Ili, where the house of the *jiang-jun* resembles nothing so much as an old galosh. The Chinese are all amazed at the art of the Russians, and the *jiang-jun* is noticeably jealous. The trading post has a garden which the consul has established for testing Chinese home-grown vegetables and fruit. Unhappily, the sandy bank of the Ili collapses further every year and is now only 280 feet from the consular building. A great pity!

We arrived in Kuldzha on the fifth, and on the seventh had the pleasure of meeting the Chinese officials with whom we were to deal.

The *Tude-zhen* or simply *tugoldai* – the first commercial commissioner – the *kogoldai*, his assistant, the quartermaster in charge of provisioning the troops, an auditor; in all, six people arrived ceremonially at the trading post in their cabriolets. Needless to say, the obligatory nail-man was perched in front of each cart, and each had a follow-up escort of two soldiers. All the carts were harnessed to mules. They drove up to the gate, the nail-man fetched a footstool, and the blind *tugoldai*, supported by two gentlemen, alighted. Approaching the

⁴³ The names are missing.

consul, in accordance with the Chinese expression of civility, he contorted his face, showing his teeth; this indicated that his physiognomy was registering cordiality. Guttural sounds, like the cawing of a crow, the Manchurian form of greeting, reached our ears. We stood in the mezzanine and, in accordance with protocol, were to be introduced later. When the officials had sat down in the hall and bared their heads, we entered. They jumped up immediately, put their hats back on, and began shaking hands, in the process 'sniffing our health' and enquiring after the health of our sovereign ... They asked how our journey had been and whether we were presently replete. Being replete is an indication of health, because a sick person has no appetite.

We took our places. Tea and fruit were brought. The *tugoldai* had periodically visited the consul before, and accordingly showed off his knowledge of Russian to us. Instead of the Chinese *butso* he always said in broken Russian, '*koroshi*'. Then he pulled out a pipe from his bootleg, not so much because he wanted to smoke, because the Chinese do not smoke when taking tea, as in order to ask in Russian for a light. '*Ognya!*' the old man shouted with a nasal intonation and, pleased with himself, laughed and congratulated himself in Russian, '*Koroshi, koroshi.*' All our guests began smoking, or rather, stinking. Smoking Chinese tobacco means smoking *asafoetida*.⁴⁴ While the mandarins were drinking and dividing everything in two, giving half to us and swallowing half themselves, I paused to examine them.

The *tugoldai* is a scrawny old man with weak, slitty eyes adorned with enormous spectacles, and a hawk-like nose. His mouth is rather twisted, and the upper lip has the appearance of a triangle, with the corners of his mouth providing the base, and the middle the apex. A few thin hairs sprout from his lips, and his pointed, dry chin is clean-shaven. Tiny teeth, a remarkable combination of a blue-brown and coffee colour, peep out from behind his lips. He is surprisingly lively for his years and extremely talkative. He wears a silk robe, girdled with a thin black belt, from which a tobacco pouch and fan depend.

The *koldai* is pale; his head wholly lacks a back to it and is as flat as a board. To the obverse of it, eyes, a nose and mouth have been screwed, and a plait attached to the reverse. He seems not quite to have got over a fright. His eyes are somehow pathologically alive and stray to the right, then to the left, like the eyes of the cats which used to decorate old-fashioned wall clocks.

By way of contrast, the mandarin in charge of provisions, of which there will later be more to be said, smells like flour, likes to speak Tatar, and is overly endowed with a posterior skull which has ballooned on his head, the way two cucumbers or watermelons sometimes grow together. In a word, by all the rules of head size, his head must be adjudged extra-large, and if there were any justice in the world he would have donated the back of it to the Chinese Fo.

Looking at the flat back of the *koldai*'s head and the bulbous back of the head of our quartermaster, it seems obvious that the latter's has grown at the

⁴⁴ *Ferula asafoetida*. A medicinal herb.

expense of that of the former. The auditor is in respect of his eyes a real Chinese and reveals his classical education with refined gestures and a particular way of blinking and opening his eyes to impart arcane meaning to his words. He is a student of philosophy. The faces of the other gentlemen are markedly stupid and undeserving of attention.

Having drunk deep of our wines, not, as was evident from their expression, without considerable satisfaction, the venerable mandarins, after a three-hour visit, went back home. It should be mentioned that the *tugoldai*, under the influence of vinous vapours, recited a poem: ‘*There is heaven in the sky, On the Huangpu there’s Shanghai.*’ We saw them out.

7 August

Through the *dulai* we have received gifts from the *jiang-jun*. The *dulai*, as a man not wanting of education, shrewd even, immediately arranged a procession. At the head was himself with a register of the gifts, written on red paper. Behind him walked a Chinese man carrying a bound pig upside down on a staff. The poor brute was so overwhelmed by its long journey and abnormal posture that it could only flap its long ears. A second man, bent over as if carrying a great weight, bore a pot of sweetmeats, a third carried a basket of fruit and a fourth a sack of rice. In this order the procession marched to the porch, where the gifts were also paraded in order of seniority, with the pig in pride of place. Peremyshlsky was absolutely obliged to go in and inspect them. Gifts from the Chinese come at an exorbitant price, because they need to be reciprocated. The Manchu official did not dare to accept our reciprocity without authorisation and went to report to the *jiang-jun*. Returning, he announced that the *jiang-jun* and *hebe-amban*, his deputy (if a Chinese says *jiang-jun* he is certain to add *amban*, and puts them side by side in his documents) were prepared to accept our gifts, because the Russians and the Middle Kingdom enjoy friendship. As he did so, the *dulai*, as usual, crossed his two thumbs equally, thereby giving physical expression to his thought.

8 August

The boredom here is terrible. Imagine that you are enclosed within four walls: although you are free, you are not your own master, you have nowhere to go and nothing to do. Today at dinner Ivan Ilich was talking about our sinologists who had been educated in Peking. The Chinese call Peking ‘Beijin’, which means ‘northern capital’. Archimandrite Kamensky, who lived with the mission, was tonsured as a monk when he was sent to the mission.

From the day of his departure, he kept a travel journal in which he wrote down all his impressions, thoughts and selections from what he read. He called it his Sack. Upon returning from Peking, he donated it to the Asian Department, where it reposes to this day. There was everything in his Sack. In

his leisure time, Father Kamensky made a poetry translation of the Chinese religious mystery of *Yin–Yang*, that is, the male and female principles in Nature. Yin desires, Yang fulfils, Yin is pleased and they both rejoice.

Father Iakinf [Nikita Yakovievich Bichurin (1777–1853)] was the illegitimate son of the monk Amvrosy, who was descended from a noble family. Being an archimandrite for 26 years, Iakinf led a turbulent, debauched life, so Amvrosy petitioned for him to be sent to Peking, thinking that in the setting of a far distant population he would be unable to misbehave. Everybody knows how his career in Peking ended. Stripped of his ecclesiastical rank, he ended up in the Volokolamsk Monastery, where he lived for 15 years. At the request of the Asian Department and of Baron Shilling, he was released ...⁴⁵ and seconded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Having accompanied Baron Shilling to Kyakhta in Buryatia, he campaigned to be disrobed and to become a secular person. The intransigence of the prosecutor and Senate, who raised his case again, frustrated his initiative and he remained at the ministry.

According to sinologists, Father Iakinf knew Chinese well and the facts he reported were taken from official documents of the empire. The Chinese themselves have no better [scholars]. Unfortunately, Father Iakinf had a weakness for adding his own ideas and conjectures to the text without clearly differentiating them from the Chinese primary materials. Ivan Ilich promises on his return to St Petersburg to get to the bottom of Father Iakinf's dispute with Klapproth about restoring a correct reading of the Chinese *tugyudulgas* and Tugu (Turks). Father Avvakum is said to have been a remarkable man, direct and honest, with no vanity or inclination to seek honours. He has great knowledge and shares it with anyone who turns to him for advice. Mr Vasilyev also has diverse information and has prepared a lot of materials.

9 August

The Chinese language consists of monosyllabic sounds: *u, au, dau, hau, mau, zau* and so on. Each of these sounds has several meanings. There are some words which have 500 meanings. For example, the sound *hoi*, which occurs frequently in Chinese conversation, has 214 meanings. Chinese writing and the Chinese language are separate things, without the same connection as ours. Every meaning, rather than sound, has its own character. The sound *hoi* can be written in 214 different ways, denoting its 214 meanings. This means you can read Chinese books without knowing the language.

In translations you very often encounter words used in a literal sense. For example, you read, 'The ruler of 10,000 families.' Not all Chinese grasp the subtlety of the historical story, meaning that this is the number of people ruled by a *temnik*.⁴⁶ There is also a passion for consonance of words in China. Klinovsky

⁴⁵ One word remains undeciphered. The context suggests '[by the] prosecutor'.

⁴⁶ Commander of an army of 10,000.

said he recently read the travel diary of a Chinese who journeyed to Aksu (one of the seven cities of Turkestan). He writes: 'In Yuan history, it is said that the Mongols subdued the aces of Kinchu [the Kipchak]. There is no doubt that the aces of the Yuan dynasty are Aksu – one of the seven cities of Eastern Turkestan.'

Today for dinner we had catfish. It is curious that we had not been aware of its presence in the Ili. It is very commonly found upriver from Kuldzha, according to the Chinese fishermen.

Speaking of provisions: meat is cheap here – a pound of meat costs four silver kopecks, of lamb – five kopecks. Our people buy from the *Khoi-khoi*.⁴⁷ Chinese hens of the breed we know as Dutch hens weigh up to 10 pounds. The familiar Chinese goose with a cartilaginous red horn on its nose⁴⁸ does not taste good and has coarse meat. The ordinary ducks do not differ from ours. Of fruit, three main varieties of peach are grown here. One is almost the size of a large apple, with down. The others are small, with smooth, reddish skin. They are flat and quite delicious. They are not to be found even in Peking. The first has its size from hybridisation, but the others taste better. Their pears are good, but their bergamots are inferior to ours. There are many apples, but they are not good. Kuldzha pears are very tasty and resemble French Juliets. Pomegranates and cherries are a rarity. Apricots are grown in orchards and in many places grow wild. They are completely ripe by July. There are different varieties of grapes: one is white, large and oblong; another is coarse and purple violet in colour, and there is also a small variety, called *kishmish* in the East. There is also *korinka* (Korin grapes, black and small). Of market produce there are yellow melons and aromatic Kashgar green melons. Green (Komul) melons are considered the best, and there are also white and so-called winter melons. These can be stored all winter – until March – and are convenient to transport. Watermelons are yellow and not good. I should mention that, depending on the soil, they can be red.

Cucumbers have a pod-like shape, but when salted they change in appearance and become yellow. Chinese twining potatoes grow as large rhizomes. Hemerocallis bulbs, a variety of lily or tulip, have a taste similar to potatoes, but are more tender. In Mongolia everybody uses them as food. The Chinese have a strange fruit which has come from hybridising the apricot with jujube. They are Chinese dates, called *shi-tza* ... Dried, this fruit tastes like our figs. It has two bean-like seeds.

10 August

We had a visit from a Chinese who has traded with Russian merchants. He speaks Russian with, of course, the inevitable Chinese nasal pronunciation. He noted down everything he heard. Here, incidentally, is a funny story I heard.

⁴⁷ A general name for all Chinese Muslims, but particularly the Uighurs and Dungans.

⁴⁸ Domesticated Chinese swan goose.

An inquisitive Chinese saw a barrel organ and wanted to find out what it was called in Russian. He was told '*organ*'. He quickly took out his paintbrush, dabbed it on an ink block, and wrote down in Russian *arkan* [a noose], making an explanatory note in his squiggles that this was the Russian for ...

'Ha, you healthy?' he asked us. When we in return asked after his state of health, he replied, 'Well done! *Ulus* is velly good man,' flattering us in the Asian manner. He was telling us something about his emperor, but because he inserted so many words of purely Chinese vocabulary, and because of his singular way of expressing himself, it was impossible to understand. 'Impelator decide on head *otshikni lyaudno!* So-o. Say to Ili go. Poor *lo-khan* (old man) Khantu on war was, Khantu live in Beijin, good *yanzi* (family) man,' and so on. Some commander-in-chief, for being defeated by insurgents, was banished to Ili, deprived of the ball on his hat, but we were there when he received the decree from the *bogdykhan* [holy sovereign] that he might now return.

The Chinese had evidently taken a liking to a small folding mirror of mine and began turning it over in his hand, looking at it fondly and praising it. 'Velly good lenzy. Moscou lenzy ... a?' When I offered it to him he decorously declined, and at the same time assured me I had a clever heart. I replied in the Chinese manner that he had a very fine stomach.

11 August

The negotiations began today. They brought their dinner with them. It consisted of a hundred dishes. The cooks brought an oven and cut up the food and prepared it by the door, thus demonstrating how wholesome and fresh it was. For such attentiveness they are rewarded. Heaven only knows what all was there: a piglet had pride of place, cuttlefish and spiders, pies, duck, dog cooked tasteless *plus ultra*.⁴⁹ All of it was lavishly seasoned with pepper and onion. I was not feeling well and did not have the pleasure of participating in this meal.

About Shakyamuni:⁵⁰ his effigy, although in a crudely sensual form, does express the exalted (of course, in Buddhism) idea of eternal bliss. What is future bliss? What is it like? Shakyamuni said in reply that bliss is nothing, being is non-being, and by way of explanation of this extreme and difficult notion he proposed the vivid example of the sensual fusion of man and woman. At the moment of ejaculation of the semen we are not sentient, [but also] we are not oblivious. It is something that cannot be articulated: it is being and non-being, and it is this nothing that is the analogue of eternal birth. God, too, in the interpretation of Shakyamuni, is also nothing, being and non-being. Those who represent him in physical form are fools who thereby circumscribe his power.

The idea of merging Christianity and Buddhism is worthy of consideration. In Alexandria, where there was a school of philosophers and where all religions

⁴⁹ To the most extreme degree (Latin).

⁵⁰ Buddha (Chinese).

were studied, they knew, of course, both Buddhism and Christianity. Anyone who had been to Egypt and been educated there could choose. Particularly striking are the vows of the monks and their rules.

15 August

All these days I have been suffering terribly from a toothache. As an experiment I turned to Chinese medicine. From the apothecary I was brought some white powder like ash – the leaves and root of some aromatic herb – but to no avail. How I suffered! It was just dreadful. It seems to me there is no malady more agonising than this damnable toothache. Yesterday we rode into the city.

Let me start the story from the beginning. We went on horseback, the subaltern riding ahead as our *din-ma*, our nail-man. Just at the place where we crossed the River Sarybulak (which the Chinese call Sha-khe-tsza), we saw to the right the large building of the *mao-tin-tszya*, and to the left, a graveyard. There are no people in the world less finicky regarding the choice of the last resting place for their dead than the Chinese. Their graves, in the form of a low cone, are scattered all over the place: near our trading post, in the streets, on the riverbank, under a bridge. In a word – anywhere. For the graveyard, however, a place is allotted, surrounded by a large wall and decorative gates.

The Muslims in this regard are the diametrical opposite of the Chinese. No one takes more care over the splendour of graves than they. It is a pleasure to contemplate a Muslim graveyard, its monuments beautifully finished, covered with inscriptions from the Quran, the decorative crescent moons and turbans. And everywhere there is vegetation – the graveyard is a garden. That is why in the East graveyards serve as a place to stroll.

I do not remember how we entered the street. It was narrow, cramped and dirty. To right and left were walls in which, here and there, were open gates through which a courtyard could be seen, a house with its invariable awning beneath which a Chinese woman would be sitting, her face wrinkled, olive-coloured. She would be smoking a pipe, her hair pulled back and fixed with a hairpin. Because of the terrible humidity, riding was unbearable. The Cossack turned into the main street, which was relatively broader than the others. The crenellated walls of the fortress with arrow slits, like our Chinese pavilions, were visible to the right, while to the left were the rear walls of Chinese houses. The multi-coloured windows, inserted without any semblance of symmetry, were overly prominent. Along the walls of the house ran a ditch piled full of litter and dung. There was nothing unusual about that, but when we reached the gate of the fortress and turned into a street running past a shrine, several Chinese were squatting in the street. I was slow to understand what they were doing, until one of them finally stood up and began adjusting his clothing.

It would be superfluous to comment on the atmosphere in such a street. We finally arrived at the bazaar. A Chinese bazaar is not a square as in Russia: it is a street, differing from others in that here the façade of the houses looks

on to it, while elsewhere they back on to it. In brief, it is immensely broad, with stalls or awnings to either side. Down the middle of the street, for its entire length, there is an elevation, a highway wide enough for a single cart, and skirted with a rail. At the very beginning of the street, beneath the awning of one of the houses, several mules and horses were tethered on a short rein. In their frustration the poor animals were gnawing at the wood on which their heads were resting, stamping their feet and, catching sight of us, or rather, of our horses, the redundant mules, of a thick-skinned breed, raised in unison a great hee-haw, hoarse and wild like the braying of an ass.

The Chinese feed their horses only twice a day, giving them a single small measure, and for the rest of the time they stand tethered with their heads held up high. The horses have exquisite manners, even without being instructed in the fundamentals of the ten thousand ceremony: *tel maître – tel valet*.⁵¹ The guttural cries of the peddlers and petty traders, the creaking of carts, the clopping of hooves, the jingling and ringing of bells all merge into a single crazy, noisy commotion.

The diversity was overwhelming. Beneath the awnings of the houses were stalls with knick-knacks, with finished dresses. Huge flags like our church banners flapped above some stalls. One had a signboard depicting a boot of fearsome dimensions, with a white sole. Nearby were, also painted, blue *nadragsi*, as Pyotr Petrovich called them, a kind of stocking coming above the knee. The traders sat in front of their stalls. On their tables were baskets full of different varieties of grapes, blue and white, and the unappetising apples. Pears and apricots and peaches were also heaped up in baskets. Watermelons; cucumbers, long, thin and ugly, writhed monstrously like gigantic bean pods; rather tasty melons – all were piled high.

One merchant wearing a pointed hat was sitting beneath a huge parasol and, as they say, touting his wares with his expression. Some ripe melons and watermelons had been sliced and were displayed, the owner constantly waving a horsetail whisk over them. The huge parasol above him was supported on poles three *sazhens* [20 feet] in length and, as the sun moved, he turned it ever more obliquely. Beneath awnings in the rows, tables were heaped with bric-a-brac: Chinese pipes, tobacco pouches, *chubuks* [long-stemmed tobacco pipes], tobaccos, fans, an assortment of badges, mirrors and other trifles. People swarmed around them.

How many very different faces there were, how many costumes! Here beneath an awning sat a merchant in a *kurma* with a long, grey robe; and here was an Andizhanian, which is the local name for anyone from Central Asia who wears a turban, with a rounded beard as black as a crow's wing and the regular features of someone from Kashgar. He wore a white smock and an *arakchin*,⁵² and looked out morosely from beneath his knitted brows. His eyes were dark and his nose as curved as a Damascus sabre.

⁵¹ Like master, like man (French).

⁵² Headwear in the form of a skullcap or *tyubeteika*.

A ragged Taranchi, a Muslim farmer deported to these provinces to help Chinese officials cultivate their land, sucked with pleasure at a watermelon he had just bought. He was as black as a negro, but his teeth were white as pearls. A Manchu with straight, sleepy eyes; a bold Chinese, exiled from the southern provinces, with slit eyes, a flat nose and black and crystalline teeth, in a short white shirt greasy to the point where it seemed like glossy oilcloth; a bow-legged Kalmyk wearing a lynx hat and a tight belt – everything was in motion, everyone was going somewhere, pensive, busy. And everyone had Chinese *yarmak* coins in their hands, strung together and dangling like Russian sausage.⁵³ They seemed all to be smoking, laughing and greeting each other. The Manchu exchanged pipes with his clansman and told him, ‘*Ganza-fina, akkhu.*’ A Chinese, like a starling, worked his throat and made swallowing sounds. ‘*Mendu!*’ cried the Kalmyk. Our appearing created quite a stir and everyone started talking. ‘*Ulus! Ulus!*’ we heard all around, and there was gossiping and debating about how oddly the barbarians dressed. I especially liked the remark of one *shampan*, a convict who, upon noticing the metal uniform buttons on our jackets, commented to his comrade, ‘Look how many *yarmaks* there are on that Russian *loya* (master).’

Often, in our narrow trap, we were confronted by hulking great carriages conveying ladies. The slit-eyed daughters of the Celestial Empire, heavily painted and terribly whited, flapped their eyes flirtatiously and fanned themselves voluptuously. Some, indeed, probably of the variety of beauties known in China as ‘destroyers of cities’, would suddenly chortle so uproariously that the flowers adorning their hair were shaken off, as if uprooted by a gust of wind.

We arrived finally at the trading centre where there was something we needed to buy. The traders’ courtyards are located there also. To left and right you see doors for the entire length of the porch, which give on to the traders’ courtyards. We entered one narrow courtyard, finished in brick. There were several saddled horses tethered there. The appearance of these courtyards is very fine, only they have their own, Chinese, filth and smell. The wide patterned windows, decorated cornices, enormous doors, sundry inscriptions, and the general diversity and lightness of the whole ensemble make a pleasing impression. The cane doors are prettily raised and let fresh air through. Matte paper, a substitute for glass, gives an indirect light pleasing to the eye.

The owner met us at the door and asked us to be seated. Their shops are reasonably clean inside. There were mirrors on the walls, and pictures depicting some fat mandarin with an improbably long and improbably scrawny moustache and beard. There were also long scrolls of Manchu calligraphy. Elsewhere pipes and fur caps⁵⁴ were hanging. Ledgers hung from nails. A bunk in front of us had bedding piled on it, a felt rug and a grimy pillow. In front of it was a table in the middle of which there was fixed a copper basin with coal,

⁵³ More precisely, [the string] dangled like our sausages.

⁵⁴ *Mokhnatka*. A hat with the fur turned outwards.

which served in the office of a stove. On this fire rested a Chinese copper jug with tea. On another table there was a cup containing tobacco. To the right of the doors was a long counter, as in our shops, and behind it were pots, carefully screened by a curtain. On this table lay a Chinese abacus, on which they calculate with unsurpassed rapidity. It is said that on these abacuses they can perform the four operations of arithmetic. A pole suspended above the counter was supplied with scissors and a mother-of-pearl knife for cutting the paper in which items are wrapped.

Some of us sat down on the bunk, others in misshapen armchairs. Tea was served, with boiled sweets. All the things we asked for were pulled out from behind a curtain. We found they had absolutely nothing of what we wanted. Due to internal unrest and rebellion they have become poorer. Meanwhile, the owner invited us to join him in the other half of the premises to drink tea. We agreed, curious to experience Chinese hospitality. We went into the other half of the shop. It was less well-appointed, and was the part he lived in. On a low trestle table were bowls with a selection of fruit and vegetables. We were offered pipes, a hookah and tea. In his living quarters there was greater disorder. The signs of human habitation gave it a particularly untidy ambience, with greasy skullcaps, tobacco pouches, pipes and *kurmas* hanging in disarray. Our host was very attentive, constantly topping up our tea and urging us to drink more. 'He, He!' (Drink!) he said, pointing to the tea. 'Zi!' he said, pointing to the watermelon. Among the fruit he offered us were jujube, Chinese dates; also a kind of nut, inside which there was flesh and a seed. These nuts, called *li-chzhi*⁵⁵ are of two kinds: one male, brown like a prismatic fir cone, which is properly called *Li-chzhi* (*Litchi chinensis*). The others are a yellow, tobacco colour and smooth, and are called *lunyan*, 'the dragon's eye' [longan, *Dimocarpus longan*].

The owner was so genial and hospitable that he invited us to have dinner with him and wanted to send out for some 'destroyers of cities'. No dinner in China is complete without these nymphs. They sing songs, play the three-stringed lute and, most importantly, create by their presence an atmosphere of jollity at a party. If you are not hungry, she will invite you to eat. She wraps her arms around your neck, speaks tenderly, musically. Who can resist such beauties? They start a game, in which the loser has to drink more wine.

Tempting as the prospect of such a novel dinner was to us, we declined. This time we were here to take a close look at the bazaar. We encountered a bespectacled gentleman with a rather boisterous manner, who talked confidently and much, laughed loudly and, pointing at us, made certain remarks which were evidently very humorous, because all present burst out laughing. This wit likened one of our number to Englishmen he had seen in Canton, and said he had a fire on his head. The fellow was obviously a bright spark from the big city, strutting his stuff for the benefit of provincial yokels. We encountered much the same thing in other shops, with only a slight difference

⁵⁵ Lychee.

in the degree of offensiveness. In a porcelain shop we found ourselves in the company of an unsavoury bunch who unceremoniously tugged and poked us and stared us so closely in the face that their alcoholic breath with its additional odour of onion hit us like a champagne belch. One particular scrawny individual from Kian-si Province was especially annoying. He was wearing a short white shirt above his waist and his skinny legs were sheathed in narrow *nadragi* so artfully that his underwear hung down like the long fatty tail of an underfed Crimean sheep.

We finally decided it was time to return home, and chose Ashbuzum Street, as it is called here in the local hybrid Sino-Tatar language, from the Tatar word *ash* – meal – and the Chinese – *fuzul*. Such hybrids are common here. You often hear the Chinese say, ‘*Khuda dzhen-de*’: God willing, God will help. They have borrowed the word ‘*kudai*’ from the Muslims. The moment we entered this part of the city we were intrigued by a distant noise, a hubbub, and the spicy, suffocating smell of food.

The whole street was lined with houses which, viewed from the street, have no walls and are open. The swarms of people were like ants in an anthill, ‘higgledy-piggledy’ as my teacher of the Tatar language liked to say. The whole city was here, excluding only Manchu officials.

It is remarkable that the Chinese live their lives like the Roman plebs, in the squares and streets. They haggle from morning to night at the bazaar, eat a hearty meal for a *yarmak*, and sleep there. But for this cheapness and ready availability, there is no doubt that all the ragamuffins and poor people in whom China so abounds would long ago have starved to death. There are thousands of people, and they are all efficient and hard-working, but what is to be done? There is no work. How many workers are left idle! So many useful people! Labour is not valued here. A Chinese will build you a stone house for 100 roubles, which would cost you 300 roubles in Russia. That is the extent to which work and time are not valued. You break a plate in Russia, it is no longer of any use, so you throw it out. Not here! The Chinese will take it to be repaired. I myself have seen a small gargling cup which had 150 tiny metal brackets, which must have taken several days of work. It will have cost the owner pennies. Nobody in Russia would undertake a job like that, and actually, no one in Russia would think of asking them to, when the cup itself is worth no more than 20 kopecks.

Summer is paradise for a Chinese: he can walk around practically naked and sleep wherever the fancy takes him. The shade in the gardens is a perfect place for a night’s rest. In the winter, however, he suffers: this is not Central China. The cold spells and blizzards are dire, and invariably after them several pigtailed heads will be sticking out of the snow, and will lie like that until the summer, when the naked corpse will be tossed into the Ili or buried on the spot by the police. That is why you stumble across graves in such a disorderly fashion.

But to return to our story. Stalls are set up under the awnings of these houses, and thousands of people sit there and eat their meal. Several cooks,

like scalded cats, twist and turn around the cooking pot, frying, steaming, boiling. What slovenliness! What filth! One person takes water and washes his face in a bowl. Having finished, he takes water from the same bowl, rinses his mouth and spits it out. Then he passes the [bowl of water] to another person, who does the same and passes it to a third, and so on, until it has been round everybody and the water is so black you could use it to paint a Chinese coffin.

About the middle of the street, near the boardwalks, beneath parasols, there were more restaurants. There might be a hearth on which noodle soup is cooked, a pig being roasted, rice already cooked into a porridge in the dishes. The purpose was to catch the eye of passers-by. Indeed, the restaurants were so close to the road that you could just reach out and buy a good portion of soup, albeit too generously spiced with onions and peppers. On us this had a different effect. We were barely able to breathe because of the hot steam of the soup, because of the heat of the hearths and, most tellingly, because of the smell of Chinese garlic. You were also offered for your delectation carrots as red as beetroot, beans, peas, watermelons and cucumbers. The Muslims, Chinese *Khoi-khoi*, have their own cuisine and feed their co-religionists and visiting Muslims with the meat of ‘clean’ animals. Their hotels are more orderly: at least there is not that cloud of reeking Chinese tobacco you find elsewhere. We were greatly relieved when at last we drove away from this great crowd of people, from the Babel of its languages. There are no people at all in the ordinary streets, only women walking like ducks on their little hooves, and children chasing each other. Chinese boys and girls are very good-looking when they are young, but – oh dear! – how hideous the men are in later years!

These streets presented us with no few difficulties. All the rubbish from courtyards was thrown out and piled up in them, in places presenting a fairly formidable obstacle through which we had to proceed cautiously. At times the horses slipped in loose excrement. So many new impressions, and not, in truth, all that pleasant, we brought back from our first excursion into the city.

On the road back we happened upon a display of all the costumes of a Taranchi family. A black *Chantu*⁵⁶ was riding with his dearer half, who was no less black than himself. His daughter had quite a pretty face, but was also dark and too voluminous or, as the *Chantu* themselves say, too ‘beautiful’. She sat boldly on her horse, engulfing its being with herself, except for its head and tail. This *anusha* was wearing a colourful robe with a straight, wide braid on the chest, like the braid on a *vengerka*.⁵⁷ Beneath that she was wearing a short vest, like a *kurma*, also with triple braiding. The head of this lovely was covered with a cotton headscarf.

⁵⁶ *Chantu*. A man in a turban.

⁵⁷ *Vengerka*. A braided Hungarian-style hussar’s jacket.

18 August

The other day we had the second meeting. An amazingly cunning people, these Chinese. The word ‘mandarin’ was donated by the Portuguese, and it is difficult to know which Chinese word it corresponds to. The entire Chinese nation is divided as if into two classes, the Ming and the Chen. The Ming are the common people, and the Chen are all the officials. What it literally means is ‘a servant of the king’. Incidentally, what is the derivation of the Russian word for an official – *chinovnik*? Some say it comes from the church title of *Chinovnik* (a boy who reads in front of the bishop). Others derive it from the Chinese *chen*.

Ili, which the Muslims call Kuldzha, is, according to the official Chinese documents, the main city of Ili Province. This is where the entire administration of the Western Territory, that is, the provinces of Tarbagatai, Ili and the Seven Cities is located.

The *jiang-jun* is the viceroy, or the governor-general of the region and the chief commander of all the troops stationed there. The *hebe-amban* is his deputy and adviser. Tarbagatai is administered by a governor [*ukurtai*]. In Ili there are, besides the Chinese authorities, also the indigenous dignitaries – the *khakimbeks*. In the Muslim city of Old Kuldzha there is a *khakimbek*, also in Urumchi and in Turfan. The seven Turkestan cities are governed by their *khakimbeks*, one of whom has the title of *Wan*.⁵⁸ He is descended from the Iskhak who helped the Chinese kill Zhangir. The Torghut *taishi* are under a Chinese commissioner, but one also has the hereditary title of *Wan* and certain rights. The *jiang-jun* is chairman of the main Ili Board, and the trading courts are presided over by commissioners.

The population of Ili consists of indigenous Muslims, Kashgarians and Taranchi. Manchu – officials and Chinese – live in the cities. The Sibos and Solons populate the military settlements. Kalmyks of Clan Chakhar roam near Sairamkol and clans of the Olet line roam along the River Tekes. The Muslim settlements here were founded in the times of the Dzungars to supply them with grain. The first settlement was Old Kuldzha. The Sibos and Solons were resettled from Manchuria. The Solons are related to the Daur from the border of the Sakhalyan-Ola district, and are a mixture of Manchu with Daur. The Sibos are somewhere between actual Manchu and Solons themselves. They were resettled here at the time the region was conquered.

The Taranchi (which in Manchu means ‘ploughman’) are peasants resettled from Eastern Turkestan.⁵⁹ They are required to engage in agriculture and to provide supplies for the army. Their essential farming equipment is provided by the treasury: a wooden plough, a metal plough, an ox. The situation of

⁵⁸ *Wan*. A princely title that the Chinese awarded to the elite of China’s national minorities.

⁵⁹ i.e. Kashgaria.

these poor people is appalling. The Kalmyk are regarded as soldiers, and ten of them are likely to be present at frontier pickets to attend to the horses.

The Chinese of Ili are either merchants who have moved there for trade, or craftsmen who are there only temporarily, or exiles. The latter, who are called *shampan*, populate many villages, work in the mines and are available in the cities for work. These people are wild and violent, without values and, as the saying goes, would kill you as soon as look at you. The *shampan* have several times staged rebellions, called here by the Asian word *zhanzhal*.⁶⁰ Last winter there was an uprising in Kuldzha, but the Manchu moved in and attacked several thousand of them. Half they hanged, some they drowned in the river, and some fled south to the border with the Kazakh steppe to Mount Kalkan, where they are said still to be in hiding. Among the Chinese there are Muslims called *Khoi-khoi*. These are descendants of Turks who were resettled to China three centuries ago and have lost much of their ethnicity, wear Chinese dress and a pigtail. They speak Chinese but have their own mosques and perform *namaz*. Their mosque is built like a Chinese pagan temple, and an inscription in Chinese announces that this is the temple of God. They have their own mullahs, called *akhun*. In conversation they call God not Allah but Foya, and Mohammed they call Memeti.

In Chinese history, a foreign people known under the names of *Khoi-khu*, *Khoi-Khor* and *Khoi-khoi*, founded the Khoi-Khor Dynasty and subsequently occupied present-day Eastern Turkestan. In Eastern sources, this people is known as the Uighur. The Chinese call the current inhabitants of the Seven Cities *Chantu* ('turban-wearers'), literally, wrapped heads. They speak a dialect of the Turkic language, which Klaproth calls Uighur.⁶¹ This language, although of Turkic origin, does indeed differ from any of its known dialects. It includes Mongolian words, many of which sound like Tibetan, but there are many differences in the grammatical inflections and pronunciation of the words. Kyrgyz is a branch of this language.

The Uighurs were Muslims back in the times of Genghis Khan, and already then had their own alphabet. As a people with superior education, they were used by the Mongols as scribes. Despite my strenuous endeavours, I have been unable to find examples of the ancient Mongolian script known as Uighur. The Chinese, having the Uighur Muslims as neighbours, used their ethnonym to refer to any Muslim. They do not name every people separately. All Central Asians they call Andizhanians,⁶² Ottomans they call *Khunkar*, Russians – *Ulus*, Mongols – *Toitszy*. They have a very low opinion of the Kazakhs and Burut Kyrgyz, regarding them as the most contemptible of barbarians.

Horses in China spend most of the day tethered under a house awning. They are tied in such a way that their head rests on the timber rail and is always

⁶⁰ *Zhanzhal* (Turkic). A scandal, feud, quarrel.

⁶¹ Klaproth compiled a dictionary of this language. – *CV*.

⁶² Andizhan. A city in the Kokand Khanate. – *CV*.

kept raised. This is done to train the horse to hold its head well. They are fed twice a day on *musui* (toadflax, *Linaria*). Chinese historians tell us the seeds of this grass and the entire species were brought from Fergana during the Han Dynasty, about 100 BC.

20 August

A curiosity. Today we bought a black hen for dinner. The soup from it was black, and the bones of the bird had a black covering. Ivan Ilich relates that it has indeed been observed here that black hens have black meat, which is coarse and lacking in flavour. In China, poultry is always sold slaughtered and plucked, because once a hen has become emaciated, even a year will be insufficient for it to fatten up. Chinese pigs are all black and amazingly fat. There are some that drag their breasts along the ground. The Chinese are amazed to be told there are pigs of a different colour and refuse to believe it. They are very partial to the meat of this animal. When selling, they distinguish between 'lash' and 'cart' meat. The latter is exceedingly tasty and resembles boar.

21 August

In the East, China is known as *Chin*, a distortion of the name of the first monarchical imperial house of Qin, who ruled from 221 to 206 BC, and whose patriarch was Qin Shi Huang. The House of Qin failed in the second generation as the result of internecine strife. The Chinese do not actually have a generally accepted name for their empire and adopt the name of their dynasties, as other nations are named after powerful tribes and sovereign rulers. In order to distinguish themselves from the Manchu, they are called Han. Han was the second historical dynasty, ruling from 206 BC to AD 25. Its founder was the village headman Liu Bang Gaodi. Han means the Milky Way, the same as the Manchu *Sungory*. One name for the empire, which has always been used, is *Zhongguo* – middle, and *Tianchao* – celestial. For its disorderly rule, the House of Qin has been vilified by history, but in spite of this, as the dynasty that established the resilience of the empire, sacrifices are made to the patriarch of the Qin Dynasty. In everyday speech, in order to make the distinction, the Chinese are called Ming – the plebs – while the Manchu are called 'the banner'. Every Manchu belongs to the banner.

In the historical narratives of the Chinese, there is a remarkable variety of expressions characterised by empty formality and etiquette. In the pragmatic history of Gangmu regarding the Chinese and barbarians, one and the same word can have different meanings. For the death of a reigning sovereign they use *byn* – suggesting that the mountain has cracked to receive his ashes; for Chinese princes they use *dzu*, deceased. For foreigners and the dead in general, they use *syle*, which means, of a person or animal, simply that they are dead, and so on.

The Chinese have long been familiar with Eastern Turkestan, even before the birth of Christ. It consisted of cities, each of which had its own ruler. To which race this initial population belonged and what language it spoke is not known. Later it was ruled by Sogdiana, whose capital was in Turkestan. About Bishbalyk, which the Chinese call Bishi-Baly, there is a theory which equates the word *bali* with *bel* – a mountain range and proposes that *bish-bel* is referring to five crossings over the mountains. On the origins of the expression *Alty Shahr* – the Six Cities – the Chinese have nothing definite to say. Who are the peoples the Chinese refer to as *Tugyu* (Dulu),⁶³ *Zhuzhan* and *Yuezhi*? East Kara Khitai is, according to some sinologists, the House of Kidan, and, for the Chinese, the Altyn Khans are the House of Zhochzho. Ivan Ilich assures us that by the name of *Yuezhi* they mean the Get and Massaget.

It is very notable that in pre-Christian Chinese sources it is said of a certain people that they served the Nogai. I must find that out from Father Iakinf (*O narodakh Srednei Azii* [On the Peoples of Central Asia]).⁶⁴

By the way, about this book: the way it is written is confusing in the extreme. The author's ideas and suppositions are all mixed up with the facts. And what ignorance there is in the hypotheses! Contradiction of both his own and [of others'] facts. Ivan Ilich insists that the main mistake in the compilation is the contents and the choice of sources. On this topic there is a chronicle by a certain ...⁶⁵ Alan, which is remarkable for the logical way it is presented. The consul has Sanangsetsen in Chinese translation. Might this be a different copy?

22 August

In China, the bread is whiter than ours, and this is due to the fact that during threshing they soak [the grain] with water. Such a technique for producing flour certainly gives greater whiteness, but the bread, once baked, soon becomes stale. In the inner governorates, maize is added for whiteness. The Chinese have mills, the millstones being moved by horsepower in the form of two or three harnessed mules. Water mills are common enough, but so arranged that a turn of the millstone corresponds to a turn of a wing, six-wheeled ...⁶⁶

The Chinese have a slightly different technique for threshing grain: they crush it with a cylindrical stone roller, harnessing it for the purpose to an ox or horse. In Inner China, the tops of the ears of corn are removed for threshing, so that nothing is wasted. They remove the straw separately and use it for roofing, making mats, hats and so forth.

⁶³ Chinese pronunciation of the word 'Turk'.

⁶⁴ Iakinf. [i.e., N.Ya. Bichurin], *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh, obitavshikh v Srednei Azii v drevnie vremena*, part 1 (St Petersburg, 1851).

⁶⁵ The first part of the author's name is missing in the manuscript.

⁶⁶ Missing in the manuscript.

China, with its life centred on the squares, its pagan philosophy, with its self-centred but nonetheless genuine self-respect and, finally, with the debility and weakness of its inner powers and its cautious, evasive foreign policy, perfectly resembles Ancient Rome in the period immediately before its fall. You read the history of China and the similarities become even more striking. The barbarians are closing in on China. China is unable to resist and resorts to the cunning characteristic of the impotent. It coaxes with gifts, pays others tribute and arrogantly calls it an emolument. It takes barbarians into its service, pits some against others, and flatters their vanity, rewarding them with the titles of ‘prince’, ‘wan’, ‘gun’,⁶⁷ just as Rome dished out the title of ‘patrician’. It even pays a shaming tribute in princesses, just as the Byzantine emperors gave the hands of their princesses to the Russian Vladimir, a barbarian; to the Mongol Nogai, the brother of Berke; and ultimately, that supreme happiness, it made them the wives of Turkish sultans.

It is amazing what maintains China and gives it strength. Just like Rome, it has more than once fallen prey to foreigners, but it did so only in the form of a Chinese dynasty, while China as a state survived. The barbarians came, conquered China – and themselves became Chinese, so strong is the influence of Chinese civilisation. Why was Rome, with all its education, unable to subjugate the barbarians with its culture? It is because Rome was already destroyed, destroyed by Christianity, which could not take root in the Romans, but managed nevertheless to cast down paganism. The Romans had no faith and were, accordingly, without a guide. It was not the barbarians, but Christianity, which destroyed the iron colossus of the ancient world.

In China, everything was different. Here faith is of secondary importance. Everyone is welcome to profess their own faith. The reason why the barbarians could not but respect the civilisation of the Chinese was because they had no reason to hate and despise them. The peoples who conquered China were themselves tolerant of other faiths. In Europe, the Germans, like all new converts, flung themselves into their new faith zealously, fanatically and, seeing the depravity and unbelief of the people of Rome, were spiritually revolted and despised them. All Roman and pagan education that was not consonant with the spirit of Christianity had to be rooted out. The Germans were themselves the cause of the fall of Rome, only eventually to be the cause of its rebirth, albeit in a different form, in different clothing and under the influence of another guide – the Cross of Christianity. If China had been conquered by a Muslim or a Christian people, it would truly have been defeated, and all its world-leading, profound education would either have been destroyed without trace or would have had to go forward, serving only as means to a new renaissance.

I have got carried away. Let us return to what it was I wanted to say. Hunting animals and watching them fight is a major pastime also of the Chinese. The imperial hunt described by Marco Polo demonstrates their sophistication.

⁶⁷ *Gun*. Title of a minor prince.

Cock fighting, baiting cats and so on are accompanied by the placing of huge bets. This is major gambling. Among the less expected combatants are field crickets. They not only fight, they are the harbingers of happiness if their song is heard on the first day of the New Year. Since this insect is in the category of creatures which live for a single year, there are special breeders in China whose craft consists of ensuring there are crickets available in time for the beginning of the New Year. Through long and hard-won experience, the Chinese have devised a way of prolonging the life of these insects. In this respect microbiology⁶⁸ has taken an amazing step forward in China. On New Year's Day, the court cricket trainer is required to appear with an insect in his robe in a special box made of pumpkin, and to make it sing its praises to the emperor. The late emperor had an extraordinary passion for crickets, and always kept a box with a cricket of happiness with him. Altogether, the raising and training of birds and animals is at its apogee in China: there are breeds of little birds, like sparrows, which despite their diminutive stature are extraordinarily spirited, and a single one of them, set loose on a flock of sparrows, can wreak havoc no less than the damage the renowned knight Guan Loya inflicted single-handed on the myriad legions of the enemy. Worth its weight in gold!

23 August

Today was our third meeting. Much rowdiness and drinking of tea. Some venerable mandarins were so interested in the business discussions they saw fit to take a nap. The Chinese ... have their own understanding of good manners.

The consul has a general map of the empire, compiled in Peking. It is very neatly produced. The principal rivers are coloured dark blue; the secondary, tributaries, are in green. Mountains are drawn as cones in profile. The two main rivers of China, the Huang He [Yellow River] and the Yangtze-Jiang, which the Chinese call the arteries of the state, are prominently to the fore. He also has an atlas of the Western Territory, that is, Dzhungaria, Tarbagatai and Eastern Turkestan. The outer territory is bounded by Lakes Balkhash and Issyk-Kol, which are named Temertu-nor and Tuskul. Mr Davis [John Davis, *China During the War and Since the Peace*, 2 vols (London, 1852)] says of Chinese maps, 'China was topographically charted by the Jesuits on trigonometric principles with such precision that, with the exception of the English possessions of India, there is not a single part of Asia charted with such accuracy as the Celestial Empire.'

In the Western Territory, the head of the Buddhist clergy is the *khamba* in the sense of *khutukhtu*. He lives in ...⁶⁹ 10 miles from Kuldzha. In Mongolia, in Tibet, there are as many as 72 *khutukhtus*, corresponding to the number of disciples of Shakyamuni, of whom they are the successors or, strictly speaking,

⁶⁸ More precisely, entomology.

⁶⁹ The place name is omitted.

the reincarnation, the *kubylgan*. *Khutukhtu* means ‘of supreme perfection’. The *khutukhtu* of Urga is very elevated in the Buddhist sacred hierarchy. The Dalai Lama, upon his arrival in Tibet to be educated in the holy books, is the nail-man. Western Tibet has its own *khutukhtu* with the title of Panchen-Erdeni. Since, like the Dalai Lama, he is a reincarnated being, not someone in a line of Buddhist apostolic succession, his election is analogous to that of the Dalai Lama. The Chinese government has taken a political interest in this, and its officials have taken a financial interest. The government, to bolster its power, attempts to fill these positions with loyalists, predominantly from Kam⁷⁰ (a country lying between Tibet and China), or installing nonentities and idiots. At all events, it tries, by fair means or foul, to hold back their intellectual development. These living gods are surrounded by women and, indulging their passions, become victims of the consequences. The officials, for their part, when sifting candidates, manage to collect more material evidence from wealthy houses, and then decide the matter by drawing lots. The one policy objective of the Celestial Empire is to ensure that no descendants of the Mongol khans are chosen for these vocations, and if that aim is thwarted, they mount strong opposition. As a result of the efforts and paternal concern of the Son of Heaven, the Tibetan Dalai Lama [and] *khutukhtu* are short-lived, while their colleague, the Panchen-Erdeni, whose country is only nominally subordinate to the empire, has already attained the age of 80 years. China’s power in Tibet is purely outward. Our own Buryats have their *khambu* and lamas and their own consistory. They too would like to have *khutukhtus* but have been advised against it.

Where does the word *urga*, the name of the quarters of Mongol princelings, come from? The seat of a *khutukhtu* bears this same name, as a proper noun. The Manchu name for it is *kuren*,⁷¹ from which the Chinese *kulyun* comes. In Chinese history, *urga* is the term current among Eastern historians, and still used by nomads of the horde for the khan’s headquarters. In a narrow sense, his yurt, his tent, is called *Tin-chzhan*, his seat.

25 August

Yesterday I rode out into the countryside. It is impossible to breathe the air of Chinese towns. Quite apart from the dust, there is absolutely nothing to sustain life. For my destination I chose, on the advice of the consul, a fisherman’s hut, 10 miles outside the town, on the banks of the Ili. We rode over the sand dunes on the banks of the river, and the green luxurious carpet of the Ili meadows spread out below us. Along the way we met two Chinese hunters. The poachers had long, narrow matchlock guns with a short, downward bent butt, and two

⁷⁰ Kam. Evidently Xikang.

⁷¹ *Kuren*. The headquarters of the Mongol and Dzhungar khans.

geese and one pheasant in their saddle straps as trophies of their trip. One of them suggested I should buy the guns and asked about 150 roubles in our money, assuring me it was a good price. The other wanted to sell, but only to me, a powder flask crudely fashioned from camelskin, and asked six silver roubles. For the guns I gave them 15 *liangs*⁷² in *yarmaks*, and [for] the powder flask, 1 *liang*. The Chinese shook their heads strangely, emitting a negative 'Ekh!', and departed.

My companion on the trip, the consul's secretary, went stalking with a gun several times, but every time fired in heaven knows which direction. Finally, we went down to the meadows on the banks of the Ili. What lushness after the barren sands on which the city stands and over which we had been riding. There is not a hint of vegetation in the dunes other than the bare, scraggy bushes of *yuzgen*, a prickly plant like a thistle whose stem the Chinese use as medicine. But here, in the meadows, no sooner had we descended to the moist, silty soil than we drowned in the tall grass. The reeds, in which, according to B., thousands of pheasants were hiding, the sedge, euphorbia and something resembling asters, grew as high as a rider's knee. Liquorice, mallow, Chinese hemp, low-growing *kipets* [crested hair-grass, *Koeleria macrantha*], covered the ground as densely as the beard of a Kashgar mullah. On these pastures the Manchurian herds grazed, while their keepers lay in the shade of a huge elm tree.

At last we reached the peasant's hut. S. had a bivouac made in a living arbour of spreading oleaster and elm. The huts of Chinese fishermen differ as much from those of Russian fishermen as their slit-eyed faces with a few skimpy clumps of hair on their beards differ from the huge, shaggy head of a Russian *muzhik*. The hut was moulded out of unfired bricks plus a roof and had in front of it the invariable awning. Above the doors and by the awning hung cane shades. Baskets of every shape and size were scattered all over the place. A pitiful *tarataika* with two huge wheels completed the picture. As the peasant was not in his hut, we thought to find him on the river [and] went on. Suddenly, on the bank, we encountered a further hut which, according to K[alinovsky], had not been there previously.

A fat boy with horns of hair sticking out from the sides of his head was running about in front of the hovel. In order to find out where the fishermen were and, more importantly, to take a look at the lady in charge, we went in. A Chinese woman was sitting near the door with her back to us, and from the movement of her elbows it was clear she was busy with something. She paid no attention at all to our arrival and did not deign to reply to S.'s enquiry as to where the fishermen were, continuing her business with imperturbable calm as if there was no one there. S. repeated his question and added, apparently, a homily to the effect that this was no way to greet guests. The Chinese woman suddenly turned to us, waved her arms in a strange manner, and began shouting,

⁷² A Chinese monetary denomination and unit of weight. It varies in value and weight in different provinces of China.

particularly emphasising the words ‘*mamade pfi!*’⁷³ We were so puzzled by her behaviour that, to describe it in an Oriental manner, we rested our hopes in Allah and waited patiently for the storm to pass. The fisherwoman was not unattractive and, most tellingly, had such tiny feet that her body, shaking with anger, could barely be supported by these diminutive props. I could not help laughing when she retreated back into her den, still grumbling. We had no idea what was going on, although the expression ‘*mamade pfi*’ was one we had well understood from the first day of our [acquaintance] with the Chinese. We knew she was scolding us, but why? This we could not, with the best will in the world, imagine. Meanwhile the Chinawoman, evidently pleased by our passivity or by her own courage in consigning all the ancestors of all Russians to the inferno, came out of her hovel and started looking around to see whether her husband was coming back. I felt I must take this opportunity to make clear how unbecoming in a woman it was, especially in one of the world’s most educated state, such as the Middle Flower undoubtedly was, to use such a low expression as that wretched ‘*mamade pfi*’, which she had made us swallow a dozen times at least. Having at my disposal the Chinese words *nyuizhen* – woman, and *hao* – good, and *bu-hao* – bad, I resolved to deploy them with such expertise that she would, with the further assistance of my explanatory gestures and my affecting facial expression, be readily able to grasp my meaning. Adopting the proud appearance of an injured party, I commenced. ‘*Nyuizhen – hao ...*’ and, after a moment’s pause, added, ‘*Nyuizhen – trrr ... bu-hao.*’ By this my intention was to convey: ‘You, woman, are a nifty little thing, but swearing’ – in the absence of the necessary vocabulary, [I] expressed this very successfully using onomatopoeia – ‘is not good.’ I do not know whether it was from the disarming effect of my words or for some other reason, but she burst out laughing so un-self-consciously and cheerfully, and her face lit up so delightfully, that I suddenly felt powerfully attracted to her, and was particularly confounded by her widely parted thighs and the amazing roundness of the lower parts of her body, which I could only imagine must be extraordinarily soft and yielding. In an excess of tenderness, I completely overlooked her past behaviour and rode up close to pay her a compliment in the Chinese manner and finally incline her in my favour. By this time my vocabulary had been exhausted, and I had to confine myself to the word *hao*, pronouncing it, of course, very sweetly, and over and over again. I was irked that *hao*, no matter how you play with it, remains flat-footed. I wanted somehow intricately and inventively, but at the same time masterfully and persuasively, to demonstrate to her my favourable disposition towards her and hint, as the Chinese say, at thoughts of springtime.

Aroused by her silence and a strong influx of springtime thoughts, I decided to stop beating about the bush and get down to business. I started indicating with gestures that I would like to see what her legs looked like. She appeared to be totally uncomprehending and just kept smiling. I was about to raise my

⁷³ Distorted Chinese words.

hand to draw back the curtain, when the fisherman appeared and confounded all my good intentions. I admit, I was a little afraid that her husband might not take kindly to all this and got back on my horse in good time. The Chinese woman went back into her hovel and she and another woman, evidently a friend who had been keeping out of the way, began hooting with laughter. Heaven knows why.

Her husband also had cause to be cheerful, receiving several silver *myskals*⁷⁴ for fish he sold, and was so polite he several times apologised if his wife had not known how to receive us properly. ‘Women!’ he said. ‘They’re rubbish, but the cock’ (by which he referred to himself) ‘is another matter and knows the world.’

So we took our leave of the fisherman and his wife, who had received us heaven knows how, but had in the end revealed that she really had a very good heart. Sh., a Tatar who lived in Old Kuldzha, assured us that all the daughters of the Celestial Empire appear unavailable, but in reality are coy ‘destroyers of cities’.

Returning to our harbour, we drank tea with an inexplicable sense of pleasure. The banks of the Ili really were beautiful: dense oleaster, elm and willow formed a vault above us. The barberry, salt tree and wild roses entwined. Bunches of red berries dangled prettily, intertwined with the white fluff of some creeper. The roses here are of three varieties, with round, red and black hips, with large ...⁷⁵ and so on. Having organised our excursion into the countryside, and jousted long and hard, we returned home in the evening, well content with the day’s events.

The Chinese subjects call the Chinese Emperor *Huang-di*, or Son of Heaven – *Tkhian-dtsui* [*Tianzi*]. Muslims and Kyrgyz they call *idzhen khan*, adapting this word from the Mongolian *bodo-idzhan*. The famous Oriental *farfur* is derived from the Russian word for porcelain, *farfor*.

* * *

What was the tribe of the people to which the original population of Eastern Turkestan belonged, and which is mentioned by Chinese historians long before the birth of Christ? The cities of Ush,⁷⁶ Aksu, Kucha, Urumchi (Pulei), Pichan (Khukhu), Khotan (Yuitian), Yarkand (Sogyui), Kashgar (Sule) and so on had their sovereign rulers and each constituted a separate state. We know from the Chinese sources that they professed the religion of the Buddha, so many Chinese journeyed to Khotan to study the doctrines and philosophy of Shakyamuni. I do not know to what extent the opinion of some scholars is justified that the founders of these cities were Indians, and that Khotan is a distortion of the Sanskrit word *Kusa-Tana*, that is, the Belly-button of the World. That hypothesis has a degree of probability. Tibet, being not far away,

⁷⁴ *Myskal*. A monetary unit [Tatar].

⁷⁵ One word undeciphered.

⁷⁶ That is, Ush-Turfan (Uch-Turfan).

could have had relations with Turan and transmitted the faith of the Buddha to it. In their facial features the Turkestanis are reminiscent of the Indo-Persian type, and much resemble the Central Asian Tajik (a people with Persian roots who speak that language), who consider themselves to be the aboriginals of that country even before the arrival of the Turks. Their bronze or coffee-black skin colour, deep-set eyes, prominent hooked nose and lean build make them completely distinct from the Turkic or Mongol peoples. If the Uighur, who occupied this land in the eleventh century, were Mongols, then how could they have changed so much physically, while the Mongols of the Horde of Juchi and the Uzbeks have retained their Mongol appearance in Maverannakhr? Another remarkable fact is that, in all of Eastern Turkestan, a Turkic language is spoken and there are no Tajiks as a separate entity among them. 'The mind begins to falter when contemplating this material.'

The famous Buddhist encyclopaedia known as *Guchzhuro-Dachzhuro* consists of 520 volumes, of which 20 are an alphabetical index. All monasteries possess this massive book, and during migrations in the Mongol *aimaks*⁷⁷ 52 camels are dedicated solely to transportation of the *Guchzhuro-Dachzhuro*. It contains all the rituals, dogmas of the faith, philosophy, history and grammar. It is said also to include a Sanskrit dictionary. A Chinese emperor presented a lavish edition of this book to the Russian mission, and part of it has already been transported to Russia.

30 August

Yesterday we also had something of a celebration. We celebrated our consul's name-day. We were very relieved that this occasion brought some variety into our dull, monotonous life. We launched the Chinese '100 times' firework, the fountain and others for fun. Chinese fireworks are delightful and cost practically nothing. The whole evening fountains were being let off, alternating with something like our Congreve rockets,⁷⁸ and the total cost came to a mere five silver roubles.

3 September

Today the Chinese too have a celebration of some kind. The dreadful sound of the *puren* (a horn made from a seashell) and the thunder of cannons are heard all day from the fortress. Fireworks, 'fun lights', sparkle and explode during the daytime. For a Chinese, day is just as good as night for letting off fireworks. Fu Shan-lun, a merchant of my acquaintance, brought me a fortune cake with a mysterious sign. Out of politeness I tried this Chinese sweetmeat, but alas! I could not swallow even the first bite, so strongly does it smell of pork lard.

⁷⁷ A territorial administrative unit equivalent to an *okrug* or district.

⁷⁸ A kind of firework.

4 September

Today the Chinese are conducting a military exercise in the meadow. The *koldais* sit in their tent and smoke their *dzhen-dais*, while ragged Manchus with bows and one issue of arrows in their quivers mercilessly fire them into a cyclopean target. It has to be admitted that the Chinese are good archers and rarely miss, but cannons are not their strong point. Staff officers here are called *koldai*, but in China, as our consul remarked, only scholars know about *koldais*. *Koldai* is a Mongolian word that was used in China during the Yuan Dynasty and *koldais* are mentioned in the Russian annals. In Ili the word is used colloquially, but in educated use every official bears the name of his rank or position. Generals are called *amban* or *dazhen*. *Amban* is the Manchu term while *dazhen* is Chinese and means literally 'big man', analogous to a Russian grandee. All Chinese are named by their rank. Commissioned officers are called *loya-mi*, while staff officers and generals are *dazhen*. To distinguish between them, the first syllable of their personal name is added. Thus: *Tu-dazhen*, *Ka-dazhen*, *Sa-koldai*, *Ka-koldai*, *Bu-koldai* and so forth.

In China, instead of the Russian 'Hurrah!', there is a special cry of '*Khuandi!*'. This means '10,000 years'. '*Wansui!*' means 'Flourish for many years'. Sometimes the emperor is called simply *Wansuiye* – Lord Ten Thousand Years. For the heir to the throne, the analogous name is Ten Thousand Autumns – *Tsyan-sui* [*Qian-sui*], *Wan-sui*, *Zhan-sui*, *Wan Nian-sui!* Such is the people's greeting to the emperor. *Nian-sui* is a calendar year, while just *sui* is the years of the life of each individual.

The Chinese lack many things which we have, and they have many things we would do well to adopt. Diligence, national pride and directness are all dependent on the circumstances and character of the people. Under the Chinese decrees, for example, a committee is convened after each dynasty to compile its history, taking everything from official documents. The state attorney personally replaces everybody else, and in the criminal court, hearings continue until the criminal himself agrees the sentence is just. Our notion of the Chinese *bogdykhan* is that he is an Asian despot with power over the lives of all his subjects and, as Khodzhi-Baba puts it, the worst enemy of human feet. Stuff and nonsense. His sovereignty is limited. He has no property or, as we have in Russia, patrimony. 'You have everything,' his subjects tell him. 'Whatever you need, we shall procure for you. Ten thousand things are at your service. What need have you of property when you are so fully provided for? You are not some money-grubbing trader to be thinking about your property and wheeling and dealing. Your duty is to be thinking about your subjects who provide you with property, and not about your own wealth.' Yes, take a look, take the trouble to understand the Chinese system of landed property: it is based on ideas Europe has arrived at only in our own enlightened age.

6 September

We went out to the orchards. Kuldzha stands, as everyone knows, on the River Ili. I am not sure, however, whether it is generally known that it stands at its confluence with the River Sarybulak (Sha-khe-tsza), which is actually longer than the Ili. The city itself extends for two and a half miles and is the same in width, until it reaches sandy and rocky hills. The houses in Kuldzha are built of clay, although in the *Notes of the Geographical Society* a certain Tatar insists that they are wooden. Each house stands separately and is surrounded by a wall. There have never been wooden houses here, and indeed in all China they are unaware that such construction, with the exception of bamboo hovels, is even possible. The roofs of the houses are for the most part of reed or straw and smeared with clay, with only one major temple being roofed with green tiles. According to all our enquiries, there have been no boarded roofs in the Middle Kingdom since at least the days of the Hoi Shun Dynasty, which leads us to suspect this true-believing storyteller of violating the commandment of the Last Prophet, who promised to hang such miscreants by the tongue. Of course, disseminating geographical information is highly commendable, as no one would dispute, but it is desirable that what is disseminated is information rather than fairy tales.

Of late, thanks to the tireless and valuable efforts of the [Imperial Russian] Geographical Society, the information we have about Asia has become widely known. At the same time, however, in accordance with the ways of the world, a number of dubious tales have crept in about things that do not exist and which, perhaps – *mashallah!* gentlemen! – never will. It is no surprise if some uneducated Tatar starts telling of wonders he has supposedly seen. It is excusable. He has either misunderstood, or been told about it, or has succumbed to the Asian and, more generally, Eastern weakness of exaggerating and presenting a matter as better or worse than it is. *Mashallah!* He too is a human being and knows the light. After all, what kind of dog is he if he is not allowed on occasion to take his cue from the exemplary legends of a sugar-tongued parrot and speak of something miraculous?

I know many highly venerable Muslims, respectable and trustworthy. Arriving in St Petersburg or Moscow, they regale their kin with a generous stock of curious and amazing tales of what they have seen and heard. When he begins his tale, you see clearly from the smirk on the storyteller's face that he is soliciting praise and is eager for exclamations of surprise, like '*Barak-Allah*',⁷⁹ '*Aformai*',⁸⁰ '*Dari-gai*',⁸¹ '*Mardas*', and so on. What can hold the attention of a nomad or an Asian brought up on fabulous tales of Suleiman, possessor of the magic ring; of Seiful Malik, prince of Baghdad, who visited the island of Peri (benign

⁷⁹ A Muslim exclamation of satisfaction.

⁸⁰ An exclamation of admiration: 'Oh, wonderful!'

⁸¹ In this context, an exclamation of regret: 'What a pity we cannot see this!'

spirits) and saw Amazons whose husbands have dogs' heads and with whom the queen of the monkeys had fallen in love? What can hold the attention of a Tatar, who believes everything printed as wholeheartedly as the sacred pages of the Book Beyond Doubt [Quran]? They will bombard any well-travelled person with questions like, 'Haji, you have been to Mecca and journeyed through many lands. Tell us, do, how were you received by the queen of the monkeys? And did you see the pharaoh who turned into a fish and, raising his head out of the waters of the Black Sea, cries "*Fergaun!*" to every traveller?'⁸² And finally, you will surely have soundly thrashed Yazid in Chula Kerbala (a curse be upon him)! Is it true that for the murder of Hassan and Hussein he was turned into a ginger-furred dog with black spots above its eyes?

It need hardly be said that to reply negatively to any of this would detract from your authority. That is why any Tatar or Kazakh – mindful of the wise saying, 'Bend to the spirit of the people and gallop to its tune like a fleet-footed steed,' will go along with the old lies and invent new ones. The exclamation '*Barekeldi, Bali*' is everywhere to be heard, and ladies of a sensitive disposition, concealed behind their partitions, are so distraught that they begin to whimper when they learn that the Wahhabi dogs had planned to abscond with the holy remains of the Prophet and in their place (it is not my lips saying this, it is the word of the Wahhabis, may they be cursed by Allah!) put a dog in there to disgrace all those of the true faith.

Listen to the tales of our Kazakhs who have visited St Petersburg and Moscow and you will hear them tell of such wonders as you would never have known existed if you were to live in St Petersburg for 10,000 years. Consequently, the misstatements published in volume 10 of the *Notes of the Geographical Society* are venial sins. It is, in any case, obvious that the narrator is a simple person, gullible and, more to the point, short-sighted. (I mean, literally.) A result of his gullibility is the misinformation that an *amban*, a Chinese official, sports a white ball. The greatly esteemed Abdurakhman, as was previously often the case before the establishment of the trading post, ended up in a *maituza*, a squalid shelter for diverse traders of non-Chinese origin. Their immediate superior, a second-rank official with a white ball, boasted to them that he was an *amban*, a general, to gain greater respect for his person. Our simple and gullible informant believed this to be a trustworthy fact and communicated it to the compiler. That he is short-sighted is evident from the fact that a tile much resembles a board, while clay walls are made with cuts like logs, and the translucent blue ball of a *koldai* (not *kolokhai*) can, in light reflected off a yellow straw hat, appear yellow. These are not, after all, intentional transgressions.

There can, however, be transgressions of a different kind, especially when you trust the authoritativeness of an Asian. Because of his innate suspiciousness, he begins to wonder why this *kafir* should need this particular piece of information. Does he perhaps have in mind something detrimental

⁸² The name given by Central Asian peoples to a pharaoh.

to the cause of Islam? Does he, perhaps, want to use my words to make us Muslims seem lower than dogs? Succumbing to this *arrière pensée*,⁸³ he tells you a 'fact' diametrically opposite to the truth and, returning home, says that *kafirs* are terribly insulting to Chinese. Accordingly, it is desirable that the gentlemen compiling these articles should pay more attention to their sources and try to check their accuracy, and only then print what is likely to be true.

The police in Kuldzha have to supervise some 70,000 inhabitants, and it is impossible for them to gather information about the settlers who live in the environs of the city. It is hardly surprising that there are as many graves in Kuldzha as there are houses, if not more. The garrison in the city numbers some 8,000.

8 September

The Chinese, selling us their trinkets, assure us that they are all of top quality, as used by the *bogdykhan* himself. It is irksome that they imagine we are barbarians and, consequently, will not have the same respect for our sovereign as they have for theirs. When one of them sells a cup, he will not fail to oblige you with the advice to present it to the Russian khan.

10 September

Today, as a diversion, we undertook a little excursion to the Chinese orchards or country dachas. It needs to be mentioned that the city of Kuldzha is built more along the banks of the River Sarybulak than of the Ili. On this side of the river the orchards extend for a length of some 7 miles, and the same on the other side. We rode along the bank of this little river. From the angle of the fortress, which is built in the delta formed by the confluence of the Sarybulak and the Ili, right up to the farthest orchards, the bank of the river on both sides is literally studded with graves as dense and small as smallpox. One needs to know the size of a Chinese grave in order fully to picture their numerousness. After death, the Chinese bury [the corpse] in an exceptionally ugly coffin, usually painted red, digging out something like a firepit in the ground. They pile the earth on top of it in the shape of a cone. This cone has a perimeter of no more than 10 feet and is 3 or 4 feet high. Since here the ground is sandy, even just plain sand, it is no surprise that this little mound is soon blown away by the wind and the bare coffin sticks out of the ground until the spring meltwater erodes the bank, which then falls into the river, taking the coffin with it.

The water in the Sarybulak is deep and fast-flowing in the spring, with the result that, like it or not, the deceased is taken from his homeland and undertakes a posthumous voyage down the Ili to Lake Balkhash. When we arrived in Kuldzha, the meltwater had caused a great erosion of the bank and

⁸³ Ulterior motive. (French.)

several bones were sticking up in the ravine. By now the majority of the dead have departed on their journey to Balkhash. Some, however, are still dangling over the side. There is no place free of graves. They are under the bridge, on the roads, in the streets. Everywhere the mounds are to be seen. From this you should not suppose that the Chinese do not have cemeteries: there are many, very many, but they are all full. Every family wants its own private plot. I do not know whether it is because Kuldzha has a large population, or because the climate is unhealthy, but I can hardly imagine there is a city in Russia or Europe with so many graves.

The standard shape for graves, as noted, is a cone-shaped mound, but some are provided with stone slabs, such as those found on the Kazakh steppes on what are called 'Kalmyk graves'. There is, however, one monument in Kuldzha, a memorial to a merchant. It has the form of a tetrahedral prism with four tiers, on a cubic pedestal. In the first (lowest) tier there is a niche facing north; in the second, a niche facing east; in the third, one facing west; and in the fourth, one looking south. And that is the only grave memorial in Kuldzha. The Kazakhs say that after someone has died, the Chinese look at the alignment of the planets and decide whether the body is to be buried, cast into water or thrown to the dogs.

Kalinovsky says there is some truth in this as far as children are concerned. It used to be said that in China there was a monstrous practice of infanticide: that is completely untrue. There is a custom stemming from the religious principles of Buddhism in respect of metempsychosis. When a child dies, in order for it not to be reborn or reincarnated in the same family, they try to take it out of the house with ostentatious disregard. They throw it out on the road, into a pit, or in some other way that will offend the spirit of the deceased. The government sends a police cart out every day to collect dead children and bury them. We saw an example of this. The son of a Kalmyk herdsman in the *maituza* died, a boy of about seven years of age. His father tied a rope to his leg, dragged the body to the river and threw it off the bank so that our Tatar merchants would cover it with sand in order to avoid seeing it decompose.

On the right bank, there are vegetable plots in the orchards and the *shampans* keep themselves occupied cultivating them. The *shampans* here are criminals branded for murder and other serious crimes and sent into exile. Those exiled to the Western Territory come from the southern provinces of China. It has to be said that they are the best workers in Kuldzha. Their conscientiousness exceeds all expectation. They are herded into various mines and factories but can even be set free through the good offices, in return for a small consideration, of the local authorities, who can then help themselves to their official allowances and the provisions allocated for them. All the bricklayers, carpenters and locksmiths are *shampans*. The Manchus prefer the less strenuous occupation of corruption in office.

The orchard plots are sown with sesame, from which they extract oil, poppies [*Papaver somniferum*] for making opium, Chinese Shan-po potatoes, cabbages, radishes, beetroot, carrots, cucumbers, melons and watermelons, onions, chilli

peppers, beans and samphire. We constantly came across smallholdings in the countryside, and everywhere the Chinese were working.

The Chinese is hardworking beyond belief. On the hottest day he is out in his fields in just his underwear and an amazingly broad-brimmed hat as flat as a pancake. He wastes nothing of nature's bounty. One Chinese sat stripping hemp. It grows wild here to above the height of a rider on horseback. He was stripping the fibre for ropes, and the stems were prepared for sale as a roof covering. Another was collecting prickly grass, which grows here on the sands, and burning it in an ingeniously constructed stove. He assured us that this ash has healing properties, and said he sold a pound of it for 1 *liang* and 6 *qian*⁸⁴ in silver (1 rouble 60 kopecks in silver in our currency). Vast areas of land were planted with gaoliang millet, sorghum, maize, poppy and toadflax (*Linaria*). Manchurian millet serves them for distilling vodka and is used as grain. Sorghum is used for the same purpose. I cannot judge the value of sorghum as a source of sugar, but as regards the opinion of Mr Kalinovsky that the leaves provide excellent hay, I can firmly counter that they do not. Toadflax is sown once a year but reaped three times.

As we rode, we kept to the *aryks*, the canals. The country orchards or dachas of the Chinese are very fine and pleasing to the eye. I entered one of them. The owner had not lived there for a long time. The residents were two women and one old Chinese man, who must have been the steward. Wonderful poplars afforded elegant avenues, and the beautiful house, which had carved windows and moulded cornices with animals, wolf's tooth patterning, etc., was very fine. Alas, the owner's negligence had left it in a terrible state. Cockerels and hens roamed through the rooms, and all the cornices were lined with the nests of pigeons, and also fouled by them. The walls were painted with depictions of historic and mythical themes.

The Chinese women made us very welcome and allowed us to inspect the whole house. *Thuja orientalis*, hornbeam, double mallows and roses were planted in the courtyard in front of the gallery. In the gallery hung cages with Pyrenean larks, which the Chinese call *bailin*.

Altogether, this day the Chinese, even the women, received us very cordially. In one squalid hut two girls were sitting. One was a perfect Kalmyk beauty, moon-faced in the most literal sense. The other had a remarkably regular, straight nose, although her eyes were somewhat narrow. Having learned from the experience of my encounter with the fisherman's wife something of the manner of the fairer sex in the Celestial Empire, I thought it prudent to keep a respectful distance from them and made to skirt the hut. My companion S. from the Consulate headed straight for it and began conducting a negotiation of some sort. Hearing the Chinese girls laughing, I was emboldened and approached cautiously in order to ascertain how well they were disposed towards us. The extraordinary amiability of the fat Chinese woman towards

⁸⁴ A Chinese unit of weight.

my comrade, evidenced by the shared smoking of a pipe, completely reassured me and, without more ado, I offered my pipe to the young Chinese woman with the straight nose. Unfortunately, my lady was not of such a welcoming disposition and attitude as the moon-faced girl. She kept fussing about and incessantly muttering just one word. I realised she was cursing me and stopped trying to be charming. I began coolly smoking the pipe and looking at the girl with the fat face. I should mention that here, in China, because of my black, narrow eyes, moderately Asiatic face and rather flat nose inherited from my Kalmyk ancestors, I was taken for a true believer. I was always being told I was a handsome *loya* and assured that I was a man of the Chinese *khitan-yanzy* kind. The fat Chinese girl evidently found me not too bad also, paying great attention to me and passing me her pipe. Since I did not myself feel attracted in the least by her flat nose, and have long been pained by the flatness of my own and quite unable to find any way of getting it to have a bump in the middle, I did not reciprocate her interest and readied myself to leave.

We drank tea on the riverbank and enjoyed a peaceful moment, looking at a flock of sheep and a flock of geese grazing together. We then returned home by way of the city, riding past an old temple with a carved copper window depicting some pictogram of the Chinese alphabet. At the door of the pagoda stood two imbecilic figures with quite unusually ugly visages. We so took against these ugly Chinese deities that we disparaged them aloud. We wanted to see the stone bridge but, alas, it had already collapsed. A pile of stones was the only reminder of its existence.

On this ride we encountered the train of some Chinese dignitary. A venerable old man with a pointed white beard was riding with great poise on a dappled stallion. His crimson ball and peacock feather testified to his high rank as a military general. To his rear rode two staff officers, one behind the other. The general and his adjutants were very neatly and well dressed. The horses were caparisoned with silk with silver buckles, and beneath their necks dangled red and blue buffalo tails, like bells. When he saw us, the leading *din-ma* gesticulated wildly that we must not cross their path. Having heard a thing or two about the Chinese bastinado, I was about to turn my horse back, but an old-timer assured me we should proceed boldly, saying that this was nonsense. The general did not even move his head and, like a man of excellent upbringing, retained perfect composure. The servants accompanying him, two on one horse, however, greeted us noisily with a ‘*Hao, ulus, hao!*’

12 September

Chan-Lun, a merchant of our acquaintance, had invited us to his *khuardan*.⁸⁵ On the 12th we received a message that he, Fu Chan-Lun, was eager to see us. In accordance with local custom, we immediately formed ourselves up and

⁸⁵ Residence.

proceeded in single file to the city, with a subaltern in front as lead man. We rode to his residence along the same road as the first time and uneventfully, except that we came across an old man who was clearly not in his right mind. The *laokhan*⁸⁶ was about 50 years old and had a venerable white beard. When he saw us, he raised his fingers and, counting with them in Mongolian from *niken* ... [one] to *tabyn* (there were five of us), began making such strange gestures with his hand that we were very puzzled and had to ask what it was he wanted.

The old man evidently greatly appreciated diversity and novelty, very much liked white Russian faces, and accordingly invited us to engage in some kind of relations with him, for which he promised to reward us generously. We, of course, having realised what he wanted, burst out laughing and went on our way, leaving the old man to carry on counting passers-by to his heart's content.

This time we were very fortunate. Pretty little children ran after us in the streets and simple-heartedly expressed their opinion of us. We had the rare pleasure of being liked by these naive beings. 'Russian boys ride,' said one little girl. Another, holding her tiny sister in her arms, asked me: 'Russian *loya*, do you have a brother like this?' In general, the ordinary people paid more attention to me because of the wonderful gleaming of my epaulettes. They would click their tongues in surprise and loudly encourage me by saying '*Hao loya!*'. In order not to dispel the flattering opinion I had acquired in the Middle Kingdom, I assumed a very martial pose with arms akimbo, like a complete fop, and must have given the appearance of being such a, to put it in Persian, *ruffian*, that, *mashallah!*, the Chinese knight Guan Loya himself would have been put to shame by us.

It was in this manner that we rode in through the gates of the *khuardan*. Our host, Chzhan Guda, dressed in festive attire, met us at the door and led us to his room. After the exchange of greetings, and when he had suitably ascertained the state of our stomachs, we seated ourselves on a plank bed, where there was a low table laden with fruit and Chinese lychees and jujube.

A ragged fellow began filling pipes and, after lighting them up himself, presented one to each of us with a bow. In accordance with Chinese custom, we pushed pipes into each other's mouths and began smoking. In the meantime, the fellow took a copper jug from the hearth and poured tea into our cups. Watermelon was brought, to go with the tea. While we drank and ate, Chzhan Guda was having a mysterious consultation with his secretary. We awaited the outcome with curiosity and the matter was soon explained. He desired to treat us in a condign manner; he desired that our hearts be filled with good cheer. In a word, he desired, as is the practice among (Chinese) educated people, for a destroyer of cities to attend our meal. This was needful, he assured us, to sharpen our appetite and incline us all the more to pleasurable conversation. Taking into account, first, the customs of the country; second, the desires of our host; and third, our own desire to make the acquaintance of some Camilles

⁸⁶ Old man.

of the Middle Empire, we decided that Chzhan Guda should do everything in accordance with his wishes and the customs of the Middle Flower. Our host was very pleased to encounter so much less prejudice than he had anticipated. He said a few words and his ragged servants ran back and forth and disappeared out the door. Within a few minutes we heard strident laughter and a pleasant voice that must undoubtedly belong to a member of the fairer sex. As the laughter and voice approached, Chzhan Guda began to give us ever more meaningful winks and smiles.

Finally, whispering to us conspiratorially, 'She is coming,' he rushed out the door and reappeared in the company of the destroyer of cities. Chzhan Guda, although he had seemed a terrible bear, now, in his treatment of the *nyuizhen* showed himself to be a true *shi-yu* (dandy). Whenever he spoke to her there was a smile on his face, his eyes were strangely screwed up, and his voice was unnaturally singsong. The breaker of hearts greeted us with a bow, lowering herself on one knee. Approaching the bed, she looked around enquiringly, adopting, apparently out of considerations of etiquette, an expression of embarrassment. Chzhan Guda, bent double, scuttled forward and, pointing to the midst of us, said softly, '*Tsokha iden*' [Sit there]. Chaogo (Little Apple, the name of our lady) climbed onto the bed, bending at the waist and hobbling forward with her tiny feet. Upon reaching the place appointed, she settled herself very expansively, tucked her legs under her, and set about providing her professional services to us with extraordinary skill. Saying '*hao-le*' to each of us, accompanied by some compliment we could not understand, she poured wine from a teapot into tiny cups and brought it directly to our mouths. We shared the cup with her.

After a few sips of wine, our new friend proved to be a lady of a very amiable and merry disposition. Without the least sign of untoward shyness, she began inspecting every aspect of our uniforms, peering with great curiosity at all its subtleties. Since we were completely mute in the Chinese language, our explanations were limited to various expressive gestures, which entertained our lady no end. She was very sweetly amused by our ignorance, snooped around in all our slits, and laughed out loud. Our lady of the night appeared to be about 20 years old but, despite her youthfulness, her face was very pale and, you might say, careworn. It was a rather pleasant face, and to a Chinese eye must have seemed very pretty. Her thick black hair was drawn back into a huge, luxuriant braid that tumbled down to her heels. She had artificial flowers in her hair, over which butterflies and various monstrous insects hovered. Her lips were thickly covered with lipstick and as red as coral. She exploited her little slit eyes knowingly, raising them heavenwards or lowering them to the tips of her little hoofs which, be it noted, were all the time in plain sight. Her only flaw was that she had frequent resort to a handkerchief and seemed to spend a lot of time attending to her nose.

This circumstance gave me pause when being attentive towards her and drinking wine from the same cup. She was wearing an embroidered sleeveless

jacket without a collar, which buttoned down the middle of her breast. From the jacket buttons depended little bags, a talisman and various other metal items which looked like toothpicks or needles. Beneath the jacket she flaunted a long, broad kaftan with wide but short sleeves. The hems and sleeves were finished with ribbon and colourful braid. Beneath the kaftan she was wearing a silk blouse, its cut closely similar to that of her jacket. I have to say that she was dressed altogether very nicely, and her waist, as the Chinese say, was like an ear of rice.

Her little hands were exquisite, amazingly tiny and elegant. She was evidently herself well aware of this and taking good care of them. Her nails were inordinately long and meticulously painted pink. On her little fingers and on one finger of her left hand the nails were long and gilded. There were gold rings on two fingers, bracelets on her wrists, and on her right wrist there was also a string of coral. Her ears were decorated with cornelian earrings, shaped like a round Russian *kalach* bun.

To complete the ensemble and its appurtenances, mention must be made of the beauty spots stuck symmetrically to her left and right temples. This is done to relieve headaches.

No matter how many women we see here, all their hands and feet are by nature small and dainty. When she had drunk a few cups of wine, our beauty produced from her sleeves a small lady's pipe and began blowing from the three orifices of her mouth and nostrils various smoke rings with great artistry and became even more forward. She assured us that we were all very handsome men and I again had the good fortune, through the asset of my slit eyes and black hair, to become the object of special attention on the part of this young Chinese woman. She sat very close beside me and began murmuring what I can only assume, judging by her amorous expression and the effect on me of her hands stroking my head, were words of tenderness.

Feeling awkward about remaining mute, I decided to 'break the seal of silence' and began moving my hands, first bunching my fingers, then pointing one perpendicularly. All the Tatar words used by the Chinese, and all my Chinese vocabulary, gushed from my [lips]. I took to assuring her, as the Chinese themselves do by raising one thumb, that she was *hao*, that all women other than she were rubbish. This thought I chose to express with maximal brevity by sticking out my little finger, saying, 'All women,' and spitting on it. All the words I knew (beginning with *chzhangoyanza* – of this kind, to *laokhan* – an old man, from *lota* – a camel, to *toou* – a head), I uttered with appropriate gestures. The compliment cost me immense effort, and when I finished my monologue with an energetic *dzhandurle!*, which has a thousand meanings and can mean anything from the highest superlative of good to the *nec plus ultra*⁸⁷ of loathsomeness, hence either a vile curse or a genial blessing, I suddenly felt short of breath and fell back on the cushion in a state of collapse. The Chinese

⁸⁷ To the utmost degree (Latin).

girl, her mouth agape, still clutching that damnable handkerchief to her nose, looked at our host, appealing for an explanation.

Our sinologist, Consul General Ivan Zakharov, began his more comprehensible compliments, and finally reassured her by giving her a silver bar of four *fen*. With an expression of immense gratitude, she went down on one knee, thanking each of us in turn but, to our great surprise, she came back a short time later, after consulting with a certain Chinese whose insolence and cropped pigtail had riled us even before this occasion, returning the money and remarking that decent people should be more polite. Having delivered this very clever speech, she pouted her blood-red lips and went to sit on her own in the corner. All the indications were that she firmly believed our hearts were firmly attached to her ugly little hoofs and that barbarians like Russians, having been allowed a glimpse of the true beauty of China, should hand over all the money in their possession in return for an honour so sublime. We urged her to accept the money, rather than risk ending up with none, and began calmly talking among ourselves. So ended our first acquaintance with China's destroyers of cities. We dropped a hint to her about springtime thoughts and mentioned the word *fanza*. At first, she welcomed the suggestion but, on second thought, informed us regretfully that it was impossible. If the police were to find out, she said, then ... She did not finish the sentence, but the rest was in any case clear. The bastinado is a prospect not to be taken lightly.

13 September

The entire trading post undertook a trip to the Ili, where our herds of horses were grazing. We had an excellent day in the open air under the cool shade of the trees.

Of late there have strong winds and it has been cold. We surmised this must already be the onset of autumn. The heat here in summer is intense, but the winter is moderate. It does not usually snow before the end of November, only last year it arrived in October. In winter, the extreme of cold is minus 15° [Réaumur, -42°C], and that is very rare.

15 September

Everybody writes about the European-style organisation of Chinese institutions. They say that in China they have prosecutors, that the Chinese court is amazing and dependable. It seems to me that Mr Senkovsky is right when he says that perhaps it is only in their books, which no one in the nation reads, that they are organised, and that in reality they too are as much Asians as the Turks or Persians. From our own observations, everything relating to government in China is redolent of Asia. The local *jiang-jun* is a perfect three-*bunchuk* pasha. He drinks and eats at the expense of the people. Butchers deliver him meat every day, tailors sew his clothes and builders repair his

residence. The extortion and abuses exceed all limits. As for bribery, in this the Chinese are in no way behind the Shah of Persia himself.

I have had occasion to discover palpably the reality of Chinese justice. My horse broke loose at the watering place and entered the city with a Manchurian herd. The following day we learned that the horse had been sold to some lordly *dazhen*. To my claim the Chinese responded that they knew absolutely nothing about the matter. Our Chinese informants could not be persuaded to speak, fearing persecution from those who now have the horse. The officials, although they know everything, close ranks with their own kind. A raven does not peck out the eye of another raven. And that, despite presenting the *badyrak koz*,⁸⁸ our *mikhmadar*,⁸⁹ with irrefutable arguments to the effect that decent people do not treat their guests in this manner. My first argument was the Manchu proverb, 'Though you shit yourself in iron breeches, sooner or later the stench will out.' My implication was that the horse would likely show up again sooner or later. My second argument was the Kalmyk folk saying that 'If one camel fouls the road, a thousand camels may slip at that place,' expressing the thought that the theft of the horse could lead to more trouble later! But, alas!⁹⁰

In China the corruption of morals has been pervasive since time immemorial, like other traditions of this highly developed and educated people. 'Destroyers of cities' are counted in thousands. In one town in the vicinity of Peking, where an annual fair is held, up to 700 items of this product assemble. Every 6 or 7 miles along the banks of the Huang He (Yellow River) you will see a hut where some tender creature dwells who will deliver all manner of services to you on your journey. The inviolability of women and the foundations of propriety are enshrined in the laws of China, yet the Chinese take every opportunity to indulge in overt debauchery. From the age of 15 Chinese girls are already likely to fall victim to the lust of some old sinner.

The sin of Sodom, common in all of Asia, in China exceeds all bounds. Of course, in this respect Bukhara and Kokand are the capitals of immorality. There, every khan's grandee maintains a full harem of *byadchas*,⁹¹ and every halfway well-to-do person finds a boy to service him. Anyone with a face that is at all comely cannot walk the streets without being subjected to importunity. The Tajiks claim that in every pretty girl there are ten devils, and 12 shaitans in every *byadcha*. In China, there are establishments that provide satisfaction to the devotees of this supernatural [*sic*] pleasure. The origination and introduction of this in China is, as always, attributed to Huangdi, the legendary sovereign to whom positively everything to be found in China is ascribed.

⁸⁸ *Badyrak Koz* (Kazakh). Epithet applicable to a timorous hare.

⁸⁹ *Mikhmadar* (Persian). A hospitable host.

⁹⁰ The text breaks off at this point (*list 26 ob.*). *The Diary of an Expedition to Kuldzha* continues in mid-sentence on *list 68* of the same archive file.

⁹¹ *Byadcha* (*bacha*). A dancing boy.

16 September

The Chinese just cannot speak foreign languages. The letters ‘n’ and ‘r’ are beyond them. Palatalising all words, they transform them into a completely different sound. On the River Kyakhtha there is a separate trading language consisting of Russian, Chinese and Mongolian words. Here in Kuldzha a similar language is made up of Tatar and Chinese words. In addition to that, a number of Tatar words have been incorporated into the local Chinese dialect: for example, the word *bikar* – ‘to no avail’, and *bibuda* – ‘nothing’. This hybrid language is of the greatest interest to the orientalist. It consists of a small number of verbs, which are given hundreds of meanings, and of a few nouns. These verbs are not conjugated, and consist of nasalisation, with the suffix *bar*; Accordingly, if a Chinese wants to say ‘I will go’ or ‘I am going’, or, imperatively, ‘go!’, he will use the same word: *kilen-bar* كلنك ابر. Which sense is being used, you must guess for yourself.

Of the polysemantic verbs they use, remarkable and commonly used is the verb *shydamaidy* يدامايدە from the verb چيداماق [*hidamak*] – to tolerate; چيدامايدە means ‘no good’, ‘bad’, and so on. *Tashlan-bar* from تاشلاماق [*tashlamak*], ‘to dump’, is used to mean ‘rubbish’, ‘disagree’, ‘not good’, etc. These words are in constant use. Another noteworthy word is *dzhandurle* ھاندورل – it is both the superlative degree of praise and the *nec plus ultra* of evil. Sometimes it means ‘suitable’. *Chon* means ‘big’, *chon-kchi* means ‘gentleman’. *Ishmrutkchi* is ‘poor man’; *tulo* تولا means ‘all’; *abdan* ابدان means ‘excellent’ and *halas* خالاص means ‘clean’; ‘instead of’... *khatum* is ‘wife’; and *kulakaishy* means ‘thief’. Of Chinese words, much used is *yanzy* in combination with the Tatar *shu*. It gets attached to every phrase and expresses – ‘similarly’, ‘thus’, ‘in this way’. On its own, *yanzy* corresponds to the Russian adjectival ending ‘-sky’: *khitan-yanzy* means ‘Chinese’; *kagan-yanzy* means Kazakh. *Katu* is used meaning ‘a thief’. Here, instead of *chi-fandze*, meaning ‘a place to eat’, they say *ashfuzul* or *ashbuzul*. The word is made up of the Tatar *ash* and Chinese *budzo*.

29 September

There have been signs of the onset of autumn since the 15th: cold weather and south-westerly winds. There have been such powerful storms at night that their whistling has wakened us from sleep as would thunder.

From the 18th, the autumn had all but set in, the days became cold. Even in the sun it was impossible to walk abroad without warm clothing. The thousands of fires that were previously lit in the fields by the reapers, like massive bowls, no longer entertain us with their bright, yellow, astral lights against the dark background of the mountains. The Chinese are clad from head to toe in sheepskin, with only their heads always bare. Each of them sports a short jacket and trousers, all of sheepskin. The season for apples and peaches is over, but the grapes and pears are ripe and, I must say, delicious.

Kalinovsky, who is constantly undertaking thermometric observations, says that in the past there were good days even in October. Snow usually falls in late November, is light, and always melts in February. The River Ili freezes only in mid-December, and in February ice-holes begin to appear. In March [the ice] melts completely. The winter of 1853 is remembered in this region for its abundant snowfall, which meant that a caravan that left Kuldzha in December by way of the Altynemel and Uigentas Mountains reached Kapal only at the end of the month, exactly 30 days later. The situation was the same in the Zhetysu and Trans-Ili regions. It was the first time our people had been in Ili, and they wintered on the Esik at the foot of the Kungei-Alatau Mountains. Post from Ili took 15 days to reach the Esik, whereas in normal years the distance can be traversed in two days. The Kazakhs say they cannot remember a similar winter, and insist that the Russians bring the cold with them. The steppe astrologers note that in the Dzheke Valley (where Kapal stands), which is renowned for its warmth, the climate cooled markedly with the arrival of the Russians. In fact, with the snow so deep, the frosts were moderate, although there were terrible blizzards.

The mountains around Kuldzha have long been snow-covered right down to their foothills, and their whiteness contrasts with the darkness and greenness of the surrounding orchards. All new arrivals in Kuldzha have suffered a feverish sickness with biliousness. I have been suffering from it myself these past eight days. During this period, we have made no noteworthy excursions other than two trips to the Ili and the Lesser Sarybulak. Our hunting was unsuccessful, although ducks and pheasants were there in provocative abundance. In the latter river, which is densely covered with reeds, there are many otters. I saw several myself. The otter sticks its head out of the water and squeals like a piglet.

During the last trip I managed to spend the night in a yurt with Kalmyk shepherds. Their yurts are similar to those of the Kazakhs, only the roof is supported on straight poles, whereas the Kazakhs use curved, which imparts a spheroidal appearance. There was a hearth in the yurt, with a pot boiling on it of the invariable Kalmyk tea mixed with salt and milk. The Kalmyks sat around smoking their pipes. They were all wearing Chinese robes and Chinese felt hats. Only the women, of whom there were two, were in their national costume. One, an old woman, had on her head a black skullcap dotted with pieces of red, blue and yellow cloth. The other woman, with terribly prominent cheekbones, was dressed more strikingly, and wore an old Chinese uniform cap decorated with beads and coral. Her dirty white shirt had a huge fold-over collar and was hidden behind a blue ...⁹² robe, similar to the Chinese but with a slit directly over the chest. The lower part had come away at the waist and was held separately at the thigh. Her hair was parted in two braids, and she had earrings in her ears. She was smoking tobacco while simultaneously chewing something.

⁹² One word undeciphered.

Yesterday some Kyzai arrived in Kuldzha and camped by the *charbak* (palisade). The *charbak* is the quarter for Asian traders from various realms of Maverannakhr. There is a palisade hammered into the ground to enclose the yurt in which every merchant lives separately, and then another enclosing the entire encampment. These dwellings are so close together and in such numbers that the place resembles a squalid labyrinth and Ecbatana.⁹³ This is where all those gentlemen who trade in gold lurk. They serve as spies for the Chinese and steal horses, both Chinese and Kazakh.

The Kyzai drove sheep and brought felts to exchange with the Chinese. Their sultan offered tribute in the form of a certain number of sheep, which the Chinese were free to pick and choose. These poor subjects of the Middle Empire complained that at every guard post the Chinese helped themselves to one sheep from each of them.

8 October

We received a long-awaited document from the Daichin State, written on a 9-yard-long sheet and ornamented with 23 seals. There was very little in it to cheer us. Just as the customs of China and Europe are foreign and contrary, so no less foreign and contrary are their ways of conducting correspondence, as one traveller rightly noted.

10 October

At the foot of the mountain new *koshes*⁹⁴ of Alban Kazakhs have appeared. They have come to barter livestock for domestic requisites. Having ceded a certain amount to the treasury (two head out of ten), they exchange the remaining livestock for various Kashgar cotton materials they need. At about the same time our Russian caravans arrived with new goods and livestock, and some Troitsk merchants departed with bartered tea.

They submitted a return to the Consulate. The prices for tea this year, according to Mukhammedzhan Yaushev, are:

1. Pekoe tea, at 59 roubles per chest – 28 chests totalling 1,652 roubles; also of the same tea and at the same price, 52 chests totalling 3,068 roubles.
2. Qiang-liang (Atbash) tea – 45 *puds* [1 *pud* = 36 pounds] at 11 roubles 50 kopecks = 517 roubles 50 kopecks. (One unit of this tea weighs 2 *puds* 10 pounds.)
3. Brick tea: 271 pieces at 45 kopecks – 121 roubles 95 kopecks.
4. Fu-chai [green tea]: 2 pieces at 3 roubles – 6 roubles.

⁹³ Ecbatana. The capital of ancient Media, enclosed behind seven inner walls.

⁹⁴ A mobile yurt.

Huangjiu [Chinese vodka]: 1 piece at 15 roubles; half-*kanfa* [Chinese satin]: 1 piece at 15 roubles; crêpe at 8 roubles; *lanza* [type of Chinese silk] at 2 roubles; *fanza* [type of Chinese silk] at 4 roubles.

[Other wares]: Foxes at 1 rouble 50 kopecks per piece, 43 pieces, total 64 roubles 50 kopecks; [furs]: lynx at 5 roubles; wolf at 1 rouble 50 kopecks; marten at 1 rouble 50 kopecks; dog fox at 30 kopecks; cats at 20 kopecks; lambskin at 10 kopecks. [Total] 86 pieces.

Chinese cups, fans, snuffboxes, etc.

Tinzol (medicine): 6 pieces – 2 roubles 40 kopecks.

Plasters: 1 piece – 60 kopecks.

Blusher: 100 sheets – 50 kopecks.

Total amount 5,702 roubles 73 kopecks.

Daba [Chinese cotton fabric] 1,080 pieces at 40 kopecks, for 432 roubles. Back exported Russian goods, total 218 roubles 45 kopecks, [including] lustrine, ticking, chintz, shawls, nankeen, muslin.

It has to be said that hiring camels has been quite expensive this year. For this business, *akalakshy*, Kazakh contractors, come in from Ayagoz district. We saw one such gentleman of Clan Uak Baibol arriving with 23 camels. To the credit of the Ayagoz Kazakhs, they have a thought-out business operating. They have an eye for profit. This *akalakshy* brought with him for sale cheap goods within the limitations of his capital, simple items the Kalmyk and poor Chinese need in their everyday life. The return listed 90 pieces of camel's-hair fabric at 60 kopecks, total 54 roubles 40 kopecks; cooking pots, 10 *puds* at 3 roubles, total 30 roubles; steel, 10 *puds* at 5 roubles, total 50 roubles; Russian leather, 7 pieces at 3 roubles, total 21 roubles; hoop iron and iron items, 14 *puds* 30 Russian pounds at 3 roubles; axes, 4 pieces at 1 rouble; copper teapots, 3 pieces, total 5 roubles; sheep 90 head at 1 rouble; felts, 9 pieces at 1 rouble 50 kopecks; peasant coats, 7 pieces at 1 rouble; sacks, 80 pieces at 1 rouble. Total 192 roubles 45 kopecks in silver. He arrived on 7 October and on 8 October, together with his hired camels, went back, having sold all his goods.

On 8 October a caravan arrived with new goods. The wares brought by a single merchant were: nankeen [cotton fabric], 1,310 pieces at 12 kopecks per *arshin* [2 foot 4 inches]; cloth, 16 pieces at 1 rouble 90 kopecks per *arshin*; sugar, 30 *puds* at 12 roubles; *mashuru*,⁹⁵ gimp, 1,000 pieces, total 250 roubles; Russian leather, 19 bales at 30 roubles; chests and coffers at 2 roubles; trays, 3,200 pieces at 20 kopecks, table boards [small], 302 pieces at 40 kopecks, table boards, large, 50 pieces at 2 roubles; slippers and shoes, 17 pairs at 3 roubles; *mardzhan*,⁹⁶ 2 pounds at 37 roubles 50 kopecks; fox fur, 2 pieces, total 40 roubles; cauldrons, 12 *puds* at 2 roubles 15 kopecks; and chintz, 4 pieces at 15 kopecks. Total 10,283 roubles 46½ kopecks.

⁹⁵ *Mashuru* (Arabic). A costly semi-silk fabric.

⁹⁶ Coral, coral beads.

Another merchant had: nankeen, 1,085 pieces at 12 kopecks; chintz, 233 pieces at 10 kopecks; calico, 560 pieces at 1 rouble 30 kopecks; plush, 53 pieces at 25 kopecks; coloured plush, 18 pieces, at 55 kopecks; silk material, 14 pieces of 20 *arshins* each; nankeen embossed, 14 pieces at 15 kopecks; ticking, 6 pieces at 15 kopecks per *arshin*; otter, 20 pieces at 15 roubles; Russian *daba* [cotton cloth], 8 pieces at 12 kopecks; red calico, 154 lengths at 50 kopecks; nankeen, 127 bolts⁹⁷ at 5 roubles; *mardzhan*, 5 pounds at 26 roubles; sugar, 10 *puds* at 20 roubles; fox fur, 1 piece at 60 roubles; muslin, 10 pieces at 10 kopecks per *arshin*; scarves, 11 pieces at 25 kopecks; slippers, 10 pairs at 1 rouble 50 kopecks; Russian leather, 19 bales at 25 roubles; copper bowls, 7 *puds* at 15 roubles; tin, 2 *puds* at 20 roubles; trays, 500 pieces at 25 roubles; cauldrons, trivets, spades and traps, 190 *puds* at 3 roubles; chests, 15 pieces at 4 roubles; 2 chests at 5 roubles, total 10 roubles; coffers, 20 pieces at 1 rouble 50 kopecks; jewellery boxes, 16 at 1 rouble; hampers, 5 pieces at 3 roubles; concertinas, 45 pieces at 30 kopecks. Total: 11,813 roubles 44½ kopecks in silver. The prices here are shown including transportation, as declared by the merchants.

12 October

By chance I was able today to buy some samples of jade: from Yarkand a mountain *loucha* or *bish bozkash*, as the natives call it; jade from Khotan-Darya (*sutash*); some gold ore from the Khotan mountains (*kumtash*), extracted by residents of the village of Keriya; a sample of natural sulphur from the surroundings of Yarkand, from Mount Tader, to the south-east of Yarkand, some days' ride along the road to Tibet; and resin and stone from an oleaster (Yarkand), which are called *togurak* gum. Jade is found only in Eastern Turkestan, and even then not everywhere. It is treasured in China. Near Yarkand there is solar jade. It is found in the River Yurunkash, and extracting it is prohibited. All finds go to the treasury, and the extraction is monitored by a Chinese official. At 230 *li* [70 miles] from Yarkand is Mount Mirdzhai, which consists entirely of jade in many colours. The jade is broken off after laying down [and igniting] firewood. They do not know how to break off large pieces. In Khotan they extract solar jade only from the River Khotan Darya itself. Sulphur and sal ammoniac are extracted from the Kucha. Saltpetre is also obtained from there. Ammonia is broken off in caves, where it hangs like icicles. Mountain sulphur is transported from Aksu and Ush⁹⁸ to the state treasury. Under an Act of 1786, 100 *gins* [132 pounds] are counted as equivalent to 20³/₁₀ sacks of wheat (regulations of the Chamber of Finance). Every year, [besides] jade, up to 10,000 *jins*⁹⁹ [117 hundredweight 86 pounds] of jasper are sent from Yarkand to the court. Yarkand and Khotan jade is

⁹⁷ *Tuium* (Turkic). Bundle.

⁹⁸ That is, Ush-Turfan (Uch-Turfan).

⁹⁹ *Jin*. A Chinese unit of weight, about 1 pound 5 ounces.

recovered from the Rivers Yurunkash and Karakash, and is sent to the court in unknown quantities. Private sale is prohibited and that is strictly policed.

The author of *Si-Yui*, despite his deficient vocabulary, does very accurately convey the personality of the Turkestanis. They are by nature mistrustful and will not believe everything you tell them. In what they themselves say there is much guile, which is why in turn it would be unwise to believe them. Their superiors are particularly prone to this vice. If you treat them courteously, they will despise you and think you are afraid of them. If you proceed severely, they will become anxious and suffer inwardly. If, acting within the law, you sometimes make clear to them your own importance, but bestow occasional small favours, it is possible to instil in them fear informed by respect. They know only how to look after their own interests and remain unaware of the poverty of their subordinates; they mistreat those lower than themselves and oppress the weak. Such are the altogether abysmal ways of Turkestanis. Equals do not know how to get along with each other, and if they have business together they bicker and their differences turn, sometimes, into implacable hostility.¹⁰⁰

Their ideas about human nature are mostly derived from the teaching of the Buddhists, but they have adopted only the outer shell of this teaching. Although their teaching is not contrary to common sense, the *akhuns* have long since lapsed into ignorance and it is difficult to find enlightened people among them. The greater part of them, like the rotten members (Buddhists) in China, are harmful tricksters who obtain the estates of stupid people by deception. This is entirely deplorable,¹⁰¹ because many dervishes and lamas are held in high regard.

Turkestanis like to enjoy themselves. They drink wine, but are most of all addicted to voluptuousness. The women walk uncovered. There are many dancers and no entertainment is complete without them.

The Aksu are known as the most good-hearted people in Eastern Turkestan, but they too have the common Turkestani enthusiasm for disputation. The people of Yarkand are shy by nature, devoted to the Chinese and love spectacular entertainments and feasts. The women sing well, dance and know a number of circus tricks. It is interesting to watch them spinning head over heels, walking on copper wire and so on. The inhabitants are lascivious and given to luxury. The *beks* batten on the population and suck out everything. The Khotanese are handsome, kind-hearted, without slothfulness or pretence. They work hard at cultivating the soil and the craft of weaving. The Kashgarians are the most depraved and deceitful people. They are debauched and keep many singers and dancers.

¹⁰⁰ See *Opisanie Chzhungarii i Vostochnogo Turkistana v drevnem i nyneshnem*, tr. the Monk Iakinf [N.Ya. Bichurin] (St Petersburg, 1829), p. 235. Reference is to the edition used by Valikhanov.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

From the history of the Tang Dynasty and earlier, we see that the inhabitants had just the same ways and customs. From the Onion Mountains [*Tsunlin* in Chinese] eastward, [all] are dedicated to sensuality.¹⁰²

The inhabitants of Kashgar are sly and wicked. The inhabitants of Khotan love singing and dancing, and keep themselves busy with the craft of weaving.¹⁰³ In this same history, we find the legend of how silk came to be cultivated in Khotan:¹⁰⁴ the ruler wooed a princess and asked her to bring the father of silks. The girl hid the worms in her hat, and nobody searched her.

The dancers of the Western Territory were famous even then and were presented to the Chinese court as tribute.

As regards China in recent years, the Oikhor have been perhaps the most wantonly barbaric. Seeking to take advantage of the troubles during the Tang Dynasty, they supported the rebels, and An Lushan in 757 proclaimed himself emperor. He was in command of the corps in In-chzheu and had the officers at his disposal and all the barbarians. The second Oikhor ruler, Moyanchzho [Mochzho] (759–78), helped the emperor in this war. In Sho-fan he defeated the Tunlos and, during a meeting with Tszy-i, the Chinese commander-in-chief in Sho-fan, forced him to bow to the wolf banner. In the meantime, the last Oikhor Shekhu,¹⁰⁵ with 4,000 cavalry, came to support him. When he met with the heir to the Chinese, he was considered to have the status of his brother. In 757 he defeated the rebels in Fyn-shui. On this occasion, the Oikhor plundered also their allies. The state treasury was completely emptied. Crown Prince Shu was powerless to stop the looting, so the inhabitants brought 10,000 pieces of silk fabrics to the Oikhor, and they ceased plundering.

In 758, the Oikhor emissary had a dispute about precedence with Gech-zhy, the head of the black-kaftan Dashis. They were presented simultaneously through different gates. After this embassy, the emperor gave his very young daughter, Nin-go, to the Oikhor khan in marriage. The emperor escorted her to the city of San-ian [Xianyang]. The khan received Prince Yui (a cousin of the emperor) in his yurt in a pointed cap and red kaftan. The khan sent gifts and 3,000 cavalry for action against the rebels, but in 759 they were routed. The khan died. The Oikhor wanted their queen to accompany him. The queen said that such was not the custom in China and did not follow the khan. She did, however, cut her face and wept.

The third *khagan* was Meuyui Khan Idigyan. The Oikhor, supposedly with his assistance, plundered China. The khan himself arrived with 100,000 troops to ‘throttle the enemy’. Prince Yunvan [Yongwang] (the heir to the throne and commander of the army corps of the empire), when he had a meeting with

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 218.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Shehu, Nehu*. Chinese versions of the Turkic title (*zhabgu, zhabagu*), the title of the khan’s governor.

him, was reprimanded by the khan for failing to make the expected obeisance to him. Tszy-mao was expelled, and two officials accompanying the prince were given a hundred strokes of the cane and died that day. The Oikhor captured the eastern capital and, after suppressing the rebellion, continued to plunder and rampage, killing some 10,000 people, so that the inhabitants had to cover their nakedness with writing paper [*sic*]. From the khan to the *tszyai-syan*, all received gifts.

Of all the Kazakh clans presently within the boundaries of China, the Kereit are the furthest into the interior. They roam around Khobda, near the city of Manas, and they and the Torghut are governed under the same laws. They participate in the Council of Doits.¹⁰⁶

The visitors had exchanged all their goods for tea before 14 October. They received up to 95 chests of tea at 50 roubles for each. The Kashgarians presently require a lot of chintz, nankeen and so on.

Between Kuldzha (the minor sands) and the desert proper there are military settlements of Chinese, and two (Tardzhi...) Dungan settlements. Four settlements belong to the Dakhur and Solon. The Sibos occupy four towns on the left bank of the Ili, and beyond the sands four towns belong half to the Sibos and half to the Solon. The Taranchi live on the slopes of the southern mountains. They occupy two Sarybulaks, three Aksus, Greater and Lesser Korgas, Chizha, Tychkan, Burkhan-su (which the Chinese call Saumal)¹⁰⁷ and Yarkand.

The Usek divides into two branches. One channel flows into the Yarkensu, the other into the Turgen. The Usek marks the beginning of a reedy, treeless steppe where there grow goosefoot, reeds and spring-sown grains. Near the banks of the Borokhudzhir there grow *boyarka* and sandthorn.

From Mounts Yamantash and Davan-Kary and from the River Bugurcek to the River Ili, in the delta area, is a loose, clay steppe, galled by the spring rains. When it rains in the spring and summer the soil is so soft that it dissolves into a morass or mud. Towards the mountains this whole steppe is covered with saxaul and salt tree, then various salt-marsh bushes begin to appear – *karabarak* (*Halostachys caspica*), *sarybarak* (*Salsola kali*), *balykkoz* (*Climacoptera lanata*) and so on. Beyond that can be seen the outward signs of salt lakes. By the shore there are ridges of sand dunes, but the soil between the dunes, where it has been consolidated by various plants, is saline loam on which there grow oleasters, Asiatic poplars (*Populus diversifolia*), *lasiagrostis* and salt tree. These places provide the overwintering territory of the Alban. The livestock here feed on halophytic plants, and sometimes saxaul.

¹⁰⁶ Doit. A princely title among Kerei Kazakhs and the Kalmyk.

¹⁰⁷ One word undeciphered.

Chapter 6

Trade in Kuldzha and Chuguchak

Commentary

Chokan Valikhanov provided great help to the military high command in St Petersburg during the trip to Kuldzha, which then was ruled by China. During this trip he made many notes and drawings about the traditions, life and activities of the Chinese, and learned a lot about Kashgar, becoming seriously interested in its history and culture. According to his diary, he studied the life of the Chinese city and collected information – anything that might interest the military and diplomats on the other side of the border, particularly the maps that he was able to obtain. In general, Valikhanov operated as a classic ‘second secretary’, without which it is impossible to imagine any full-fledged embassy today.

Our trade with Western China through Kuldzha and Chuguchak was first begun by the Semey from Tashkent, traders in trifles, as agents of the Kazakh sultans. Initially they brought goods clandestinely, on two or three horses. This began about 60 years ago. Despite the small scale of the trade, which at first was secret, the wealth of the Chinese was such that all the traders made fortunes. Of course, the Chinese government saw what was happening, but at first took no notice, and even began to encourage it, or to benefit by taking everything for the treasury.

In China, it has to be said, there is little in the way of cheap and robust cloth for the common people. All working people, soldiers and merchants wear only clothes made from Russian and Kashgar fabrics: *nanku*,¹ nankeen and various cheap cotton materials, and a rough Turkestan *daba*. Needless to say, Russian goods were a rarity here, cheap in comparison with their own, durable and affordable by all. Cloth, clocks and various trifles, by virtue of their rarity, were readily bought by rich Manchu officials. The Chinese authorities recognised this as a very good thing and, when goods were imported, took a suitable quantity for the treasury, exporting in return best-quality Khotan *daba*, which was called *shan-mata*.

The foreign merchants found trading with the treasury to be to their advantage, because they could always shield their most important merchandise

¹ A heavy-yarn cotton fabric, first produced in China.

from the inspector of goods. They would make him a present of a few pieces of cloth, *nanku* or chintz, and all problems were resolved. Moreover, an end of material was valued at four silver *myskals*; so a piece of *nanku* was considered equivalent to ten ends of *daba*. They sold the *nanku* to Chinese merchants, who were only too glad to take it because, other than from the treasury, they had no means of acquiring it. They immediately sold the *shan-mata* to Chinese merchants, exchanging 120 lengths for one *yamb*² [*yuanbao*, 4.1 pounds] of silver. To buy one length of *nanku* cost 6 roubles in silver, including transportation, which means they had a profit of 48 roubles. After this the authorities allowed them to trade freely.

In the early days, China was a perfect California for adventure seekers, and the first to open up this trade were Tashkent traders who lived in Russia. The pioneers were Aup, Bedel and Radzhebbaky, a Tarsk Tatar. All the trade was concentrated in just a few hands. The only Russian, the Semey merchant Sannikov, was trading here around the year ...³ In the beginning, it is related, when the fathers of the present merchants were trading, there were instances where *nanku*, concealed from the treasury, was sold at eight lengths for one *yamb*, and eight top-quality furs could be had for the same price. This trade was begun by people who were also accompanied by 100 sheep and had 10–20 packhorses. The value of the merchandise in the entire caravan was well over 10,000 roubles.

Subsequently, very predictably, word got out about this golden well; the prospect of swift enrichment attracted many people, and prices began to fall. In the treasury, a length of *nanku* was considered equivalent to eight ends of *daba*, but despite that they would sell 19 or 20 for one *yamb*, and two *bunts*⁴ of furs for one *yamb*. Wealthy people, officials, would buy various trifles, such as clocks and, knives, for unbelievable prices. A clock could cost anything from 30 *liangs* to one *yamb*. Shortly before the opening of the consulate, a barrel organ was sold for 30 silver *sars* (42 roubles in silver).

In those days, the Chinese were very trusting and freely gave credit to anyone. Alas, they were seriously defrauded. At that time, one *yamb* of pure, natural silver was the equivalent of 100 *sars* of *yarmaks*. In the early 1830s a certain Kazan Tatar arrived in Kuldzha with a few clocks, and in the course of a year accumulated so much capital that the following year he was able to bring a small caravan with stained glass. He managed his affairs so well that he is now a merchant of the first guild.

Our traders exported brick tea to the steppe, buying 420–30 bricks for one *yamb* and selling them in Semey city for 30 kopecks in silver. They began importing pekoe tea only ten years ago, but in insignificant quantities. Each took some four tea chests at 3 roubles. Just before the opening of the

² A Chinese currency token in three sizes, the largest of which contains 4¾ pounds of silver.

³ Text missing.

⁴ *Bunt*. A bundle, bale.

consulate they were all exporting 30 or so. Taking *yamb*s out of the country was banned, but our traders continued doing so covertly.

At the very beginning, when they began trading, tea cost 15 or 16 silver *sars*, which increased to 17 to 21. These prices still obtained at the time our consulate opened.⁵

* * *

Russia has been trading with Western China since ancient times. Troitsk and Semey merchants and Asian traders were bartering *nanku* for tea here and selling it at the Nizhny Novgorod Fair. With the establishment of the consulate, a more solid basis for trade has been established. The traders cannot recall without a sigh of nostalgia the good old days when they could get an *yamb* for eight bales of *nanku* and buy for 16 or 17 silver *liangs* high-quality long pekoe *kumma* tea, which now costs 25 or 26 silver *liangs* per pound, or 60 to 80 kopecks in silver. That was around 1835–40.

Of course, the present decline in trade can only be attributed to China's impoverishment as the result of several internecine troubles. Although at that time duty was levied on traders: on ten pieces of a particular ware, one piece was due to the treasury, as was one sheep out of five. For the most part, however, the merchants got around even this by presenting the seal of one of the Kazakh sultans, who have the right, having made a gift of two or three horses, to barter freely. Indeed, crafty *akalakshys* (as they call the *caravan-bashi*, the person in charge of a caravan) would bring gifts for the inspector of goods at the *maituza* and be exempted from the duty. In those bygone days, the Chinese were more trusting and, importantly, more prosperous. Troitsk merchants do their trading with China from their camels' backs.

Transportation. The caravan trail goes from Troitsk⁶ through the lands of the Siberian Kazakhs to the River Ayagoz, to the grave of Kozy-Korpesh. Here it forks to Chuguchak and Kuldzha. The Chuguchak trail goes to the River Urzhar, and the Kuldzha trail to Kapal, to Koksu and through the Santash Pass⁷ to Kuldzha.

There was another route to Kuldzha, crossing the Urzhar, past the Chinese pickets to the River Talky and into Kuldzha. This trail has not been used for a long time, and the treaty stipulates using the new road for Kuldzha caravans. The only obstacle merchants faced was from brigands, and that during the time when the unruly Sultan Kenesary was on the rampage on the steppe. Since, for the most part, the trail passes by way of the nomadic grounds of clans loyal to us, there are rarely any incidents.

⁵ In 1851.

⁶ See P. Nebolsin, 'Ocherki torgovli Rossii s Srednei Aziei', *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 10 (1855), pp. 141–2.

⁷ Probably a slip of the pen. Should read 'Uigentas'.

In the Great Horde, which had not at that time acceded to the Russian Empire, the sultans awarded themselves the right of receiving gifts, but these were a voluntary, rather than compulsory, offering. They mostly assisted our merchants, by affording them hospitality and sending their people to escort them.

To this day, the transporting of wares is undertaken by the Troitsk merchants using their own camels, but caring for camels in these parts is a very troublesome matter. The arduous mountain trail causes many to be lost. Thus, in the present winter the merchant Sharafi lost almost 60, and another merchant 50 or so. Accordingly, they prefer to hire Kazakh camels. Since the founding of the Kapal fort (1848) and the Ayagoz local office (1824), some of them, departing from the Ayagoz and Inner Districts, Uak and Naiman, hire a *kireshi*⁸ and contract camels and horses to go from Semey to Ayagoz, where the goods they have brought are replaced by goods going to Semey.

From Semey the merchants set off along a winter route by sleigh to the Irbit or Nizhny Novgorod fairs. The agents here are from Tashkent, Kazakhs of the Kyzai and Baizhigit clans, subordinate to China, and the Kalmyks.

From Semey the trail led to the River Urzhar, from Urzhar along the northern bank of the Alakol to Lankol, and from there through the Karadavan (Sudavan) crossing to the first Chinese picket. At the picket, the livestock were counted, and the guard there was, as a matter of routine, given several sheep. He issued a certificate with the (reduced) tally of livestock, in accordance with which in Kuldzha and Chuguchak, the duty was levied of one in ten. (No duty was levied on other wares.) The second picket was at Borotal, then the third Chinese picket was at the Kanzhyga Pass. The fourth was at Sairam on Lake Sairamkol, the fifth was Talky on the far side of the Talky Pass, and the sixth was at Sarybulak (Ordokhodza).

At Sairam, on the southern slope of the crossing, the great Urumchi road joins the road between Chuguchak and Kuldzha. There is an inn on the Talky. Upon arriving in Kuldzha, our traders would halt on the bank of the Sarybulak. Initially, they were not allowed access to the city, but later they would be issued a card. At that time, they were under the authority of the *koldai*, the inspector of goods. On arrival they introduced themselves to the *jiang-jun* as emissaries of the Kazakh sultans who were passing through several places. He asked them about the health of the sultan, with whom they had not the slightest acquaintance, about the state of his nomadic territories and so on.

For gifts they were given one *manlyk*,⁹ one piece of silk fabric, four ends of *shan-mata*, 100 *jins* [110 pounds avoirdupois]¹⁰ of Sorochinsk millet, 10 *jins* [11 pounds] of cotton, one brick of tea, one sheep (for the *akalakshy*),¹¹ a jug

⁸ Drivers of hired camels.

⁹ *Manlyk*. Half-silk Chinese fabric.

¹⁰ One *jin* equals 1 1/4 [Russian] pounds. – *CV*.

¹¹ *Akalakchi*. Person in charge of a trading caravan.

of wine in *tsabet*,¹² a Chinese teacup, and various medicines for sore eyes and for treating a *tinji*,¹³ a *pud* [36 pounds] of plaster and so forth. Quite apart from this, the *akalakshy* forwarded a note on behalf of the sultan requesting, on account of the fact that his daughter was being married, *manlyk* and other necessities.

This road was safe. Caravans passed through the nomadic territories of prosperous clans and were able to barter profitably along the way. From the River Borotaly they entered territory roamed by the Chakhar, who were no less hospitable. Only in recent years, when the Baizhigit and Kyzai have begun feuding with our Naiman, have the caravans had to resort to a Cossack escort. Everyone rode their own camels or, if they did take *kire*,¹⁴ the cost was negligible because in that time there were camels in abundance. Fifteen ends of *mata* were enough to hire a pack camel from Semey to Kuldzha.

Here the load for a camel never exceeds 12 *puds* [432 pounds]. This is the regulation norm, and a *kireshe* would never allow any heavier load. They know from experience that a camel can carry this load for eight hours without wearying. In an hour, a camel can cover several *versts*. In contrast, the camels in caravans from Petropavlovsk that are bound for Tashkent are loaded up with 15–17 *puds* [1,680–1,904 pounds]. It needs to be mentioned that, on journeys as long as a trip to Tashkent, it is rare for the owner of the camels to be present in person, and in the Middle Horde it is unusual for one owner to be providing all the camels for a caravan. The *kireshe* hires camels from several people and makes a certain profit in the process. As prices in this matter are invariably calculated not on the number of camels, as here, but in terms of *puds* carried, it is only natural that the supervising *kireshe*, who is concerned only to make sure he delivers the camel back to the owner alive, allows the camel to be loaded with as much weight as it is capable of lifting. As a result, camels rarely remain able to work for more than a year.

Means of transport and prices

Transport prices here are volatile. When there are a lot of camels at the *maituza*, you can hire a camel to Semey for 15–20 roubles in silver, but sometimes just to Kapal you might have to pay 8–10 roubles. That is why people prefer to use their own rather than hired camels. A normal load for a camel is considered to be two tea chests (12 *puds*) and cotton goods bringing the total to 16 *puds* [576 pounds]. The *kireshe*, Kazakh drivers hired in Semey, belong to the clans of Ayagoz and other Inner Districts. They are hired with a caravan to Kuldzha, where there are always wares waiting for despatch to Russia, and the drivers are again hired back to Semey. The *akalakshy*, the senior driver, is himself also a

¹² *Tsabet*. A kind of packaging.

¹³ *Tinji*. A disease of the eyelids, sty.

¹⁴ Hiring of camels for the transporting of goods.

trader, bringing with him lassoes, cheap coat fabric, sacks, felt – necessities that will sell quickly. If there are no caravans leaving immediately, the owner is not at a loose end: he will tend his livestock and engage in barter. In Semey, camels can be hired cheaply, but in Kuldzha, where there are no camels to be had, that same *akalakshy* will charge 10–15 roubles more for transporting goods.

Another transport option, however, is not to use camels at all but carts. Between Kapal and Semey, and even as far as Troitsk, there is an excellent road that was used to supply the detachment at Kapal. For the present that is not an experiment which can be undertaken but, over time, as the camels die out (and their falling numbers are already only too noticeable), this will be the only means of transport. The Kazakhs of Kokshetau District, where now there are no camels to speak of, undertake an annual trading expedition with flour. They buy it in Petropavlovsk, and in the autumn bring it to the clans of the southern steppe (the Tobykty and Tama, who roam the northern shore of Lake Balkhash and the Hungry Steppe) and sell it at a substantial profit. Groups of these traders, known as *kyrshy*, steppe-dwellers, using only horses and the Kazakh two-wheeled carts, succeed in exporting and importing, and cover 2,000 *versts* [1,300 miles] in the process. This demonstrates beyond doubt that such a mode of transport is feasible. In recent years goods have begun to be brought to Chuguchak on carts. The price is 2–2½ roubles in paper money. The majority of the merchants do, however, have their own camels, as do the Troitsk merchants. Their camels overwinter in Ayagoz near Zhuzagash.

In the spring, with fresh goods, also from Irbit, they bring their wares to Semey. Here, depending on the relative price, they come by camel or in carts to Ayagoz, and thence go on to Chuguchak or Kuldzha. If the camels are good and if the merchants manage to sell quickly, they can then send the goods bought here directly back to Troitsk and Petropavlovsk. It all depends on the timing. They try to get back in time for the winter, when the fairs are held. The Semipalatinsk merchants have their eyes on Irbit or Tyumen, while the Troitsk merchants are looking to the neighbouring fairs: Shchadrinsk, Bugulma and so on. Actually, because the prices are so low for *kire*, even those who have their own camels come to the city on hired camels, conducting their own ...¹⁵ light taking the view that hiring camels on the steppe costs 5 roubles, while feeding their own camels, emaciated by the long journey, would cost them just as much over the winter.

Small-scale Kazakh traders arrive in time for the autumn with camels for hire, and at the same time bring lassoes, sacks, cheap fabric, *alasha*¹⁶ and homemade robes of *armyak* fabric lined with wool. The established price for a lasso is 11 kopecks; for *alasha* it is 30–50 kopecks; *kaps* [sacks] cost 12–15 kopecks; while robes sell for 1 rouble and 10–30 kopecks.

¹⁵ One word undeciphered.

¹⁶ *Alasha*. Palas, a type of Kazakh napless carpet.

Wares we export to China are: nankeen, plush, half-chintz, chintz, worsted fabrics, lustrine,¹⁷ ribbed chintz, metallic threads (sold in large quantities, up to 3,500), chests (95 pieces), countertops (2,950 yards), trays, cabinet mirrors, copper items, iron and cast iron items, fabrics, *drap-de-dames*,¹⁸ Russian leather, calico, cotton shawls (muslin), penknives, concertinas, copper opium lamps, morocco leather, otter skins, fox paws, squirrel fur, silver items, *kanifas*,¹⁹ saigak antlers (4,418), leathers, Russian cotton (fabric), gauze, crystal, clocks, sugar, coral, braid, robes, hampers, iron, carpets, alumen, ammonia, pepper, cotton tricort, silk fabrics, brocade, vitriol, stained glass, sealskin, ribbons and beads.

Chinese exports are: tea – pekoe, brick, *fu*, *atbash*²⁰ and Kalmyk; *daba* cotton fabric, ladles, lenses, Chinese cane hats, Kashgar almonds, cotton counterpanes, Bukharan *white paint*, *vyboika*²¹ and *zendel* – Bukharan wool.

Measures:

Dan – a sack (canvas); it contains 10 *dou* (measure); 1 *dou* = 10 *sheng* (Russian *garnetz*); 10 *sheng* = 1 *ge* (cupped hands); 1 *ge* = 10 *shao* (cupped hand). One sack contains 4 *puds* and 14½ Russian pounds of flour.

One *qing* is a measure of land and contains 100 *mu*. One *mu* = 1,200 square feet, or 1,265 English square feet, or 2,448 Russian square *sazhens*. Weight quantities are 1 *jin*²² = 16 *liang*; 1 *liang* = 10 *qian*, 1 *qian* = 10 *fen*, 1 *fen* = 10 *li*. The copper coin (*yarmak*), a bunch in ...²³ is equal to the *liang* and is called a *sar*.

* * *

The exchange rate for the *yamb* in 1855:

In January, 150–155 *t[enge]*.

In February, 155–160 t.

In March, 153–158 t.

In April, 158–165 t. and up to 170 t.

In May, 154–165 t.

¹⁷ Lustrine. Brightly coloured chintz (archaic).

¹⁸ *Drap-de-dames*. A kind of thin fabric (archaic).

¹⁹ *Kanifas*. A striped cotton fabric (archaic).

²⁰ Varieties of Chinese brick tea.

²¹ Lining fabric.

²² More correctly: *jīn*.

²³ One word undeciphered.

In June, 165–170 t.

In July, 170–175 t.

In August, 175–180 t.

In September, 174–180 t.

In October, 180–185 t.

In November, 185–195 t. and up to 200, ending again at 195.

In December, 195–200, and even to 203 t. by 20 December. At the end of the month, the rate fell to 180 and lower, to 140 t.

1. Copper could be sold in Kuldzha.
2. Initially it is impossible to determine the demand for it from the residents and for export to other parts of China. Judging, however, by the fact that copper is being exported to Aksu and Kashgar from Tashkent and Bukharia, we may assume that there is a great market for it here. From Kuldzha, copper can be sent to the Chinese cities of Aksu, Kashgar, Komul, Khotan and Kone-Turfan.
3. Copper needs to be delivered in strips five quarters in length, three quarters wide, half a quarter of a *vershok* thick. [1 *vershok* = 1.75 inches.] [A ‘quarter’ is a unit of length of fabric: 9 inches.]
4. Mostly, red pure copper is in demand here.
5. The approximate price is from Y/g to 4 *myskals* [*zlotniks*, 0.15 ounces] for 1 *jin* (1 f. / 4 *zlotniks*) wholesale; in retail it could be sold at a higher price.
6. Chinese copper in retail sells for 6 and 5² *myskals*; wholesale, it sells for five *myskals* in *yarmaks* per *jin*.²⁴
7. It would not be profitable to sell iron here. There will be no demand for it because the Chinese have plenty already. It sells for 2 and 2[\] *fen*²⁵ per *jin*. There might be a market only for wire, because the Chinese are wholly unfamiliar with the art of manufacturing this essential product. It would sell at 30–40 kopecks per Chinese pound.

²⁴ *Jin* [Chzhin]. A Chinese measure.

²⁵ *Fen*. A Chinese measure of weight.

Chapter 7

An Expedition to Kashgar: Conditions in Altyshahr, or Six Eastern Cities of the Chinese Province of Nanlu (Little Bukharia) in 1858–59

Commentary

Valikhanov's trip to Kashgar was organised by E.P. Kovalevsky, head of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire, and the great Russian geographer Pyotr Petrovich Semyonov Tyan-Shansky, whose idea it was for Valikhanov to travel in disguise as a member of a commercial caravan. They began preparing for the journey into Kashgaria in August 1857, during which preparations Valikhanov re-read all the available literature on Eastern Turkestan. The expedition caravan was led by the merchant Musabai Toktabayev. In his report on the trip, Valikhanov wrote: 'Lieutenant Valikhanov set off on 28 June 1858 from the Karamola tract, 30 *verst*s from Kapal, along with the merchant's caravan in Kashgar, and took the precautionary name of Alimbai Abdillabayev, a Kokand citizen. In addition to the *caravan-bashi*, the entire convoy consisted of seven Kazakh stewards and 34 servants; with them there were 101 camels and 65 horses. The caravan arrived in Kashgar in early October 1858 and stayed there until 11 March 1859.'

Valikhanov noted that besides Marco Polo and the Portuguese Jesuit Benedict Goës, only two other Europeans had penetrated Kashgaria. One was an unnamed German officer working for the East India Company, who came by a curious route and who left a note about his journey; the other was the Prussian botanist and explorer Adolf Schlagintweit, who was executed by Uali Khan, the Emir of Kashgar, in August 1857. During his trip to Kashgar two years later, Valikhanov was able to retrieve Schlagintweit's head and return it to his family.

During his five-month stay in Kashgar, Valikhanov managed to explore the Altyshahr region, including the cities of Kashgar, Aksu, Ush-Turfan, Yanyasar, Yarkand and Khotan. He was also able to collect important Eastern manuscripts and other materials on the history, geography and economic condition of Eastern Turkestan. On 12 April 1859 the merchant caravan returned to Vernyi (now Almaty).

A geographical overview

Eastern Turkestan is enclosed on three sides by mountains: to the north by the Tian Shan, to the west by the Bolor, and to the south by the Kunlun. These mountains belong to the highest ranges of Inner Asia and serve as a natural border of the Western Region of the Chinese Empire. For the actual border, we must take the line of pickets located in the foothills, because outside this line roam the Kazakhs who recognise the authority of the Khan of Kokand. In the east, the boundary of Eastern Turkestan is delimited by the sandy, uninhabited steppes of the Makhai and Komul Gobi.¹ In this territorial respect, Little Bukharia occupies an area between 36° and 43° north and between 70° and 92° east of the Paris meridian.²

Eastern Turkestan lies in the centre of the East Asian uplands. Humboldt, on the basis of the plants cultivated, believed the Little Bukharia plain to be no more than 1,200 feet above mean sea level, and called it the Tarim Depression after the important Little Bukharia River, the Tarimgol (also known as the Ergol), whose basin comprises the entire area of Eastern Turkestan. Indeed, Little Bukharia is a sunken dale in the form of an open plain which, to judge by the flow of the River Ergol, is inclined somewhat towards the east. The interior part of the country is a sandy desert that begins as a narrow, hilly ridge between Yanyasar and Yarkand and gradually widens eastwards to form an extensive sandy steppe (*gobi*), devoid of vegetation, with reservoirs of bitter saline water, a steppe where the sand piles up to form veritable hills so high that the local people call them *tag* (mountains).

If local writers are to be believed, this sand shifts, like the sands of Africa, and engulfs entire cities. History affords several examples of such an occurrence.³ Localities near the foot of the mountains have clay soil, covered with fine gravel and in places permeated with salts. The numerous rivers flowing from the neighbouring mountains provide a convenient means of artificially irrigating the soil which, without it and given the extremely dry air, produces but sparse, poor vegetation. Only locations supplied with water form islands of fertility. Thus, cultivated and populated oases form an arc along the foot of the Tian Shan, Bolor and Kunlun Mountains. The river system of the Tarim and its tributaries provides a lifeline for cultivating the interior of this desert. Such is the overall character of the territory of the southern border, which is entirely flat, devoid of marked orographic reliefs. The modest clayish hills in which the foothills of the surrounding mountain ranges end sometimes extend onto the plain, but they, like the sandy hills of the Little Bukharia Sahara, are of insignificant height. They are, nevertheless, a singular feature of the overall landscape of the country.

¹ That is, the Hami Desert.

² The longitude of the centre of Paris from Greenwich is 2° 20' 10".

³ In the fourteenth century, the cities of Lob and Kedek, located near Lake Lobnor, perished in this manner. See *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, MS of the Academy of Sciences. – CV.

Three great mountain chains are renowned for their influence on the development and historical destiny of the nations of Central Asia. These are the Celestial Mountains, sacred for the Hun and for the Tugyu Turks, and the Bolor and Kunlun, which are home to a particular group of curious peoples who trace their descent from Alexander the Great. These three mountain chains encompass Eastern Turkestan in a colossal arc. Since they lie outside the political boundaries of the country, I shall in the present instance speak of them only in connection with their impact on Little Bukharia, as regards roads and routes.

Roads leading into Eastern Turkestan, or, indeed, out of it, run partly through gorges, partly over mountain plateaux. In the first instance, the roads present many difficulties and dangers. The traveller must constantly ascend, then descend; he must proceed along narrow, winding trails, sometimes along the edge of a deep precipice or, not infrequently, over dangerous slopes. When the roads pass over a plateau, there may be minor rounded ascents and ravines, but these are amenable to riding or driving of all kinds. In terms of communications, the Tian Shan Mountains afford the most convenient access. This range, from the Kucha meridian to its intersection with the Bolor Mountains, has three characteristic reliefs. To the east of the cross-flow of the Aksu River to Kucha, the Celestial Mountains form a high ridge covered with eternal snow and vast glaciers, which is accordingly known as the Muzart (Ice Mountains).

In this area, the rivers flowing down are transverse; the mountain slopes are covered with coniferous forest and rich in pastures, but uninhabited. There is only one passage through Muzart, which the Chinese call the Glacier Passage, and which on Humboldt's route is called Jeparle [Jiparlyk]. The road from Kuldzha to Aksu goes through this passage. Although, as described by the Chinese, it presents great difficulties, it can be traversed on camels. The Muzart Pass is closed to foreigners.

To the west of the River Aksu and to the Kashgar meridian, the Tian Shan turns into a broad upland which the Kazakhs call the Syrt. This is about 100 miles across and cut by longitudinal valleys a considerable height above sea level. The Syrt is treeless and, owing to the perpetually low temperature, is not amenable to cultivation. It is covered with short but dense grass and serves the Kazakhs as their summer nomadic territory. Many caravan routes cross the Syrt, all of them passable on camels.

To the west of the Kashgar meridian, the Tian Shan divides into several branches, where the mountains are covered with forest. The rivers cut deep beds, and for the most part their valleys host riparian woodland. The ascents, however, become higher. There are many horse trails, and two caravan routes from the Fergana Valley to Kashgar, one from Andizhan through Uzgend and Shadyrkol and along the River Toinbashi to Kashgar, the other through the Terekty-Davan Pass, which we know as the Kashgar Defile. The former was the route for trade relations between Asia and China in times long past (the Ptolemaic Road to Sery). The hordes that invaded Turan from Mongolia

passed along it. This road has been abandoned since the founding and establishment of the city of Kokand (in the late seventeenth century), and now only occasional small groups of Andizhanian traders pass along it, bartering sheep with the Kazakhs. It has been superseded by the Terekty route from Osh to Kashgar. Files of packhorses travel it all year round and almost every day. The Terekty road abounds in fuel and fodder. For a caravan to pass this way from Kokand to Kashgar takes 18 days.

The western slope of the Bolor Mountains or, as the Andizhanians call them, the Alai, is steep and inaccessible. Its eastern part forms the high, cold Pamir plateau, which the Kazakhs visit only in summer. There is just one caravan route through the Bolor, by way of Badakhshan. The Badakhshan trail is said to be extremely difficult, and passable only on horseback. From Yarkand the route through Badakhshan leads to Khulum, and thence to Bukhara and Kabul. It takes caravans 65 days to reach Bukhara. The Pamir Mountains are criss-crossed by trails laid down during the nomadic wanderings of the Kazakhs. They all lead to the Kokand Khanate or to Karategin and Darvaz. There are several routes also in the Kunlun Mountains. The first is from Kashmir via Dairim to Korcha and Yarkand; the second is from Yarkand to Kanjut and Gundze, then on to Iskardo. The best-known route, however, is the Karakorum Pass by which Eastern Turkestan is connected with Tibet and India. The road to Tibet passes through locations so uninhabited and poor in fodder, and from Tibet to India the trails are so challenging, that products from India reach Eastern Turkestan from Bukhara by way of the Terekty Pass. From Yarkand to Tibet is 40 days' travel; and from Tibet to Kashmir takes 12 days. The pack animals used on this route are the horse and the yak.

Altogether, the mountain ranges encircling Little Bukharia have few good access routes. The most convenient are along the Tian Shan range, from Aksu to where it intersects with the Bolor Mountains.

Of all the trails mentioned, the Terekty route is currently the busiest in terms both of caravans and of troop movements. It is alive with constant trading, and there is not a day but a caravan passes through. During the winter, especially in recent years when there have been heavy snowfalls, the mountains surrounding Little Bukharia become impassable and all routes close, except for the Terekty and Muzart passes. These close in November, sometimes even in early October. Some reopen in March, others much later.

The rivers

The rivers of Little Bukharia belong to the Tarimgol River system: only a few of them coming from the Kunlun Mountains flow into lakes or are dissipated in the sands. The principal rivers comprising the Tarimgol are the Aksu-Darya, the Faizabat-Darya (also known as the Kashgar-Darya), the Yarkand-Darya and the Khotan-Darya. The Aksu-Darya comprises two tributaries: the River Aksu itself (which is called Saryzhaz in its upper reaches, then the Kapshagai,

and only in its lower reaches is it given its proper name), and the River Kokshal. The River Aksu originates on the northern slopes of Khantengri-Ula. It flows parallel to the meridian, transects the Tian Shan Mountains and forms a deep, stony channel.

The River Kokshal flows out of hills surrounding the east side of the mountain lake Shadyrkol, and under the name of Aksai flows due east over a broad, rather extensive plateau. It then turns sharply to the south, descends the southern slopes of the Tian Shan Mountains, and flows into the Aksu, which flows parallel to the foot of the mountains in a north-easterly direction. The rivers comprising the Kashgar Darya originate in the Tian Shan and Bolor Mountains. The Faizabat-Darya is composed of two rivers, the Tyumen and the Kyzyl-Darya. The former originates in the Koktoin Mountains,⁴ to the north-west of Lake Shadyrkol; the latter, the Kyzyl, has its source in the Alai Mountains from the summit of Tengritobe, at the point where the Tian Shan Mountains intersect with the Bolor.

The Faizabat-Darya is fed by: from the right the River Usten, or Khan-Aryk (on our maps named the Yamanyar-Usten), and the River Yangisar-Usten; and from the left, the River Artysh. The Artysh flows down from the Torgat upland⁵ which, to the south, surrounds Lake Shadyrkol. It is called the Tonn before it enters the valley and, in the mountains, is fed by many rivers, of which the most notable is the River Terekty, or Astyn-Artysh, which enters it from the right side.⁶ The River Usten, or Yamanyar, originates from Lake Karakol in the tableland of the Pamirs. The River Yanyar-Usten originates in the surroundings of Lake Sarykol and flows from the left⁷ into Kashgar-Darya. The River Yarkand-Darya, or Yarkand-Usten, is composed of the Yarkand-Darya proper, which flows from Lake Sarykol and in its upper reaches is called the Sarkol and Zaravshan; and of the River Tyznab, which flows from the northern slopes of the Karakorum Pass in the Kunlun Mountains. The River Khotan-Darya also originates in the Karakorum Mountains and is composed of two rivers: the Karakash and the Yulgunkash⁸ (pronounced by the Chinese as 'Yurunkash'). After the confluence of the rivers Aksu, Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan-Darya, which converge at almost the same point, the river takes the name of Tarim-Usten or, according to Chinese geography, Tarimgol or Ergol.

Of the rivers flowing into the Tarim, the most notable are the Muzart, the Kucha-Darya and the Khaidu, which originate in the Tian Shan Mountains and flow in from the left. The Tarim debouches into Lake Lobnor, which in Mongolian means the Sea of Stars. According to Chinese sources, Lobnor is

⁴ On modern maps, Kuktun.

⁵ More precisely, Torugart.

⁶ A slip. Should read 'from the left'.

⁷ A slip. Should read 'from the right'.

⁸ In modern Uighur pronunciation, Urunkash.

400 *li* [135 miles] long and 200 *li* [67 miles] wide. The environs of the lake abound in springs of turbid water, which spurt like fountains and, the Chinese insist, resemble a starry sky.

There are many lakes in Little Bukharia. They are all located round the edges of the interior desert and contain a bitter, saline water. The natives have a legend that their homeland was once the floor of an inland ocean.

In their upper reaches all the rivers of Eastern Turkestan have more or less the characteristics of mountain streams, being of insignificant depth but fast-flowing over a rocky riverbed. In July and August the meltwaters augment them considerably, but they remain fordable at all seasons of the year. It is only after the confluence of several tributaries that (they) acquire significant depth and width. There are ferries across the River Kyzyl between Kashgar and the Chinese fortress, and across the Faizabat-Darya at its confluence with the Tyumen and Kyzyl. Although the Kashgar-Darya and Yarkand-Darya at high water, and the Tarim at all seasons of the year and along its entire length, are navigable, the natives do not avail themselves of this means of transport. As regards communications, and in general, the rivers in Little Bukharia are of the greatest importance because, by bestowing fertility on the interior deserts, they make inhospitable lands capable of settlement.

Interior communications

Communications between the Turkestan cities of Yarkand, Kashgar and Aksu follow the course of the rivers. Interior communications, that is, between the cities of Eastern Turkestan and China, are fairly convenient. On all roads the Chinese have set up stations (*urtens*) at which between 15 and 20 Chinese people live under the supervision of an officer, with a similar number of Turkestani families who are obliged to provision officials and soldiers. In addition, there are signalling beacons for the rapid transmission of news in the event of wars or uprisings. At these stations it is possible to obtain, naturally only for small caravans, supplies of food and fodder.

The city of Aksu is the transport hub where all the roads of the region converge. From Aksu there are roads to China, to Ili and to all the cities of Eastern Turkestan.

All roads from Inner China to the Western Territory converge in the city of Gunchanfu. From here the road goes to Lyandzheu, where there is a reserve supply facility for use in case of war in the Western Territory. Some 25 miles from it, at the western end of the Great Wall, is the Tszya-yui-guan [Jia-iu-guan] fort, which serves as an outpost. From this outpost to Komul there is an uninhabitable sandy steppe, devoid of water and vegetation. Komul has grain stores.

Beyond that the road forks, with the 'Northern Road' leading to Dzhungaria, and the 'Southern Road' leading to Eastern Turkestan. The Dzhungaria road goes by way of the eastern flank of the Tian Shan depression to Barkol, Urumchi, Khurkharas, and Ili. The Southern Road goes westward, by way

of Pichan to Turfan, which has a direct link to Urumchi via Bogdo-Olo. Beyond that the road goes to Karashar, which connects the Rivers Dzholdus and Narad-Dawan with Ili. To the south of Karashar there are marshy swamps, which extend westward to the city of Byugur, where there is an earthen embankment; and finally, by way of Kucha, the road reaches Aksu.

The Chinese calculate the distance from Peking to Aksu as 2,560 miles. The 'Southern Road' runs through flat country that is more or less populated, only between the Tszya-yui-guan outpost and Hami is there 500 miles of sandy steppe, which extends to within 43 miles of the Hami oasis. Along this road the Chinese have established several settlements and stations. Points notable from a military perspective on the Southern Road are Komul, with stocks of grain and weapons, and Byugur. This city lies amid impassable swamps and can, with minimal forces, defend the Southern Road. Caravans and troops can travel from Peking to Aksu in 4½ to 5 months, and the emergency post arrives in one month.

The distance from Aksu to Ili (Kuldzha), the focal point of military and civil administration of the Western Territory, is considered to be 410 miles. The road passes through extremely mountainous parts, including the renowned glacier pass – Jeparle. A rapid passage along this road will take 15 days, and there are *urtens* along the way. From Aksu, the main Chinese high road goes on to Ush-Turfan and Yarkand. To Ush-Turfan is considered to be 80 miles, and to Yarkand, 450. Some 190 miles along the road to Yarkand lies the city of Burchuk, with a Chinese garrison and ferry. From here there is a direct road to Kashgar, a distance of some 160 miles. Trading caravans always go from Aksu directly along this road to Kashgar. From Yarkand the high road goes to Kashgar by way of Yanyasar, and to Khotan. From Yarkand to Yanyasar is 113 miles, and from the latter to Kashgar is 57 miles. The distance between Khotan and Yarkand is 270 miles. Chinese troops and state transport proceed to Kashgar and Khotan by way of Yarkand.

Besides these two routes, there is a direct road from Aksu to Khotan along the River Khotan-Darya (18 days' travel for a caravan or 15 days at speed on horseback) and two trails from Ush-Turfan to Kashgar. One of these runs from Ush-Turfan directly to the fourth station on the Yarkand route, then to Burchuk and from there to Yarkand and Kashgar. The other goes straight to Kashgar. The latter goes upriver, following the Kokshal, and arrives via the Borchan sentry post in Altyn-Artysh. The distance to Kashgar following this route is said to be 235 miles. It passes through land which is uninhabited but abundant in fodder and fuel.

The roads from Aksu to Ush-Turfan, Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan run through populated land, and the latter three follow rivers whose floodplains are pleasing natural meadows. With the exception of the road from Turfan to Kashgar, the routes running along the foot of the mountains pass through densely populated areas.

In ancient times, the Chinese communicated with the Western Territory via Guachzheu (135 miles west of Tszya-yui-guan [Jia-iu-guan]), straight through

the sandy steppe to Khotan, but at present this route is completely abandoned. There is also a route from Turfan to Khotan via Lobnor, but that, like the former route, is no longer in use.

The climate

Despite its vast extent, the climate of Eastern Turkestan is remarkably uniform, which can be explained only by the specific features of its geographical location. The mountainous lands adjacent to it have climatic conditions different from those of the Little Bukharia plain. In the mountains there are snowstorms even in the summer. The summer is cool; snow lies in the valleys until May or June, to say nothing of the mountain peaks, which are perpetually covered in snow. Winter begins in October. At all events, a caravan leaving Kashgar when we arrived on 1 October was forced to turn back because the Terekty gorge was impassably snowbound.

Let us now turn to the climate of the low-lying areas, and specifically of the territory of the Six Cities. First, some personal observations. On 27 September when we entered the Terekty gorge on the southern slopes of the Tian Shan range, the banks of the River Terekty were covered with emerald green trees and bushes and the thermometer was showing 22° Réaumur [28°C]. As we entered Kashgar, our caravan passed between orchards where the women and children were harvesting the remaining bunches of grapes, and the pomegranates were still hanging from the branches. The Sorochinsk millet and cotton had for the most part yet to be harvested. Fresh fruit and vegetables were on sale in the bazaars: apples, quince, pears, peaches and figs.

From 27 September until mid-November, the weather was consistently warm and clear, with temperatures reaching 23°Ré [29°C]. Around 10 November, however, the nights became cold and the leaves began to fall, and at night the water in the canals was covered with a thin layer of ice, so that on 14 November they dammed the water in the irrigation canals. On 19 December we had the first snowfall, which continued until noon the following day. A second time, on 7 January, snow fell all through the day until midnight, and then again on 12 January until the morning of the 14 January. For the most part, the thermometer remained at or above 0°, falling below that only twice: on 19 December to [minus] 8°Ré [-10°C] and on 16 January to [minus] 16°Ré [-20°C].

The Rivers Kyzyl and Tyumen did not freeze throughout the winter, but the city's ponds were covered with ice a quarter [9 inches] thick. After the Chinese New Year, which the local people consider to be the beginning of spring, the days did indeed suddenly become warmer. On 14 February water reappeared in the canals, and Nature began rapidly to awaken. In the last days of February pies filled with the first shoots of greenery were being sold as a novelty, and on 9 March several trees in the courtyard of our quarters were fully in leaf. The whole time, until a caravan appeared from the plain (on 17 March), the weather was clear and warm, only there was a warm north-easterly wind blowing on the 14th and 15th.

Overall, there was very little in the way of fog or rain: only on two days, and even then it did not rain constantly. In early February the wind was blowing very often, and always from the west or north-west. On the basis of these observations and from what we were told by residents, spring arrives here in early February, a little later than in the neighbouring Fergana Valley. Kokand people who arrived 15 days before our departure said that when they left Kokand the apricots had been in bloom.

Summer is said to be marked by intense heat, and the air becomes unbearably stifling because of thick clouds of dust, made all the worse because there are no cooling rains (which are very rare here). People who live in Eastern Turkestan are terribly afraid of thunderstorms. If thunderclouds appear on the horizon, all the *akhuns* and their students go to the terrace of the mosques and loudly recite the *knut* prayer, which they believe has the power to disperse clouds. The reasons for their concern are that, after such rains, the earth is covered with salts, which result in a lean harvest, and also because all the houses are built of compressed clay and have flat roofs, so if there were to be downpours here, the cities of Little Bukharia would undoubtedly be destroyed.

We are told that the average winter is like the one we experienced; that is, the snow lies for no more than three or four days and the rivers do not freeze at all. It is considered a bitter winter if the rivers ice over at the banks. The severest cold occurs at the end of the 12th month by the Chinese calendar, that is, in January, and spring begins with the Chinese New Year, which the Turkestanis call by the Mongolian name of *Chagan*.

The gradual transition from summer to autumn and the abrupt transition from winter to spring are a climatic peculiarity of the country. The changing of the four phases of the year is accompanied by the following changes in the vegetation: the apricots bloom in the middle of March, then other trees get their leaves. Cultivated meadows are covered with fresh shoots of dense green toadflax, then tulips and windflowers appear in the fields; in April the fruit begins to set in the apricot trees. In late May, mulberries, apricots and melons, called *zamusha*, ripen. At this time, barley is removed and carrots planted in its place, along with onions, turnips and other culinary vegetables. From June to August the apples and peaches ripen, while the other grains and fruit ripen in August. By September and into October there follow hemp, sesame, rice, sorghum, maize and cotton.

The prevailing winds here are westerly and north-westerly. They blow mostly in the spring, and invariably raise dust and thick clouds of sand, which covers the clayish soil.

Yanysar, Yarkand and Khotan have almost the same climatic conditions as Kashgar; in Khotan, the winter is felt even less. In Turfan, Aksu and particularly in Bai and Sairam, which are situated closer to the mountains and to the north, there is no great heat in summer, but winter is felt more keenly. The rivers are covered with ice, but when the snow falls at the end of January it immediately melts. None of this, however, prevents pomegranates, fig trees and

cotton from sprouting in Aksu. We must suppose, on the basis of the testimony of the Emperor Kangxi and of Father Gerbillon about the culture of orange trees, that Komul enjoys a more clement climate. In the eastern cities, it is said, the winters are cold and the summers extremely hot, and the cities of Turfan and Komul, especially the latter, are renowned for their melons, which are used at the Chinese court.

The climate of Eastern Turkestan, judging by the health of its inhabitants and, indeed, its beneficial effect on foreigners, must be extremely healthy. Devastating epidemic diseases are completely unknown to the Turkestanis, except for smallpox, from which entire villages died out in the old days and which caused the inhabitants to flee in fear and panic to the mountains. They have begun vaccinating against smallpox now. Despite the excessive consumption of fruit and vegetables and the universal smoking of hashish that, as is well known, has a deleterious effect on the body, there are few invalids among the Turkestanis. Venereal disease, despite great debauchery, has not yet spread. In all of Kashgar we encountered only two individuals slightly disfigured by this disease. The local men are robust and strong, but rarely reach advanced old age. The women have a weak constitution and, as a consequence of early marriage (at 12, or as young as 10 years), are prone to various chronic diseases. At 50, Kashgar women are as decrepit as ours are at 70 or 80. In Yarkand tumours of the lymph glands or goitre are widespread. The local people blame a quality of the water for this. The same thing occurs in Kokand.

Mineral wealth

Turning now to the mineral wealth of Little Bukharia, we shall indicate the main features of the region's resources. These have been very little studied. Gold is panned in the village of Keriya in such quantities that the residents pay their tax with the metal and are able to sell it privately. Some 80 *liangs* [660 pounds] of gold are sent annually to the court. Copper is mined in Aksu, Sairam and Kucha. Aksui copper, known for its malleability, is said by the local people to include a significant admixture of precious metals, but they do not know how to separate them out.

Eastern Turkestan produces in abundance: sulphur, ammonia, alum and saltpetre. The volcanic ground in the environs of Kucha is particularly famous as the main deposit of these materials. Combustible sulphur is mined in Ush-Turfan and in Yarkand district, and saltpetre is mined in Sairam and Ush-Turfan. There are salt mines in the mountains of Yanchi-shan [Yangchi-chan], east of Aksu.

Among the notable mineral resources of Eastern Turkestan is jade, or Oriental jasper, a semi-precious stone greatly prized in China, where it is called *yu*. Jade can be of two varieties: mountain jade, extracted by the people of Loucha; or Bish-Bazgan, fragments of which lie 30 miles from Yarkand in the Mirdzhai and Sutash Mountains, and which is found in the River Yulgunkash

(which the Chinese pronounce 'Yurun-Kash'), under the close supervision of a Chinese officer. Some 10,000 *jin* of mountain jade is sent annually to Peking, plus the entire amount extracted in the River Yulgunkash. Private sales are strictly prohibited by the Chinese government.

There is no processing of silver, iron or lead ores or of coal in Little Bukharia, and, to the best of our knowledge, no silver, iron or coal has yet been discovered, at least within the territory of the Six Cities. There is mention in Chinese history of silver ore in the environs of Komul, but we do not know how closely this corresponds to reality.

Two plants, for copper and lead, on the route from Kashgar to Kokand, remain idle for political reasons. Most of the mineral production of this country goes as tribute to China, and as all the copper is sent to the mint in Aksu, the needs of the inhabitants are far from being met. Iron, cast iron, lead, copper and brass are obtained from Kokand, whither the metals are brought from Russia in raw form or as manufactured products. Insufficient metallurgical expertise and ignorance of the simplest methods of ore processing keep the Turkestanis from exploiting the mineral resources in which the depths of the mountains surrounding Little Bukharia must surely abound. The people of Kokand are said to pan a significant amount of gold in the upper reaches of the River Syr, which flows from the Tian Shan Mountains. Silver-rich lead is said to be processed in the mountains east of Andizhan. The Bolor Mountains are particularly rich in precious minerals. It is known that the main item in the trade of Karategin with Kokand is gold nuggets, while that in the trade of Badakhshan with Yarkand is slaves, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise and rubies.

The Pamir Kyrgyz bring to Yarkand and Kashgar rock crystal, various jaspers and gold nuggets. Guen-Tsang, an eighth-century Chinese traveller, mentions that the land of Pomolo (Pamir) produces gold of a fiery hue. There has to date been no prospecting for minerals in the Kunlun Mountains, but we can only assume that this range is not without such treasures. The River Keriya, with its gold prospecting, flows down from these mountains. This supposition is supported by the name *Zaravshan* (gold-bearing), which several rivers flowing from it have, and the legend, widespread in Bukharia, that the ruler of Gilgit stores huge gold ingots in his cave.

Vegetation

The natural vegetation of Little Bukharia is poor and its species are not diverse. The native flora have much in common with the steppe vegetation of the Ili Valley. The northern slopes of the Tian Shan Mountains, facing the Issyk-Kol valley, is rich in alpine flora that fill luxuriant meadows with dense greenery and brightly coloured flowers. The mountain slopes are extensively forested with fir trees,⁹ mountain ash, *yrgai* [cottonaster] and, along the

⁹ More precisely, spruce.

riverbanks, barberry, honeysuckle, alpine currant, dog rose and so on. Above the conifer line grow heather¹⁰ (*Juniperus sabina*) and *chiliga*, ‘camel’s tail’ (*Caragana jubata*).

The southern slopes of the Celestial Mountains, descending to the Little Bukharia plain, west of the Aksu meridian, consist of clay shale and conglomerate, and the lower foothills are of layered clay. The bare cliffs of the southern slopes have, here and there, isolated clumps of thin grasses or are completely barren. In the autumn, Kyrgyz goats and sheep struggle to find anything to graze on. To the east of Aksu, the mountains are covered with coniferous (fir) forests and have rich mountain pastures.

The Syrt upland, apart from the valleys of the Rivers Atbash, Arpa and Naryn, is not cultivable; it is treeless and covered with stunted but dense grass. In the plains of the Atbash and Arpa, the Kyrgyz sow wheat, barley and millet. These too are devoid of trees and bushes, and overgrown with low grass, feather grass and sagebrush.

The deep course of the Naryn forms a fertile valley [with sides] as high as those of Lake Issyk-Kol. The banks of the Naryn are flanked by a woodland of sea buckthorn (*Hippophae rhamnoides*), willow, poplar and various *chiliga* peatrees (*Caragana*), and the mountains are covered with a dense fir forest and plants typical of the alpine zones of the northern slopes. In that part of the Tian Shan Mountains that borders the Bolor Mountains, meadowsweet (*Spirea*) appears, and heather and *yrgai* (*Cotoneaster multiflora*). The latter plant, and various types of bulbs, tulips and alliums, are typical of the flora of the Bolors, which are said to be rich in grazing meadows.

The Kunlun Mountains are, according to Thomson, extremely deficient in terms of their flora. Their cliffs are covered with isolated clumps of plants, among which tragacanth (*Astragalus*) predominate.

The vegetative aspect of the Little Bukharia plain is even more dismal. The bulk of the interior of the country is barren steppe, consisting either of sand dunes with the ubiquitous saxaul (*Anabasis saxaul*),¹¹ or of vast deserts with bare soil contaminated with salts. More fertile are areas between the foot of the mountains and the sands. When we arrived in Kashgar in October, the environs of the city had sparse vegetation, the typical species of which were: prickly *zhantak* (camel thorn), tamarisk (salt cedar, *Tamarix gallica*), wormwood (*Artemisia*), various grassy plants typical of sandy-clay soil, such as *shi* (*Lasiagrostis*), and *Iris angustifolia*.

Because of the extremely arid climate and the properties of the soil, vegetation survives only in proximity to water. The course of rivers is flanked by two narrow ribbons of greenery and woodland consisting of various shrubs and deciduous trees. The local people call these strips *shengel*, the Persian word

¹⁰ Heather. Here and hereafter, an error. Should be juniper.

¹¹ Archaic. Now known as Haloxylon.

from which the English 'jungle', adopted in India, comes. In our Orenburg Region and in Siberia, such riparian groves are called *uremas*.

The *uremas* of Little Bukharia, in the upper reaches of the rivers, consist typically of low bushes of sea buckthorn and salt cedar in the Tian Shan Mountains and cotoneaster groves in the Bolors. In the middle reaches, when the river comes to the foothills, the *urema* becomes more diverse, with poplars, willows, pink and black barberries, honeysuckle, dog rose, the yellow peatree (*Caragana frutescens*) and other papilionaceous bushes, such as the salt tree (*Halimodendron argenteum*) and others. The cotoneaster has disappeared, but the sea buckthorn grows to a greater height. In the lower reaches, near the mouth of the river, the increasing pressure of the river's water makes it widen and spill out to form floodplain meadows and reed beds, and the 'jungles' clothe the banks with a wide, dense fringe. New species appear in it, *boyarka* and oleasters (*Elaeagnus angustifolia*). After these rivers flow into the Tarim, the *urema* ends, and the banks of the Tarim become wide, marshy swamps densely covered with bulrushes and reeds.

With the help of meticulous irrigation and centuries of care, the cultivated plant life of Little Bukharia is fairly diverse. The suburbs of cities and villages are surrounded by dense orchards where tender species of fruit grow, such as the pomegranate and the fig; plantations of cotton and cultivated meadows extend over large spaces, and low-lying areas are planted with rice.

The cultivated plants of Little Bukharia are as follows: grains – rice, wheat, barley, millet or gaoliang. This is of two kinds: red (*Holcus sorghum*) and white, which we call sugar millet, lentils, maize and, very rarely, common millet. Oats are not grown.

Of industrial and dyeing vegetation, Eastern Turkestan produces cotton of an annual, graminaceous variety (*Gossypium herbaceum*), hemp, sesame (*Sesamum orientale*), dyer's madder (*Rubia tinctorum*) and tobacco.

Various cucurbitaceous plants are grown in vegetable plots: melons of several varieties (of excellent flavour), watermelons, gourds, turnips, carrots, radishes, beets, onions, mint, chickpeas (*Cicer orientinum*), poppies and saffron. Cucumbers are very rare and are of a variety known as 'Chinese'.

In the gardens there are willows; poplars (*Populus pruinosa*) of a native variety, pyramidal with silver leaves; mulberry trees, *dzhigda* (oleasters, *Elaeagnus hortensis*) and *chilyan*. The latter two produce fruits similar in taste to dates, and glue can also be obtained from the *dzhigda*. Apples of two varieties are grown, but are of little merit. There are pears, the best in Central Asia, also bergamot oranges, peaches, apricots, quince, pomegranates and figs. The grapes grown here are mainly of two varieties: Husseini – white, oblong, extremely tasty – and Sahibi – round and red.

The plants we have mentioned are found throughout the Little Bukharia valley. Locations in the mountains are an exception: for example, peaches, pomegranates and figs do not grow in Sairam and Bai, but grapes and cotton are cultivated successfully. In Yarkand, in addition, cherries, plums and walnuts

are grown. The village of Kargalyk in Yarkand District concentrates entirely on growing nut trees, and selling nuts is its main trading activity.

From this sketch it will be seen that the vegetation of Little Bukharia is poor and poorly cultivated. Quite apart from European countries on the same latitudes, which are notable for the wealth and variety of semi-tropical plants they grow, the flora of Little Bukharia compares poorly with Asian countries in this band. The vegetation in the mountains of the Kazakho-Dzhungarian steppe is far richer in natural species. In the environs of Vernyi (Almaty), apricots and apples grow wild; deciduous trees grow very tall, and the grasses are incredibly diverse, despite the harsh winter climate and deep snows. The neighbouring Fergana Valley is considered the best land in all of Central Asia. Its mountains are covered with coniferous forests, walnut trees, pistachio bushes and cherry trees. Its agriculture and horticulture are an important component of its trading. In addition to the plants grown in Little Bukharia, in the orchards of Fergana there are almonds and plums. Even Bukhara, an island of fertile land amidst an ocean of sand, is known to have more cultivated species than Little Bukharia.

Eastern Turkestan is remarkable for its lack of meadows, for the poor state of cultivation of its land, for its lack of forests and the barrenness of its surrounding mountains. The cause of the region's deficiency in terms of vegetation must be considered its low cultural and economic level. Horticulture in this latitude can be at a more advanced level, as witness the grapes and peaches ripening on the shores of Lake Issyk-Kol. But here the low quality of the soil is a product of the fact that it is never moistened by the rains and is insufficiently cultivated. In concluding this section on vegetation, we feel obliged to mention that nowhere in the vicinity of Kashgar is the sugar cane grown which Chinese chronicles of the first century AD mention, and which Ritter suggests should be given particular attention. We think from the word they used that the Chinese meant either sugar sorghum or *dzhugara* [Manchurian millet], whose stalks contain a sweet juice that serves as a treat for the local children.

The animal world

The animal kingdom has several distinctive features. In the mountains there are many wolves, foxes, jackals, lynx, bears and (beech) martens (*Martes foina*). Mountain goats (*Saiga tatarica*) and Argali sheep (*Ovis ammon*) live on the rocky peaks. Deer hide in the woods. The burrows of alpine marmots cover the south-western slopes of all the mountains of the high Tian Shan. There are many rats in the swamps near the sources of rivers. In the sandy steppes, there are said to be many herds of wild asses (*Equus onager*) and gazelles (*Antilopa subgutturosa*) roaming.

The Chinese make frequent mention of wild camel hunts in which the rulers of these cities engaged in ancient times. Although a local manuscript

in our possession entirely confirms this remarkable fact, the local people have been unable to give us definite information on whether camels still exist in the wild, and we must consequently assume that at the present time they have either become extinct or have retired to the inaccessible centre of the Little Bukharia Sahara. Caragana foxes (*Canis melanotus*) and Corsac foxes (*Vulpes corsac*) are to be found on the plains. In the 'jungles' there are tigers, wild boar and hares (*Lepus europaeus*).

Birds of prey inhabit the mountains. Species known to us are the bearded vulture (*Gypaetus barbatus*), which in Chinese descriptions assumes the dimensions of a camel, the griffon vulture (*Gyps fulvus*), the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), the falcon, hawk and so on. The golden eagle is the only bird used by the local nobility for hunting foxes and mountain goats. It is brought mostly from Khotan. The falcon and hawk are brought from the coniferous forests of the Aksu district and are trained for hunting by people from Kokand.

Of the wild hens native to the mountains there are the snowcock, similar to *Tetraogallus caucasicus* but, it seems, slightly larger, with ashen feathers and red circles round its eyes, and the Greek partridge (*Perdix saxatilis*). These birds are native to other mountainous countries of Asia, especially the Dzhungarian Alatau. The snowcock has tender meat and in Kokand is considered the best roast. The Greek partridge also has appetising meat and is trained, like cocks in England, to fight. In the jungles and among the reeds there are pheasants and quail and on the plains there are flocks of sandgrouse (*Syrrhaptes paradoxus*) flying in the air.¹² In the cities you find crows, rooks, magpies, sparrows, starlings and so on.

There are very few aquatic birds to be seen in inhabited areas or on the mountain lakes, but for the most part ducks and geese. In the lower course of the River Tarim, and especially on Lake Lobnor, there are so many swans, geese, ducks and other aquatic fowl, according to the local people and a Chinese writer, that the natives dress in down jackets and sleep on beds of down. It is remarkable that Eastern Turkestan is not visited by storks, which in West Turkestan cover mosques and buildings with their nests and strut in the streets alongside domesticated animals.

The rivers of Little Bukharia and Lake Lobnor abound with fish. The Chinese relate that people from Lake Lobnor, if they have business in Korla (a village in Kucha district), bring fish with them to eat because they cannot eat other food. Other Turkestanis eat almost no fish. Judging by the general nature of this country, these fish will probably be of the same varieties as are found in the rivers of the Lake Balkhash and Aral Sea systems.

The sandy-clay soil of Little Bukharia is home to many venomous insects, such as scorpions, camel spiders and tarantulas. There are an exceptionally large number of varieties of lizards here. We have seen no snakes, but are told there

¹² The Pallas sandgrouse.

are few and that cases of snakebite are very rare. In the summer there are many horseflies, mosquitoes and midges, particularly in swamps covered with reeds. Of benign insects in Little Bukharia, there is the silkworm, bred only in Khotan and its surroundings. Silk moths are said to breed in the wild near Khotan.

The domesticated animals of Little Bukharia are breeds produced by neighbouring peoples. Horses belong to a Kazakh breed, and are brought in from the Great and Kyrgyz Hordes. Only wealthy people and professional drivers keep them in dozens, because all year round, owing to the lack of natural fodder, the livestock have to be fed dry fodder. Out of a particular prejudice, imitating the Chinese, the local nobility prefer Kazakh horses, and accordingly Turkmen horses are rare here and kept only by people in Kokand for riding. There are either thoroughbred Topchaks or mixed-breed Karabairs. Following the Chinese fashion, the *beks* used mules as draught animals, which in other Muslim countries are considered unclean, and where breeding them is considered a terrible sin. Camels are a Mongol breed and are used only by the Chinese to transport government baggage and tea caravans. They are used occasionally by Kokandians. Turkestanis engage only in the breeding of sheep, yaks and donkeys.

Topography of cities and villages

In approaching the topography of the cities and villages of Eastern Turkestan, we shall, in order to avoid repetition, first indicate their shared characteristics. The external appearance of the cities of Eastern Turkestan is monotonous and uninspiring. Since the mosques in Little Bukharia are constructed without minarets – only in Yarkand is there a tower on the Registan mosque – and as the houses are low and have flat roofs, the traveller, approaching the city, sees only clay walls of the same colour as the soil of the surrounding area, with light lattice towers of Chinese design at the corners. All the cities of Eastern Turkestan are enclosed by a wall, which narrows towards the top and is some 35 feet thick. The height is some 55 feet or more. There are buttresses by the gates and in the corners. The gates are of wooden planking and built in three rows. Around the outside of the walls ditches 20 feet deep and more are dug, with bridges thrown across them.

The houses too are built of clay, not excluding the palaces of the rulers. They have flat roofs and are surrounded by a wall. The interior encloses an open area with a pool shaded by several trees, accommodation, stables and sometimes a garden. The rooms are both large and small. The large ones are open to the sky. By the walls there are clay elevations that serve in place of furniture, over which there are canopies. The inner rooms are covered with a ceiling made of thin branches and have small apertures above to let in light. Fires are lit in fireplaces, and in the winter a brazier with coal is also placed in the rooms.

Wealthy people have their interior walls plastered; niches in the walls are decorated with arabesques. Many people introduce Chinese windows, pasted over with paper. Everything is dependent on the owner's wealth. The walls

of one house are close up against those of another, so that only walls and doors are visible from the street. It is only mosques, madrasas and other public buildings that open on to the street, their exteriors usually faced with coloured tiles. Streets are narrow: only the main streets are wide enough for a two-wheeled cart to pass along, and they are not straight. Shops, restaurants and barbershops line both sides of the main streets, that is, the streets leading from the gates to the city centre and market square. Some of these streets are canopied with mats.

The centre of the city usually comprises the main Registan or Aitga mosque, adjacent to the bazaar square, which is usually called the Charsu. Flanked by avenues, one or two canals will flow through the city, supplying several ponds with water. In winter, when the water in the canals freezes and they are closed, the residents use water from the ponds or fetch it from the river.

The Chinese *manchen* fortresses,¹³ or, as the local people call them, *gulbagi*, are constructed in the same way as Muslim cities. If the *manchen* is built close to the local city, the space between them forms a street flanked with Chinese restaurants and shops. Such streets are called *gaichan*.¹⁴ In Yarkand and Khotan, the *gaichan* is the location of a weekly bazaar. In Kashgar, because the distance is long, the *gaichan* is empty and undeveloped.

Turkestan settlements and villages consist of scattered houses that stand apart from each other. Every house is enclosed behind a wall and surrounded by orchards, vegetable plots and arable fields. Several such farmsteads, linked by avenues of mulberry and oleaster trees, comprise the village. In more populous settlements, the houses are grouped more closely together and have no enclosing walls. The Chinese call large settlements 'cities', but the local people call them *yazy*,¹⁵ villages.

As regards local government, the six western cities of Eastern Turkestan are departments or districts independent of each another. Since the Chinese have no direct influence over their administration, we shall prefer the local classification.

The first: Kashgar District

Kashgar, one of the large cities of Eastern Turkestan, comprises 16,000 houses and is situated between the Rivers Kyzyl and Tyumen. It is surrounded by a clay wall 42 feet high, which narrows towards the top but at the base has a width of about 70 feet, and at the top of some 35 feet. The perimeter of the wall is about 8 miles, and it is defended by six towers. The city has two gates: on the east and south-west sides. The former is called Su-Darvaza,¹⁶ and

¹³ *Manchen*. Literally, Manchu fortress.

¹⁴ More precisely – *gaishan*, a street bazaar.

¹⁵ More precisely, *ieza*.

¹⁶ *Su-darvaza*. The River Gate.

the latter is Kum-Darvaza (the Desert Gate). Owing to the constant dryness of the air, the streets are not muddy, but they are irregular and narrow, and two-wheeled carts are able to pass only down the two main roads. The houses are built of clay, with the exception of four madrasas and one memorial prayer room, which are faced with tiles glazed in the Chinese manner. The city is divided into two almost-equal halves: the old city, Kune-shaar, and the new, Yan[y]-kurgan, founded in 1838 by the ruler, Zurdunbek.

The old town is located on a high bank, while the new town is in a much lower area. The centre of the city is the Aitga trading square (the square of the main mosque). The old city is divided into two quarters: Charsu and Ambarchi, and the new city is divided into four: Urdaaldy, Ustenbui, Yumalak-shaar and Andizhan-kucha.

In Kashgar, there are 17 madrasas, 70 schools (*maktabs*), eight caravanserais and two bazaar squares (Aitga and Charsu). The former is in front of the main mosque, and the latter is in the old city. From the two gates to the central Aitga Square there are two main streets, lined with restaurants, barbershops, workshops and stores where meat, lard and ready-prepared food are sold. The street from Aitga Square to the Charsu bazaar is canopied and comprises a trading row. Foreign merchants occupy shops in the *sarai* halls.

The largest of the caravanserais is called Andizhan-sarai and stands on the central square. Attached to it is the Kokand customs office for imposing the duty on goods imported and exported by foreigners. The Konak-*sarai*, a short distance from the above, on the street leading from the Desert Gate to Aitga, is occupied mainly by Margelianians, merchants from Shahrisabz, and Afghans. On the same street there is another small *sarai*. Other caravanserais are located along the above-mentioned canopied street, of which the best known are the Ura-Tyube – occupied by traders from Bukhara and Ura-Tyube Tajik – the Yarkand, Aksu and Jewish. Apart from these outlets, there are permanent bazaars at the Desert Gate: the Pakhta bazaar for the sale of cotton, and the Kundan wholesale bazaar for the sale of *daba*. Livestock are sold in a *gaichan* outside the city walls, near the Desert Gate.

To vouchsafe peace and propriety in the city there are in two places *tynza* or *dyn-za*, a kind of police; there is a prison, and a customs post at the *gundan* for collecting duties from the natives for their production of *daba*. The city, additionally, has two ponds and a canal (*usten*) that runs from one side of the city to the other. One of the ponds lies in front of the house of the *khakimbek*, while the other is in the Yumalak-shaar quarter.

Every Friday there is a bazaar, to which craftsmen from the city and the surrounding villages bring their week's work.

We know of the following villages of the Kashgar District. The first are a group of settlements, Ustyun-Artysh (Upper Artysh) 17 miles to the north of Kashgar on the River Artysh, or Toin; a small settlement, Argu, 64 miles (190 *li*) to the north-west of Kashgar; Saaran, on the River Termechuk. Astyn-Artysh (Lower Artysh), also called Altyn-Artysh (Golden Artysh),

40 miles north-east of Kashgar, is notable for a tomb and mosque built on the grave of Sultan Satuk Bughra Khan Ghazi, which serve as a pilgrimage destination for devout Muslims. Kaltayailak, where the River Artysh flows into the Faizabat-Darya, is 38 miles to the east of Kashgar. Bishkerim is 8 miles to the north-east of the city, between the Rivers Artysh and Tyumen. Along the River Tyumen there are the settlements of Mushi, about 47 miles north-west of Kashgar, Samen and Toguztash (also called Dzhankurgan). The latter two are suburbs of the city and encircle Kashgar, the former from the north-west and the latter from the west. Dzhinchke and Abat are 8 miles east of Kashgar on the left bank of the Tyumen. Shaptan, on the right bank of the Faizabat-Darya, below the confluence of the Tyumen with the Kyzyl and 28 miles to the east of Kashgar, has a ferry. Faizabat is a large settlement 35 miles from Kashgar, on the southern bank of the Faizabat-Darya. Yangiabat is on the south bank of the same river, opposite Kaltayailak, 10 miles from Faizabat.

Settlements along the River Kyzyl: Tuguzak, 15 miles from the city; Tazgun, on the right bank of the river, 6 miles south of Kashgar. The settlement of Khanaryk is 27 miles south-east of Kashgar, on the River Usten, or Khanaryk (Yamanyar). This is the seat of an *alim-akhun* (spiritual leader) considered to be the leader of the Chernogorsk [Black Mountain] Party. The settlements Burakhatai, Upal and Tashmalyk lie at the foot of the mountains to the west of Kashgar. The distance to Tashmalyk is considered to be 120 miles, and to Burakhatai, 40 miles. Of the settlements of Kashgar district, the largest are Faizabat, with some 2,000 houses, Khanaryk with the same number, and Astyn-Artysh with 1,500 houses. All of them are governed by *khakims*, rulers, and have their own *alim-akhuns*. Faizabat has a bazaar once a week, on a Monday. In Khanaryk there is a bazaar twice a week, on Sundays and Tuesdays.

In the vicinity of Kashgar, there are tombs of several saints much venerated by the local people and other Asians. The tomb of Apak Khoja is the most beautiful building in the entire Kashgar district, and is located 4 miles to the north-east of the city, on the right bank of the River Tyumen. It is built of fired bricks and is decorated outside and in with coloured tiles. The cornices are decorated with the horns of sacrificed mountain sheep and goats and the antlers of sacrificed deer. Banners and horsetails adorn the entrance and the crypt itself. There is a large mosque beside the tomb, built by one of the *khoja's* sons, with a beautiful spheroidal dome. The tombs of Akmazar and Padshakhan Khoja are situated along the road to Artysh, 8 miles from Kashgar. In the city itself there is the tomb of Abrazyk Kazy Khoja. There are many others besides, but those named are the best-known. The Chinese city (*manchen*) lies 4 miles south of Kashgar, on the right bank of the River Kyzyl. It is surrounded by a wall like that of Kashgar and has two gates on the north and south sides, and its garrison numbers some 5,500 men.

Yanysar District

Yanysar has about 8,000 houses and is situated 47 miles (according to Chinese information, about 200 *li*) south of Kashgar. It is surrounded by a wall, and has two gates and two caravanserais. The main street runs from the Yarkand Gate to the house of the ruler, in front of which there is a pond and a canal. All the shops, restaurants and so on are concentrated on this street, and here too are the trading halls. The weekly bazaar is on Sundays, outside the city in the *gaichan* in front of the Kashgar Gate.

Of the villages under the administration of Yanysar, the best known are: Laba, 10 miles to the south, and Terektek, noted for its hashish production. In the environs of Yanysar the most notable sacred sites are Chilanlyk, 10 miles to the south-east, and the *mazar* [saint's tomb] of Begim, 10 miles beyond Chilanlyk in the same direction. There is an orchard belonging to the *khakimbek* on the road to Yarkand, with a large lotus pond. The Chinese city is situated a mile to the west, and the garrison is said to number 2,000 men.

Yarkand District

Yarkand is the largest city in Turkestan. It was formerly the capital of the khans and later of the *khojas* and stands between two channels of the River Yarkand-Darya. The *hebe-amban*, who is the chief administrator of the Southern Road, resides in the city's Chinese fortress. There are around 32,000 houses in Yarkand. The city is surrounded by a wall some 55 feet high and approximately 16 miles in circumference, with four gates. It has four trading halls, 70 madrasas and one *tyntza* (police station) near the main Registan mosque. Along the main street, from the Altyn-Darvaza Gate to the Kabagat Gate, are all the shops, stores, taverns, trading halls and, finally, the Charsu market square.

The better-known quarters are Urdaaldy and Sokakul, in which the Kashmiris and Indians live; Aksakal-Kuchesy is the quarter of the Badakhshanis and Andizhanians. The most outstanding buildings are the *khakimbek's* palace near the Khotan Gate, and the Registan, an ancient mosque with a tall minaret. There is a bazaar every day from 7 pm, along the street from the Registan to the Naskhodzha-Kuli Pond. A weekly bazaar is held on Fridays in the area between the Chinese citadel and the city. From the Altyn Gate to the gates of the Chinese citadel, a street has sprung up, on which the Dungans have built restaurants and which is the focus of all trading activity.

The foreigners living in this city are mostly Badakhshanis, who have their own elder, and Kashmiris, who trade in slaves. In addition, there are many inhabitants of Tibet Minor, the Balti, who are hired labourers. These highlanders provide most of the city's drivers and water carriers. The Indians also have their own quarter.

Freed slaves from the mountain realms of Chatrar and Wakhan, known here under the generic name of Rofiza, are settled in the environs of Yarkand.

Notable settlements on the northern boundary of Yarkand district are: Barchuk, 253 miles from Yarkand at the confluence of the Rivers Yarkand-Darya and Tarim, and Maralbashi. These settlements are inhabited by a particular tribe of Dolon who have their own rulers. In Barchuk there is a Chinese garrison of 300 men. To the west of Yarkand, in the vicinity of Lake Sarykol, lies the settlement of Sarkol, where Tibetan cows are bred. On the road from Khotan to Yarkand is the commercially renowned settlement of Guma. It is 132 miles from Yarkand and has some 200 houses, and a bazaar every Saturday.

In the foothills of the Kunlun are the villages of Sanchzhu and Kilyan, known for their large-scale breeding of cows. Of the villages that lie along the River Tyznab, the better known are Tagbui, Kukyar, Yularyk and Kargalyk, which have their own *khakimbeks*. Of these, Kargalyk, or Kargaly (350 houses), is noted for growing walnuts, which cost 30 kopecks in silver per 1,000. In the vicinity of Yarkand are the tombs of Mukhammed-Sherifpir Khoja, Altyn Mazar, the Temple of the Sacred Hair (Muimu-Barak),¹⁷ and the main shrine – the Temple of Aftu-Moodan in the city itself. The Chinese fortress is situated just over 1 mile west of the Muslim city. It is surrounded by a wall that is taller and thicker than that of Kashgar, and has a garrison of 2,200 men.

Khotan District

Khotan, which the Chinese call Iltsa, lies between the Rivers Karakash and Yurunkash. It is surrounded by a low wall, has eight trading halls, of which three are occupied by foreign merchants. In the others are traders from the neighbouring villages of Iltsi, Karakash and Yurunkash.

Khotan has some 18,000 houses. The Chinese city is just over 1 mile to the west and has a garrison of 1,400 men. The surroundings of the city are covered in orchards, and particularly populous is the area leading to the Chinese city, which, as in Yarkand, has a street where all the trading activity is concentrated. Khotan is notable for its extensive silk industry, production of fine felts, carpets, the semi-silk material *mashru*, fine calico and the silk material called *darai*. Finest quality jade is extracted in the River Yurunkash and goes to Peking. Other notable settlements are Iltsi, adjoining the city to the east; Karakash, Yurunkash, Kariya and other settlements have significant populations and are known for their trading.

Aksu District

The city of Aksu has 12,000 houses and is situated at the confluence of the Rivers Aksu and Kokshal. It is surrounded by a clay wall much less extensive than that of Kashgar, but has four gates. There are six caravanserais in Aksu and five madrasas. The centre of the city is Charsu Square, from which the main streets, lined with shops, restaurants and so on, go west to the Timurchi Gate and east to the Akin Gate. The bazaar is held twice a week, on Thursdays and

¹⁷ A hair from the beard of Mohammed. – CV.

Fridays. Aksu is notable as a focus of Chinese trade, and is no less important militarily, because the roads from inner China and Ili meet there. In addition, Aksu is famous for producing good quality *daba*, which is called *shisha*, and leathers that are exported to Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar.

The following settlements belong to Aksu district: Bai (Pai in Chinese) is 140 miles to the north-east of Aksu, near the mountains. It is noted for extensive sheep farming and production of felt, and has some 500 houses. Twenty-five miles to the east (on the border with Kucha District) is Sairam, which has a Chinese garrison. Of the settlements close to Aksu, the best known are Kumbash and Aikul. A Chinese fortress is located less than 1 mile west of Aksu and has four gates. Many Chinese merchants from the trading houses of the Shanxi governates, and camel drivers live in this *manchen*. Most of them are Chinese Muslims (*Khoi-khoi*). The garrison consists of 600 men.

Ush-Turfan District

Ush-Turfan is a town or, more accurately, a settlement consisting of haphazardly scattered houses. It has neither walls nor fortifications. It has some 40 *iuzbeki* (chiefs of hundreds), so some 4,000 houses. According to other sources, there are 6,000. There is a bazaar on Sundays. It has no large mosques or madrasas. Ush-Turfan is known for its livestock market and production of good-quality tobacco, which is exported to the Kazakh Horde. The city is of historical interest because in 1765, after a rebellion, all the inhabitants were massacred and replaced by 500 families from various local cities, who were registered as arable farmers (*taranta*). A military settlement of Chinese was established. The Chinese citadel is situated in the centre of the Muslim settlement and has four gates. The northern wall is on a cliff edge. It is said to be heavily fortified and has a garrison of some 800 men.

Chapter 8

A Note on the Kokand Khanate

Commentary

The results of Valikhanov's first travels in 1856 are reflected in his travel notes 'Diary of a trip to Issyk-Kol', 'A Geographical Sketch of the Trans-Ili Region', 'On the Western Region of the Chinese Empire' and 'Notes on the Kyrgyz'. These works were written when Valikhanov was just 20 years old. Already in these works, he showed himself to be a surprisingly observant and erudite scientist with a writer's talent and an excellent knowledge of geography. On the return journey from Kuldzha, Valikhanov again passed through Semipalatinsk (today Semey), where he had been in early November. There he once again met with Dostoyevsky. Valikhanov had long wanted to find time to talk with the writer, and if possible to offer him help and support during his exile. Dostoyevsky was in good spirits and was glad to see Valikhanov. He told him that he had recently received a positive response from St Petersburg to his request for the rank of ensign, and this circumstance allowed him to engage more thoroughly in creative work. Valikhanov told the writer about the trip to Issyk-Kol and Kuldzha.

The Kazakh tribes that roam in the vice-regency of Tashkent belong to two hordes: the Great Horde and the Middle Horde. The tribes of the Great Horde are: the Shanyshkyly; Kangly, who roam in the vicinity of Tashkent; and the Dulat, the Zhalaiyr and the Suan, who roam the Rivers Shu and Talas. The tribes of the Middle Horde are the Konyrat and Kazakhs, subordinate to the descendants of Sultan Kenesary Kasymov, who roam in the environs of Turkestan and the Karatau Mountains.

In respect of civilian and military administration, Kokand is divided into several vice-regencies, or military districts. The rulers of these districts (*khakims*) command the military forces located within their boundaries and hire out their positions. The revenues they receive are unsupervised, and they are themselves responsible for providing the troops with wages and provisions. They annually forward a portion of the revenues and gifts from themselves personally to the khan. The *khakims* have such titles as *kusbegi* [falconer], *parvanachi* [senior administrator] and *datkha* [senior legal official]. They have two deputies: a *sarkar*, who is exclusively in charge of civil affairs, and a *batyr-bashi*, who commands the troops.

Every more or less significant city in the khanate constitutes a separate district. Of these, the most notable are:

- 1) Kokand, the seat of the court, where there is no ruler and the troops are under the direct command of the *mynbasy* (a general), the highest official in the khanate with the rights of a grand vizier and commander-in-chief. This is where the main military forces of the khanate are concentrated, including the elite Galavatr Corps, a kind of guard.
- 2) Margilan is the second [district] in significance, after Kokand. Militarily, this district and its troops are called Yarmazar, after the fortress that lies 4 miles to the south-west of Margilan and where the troops are stationed. The ruler has his residence in Yarmazar. There are some 12,000 soldiers in the Yarmazar Corps, of whom 4,000 are deployed in Yarmazar itself.
- 3) The third [district] is Namangan. Its troops are called the Tyuryakurgan Corps, after the fortress, located 5 miles to the west.

[Other districts]: Andizhan – ancient Fergana; Osh, or Takht-Suleiman; Sharkhiya¹ along the Angren Valley; Kurama; Uratobe; Khodzhen; and, finally, the most extensive district – Tashkent.

All the nomadic tribes are assigned to these districts in accordance with their territories, and their warriors to the relevant armies. The Min Uzbeks and some of the Yuz are subordinate to Kokand; the Yuz to Uratobe; the Kipchak to Namangan and Shakhrikhan; the Turks to Margilan and Osh. The Kyrgyz belong to the departments of Margilan, Osh, Andizhan, Namangan and Tashkent districts.

The Kyrgyz (Burut) and Kazakhs can be divided into those who are full subjects of Kokand and those who only recognise its authority. The former enjoy the same rights as nomadic Uzbeks, serve in the army and can occupy military and civilian positions. They include Kyrgyz of the Adgene, Ichkilik and Naiman tribes who in the summer roam the Alai Mountains and in the winter roam the Fergana Valley, and Kazakhs of the Great Horde clans – Shanyshkyly or Katagan and Kangly who roam in the vicinity of Tashkent. The Shanyshkyly and Kangly provide the main backbone of the troops of the Tashkent vice-regency. The latter pay *zakat* [an Islamic tax] and are obliged to provide auxiliary troops in case of need. Such are the Bolor Kyrgyz, who have over them a special Kokand military official with the rank of *datkha*, who lives in the Tashkurgan fort and pays *zakat* to the Margilan and Osh *khakims*.

Tax collectors ride round the Kyrgyz *uluses* all the way to Khotan. The Kyrgyz lines, roaming the Naryn River in the Tiektaash Valley as far as Ush-Turfan, are subjects of the Andizhanian ruler, to whom also are subordinate the commanders of forts built in the Kyrgyz nomadic territories: Dzhumgal,

¹ That is, Shakhrukhiya.

Toguztarau and Kurtka. Kazakhs and Kyrgyz roaming the Rivers Talas, Shu and Dzhungal are subordinate to the governor-general of Tashkent. Forts have been built to keep them under surveillance at Aulie-Ata, Sholak-Korgan, Merke, Pishpek and Tokmak.

Tajiks and settled inhabitants of the Turkic tribe for the most part engage in trade, crafts and arable farming. The nomads, however, are predominantly warriors, and thus constitute an independent element within the khanate. The Kipchaks incensed both the city dwellers and the nomadic Uzbeks and Kazakhs, but were so powerful that the malcontents did not dare to give vent to their hatred. Soon there was dissension among the Kipchaks. Utenbai quarrelled with the *mynbasy* during the siege of Uratobe in 1846 over a horse, captured by Utenbai's soldiers, which the *mynbasy* took for himself. Utenbai joined forces with Mirzat, the commander of the Namangan Corps, attacked the *mynbasy*'s camp, destroyed his *mynbasy* regalia and sent him back to Kokand.

The khan, delighted to have an opportunity of ridding himself of the tutelage of the *mynbasy* Musulmankul, appointed Mullah Kalybek to replace him. (He was also a Kipchak). Musul'mankul was allowed to go back to his villages, after promising to lead a solitary life. Having escaped death, Musulmankul the following year, together with his clan, attacked Mirzat, tied him up and, with Namangan [troops], made straight for Kokand. The city was soon taken, and Mirzat was hanged from the city gate. Thus, Musulmankul took revenge on Utenbai.

The offended *kusbegi* [Utenbai], during a ceremonial parade of the *mynbasy*'s troops, not only did not dismount from his horse, but forbade his soldiers and officers from saluting Musulmankul in the manner appropriate to his office. This was the beginning of a rupture, that was to end very unfavourably for the Kipchaks. Utenbai refused to defer and entered into relations with the rulers of Tashkent and Uratobe, who also had grudges against the *mynbasy*. All the most august chiefs of the Kipchaks – Kurgulu, his son Hal-Magomet, the ruler of Shaerkhan – joined Utenbai's party.

The *mynbasy* was, nevertheless, still so strong that he managed to take measures to quell this revolt. Those rebelling against him took flight to Nurmagomet, the ruler of Tashkent who, in 1852, clearly distanced himself from the dictatorial power of the *mynbasy*. His unsuccessful siege of Tashkent in March, June and July 1852 finally sealed the fate of Musulmankul. Utenbai and his troops sided with the besieged. The khan, who was in Utenbai's camp, also took the side of Tashkent, and Musulmankul, deserted by everyone, fled to his villages.

Now Utenbai, having himself become the *mynbasy*, put to death all the major Kipchaks in government posts. This turn of events united the remaining Kipchaks, and in early 1853 some 60,000 troops, under the command of the khan himself, came out against the Kipchaks. A terrible slaughter took place between the Rivers Naryn and Syr. In spite of their desperate bravery, the Kipchaks could not prevail over the superior numbers of their adversary's

forces. They were completely routed, and orders were given for the remnants of their army to be killed wherever they showed themselves. Musulmankul died on the scaffold, along with 600 of the best Kipchak warriors. Only Utenbai, Nurmagomet and Kalmogamet [*sic*] survived and retained their posts. Others survived by escaping to Bukhara.

Having in this way been freed from the power of the Kipchaks, Khudayar [the khan of Kokand] himself took over direction of the state. All the provinces were gifted to the khan's brothers. Malibek was appointed governor in Tashkent, Sufibek in Andizhan, and Sultan-Muratbek in Margilan, and the rest of the cities were given to his favourites, most of them youths. Shadman-Urak, a *khoja* from Tashkent, was elevated to the rank of *mynbasy*.

The reign of Khudayar began peacefully. He was a meek, religious man, but excessive trustfulness towards the comrades of his youth, with whom he surrounded himself, and, finally, his inclination towards mysticism, which increased the influence of the clergy, aroused the displeasure of old soldiers.

Malibek was the first to raise the banner of insurrection, but had to flee to Bukhara. Hostility between these two states had never abated, and the Emir of Bukhara, noticeably striving to extend his power over all of Turkestan, continued to raid Uratobe and Khodzhend. He warmly welcomed Malibek. In the winter of 1855, Malibek bowed to repeated requests from his brother and returned to Kokand. On arrival at his brother's court he was very cordially received, but was not given any position. Indeed, an official was appointed to keep him under observation. This was Ernazar-Pansad, one of the Karakalpaks resettled from Turkestan to the west of Kokand.

During the last period of his reign, Khudayar devoted himself to extreme religiosity and entertainments. During campaigns, no one was allowed to smoke or be excused from attending common prayers. In his palace the khan gave lectures on rights and rituals, or set up arenas for fights between animals, especially dogs; ferocious bull camels, rams, dogs and partridges were trained in menageries. He created a huge dovecote, and sent for savage dogs from outlying provinces of his state, even from Khotan and Yarkand. Affairs of state were managed by court officials and *mynbasys*. These were, latterly, Maniyas, who was hanged in late 1850 near Uratobe while a prisoner of the Bukharans; also Kasym, who died in autumn 1857, and Shadman-Urak. The khan himself took 40,000 troops to the vicinity of Uratobe. The *bek* of Uratobe, a descendant of the former rulers, had distanced himself from Kokand and declared himself a vassal of the Emir of Bukhara. The Kokand troops suffered a surprise attack while negotiating a difficult passage: 500 Yuz attacked their rearguard, routed it, captured the *mynbasy*, seven *pansads*² and a proportion of the supplies, which were being transported on 12,000 carts. Before this, the *mynbasy* in Kokand, while giving an audience to the envoy of Bukhara, publicly rebuked the khan and gave the envoy a slap. After this campaign, the last and youngest

² *Pansad*. A commander of 500 men.

member of the khan's family, Shamuratbek, was given Khodzhend under the guidance of Tursynpansad. This action seriously riled Malibek, and the khan, with his carefree ways, began to incur popular displeasure. The khan suddenly developed an enthusiasm for marriage. Some mullah declared that to consummate a thousand marriages was no less significant than to conquer seven heavens. His desire to accomplish this great feat resulted in his marrying, in short order, 80 virgins. Meanwhile, an incident occurred in Tashkent that enabled Malibek to return to the political scene.

Since Malibek had fled to Tashkent, Mirza-Akhmet-Parvanachi had been appointed governor. This young man owed his rise to his pleasing appearance, having previously been a *mechrem*³ (like a Turkish *tobukchi*) of a wealthy merchant. This is the same *parvanachi* who made two incursions into Russia's borders: one on the right flank, on the River Sarysu, and the other from the direction of Pishpek, on the Great Horde. He surrounded himself with magnificence that surpassed the court of the khan himself. To maintain this show, he imposed burdensome taxes on the nomadic tribes; all his attention was devoted to his troops, who were generously rewarded and became very supportive of their chief. Meanwhile, the discontent of the nomads grew by the day.

There is in the vice-regency a standing army of some 40,000, and in case of emergencies ...⁴ and in the coming spring help him to seize Kashgar. Among those who went over to Malibek was Nurmagomet Datkha, who was immediately awarded the position of *aksakal* [governor] of Kashgar. On 30 October, after several missteps when the Kipchaks were particularly zealous in taking revenge for the crushing of their compatriots, Malibek took Kokand. Khudayar, accompanied by Mirza-Akhmet and Shadman-Urak, fled to Khodzhend and from there to Bukhara, where he was received by the emir. At the present time, this khan is living in the city of Samarkand. Malibek established himself as khan under the name of Seid-Bagadur Magomet-Male Khan. Upon becoming khan, Malibek altered his policy. Obligated to the Kyrgyz for his elevation, he promised to make their head, Alibek, *mynbasy*, but he has not yet officially recognised him as such, although Alibek enjoys all the privileges of a grand vizier.

Initially, the Kyrgyz succeeded in appropriating many rights, as the Kipchaks had done before them. At the present time, however, although the overt violence and robberies they perpetrated in the cities has, for the present, been stopped, their influence remains much in evidence. Many important positions are occupied by Kyrgyz. Malibek is evidently seeking to emulate the Bukhara system of rule, which is considered exemplary in Central Asia, and it is said that the title of *mynbasy* will accordingly be abolished.

At the beginning of his reign, Mali Khan⁵ was very active and ruled justly. He paid off Khudayar's personal debts and much that had been wrongly taken

³ *Mechrem*. Confidant.

⁴ The text breaks off. One sheet is missing.

⁵ Mali Khan. Short for Malibek Khan.

for the treasury was returned. Then he abolished many taxes and reduced others. Thus, for example, first, the *nikakhana* نکاحخانه tax payable on marriage: to a maid, one gold coin, to a widow half a gold coin; second, the *tarakana* تراکانه – one-fortieth of the property of a deceased person, payable to the treasury; third, the *tarazdar* for the scales used by the government – from 1 *batman* [grain] 1 *mir* (one quarter of a *tenge*) – were abolished completely; fourth, the *haraj* خراج – land tax – was reduced. From irrigated fields they had formerly taken 1 *pud* in 5, but now took 1 in 10. From fields without irrigation they formerly took 1 *pud* in 10, but now cancelled the tax altogether. The city of Margilan, for the support it had given him, was awarded the title of *khasaki*,⁶ indicating that it enjoyed a position of special preferment.

Mali Khan showed great concern to rule well and enhance the welfare of his country. Shortly after acceding to the khanate, he visited Margilan, then Tashkent, and from there went directly to Khodzgend. On the way back, he spent days in Kokand, and then visited Andizhan. This was in March 1858.

Of the rule of Mali Khan, in among all the good measures he took, there is one striking feature that he seems to have taken over from the Emir of Bukhara. That is deceit and duplicity. An example is afforded by his charter to Nasreddin, the *aksakal* of Kashgar, and the saga involving Mullah Khalykul, who was appointed ruler of Margilan. Mali Khan very calmly seized their concealed property, had them executed and their estates confiscated. There are many similar examples.

As rulers of cities he has chosen: for Tashkent, the Kipchak Utenbai-Kusbegi; in Margilan, after the demise of Mullah Khalykul, he has installed two rulers, one military – Balbek, and one civil (the *sarkar*) – Seit, and subsequently Kanagatcha who, under Madali Khan, was ruler of the city of Turkestan, and since then has been a captive of Bukhara. Kanagatcha, his brother Dzhurabek and Gadaibek are famed as the most courageous people in the Kokand Khanate. All these Tajiks served during the time of the famed *kusbegi*, Lyashker, in Kokand and later in Bukhara, where they enjoyed the especial favour of the Emir. After the accession of Malibek, Kanayarcha,⁷ together with 300 of his soldiers, defected to Kokand. The *kusbegi*'s son, Eshangul Datkha, occupies a prominent position in the Bukharan army.

In Andizhan, Shamuratbek, the son of Sarymsak Khan, has been appointed ruler; in Namangan – Sufibek, the khan's brother; the previous ruler remains in office in Khodzgend. Urutobe, ceded after the defeat of Khudayar Khan to Bukhara, has now again submitted to Kokand. This province is ruled by a hereditary *bek*. The latest news is that a new ruler has been appointed in Tashkent. In late April, Utenbai was recalled to Kokand, and Metmus-Turk appointed to replace him. His deputy (*zakatchi*) is Madsharipbai, also known as Dzhinny.

⁶ More correctly, *khasa*, *khasagi* – privileged.

⁷ Copyist's error. Should read 'Kanagatcha'.

The Khan of Kokand is presently in an extremely difficult situation. That old enemy of the house of Min, Bagadur, Emir of Bukhara, has lately (in 1856) become more powerful after capturing the city of Shahrisabz, which had been under an independent ruler from the Uzbek Keneges tribe. The latter had been feuding with the Mangyt⁸ from the time of their foundation. From the day of his accession to the throne, Bagadur Khan warred constantly with the Keneges, but every time returned without success. Thus, Emir Nasrulla, empowered by his conquest of Shahrisabz, and finally having in his hands Khudayar, [as well as] Muzaffar, the son of Madali Khan, and the son of Sultan Makhmut, who was formerly in Shahrisabz, has become more dangerous than ever.

In recent times, Uratobe has been ruled by its *beks* and has won itself a great deal of freedom, only nominally acknowledging the rights of the khan. This circumstance obliged Mali Khan to make all those concessions to the people in order to gain its loyalty, and to be selective in whom he chose to head his administration. With this in view, Utenbai, as a crafty old soldier, capable of doing anything for his personal gain, has been taken to Kokand. The result of this restrictive situation is that an indifference towards the protectorate is developing among the Kyrgyz people inhabiting the upper reaches of the Syr Darya, who chafe at the firm and resolute character of this ruler. Obligated for everything to this nation, and himself having ties of kinship, he can best rely on the loyalty of these sons of Nature, who have yet to be infected by the duplicity typical of people in Kokand.

The Kipchaks also contributed to [Malibek's success], and accordingly many of them are again in influential positions: [for example], Nurmamet, the *kusbegi*, Khalmabet, and Klychkurshi, who so distinguished himself during Malibek's rebellion. Kipchaks are again flocking to Kokand, but Malibek is evidently anxious about a return of their former influence. Although he favours them, he has yet to appoint any as rulers of districts. As a result of this measured policy, Malibek is seeking to remain on peaceful terms with Bukhara and with Russia. (There have been rumours that he is preparing to send an embassy to Russia.) As regards the Chinese, Malibek has expressed a desire to be on friendly terms with them, too. Together with the *aksakal* Malibek had appointed, he sent Matkerim *Bi* to Kashgar as an ambassador with the rank of *bakaul-bashi* to notify them of his [Malibek's] accession to the khan's throne. Samulla Khoja returned with them from Kashgar as an envoy of Kokand. Kashgar *beks* are appointed as ambassadors, clergy who bring gifts to the khan.

* * *

...⁹ which ended with the fall of Khan Khudayar and the accession of Malibek. Between Kashgar and Kokand the post is now speedy, with messengers arriving

⁸ A Bukharan dynasty of the Mangyt tribe.

⁹ This part of the article is preserved in file No. 10, but lacks the beginning.

from Kokand in 6–8 days. All news reached us only gradually and through official channels. The events that shook Kokand were reflected in Kashgar in a change of *aksakal*, with Nasyr-ad-Din Datkha replaced by [Nurmagomet] who, in 1857, had been first the *aksakal* in Kokand and then, under the *khojas*, the *mynbasy*. The revolt of Malibek and the fall of Khudayar Khan, according to reliable information received in Kashgar, occurred as follows.¹⁰

For clarity, a historical digression is needed. After the Uzbek conquest of Maverannakhr (in the early sixteenth century), the Fergana Valley became a place where a number of Uzbek clans roamed. Within the boundaries of Kokand and along the River Ashpara, the line of Min were roaming: near Khodzhen – of Yuz; in the vicinity of Andizhan – of Kipchak Turks; between Margilan and Namangan – of Kipchaks. In 1509 Shadibek, the chief of the Uzbek Mangyt tribe, overthrew ... khan of the house of the Batukhanids and proclaimed himself khan. Around this time, the Clan of Chamash *Bi* of the line of Min began to rise. The children of [his descendants], Abdulkerim *Bi* (about 1745), Erdene Batyr (1758), then his brother Narbuta extended their influence to the valley of the Upper Syr, and Narbuta *Bi* ordered a *khutbah*¹¹ to be read for himself. His son, Alim, later took the title of khan. On a coin minted in 1801, he is described as *bek*, and his brother and adopted son, Omar Khan ('*seid* M. Omar-sultan') appended to his name the title of *seid-sultan*: ruler over Muslims.

In 1842, Madali Khan, the son of Omar Khan, was killed by the Emir of Bukhara, Nasrulla Khan, who appointed his viceroys to rule Kokand. Shir-Ali, the son of Alim Khan, born of a Kyrgyz mother, while still a youth retired to live with his grandfather of Clan Sary, Adzhibai, and, forgotten by everyone, lived a quiet nomadic life. Marrying a Kyrgyz, he had three sons: Sarymsak, Malibek and Khudayar. With the death of Madali Khan and his brother, Sufi Makhmud, the line of Omar Khan became extinct. Madali's son, still in his minority, was in the hands of the Emir, and the people, discontented with the Bukharans, were rebellious and preparing to overthrow their hated yoke. Shir-Ali saw his chance. Wearing a white Kyrgyz felt hat and a coarse Kyrgyz cloak, he appeared among the Kokandians and an uprising broke out.

The Mangyt were massacred. The emir advanced on Kokand to restore his influence, but was defeated and put to flight. Shir-Ali became khan. This khan was an extremely kind, indolent person with a religious bent, and he embarked on a life of insatiable luxury. The people of Kokand, familiar with the luxurious brilliance of Madali and the tyranny of the dreaded emir, did not take kindly to this khan. In 1845, Muradbek, with the help of Yuz nomads, captured Kokand and killed Shir-Ali, but within nine months there was a rebellion there. Murad Khan was killed, and the city proclaimed Sarymsak khan. Shir-Ali Khan had

¹⁰ Opposite this, in the margin, is a note: 'NB'.

¹¹ *Khutbah*. Public Islamic sermon.

had five sons: Sarymsak, Malibek, Khudayar, Sufibek and Sultan-Muradbek. Sarymsak had just one son, Sultan-Shakh Muradbek.

During the Kipchak era, Malibek had been the ruler of Tashkent, but when it was captured by the Kipchaks he fled to Bukhara. In 1855 he returned on the orders of Khudayar to Kokand, but was completely without any position, while the other *beks* were the rulers of various peoples.

In 1858, the Kazakhs, driven to insurrection by the oppression and cruelty of Mirza-Akhmet, the ruler of Tashkent, who hanged several respected Kazakh *bis*, refused to submit any longer to him and advanced on Aulie-Ata, Shymkent and other cities. The khan sent Malibek to Tashkent to investigate. He listened very understandingly to the Kazakhs, asking them what they wanted. The Kazakhs said the only thing they wanted was a different ruler of Tashkent, not Mirza-Akhmet, and that if their demands were not met, they were prepared to enforce them by armed opposition.

Malibek sent the most venerable of the Kazakhs to Kokand to put their request to the khan in person. Khan Khudayar invited Mirza-Akhmet to an audience, announced his promotion, and returned him to Kokand with an escort, immediately appointing him *mynbasy*. This alienated Malibek and was the beginning of his disaffection. He was aware of the growing discontent of the people over the eccentricities of the khan, who was ordering huge dogs from China, married 17 wives in a single week and drained the treasury to build a palace in the country at Dzhir-Mamed. He secretly left Kokand for Andizhan, where his brother Sufibek was the ruler.

Khudayar immediately guessed what was afoot. He asked Malibek to return to Kokand, sent his mother, Dzharkyn-Aim, and then Khozret, who caught up with him in Karasu ...¹². But Malibek was unyielding. He invited Alimbek Datkha, the senior chief of all the Kazakh tribes, to join him in Karasu. From there he moved to Margilan, and between Margilan and Yarmazar began assembling troops. He had plenty of people, but no money or weapons. He appealed to the residents of Margilan, who raised funds. One merchant gave 15 gold *tillyas*. Malibek and ...¹³

The Chinese, after their conquest of Dzhungaria (referred to in our Russian documents as *Zyungarskaya zemlitsa*) and Eastern Turkestan, began to take an interest in the nomadic tribes adjacent to Dzhungaria (the Kazakhs and Burut) and to lands that had once belonged to the Dzhungar khans: Tashkent, Sairam, Sozak and Turkestan. The superstitious Muslims, mindful of a prevalent myth that before the end of the world the Chinese would conquer the entire world, were in such a panic that for a time they forgot their internal quarrels and set about forming an alliance, of which Ahmad Shah Durrani emerged as the leader. He was the ruler of Kandahar in Afghanistan, founder of the Durrani Dynasty, and seen as the most powerful ruler in Central Asia. In 1703, Ahmad, with a strong

¹² The following two abbreviated words have not been deciphered.

¹³ Text missing.

army of 33 *san*¹⁴ and artillery, positioned himself between Kokand and Tashkent and entered negotiations with the Chinese, to whom he sent 40 emissaries. While the negotiations were underway, Ahmad sent a call to *jihad* – a war for the faith – to the Kazakh khans Nurali and Abulmambet, inviting them to help against the Chinese, who were advancing on the southern borders.

The Chinese advanced with a military force to the Russian border, demanding that Amursana should be surrendered to them. In 1764, Nurali wrote [a letter] to the Empress Catherine about the invitation made to him by all the Muslims of Central Asia... On 19 March 1768, allegedly, there was an official response from the Empress to Khan Nurali.

In 1747 when Nadir Shah, the ruler of Persia was murdered, head of the Mongol Durani tribe Ahmad Shah seized the provinces starting from Herat ... founded the Kingdom of Afghanistan and extended his power to the Indian Ocean in the east and took the whole of Punjab and Kashmir. He made Kandahar the capital for his new dynasty. Ahmad died in 1773 and was succeeded by his son Timur Shah Durrani. In 1822 the Durrani Dynasty fell. Ayub, the last sovereign of this dynasty, fled to Lahore to Ranjit Singh, and Afghanistan was divided between the sons of his vizier Mohammad-Azim Khan of the Barakzai tribe. One of them, Dost Mohammad, got Kabul.

The fear was very great. Back in 1756, when Chinese troops invaded the Kazakh steppe, Abylai Khan of the Middle Horde submitted to becoming a vassal of the *bogdykhan*¹⁵ and was awarded a princely title. Nurali sent an embassy to China. According to the Chinese, the Kokand ruler Erdene *Bi* (Odon) in 1758 also submitted to the patronage of the *bogdykhan*.

The ambition of the Chinese to extend their domains, and the belligerent spirit prevailing during the reign of Emperor Qianlong, is evidenced by two embassies sent to Abylai Khan in 1756 and 1758. However, in 1760 a detachment demanded the extradition of some Kazakhs of the Middle Horde accused of robbery. The sultans of the Little Horde also sent ambassadors to Peking in 1763, including Nur Batyr and Abulfeiz, and Abulmamet Khan of the Middle Horde sent his son. Finally, in autumn 1762, Chinese ambassadors with a 130-strong escort came to Abulmamet Khan and Abylai Khan on behalf of Qianlong and announced that it was the will of the *bogdykhan* to send an army in the spring to offer a sacrifice, in accordance with Chinese custom, at the tomb of the *khoja* Akhmet and at the Blue Mountain in Samarkand. They asked to be provided with one *san* to escort the troops and feed the soldiers and also requested horses, bulls and sheep.

On 13 March 1763, Abylai's nephew, Dauletkeri, returned from Peking, bringing a letter to the khan and granting permission to roam the territory left vacant by the Dzhungars up to the River Ili. He was asked to send Kenzhe Batyr of Clan Naiman as a hostage. In June the khan sent Kenzhe with Orys Sultan,

¹⁴ There are 10,000 men in a *san*. – *CV*.

¹⁵ A word used in early Russian sources to describe the Emperor of China.

and they were joined by Bytyr and Abulfeiz from Nurali. One detects alarm over the Chinese Solon, especially after the announcement of the intention of the Chinese to march to Samarkand. The Kazakhs, while continuing to send ambassadors to Peking, at the same time wrote, jointly with Erdene Batyr, the ruler of Kokand, who at this time had taken Tashkent, and with Fazyl *Bi*, the ruler of Khodzhend, a letter to Ahmad Shah begging him to provide help. Two sons of the former rulers, Aikhodzha and Kunhodzha, undertook to deliver the letter. Aikhodzha and Kunhodzha escaped to Badakhshan but were killed there. Their children escaped from captivity and appeared before Ahmad asking for help, and were promised 30 *leks* of soldiers.

In the spring, the Afghans arrived and took up their position between Kokand and Tashkent. They sent ambassadors to Peking to demand the return to the *khojas* of Yarkand and Kashgar. The Afghans tried to incite Muslims to oppose the Chinese, writing to the Kazakhs and urging them and all Sarts not to go to Kuldzha to trade. Fazyl *Bi* of Khodzhend called on Abylai Khan for advice; he thought he might be able to go there on the pretext of waging war against the Kurama.¹⁶

Meanwhile, the Chinese were consolidating their position in the conquered territory and considering building a city on the River Ayagoz. The Afghan ambassadors returned from Peking, where they had been given a poor reception and all their demands had been rejected. Until 1763 the people of Kashgar did not pay tax, but gave gifts.

In the summer of 1764, Erdene again wrote to Abylai Khan proposing *jihad* and told him that the inhabitants of Kashgar had vowed to help. The Afghan shah was busy with a war against the Sikhs, and his troops were on their way to Kashgar. They cleared wells and canals and readied supplies for the troops, but did nothing else until August, thinking that they would start in the spring. Ahmad Shah then took Badakhshan with 15,000 troops and captured its ruler, Sultan Shakh. The Badakhshanis, under a Muslim curse, were punished for killing the *khojas*. Of the *khojas*, four were killed in battles and two were captured by the Chinese and taken off to Peking. A seventh, Sarymsak, escaped to Greater Bukharia.¹⁷

¹⁶ Kurama. A section of the population formed by assimilation of Kazakhs and Uzbeks, identified as early as the seventeenth century as Uzbeks. They lived mainly in the Angren Valley.

¹⁷ E. Timkovsky, *Puteshestvie v Kitai cherez Mongoliyu*, part 2 (St Petersburg, 1824), pp. 77 and 123. Here too is written, 'Tsyau Lun' was married to a Turkestan woman from a princely family, his third queen.' – *CV*.

Chapter 9

On the Western Region of the Chinese Empire

Commentary

Valikhanov's scientific activity attracted the attention of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, which in February 1857 elected him a full member. A new stage of scientific activity for Valikhanov began with a confidential trip to Kashgaria in 1858, when he became the first outsider since Marco Polo and the Jesuit Bento de Góis to visit this little-known region. It resulted in his famous work 'An Expedition to Kashgar: Conditions in Altysshahr, or Six Eastern Cities of the Chinese province of Nanlu (Little Bukharia) (1858–1859)'. The work was highly appreciated by orientalists in Russia and abroad, and soon became one of the very few Valikhanov essays to be published in English.

By the Western Region we are referring to Chinese Turkestan and part of the former Dzhungaria. A snowy ridge¹ separates Dzhungaria from Turkestan, and accordingly the northern side of the Tian Shan Mountains is called the northern border and the southern side is called the southern border. The Snowy Mountains – Syue-Shan [Xueshan] – and the Celestial Mountains – Tian Shan – are one and the same. Dzhungaria itself is now divided into seven districts: Barkol, Urumchi, Ili, Khur-Kharaus, Tarbagatai, Kobda and Ulyasutai. Of these, Kobda and Ulyasutai have their own *jiang-jun* and are subordinate to the overall rule of Mongolia. Urumchi and Barkol have been allocated to the governate of Gansu.

Eastern Turkestan consists of two principalities and five military districts, which is why it is sometimes referred to by the parallel name of Zheti Shar, the Seven Cities. The chief governor of the Western Region and corps commander of the troops stationed here, the *jiang-jun* and his inseparable adviser the *hebe-amban*, have their quarters in the city of Ili (Kuldzha). In Tarbagatai he has another of his advisers, a *hebe-amban*, and a third in Eastern Turkestan. The *jiang-jun* is the governor-general of this region, with authority over the

¹ The reference is to the eastern Tian Shan Mountains.

Olot and Torghut and the Turkestan cities, and the tribes of foreign khans. With the final subjugation of Dzhungaria in 1764 (in the 29th year of the reign of Tsyun Lun (Qianlong), a new city, the seat (*urga*) of the Dzhungar khans, was established on the River Ili near Old Kuldzha. It was named Huiyuan Zhen, but is better known to us by its Turkic name of Little or New Kuldzha, to distinguish it from the Muslim city of Kuldzha that lies 35 miles further up the river.² Kuldzha, or Ili, is where the authorities governing the entire Western Region are concentrated, and is an important military surveillance post.

There is a major government office here, the Main Ili Administration, which has responsibility for the entire Western Region. There are Manchu³ and Chinese troops in the Ili district manning the city's garrison. For providing the border forces and provisioning the frontier posts, Sibo, Solon and Dakhur troops have been drafted into nearby military settlements.⁴ Detachments of Chakhor and Olot are conscripted to perform a year's frontier service, alongside the Sibo and Solon. The Ili District is vast. To the north it borders Tarbagatai, to the south the New Border,⁵ and to the east Urumchi. The north-western border with foreigners is protected by a frontier of military guard posts which, starting at Nor-Zaisan, run along the base of the Alatau ridge to Chundzhi, near the Temirlik Mountains, and join up with the New Border.

The military settlements are situated as follows: along the southern bank of the Ili there are eight settlements belonging to eight 'banners' of Sibo troops. The Solon occupy the area from north of the Ili to the mountains, a plain along the River Korgas. The Solon are also divided into eight banners. Each banner has a commander, called a *zengi*, and these are subordinate to a single *amban*. A brigadier is in overall command of both the Sibo and the Solon, and resides in Kuldzha as one of the military advisers of the *jiang-jun*. In addition, Chinese criminals from the southern provinces and soldiers have been resettled throughout the district. The former are employed mining coal and working in lead processing plants. Moreover, at the time of the conquest of Dzhungaria some 6,000 Turkestani families were resettled here to till the soil. These Taranchi farmers are under a personal obligation to deliver a certain amount of grain, rice, millet, Turkestani millet and wheat to the state treasury for the troops. They are supposed to receive from the treasury a plough, a harrow and an ox to work the fields, but they complain that the actual support they receive from the treasury is only a two-year calf, which they are given after working for ten years. Chakhor Kalmyks roam the environs of Lakes Sairamkol and Borotal, under the command of their *amban*.

² At Almatuyar.

³ The Manchurians were deported from Si-an-fu and Lyan-chzheu-fu. – *CV*.

⁴ Initially some 1,000 Sibo were deported from Manchuria, along with some 600 Solon and 400 Dakhur from Sakhalian-Ula province. – *CV*.

⁵ This probably refers to the Shu River that separates Kazakh and Kyrgyz territory.

1. Barkol District. The furthestmost district of Dzhungaria. It has a strong garrison of some 5,000 Manchu and Chinese, under the command of two generals.
2. Urumchi or Urumqi (in Chinese, Dihuaqzheu).⁶ Established by the Chinese for conquering Dzhungaria. Subsequently, a further city, Gung-chu, was built 8 *li*⁷ away from it. Urumchi is populated mostly by Chinese. After the conquest of Dzhungaria, several thousand peasants and criminals from the inner provinces were resettled to this remote arable region. Their main settlements are located on the tracts of Manas and Chzhonke. Urumchi is the foremost city in terms of trade in the Western Region. Goods are distributed from there, by way of Komul, to Kuldzha, Chuguchak and Chinese Turkestan. There are many capitalists⁸ there, buying in bulk and retailing goods. Russian goods are delivered to Urumchi and we receive tea for import to Russia from there. The Chuguchak and Kuldzha merchants serve only as middlemen. It also houses a large garrison of Manchu and Chinese. The two districts are administered on a common provincial basis.
3. Ilia. The city is located at 103° east and at 44° north.⁹
4. Tarbagatai. The city of Tarbagatai was founded in 1755. The city was previously located on the River Urzha but was later relocated to the Chigu tract. In Tarbagatai or Chuguchak the district is governed by a *hebe-amban*, the chief administrator. There is a military settlement of Chinese in the district. Garrisons of up to 1,000 Manchu are sent from Ilia. Torghut Kalmyks of the Tsewang Dorji line have been resettled to the east of Chuguchak. Chuguchak is one of the main trading cities of Western China and surpasses Kuldzha¹⁰ in this respect.

Fifteen *li* to the east of Kuldzha is Mount Kongor, which contains a great deal of coal and where there is an iron mine. Another 55 *li* to the east of ...¹¹ on the Bayan-Tai tract is the city of Khoinin-Chen and, beyond it, Kuldzha (from Little Kuldzha to Old Kuldzha is considered to be 20 miles). This city is governed by an official drawn from the local population who bears the title of *khakimbek* and to whom the Taranchi defer. The position of *khakimbek* of Kuldzha remains to this day a kind of exile. Powerful *beks* from various cities

⁶ Mount Bogdo-ola lies to the north-east of Urumchi. The Chinese call it Fu-sheu-shan – the Mountain of Longevity. – *CV*.

⁷ *Li*. A Chinese measure of length.

⁸ The reference is to merchants.

⁹ On the subject of Kuldzha, see the *Diary of an Expedition to Kuldzha*.

¹⁰ After the word ‘Kuldzha’, there is a note: ‘P.S. Geographical notes.’ The author’s intention of providing a geographical overview of the Tarbagatai district remained unrealised.

¹¹ More precisely, to the north-west.

are posted here where the authorities can keep an eye on them. At the present time the position is being held, in succession to a *bek* from Turfan who had a red ball, by a person of no significance, a man of lowly rank who previously served in Kurban as a *tunchi* (interpreter).

One hundred and eighty *li* from Kuldzha is Mount Khashtag, with silver ore, and adjacent to it the city of Khash. To the south of Burataly lies Lake Sairamkol (Sailimu-Nor), whose spirit, we are assured by the author of the *Siyuya-wen-tszyan-lu* (see Iakinf, *Opisanie Dzhungarii i Vostochnogo Turkestana*, which, we should mention in passing, is not held in high esteem by the Chinese scholarly world but which is highly popular), is represented in the form of a mountain goat with a big beard. The Ili is formed by a confluence of rivers: from the right the Kun-Ges and Khash and from the left the Tegus (Tekes). Its course extends 1,400 *li*. Lake Balkhash, in Chinese, *Balkhasi-Nor*, has a perimeter of 800 *li*. In the history of the Tang Dynasty, we read that Wan Fan-i gave battle at the River Ili. He also had a camp at Zhekhai, beyond Balkhash. Father Iakinf took Zhekhai to mean Lake Balkhash, but is not Zhekhai a translation of the name of Lake Issyk-Kol, which in Turkic means the same as *Zhe-khai*:¹² ‘warm sea’?

The southern border

Eastern Turkestan is divided into seven departments, each of which consists of a district capital and several small towns and villages. The departments are governed by their own *beks*, under the supervision of the local Chinese military authorities, the so-called governor or *hebe*. They are subordinate to the *amban*, who lives in Yarkand. All these native *beks* appointed by the Chinese are more loyal to the local people, but are constantly moved from one city to another. Only the descendants of Bek Isak in Komul and the *ashin-khojas* of Turfan have the hereditary title of *Wan* for the service of their ancestors during the subjugation of Dzhungaria and during the revolts of the *khojas*. The Turfan are chosen to serve as *khakimbeks* in preference to other Turkestanis.

The native authorities consist of the following ranks: the highest is the *khakimbek*, or governor of the seventh class; below him is a kind of assistant, the *ishkagabek* (custodian of the peace). The *kazynachi* قزینچی is in charge of the collection and safekeeping of land tax; the *mutavali* is in charge of the buying and selling of houses; the *mufti-shafu* is the head of the clergy; the *duguan* is the head of the military unit, [station] and postal service; the *kazi* or *kadi* [is the judge]; the *mirab* is in charge of water transport; the *bagor* monitors consistency of prices, weights and measures, a kind of *mukhtasib*; the *khaikbu* is in charge of government buildings; the *emr* or *mir* organises the elders; while the *ar bab* is the collector of duties on births, marriages and deaths.

¹² Valikhanov is correct: *Zhe-khai* is indeed the Chinese name for Lake Issyk-Kol.

The *hebe-amban* and governors make proposals for filling the top positions, and these are approved by the *bogdykhan*. They have their own peasants. Every village also has a *keuke-bash*, the supervisor of agriculture. At the end of each year, the Turkeistani *beks* go to the court in Peking to present gifts. The number of gifts to be presented depends on their rank.

The clergy consist of *akhuns*, mullahs and dervishes, of whom there are a great many here. They are held in high respect and all have beards. The Kashgarians are Sunni Muslims and followers of the teachings of Imam Shafi. Like other Muslims, they are not particularly fanatical about their religion: they openly drink wine, and no feast passes without women and music. They ferment wine from mulberries, peaches and grapes.

During the harvesting of the fruit, everyone drinks themselves to a frenzy and dances until they drop. They also love beer. For marriage they pay *kalym*, and love hunting with falcons. The women do not hide themselves away, but swarm in the company of men. They eat horsemeat.

Houses in Turkeistan are built in the same fashion as throughout the East. There is invariably a garden by the house and a fountain plays in the courtyard. There are many mosques of excellent Moorish architecture [which] are famous in the East.

About the coinage. They do not have their own local coinage in Kashgar, except for the *puls*,¹³ of which a bunch of 50 pieces comprises a *tenge*,¹⁴ a rouble. The Turkeistani *pul* has the same appearance and shape as the Chinese *fen*,¹⁵ only they are cast from pure yellow copper, without any admixture of zinc as in the Chinese coins, which they call *karapul* – black *puls*. The Turkeistan coin has a hole in the middle, like the Chinese, and is threaded on to a string; a bundle of 50 makes a *sar*¹⁶. On one side of the coin is the name of the city in Manchu [language], and on the other in Turkic. Silver currency, the *ilozhe* in Chinese, or *yamb*, is an ingot. That, and the Central Asian *tenge*, circulate freely.

Volcanoes. There is a volcano near Urumchi, to the west of the Cossack village of Birok-Bulak. Combustible sulphur and sal ammoniac are extracted near Kucha, of which 1,800 *jins* of saltpetre is included in the annual taxation dues.

Gold is mined in Keriya and 20 *iangs* of gold are delivered as the annual dues. In Ili every military settler is obliged to harvest a levy of 18 *dan* (sacks)¹⁷ of clean grain; in Urumchi, 15; in Taliyatsin, 14. However, when soldiers are engaged in service, or the harvest has been poor, the levy may be varied. At all events, the officers no doubt oversee matters to their own advantage. If the amount delivered reaches 28 sacks in Ili, 25 in Urumchi, or 24 in Taliyatsin,

¹³ A copper coin worth 1.5–2 kopecks.

¹⁴ A monetary unit equivalent to 20 kopecks in silver.

¹⁵ A coin worth a hundredth part of one *liang*.

¹⁶ A *sar* contains 36 grams of gold (1 Chinese *liang*).

¹⁷ Chinese measure of weight.

the officers are commended, and the soldiers are awarded a one-off two-month portion. (In Khur-Kharaus, Karashar and Barkol this is in accordance with the Urumchi Code, in Ush in accordance with the Ili Code.)

Convicts are required to deliver nine sacks of grain in Ili, and $6\frac{3}{5}$ sacks in Urumchi. This provision extends also to Barkol, Taliyatsin and Komul. The inhabitants of these cities also pay a tax on land used for arable farming. Per *mu*¹⁸ (equivalent to 1,200 square feet) in Barkol [they pay] $4\frac{4}{5}$ *shengs*¹⁹ (*garnts*)²⁰ of grain in wheat, beans and maize. In Urumchi and Ili the inhabitants and *shampan* are taxed 8 Peking *shengs*, that is, *garnts*, half in wheat flour and half in flour of other grains. The Taranchi in Ili pay 16 *tagar*²¹ (sacks) in barley, wheat, millet and foxtail millet.

A Peking *dou*²² (measure) contains 10 *sheng* (*garnts*). A Turkestan *meshyur* contains up to 3 *hu*;²³ 1 *hu* contains 2 quarters and 3 *garnts*.

1. Komul or Hami is located at 112° east, 45° north. It was founded by the Chinese in 630 and renovated in 1679. It is a small town, and not far from the suburb there is a Chinese town with a garrison.

The prince of Komul long ago submitted to the power of neighbouring China, during the reign of Kangxi of the present Manchu house of Qing, adopting citizenship of the empire. For his loyalty to China during the subjugation of Dzhungaria and for his supportiveness, Ie Khan, the *bek* of Komul, was awarded the hereditary title of prince. Hami district comprises six towns and is administered as a governate.

2. Turfan. The seat of the hereditary *beks* descended from Emin Khoja who, for his loyalty, was awarded the title of *Tszyung-wan*, prince (second class). The *khakimbek* of Turfan governs six cities. One of them, the town of Pichan, is the location of the military governor and his garrison. Pichan lies on the high road. Turfan is notable for the excellent flavour of its grapes and the abundance of its cotton crop. By Lake Lobnor (the Sea of Stars), in a landscape of pools, springs and marshes, lies the village of Lobnor. The inhabitants of these localities engage in fishing, speak a Turkic language, but do not observe Mohammedan law. They are governed by their *bek*, who is directly subordinate to the *amban* of Pichan.

¹⁸ Chinese unit of area equivalent to 837 square yards.

¹⁹ Chinese measure of volume in the form of a square or cylinder. Valikhanov defines it as a *garnetz*.

²⁰ Measure of granular materials equal to 115 fluid ounces.

²¹ A Uighur sack holding 10 stone 4 pounds.

²² Old Chinese unit of weight.

²³ Old Chinese unit of granular materials, shaped like a truncated pyramid and equal to about 1 stone 12 pounds.

3. Karashar, in Turkic قراشهر, is a wholly Chinese city. There are several military settlements there, and it is also the seat of a military governor. The Torghuts, who fled from Russia with Ubasha, roam in the vicinity, along the Yulduz ridge and the River Khaidu. The towns of Korla and Bugur are inhabited by Dolon Turkestanis (the Dolon were serving people under the *khojas*, like the Tulengut under the khans). They have their *beks* and are subordinate to the Karashar *amban*. Bugur is notable for the fact that all the roads from South Turkestan converge there.
4. Kucha is a vast district. Its *khakimbek* ranks in the second class and rules the city. The people of Turfan and the Chinese garrison live together in the city. Its noteworthy products are coarse calico, copper, saltpetre and sal ammoniac mined in the surrounding mountains. There are many caves in the mountains and in the summer lights are seen there. In one cave there are Buddhist effigies hewn from the rock. Their adornments date from the Tang Dynasty.
5. Ush is called Turfan or Ush-Turfan in Turkic. One of the major cities of Turkestan, it is the residence of the *amban*, the governor. During the Dzhungar period the city flourished, and its *khakimbek* took orders from the *kontaishy*.²⁴ Khadis, the *khakim* of this city, was awarded the title of prince for delivering the Dzhungar Khan Dawachi to the Chinese. Dawachi had supposed that, out of gratitude for having been raised to the position of *khakimbek*, Khadis would hide him. At the beginning of the subjugation of the region, all the city's inhabitants were massacred for rising up against Abdullah, a native of Komul appointed *khakimbek* by the Chinese. It was repopulated with Chinese and given a large garrison. It has a mint. Its present residents are Turkestanis resettled from Kashgar, Yarkand and Aksu and they have a *khakimbek*. While the region was being subjugated the *hebe-amban* had his residence here, then later in Kashgar, and now has his seat in Ush-Turfan. Kyrgyz of Clans Cherikchi and Bagysh roam in the vicinity. The cities of Aksu, Pai and Sairam belong to this district, although they have their own independent *khakimbeks*.

Aksu is one of the most extensive cities, with as many as 25,000 houses. The residents are artisans and have an abundance of cotton, millet, sesame, barley and various fruit trees. Aksu pears are renowned for their flavour and are sent to the *bogdykhan*. Their suede leather horse appurtenances are universally famous.

6. Yarkand is one of the first-class cities of Eastern Turkestan, the residence of *khojas* and seat of the *hebe-amban*. It is considered the principal trading city: merchants from Kashgar, Bukhara and Andizhan buy and sell here. It is notable for the production of huge quantities of cotton *mata* fabric. Jade is obtained from the Rivers Yurunkash and Karakash and sent in large

²⁴ *Kontaishy* (*Khontaidzhi*, *Khontaitszy*). The title of feudal lords of the Dzhungar.

quantities to Peking; private sale is prohibited. The military administration of the city owns the separate area of Khotan (Iltsa) – in Chinese, Khotian or Yuitian – notable for its trade. It is a centre of weaving.

7. Kashgar is situated on the high road from Central and South Asia to Eastern Turkestan. Kashgar and Yarkand are the foremost trading cities of the Western Region. All Central Asians call the whole of Chinese Turkestan Kashgaria, which testifies to how renowned the city was in ancient times. The khans of what from the reign of Temir-Tugluk, the first khan independent of Chagatai, was called Uighur(stan) and Kashgar, had this as their seat. Kashgar trade flourished from ancient times, and through this city Central and South Asia sold their goods to Tibet, China and Dzhungaria. In the present day it entirely retains that importance.

The whole year, numerous caravans from a variety of different countries come and go here. The Chinese government itself, despite all its intolerance of floods of foreigners, exempted Kashgar from the law applying to the rest of the empire, and all 'Western nations' are free to come here. Because of the extreme secretiveness of the Chinese and the ignorance of the Turanians, it is impossible to learn in detail about the state and extent of this trade, but judging by the 60,000 or so livestock driven here by the Kyrgyz and Alban (a Kazakh clan of the Senior *Zhuz*) alone, and by the 100,000 animals of the Kokandians and Kashgaris, one can gain a sense of how immense it must be. According to eyewitnesses, in a single day in Kashgar there are deals involving 40,000 head of livestock. The main trade with Kashgar comes from people the locals call Andizhanians (residents of Kokand, Andizhan, Namangan and Tashkent), Bukharans, Persians, Indians, Kashmiri merchants, Afghans and Tibetans.

The Andizhanians bring Russian products of iron, cast iron, Russian cloth, steel, leather, plush and various cotton goods, and chintzes, and sell them very profitably. Of late (1855), all our goods in Kuldzha have been bought up by the Kashgaris in return for *mata* and taken off to Kashgar. The Bukharans bring small *merlushka* lambskins, known in the trade as *danadars*, and black and grey Astrakhan lamb pelts of excellent quality; dried apricots, grapes (raisins), sultanas and pistachios; and various semi-silk goods: *padshai*,²⁵ *bikhasab*²⁶ and others. The Persians bring English chintzes, silk fabrics and carpets. Indian merchants bring muslin, damask and Kashmir shawls. From Tibet there are furs and copper.

From Kashgar itself there are, for the most part, green tea, leather goods, Chinese silks and silver. The Andizhanians export a special tea in wickerwork, called *sabet*²⁷ (which holds 12–13 pounds). It is drunk with milk and salt. In previous years there was no great demand for tea in Kokand, and they

²⁵ Brightly coloured semi-silk material.

²⁶ A semi-silk fabric interwoven with linen.

²⁷ A special kind of China tea.

kept the price at 10 kopecks, with 1 or 2 kopecks profit. In the last two years, however, demand for *sabet* has suddenly increased, with a profit of 5 to 10 kopecks, with the result that several people have arrived in Kuldzha with orders and, squabbling among themselves, have raised the price to unbelievable levels. If in the past an *yamb* would buy you up to 30 chests of this tea, now they were paying an *yamb* for only 15.

It needs to be mentioned that merchants from Tashkent trade here in Kuldzha directly with silver and gold, and in the process undermine our own trading. They bring in a small amount of *mata*, which is of better quality than the Kashgar *daba* and always sells well. The Indians were buying silver, but recently the Chinese have put a ban on exporting it. In addition, the Andizhan and Bukhara merchants take considerable quantities of the local cotton goods: grey and dark cotton canvas, a robust and durable striped material called *timpai* and a semi-silk *mashru*, like Bukharan *padshai*, but coarse with flowers, for sale to Kyrgyz of the Great and Dikokamennyi Hordes, where it is much in demand. The annual turnover of trade in Kashgar must really be very high, in excess of 10 million roubles.

About the city. Kashgar is an extremely populous city, mostly inhabited by Muslims. The Chinese occupy a separate citadel. Because of the great influx of people, the residents of the city are not noted for impeccable morality. Altogether, the Turkestanis of the Seven Cities are extremely free and unprejudiced in their ways. Despite being Muslims, they openly drink wine and beer and do not hide their women away.

Speaking of Kashgar, one cannot fail to mention the women of Kashgar, who are renowned throughout Central Asia for their beauty. According to Asian people who have been to Kashgar, full moons, gazelles, cypresses, roses and all the other Oriental epithets for beauties are to be found there. They are convinced that the water in Kashgar has a miraculous aphrodisiac property. Old mullahs who have never given a thought to forbidden fruit do not manage to get out of Kashgar without surrendering their beard to some sugar-lipped lovely. In Kashgar there is a pleasing tradition that you can sate yourself with love without violating the commandments of Moses, as long as you do so before it is light. In other words, any visitor may take a temporary (but lawful) wife, on the basis of the law on *mutie*. No sooner have you arrived in Kashgar than you begin to feel an amazing desire for love (as a result of the miraculous effect of the water). Sinful thoughts take possession of you so firmly that you begin talking for no obvious reason about the love of a moth for the flame of a candle, and the love of Majnun for Layla. Your desire is further inflamed by the voluptuous scenes you inevitably witness. No matter where you go, there can be no hospitality that does not include dancers who sing, with amazing tenderness, Kashgar's favourite tale about the love of Layla and Majnun. The end result is that, even if you had a heart of stone, it would succumb to such seductive singing and turn into a sizzling kebab. Your only option is to marry, on the basis of *mutie*, since how otherwise are you to slake the incendiary passion

engulfing you? You talk of your desire to some local of your acquaintance who, from years of experience, is remarkably quick to understand what is required. He places a practised hand on his heart and exclaims, ‘*Bash Ustuna!* I vow on my life!’ He promises to find you a woman so beautiful that Fatima herself, the daughter of the Prophet, illustrious captor of hearts, will be as nothing in comparison. Naturally you hasten after him to set eyes on this Fatima. He goes to the first house you come to and asks, ‘Do you have *chaukene*?’²⁸ The answer is usually yes. (In Kashgar there are *chaukene* by the dozen.)

‘How many hats does she have?’ your factor demands.

‘Three,’ replies the master of the house.

Your factor pulls a sour face and, with a quick ‘*Kerekiok*’ (no, thanks), leads you on. You ask him what drivel he is talking about hats,²⁹ and explain that, ‘*mashallah!*’, it is not hats you have in mind, and point to your heart. Your guide smiles knowingly and enters the next house. In the room you find three beds, richly caparisoned with embroidered blankets, and on each you see a line of hats. Your factor gazes ecstatically at a bed on which a whole regiment of hats is piled, counts them, and joyfully exclaims, ‘*mashallah!* Your star is at its zenith! I have found for you one who is more than a houri! Twenty hats! This is a great rarity. Dear heart, give thanks! You are more fortunate than Suleiman himself!’ You are baffled, you do not know what to say. Finally, collecting your thoughts, you reply, ‘My Muslim friend, twenty hats! What are you talking about? Have we come here to buy hats?’ Meanwhile, from a half-open door you hear the jingling of a metallic hanging and whispering. You see black, piercing, ardent eyes. You are speechless, and a fire blazes in your heart a thousand and one times hotter than the fire of Jahannam³⁰ in which the blessed, chosen Prophet is preparing to burn you. Your factor, taking advantage of your dumbstruck condition, goes to the door and whispers a few barely audible words, of which you distinguish only, ‘... he will pay ten *sars*.’ Addressing the owner, who all this time has been keeping silent like a man confident of the quality of the goods he has for display, your factor loudly exclaims, ‘The *khoja* (the *murza*, the gentleman)³¹ wishes to marry the 20 hats. He is, thanks be to Allah, a fine man!’ Then, lowering his voice, he will start haggling over the *kalym*, the bride-price.

The proprietor constantly repeats, ‘Twenty hats! That, my son, is something more precious than the treasures of Idzhan Khan.’³² Just try to find another with 20 hats!’ After a certain amount of disputation, the price agreed on is 25 *sars*, in view of the exceptional rarity of the goods. The deal is agreed: you

²⁸ *Chauken*. A young unmarried or widowed woman leading a free lifestyle.

²⁹ That is, ‘What kind of nonsense is he babbling?’

³⁰ From Arabic جهنم *jahannam*, hell, hellfire.

³¹ *Khoja*. Also an owner, a ruler.

³² The Central Asian name for the emperor of China.

hand over 25 *sars*, and the owner goes to the inner chambers to dress and bring forth your bride for inspection. In the meantime, your factor explains the significance of the hats and assures you this is the surest indication of beauty: she has been selected 20 times for *mutie*, and for each husband, in accordance with local custom, she has sewn a hat. You are horrified and invite him to consider how beautiful she can be now if she has had 20 husbands, no matter whether she had been more exquisite even than Zuleikha, the wife of Potiphar. He says you can take a look and, if you do not like her, get another.

‘But what about my money?’ you ask. ‘Your money?’ he exclaims. ‘*Mashallah!* You are not a donkey. The money has been paid, so now it is no longer yours.’

Suddenly, the jingling intensifies, as if it is coming from a whole chain of mules. The doors are opened and in come a whole bevy of girls. One is plumper, and accordingly more beautiful, than the rest. She advances with amazing dignity and aplomb. The other girls crowd round you on all sides and, as if you were a family member, pinch and josh you unceremoniously. The owner places various delicacies on a low table, seats you on a carpet and brings you your bride. You are aware of nothing other than white coverings and the sumptuous contours of your betrothed. The lovely takes an apple and, breaking it in half, gulps one half herself and shoves the other in your mouth. You begin to register impatience, but the owner relentlessly continues to ply you with pilau and beer. Meanwhile, except for your bride, all the other *chaukens* remove their veils. Your heart turns upside down and your belly turns to jelly. One has the big, velvety eyes of a gazelle, another has soft, luxuriant curves and her thighs spread open, a third is as stately as a cypress. To cut a long story short, Allah alone knows what you may see there. Having tantalised you mercilessly, the girls demand *peshkesh*³³ to reveal the face of your partner. After receiving it, singing and dancing, they softly, solemnly raise the veil, like the curtain in a theatre.

Suddenly: ‘Oh, Allah! Oh, Mohammed!’ Before you is revealed a true seductress from centuries and ages past, her eyebrows darkened, her cheeks rosy red, her face powdered more white than you would have believed possible! If you are an adept of Oriental languor and bliss, then ‘*mashallah!*’ You have no need of pillows when you can sink luxuriously into yielding embraces. And indeed, what true Asian who knows anything of the world and considers himself a connoisseur and gourmet in the matter of such delights can look without rapture at the soft buttocks and, as they say here, the lardy (yes, fatty) curving of the parts adjacent to the thighs. If you have been unable to rise to such an exalted understanding of beauty and prefer bony subjects, you should now put your trust in Allah and run, and run you must, not pausing to count the number of hats. In Kashgar you can have *mutie* for an indefinite period of time, indeed, until you leave, but you cannot take it with you because of a law passed by the Chinese government. All the Asians traders say this law is based on the cunning notion that, carried

³³ *Peshkesh* (Persian). Recompense, a gift, an offering.

away by the beauty of the women of Kashgar, many will on their account remain forever within the boundaries of the empire.

The history of the Seven Cities, according to Chinese historians, goes back to the remotest past. They tell us that, already in the reign of Wudi, the existence of the Western Region was known, and it was considered to have some 36 realms. At first they were subordinate to the Huns, until Chzhankian [Zhang Qian] or Chzhan-Tszian [Zhang-jian] in 140 BC discovered the Western Region. From 121, the Chinese, who had built fortresses along the southern slopes of the Celestial Mountains, gradually conquered the cities of the Western Region. At the beginning of the second century BC the Chinese already knew of today's cities of Khotan (Yuitian), Kashgar (Sule), Karashar (Yanki), Urumchi (Pulei), Aksu (Wynsu), Kucha (Gui-tsy), Yarkand (Sogyui), Ush (Yuitu) and several others. We have no knowledge of what kind of people the original inhabitants of this region were, because Chinese history gives us no information, except that each realm had its own ruler, that they had no resemblance to the Hun or the Usun either in their customs or their language,³⁴ that they had sunken eyes, a high nose, bushy beards and professed the Buddhist faith.³⁵ Their writing resembled that of the Indians. The House of Han had its opponents here, and when its dynasty ended the Western Region was at times separate from China, then again subordinate to it. With the rise of the Zhuzhan and the Dulgash, we find the rulers of the Western Region paying tribute to them, and the realms of Yueban and Kan appear within the boundaries of the Seven Cities, the former descended from the Hun, the latter from the Yuechzhi. Father Iakin'f calls them Turks, and in one place, writing about the Kans in the history of the Sui Dynasty (581–618), translates a passage as saying that they used Turkic writing. I do not know what he means by that, because at this period there was not even Arabic script.

In the history of the Tang Dynasty, when China's relations with the land around it were at their height, we gain more accurate information about the Central Asian realms. Thus, for the first time, Kashgar is named as Kasha instead of Sui, Khotan is called Khodan, and the Kan realm is called Sa-Mogyan (which sounds very much like Samarkand). Instead of Anxi another realm was called Bukho (resembling Bukhara).³⁶ On the southern bank of Nami (Naryngol – Syr Darya) we find the realm of Hokan. Kan also lies on the River Nami. The Yuechzhi, driven out by the Hun from the plains of Mongolia, conquered Dawan and Dahu, and advanced further to the Western Sea.³⁷ In the history of the Tang Dynasty, it is evident that the whole of Turan was occupied by the Kangyui, Dulgash and Yuechzhi Dynasties.

In the late sixth century, Mohammed appears, spreading his faith by force of arms. Omar conquered Radzhi Yashgar, Persia, and evidently took his wars

³⁴ The Huns, at their height, were influential in Eastern Turkestan. – *CV*.

³⁵ Iakin'f (N.Ya. Bichurin), *Sobranie svedenii*, part I (St Petersburg, 1851).

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ '... the Western Sea.' The Caspian Sea. – *CV*.

as far as the borders of Turkestan.³⁸ In 713, the Kan ruler, according to Chinese history, waged an intense war against the Arabians (Dashis) and asked the Chinese emperor for help. In the narrative about the Dashis, the Chinese say the Kan and Shi (realms in Turkestan) acknowledged themselves vassals of the Dashis. There is no doubt that the Yuechzhi, a nomadic people who occupied what today is Khorezm (where Turkmen still roam), and then extended their influence over the whole of Turan, were Turks who subsequently descended on Asia under the name of the Seljuk, Ottomans, Karakoily and Akkoily. The Kangyui and the western Dulgas also established themselves in Turan and, according to the Chinese, far to the west, the latter bordered on Folin (Byzantium).³⁹ Despite all the confusion in the narratives of the names of peoples, which were different at different times, we can recognise five provinces in Anxi, including An and Khoz-Bukho in Bukhara, Fergana in Dovokhan and Bactria in Dakhya-Tukholo, as Maverannakhr possessions.

It is impossible to establish the correct spelling and to identify all these peoples in the Central Asian states, where every city at one time has its own khan, as was the case after conquest by the Uzbeks, while at other times several realms merge, as has happened in our time when Balkh, Bukhara and Samarkand comprise a single realm under the rule of the Emir of Bukhara. Khodzgend, Turkestan, Tashkent and Kokand are subordinate to a single khan of Kokand. At all events, judging by the information the Chinese provide about the Arabs, which is fairly accurate, there is no doubt that China really did at one time have relations with the whole of Asia. Asian folktales about the wealth and power of China, about Chinese porcelain which so captivates the princess of Samarkand, are, of course, distant echoes of those times.

After the end of the Tang Dynasty, China's relations with the Western Region break off. Threatened by the Yuechzhi and the house of Khitan, China was preoccupied with its northern borders and its strength was sapped by civil strife. At the time of the appearance of Genghis, we find a vast and united realm in Turan ruled over by the Shah of Khorezm. Eastern historians tell us the Oikhor or Uighur occupy the realms of the Seven Cities. We do not know to what extent Eastern Turkestan submitted to the influence of the Arabs, who had established themselves in Sogdiana, and of the Shah of Khorezm, but in view of the region's inaccessibility because of the mountains and, to a certain degree, its education and assimilation of the despotic religiosity of the Buddha, it can be assumed that, although their influence may have been felt here, it will have been to a much lesser extent than in Maverannakhr, where Islam and education flourished in Samarkand.

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³⁸ Tale of a Persian prince who was a hostage at the Chinese court. – *SW*.

³⁹ Iakinif (N.Ya. Bichurin), *Sobranie svedeni*, p. 267.

The house of Tugyu is a branch of the Hun. The forebears of this house lived to the west of the Western Sea and established an *aimak* or tribe. An enemy broke that line, and only one mutilated boy survived being thrown without arms or legs into an overgrown lake. A she-wolf fed him meat. When the enemy learned that the boy was alive, they ordered him killed. The she-wolf ran off, and afterwards reappeared to the east of the Western Sea in the mountains north-west of Gaochan [Gao-chan]. Gaochan was a realm of the Fore Chesly during the Han Dynasty. The Fore Chesly were in Pichan [Pichang]. The wolf took refuge in a valley surrounded by mountains and gave birth to ten sons, of whom Ashina, as the most capable and intelligent, was called to be the ruler. Later, Ashina left the hollow in the mountains and acknowledged himself a vassal of the Zhuzhan. One of the Tugyu rulers, Ili Khan, asked the Zhuzhan Anakhuan for the hand of his daughter. When he ignominiously refused, he conquered the Zhuzhan. After Ili Khan came his younger brother, Ai Khan, and after him his brother Tszushu was enthroned under the name of Mugan Khan.

A different legend relates that the Tugyu were a union of several clans who roamed the environs of Pkhinliang (the capital of an eponymous province in the governate of Gansu). This tribe was called Ashina. When Taiwu, emperor of the Wei Dynasty, defeated Tszuyikyui Mugan, the last sovereign of the Northern [*sic*] Liang Dynasty, the Ashina fled to the Zhuzhan, settled in the mountains and took to mining iron. Because that place resembled a helmet, it was called Tugyu.

A third legend. The Tugyu are descended from the house of So, who lived to the north of the Hun. Their elder was called Apanbu. They were only 70 brothers. The eldest was called Ichzhini-Nishydu and was born of a she-wolf. He possessed supernatural powers over the winds and rains. By two wives, who were daughters of the spirits of summer and winter, he had four sons who went to live in quite separate places. The eldest lived in cold mountains and produced warmth, which is why he was chosen to be the ruler under the name of Tugyu. He was Nadulushe. He had ten wives. The youngest of the Ashina became a ruler by winning a competition: he leapt a greater height than the others. He was called Akhyan-she. His descendant, Tumyn, ruled under the name of Ili Khan.

The Tugyu Dynasty was at first divided into Eastern and Western branches. Between 535 and 745 the Eastern Dynasty had 21 khans.

The first khan, Tumyn, conquered the Teles of 50,000 tents and asked for the hand of the daughter of the Zhuzhan khan. The khan, Anakhuan, was angered and called him a smelting slave. Tumyn asked for a bride from the Western Wei Dynasty and was given a princess in 551.

In 552 Tumyn defeated the Zhuzhan and their khan put himself to death. After this Tumyn was called Ili Khan. Khan means the same as *shankyui*. He called his wife Khatun, which is the same as *ianchzhy*. His son, Kolo, (according to Gangmu – Tubin) was made ruler with the title of Isigi Khan. After his death, instead of his son, Netu, his younger brother, Kigin (Yandu),

was made khan with the name of Muyui Khan. He was a great conqueror and his armaments reached as far as Korea. Together with the Wei Dynasty he fought against the Tsi [Xi].

Customs. They wear their hair loose, button the left side of their robe uppermost, live in tents and felt yurts and move from place to place, depending on where the grass is sufficient. They breed livestock and hunt wild animals, eat meat and drink *kumys*. They wear fur and wool clothing, show little honesty or shame and, like the Hun, know nothing of justice or decency. At his enthronement, the khan is seated on felt and carried round clockwise nine times. At each circuit they bow, set him on his horse and press on his throat, asking, 'How many years can you reign?'

Ranks: the highest is *shekhu*; the second, *dele*;⁴⁰ the third, *sylyfa*;⁴¹ the fourth, *tumaofa*.⁴² They are all hereditary. They have horn bows, armour and spears, and sabres. Their banner has a wolf's head. The bodyguards are called *foli (bori)*, that is, 'wolf'. They count by notches on wood. Instead of orders they use an arrow with a golden tip. They mount raids before the full moon; mutiny, adultery and murder are punishable by death. They pay compensation for injuries with items (the Kyrgyz *kun*): for an eye – give a daughter; for an arm – a horse. Return nine times over for stolen goods. They lay the deceased in a yurt, ride round it nine times and then, with lamentation, cut the face and make a sacrifice. They do this seven times. At a certain moment they burn the horse of the deceased, his belongings and himself and bury the ashes in a grave. Someone who dies in the spring or summer they bury when the leaves fall. Someone who dies in the autumn or winter they bury when the leaves open on the trees. On the day of the funeral they repeat what they did on the day of the death. In a building on the grave of the deceased they put his likeness, a description of his exploits and stones for the number of people he killed. After the death of a father, elder brothers or uncles they marry the stepmothers, sisters-in-law and aunts.

The khan lives at Mount Dugin (the Dugin Mountains are in the Tatan realm). The entrance to a yurt is from the east, out of reverence for the sun. The barren Mount Bodyn-Inli is sacred. The letters of their writing resemble those of the Hu people; they tell the seasons by the grass. 'Men like to play *khyupu*, and women like to play shuttlecock. They drink mare's *kumys* until they are drunk. They sing songs standing face-to-face. They worship the spirits and believe soothsayers.'⁴³

In 561 a Chinese commander of the Wei Dynasty, cooperating with the Dulgash, reported, 'The Tugyu disdain rewards and punishments, have scant

⁴⁰ *Dele*. A Chinese distortion of the ancient Turkic term *tegin*, corresponding to the later *oglan*.

⁴¹ *Sylyfa*. Evidently a distortion of the ancient Turkic title of *syubashi* (military leader).

⁴² *Tumaofa*. A distortion of the ancient Turkic title *tumanbashi*.

⁴³ Iakin'f (N.Ya. Bichurin), *Sobranie svedenii*, p. 271.

respect for their leaders and, for the most part, do not maintain good order. From this it is clearly erroneous to talk of their being powerful.⁴⁴

Tobo Khan divided them into eastern and western sections. Erfu Khan was on the [eastern] side, and Buli Khan was on the left. Tobo Khan professed the Buddhist faith and had plans to plunder China.

Ili-Gyuilu She Mokhe Shibolo Khan. He was married to a Chinese princess of the house of Chzheu. In 583 he had a war with China, during which he came to hate his commander Abo Khan and wanted to kill him. Abo Khan fled to the Western Datu Khan, the great-uncle of the khan, which caused an internecine war. Others of the khan's family members joined Abo, and for their part they jointly petitioned the emperor for peace. Shibolo Khan wrote (584): 'Great Tugyu, born of Heaven, the wisest and most holy in the Celestial Empire, Son of Heaven Ili-Gyuilu She Mokhe Shibolo Khan sends this missive to the emperor of the great Sui Dynasty.'⁴⁵

In this missive, the khan assured the emperor that, as the father of his wife he was also his father. 'These two sides, although separate, are yet, in their inner feeling and sense of rightness, one. All the sheep and horses of my kingdom are the emperor's livestock, just as his silken fabrics are mine,' he concluded. The house of Sui sent an envoy, Kin-tsze, with a favourable missive. The khan sat suffering from a certain malady [and said] he could not rise. He added that he had become the senior uncle on his paternal side and would no longer bow to anyone. Kin-tsze reprimanded him courteously. The khan, urged to do so by his advisers, stood up and became confused, and everyone around him wept. The envoy invited him to become a vassal and he agreed, although his retinue explained to him that 'vassal' means slave. The khan was under pressure from the Western Khan Datu and the Khitans. Abo, meanwhile, had grown stronger and proclaimed himself the Western Tugyu.

Dulan Khan. Son of Shibolo. Dai, his queen, wielded great influence over him. China, apprehensive of her intrigues, accused her of having had an affair with a certain Tugyu adviser and Dulan killed her in his yurt.

Shibi Khan Dugi. During his reign, unrest broke out that destabilised the Sui Dynasty. Many residents of China fled to him, including the Empress Syao-kheu and her nephew Yan Chzhen-dao, a claimant [to the throne], and others. They all declared themselves his vassals. He had about one million troops. 'Never, even in ancient times, were the northern nomads so strong.'

Gao-tzu [Lao Tzu], the founder of the Tang Dynasty, in 618 sent him an ambassador with gifts, requesting peace and, according to his son, declared himself to be his vassal.⁴⁶ In 619, their envoy sat on a throne next to the emperor.

King Kheli Khan Dubi. Waged war against China and extended his realm. Defeated in 630, he surrendered and died from consumption in China. Kheli did

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

not live in rooms, but always set up a *kibitka* [hut] for himself. For a long time, he was despondent and morose. He sang mournful songs with his family and wept. He lost weight and died in 634. In accordance with nomadic tradition his body was burned, and his grave was piled up on the eastern side of the River Ba. Thus did his possessions fall. The Tugyu fled to the Western Region, and as many as 100,000 acceded to China. The Council did not know what to do with them. Some proposed settling them within the empire and making arable farmers of them; others suggested using them as border guards. It was finally decided to resettle them in Sho-fan and appoint Tuli Khan as their leader. (Khitan and Mokhe were the names of lines subject to Tuli Khan.) In 693 it was decided to deport the Dulu⁴⁷ back to their former nomadic territories for having rebelled. In the meantime, the Seian'to grew in strength to the north of the sandy steppe.

Symo, the 13th Dulu khan, abdicated his title and entered the service of the Chinese court. His subjects also crossed the Yellow River to reside within the boundaries of the empire.

Chebi Khan, who had occupied the Dulu lands of Symo, also submitted to China. China accordingly divided Mongolia into two main vice-regencies: Shanyui Du-kho-fu and Khan-khai (Baikal) Du-kho-fu. The first vice-regency was divided into four governates (*du-du-fu*) and 24 districts. The second vice-regency was divided into seven governates and eight districts. Prince Khei, the emperor's son, was appointed viceroy of the southern Shanyui vice-regency. In 679 an uprising began, and the elders of all 24 districts proclaimed Ashina Nishifa the new khan. The Dulu were again growing in strength. The Chinese were several times defeated. Gudulu plundered nine clans (of Oikhor) and, gradually becoming richer in horses, proclaimed himself khan around 682. Throughout his reign he warred successfully against China. His son Mochzho ascended the throne in 693, already so strong that he was able to compel China against its will to give him 100,000 *hu* of millet [for sowing], 3,000 agricultural [tools] and equipment, and to return when he demanded it several thousand Dulu resettled to the Chinese interior. The woman who ruled China put a bounty on his head: whoever killed him would be awarded the title of prince (first class). Mochzho returned and united the whole population of former Dulgas. All the relations of the nomads with China are concentrated in the actions of this khan who, when it suits him, asks and, when it suits him, threatens the empire. In 703 he offered his daughter in marriage to the heir to the Chinese throne.

In 706 he attacked the borders.⁴⁸ In 710 he sued for peace and kinship, to which China was agreeable, at the same time as continuing to fight the war and massacring all his Chinese prisoners. Such deeds did not keep him from sending his son in 714 to Peking for service and to ask the new emperor, Yuan-Tsun for

⁴⁷ Dulu. The same as Dulgas (Turkic).

⁴⁸ Iakinf (N.Ya. Bichurin), *Sobranie svedenii*, p. 330.

a marriage alliance. Even though his request was granted and he received the princess, the following year Mochzho mounted a raid on Bei-tkhin.

In 710 Mochzho conquered Khitan and Khi [Xi] in the west. Because he was a cruel khan, the Eastern branch rebelled and asked China to grant them citizenship. During his war with the rebellious lines, Mochzho was unexpectedly captured in an ambush and killed, and his head was sent to the Chinese capital.

Bigya Khan Mogilyan, the son of Mochzho, was a weak man of an amiable disposition and was under the influence of his belligerent 70-year old father-in-law, Tunyuigu and Kyue-Dele. The name of the khan's wife was Pofu. Tunyuigu was an experienced and rational man. His advice to the khan illustrates the contemporary policies of the nomadic peoples. He said, 'When we are strong, we must go forward and acquire; when we are weak – we must be evasive.' He advised the khan against building a Buddhist temple, saying that this faith makes people weak and humane. On his advice, the khan asked China for peace and kinship ('Our people are in harmony and the harvests are plentiful').⁴⁹ The Chinese emperor, seeing the weakness of the Dulu, sent an army 300,000 strong, consisting of an alliance of the Khitan and other lines, with orders to capture Mogilyan. The Dulu, by cunning, taking advantage of the cold and the fragmentation of the enemy's forces, defeated them utterly, because the Chinese were incapable of drawing their bowstrings. The Dulu reacquired all the lines that had fallen away. In 721, the khan again proposed peace and kinship, and it is not known why China demurred. The khan accordingly told the Chinese envoys, 'Tufan is descended from dogs, and the Tang Dynasty is related to him. The Khi and Khitan are my prisoners and also marry your princesses.'⁵⁰ The Dulu were at peace in this period and began trading by barter. When Kyue-Dele died, the emperor ordered a statue to be erected in his memory. The khan renewed his request for peace and kinship. This time the emperor appeared to be agreeable, but then he was poisoned and died. After his death, internecine strife and discord broke out. In 742 the Oikhor and Basimi attacked and killed the 18th khan [Izhan]. His successor, Usu-Mishi, was also killed and the Oikhor took control of the centres of government. Finally, during the reign of Baimei Khan Hulunfu, the Oikhor Guli Peilo proclaimed himself khan under the name of Gudulu Bigya Kyue Khan. In 745 he submitted to China. China was so pleased by the fall of its enemy that the Son of Heaven himself composed an ode to commemorate the event and decreed that the Oikhor *khansha* should receive an annual gift of 200 grains of whitening pigment.

The Western Tugyu Dynasty. This dynasty was also divided in two. Mugan Khan's son, Abo Khan Dalobyan, passed over for the khanate, [quarrelled] with Shibolo. Later, Yanlo split with Shibolo and went west beyond the

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

Golden Mountains.⁵¹ The entire Western Region, the Teles, Kucha⁵² and Ivu,⁵³ were his. After Dalobyan was captured by Chulok Khan, a third ruler of the Western Tugyu was chosen to replace him. In 605 Nigiu Chulok Khan, who had a Chinese mother, had an unsuccessful war with the Teles. China, taking advantage of his weakness, decided this was the best moment to subordinate him to its influence. All China's policy towards foreigners is epitomised by this embassy. First, they must agree that the Chinese emperor was their superior; second, to weaken the other side, one clan must be pitted against another and discord must be sown within families. To this end, the Chinese envoy spoke to the khan about the vassal status of the Eastern Dulgash and hinted that their khan had asked the emperor, on the grounds of clan hostilities, to destroy the Western Dulgash and threatened that, if he refused, the mother of the khan, then living in China, would be put to death. 'Why, khan,' he said, 'do you begrudge two ceremonial bows? Why do you condemn a loving mother to death just because you will not call yourself a vassal? And destroy the Hun kingdom too?'⁵⁴ Then he subtly got the khan to think of fighting the Togon. 'Khan, if you ask permission to punish them, then the Son of Heaven will undoubtedly consent.'⁵⁵

And when the khan, after having promised to appear personally before the emperor, failed to honour his promise, the Chinese, in order to be avenged, began to [promote] the Dulgash elder, Shegui, grandson of Datu Khan and senior by birth to Abo Khan. When the ambassadors came to his court, they surreptitiously hinted that he should proclaim himself khan. Phei-Gui, a grandee, made a proposal. 'I venture to present the opinion that he could be weakened by cunning. What is needed is to divide his state and then it will be easy to pacify it.'⁵⁶ Finally, the emperor himself instructed Ambassador Shegui, giving him a bamboo arrow with a white feather so that the matter should proceed as swiftly as an arrow flies. Shegui attacked Chulo and defeated him. Chulo fled, and later appeared in China, where he died in 618.

Chulo Khan had no permanent place of residence but lived mostly in the lands of the Usun. He also installed two minor khans and gave them parts of his khanate to rule. One of them lived to the north of Shi-go⁵⁷ and ruled

⁵¹ The Golden Mountains (Tszin-Shan, Chinese.) The Altai Mountains.

⁵² Kucha. A town in Eastern Turkestan.

⁵³ Ivu (Komul). A city in Eastern Turkestan.

⁵⁴ Iakinf (N.Ya. Bichurin), *Sobranie svedenii*, p. 342.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

⁵⁷ Shi-go. The Chinese name for the ancient city of Tashkent, a realm.

the principality of Hu (Turkic?). The other lived to the north of Kucha in the country of the Inso.⁵⁸

[Of the officials,] Syfayan and Khunda administered affairs of state. Every year he sent a dignitary to sacrifice to his ancestors in the cave where they had lived, generation after generation.⁵⁹

Shegui

Tun Shekhu Khan. The younger brother. He conquered Bosa⁶⁰ (Persia) and Gibin⁶¹ and extended his influence to the whole of the Western Region. He moved the horde from the Shi-go to the Land of a Thousand Springs (Tsyant-syuan).⁶² He gave rulers the title of *sylyf* and sent *tutums*⁶³ to keep them under observation.⁶⁴ Tun-Shekhu concluded an alliance with the empire to war against the Eastern Tugyu and requested a marriage alliance.

‘The Western Tugyu are far removed from us; we cannot rely on them for early assistance. Do we need a marriage?’⁶⁵ The emperor gave orders for a princess to be married to him, but for his cruelty he was assassinated by Mokhedu, who assumed the khanate under the name of Kyuily Sybi Khan. His reign was marked by unrest and civil strife, and the Western Region seceded.

Shabolo Khilishi Khan. He divided his horde into ten lines, set ten *she*⁶⁶ over them, and gave each an arrow. Five lines of Dulu had five grand *chzho*,⁶⁷ five lines of Nushibi had five grand *sygin*.⁶⁸ They were separated by the River Sui-e [Shu]. The Nushibi lived to the west, the Dulu to the east. During his reign unrest grew so rapidly that the house of the Western Dulgass split into two kingdoms.

Ibi-Dulu was proclaimed khan by the western lines in 638 and, finally, a peace was agreed at the River Ili under which the lands to the west of the river were allocated to the Dulu. Ibi-Dulu established a horde near Tsykhe and named it the Northern Horde. After the death of Khilisha, his son reigned for one year. After him, the Nushibi elder had Shabolo Shekhu made khan.

⁵⁸ Inso. The Chinese name for a mountain to the west of Lake Barkol.

⁵⁹ Iakinf (N.Ya. Bichurin), *Sobranie svedenii*, p. 341.

⁶⁰ Bosa. The Chinese name for ancient Persia.

⁶¹ Gibin. The Chinese name for North India (Kashmir).

⁶² Tsyant-syuan. A famous tract near the ancient city of Taraz.

⁶³ *Tutum (Tutuk)*. Retainer. An ancient Turkic title.

⁶⁴ Iakinf (N.Ya. Bichurin), *Sobranie svedenii*, p. 346.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

⁶⁶ *She (sha)*, *shad* in the Orkhon inscriptions. A title of high-ranking officials.

⁶⁷ *Chzho (zhora)*. A title of high-ranking officials administering the Zhetysu tribes (Dulat).

⁶⁸ *Sygin*. A title of high-ranking officials of the Nushibi.

He established a horde north of the Sui-khe River and called it the Southern Horde, to the east near the River Ili. Eastern Turkestan, Tukholo, Karashar, Shi, Khe, Mu and Kan belonged to him. Shabolo defeated and killed the Northern Dulu, but the Nushibi would not submit to him. Ibi-Dulu fought with the Kangyui but, quarrelling with his subjects over the spoils, he crossed the River Ie, occupied various Shi cities and remained living there. The Nushibi asked China to choose them another khan. Translator Wynwuin chose, with the people, Ibi Khan of the house of Dulikhan and, under the name of Ibi-Shegui Khan (the 13th khan), presented him with a charter. Upon ascending the throne, he went to attack Dulu Khan, who went to ground in the city of Baishuikhu. Dulu gave battle with much noise from kettle drums and trumpets. The Nushibi were intimidated and fled. After his victory, Ibi-Dulu invited all the old lines to rally to him, but in vain. Seeing the general disinclination of the people, he attacked Tukholo. Meanwhile, Ibi-Shegui asked for a marriage alliance. The emperor demanded the ceding of five principalities: Kucha, Khotan, Kashgar, Chzhutszyuibo and Tsunlin. The khan did not consent, and the marriage did not go ahead.

In 646 a certain (Gangmu) Khelu of the Dulukhan who, as a *shekhu*, had, under Dulu Khan, administered five lines (the Chuyue, Chumi, Gusu, Gelolu and Nushibi), quarrelled with Ibi-Shegui, submitted to the sovereignty of China, and that same year of 651, went west, establishing a horde at the Thousand Springs, where there already was the horde of Dulu, and proclaimed himself Shabolo Khan. He took over all ten tribes and, having consolidated his khanate, attacked China. He ransacked the districts in Tkhinchzheu, took several thousand prisoners and departed. China decided to punish the Dulgass. It was decreed that 30,000 troops of the imperial cavalry and 50,000 Oikhor cavalry should be sent. The view Lo Khun-i offered the emperor on the subject of war with the Dulgass is of interest.⁶⁹ 'The Middle Kingdom should reward loyalty and rule the northern nomads by force. In the winter they will not be expecting our troops. At present Helu is in command of only one city: we should profit from his straits. If you delay until the spring, circumstances may change and hostile clans such as the Chumi, the Chuyue and others may again unite with Helu. We should send the nomadic troops forward, while the Chinese remain at the River Pkhinlo as an auxiliary force. We should pursue a policy of herding the nomads and attacking the wolves.' The war got off to a successful start.

Tyan-fan, the commander, defeated the lines of Chue and Khuchzhu at Mount Lao-shan, sending to the emperor and presenting to the court 9,000 heads. In 654 Chen-Chzhi-Tszie, commander-in-chief of the troops, on his way to the Onion Hills, defeated Gelolu and Chuyue, killed some 1,000 men and took as spoils some 10,000 head of horses. Chzhheu Chzhi-Du, the deputy commander-in-chief, took the city of the Chumugun and cut off some

⁶⁹ Iakinf (N.Ya. Bichurin), *Sobranie svedenii*, p. 356.

30,000 ears. Meanwhile, Su Din-fan, in 656 appointed commander-in-chief of troops on the road to Ili, had Oikhor supporting him. Ashina Mishe and Ashina Buchzhen, two Dulu elders of the line of Chuyue and Chumi who were attached to the Peking court, crossed the quicksands. Su Din-fan, with elite cavalry, came to the River Ili from the western side and defeated the Chumugun line. Helu attacked him with 100,000 cavalry, but was defeated by the 10,000-strong Chinese army and fled. Five Nushibi submitted to China. Five Dulu fled along the south road; Syaotsy-ie, Su Din-fan's assistant, and the Oikhor Pozhun, pursued them to the River Dolosy.⁷⁰ Pursuing the enemy day and night, Su Din-fan reached the River Shuan-khe and, 200 *li* from the Khan's horde, adopted battle formation.

In the environs of the Gin-ya-shan Mountains,⁷¹ the khan's army was engaged in hunting. The Chinese attacked, rushed the horde, took several tens of thousands of men prisoner and captured the khan's kettledrum, banner and weapons. Helu fled across the River Ili. Sy-ie, the deputy, occupied One Thousand Springs. Helu erected a palisade but was defeated and fled. Su Din-fan, pursuing him to the River Sui-e, captured all the troops. The khan escaped to the Shi city of Sud⁷² and, after paying a high price, was allowed to enter. There he was seized by the ruler of the city and handed over to the Chinese. Upon his arrival in the [Chinese] capital, he was excused execution, but deprived of his title. The Dulgash lands were partitioned into two vice-regencies, of Gunlin and Khaochin, and divided into six governates and districts. Everything to the west, as far as Bosa, was subordinated to the Western vice-regency. Ashina Mishe and Buchzhen, who had collaborated during the war, were made, respectively, vice-regent of Khaochin governing five lines of the Dulu and, vice-regent of Khaochin, governing five lines of Nushibi. This was in 657.

Under the rule of Mishe and Buchzhen (the 15th and 16th khans), the cities of Eastern Turkestan rose in revolt, obliging the Chinese commanders Din-fan and Su Khai-chzhen, to pacify them forcibly. Mishe, slandered by Buchzhen, was stripped of his power. In 671 Buchzhen died. Ashina Du-chzhy, an elder from the western Turkic lines, was appointed military governor by the Chinese. Around 676–78 he proclaimed himself khan and, jointly with the Tibetans, attacked Anxi.⁷³ China was about to send an army against him, but a dignitary, Khin-gyan, sent to escort the son of the Persian ruler and to appease the Dashi, in 679 captured Du-chzhy by guile. After that, the ten tribes of the Western Dulu grew weaker, to the point where, in 693, the Chinese were so unchallengeable that, on the basis of a slander, they cut in half (executed) Yuankin, the son of Mishe who, together with Bulishe Khuselo, the son of Buchzhen, had been proclaimed khan in succession to their fathers.

⁷⁰ That is, Talas.

⁷¹ According to Chinese sources, these mountains are located in Ili.

⁷² According to Chinese sources, the city was located in the Tashkent oasis.

⁷³ Anxi (Chinese). Parthia.

After this, with the assassination of Sin, the 23rd khan, the house of the Western Dulu was terminated. Although the Dulu under Uchzhil Khan (the 24th khan), elected from the Tutsishi line (after the termination of Ashina's dynasty), were fairly powerful, and their lands were restored to their former extent, internal dissension brought about his fall. A dispute in 708 between Soghe Khan and one of his elders obliged him to ask China to adjudge the case. His adversary bribed Chu-kkhe, an influential minister, who arbitrarily ruled the state on the emperor's behalf. Soghe, having intercepted their correspondence, attacked the border and demanded the head of Chu-kkhe. His brother, Chzhenu, at this time had submitted to the eastern Dulga, Mochzho, who attacked Soghe, took him prisoner and executed both of them, saying: 'The two of you, even though you are brothers, could not live in harmony with each other, so how could you serve me with total dedication?'⁷⁴

Chzhun Shun Khan Sulu, an elder of the same Tutsishi line, gathered together the remnants of the broken line and proclaimed himself khan in 717. He ruled the people well. After each battle he gave all the spoils to his subjects, with the result that the clans were content and served him with might and main.⁷⁵ He was married to a Dulu and a Tibetan princess, and received from the house of Tai a daughter, Khuaidao (of the house of Ashina). In 738 Sulu was murdered by two elders, Dumochzhi and (Mokhe) Dagan. At this time, the Dulu had split into two parties, the yellow and black clans, each of which had its own khan. The emperor sent troops to reconcile their differences. Dagan, allying himself with the ruler of the cities of the Western Region, attacked and defeated the son of Sulu. China put on the throne Ekhin, the son of Khuaidao of the house of Ashina. Mokhe Dagan was not content. After this, the black and yellow clans had the upper hand, enthroned their own candidate for khan, and fought civil wars. The Middle Kingdom, preoccupied with its own internal affairs, from 742 took no interest in these relationships. In 758, Adopeilo Yunyn, khan of the black clans, sent tribute to the Chinese court and, having lost his power, submitted to the Oikhor. The remnants of this people, some 200,000 souls, settled by the Ginyu ridge.

* * *

The Uighurs, according to Abulghazi, were a people with Turkic roots and were among the first significant tribes of the Oguz: the Kanly, the Kipchak, the Uighur. Abulghazi talks of lands occupied by the Uighurs (by allies). So, in the Mughal land there are two mountains that stretch in length from east to west and are extremely large. One of them is called Tukratu-buz-luk, the other is Askunlug Tukram توکرا - توبوزلوق اسقون لوق تکرام. Between these two mountains, in the west of the land of the Mongols, there is one more mountain, which is

⁷⁴ Iakinf (N.Ya. Bichurin), *Sobranie svedenii*, p. 368.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

called Kutttag (Mount Good Fortune). Between the mountains there are, in one spot, ten valleys with flowing rivers, and in another spot there are nine. These are all great expanses of water. Since ancient times the Uighur people have been settled in these valleys. Those settled by the ten rivers were called the ‘On’ (ten) Uighurs; those settled by the nine rivers were the ‘Toguz’ (nine) Uighurs. They had many cities, villages and arable fields.⁷⁶

Abulghazi goes on to talk of the Uighur rulers, who were at first given the title of *il*, *ilter* by the Ten Uighurs, and *kul-urken*, *gol-ergen* (‘source of the river’) by the Nine Uighurs. Later, all the rulers were called *idikut*.⁷⁷ After three centuries they were dispersed, becoming prey اولجا [*ulzha*] and prisoners of war ياسير [*yasir*]. They fragmented, some remaining in their old locations, some coming to the banks of the River Irtysh. Here they were further divided into three groups: one branch went to the city of Bishbalyk, took up arable farming and prospered ابادان [*abadan*]; another branch grazed horses and sheep, were nomads and, moving close to Bishbalyk, roamed there. The third group kept no livestock, but caught fish, otters, sable, marten and squirrels, ate their meat and wore their skins. Domesticated cattle, silken or cotton fabrics were something they never in their lives saw. When the fathers cursed their daughters, they would say, ‘May you be wed to a man who herds horses and sheep, may you eat meat and drink *kumys*, and may misfortune thus befall you.’

During the reign of Genghis Khan, the *idikut* of the Uighurs was Baurchuk. He assiduously presented gifts and allied himself with Genghis Khan when he went to attack Maverannakhr.

Among the Uighurs many were well versed in the Turkic language, skilled in writing and counting. During the reign of Genghis Khan’s sons and grandsons, all the clerical positions were held by Uighurs, one of whom, indeed, Kurguz, was the ruler of Khorasan, Mazanderan and Gilan. On the basis of these facts, Joseph de Guignes surmised that the Uighurs lived in lands known to Chinese historians as the Fore and Hinter Cheshy. Many scholars believe the original homeland of the Uighurs to have been the Selenga and Orkhon [valleys], the more so because Rashid-ad-Din points out that the ten Uighur rivers are collectively called *On Orkhon* اون اورقون.

Chinese historians mention the Oikhor, or *Khoi-khoi* people, who emerged from southern Mongolia into the northern sandy steppes and settled on the River Soliyu (Father Iakinf takes that to be the Selenga), where they comprised one of the Dulgas tribes.

In 744, the Oikhor sovereign Guli Peilo (known as Gudulu-Biga-Gyue-Khan), the first to cast off the yoke of the Dulgas, established his horde

⁷⁶ Abulghazi, [Rumyantsev edition (Kazan, 1825)], p. 20.

⁷⁷ *Idikut*. Literally, ‘auspicious sovereign’. The title of Uighur khans (eighth to thirteenth centuries).

between the Udegyan Mountains⁷⁸ and the River Gun (Orkhon). During his reign the Oikhor were divided into nine lines.

Six other lines were considered equal to the Oikhor, and later, along with the conquered alien Basimi and Gelolu peoples, they were formed into 11 *bu* (that is, names or given names, in the sense of clans or tribes). Father Iakinf takes them to be the Uighurs described by Muslim historians. The house of Oikhor mounted many attacks on China during the Tang Dynasty, and periodically entered into a peaceful relationship with the Chinese, cemented by marriage.

The Oikhor had cities and professed the Buddhist faith. Their *moni* (*muni* – hermits) in 806 made their way, together with an Oikhor embassy, into China and Syan-Tszun and, ‘clinging to their false doctrine’, built monasteries. In 840 the Khagyas destroyed the Oikhor capital and killed their khan, Aidynli Loimu Mishikhe Gyui-lu Bigya Khan, with the result that some of the clans fled to Tibet and Anxi, while others united with various nomadic lines of Mongols. From this time, the Khoikhu were weakened. In 846 they were in the west, on the far side of the sandy steppe. In 860–73 their main elder attacked the Tangut (Tibetans) and won Eastern Turkestan from them, together with the cities of Karashar and Byugur. In their newly restored incarnation, the Khoikhu were again confirmed as meriting the title of khans.⁷⁹

Without being drawn into the debate around who the Uighurs actually were, we do find them in the thirteenth century in Eastern Turkestan and dependent on the Karakitai (Black Chinese) khan. Abulghazi calls the Chinese Katai, and says that their country was bounded by a wall. When the Dzhurdzhits (a large line) killed their sovereign, one of the grandees of the Karakitai, called Tuisi-Taifur, fled first to the lands of the Kyrgyz, then to the city of Emil,⁸⁰ where there were already Chinese who had previously rebelled and fled. This was in 1134. It should be noted that Abulghazi distinguishes between the Chinese (‘Katai’) and the Karakitai. By ‘Chinese’ he means the Nyuchzhi and calls their ruler the *altyn-khan*. The ruler of the Karakitai he calls the *gurkhan*.

From the researches of de Guignes, Klaproth and Fischer we know that when the Tungus Wan Nyuchzhi (whom Klaproth calls Yu-Chiu or Hiy-hiy) overthrew the house of Kidan (Khitans), their leader Aguda (in 1115) gave his dynasty the name of Gin (in the northern pronunciation Tszin [Jin]), which means metal and, primarily, gold. Fandai, the name of the Khitan [corresponds] to *lyao*, which means damask steel. The oriental *altyn-khan* is translated from the Manchurian *Aizhan-gurun* (Golden Kingdom).

Then the Khitans, under the command of Tushi-Talgun, a warrior and relative of Elu-Engi, the last Khitan sovereign, attacked Turkestan and established themselves in Little Bukharia, that is, in Eastern Turkestan: in Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. The Uighur ruler paid him tribute and gave him a hostage.

⁷⁸ Chinese sources give the name of the mountain as Khangai.

⁷⁹ Iakinf (N.Ya. Bichurin), *Sobranie svedenii*, pp. 425–26. – *CV*.

⁸⁰ Emil. A mediaeval city situated in Dzhungaria.

According to Abulghazi, the rulers of Samarkand and Khorezm also paid him tribute (*Bibliothèque orientale d'Herbelot*, 'Abulgasi'). When the power of the Mongols increased and Genghis Khan appeared, the realms of the *gurkhan* of the Karakitai and the Uighur in Eastern Turkestan fell under the rule of the Mongols. The Uighurs, oppressed by the Karakitai to whom they were paying tribute and who installed a *darugu*⁸¹ in their cities, sent an embassy to Genghis Khan, asking him to accept them as his subjects. Their khan, or *idikut*, Kuat, was well received, and even more fortunate in that Genghis Khan betrothed his daughter to him. Meanwhile, chance delivered the Karakitai also into the hands of the Mongols.

Kushluk, the son of the Naiman sovereign Tayang, fled to the Karakitai *gurkhan*, but then, having gained reinforcements in the form of refugees from various clans who were dissatisfied with Genghis Khan, he took several cities from the *gurkhan* himself. Chebe-Noyan was sent with strict orders to kill this unruly individual. Defeated, Kushluk fled to the mountains, but in vain. Pursued by the Mongol leader, he was overtaken in the Sarkol Valley near Badakhshan and killed. Thus were the Karakitai conquered.

In the march on Maverannakhr, the Uighur Idikut and Arslan, the khan of the Karlyks, united their troops with the Mongols. Chinese history confirms almost word for word the information provided by Abulghazi. In 1208, Khuchulei (Kushluk) fled to Khitan (Karakitai).

Under the year 1209, we read [in Abulghazi] that the Khoikhur realm acceded to the empire of the Mongols. In Gangmu the realm is called Weiwur and it is noted that during the Tang Dynasty this principality was called Gaochan. Under 1211 we read, 'From the Western Region, Arslan Khan (Arslan, khan of the Karlyk), the head of the Khoraluk people, submitted to him [Genghis Khan]. Idikhu (Idikut), the Khoikhor ruler, came to his court.'⁸² Abulghazi says that the Uighurs, as a more educated and literate people, served the Mongols as clerks, but it is clear that, together with the Karakitai, they also served in the Mongol armies. In Khiva there is an Uighur Clan among the Uzbeks, and in Bukhara, a Kytai Clan.⁸³

After Genghis conquered Turan, Persia and China, we see that the residence of his son, Chagatai, who was given all of Maverannakhr, Khorasan, the land of the Uighurs, Kashgar – in short, from Balkh and Gazna to the Syr Darya – was situated in the city of Bishbalyk.⁸⁴ Chagatai lived permanently with his brother Ogadai, and the country was ruled by Darugas. Shortly after the death of Kazan (the 25th ruler of the house of Chagatai), the Chagatai Horde split into many individual realms, and Isenbuga Khan, one of the princes of Clan Chagatai, established himself independently in Kashgar, Uighuristan, and in the land of

⁸¹ A Mongolian official appointed as governor or viceroy in conquered countries.

⁸² Abulghazi, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁸³ One of the most powerful lines of Uzbeks was called Kytai or Kytai-Kipchak. – *CV*.

⁸⁴ Abulghazi, p. 84.

the Mongols (Dzhungaria). Abulghazi says, 'In Kashgar, Yarkand, Alatau (today the land of the Kyrgyz and the Great Horde) and the land of the Uighurs, until that time there had been no sovereign from the house of Chagatai. For that reason, the Mongol elders (emirs), meeting in council, called upon Isenbuga and set him as sovereign over Kashgar, Yarkand, Alatau and the land of the Mongols.' From this it is clear that Abulghazi does not know about Bishbalyk, one of the capitals of the Chagatai Horde, which the Europeans believed to be in Eastern Turkestan or Dzhungaria. Hondemir Ghiyasuddin (*The History of the Mongols*) distinctly says: 'Chagatai Khan, having made Bishbalyk his capital, spent most of his time with his elder brother, Ugeidei Kaan.'

Isenbuga's son, Tugluk-Timur, proved a strong sovereign, at a time when the descendants of Chagatai, styling themselves emirs, were taking power into their own hands in Maverannakhr. One of them, Emir Kuzgan (d. 760 Hijri), seized power and appointed and dismissed khans. After his death, his son Abdullah, desirous of taking for himself the wife of Bayankuly Khan, killed the unfortunate sovereign, thereby arming the populace. With the outbreak of civil strife in 763, Tugluk-Timur Khan advanced into Maverannakhr, conquered the country and put his son Ilyas Khoja on the throne. After remaining for a year, he returned to Uighuristan. (See Abulghazi, and Hondemir's *History of the Mongols*.)

One year later (in 765) Ilyas Khoja was driven out by Emir Khusein and Emir Timur (later the khan known to us as Tamerlane) and, according to Abulghazi, returned to Kashgar or, according to Hondemir, was killed. Be that as it may, from the time of Esenbuga, and especially of Tugluk-Timur, Western Turkestan was completely separate from Eastern Turkestan, and in the subsequent history of Maverannakhr we hear no more of Kashgar, apart from a few indirect mentions of Uighur and Usun *beks*.

Abulghazi devotes several pages of his narrative to Timur-Tugluk. We shall attempt to convey the gist. Esenbuga Khan had no children by his senior wife, Satymysh-Khatun, and accordingly brought a slave named Menli into closer proximity to his yurt.⁸⁵ The slave soon became pregnant with, as everybody knew, the offspring of the khan. While her husband was absent, Satymysh-Khatun (who, needless to say, was jealous) made a gift of the slave to a Mongol called Shirogul, with the intention that he would migrate back to his own land. When the khan returned and called for his slave, the situation was explained to him. He said nothing to his wife, because the Mongols have a custom whereby the senior wife has the power to dispose of the others as she sees fit. After the death of Isenbuga Khan, there was no one of the house of Chagatai to take the throne. Every clan wanted to have its own khan.

At this, Esenbuga's vizier, Emir Yulavchi,⁸⁶ remembered the son of Menli Khatun and sent Tashtimur to find the boy. He gave Tashtimur a flock of sheep

⁸⁵ Menli. Menli-Khatun.

⁸⁶ More precisely, Emir Buladchi.

for food and promised him an immense quantity of silver if his mission was successful. In the land of the Mongols, he learned that Menli Khatun had indeed given birth to a son of Isenbuga Khan, and to another by Shirogul. The name of the first boy was Tugluk-Timur, and of the second, Temir-Melik. With some difficulty, Tashtimur managed to collect the boy and bring him to Emir Buladchi, who immediately proclaimed him khan and arranged a feast in accordance with Mongol tradition. Tugluk-Timur, shortly after becoming khan, captured Kashgar, Yarkand, Alatau and Uighuristan and then, having established his son Ilyas Khoja in Maverannakhr and Samarkand, he died. He was the first to convert to Islam in Kashgar and establish the one true faith on an unshakable foundation.

Abulghazi relates that one day when the khan was out hunting, he saw the isolated tent of a travelling family in his way. He ordered that the offender should be brought before him. (He had given orders that no outsider should dare to be present while he was hunting). The person involved proved to be Sheikh Shuchzhag-ad-Din from Bukhara. The sheikh pleaded ignorance and said he was a traveller. The khan asked him, 'Are you a Tajik?' He replied, 'I am.' The khan then remarked that a Tajik is lower than a dog. The sheikh replied, 'It is true that if we do not have the Faith we are lower than dogs.' The Khan ordered his *mukers* [bodyguards] to bring the sheikh to his yurt after the hunt. After a long conversation about the verities of faith, the khan saw his errors and wept bitterly. Although he was entirely accepting of the indubitable truth of Islam, he felt that under present circumstances he could not venture to declare himself a believer explicitly.

The sheikh died, enjoining his sons to convey his blessing to the khan and to remind him of his vow. When the khan conquered Tashkent, Andizhan and Samarkand, Bukhara and all of Maverannakhr, Rashid-ad-Din, the sheikh's son, decided to reveal his father's last wish to the khan. In order to attract his attention, he appeared early in the morning outside the khan's yurt and began loudly issuing the *adhan* – call to prayer. The khan, awakened from his sweet morning dreams, demanded he be brought to him and asked, 'Why did you wake me from my sweet morning dreams?' Rashid-ad-Din reminded the khan of his vow, and he immediately became a Muslim, repeating the *Kalimah Shahadah*. All the emirs also converted to Islam, except for one named Choras, who proposed a condition that the sheikh should win a wrestling contest against an unbeliever champion. Sheikh Rashid-ad-Din said that Emir Choras had proposed an appropriate condition and that he was prepared to wrestle. The infidel was defeated and, on that [day] 160 people converted to Islam. In this manner did the faith of the Last Prophet come to be professed openly in Chagatai.

From this it is evident that Islam penetrated Kashgar late and with difficulty, whereas in Maverannakhr Barak Khan, son of Yasu-Munke (and, according to Hondemir, the son of Esentu, grandson of Mentuk, and great-grandson of Chagatai), was the first to convert to Islam and took the name of Gayas-ad-

Din. Tarmashirin (according to Hondemir, Kebek), the son of Duikhodzhan, established it in Maverannakhr.

There are grounds to believe that the Uighur khans before Tugluk-Timur roamed the steppes and ruled their realms as the khans of the Golden Horde ruled Russia. The tomb and adjacent prayer room (*mazar*) of Tugluk Shah are still extant and some 20 miles from Kuldzha by the [Korgas]⁸⁷ Mountains. In the *Geographical Dictionary of the Western Region*, published by a scholarly commission in Peking, which makes use of observations on Kuldzha, there exists in Eastern Turkestan a 'Sultan Yailak' tract that confirms this. There are several Turkestanian families living there. The legend of Tugluk Shah is current even today among the Turkestanis, and in the *mazar* there is a chronicle of his life. From this we learn that he was originally a Kalmyk (that is, an infidel) and roamed with his horde in what today is Dzhungaria. Various gold items and coins were found in the vicinity of the *mazar* last year by Chinese ploughing the land.

We have one golden *tillya* of this sovereign, on which he is named as Tugluk Shakh Said-ell shahid. Among the coins held by our consul in Kuldzha there is also a coin of this sovereign, evidently minted at a different time, where he is named 'Sultan ibn Sultan El-gazi Tugluk-shah'. Overall, judging from the precious items and coins discovered, the land along the course of the Ili as far as the Plain of Korgas was a favoured location for the summer migrations of the Uighur khans.

Near the River Usek, 80 miles from Kuldzha and near our border, a Kyrgyz woman found various coins with a Kufic inscription. One of these is in our possession. The consul also has a coin of the Arabian caliphs and several copper coins with Uighur or Mongolian script, but they are so abraded it is difficult to decipher anything.

Let us return to our relation of the tale of Tugluk. We further find in Abulghazi: 'After the death of Emir Elumar Yulavchi, there remained a six- or seven-year-old son, whom the khan nominated to succeed his father.' Kamar-ad-Din, one of the brothers of the late vizier, an 'amazingly pure' man and 'outstandingly gifted wrestler', a champion, proposed on one occasion to the sovereign that, in view of the minority of his nephew, he should be entrusted with ruling the land. The khan refused him. From that time, Kamar-ad-Din harboured a grudge.

Tugluk-Timur Khan was born in 730. With the assistance of Emir Yulavchi, he became khan at the age of 18. At 24 he converted to Islam and, dying at the age of 34, 'by the will of God he passed from the world perishable to the world imperishable'. On the death of the khan, Kamar-ad-Din raised a rebellion. He elevated 18 people, great and small, of the house of Ilyas-Khoja, eldest son of the khan 'to the status of *shahids*'⁸⁸ and placed his supporters everywhere

⁸⁷ Omission in the manuscript.

⁸⁸ *Shahidun* (Arabic). A martyr for the faith.

so that, if descendants of Tugluk-Timur should anywhere appear, they might be killed. He ordered a *khutbah* [Islamic sermon], and for coins to be struck with his name. (That is, he proclaimed himself khan.) The only remaining son of Tugluk-Timur was still an infant at his mother's breast. The mother of this babe, Emir Aga Khatun, came to Emir Khudoidat (the son of Yulavchi). He took them under his protection and would not betray them to Kamar-ad-Din.

At this time, Emir Timur (Tamerlane) came with his army against Kamar-ad-Din. Then Khudoidat, availing himself of the general confusion and fear, sent the boy off to the mountains of Badakhshan, together with a *mashaikh*⁸⁹ and several reliable people. Emir Timur came five times, but each time met an army ready for battle. On the last occasion, Kamar-ad-Din fled and hid in a great cave, but the rumour of Timur's attack proved to be false. When, to their great surprise, those sent for him did not find him there, they learned that he had fled to the Adzham ruler (in Persia). Then they called upon the son of Tugluk-Timur from Badakhshan, whose name was Khyzyr Khoja, and proclaimed him ruler in succession to his father. Abulghazi concludes his narrative with these words: 'From that time and to the present, all the sovereigns there have been in Kashgar and Yarkand are descendants of this Khyzyr Khoja, the son of Tugluk-Temir, son of Isenbuga, son of Duikhodzhan, son of Barak Khan, son of Esentun, son of Motken, son of Shagatai' (Abulghazi, Rumyantsev edition, pp. 86–91). The Chinese have preserved for us the names of all the sovereigns who reigned in the Seven Cities, taking their facts, of course, from local historical sources.

Si-yui-tun-wyn-chzhi is a geographical dictionary published [in Peking] for the accurate reading of Chinese texts in the Manchurian, Kalmyk-Mongolian and Turkic languages. The genealogy of Khyzyr Khoja differs somewhat from that reported by Abulghazi. Below here is a comparison of the respective genealogical trees.

After Khyzyr Khoja came Shir-Ali شيرعلى, Shir-Mukhammed شيرمحمد, Makhmud,⁹⁰ سلطان يونس, Sultan Akhmed سلطان احمد, Sultan Seid سلطان سيد, Abdul-Rashid عبد الرشيد, Abdurakhim عبد الرحيم, Babakhan باباخان, Akbash اق باش, Sultan Akhmed سلطان احمد, Iskander اسكندر, Mansur منصور, Kasym اسم, and Abdulla عبد الله. Overall, there were a total of 24 sovereigns. As regards the consolidation of the political importance of the *khojas*, who have of late appropriated secular authority in the Seven Cities, there are no facts to explain this. In the same dictionary, although it provides their genealogy, starting from Mukhammed, there is no information on when they came to Kashgar or who was the first of them to gain power after the sultans. From [the dictionary] we learn that the *khojas* of Kashgar, who had their residence in Yarkand and lately rebelled against China and to this day remain

⁸⁹ *Mashaikh*. A spiritual elder. Here in the sense of an educator, mentor.

⁹⁰ In Father Iakinf we find Makhmud following Shir-Mukhammed, and there is no mention of Iskander and Kasym. – *CV*.

fearsome,⁹¹ are descendants of Ali by his daughter,⁹² Fatima. They are descended from Seid-Talib سید طالب, the son of Imam Ali-Musa-Riza,⁹³ son of Imam Musa-Kazim امام موسی کاظم, son of Imam Dzhafar-Saddyk, one of the 12 imams of the house of Ali or the Fatimids.

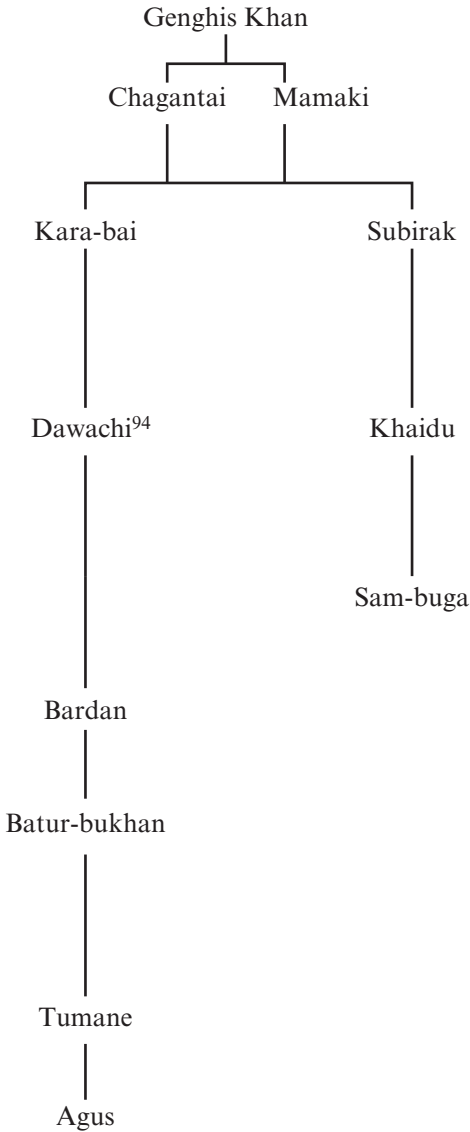
From the time of the conquest of Dzhungaria, Chinese history presents a detailed survey of all the incidents that occurred in Turkestan. Subsequently, as the Dzhungars became more powerful, Eastern Turkestan was conquered by Galdan Boshugtu Khan in 1679 and remained under their control until the Chinese conquered Dzhungaria. Khoja Makhmud was greatly revered by the Turkestanis, and accordingly the Dzhungar *kontaishy* entrusted the administration of Eastern Turkestan to him. Makhmud, thinking he would be able to rely on the loyalty of the people, had thoughts of seceding, but this was discovered. He was summoned to Ili, the *urga* of the khan, and incarcerated in an underground *chenrau* [prison]. While imprisoned, Makhmud had two sons, Burkhaniddin and Khoja-Dzhan. Makhmud died when the Chinese captured Ili in 1755, but his children were released by Bandi, the commander-in-chief, to return to their homeland in Yarkand. After the death of Galdan Tseren (in 1754), the cunning and power-hungry Amursana, the son of Galdan Boshugtu's sister by the Khukhonor khan, plotted to take advantage of the interregnum and seize the throne. He thereby precipitated the fall of Dzhungaria. His reign began in 1750, when Tsewang Dorji was killed, because of his cruelty, by Galdan's illegitimate son, Lama Dorji. Amursana helped Dawachi to kill Lama Dorji. Lama Dorji, seeing where all Amursan's aspirations were leading, on the advice of the Zaisans, distanced him from himself. At this, Amursana decided to seize the throne by force.

⁹¹ More precisely, dangerous.

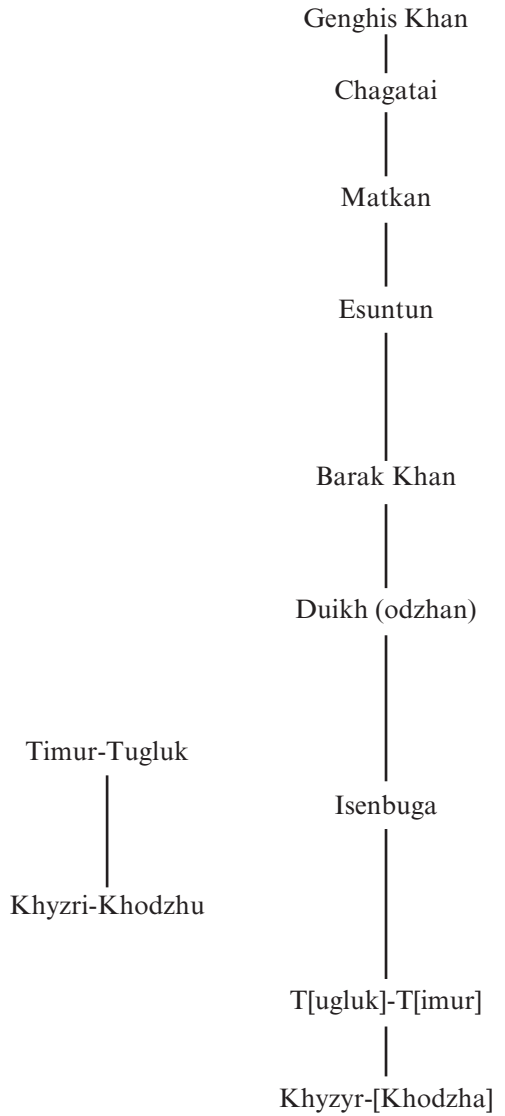
⁹² Error. Should be, 'by his wife'.

⁹³ The Chinese reads: Ali-Mushiriza Arab. – *CV*.

From the
Chinese Geographical Dictionary



From
Abulghazi



⁹⁴ Dawachi is missing from Father Iakinf's *Description of Dzhungaria and Eastern Turkestan* and the dictionary that I borrowed from our consul, I.I. Zakharov. – CV.

Chapter 10

An Outline of Dzhungaria (Abridged)

Commentary

This is one of the most important works of Chokan Valikhanov, written in St Petersburg in 1860. The text is reprinted from *Sobranie sochinenii Valikhanova*, vol. 1, authorised copy in RGALI, *fond* 118, *opis* 1, No. 374, *listy* 61–71. The text missing from the end of this copy has been restored from the edition of N.I. Veselovsky.

It was first published in *Zapiski Rossiiskogo geograficheskogo obshchestva* in 1861 (vol. 1, pp. 184–200; vol. 2, pp. 35–58), where it also included portraits of the Kyrgyz *manaps* Sartai and Burambai. Excerpts relating to the Kyrgyz Kydyk tribe who lived in the upper reaches of the River Tekes were published in the newspaper *Severnaya Pchela*, no. 192, 1861. They were reprinted in *Sochineniya Ch. Ch. Valikhanova*, ed. N.I. Veselovsky, *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva po otdeleniyu etnografii*, vol. 29 (St Petersburg, 1904, pp. 41–78); and in Ch.Ch. Valikhanov, *Izbrannye proizvedeniya* (Alma-Ata, 1958).

Central Asia is to this day veiled in mystery. Despite its close proximity to two mighty European powers, Russia and England, the greater part of it yet remains largely beyond the scope of European scholarship. Our scholarly comrade in the Society, P.P. Semyonov, when publishing the first volume of his translation of Ritter's *Erdkunde von Asien*, came to the conclusion that Central Asia has been studied no more intensively than darkest Africa. And, truly, the confusing and contradictory information in our geographical literature about Central Asia makes that area, if not a complete *terra incognita*, as was said in olden times, then at the very least a vexing scholarly puzzle, and we know next to nothing about the Central Asians themselves.

Central Asia with its present social arrangements is a sorry affair, one big pathological crisis of development. The entire country is, without exaggeration, nothing more nor less than a wasteland of abandoned watercourses, canals and wells, littered with ruins, a sand-blown desert overgrown with malformed bushes of thorny saxaul and inhabited only by herds of wild asses and timorous

antelopes. In the midst of this 'Sahara', along the banks of rivers, are scattered small oases shaded by poplars, mulberry and elm trees. Here and there you come across poorly tended rice fields, plantations of grassy cotton (which is picked before it is ready) and vineyards and orchards that slothful owners leave entirely in the hands of Allah. In these oases, on the ruins of cities with many gates, stand pathetic mud huts in which live a savage, ignorant tribe, reduced to imbecility by the religious and monarchist despotism of the native rulers on the one hand, and on the other, by the policing of the Chinese.

In Maverannakhr (today's Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand), in what was the most enlightened and wealthiest land of the ancient East (in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), there now reign ignorance and poverty as nowhere else. The libraries of Samarkand, Tashkent, Fergana (in the Kokand Khanate), Khiva, Bukhara and so forth, and the observatory at Samarkand, have been destroyed beyond repair by the merciless hand of Tatar vandalism and the Bukhara Inquisition, which has anathematised all knowledge other than theology. Even the great monuments of past cultures have been persecuted by the mullahs as imitations of Nimrod's Tower of Babylon, as 'the sinful opposition of man to the work of Allah'. Only mosques, madrasas (colleges) and the tombs of Mohammedan saints, only the bug-infested pit (*kenekhane*) for incarceration and the *munar* tower, from which criminals are thrown, have survived to the present day, thanks to their holy purpose.

The Central Asian rulers nowadays do not write poetry and memoirs, do not make astronomical tables as did their forebears, but every day go in solemn procession to the mosque and there discourse humbly with the mullahs, and when they return home they amuse themselves with their pageboys or go to the arena to watch two ferociously trained rams batter each other's brows until one of the combatants has its skull broken, and then, in bloodthirsty arousal, they beat their generals 40 times on the back and 40 times on the stomach.

Another part of Central Asia, Little Bukharia, is no better off. It is a country which, despite the dominance of Islam, has seen the development of the freedom of women, of religious tolerance, an absence of ethnic tensions and municipal principles. And yet it has become impoverished under the weight of Chinese censorship and military uniforms, and the petty rulers in the Bolor Mountains, who trace their descent from Alexander the Great, and sell their subjects like the Kazakhs sell sheep. Everywhere there is destruction, ignorance and unbridled, arbitrary power. Given such a state of civilisation or, more precisely, in such a complete absence of civilisation in Central Asia, it is no surprise that the efforts of Russia and England to learn more about their barbarous neighbour have met with so little success, and sometimes ended badly.

In late 1859,¹ I succeeded, with a Kokand caravan and disguised as a Kokand merchant, in penetrating Kashgar, a place which, since the renowned Marco Polo in 1272 and the Jesuit Bento de Góis in 1603, only two other Europeans

¹ A slip. Should read '1858'.

had visited: a German, an officer of the East Indian service whose name is unknown but who left a most curious route and note about his expedition, and a Prussian scholar, Adolf Schlagintweit. The former was beaten in Kashgar with bamboos so painfully that for two days he could not mount his horse, while the latter had his head cut off and displayed on a tower of human skulls.

Kashgar is one of the district cities in the Chinese province of Nanlu (Southern Border) and has been renowned since the time of Ptolemy as a destination for caravans, particularly for its extensive trade in tea. For Asia, Kashgar has the same importance as Kyakhta has for us, or Shanghai and Canton for other Europeans. Additionally, the city is famous in the east for the alluring charms of its *chaukens*,² young women whom any visitor may wed without the least embarrassment, for a short while or for the duration of his stay. Kashgar is also celebrated for its musicians, dancers and the best Janissary hashish in the world. As a result of this reputation, Kashgar is a city to which Asian merchants flock from all over their continent. Here you may observe a Tibetan with a Persian, a Hindu with a Volga Tatar, Afghans, Armenians, Jews, Gypsies (Multani and Lyuli) and one of our compatriots, a runaway Siberian Cossack.

Of late this city has been acquiring a very different reputation. Towers of human heads have been appearing in it; people have been slaughtered as casually as hens might be. 'It is difficult,' says a folk song, 'to keep a horse in Kashgar city, because a bundle of hay costs 12 *puls*; but even harder is it to keep your head, because ... woe! woe!' This rather curious end of the song reflects the intimidated state of the local people. The *khojas*, descendants of the former rulers of Kashgar, in whose cause there have recently been a series of bloody uprisings in Kashgar, do not so much murder the Chinese as their Kashgari subjects: one, for example, because he had served as an official in the Chinese government; another for yawning; a third for belonging to the Black Mountain faction. The Chinese, after vanquishing the *khojas*, in which they are still succeeding despite their military weakness, immediately set about plundering the city, trampling the grain fields with their official herds, seizing women, destroying mosques and tombs, and then set about the business of executing people, protracting the process with a dreadful, ceremonial leisureliness.

When we arrived in Kashgar, the Chinese had just finished their highly imaginative tortures. The entrance through the city gates was adorned with a long avenue of slender stakes from which there hung in cages the yellowing skulls of the native people they had executed. The city was becoming calmer. The new local officials, appointed by the Chinese, were driving around wearing Mandarin hats and beating anyone who did not get out of their way promptly enough. Relations with Kokand had been resumed: the Kokand consul had been residing in Kashgar for over a month. Caravans from Bukhara and Kokand were increasingly, with every day that passed, filling up the empty caravanserais.

² *Chauken* (in Uighur, *chokan*, in Kyrgyz: *choken*). An unmarried woman, a bride.

The appearance of ours caused a great stir in the city. Even before we arrived, the Kazakhs had spread rumours that a caravan of 500 camels was on its way from Russia (we had 60 camels); that it was laden with trunks concealing infernal machines; that the head of the caravan was called 'Iron Board' (a name the Kazakhs had presumably invented because the *caravan-bashi* had an iron bedstead); that he was a deeply suspicious individual, probably, a Russian, and so on. There is no absurdity an Asian will not believe, and the more absurd the rumour, the more credible it will seem to him. The Chinese, as is well known, are no different in this respect from any other Asians. And that is what happened. Fortunately, the Kokand consul knew our *caravan-bashi* personally, as well as some of our other companions. It was only thanks to the intercession of the Kokandians that we were able to enter the city.

I will not here elaborate on the interrogations and hearings to which our caravan was subjected by the Chinese government and the local officials. This is neither the time nor the place, and for the present I intend to present only the main results of my journey and sojourn among the Dikokamennyi Horde.

The northern slopes of the Tian Shan Mountains have been studied in recent times from the Russian side, but our fellow member, P.P. Semyonov, was able to proceed only as far as the headwaters of the River Naryn, one of the tributaries of the Jaxsartes, whereas I crossed the Tian Shan in two directions and examined the environs of Kashgar and Yanysar as far as the sandy ridge lying between the latter city and Yarkand. Political events in Kokand, which culminated in the expulsion of the former khan and were reflected in disturbances in Kashgar, prevented me from seeing Yarkand, the largest and most populous city in all of Chinese Turkestan.

My journey, in terms of the nature of the locality traversed, can be divided into two periods. The first includes my travels through Dzhungaria, that is, in the Zhetysu and Trans-Ili Regions and to Lake Issyk-Kol. The physical character of these localities is already well known from the fine surveys of the Siberian staff headquarters, and has been subjected to scholarly researches by Messrs Schrenk, Vlangali, Semyonov and Golubev. However, their communications were confined to the aspects of physical geography and paid no attention at all to ethnography. I first visited Dzhungaria in 1856 and participated in the first expedition undertaken by Colonel Khomentovsky to Lake Issyk-Kol. I then lived for three months in Kuldzha. In total, I spent five months in Dzhungaria and was able to explore the region through and through, from Alakol to the Tian Shan, which I climbed that year following the course of the River Djirgalan.

I shall speak only of what was omitted, or not observed, by the scholars who have preceded me. I shall say a few words about the Dzhungarian fauna, the antiquities of the country and, finally, about its inhabitants.

The flora of Dzhungaria is more or less known. Alexander Schrenk, with scholarly zeal, has tackled this subject and presented an overall picture of the vegetation of the land in his interesting article published in German translation in *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Russischen Reiches* by Messrs von Helmersen and von Baer in the course of 1840.

Mr Semyonov has also directed his attention to the vegetation of the Tian Shan and has, it seems, a rather rich herbarium. Dr Tatarinov has compiled a list of plants he identified during E.P. Kovalevsky's expedition to Kuldzha and has had it printed with Mr Vlangali's essay. Nevertheless, we know of not a single article about the fauna of Dzhungaria. Mr Karelin appears to have published some information about nature in the Semirechye region, including its fauna; publications of the Moscow Society of Investigators of Nature have included descriptions of birds, reptiles and beetles on the basis of taxidermy and specimens sent to the society by Mr Abakumov.

At Lake Issyk-Kol I assembled a small ornithological and entomological collection. In my absence the collection was sent to Dresden by an acquaintance, but I have as yet received no further news of it.

In all likelihood, Lakes Alakol and Balkhash until very recently constituted a single reservoir because, according to the Kazakhs, even now during the spring floods Lake Alakol communicates directly with Lake Balkhash across a strip of salt marsh. This is the strip that Mr Semyonov considers a natural border, where the Kazakh steppe ends and Central Asia begins, with different soil and different flora and fauna. It seems to me, however, that Dzhungaria is not distinguished by any great singularity of its vegetation. The flora of its plains is the same as that in the southern parts of the Kazakh steppe, and that of its mountains is similar, with a few exceptions, to the flora of the Altai. In a zoological respect, however, some distinctiveness is indeed noticeable. As regards the distribution of animals, Dzhungaria may be divided into three belts: the mountainous, the semi-mountainous sub-alpine zone and, finally, that of the plain.

In the mountainous belt of the Dzhungar Alatau and Tian Shan Mountains the mammals are those found in the mountainous lands of southern Siberia and the Kazakh steppe, such as deer (*Cervus elaphus [maral]*); mountain goats (*Ibex sibiricus [Capra sibirica]*); arkhars, or mountain sheep (*Ovis argali [Ovis ammon]*); wolves; black-brown and red foxes; stone martens; and so on. In addition, the Kazakhs claim there is a ginger-haired wolf, called *chiburi*,³ very similar to a dog. That characterisation suggests a jackal, but the Kazakh *chiburi* lives mainly on high plateaux and is, therefore, probably, not a jackal but an alpine species of the genus *Canis*. Of the birds of prey in Dzhungaria the most common are the bearded vulture (*Gypaetus barbatus*), *Vultur fulvus*, *Vultur meleagris [Gyps fulvus*, the griffon vulture], occasionally the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), the falcon (*Falco peregrinus*, *Falco subbuteo*) and the hawk (*Accipiter*). The gyrfalcon (*Falco candicans [Falco rusticolus]*) is never seen. I was not able to observe nocturnal predators, but the Kazakhs say they are fairly rare. Of the gallinaceous birds⁴ [hens (*Galliformes*)], there are in the mountains the [dark-breasted] snowcock [*Tetraogallus himalayensis*], and the

³ More precisely, *shie-bore* (Kazakh). A red wolf.

⁴ In scholarly literature, the word 'galliformes' is now preferred.

grey grouse, very similar to *Tetrao caucasicus* [the blackcock (*Lyrurus tetrix*)], the rock partridge (*Perdix saxatilis*, *Alectoris graeca*) and quail.

In the semi-mountainous belt we encounter tigers, snow leopards (*Felis uncia*), wild boars, antelopes [*Gazella subgutturosa*],⁵ porcupines, pheasants (*Phasianus colchicus*), bustards (*Otis tarda*), stock doves [*Columba oenas*] and turtledoves (*Columba oenas turtur* [*Streptopelia turtur*]), and some tree-climbers [*Dendrocalaphes*]. All these creatures are equally to be found in the flatland. Sub-alpine groves are particularly rich in species of small birds (*Passerini* [*Passeres*]). Here are the types known to me:⁶

1. *Corvus dauricus*; 2. *Coracias garrulus*; 3. *Merops persica* Pall.; (4. Probably, *Corvus Panderi*); 5. *Tichodroma muraria*; 6. *Sitta uralensis*; 7. *Hirundo alpestris*; 8. *Hirundo Lagopoda* [*Delichon urbica*]; 9. *Parus sibiricus* [*Poecile cinctus*]; 10. *Parus cyanus*; 11. *Fringilla orientalis* [*Carduelis carduelis*]; 12. *Fringilla arcticus*; 13. *Turdus sibiricus*; 14. *Turdus fuscatus* [*Turdus naumanni*]; 15. *Pyrrhula rhodochlamis*; 16. *Pyrrhula rosea*; 17. *Pyrrhula pusilla* [*Pyrrhula pyrrhula*]; 18. *Pyrrhula sibirica* [*Uragus sibiricus*]; 19. *Emberiza rustica*; 20. *Emberiza pithuornis* [*Emberiza leucocephalos*]; 21. *Emberiza bruniceps*; 22. *Coccothraustes speculigerus*; 23. *Accentor altaicus* [*Prunella himalayana*]; 24. *Accentor atrogularis* [*Prunella atrogularis*]; 25. *Accentor montanellus* [*Prunella montanella*]; 26. *Cinclus leucogaster* [*Cinclus cinclus*].

There are very few aquatic birds and waders in the mountainous belt of Dzhungaria or in the desert belt. One most frequently encounters the ruddy sheldrake (*Anas rutila* [red duck, or *ataika* (*Tadorna ferruginea*)]).

Thus, the Dzhungarian fauna is broadly similar to the South Kazakh, differing from it only in that we do not find some species of mammals characteristic of the Kazakh fauna, for example, the saiga antelope and the wild ass. Among the birds we see several new species of birds of prey, tree-climbers, gallinaceous and small birds.

The vast desert sands between Lake Balkhash and the mountain belt are nothing less than a continuation of the Kazakh Borsyks (as the sands are called), of the Karakum and the Khan-Tau, and have nothing to differentiate

⁵ In Mongolian, *dzeren*. Erroneously identified in the manuscript as *Antilopa guttuosa* Pall.

⁶ 1. Daurian Jackdaw; 2. European Roller; 3. Probably in fact the European Bee-eater, *Merops apiaster*; 4. An error. The Saxaul Jay (*Padoes panderi*) is a bird of lowland deserts; 5. Red-winged Wall-creeper. In winter, it descends to the foothills; 6. Correct: The European Nuthatch; 7. Red-rumped Swallow (*Hirundo daurica*); 8. Eastern House Martin; 9. Siberian Tit; 10. Azure Tit; 11. European Goldfinch; 12. Asian Rosy Finch (*Leucosticte arctoa*); 13. Siberian Thrush, apparently erroneously identified; 14. Naumann's Thrush. Probably erroneously identified. Breeds in Eastern Siberia. If in this area, only passingly; 15. Red-mantled Finch; 16. Siberian Finch. Specified, apparently, erroneously. If so, only passingly in this area; 17. European Bullfinch; 18. Long-tailed Rosefinch; 19. Rustic Bunting; 20. Pine Bunting; 21. Red-headed Bunting; 22. Hawfinch (*Coccothraustes coccothraustes*); 23. Altai Accentor; 24. Black-throated Accentor; 25. Mountain Accentor; 26. White-throated Dipper.

them particularly. They are littered with the same pockets of barren saline soil, called *kaks*⁷ in the Kazakh steppe, but nevertheless the wild asses and saiga antelopes, in which the Hungry Steppe and the sands on the River Shu abound, never go further east than the It-Keshu meridian. A few years ago, there was black ice in the Hungry Steppe, and real famine ensued. The asses and saigas migrated to the Trans-Ili Region and went far down into the Ili Valley. In the spring the animals returned home. I did, nevertheless, come upon a family of asses in the Ili Valley, near the Kalkan and Katu Mountains, which the Kazakhs told me had stayed behind after the winter invasion was over. So it is true that Dzhungaria is a natural border separating the Central Asian asses from the *dzhigetai* of the Mongolian Gobi, and a boundary separating the saiga antelope of the lowland deserts from the gazelles of the upland steppes, as the local people have long been aware. The Kazakhs tell a tale that signs of deep trenches, visible along the foot of the Dzhungar Alatau mountains, are the remains of ditches dug by Khan Zhanibek to destroy the wild asses. These animals supposedly lured into their herd a horse on which the khan's little son was learning to ride, and the boy perished. The khan then had a ditch dug from Tarbagatai to Ili and drove all the Dzhungar asses into it. Only one stallion and mare escaped beyond Lake Balkhash, and they strictly forbade their progeny to return to that land.

Russian Dzhungaria has played a historic role in the destiny of the Central Asian peoples. Abulghazi says that Abuldzha Khan, the son of Iafet, the patriarch of the Turkic tribes, roamed the Rivers Talas and Shu and Lake Issyk-Kol. From the Chinese chronicles, we know that all the tribes that emigrated from the high Gobi tarried here and put down roots, until they were driven out by stronger tribes. Indeed, Russian Dzhungaria has every amenity for the nomadic life: the valleys in the mountains served as cool nomadic territories in the summer heat, and the livestock, not at the mercy of gadflies, grazed freely on lush pastures. Towards autumn, the nomads descended into the valleys, harvested grain and during the winter sheltered in the *uremas*⁸ along the riverbanks or in the hollows between the sandhills of the Balkhash steppe, where excellent fuel, like saxaul, was to be had. This circumstance was very important for nomads, because in the Mongolian Gobi the tent of even the mightiest khan was heated with dung.

Russian Dzhungaria, despite the great prevalence of nomadic life, did have a few settlements. We find the first historical news of this in Chinese history – namely, mention of the town of Chigu which, it must be assumed, was on the east shore of Lake Issyk-Kol and was built by Chinese workers for the *kunmi* of the Usun. In the Middle Ages, settlements proliferated here, especially in the Ili Valley. The towns of Almalyk (now the Turkestan settlement), Khonakai and Kainak (which still exist) and Almatu, where Fort Vernyi is now located,

⁷ In scholarly parlance, *takyr*.

⁸ *Urema*. The riparian strip of a river, covered with shrubs and alluvial woodland.

were known for their trading and served as stations on the high road along which Genoese merchants travelled to China, and Kipchak ambassadors journeyed to the great khan.

Something else worthy of note is the fact that in this part of Asia there were a particularly large number of Nestorian and Monophysite Christian congregations, and on Lake Issyk-Kol Syrian Jacobites had, as can be seen from the Catalan Atlas, a monastery with the relics of St Matthias. Christianity spread so strongly here that it brought several persecutions upon itself. In the sixteenth century there were already a number of Muslim settlements on Lake Issyk-Kol. These facts greatly intrigued me, but unfortunately, I was unable to make any great discoveries, because the Kyrgyz have managed to destroy the last remnants of the extant buildings, mistaking everything for Lamaic temples. One Chinese, who had been at Issyk-Kol in 1820, told me he had seen a huge idol there, hewn out of stone, but I could find not the slightest trace of antiquities of this kind. I did, however, find signs of settlement almost throughout Russian Dzhungaria, and collected legends about them current among the people. I managed also to acquire several gold items and coins found in the ruins of ancient Almalyk. I intend to devote a special article to this topic. For the present I will confine myself only to remarking that evidence I found in the depths of Central Asia of the Chud mines gives reason to suppose that mining was not confined exclusively to the Finnish race. Historical information tends, on the contrary, to point more in favour of the Turks than of the Finns, because the Tupo [Tugyu], according to the Chinese, were miners for the house of Zhuzhan, and when Siberia was conquered, one Turkic branch was called the Smelters because it engaged exclusively in the smelting of ores and supplied metal products to the neighbouring Mongols and Finns.

Among the peoples living in Central Asia during the Han Dynasty, the Chinese chronicles mention six tribes with blue eyes and ginger hair whom Klapproth in *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie* (Paris, 1826) p. 82, and Abel Rémusat in *Recherches sur les langues tartares* (Paris, 1820) vol. 1, p. 306 considered peoples of Indo-Germanic origin. According to Klapproth they were an Alano-Gothic race, and according to Rémusat they were '*nations Gothiques et Hindo-scythiques*.' These peoples included, incidentally, the Khakas, who later became the 'Kilikis',⁹ that is, the Kyrgyz and Usun, who particularly amazed the Chinese by their alien appearance and what the Chinese described as their 'equine' facial features.

At the present time there live in Dzhungaria two peoples – the Burut or Kyrgyz, and the Kazakhs of the Great Horde, known collectively as the Uisun, among whom there is a line called the Yellow Uisun (Sary Uisin). Even more interesting is that this line considers itself the relic of a great, powerful nation.

⁹ Ancient Chinese pronunciation of the word 'Kyrgyz'.

Having long been engaged in collecting Kazakh folk tales, myths, epic songs and legends, I was struck by the fact that their motifs were identical to the motifs of similar works of European peoples, especially the Slavs.¹⁰ I initially explained this, following Abel Rémusat, as being due to the influence and intermingling of the Indo-Germanic tribes with the Tatars while they lived together on the plains of Central Asia. Now I was hoping to find in the Kazakhs of the Great Horde the key to this issue and rich materials for my collection. My hopes were, alas, to be disappointed. I found here not a single rhapsode, not a single good minstrel. They hardly even sing and, when they do, it is invariably about that white goat or that raven-black stallion, and always to the tune of *boidai-talym*.¹¹

The Uisun¹² themselves admit they have little talent for poetry. They say that once Song (a mythical personification) flew over the earth and taught the human race to sing. Being a woman, Song was capricious. With some she stayed for a long time, while others heard only her voice in the distance. In some places she flew in silence, while in others she howled like a wolf. In the Middle Horde she stayed for a long time, but we only heard her voice and cannot recall it. From the folktales and songs I have heard here, however, and especially from Burut folk poetry, I have become convinced that the Indo-Germanic motifs of our Kazakhs and Nogai can have been adopted only through intermingling with the Slavic world, with Russia.

Ethnographical sketches, statistical information, historical facts and treasures of the folk literature of the Uisun and the Kazakh Horde occupy several books in my notes. At the end of my article I wish to introduce you, gentlemen, in greater detail to the Burut, who until now have been almost completely unknown. I shall not dwell on the Kazakhs of the Great Horde because they are in every way similar to their fellow Siberian and Orenburg Kazakhs.

As I conclude my ethnographic notes on the Burut and Uisun, I consider it essential to emphasise that we should not confuse these two completely different peoples. In the past this was a great concern of Messrs Levshin, Meindorf and, very passionately, of Father Iakinf, but to this day no one has taken any notice of them: theirs has been a voice crying in the wilderness. Even Humboldt and Ritter were unclear on this point: they believed the Burut constituted the Great Kazakh Horde and that the need was to distinguish this horde from the Little and Middle Hordes. That was a major error on the part

¹⁰ In the collection of Afanasyev I found only six folktales unknown to me in a Kazakh version. – *CV*.

¹¹ The song of the white goat and the raven-black stallion is one of the most ancient lyrical songs of the Kazakhs, and, their rhapsodists believe, [these were] the first lyrical experiments to appear at the end of the last century. The Kazakhs now have many voices in their songs, but in the olden days were content with very few themes and, among them, this *boidai-talym*. – *CV*.

¹² So-called by the Kazakhs of the Great Horde. – *CV*.

of these scholarly luminaries. The Great, Middle and Little Kazakh hordes constitute one 'Kazakh' people, separate from the Kyrgyz, whom the Chinese call Burut and the Russians call Dikokamennyi ['Wild Rock'] or Black. These two peoples have different languages, origins and customs. Even in the facial features of a Burut there is something distinctively un-Kazakh.

Overall, on the basis of the structure of the skull and facial type, the Central Asian peoples may be divided into Persians, Mongols and Turks. Persians subdivide into the highland type – Galcha – and the lowland – Tajik – and belong to the Caucasian tribe. Tajiks are swarthy and have black hair, but among the Galcha there are blonds. The Kalmyk may be considered representatives of the Mongol type in Central Asia. They have dark brown hair and an olive complexion. Their eyes are narrow, their face flat and with prominent cheekbones, and their nose is flattened. The remaining peoples of Central Asia, both of Mongolo-Turkic and of Finno-Turkic descent, are a strange mixture of types and colours. You will encounter among them blond men with an angular Mongol face, narrow blue eyes, a Roman nose and a broad face with prominent cheekbones. Altogether, in the physical appearance of these peoples there is a noticeable commingling, an alloying of the features of the Caucasian and Mongol tribes.

The second period of my expedition begins in the upper reaches of the River Naryn, the main tributary of the River Syr Darya, which was the limit of Mr Semyonov's travels in this meridian. Now there extended before me a *terra incognita*, as yet wholly unexplored. Despite the great danger, I constantly kept a diary during the journey, even in Kashgar. Friendly relations with the local people, scholars and officials, and the ability to travel freely in the environs gave me the opportunity to fully survey this remarkable land.

Acquaintance with merchants of different tribes and from different countries provided me with many routes, and ethnographic, statistical and trading information about adjacent countries. Being constantly in the company of merchants and living in a caravanserai, I became especially well acquainted with trade in Central Asia, with the items of caravan trading in general, and in particular in Kashgar, with the merchants of Central Asia, their commercial thinking and economic calculations.

Thus the information collected during the expedition comprises, first, my personal observations; second, information and materials obtained from trustworthy people and cross-checked with other accounts; finally, written sources received from merchants, officials, local official documents and books.

At the present time, I am bringing order to my notes and, on behalf of his excellency, the quartermaster general, am engaged in producing a map of Central Asia based on the latest surveys and the rich materials preserved in our topographic depot.

During my stay in Kashgar, I attempted to study the Uighur language (as Abel Rémusat calls it), which is the language of Kashgar. The spoken language is completely unknown to European scholars, who know only a

little of the written language, which resembles Chagatai. In Little Bukharia there has formed, under the influence of Chinese patterns, a clerical language, examples of which I shall shortly publish in the *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Arkheologicheskogo obshchestva* [Notes of the Eastern Branch of the Archaeological Society]. I have compiled a small dictionary of the spoken language, examples of idiotisms,¹³ and written down many folk songs.

We know little of the history of Little Bukharia. From the Chinese chronicles we are more or less familiar with its history up to the time of Tamerlane, and then from Muslim sources, which, however, mention it only in passing. In fact, however, there is an excellent history of the region that to this day has remained unknown. It was written in the mid-sixteenth century by Mirza Mukhammed-Khaidar Kurekan, the vizier of the khan of Kashgar, Abdul-Rashid, and named by him in honour of the khan, the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*. In the museum¹⁴ of the Academy of Sciences there is a translation of this work into Turkish, and in the library of St Petersburg University there is the Persian original. Unfortunately, the Academy's translation is incomplete, and the University's original is full of errors, having evidently been copied by someone who did not know the Persian language. The *Tarikh-i Rashidi* divides into two sections. The first contains the history of the khans of Kashgar from Tugluk-Timur to Rashid, up to the year 992 Hijri (1554). The second section is in the nature of a memoir. Here the author describes his personal adventures, reports a great deal of geographic and ethnographic information about the Tian Shan, Bolor, Tibet and Kunlun. The author himself belongs to the renowned Dulat family. His ancestors, known as *ulusbeks*, played in Mogul-ulus¹⁵ the same role as the majordomos during the reign of the Frankish Merovingians.

As I mentioned above, Khaidar's history ends in 1554. I should also note that this is the only history known in Europe, and even then only by name. (The Academy's manuscript has yet to be described.) I was fortunate enough to acquire a manuscript in Kashgar titled *Tazkiryai Khojagyan*, which contains the history of the dynasty of the *khajas*¹⁶ who, having at the end of the sixteenth century driven out the Genghisids with the aid of the Buddhist Oirat, ruled Little Bukharia as vassals of the Dzhungar. This remarkable work ends with

¹³ Idiotisms (obsolete), or idioms, are turns of speech peculiar to a given language that do not lend themselves to analysis or literal translation.

¹⁴ This refers to the Asian Museum (now the St Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences).

¹⁵ Mogul-ulus or Chete was the name given to the eastern half of the Chagatai lands. In the summer, the khans of these lands roamed in Dzhungaria, and in the winter lived in Aksu, Kashgar or Yarkand. 'Chete Mongols' should not be confused with the Mongols proper, because they were Muslims and spoke Turkic. – *CV*.

¹⁶ In Central Asia, *khaja* is the name for a descendant of Mohammed. They constitute the hereditary clergy and enjoy great popular respect. – *CV*.

the capture of the city of Yarkand by the Chinese in 1758. The *History of the Khojas* thus serves as a continuation of the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*.

Of the books I acquired in Kashgar, the following are also deserving of note:

1. *Tazkiriyai Sultan Satuk-Bughra-khan-ghazi* (The life of Sultan-Bughra Khan of the Ilek Dynasty, who was the first to convert to Islam and spread it in Kashgar.)
2. *Tazkiriyai Tugluk-Timur-Khan*. The life of Tugluk-Timur Khan of the Chagataiids, who was the first Mongol khan of Mogul-Ulus to convert to Islam.
3. *Rishakhat*, or information on the Central Asian teachers of the law and miracle workers.
4. *Abu-Muslim Maruzi*, a heroic story noteworthy because of the many local historical legends it relates.

In addition to the above-named, I acquired in the course of the expedition a small numismatic collection, already described in the *Bulletins* of the Academy of Sciences (see *Mélanges asiatiques, 4ième livraison*), a collection of mineral samples encountered on my travels, also pieces of jade extracted in the Mirdzhai Mountains near Yarkand and in the River Kara-Kash, Bolor jaspers, marble, crystal, granular gold from the River Keriya. I also brought back items of local manufactures and examples of English wares found in the Kashgar market.

Those, in brief, are the most general results of my expedition through Central Asia.

* * *

My expedition began on 28 May 1858. On that day, I joined a trading caravan that was then encamped in the Karamula tract, 20 miles from the city of Kapal. The caravan had departed from Semey and belonged to merchants from Kokand and Bukhara. It comprised eight mobile yurts, 100 camels, some 65 horses, 34 servants, and goods to a value of 20,000 roubles in silver. In the caravan I went by the name of Alimbai and was considered to be a relative of the *caravan-bashi*, the venerable Musabai.

On 29 May the caravan moved off. Wonderful weather favoured our journey, and at first we proceeded by way of the picket road to the Altynemel picket through the delightful valleys of the Alatau foothills. The fields were bright with orange tulips and Oriental poppies, and the little yellow-bodied red-headed bunting swayed on long stems of white mallow. After 16 miles of progress, in the coolness of evening the caravan usually pitched camp on the bank of some babbling stream in the shade of tall poplars or silver-leaved oleasters. People chattered loudly and cheerfully around bright fires, and the Bukharians smoked the hookah and recited poems by Hafiz. The Kazakhs currently occupying these localities would come to us with sheep for sale, and their eminent chiefs came for a *bazarlyk*, a gift. Solemnly, accompanied by a

large retinue, they would come to the caravan and enquire, 'Who is the richest of you all?' All the owners of tents took it in turns to be named the richest, and the richest man of the day would treat the foremost representatives of the Horde to tea, dried bread and dried fruit. This the Kazakhs would quickly put away in their robes and rapidly depart with their gift.

The caravan was honoured on one occasion by the arrival of Sultan Zhangazy, the ruler of the Zhalaiyr tribe, with someone the Kazakhs called his representative. This person attended him because he was feeble-minded and had been allocated to him by the Alatau district administration. The sultan was strikingly eccentric. He entered the tent with the gait of a fat goose, which the Kazakhs adopt on highly official occasions. He sat down in the place of honour and assumed a meditative mien. Everyone was silent. The sultan suddenly raised his eyes, quickly looked round at us and recited, 'Zhalaiyr has many sheep, Zhangazy's many thoughts are deep.' So saying, he reverted to his Buddhist immobility. Meanwhile, his representative and the other Kazakhs talked among themselves. They described how the Russian governor-general had come to Fort Vernyi. They repeated his words addressed to the Kazakh people and mimicked the gestures he had used down to the last detail. The Kazakhs kept asking us to teach them 'the law', 'because they are forever taking our bullocks and horses for works on the frontier and hardly ever give them back. Those Cossacks, they know the law, so they are hard on us and steal what they please,' they said. 'You can't argue with them. They are on the Tsar's list. Go for them and you'll end up in the drilled mountains',¹⁷ which is what the Kazakhs call forced labour in the mines. 'We have already had no end of trouble because of three Cossacks who disappeared without trace. All through the winter the *dempiunty* (the district commissioner's deputy) and Banushka (Vaniushka the interpreter) were giving Kara-tale hell. "Confess!" they keep saying. "You killed the Cossacks." "As God is my witness, I never set eyes on them!" Now the governor is saying, "Find me the guilty parties, or I'll knock you all into a cocked hat. You won't know what hit you!"' The sultan all this time was swivelling his eyes around, and occasionally firing out couplets. After the pilau, our visitors departed, leaving behind a scent of almonds in the yurt.

Crossing the Dzhungarian Alatau by the Zhaksy-Altyn-Emel Pass, which is notorious for the *ebe*, the strong north-east winds that blow through it in the autumn, like those on the southern shore of Lake Alakol, the caravan emerged into a bare, flinty valley. In the distance we could see the Ili. We resorted to the ferry across the river, which was maintained by the Kazakhs, and spent the night by a spring in the sands, between the Kalkan Mountains, where we ended up a hollow full of snakes, tarantulas, scorpions and camel spiders. We remembered that cursed night for a long time afterwards. We could not sleep, and at first light set off again.

¹⁷ In Kazakh, *tesken mai*.

It took two days for the caravan to cross the River Ili on the ramshackle punts. These were pulled with the help of horses that had to swim, and the boatmen bailed out buckets of water. Having celebrated *Kurban*¹⁸ on the banks of the Ili, our caravan proceeded through the Sogoty, Toraigyr and Ush-Merke Passes to the valley of the River Karkara, which we reached after 17 days of hard travelling. Here we met Alban Kazakhs of the Aitbozym line and split up to go and barter in different *auls*. The Kazakhs, however, were very anxious. Before our arrival on the shores of the Karkara there had been a bloody fight between the Kyzylborik and Aitbozym lines. They were expecting a Russian official, who was to investigate after a complaint by the Kyzylborik. If things went wrong, they were thinking of making themselves scarce. And that is what happened. On 4 August the Kazakhs suddenly began dismantling their camp, and by evening there was not a living soul to be seen, not a sound to be heard on the banks of the Kegen or the Karkara. Only our solitary tents were left, sadly surveying the lifeless surroundings. For some reason we were embarrassed. Our *caravan-bashi* and some of the old men decided that the 900 sheep we had bartered from the Kazakhs were not enough and decided to go to the Kyrgyz Horde.

On 6 August our caravan reached the Kyrgyz nomadic territory. We were met by the chief of the Salmek tribe, Manap Karach, nicknamed Bolshoi.¹⁹ He was favourably disposed towards the Russian government and pining to be awarded the rank of ensign. He was called Bolshoi because he was as fat as a Durham bull. Karach wore a pointed white felt hat with its flaps cut crosswise fore and aft. He had a quilted coat of stout striped cotton material, like ticking, with a round collar resembling those on the kaftans of our officers and with three green silk tie-strings on the chest. On his feet were clumsy boots of red Russian leather with big wooden heels. His son was dressed in the same manner as Karach, but his coat was more garish and had a plush collar and sleeves. Karach's retinue consisted of several ruffians armed with cudgels and spears. One ginger-haired spear-bearer was wearing only his underwear and a felt cloak, and another, despite the warm season, was wearing a sheepskin on his bare body and a fur hat. The Kyrgyz spoke very rapidly and shrilly and were constantly putting snuff in their mouths.

The upper Kegen Valley is an elevated location with abundant fodder. The riverbanks are marshy, and in places become hummocky swamps called *saz*. It is a fact that three adjacent upland valleys, those of the Rivers Kegen, Tekes and Karkara, are the only places in all Dzhungaria where you find fertile loam, and which are densely covered with grass. In a large *saz* stood the huts of Kalmyk of the 9th Division who had been posted next to a Chinese mine but were now stood down. We pitched camp on the River Chalkuda. It snowed overnight, the wind howled and whirled the dust-like snow as if it were winter.

¹⁸ *Kurban-bairam*, a Muslim holiday.

¹⁹ That is, Chon-Karach.

It was terribly cold. The blizzard continued for two days, and our relations with the Kyrgyz were interrupted.

On the third day, the chiefs of the Kyrgyz lines came to our caravan and allocated us to their *auls*. I and my friend Mamrazyk found ourselves in the village of Bursuk, who is a *bi* and the chief of the Kydyk, a minor line.

As soon as we arrived in the village, we went to visit our host. We were ceremonially helped to dismount before the doors of the tent and invited to enter. The tent was full of holes and blackened by smoke. Bursuk was sitting in the place of honour, by the hearth and facing the door; to the right of the doors, on a calfskin, sat his wife, an old woman, his two daughters and several other Kyrgyz women. In the same area, closer to the doors, stood pots, skins containing *airan*, buckets, cups, plates and other accoutrements. To the left, beside the doors, sat a Kyrgyz stitching boots out of red Russian leather, biting the seams viciously after each knot; there were clippings, pieces of felt, wool, and gnawed bones all over the floor. We were invited to sit on a piece of black felt, embroidered with patterns, which served in the office of a carpet. Our host was very amiable, only he kept cursing the graves of our fathers, evidently just out of habit. His wife would doubtless have been more amiable if the snuff rubbed into her gums had not inhibited her ability to speak. Bursuk gave instructions for us to be served *kumys*. Our hostess pulled out a rather small but full skin carefully enfolded in an old robe, and took several wooden cups. Since these had remnants of food on them, the hostess and her daughters scoured them with their fingers and put in their mouths what stuck to their hands. Bursuk's children, of whom there were nine, then brought us the cups of *kumys*. I drank *kumys*, not without satisfaction, carefully ignoring the remains of various Kyrgyz culinary offerings that adhered to the cup like a thick cement. For me this was nothing new. In 1856 I had been in the yurt of the top wealthy Kyrgyz, the supreme *manap*, Buranbai. In his hut, admittedly, we were sitting on a carpet; he himself was on a blanket from Bukhara, and his wife too reposed on calfskin. We drank *kumys* out of porcelain cups, but the salty tea, for want of another vessel, was brewed in the cast-iron washstand, and the rest of the hut was exactly like that of Bursuk: the same clippings, bones and all the rest.

For the Kyrgyz, slovenliness is a way of life sanctified by tradition. They consider washing dishes to be a sin as grave as spitting on a fire or walking through a place when tethered mares are being milked, and so on. They think that with the cleaning of impurities from dishes, happiness and abundance are also thrown away. Their men do not have the custom of changing their underclothes and wear it until it falls apart. The Kyrgyz style of mourning is for the wife not to wash her face or comb her hair, not to remove or change her dress for an entire year, even if it becomes completely unwearable.

The hospitality of the Burut chief extended to the slaughtering for us of a lamb from his flocks. The poor lamb was slaughtered in front of us in the yurt, despite its tears. It was butchered into pieces, a fire was lit, a tripod placed and

on it a pot, all just as it should be. The apathetic faces of the Kyrgyz suddenly became alive, the family members fussed about the pot with exaggerated zeal, getting in each other's way until finally they quarrelled. Hungry dogs crowded around the place where sheep were slaughtered and sniffed the floor voraciously. More and more Kyrgyz, in anticipation of their 'mouthful',²⁰ filled the yurt. A Kyrgyz performer played the balalaika and, with a wild voice, sang '*Doit, doit*'. The pot was finally removed and a heaped-up plate of lamb placed before us, crowned by the rump bone, the most honourable portion. We ate the meat, dipping it in salty broth.

Early the next morning, Bursuk visited us for tea. At lunchtime, there he was again. Come evening he was there again in time for dinner. This ritual he performed religiously every day, his children not lagging behind their father. Feeding Bursuk's family was evidently part of our statutory duty.

The Kyrgyz themselves subsist only on milk and dead livestock.²¹ It seemed to be the first time Kydyks had had the pleasure of seeing traders' tents in their villages. We came to this conclusion because, after our arrival, Bursuk began behaving in a very pretentious manner. 'I shall defile your father's mouth!' he told his opponents. 'I have Sart here, merchants staying.' And so on.

We were, moreover, visited by ladies and young girls, who brought us boiled lamb, *kumys* or *airan* in buckets, cheese and butter. For this, in accordance with local custom, we were expected to give them presents. My companion, a most urbane gentleman and a great admirer of the fairer sex, was delighted. He regaled them with dried fruit, gave them chintz and plush and beads, and paid them extravagant compliments. Alas, the Burut girls could understand little of it, and kept asking, 'What is he saying?' His reputation spread to distant *auls* of other lines.

Sometimes in the evenings the daughters of our host held parties in my friend's tent. To this end the young men, young women and girls would come together. The women sat on one side, the men on the other, and the games commenced. One of the girls would rise from her place with extreme flirtatiousness and, with a swish of her shawl, choose the one she fancied. The young man thus favoured had to perform some complicated gymnastic turn or sing a song, neither of which were easy. The excitement came from the fact that an adroit young man would be rewarded by his lady with a big, juicy kiss, while one considered to have failed would be beaten quite severely.

Singing seems for some reason to be preferred to somersaults, and probably not from purely aesthetic considerations. The singing is performed as follows: the singer goes down on one knee and sings a song, usually of an erotic nature.

²⁰ A guest should, in accordance with Kyrgyz tradition, place a piece of meat with his own hands in the mouth of everyone present, otherwise he will be considered ignorant and uncouth. – *CV*.

²¹ Kyrgyz ate meat from animals killed by wolves or which had been physically injured. Eating the meat of animals that had died naturally was forbidden by Islam.

The tune is sung in a particular, unnatural tone of voice. Starting on the right note requires a great effort from the Kyrgyz: his eyes bulge, his nostrils flare. At first tuneless splutterings are heard, evidently unsuccessful attempts before the singer gets into the tune. Having finished the song, the singer gets up, stands *dos-à-dos*²² with his lady and, turning round in some highly complicated manner, kisses her. Relations between Kyrgyz boys and girls are altogether primævally unceremonious: mothers, fathers and brothers are remarkably unconcerned, and husbands even encourage their friends to enjoy closer relations with their wives. My companions in the caravan seemed to take full advantage of this tradition, especially since some of the Burut girls were far from ugly. The Burut, like our Kyrgyz, seem oblivious of the jealousy so typical of Asians. The reason for this tolerance lies in the fact that the puritanism of Islam has yet to spread among this people.

The Burut call themselves Muslims, but do not even know who Mohammed was. They celebrate funerals and weddings following shamanic rites, but at the same time will compel a literate Central Asian or Tatar, if there is one, to say a prayer. We can safely say that no one of this race, from the days of their nomadic roaming around Issyk-Kol to Badakhshan, has been able to read or write. The Kyrgyz drink wine, distilling it from *kumys*, make beer and, greatly tempting the faithful, get drunk at every opportunity. That was much the religious condition of our Kazakhs of the Middle Horde some 30 years ago. The Russian government built mosques, appointed mullahs from among the Tatars and now, thanks to the influence of these Tatars, the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde are no less fanatical than the whirling dervishes of the Mevlevi Order, strictly following the five-times-a-day praying and 30-day fasting rules, and some are even beginning to introduce retreating to a harem. We are not sure what would be better for the Kazakh steppe: its former ignorance, innocent of religious intolerance, or modern Tatar education, which for the past 300 years has been expressed in the most anti-progressive manner.

The Tatars in Russia constitute a completely separate Asiatic world that has nothing in common with the interests of the Russian people. The Great Horde is in a state of transition. The Tatars have now spread throughout it and are meeting with success. It is remarkable that the further they are from the Tatars, the less fanaticism there is in the Kazakhs, even though here they live under the influence of the Central Asian realms, which are customarily considered hotbeds of religious fanaticism. It is my opinion that the mullahs of Bukhara are considerably less dangerous than the Tatar ones.

We lived in the Kyrgyz Horde for almost a month, migrating with it from one place to another, constantly bartering sheep. Our host, as we have said, was not a *manap*, not a member of the Kyrgyz aristocracy. He did not participate in popular meetings and was very poor. Nevertheless, Bursuk had ambitions to lead an important clan and, in order to get rich, was feuding with almost all the

²² Back to back (French).

Kyrgyz aristocrats. For this purpose, he chose the most impregnable positions for his *auls*, remote from the common migration grounds. During my stay he ensconced himself in unassailable gorges of the Muzart (Icy Mountains) or in the swamps of the upper River Tekes. He did not emerge from his refuge even when other tribes, in full panoply, pitched their *auls* the length and breadth of the Kegen Valley and prepared to mark the 90th day after the death of Buranbai, the supreme *manap*, with ceremonial horse racing. My host and his nine predatory sons spent that time horse rustling.

My acquaintance with the Kyrgyz, as already noted, began back in 1850. In 1855 Buranbai, the supreme *manap* of the Bugu tribe, together with the clans that deferred to him, in all, 10,000 tents, adopted Russian citizenship. In spring the following year, at the request of the Kyrgyz themselves, a Cossack detachment under the command of Colonel Khomentovsky was sent to gain a closer acquaintance of the Kyrgyz and to survey the lands belonging to their tribe. This first Russian expedition managed, in the course of two months, to survey the northern part of Lake Issyk-Kol and to plot a map of the terrain, on a scale of 2 *verst*s, of its north shore to the River Aksu, and of its south shore to the River Zauku. Being a member of that expedition, I visited Buranbai's village, collected several remarkable legends and compiled a report on the Kyrgyz.²³ I subsequently encountered the Burut of other tribes: the Sary-Bagysh, the Soltu and, finally, on the present expedition, I became familiar with their nomadic territories all the way to Kashgar.

The origins and history of the Kyrgyz remain to this day an unresolved, controversial issue for scholars engaged in the study of Chinese and for Eastern historians. Most are of the opinion that today's Burut are no more nor less than the Yenisei Kyrgyz, resettled in the past century by the Dzhungars to new nomadic territories. They are, accordingly, held to be identical with the Khakas of the Tang Dynasty and the Kilikidzi of the Yuan Dynasty. Rashid-ad-Din in his history of the Mongols considers the Kyrgyz to be among the forest peoples of Southern Siberia, who lived in the land of Barkhudzhin-Tukum. The name Kem-Kemdzhut, which the Kyrgyz and Abulghazi gave him, suggests a connection with Kem (the River Yenisei) and the River Kemchuk, both of which were probably at that time the nomadic territories of this people. During the conquest of Siberia, the Russian Cossacks found Kyrgyz along the Rivers Abakan and Yus and waged a relentless war against them from the seventeenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth.

After that, the name of this people suddenly disappears from the Siberian chronicles. Fischer hypothesises that they were resettled by the Dzhungar *kontaishy* and, on the basis of rumours, that their new place of residence is in the vicinity of the borders of Tibet and the mountains of the Hindu Kush. Mr Levshin says that Swedish officers were the first to record this historical

²³ For the story of this expedition, see Valikhanov's 'Zapiski o Kirgizak' and *Dnevnik poezdki na ozero Ystyk-Kol*.

event and claims that they were resettled as the result of a treaty between the Russian government and the Dzhungar *kontaishy*. The Chinese, however, call the Kyrgyz Burut, and say they moved to their present nomadic territories from Kunlun, where they lived during the Tang Dynasty under the name of Bulu or Pulu.

Father Iakinf was the first to distinguish the Kyrgyz of Southern Siberia from today's Burut, believing the latter to be a Turkic tribe and calling them, in order to differentiate them from the former, 'Kyrgyz'. Ritter, in his *Erdkunde von Asien*, confuses the Kyrgyz-Burut and the Kazakhs and considers them all to be migrated Yenisei Kilikidzi or Khakas whom, following Klapproth and Abel Rémusat, he takes to be an Indo-Germanic tribe that became turkicised as the result of tribal fusion. As regards the disappearance of the Kyrgyz from Russian Siberia in the seventeenth century, Ritter says that, under pressure from their neighbours, they retreated to their fellow tribesmen, the Burut in Eastern Turkestan and the steppe to the south-east of the River Irtysh. Accordingly, he considers the Burut to have inhabited their present nomadic territories since ancient times. Such is the present situation regarding the issue of the origins of today's Kyrgyz.

To bring light to this confusion, we turned to the folk legends and discovered the following: 1) the people known under the name of Black Kyrgyz [Kara-Kyrgyz], call themselves simply Kyrgyz, or, as they say, Kyrgyz. The name of Burut, given to them by the Kalmyk and the Chinese, is completely unknown to them. 2) Kyrgyz consider the Andizhan Mountains to have been their original homeland. 3) No legends survive about their having been resettled from Southern Siberia, but there is a legend that they migrated from south to north, as far as the Black Irtysh, the Altai Mountains and Khangai, and to the east as far as Urumchi.

On the basis of these data, we believe that the Kyrgyz are identical with the Yenisei Khakas, or Kyrgyz which, as pronounced by the Chinese, becomes Ki-li-ki-tszy, because a Chinese chronicler, a contemporary of the Mongols, writes that 'Ki-li-ki-tszy' in the language of the natives means 'forty maidens', that is *kyrk* – forty, and *kyz* – a young woman. This etymology is also used by today's Kyrgyz to explain their name. We further propose that the Kyrgyz spread eastwards²⁴ to their present nomadic territories in very ancient times, because in Hulagu's route of 1253 Kyrgyz (*Kilik-i-tszy*) are encountered in the Tian Shan Mountains, and their migrations from Tian Shan to Khangai and back in subsequent times are confirmed by folk legends. Such migrations to and fro ceased only when a strong realm ruled by the Oirat or Dzhungars formed between the Altai and Tian Shan Mountains.

The opinion, accepted by all scholars, that resettlement of the Kyrgyz from the Yenisei to the Tian Shan Mountains in the early eighteenth century was implemented by the Dzhungars and, moreover, by mutual agreement with the

²⁴ A slip. Should be west.

Russian government, proves less than correct on the basis of the new evidence we have been able to obtain. In the Kashgar history entitled *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, I have found evidence that the Kyrgyz (Burut) were already roaming, in the late fifteenth century, in the mountains around Andizhan and that, during the times of the historian himself (about 1520), they extended their migrations to Lake Issyk-Kol. In the archives of the Provincial Board of the Siberian Kazakhs in Omsk, there is a curious document relating to the resettlement of Kyrgyz from Siberia in the summer of 1746. The document states that 12 persons, including women and children, presented themselves in Oskemen, testified that they were Kalmyk Kyrgyz and declared that they used to live in Siberia between the cities of Tomsk and Yenisei and on the steppe opposite the city of Krasnoyarsk, on the river known as Belyi Yus, under the authority of Tanbyn Batyr Datkha, and paid tribute in furs to the treasury of Her Imperial Majesty. Some 50 years ago and more, they said, during the rule of the father of the present *kontaishy* Galdan Tseren, there came three Kalmyk *zaisans*: Dunar, Sandyk and Chinbyn (according to other testimony: Zukhar, Sandyk and Ben-ben), with troops numbering 500. They attacked their nomadic grounds and captured 3,000 families, together with Datzhi Chainysh – the son of Tanbyn Batyr, their former khan – and forcibly removed them to the Dzhungarian lands and sent them to Uргу, where they now live and pay *alban*²⁵ to Galdan Tseren. Furthermore, these emigrants testified that their relatives and other Kalmyk Kyrgyz lived in the Sagai steppe and paid *yasak* to Her Imperial Majesty. The following year, 1747, two further Kalmyk Kyrgyz were intercepted fleeing from Dzhungaria, who testified the same thing and added that two of their uncles, Kharta Idash and his brother Emgen Mergen, roamed the Sagai *volost*.

From this we can see that the Siberian Kyrgyz, neighbours of the Dzhungars and the Uryankhai people, interbred greatly with the Mongols, and that it was not the entire population whom the Dzhungars resettled, but only 3,000 tents which, it must be supposed, were assimilated by the Dzhungars. It may be they who comprised the Kalmyk *nutuk* (line) of ‘Kyrgyz’ who gave Father Iakinf cause to conclude that the Siberian Kyrgyz were a Mongol tribe. If this is the situation, the question arises as to where these Siberian Kyrgyz have gone. They were a people so strong that, for an entire century, they harried Siberian cities with their raids and fought with other neighbours who were the likes of the Dzhungars and Altyn Khan Uryankhai. To this we reply that the disappearance of their name could have happened in accordance with the same law that explains how the illustrious realm of the ‘golden’ khans of the Uryankhai, to whom the Kyrgyz paid tribute, is now reduced to two impoverished *volosts* known by the name of the Two-Tributites, because they pay tribute both to the Russians and the Chinese. It is a known fact that the Siberians give all outsiders special names, and the remnants of the Siberian Kyrgyz are, of course, still roaming their old territories, but now bear new

²⁵ *Alban*. Tribute, duties.

names. We read somewhere that one of the Tatar peoples of the Yenisei governate, the Sagai, if I remember correctly, say they are descendants of the Kyrgyz. Mr Muravyev, an officer of the General Staff who recently travelled in the Altai, informs me that two *volosts* roaming the upper reaches of the River Bukhtarma call themselves Kyrgyz, and say they migrated there from the Kem (Yenisei) and Kemchuk.

Scholars have long been aware of the importance for ethnography of studying works of folk culture, which provide the best evidence of the quality of national life and ways. Their veneration of antiquity and the richness of their legends are a special heritage of the nomadic peoples of Northern and Central Asia. Legal and genealogical traditions are religiously preserved in the memory of clan elders, while other traditions are passed on in the form of the epic from clan to clan by a special class of minstrels.

Many words and turns of phrase no longer in use testify to their antiquity. The legend of Princess Gulmalik, the founder of the clan of Genghis Khan, is common to all the Tatar peoples. Thierry (*Histoire d'Attila et de ses successeurs*) takes it to be a remote myth about Attila and the Huns. The legend of the Kyrgyz about their origin from a red *borzoi* [Russian wolfhound] (*kyszyl taigan*) and a princess and 40 of her maids of honour is very ancient indeed. One of the features of the legends of ancient Central Asian peoples is a myth of their originating from an animal. Chinese history tells us that the people of Kaotsche (Gao-gyui), otherwise known as the Tele or Chile, are descended from a wolf and an enchanting Hun princess. A Hun *shanoë* (king) had two daughters of such amazing beauty that he did not want to see them marry ordinary mortals and, building a tall tower, left them in an uninhabited wilderness, saying, 'I pray heaven to accept them.' The younger princess, bored of the solitude, turned her attentions to an old wolf which, for a whole year, patrolled day and night near the castle, and finally even built its lair at the foot of the tower. Despite the pleading of her sister, she wedded it.²⁶ The Tugyu (Dulgas, according to Father Iakin) venerated a she-wolf as their matriarch, while for the Tufans (Tibetans), theirs was a dog. The Chinese say that Batachi, the patriarch of the Mongol khans, was the son of a blue wolf²⁷ and a white fallow deer (see Heinrich Klaproth, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1824], p. 204). Some tribes of redskins in North America see their tribe as descended from beavers, turtles and so on. From these examples it is plain that legends of this kind in Central Asia, and even in America, are of the most ancient kind and greatly revered. In favour of the view that the Kyrgyz legends have been subjected to very little amendment and are close to their original version is the extremely naive ceremoniousness with which they tell of things that are regarded as highly improper from the viewpoint of the modern

²⁶ See Joseph de Guignes, *Histoire général des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols et des autres Tartares occidentaux*, 5 vols, vol. 3 (Paris, 1756–58) p. 2.

²⁷ *Borte-chene*. In Abulghazi, *Burte chino*.

Kyrgyz line. The origin of the 99 Kipchak lines has survived among the Uzbeks and Kazakhs in a form so indecent that we doubt whether it will ever appear in print.

A very important category is genealogical legends. Clan life is founded on them. The relationship of the clans among themselves is determined by the standing in a hierarchy of kinship of their patriarchs. The seniority of one tribe over another is derived from the physical seniority by birth of its founder. Legends of this kind are of importance in defining the composition and formation of a people. From the genealogical tables of the Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Nogai, it is evident that they are a union of various Turkic and Mongol tribes that formed after the fall of the Golden and Chagatai Hordes. From the genealogy of the Buruts, it appears that the bulk of their people is made up of a Turkic tribe of Kyrgyz that was later augmented by two outside populations. One of these comprises the Kipchak, Naiman and Kytai clans. Their right to Kyrgyz nationality is expressed in genealogical terms by their being given a common ancestor in the person of the son of Kyrgyzbai. Another outside population is the Ichkiliks who, although they too consider their patriarch to have been the son of Kyrgyzbai, are not recognised by the other clans. A third section is the real Kyrgyz, divided into two wings: the On and the Sol. As at present constituted, they break down into numerous lines, each of which further subdivides, and so forth.

The Nogai epics, the *zhyr*, form the third category of legends. They exist among the Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Nogai and Kyrgyz. We must assume that in Central Asia the name 'Nogai' initially included all the nomadic tribes of Turkic and Mongol origin who spoke the Tatar language. In the same way, the nomads who spoke Mongolian were called 'Kalmyk'. The Nogai legends date back to the late fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They have the character of epics, are sung as rhymed verses and can accordingly be classified as oral folk literature. They are worthy of note as expressions of the national spirit, concepts, customs, morals and way of life. They are notable also in philological terms and are not without historical interest. The Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Nogai, all of whom see themselves as descendants of the Golden and Chagatai Hordes, retain several poetic sagas about heroes of the hordes: Edige, Er Kokshe, Orak, Shora and others. These are historical figures. Edige was one of Tamerlane's generals and a *temnik* in the Golden Horde under Timur-Kutluk. He is known to history for his victory over Vitovt at the River Vorskla. Orak, according to legend, was his descendant, was in Russian captivity and was married to a Russian princess. (We have found no historical evidence of him.) Er Kokshe is mentioned in the Nikonian Chronicle under the year 1423 and in connection with the attack of King Kuidadat on the Odoi. 'Then too was killed Kokcshe, a Tatar champion, great in body and strength.' Shora is a Tatar champion who goes to the aid of besieged Kazan. He is mentioned in the Kazan Chronicle. These sagas show how our nomads treasure antiquity, and how well they are able to preserve it.

We need to note that these poetic legends, because the territories over which the nomads roamed were contiguous and because of the closeness of their languages, were readily transferable and were borrowed by one people from another. This makes it all the more necessary to be able to distinguish between them. Mr Khodzko heard fragments of Edige from Turkmen, but the Turkmen had borrowed from the Kazakhs or the Nogai; just as their own classic robber, Kor-Oglu, is known to the Kazakh rhapsodes. In Asia there are many such migrating traditions, legends and sagas. In Lapland and among the Karelians, Academician Kastren heard the myth of the Cyclops Polyphemus from *The Odyssey*, adapted, of course, to accord with their nationality. This myth is also known in the Kazakh steppe, where the Cyclops is called Ayp, a man-eating giant, and the role of Odysseus is played by the Kazakh hero, Batyr Khan.

The Kyrgyz have a single epic, *Manas*, which belongs to the Nogai era. *Manas* is an encyclopaedic compilation of all the Kyrgyz myths, folktales and legends, relocated to a single period and centred on just one person, the epic hero Manas. It is like an *Iliad* of the steppe. The way of life, customs, morals, geography, religious and medical knowledge of the Kyrgyz and their international relations come to expression in this immense epic. The poem, in our opinion, has been subject to later additions and alterations. Perhaps, indeed, its very composition from prose *dzhumuks* (folktales) into a single whole is an undertaking of later times. *Manas* consists of many separate episodes, moulded into a semblance of unity. Another epic, *Samatai*, provides a sequel to *Manas*: it is the *Burut Odyssey*. The Kyrgyz claim three nights are not enough to listen to *Manas*, and that as much again is needed for *Samatai*, but this is probably an exaggeration.

The hero of the first poem is Manas, a mighty champion, the son of Yakub. He is at first described as the ruler of the Nogai from the River Shu to the Talas. Elsewhere in the poem he is said to be a Sart²⁸ from Andizhan²⁹ and, elsewhere again, from Samarkand. Manas is not 'white-boned' by birth, that is, he is not a Genghisid, but he is no less powerful than the khans. Yakub, his father, says, 'I am the father of the young Manas, famed from the Shu to the Talas. I am not a khan, but no worse than a khan. I am Khan akub.' Manas is represented as a fierce and sensual steppe-dweller. This is how his personality is characterised in the poem itself: 'He [Manas] fattened up in Andizhan eating under-baked bread and gnawing the green Andizhan apples. At the age of 12 he was shooting arrows; at 13 with a spear in his hands he conquered enemies, unhorsed children, made off with pretty maids and made brave (heroes) shout 'Kuki!' [The Kyrgyz shout 'Kuki!' when something hurts.] Aged 14 he destroyed *auls* encamped in the gorges, and rustled herds of the enemy's horses across

²⁸ Sart is the name given by Central Asian nomads to Tajiks, a people of Persian origin. – *CV*.

²⁹ Andizhan. A city in the Kokand Khanate. In the twelfth century this was the capital of the realm of Fergana. – *CV*.

high mountains. By 15 he was the ruler of countless peoples. High and mighty Manas raised his eyebrows and his face was cold; his blood was black but his body was white; his belly was many colours but his back was blue. Whom does brave Manas resemble? He is like the blue-maned, bristling wolf.' In anger, Manas is even more terrible. His beard and moustache rise like hackles, sparks fly from his eyes, smoke comes from his mouth, and his waist, as slender as a poplar, swells like an *alachug*. (This is the Kyrgyz word for a portable tent; the Kazakhs call it a *dzhulameika*, which gives the Russian *lachuga* – a shack.)

The poem begins with the youthful Manas sending his father off to seek for him the hand of Karakhan's daughter Khankeya, whose face is as white as snow, and the blush of whose cheeks contrasts with it like blood fallen on the snow. The princess is 15 years old, and her long hair reaches down to her heels, she smells like musk and her teeth are like pearls.

Yakub, the father of Manas, wanders for a long time, seeking the bride for his son: 'His horse grew as thin,' the poem tell us, 'as a cotoneaster twig,³⁰ and there were insects on his body the size of a sparrow.' Finally, he reaches the *auls*, but encounters a refusal: 'My daughter is deserving of the son of a khan: your son deserves the plebeian daughter of a *bi*,' says the khan. Manas goes to war and takes the princess by force. In this episode Manas behaves disgracefully, robbing his own father and leaving old Yakub and his aged mother in penury. In subsequent episodes we see him as a great warrior who protects the weak, wages war against the Kalmyk and leaves evidence of his exploits in the heart of Dzhungaria. The Kyrgyz say that the city of Manas, near Urumchi, and the territory of the same name on the upper Irtysh, are named after their hero.

The commemoration feast for Kukotai Khan is, of course, the most remarkable episode in *Manas*. It tells of how Buk-Murun, the son of the Nogai Khan Kukotai, in order to mark the first anniversary of his father's death, migrated from the environs of Lake Issyk-Kol to the Black Irtysh, to the Altai and Khingan under the protection of the Mongol Khan Dzhulai. Manas and other Muslim nomads who had come to the commemoration could not endure their off hand treatment by these infidels and fighting broke out, which developed into a war. Manas beat Khan Dzhulai brutally and killed him. He also killed a Chinese champion, Konurbai, in a duel. Subsequently, Manas himself was killed by the Mongol Khan Naz-Kary. The avenging of the death of his father by Samatai, the son of Manas, is the topic of the second Kyrgyz epic.

I wrote down one episode of *Manas*, namely the memorial feast of Kukotai Khan, verbatim, from the words of a Kyrgyz rhapsode. This is probably the first time spoken Kyrgyz has been committed to paper. I am translating this work of Kyrgyz poetry, and intend to compile a brief dictionary in order to acquaint orientologists with a language that is still completely unknown.

Kyrgyz is a Turkic language, more closely related than others to the spoken language used in Little Bukharia. In this language there are very few,

³⁰ Cotoneaster, *yrgai*. A tough, dense tree, like a palm. – CV.

indeed almost no Arabic or Persian words, but many that are Mongolian or proto-Turkic.

To conclude our tale about the Kyrgyz, let us say a few words about the present distribution of the Kyrgyz people, about their main lines, and the extent to which they are politically independent.

The Kyrgyz Horde is divided into two wings: the On (or right) and the Sol (or left). These correspond to the Mongolian *Borangar* and *Dzhungar*. The right wing is divided into two sections: the Adgene and the Tagai, of which the Tagai is the more extensive. The following tribes are related but constantly at war with each other: the Sary-Bagysh, Bugu, Soltu, Sayak, Cherik, Chonbagysh and Bassyz. In total, seven. The Bugu have, in 1855, acceded to the Russian Empire. They comprise 11,000 tents. They engage in arable farming on the south shore of Lake Issyk-Kol, and in the summer roam the upper reaches of the Rivers Tekes and Kegen. The Sary-Bagysh number some 10,000 tents and roam along the River Shu and the east end of Issyk-Kol. The Soltu, the most predatory clan, with some 15,000 tents, roam the Rivers Talas and Shu, near the Kokand fortifications at Pishpek. The Sayak occupy the upper reaches of the Rivers Naryn and Dzhungal, the Cherik, the Tian Shan highlands south of Lake Issyk-Kol. The Chonbagysh skirt the mountains to the north-west of Kashgar. The latter two tribes are greatly impoverished. The remaining clans of the Tagai branch occupy the mountains to the north of Namangan, in the environs of Andizhan and in the upper reaches of the River Dzhungal.

The Adgene Kyrgyz farm the Fergana Valley near the cities of Margilan and Osh and spend the summer in the mountains from Osh to Kokand. These Kyrgyz enjoy the same rights as Uzbeks, serve in the Kokand army as sepoy, and their chiefs occupy important positions at the court and in the army. Alimbek Datkha, the current vizier of Kokand, is a Kyrgyz *bi* of this tribe. He and his Kyrgyz assisted the current Khan Mallya to gain control of Kokand.

The left wing consists of three small tribes that roam along the Talas. Their chiefs are related to the khans of Kokand, being of Kyrgyz descent by the female line. The Naiman, Kipchak and Kytai, tribes which have joined the Kyrgyz people subsequently, roam from Osh over the Pamir plateau to Badakhshan, and thence along the Karakorum chain. The Ichkiliki and some clans from the Adgene tribe roam alongside them. All the Kyrgyz, with the exception of the Bugu, who are Russian subjects, and Clan Turaigyr-Kipchak in the vicinity of the Kashgar city of Tashmalyk, are directly dependent on China. They recognise the authority of the khan of Kokand, to whom they pay *zakat* of 100 horses each year. To control the Kyrgyz, the Kokandians have fortresses in their nomadic territories, at Pishpek, Tokmak, Merke and on the River Shu; Aulie-Ata (ancient Taraz) on the River Talas; Kurtka and Toguztarau on the River Naryn; Ketmentupe and Dzhungal on the River Dzhungal; and Bustanerek and Tashkurgan in the Pamirs.

In the last days of August, the Kashgar merchants, having completed their trading in the Horde, began preparing for the return journey. Our Kyrgyz friends advised us to join the Kashgarians because the road, they warned us, was not safe for a small caravan. The bank of the Tekes at the Uchkapkek Pass was designated the assembly point. By 27 September some 60 tents or, as is usually said in the language of the caravans, 'fires', gathered at this place. Just as the caravan elders were negotiating over which route to take to Kashgar, and there are several possibilities, an incident completely upset our original plan. A Kokand *yuzbashi* (centurion) was sent from Pishpek to collect the *zakat* from the Bugu. (Although Russian subjects, the Bugu take care to keep in with the Kokandians and the Chinese.) He turned up at the caravan with six soldiers and demanded to be paid a toll. 'What toll? What for?' The *yuzbashi* took offence, helped himself to some 300 sheep and, herding them up the mountain, ceremoniously took to guarding his plunder.

The Kashgarians, well-seasoned fighters from their rebellions against the Chinese, seized stakes, rushed the Kokand soldiers and, with great dexterity, knocked them off their horses. They beat the warriors so brutally that one Kokandian lay senseless on the field of battle. The Kyrgyz, probably fearing retribution by Tashkent, now told the Kashgarians they would not allow them to depart until the wounded soldier was seen to be recovering. We had taken no part in this clash so, together with the Tatars and several Kashgarians who had also not been involved in the incident, we struck out on our own, all the more hastily because snow was beginning to fall in the mountains.

Our united caravan now consisted of ten fires, and the number of people had risen to 60. From the upper reaches of the Tekes we passed in two days' travelling through the Santash Pass, a level plateau made famous by Tamerlane, then through the minor mountains of Kyzylkiiya and emerged into the valley of the River Dzhirgalan ('the auspicious'). From this overnight stay, our route lay over a level, fertile valley of the Terskei range, where half-naked Burut were working in the fields. On the River Dzhityugus we again encountered our old friend Bursuk who, with his Kydyks, was roaming here to collect grain, and several more *auls* of the same kind, subject to the *bi* Samsaly and the notorious predator Dzhanel. Taking our farewell of the *auls* of Bursuk, and taking him with us as a guard, on 9 March we entered the Zauku gorge. Alas, the presence of Bursuk did not save us from the depredations of the Kyrgyz. On 11 March, as the caravan was ascending through a narrow defile littered with cliff fragments, which Semyonov presciently described as natural barricades, there was suddenly a deafening yell behind us and several billowing banners appeared. We barely had time to take up defensive positions and establish ourselves behind these barricades before a gang of 70 Kyrgyz furiously attacked us. Our companions, inspired by a commendable sense of self-preservation, retreated behind the protection of the camels and did not reappear. In the meantime, thanks to an advantageous position and good weapons, our servants were able to repel the Burut and even to capture one of

their most obvious leaders. Matters went no further than wounds on both sides and an exchange of prisoners. The estimable Bursuk, whom we had taken to ensure our safety, considering himself compromised, slunk off without even accepting the gift we had promised him.

I shall not dwell on the Zauku gorge, which has been so artistically depicted by P.P. Semyonov. It has been formed by the course of the River Zauku and the streams of the Zauku-Chak, Kashkaat and Dungurem³¹ which flow into it and with, their courses, also form passes. Thus, the route first follows the main river and then ramifies. P.P. Semyonov believes that he ascended along the banks of the River Kashka, while our caravan followed the Zauku itself. After the Dungurem flows into it, the Zauku gorge becomes steep and narrow, and forms terraces with two alpine lakes. Cliff fragments, like massive rocks, obstruct the road chaotically. The gorge ends in a steep ascent of about 5,600 feet. The skeletons of various animals that cover this steep ascent show how difficult it is to manage. All this so closely accords with Semyonov's description that I very much wonder whether our scholarly traveller perhaps mistook the Zauku Pass for the Kashkaat, which might very well have happened if he did not have local guides. The caravan could not make the ascent in a single day, and accordingly one party spent the night on the small swampy plateau that marks the end of the Zauku Pass, while the other part remained below at the previous night's encampment. Snow was falling in abundance, which greatly added to the difficulty of the ascent. The packhorses, and especially the camels, slipped on the wet rocks and, not infrequently, losing their footing while on the move, crashed with a great tumult down the precipice, ricocheting frequently. Thus perished five camels and two horses. My companions seemed completely distraught, each concerned only to ensure their pack animals reached the top safely. The cries of the drivers, cursing and swearing, devout appeals to Allah, to Bakhavedin, Apak Khoja and other Muslim saints disturbed the tranquillity of the aeons-old snows of the surrounding mountains [...]³²

The length of an article intended for delivery as a lecture does not allow me to go on now to the latter half of my expedition, but if my story is found worthy of the attention of my honourable fellow members, I will take upon myself the agreeable duty of communicating to the Society the further impressions of my expedition to the little-known interior of Asia at one of its subsequent meetings.

³¹ Mr Semyonov did not know of the existence of this river, as is evident from his note on p. 16 of the second volume of Ritter's *Asien. – CV*.

³² A description of the routes from Karkara to the Zauku Pass is omitted here. It is given in more detail in the chapter 'Opisanie puti v Kashgar i obratno v Alatauskii okrug'.

Chapter 11

A Geographical Sketch of the Trans-Ili Region

Commentary

'A Geographical Sketch of the Trans-Ili Region' was written no later than 1855. In this year, Chokan Valikhanov was aide-de-camp and special officer to the governor-general of Western Siberia, G.H. Gasfort, who was for the first time leading an expedition to Central Kazakhstan, Tarbagatai and Semirechye. This expedition marks the beginning of Valikhanov's systematic work on the study of flora and fauna, customs and traditions, history and culture of the Kazakh people. In the archives in St Petersburg there are copies of this report that strongly indicate the authorship of Valikhanov.

The [Trans-Ili Region] is the name the Russians gave, when they first happened upon it, to a long strip of land that widens slightly towards the west and lies between the River Ili and the snowy mountain ridge of the Kungei Alatau. The widening begins from the mouth of the Kaskelen, a rivulet feeding into the middle course of the Ili. The strip slopes steeply towards the north and has been gouged by numerous rivers running down from the Alatau, all of which flow into the Ili, which is one of the largest rivers of the Kazakh steppe.

The Ili ('Ili' in Chinese and 'Ile' or 'Le' in Kazakh) has three sources: the Rivers Tekes, Khashgol and Kunges. Of these, the first is of the greatest significance, flowing from the Muztau (or Icy Mountains) range and, prior to its confluence with the Kunges, flowing eastwards. After they all join with the Ili, it flows westwards, irrigating the Chinese region of Ili and the major city of Kuldzha, and being augmented by many mountain streams from both sides. Still bearing the name of Ili, it flows by several channels, of which the deepest and most important is the Burlyu, into Lake Balkhash.

The length of the River Ili is in excess of 800 *versts* [530 miles] and its width at the Russian picket near the mouth of the Talgar is some 200 *sazhens* [1,400 feet]. It flows very swiftly, owing to the steep slope and the abundance of waters from the Alatau Mountains, down to Lake Balkhash. Its water (except for two or three winter months) is very turbid and the riverbed is uneven, scoured by its restless current. The banks are of clay, and in places high and

steep, especially the right bank. Throughout its course it forms numerous small islands, covered with poplar trees and small bushes, and abounding in good pasturage.

The left bank of the Ili is, for the most part, low, sometimes sandy, alkaline and covered with reeds and scrub of oleaster, poplar, salt tree, white willow, pussy willow, white saxaul and peashrub. Below the picket, along the Kapchagai tract, the Ili is constricted for over 200 *verst*s [130 miles] between high, unscalable cliffs of the eponymous mountains; it then breaks out into the sandy steppe and, bordered by dense, enormous reeds, flows through the sands. This is the only river of the Kazakh steppe with such an abundance of water that it can pass over 200 *verst*s of deep sand to reach Lake Balkhash, apparently undiminished. As it enters the lake, it breaks down into channels divided into small reaches that lose themselves in the sands of the delta. This consist of numerous large islands which the Kazakhs call *kamau*, covered with poplar and other woodland. Here there is excellent pasturage and outstanding Kazakh arable farming.

There are few fish in the Ili. Like other rivers of the Balkhash basin it has an abundance only of *marinka* and two other genera of small fish: *osmans* (trout) and pike-perch. Kazakhs say that catfish are found there, but this can hardly be so. In winter, game converges on the river from the mountains. Geese, ducks and bustards overwinter on the Ili. Large grey kites also spend the winter there. In the autumn many pelicans appear. Tigers and leopards live in the reeds along the shore, as do wild boar, wildcat and so on.

The spring flood of the Ili comes no earlier than March, while in autumn it becomes so shallow that in September and October there is fording amenable to the passage of livestock. Three known fords are at Oguzotkel, between the mouths of the Rivers Shilik and Torgen; at Kyzkeshu or Kyzotkel, between the Rivers Esik and Talgar; and slightly below the point on the right where the Rivers Shingeldy and Tamgalyotkel flow into it, by the Tamgaly-Tas tract. Over this latter passes the caravan route from Tashkent to Kuldzha and Semey and it is called Zhanai-Zhol (the Dzhantai route). The second ford is of historical note in connection with the passage of the Kalmyks fleeing from Russia.¹

Within the borders of Russia, that is, from the chain of Chinese pickets, the Ili has only two tributaries on the right: the Oseky [Usek] and the Kusmuryr,² which originate in the mountains of Ush-Koyandy and Shyngeldy.³

From the left bank, from the direction of the Kungei Alatau that extends parallel to the Ili from east to west, the following rivers flow into the Ili: Sharyn; Shilik; Shabdar; Torgen (which disappears in the saline soil, sand and reeds near the Ili); the Esik (60 *verst*s – 40 miles); the Talgar; and Kaskelen, with

¹ Marginal note: 'Below this is the Ush-aral ford.'

² Also known as Borokhudzhir.

³ More precisely, from the Dzhungar Alatau.

its left tributaries;⁴ the Great, Lesser and Middle Almaty (Yablonnaia); the Aksai and Shomolgan; the Kurty (which does not reach the Ili but disappears in the sands); and the Kura. The Kurty is augmented by the Zhiren-Aigy and Kargaly; the Sharyn is augmented from the right by the two Karkaras, Kegen and Temirlik; and the Shilik is augmented from the left by the Assy.

Almost all the rivers mentioned flow until mid-course from north to west and then make a turn to the Ili. They all have an abundance of *osmans* and, to a lesser extent, of *marinka*, and the Talgar has, moreover, pike-perch. Their current before the turn is extremely swift and confined within a stony riverbed, but downriver, between elevated clay banks, they become gentler. The water is very turbid. In the mountains these rivers often form beautiful waterfalls, especially the River Esik, which has a magnificent 45-*saszhen* [300-foot] waterfall. The Talgar and Esik, and probably all the others, originate, according to the Kazakhs, as glaciers. The last of these, emerging as several springs from under the ice, forms a mountain lake 3 *versts* [2 miles] in circumference which constitutes the river's reservoir.

The banks of some of these small rivers are fringed by woodland that, in the lower reaches, is intermingled with great impassable reed beds.

The mountains of the Kungei Alatau, also called the Great Alatau, unlike the Little Alatau which lies to the north of the River Ili, separate the basin of the Ili from that of Lake Issyk-Kol. Its highest point is at the headwaters of the River Talgar and is called Talgarnyn-Talchoku.⁵ It is visible for 300 *versts* [200 miles]. These mountains are much higher than the Little Alatau, less rocky, and covered with a thick layer of *chernozem* [black soil, loam] which is richer in vegetation and, we may assume, in the products of the mineral kingdom. This narrow ridge is no wider than 50 *versts* [30 miles]. It is, accordingly, very steep and has few convenient crossing points. The Alatau Kyrgyz do, nevertheless, cross it in the upper reaches of the (Middle) Almaty in a single day. Its eastern extremity slopes more gently and provides a convenient passage, named Santas, to Lake Issyk-Kol and to Kashgar. There are, in addition, small passages suitable for a horse rider via the headwaters of the River Torgen.

To the west [the ridge] forks into many branches, one of which bends round Lake Issyk-Kol from the south-west and abuts Zastykkol Kyrgyznyn-Alatau, while another leads to Betpak-Dala (the Hungry Steppe) between Shu and Balkhash; a third occupies the space between the upper reaches of the Rivers Shu, Syr and Amu Darya as far as Kokand itself. Its most western branch, between the Shu and Syr, is the Karatau Mountains, which terminate above the sands of the Karakum desert in the steep Kusmuryan promontory.

The waters from the Kungei Alatau drain northwards to the Ili, and south to Lake Issyk-Kol. Its northern side is wooded, its southern side treeless. The same phenomenon is noticeable in the Little Alatau. I surmise the reason for

⁴ Should read 'right tributaries'.

⁵ More precisely, Talgarnyn Tau-Choku. This is the Talgar peak in the Trans-Ili Alatau.

this to be the direction of rain-bearing winds, which blow mainly from the west, from Lake Balkhash. All the vegetative wealth of the Trans-Ili Region is contained in the gorges of this range and does not extend beyond their limits. Apple and apricot trees, maple, berry bushes (raspberries, barberries, currants and others) adorn the mountain streams only until they emerge from the mountains, and thereafter they are replaced, first, by small birch trees, then poplar, white willow and osiers, to which, on the Ili, is added also silverberry. In the mountains there is no sign of this latter beautiful tree, which is purely of the steppe and from beneath whose bark, especially if it notched, a mastic oozes. In exactly the same way, the varied mountain flowers gradually disappear, to be replaced here and there by common rushes – feather grass [*stipa*], saltwort and dodder [*cuscuta*] in the reed beds.

The apples, here in their wild state, are little inferior to the cultivated Kuldzha [Niedzwetky's] apple, both in taste and in size. There was almost no apricot harvest in the summer of 1853: strong spring winds and frosts destroyed the blossom. Altogether there is an abundance of apricots everywhere; the most fecund and plentiful place is the source of the River Almaty. On both sides of these areas the forest is so diverse that the Kazakhs have named the location *Shubaragash* ('the mottled forest') for its diversity of vegetation. Here there are raspberry, blackcurrant, wild rose and black barberry bushes. Above the apple and apricot trees, the coniferous (spruce and fir) and aspen forest begins. Yet higher, spruce is interspersed with occasional birch trees and particularly hardy steppe bushes – meadowsweet (*spiraea*) and *yrgai*. Shrivelled trunks of spruce and juniper are found at the top of the treeline. Above them are rocks and, finally, snow. On the major mountains, the rocks are picturesque sheer and rugged cliffs of very considerable height. Sometimes at significant heights in this ridge, sizeable lakes serve as reservoirs for rivers running from the mountains. Thus, near the sources of Lake Issyk-Kol, there is Lake Zhasyl Kol.

The arable land of the Kazakhs is to be found 10 *versts* [7 miles] from the mountains, where the banks of the rivers are less steep and allow water to be drawn conveniently from the fast-flowing rivers by irrigation ditches to the land, and the soil is more fertile. In addition to these arable areas, the Kazakhs sow millet and wheat in the lower reaches of almost all the rivers where, despite the sandy clay soil, the harvests are good. Here the harvest is even more abundant than on the Kapal. A head of millet attains a height of 3 feet. Fields for hay are also abundant. The pastures and hayfields on the *saz*⁶ remain fresh until the end of September and are green again from mid-March. Alfalfa or, as the Kazakhs call it, *zheltik*, can become impassably matted in the mountain gorges to the extent that horses become entangled in it. Dodder and hop entwine tree trunks and grow on steep slopes. Here Nature has a much greater abundance of flowers than in the Little Alatau, and one may accordingly surmise that bee keeping could be successfully developed, unless the irrepressible mountain

⁶ *Saz*. Damp meadow locations.

squirrels might prove a problem. We found wild bees here producing their honey in containers made from glumes and hung on stems of saltwort [*Salsola ruthenica*] or other grasses with thick stems.

In the mountains graze red deer [*Cervus elaphus*] Siberian ibex [*Capra sibirica*] and wild goats, which the Kazakhs call *Akkuiiryk*. There are fewer argali [mountain sheep, *Ovis ammon*], while saiga antelopes [*Saiga tatarica*] live in the valleys. There is no sign here of the Asian wild ass [*Equus hemionus*], which is found on the steppe on the right side of the Ili. Thickets in the deep gorges are a breeding ground for bears (the ant-eating *muroviatnik*), tigers (only in summer), badgers, red fox and so forth. There are many wolves and even a black fox has been seen. Otters inhabit the streams, and the large wild boar living among the reed beds, due to the abundance of liquorice root, are exceedingly fat. In the valley there are hares, martens, foxes, rabbits, hedgehogs, wildcats, turtles and so forth. Kazakhs below the River Ili have found even crested porcupines [*Hystrix*].

In the large, thick reed beds along the Ili it is not uncommon to find tigers, lynx and occasionally leopards and other predatory species. These regularly visit Kazakh herds, and sometimes besiege entire *auls*. Intrepid Kazakhs attack and kill them and sell their skins to Russians for 20 silver roubles apiece.

Birds are in great abundance. Game birds include geese, ducks, the velvet duck [*Melanitta fusca*], the great bustard [*Otis tarda*], mountain and valley sandgrouse [*Pterocles*], and wild and other doves. Swans and cranes overwinter here and pelicans live on the Ili. Storks build their nests in dead poplars. Nightingales and warblers [*Sylvia*] sing in the dense foliage of the *malakitnik* [willow scrub] or honeysuckle, and in the valley there are singing larks, goldfinches and other birds. In the mountains, by great cliffs, large eagles, *karagush* [*Falco chrysaëtos*], grey kites and hawks make their nests, and among the stones rock grouse and partridges are to be seen. Pheasants abound along the Ili and other rivers, which are overgrown with reeds and bushes.

Throughout the summer there are myriad gadflies, mosquitoes and midges on the Ili as a result of the dampness retained in the reeds. To these must be added venomous arachnids, such as the large *karakurt* spider [*Lathroedectes tredecimguttatus*], the tarantula, the sun spider [*Galeodes*] and the *buzaubas* 'calf-headed' scorpion.

These insects and arachnids are found all the way from the left bank of the Ili almost to the caravan route, which runs some 12 *versts* [8 miles] from the foot of the mountain range. There are also many snakes, but they are not large and do not exceed 1.5 *arshins* [3.5 feet]. They mostly crawl in the salt marshes, and these are terribly poisonous: mountain snakes are less venomous. Here we encountered a special, new species of snake we had not hitherto found on the steppe.

It would appear that the further one travels to the east, the more fertile the soil becomes. The Kazakhs themselves greatly praise the land to the east. The middle course of the Ili is completely exposed to the north winds of Siberia, with only the minor Sholak ridge and the Arkarly and Malaisary Mountains visible

beyond it. Further upriver, however, beyond Altynemel, the Ili is shielded to the north by the snowy range of the Little Alatau and its eastern spurs.

From the point where the River Kargaly flows into the River Kurty, the ground to the west changes noticeably and, instead of fertile black soil, the earth is saline as far as the River Shu, while towards the Ili there are the deep sands of Moiyunkum. In this entire expanse, with the exception only of the banks of some springs, which are moistened with insignificant amounts of water, the soil barely manages to produce, with great effort, a hard saltbush [*Atriplex cana*] and *ebelek* [*Ceratocarpus arenarius*], plants known only on the steppe, and a dwarf wormwood. The mountains become bare and barren.

That is the beginning in this land of the Hungry Steppe, or Betpak-Dala. Its soil is grey, burnt out, saline: the mouth of the Ili and the shore of Lake Balkhash are encircled over a large area by an expanse of deep, shifting dunes or reeds, which intermingle. Around the shores of Balkhash and in the lower reaches of the Ili there is a sprinkling of small lakes with salt and fresh water. They abound with crucian carp. Nowhere else on the Ili is salt to be found, and the Kazakhs in the winter, when salt is in short supply, boil it from these salt pools and call it *chilama*. This salt, little suited to culinary use, is found in abundance in the environs of the Buruldai hills, between Shilik and Kum-Keshu.

Overall, the Trans-Ili Region has a semi-arid, steppe climate, and its distinctive feature is extreme and changeable weather. In winter there are frosts although, on average, they are much more moderate than in the northern part of the steppe. In summer, the temperature reaches 40° Réaumur [50°C]. The cold seldom descends below -5°Ré [-6.25°C]. Overall the climate is mild and healthy. In summer the heat of the day is blissfully replaced by the coolness of night wafting down from the mountaintops. Spring is extremely rainy and inclement.

The winter of 1853, the first winter the Russian detachment spent in the Trans-Ili Region, was the severest in living memory. This gave the Kazakhs a highly original reason to suppose that the Russians are so attached to winter that they cannot bear to part with it and bring it with them wherever they go. They say that since Kapal was founded, the winters there have become colder and the snow deeper. Even so, the snow on the Ili was no deeper than 1.5 *arshins* [42 inches] and, nearer the mountains, no more than 2.5 *arshins* [70 inches]. In midwinter there were such thaws in the mountains that the snow melted, and mud became visible on the trails.

In the year spent on Issyk, we made the following observations: the Ili froze on 8 November;⁷ the snow had gone from the Ili around 13 February, and the ice had cleared by 8 March; the Ili was in spate in July. The autumn, like the spring, was very wet, and the autumn rains are torrential. Days in the mountains. [*sic*]

In the Trans-Ili Region there are two winds blowing: a north-wester from Lake Balkhash, and an easterly wind from the mountains, which the Kazakhs

⁷ Here and hereafter, dates are given according to the old-style Julian Calendar.

call *ebi zhel*. It blows only in the spring. The latter is warm and dry, while the former always brings rain clouds and drives before it a wall of dust raised from the parched Betpak-Dala and the sands on the shore of Lake Balkhash. This wall slowly approaches, then suddenly it bends the reeds, demolishes frail yurts and in an instant has moved on. A silence ensues before a downpour of rain. The speed with which this storm passes! We need only observe that the first sign of it appears in the west no more than an hour in advance, and the entire Trans-Ili Region has been thoroughly irrigated in a matter of three hours. By the end of July, all the grass in the Ili Valley has been scorched, the reed beds dry out and only along the rivers and damp places (the *saz*) and in the mountain gorges does the vegetation still retain its freshness. Apples ripen here in early August, apricots in mid-July. In the summer months the air is rarely cooled by rain.

Parallel to the mountain range, the caravan route from Tashkent passes through the Trans-Ili Region a short distance from the mountains. All the rivers that it crosses can be comfortably forded. Along the rivers to the Ili, and through the mountains, paths have been made, and sometimes large nomadic routes along which the *auls* move during their migrations.

From October, along the entire length and on both sides of the Ili, the Kazakhs stop to overwinter. They occupy both banks all the way from the chain of Chinese pickets to the Russian picket at the mouth of the Talgar. During the winter their herds of horses graze below, in the sands and saxaul. These *auls* extend almost to Kamau. When the snow has gone from the foot of the Alatau, the Kazakh *volosts* move to these tracts and begin ploughing arable land.

At the foot of the mountains, near the riverbanks, there are numerous tumuli (mounds) of various sizes. I observed that some of them are situated in twos. The tops of all of them have subsided and formed deep depressions. One of them, already overgrown with trees, really must be mentioned. It is located very close to the mountains, where the River Talgar flows out into the valley. It is surrounded by a deep moat, already overgrown with apple trees, and from the base of the moat the mound rises to a height of some 15 *sazhens* [105 feet]. It is at least a *verst* [two-thirds of a mile] in circumference and is called *Korgan Tobe* (Tumulus Mound). On its top, which has an uneven surface and is planted with bushes and apple trees, there are still the ruins of an ancient fort. The Kazakhs date both these antiquities back to the times of Tokhtamysh, but to whom the ancient mounds and tumuli really belong nobody knows. Many peoples have passed through this land. Quite apart from the ancient, ruined tumuli, there are some that are far more recent.

Chapter 12

The Kazakhs' Nomadic Territory

Commentary

This letter was written in Omsk on 26 March 1864 as an official note addressed to the governor-general of Western Siberia. It was written on behalf of Musa Shormanov, Valikhanov's uncle. Three manuscript copies survive, one of which, titled 'Report of Lieutenant Colonel Shormanov on the Closure of the Bayanaul Office', is preserved in the State Archive of Omsk Province (*fond 3, opis 5, K-697, listy 1–31*). Another authorised copy is in the Academic Library of Tomsk State University, archive of G.N. Potanin, (*listy 1160–7*); the third copy is in the Central State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI) (*fond 159, opis 1, no. 179, listy 163–6 ob.*).

The text in all these copies is identical, but the item in RGALI has a note in the margin of the final sheet in G.N. Potanin's handwriting: 'The original, copied by a clerk, I received from Musa Shormanov, the uncle of Chokan Valikhanov. Although it has the appearance of an official note submitted to the official in charge of the steppe on behalf of Musa Shormanov, I believe the draft to have been written for the uncle by his nephew.' That the note was drafted by Valikhanov is confirmed in a letter to K.K. Gutkovsky of 4 March 1864, in which he writes, 'Now we are petitioning to have Bayanaul transferred to Belagash.' The most authentic text should surely be considered the authorised copy, with numerous amendments and additions in Valikhanov's hand. It has been edited well: the official tone has been replaced by scholarly explanations, and for its previous heading in officialesse ('To His Most High Excellency Mr Governor-General of Western Siberia') a new, pencilled heading has been substituted: 'The Kazakhs' Nomadic Territory'.

The Kazakhs of Semey Province live solely by animal husbandry. In the northern strip, horse breeding prevails, while sheep breeding dominates in the southern strip, along with camel breeding. The Bayanaul District is one of those engaged mainly in horse breeding.

The Kazakhs' livestock wander freely during the summer and winter on the steppes and forage in the open. In these circumstances, their livelihood, left in the hands of Nature, is greatly dependent on weather conditions and the quality of the soil. Man plays a decidedly passive role, his task being merely to ensure that the livestock do not stray off to the four winds, and to ward off any beasts of prey.

There are so many physical mishaps that can affect animal husbandry, and horse breeding in particular, that it is difficult to list them all. Everything adversely affecting arable farming, for example drought, wildfires and locusts, affects animal husbandry no less unfavourably. Deep snows, and especially black ice, inevitably cause a decline in livestock. Snowstorms and cold, epidemics and other infectious diseases are particularly devastating because the Kazakh cattle, dependent on grazing all year round, have no protection from the weather or from infection.

The famine years, which the Kazakhs call *zhut*, result from the cumulative effect of all the above-mentioned disasters. Worn down by hunger, the livestock are abnormally susceptible to cold; malnutrition conduces to anaemia and life-threatening diseases, and there are endless miscarriages or total sterility. These circumstances explain the immense loss of livestock in Semey Province in the lean winter of 1862.

And yet, in addition to the obstacles presented by nature, animal husbandry, like any other industry, requires certain preconditions if it is to function, and without which it cannot exist. What are these? That is not difficult to work out if we bear in mind that in the old days, in times when there were devastating wars and *barymta* – horse rustling – was a daily occurrence, the Kazakhs were more prosperous than they are now, and a universal decline was rare. The people's memory of events of the past hundred years recollects only two years of famine, and in those years the cause of the disaster was not so much black ice as the fire and swords of their sworn enemies, the Kalmyks.

The Siberian Kazakhs were more prosperous before the establishment of foreign administration. This is not open to the slightest doubt: one has only to look at the numbers of livestock driven to the Orenburg and Siberian lines at the end of the last and beginning of the present century, and at the official figures of the 1820s and 1830s. In this latter era there were no few Kazakhs with herds of some 10,000 horses.

In our time the number of livestock the Kazakhs own is steadily decreasing, and outbreaks of plague are more frequent and devastating. This can be wholly verified by comparing the figures for the 1820s and 1830s with those of the 1840s and 1850s.

It is true that in times past the Kazakhs sold their children to Russian villages for a sack of flour, but the cause of the famine was not black ice, not a harsh winter, but war and *barymta*. In the old days, all Kazakh motivation and concern revolved around livestock. We arranged our lives, we adapted ourselves to the demands of livestock breeding. Our ancestors had no permanent winter quarters, just as they had no set locations for summer grazing. When there was famine in one area, our fathers moved to other areas which were more favourable. They were unfazed by great distances.

The Kazakhs of the Little Horde spent the summer roaming near Orenburg and in the Mugodzhzar Mountains. They spent the winter on the River Syr and in the deserts of Borsyk and Karakum. The Kazakhs of the Middle

Horde went from the environs of Semey to Troitsk and back in the course of a summer. With such a way of life, it is not surprising that winters of famine were less fatal than they are now.

This is why a vast nomadic territory must be considered the most important condition for successful animal husbandry. An area of land sufficient to feed an entire city will not suffice to sustain a single Kazakh *aul*, because every *aul* must have a special area for overwintering, with winter pasturage, and special pasturage for spring, autumn and summer encampments. Overwintering demands dense forests or wooded mountains, locations where the livestock are protected from bad weather.

For roaming in the summer, on the contrary, open spaces are needed, extensive and abounding in flowing water or lakes. Summer nomadic grounds are set on fire in the autumn to kill insect larvae that would plague the herds in the heat of the following summer, while winter territories remain unused all summer, so that the Kazakhs, who appear to be occupying vast expanses of land, are in effect at any moment using only a very small proportion of it, which is why they are constantly in need of more.

On the basis of these facts, it might be thought that the division of our lands into districts and the allocation of summer and winter pasturage to particular clans and individuals should be seen as one of the main obstacles to successful cattle breeding. At present the need is to extract maximal benefit from a minimal area of land, and that is completely impossible while livestock breeding remains the sole means of subsistence in the Kazakh steppe.

It is no less impossible to create stables for several hundred horses, because it is impossible to build up the stocks of fodder essential for this number. From all the above reasons it is clear that for successful livestock husbandry the following are necessary:

- 1) An abundance of land and a large area for nomadic roaming.
- 2) Dense forests or forested mountains for overwintering and free, open, treeless spaces with an abundance of water for summer grazing. The quality of summer pastures and the amenity of winter encampments will have a tremendous influence on the development of animal husbandry, but the absolute priority for Kazakhs is the provision of locations for overwintering. Horse breeding is impossible without warm winter quarters. That is why this branch of husbandry thrives only in districts that have the most locations suitable for winter encampments. The Kokshetau District, the northern part of Akmola and the Inner District of Semey Province, covered with dense forests and lush meadows, are considered the richest districts of the Siberian steppe. In the Atbasar former district and the southern part of the Akmola District, horse breeding is already giving way to sheep farming and the breeding of camels, because the sandy and saline plains of this part of the steppe produce plants edible only by sheep and camels. Karkaraly District has all the conditions required for animal

husbandry: summer nomadic lands along the Rivers Nura and Bakanas and sheltered overwintering locations in the afforested mountains of Kent and Kazylyk and the reed beds on the banks of Lake Balkhash.

The Bayanaul District is unquestionably the poorest in the province of the Siberian Kazakhs. The Kazakhs roaming the Bayanaul District have excellent summer pasturage on the upper reaches of the Rivers Nura and Esil, but lack the crucially important overwintering grounds. The territory of this district comprises a hilly, stony plain where vegetation survives only in hollows deeply covered in the winter by snow. The wooded mountains of Bayanaul and Ereimen seem in the midst of this melancholy plain like oases in an inhospitable desert. These mountains really were the equivalent of oases for the Kazakhs and served as overwintering grounds for all the Tortuyl *volosts*.

Bayanaul never suffered a total loss of livestock, and it was there that Aznabai accumulated 17,000 horses. Shielded from bad weather in even the years when there was least fodder, the livestock survived the winter, feeding sometimes on the twigs of deciduous trees. These mountains well deserve the name of 'Bayanaul' which, in Kalmyk, means 'safe mountain' (*Bayan-ola*). Ereimen no longer belongs to us: it has been occupied by the Kazakhs of Akmola District, although we shed a lot of blood for it.

Bayanaul belongs to the Cossack station. The Cossacks do not allow us to cross the River Irtysh to the lands where our ancestors brought some of their livestock for the winter. This means that the Kazakhs of the Tortuyl *volosts* remain completely without a place to overwinter and, as a result, suffer more than others from bad weather and heavy snowfall in winter. Also, the desperate situation in respect of overwintering obliges the Tortuyl Kazakhs to migrate in search of subsistence to other districts, to Russian Cossack villages. According to the latest estimates, more than 500 families have left the area, not including the Kanzhygaly and Kozgan Kazakhs, who have officially migrated to the Akmola and Atbasar Districts.

Submitting this catastrophic situation of the people of the Tortuyl tract to Your Most High Excellency's wise judgement, I venture to present here some of my thoughts regarding measures whereby the otherwise inevitable ruin threatening the Tortuyl *volosts* of the Bayanaul districts could be averted.

Since these Kazakhs are at the same time suffering from the lack of overwintering locations, and given that within the boundaries of the district there are no tracts other than the Bayanaul Mountains that can provide safe overwintering for them, I make so bold as to petition Your Most High Excellency on behalf of the people to abolish the Bayanaul administrative office, reallocating the *volosts* within its jurisdiction to other districts, or to move it to the Belagash tract that lies halfway along the road from the town of Akmola to the Karkaraly Cossack village, which has all the amenities for the relocation of an office: fertile soil, meadows and a location on the trade route and in the centre of the summer nomadic territories of the Bayanaul Kazakhs.

The latter circumstance is especially important for the popular assemblies during the inspection of His Excellency the military governor. The Kazakhs of the Bayanaul District will willingly bear a portion of the expense, not only of relocating the office, but also of resettlement of the Cossack village, awarding three horses to every Cossack family.

The Cossacks of the Bayanaul *stanitsa*¹ do not engage in arable farming, but live only on the dues they take from the Kazakhs, renting out their plots in the village. Accordingly, moving the office and the *stanitsa* to a more fertile location will equally benefit both the Cossacks and the Kazakhs.

In conclusion, I consider it my duty to inform Your Most High Excellency that in the proposed distribution of land of the Bayanaul *stanitsa*, I would consider it just to give priority to providing the indigenous Kazakh inhabitants with overwintering and afforested areas, and to then allocate the remaining lands among the Cossacks, since by law the Cossacks should be given land in such a way as not to encroach on the pasturage of Kazakhs.

¹ *Stanitsa*. A Cossack village.

Chapter 13

The Kazakh Great Horde

Commentary

The article published here dates from 1854–55, a time when the Trans-Ili Region was being occupied by the Russians and the fortress at Vernyi (Almaty) was being built. G.N. Potanin, who was also interested in the history, geography, ethnography and culture of Kazakhstan, evidently participated in compiling a series of articles. The possibility of co-authorship is confirmed by what he himself wrote. He recalls that, conversing with Chokan: ‘I found all this very interesting and began writing it down as an *aide-mémoire*. At first, I carried these notes in my pocket, but later started filling a large notebook. At the time, the geography and ethnography of the Kazakh steppe became my favourite pastime, and Chokan helped me fill my notebook with his stories. In this manner we entered in it a detailed description of Kazakh falconry. He told me about it, and I wrote it down.’ See *Sochineniya Ch.Ch. Valikhanova* (St Petersburg, 1904), p. 16.

There is every likelihood that the articles in Potanin’s notebook (‘Constituents of Kazakh Gunpowder’, ‘Arable Farming’, ‘The Yurt’, ‘Kazakh Graves’) were written down by him from Valikhanov’s dictation, and Valikhanov’s personal writing style is evident in them. Some manuscripts have paragraphs added subsequently in Potanin’s handwriting. The titles given are those by which Valikhanov referred to these articles. See Ch.Ch. Valikhanov, *Sobranie Sochinenii*, 5 vols (Alma-Ata, 1984–85) vol. 1, p. 316.

The Trans-Ili Region is occupied by the two main clans of the Great Horde: the Alban and the Dulat, with a portion of the Shapyrashty who never left this area for the right bank of the Ili. To the east, Kyrgyz of Clan Bugu sometimes come into the Ili Valley. Their ancestral nomadic grounds are the south-east side of Issyk-Kol. To the west, the same is true of Clans Sulty and Sarybagysh, whose nomadic grounds are on the south-west shore of the same lake and in the vicinity of Pishpek (a fort situated beyond the Shu and belonging to Tashkent). The western boundary of the Alban nomads is the River Torgen. They migrate even over Chinese lands, paying the latter a nominal tribute. To the west of the Alban, that is, from the River Torgen, the Dulat and Shapyrashty (contiguously) migrate to the sources of the River Shu and beyond it, over the River Talas from the cities and forts of Tashkent.

The Dulat Kazakhs are superior to all other clans of the Senior *Zhuz* both in terms of numbers, and of their belligerence and wealth. There are five times as many of them as there are Alban, and three times as many as there are Zhalaiyr, to say nothing of other minor clans of the Great Horde. Some branches of the Dulat, Alban and most of the Shapyrashty migrate on the right side of the Ili. Both these clans further divide into sections and subsections, and these will be explained in greater detail in due course.

The Trans-Ili Kazakhs were, to a greater degree than others, under the influence of Tashkent and, finding themselves in close proximity to a separate, independent people – the Kyrgyz (Burut) – were obliged to fight them. That is why, prior to the incursion of Russian troops beyond the Ili, these Kyrgyz considered the Trans-Ili territory a place to hide and remained there with impunity. Today, with the Russian occupation of the Trans-Ili fort, after finding themselves prosecuted for crimes, these turbulent tribes have become more peaceable.

Ancient mounds and tumuli in the Trans-Ili Region indicate the ancient presence of peoples of some description. The rulers of the Uisun, Uighur and Dzhungar peoples succeeded one another. The latter people were subjugated by the Chinese in 1755, and the Chinese Empire incorporated all their lands.

The Great Horde, roaming the banks of the River Talas and further to Tashkent, under the command of Abylai Khan migrated east and, after a long and successful struggle, drove the Kalmyks back beyond Little Alatau and reoccupied their ancient territories. These territories, according to the tales of the Kazakhs, were retaken by the Great Horde from the Kalmyks, and Chinese claims to the land are unjust since, with the return of the original inhabitants, it became independent. Although, even before the arrival of Russian troops in this part of the steppe, the Great Horde was considered to be under the protection of Russia from 1824, the Chinese did not desist from sending their detachments to the Trans-Ili Region to collect a nominal tribute until 1840, when they suffered a severe and humiliating defeat at the hands of the local Shapyrashty in the Terenozek area. The detachment consisted of 3,000 Chinese who, collecting duties, were intending to proceed to the *aksakal* of Tashkent to negotiate with him. To this day the Chinese are smarting over their defeat and speak with great indignation about any Kazakhs of the Shapyrashty branch.

At this same time, the Great Horde was being harassed from the west with even greater avarice by their co-religionists, the Kokandians, who collected their *zakat* (religious tax). All the evidence suggests that this was onerous for the Kazakhs, and it was not easy for the Kokandians to force the Horde to pay the *zakat* ‘voluntarily’. They applied military force. The Kokandians wished equally to oblige the Alatau Kyrgyz to pay them *zakat*, but the latter strongly resisted and, their mountainous nomadic sites being impregnable, they remained independent. Here I am talking of the Burut, who roamed the upper regions of Issyk-Kol.

Kushpek, the renowned and intelligent governor of Tashkent, himself invaded the Great Horde and the Kyrgyz with large detachments. He built several forts, but even before him a Tashkent *mynbasy* [commander of 1,000 men] constructed a mound in 1778 in the Trans-Ili Region near the River Kaskelen. The locally infamous barbarian, Rustem Sultan, slaughtered the soldiers in a treacherous manner and their mound was razed to the ground. The ruins of all these mounds are still starkly visible in the Trans-Ili Region.

Eventually only the Toishybek fort remained, and was rebuilt in modern times, and from there efforts continued to collect *zakat*. It too, however, was destroyed by Russian troops under the command of the Cossack Colonel Karbyshev in 1851. Since then, attempts to procure *zakat* have been continued by isolated detachments, but only in the vicinity of the River Shu.

Prior to its destruction, the Toishybek castle was manned by some 50 Sarts¹ who, so far from providing protection and in breach of their duty, themselves engaged in plundering caravans.

The firm occupation of this Trans-Ili fortification in 1853 by the Russians put an end once and for all to local unrest, and we may hope that this land, through which there pass the highly important routes to Kuldzha, Kashgar and the mountain Kyrgyz, will soon flourish in trade and be prosperous.

¹ In the draft copy there is 'Kipchak' in place of 'Sart', which is more correct.

Chapter 14

Stories and Legends of the Kazakh Great Horde

Commentary

This is an unfinished piece of work, but it was the first time anyone had tried to note down the folk stories, fairytales and legends of the Kazakhs. According to his great friend and contemporary, G.N. Potanin, Valikhanov's interest in this subject was first awakened while he was studying in the Cadet Corps at Orenburg. It reflects his creative way of working during the earliest period of his scientific activity and refers to the beginning of 1855, the time of his first travels into the Kazakh hinterland. The record has come down to us in the form of two handwritten copies, containing many omissions and distortions, and was first published in his collected works.

The Kazakhs of the Great Horde trace their descent from the ancient Mongol people, the Uisun, and consider their patriarch to be Maiky *Bi*, a contemporary of Genghis Khan. As regards the actual origins of the Kazakh people, and the alliance of the three Kazakh hordes, they have very little to offer. Some of them say the Kazakhs are descended from the Nogai, who had lost their way in the Esil steppe. Others say that their ancestors had neither clan nor tribe, and roamed the steppe for many years until they abducted wives for themselves from an infidel people, the Shegen, and because the Nogai were Muslims and their wives were infidels, the Kazakh people, descended from this co-mingling ... bears within itself and in its religion a co-mingling of these two elements.

It needs to be said that the legends of this horde show signs of Turkestani influence, and that the Kazakhs themselves rely on their tales: 'So say the Uzbeks.' 'So we heard in Kapal.'

Another tradition evidently arose under the religious influence of Central Asian Muslims. It claims that the patriarch of the Middle Horde was the deputy, the *sakhaba* [that is, companion] of Mohammed the Chosen. The Prophet, having learned from a revelation of the Archangel Gabriel that he was soon to cease to be the ruler of this transient world, in order that he should rest forever and ever on the bosom of a *houri* in Eden, summoned his friends

and companions to apprise them of this fact and to ask their forgiveness, if he had ever given offence to any of them. Everyone wept and said, 'You are the friend of Allah, how could you ever have given offence?'

Only one *sakhaba* by the name of Okse declared a grievance, that the Prophet during the siege of a city had unintentionally struck him in the back. Mohammed did remember that error, and in recompense offered him his own back. In vain did Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, Ali and other great men urge Okse to abandon his unreasonable complaint. Okse would hear nothing of it, and with all those present cursing him, approached the sacred back of the favourite of Allah with a whip and asked him to expose his body. The Prophet removed his upper garment.

That was just what Okse needed: he knew that on the back of the Chosen One was imprinted God's seal which, if a mortal can kiss it, enables him to evade the fires of Hell. Okse, instead of inflicting the expected lash, only bent his head, kissed and walked away. For the displeasure he had caused the Prophet, and in accordance with the ... of the public curse, God condemned him and his descendants to be eternal wanderers but, at the same time, bestowed on them the blessing of freedom from famine and poverty. According to this story, it is from him [that is, from Okse] that the patriarch of the Uisun and of the entire people are descended.

The patriarch of the Kazakh line of the Great Horde of the Uisun is believed by them to be a certain Tobei *Bi*, who lived long before even Maiky. According to the legend, Tobei had four sons: Koiilder, Mekiren, Maiky and Kogam. From Koiilder are descended the Katagan, who subsequently in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries became part of a new people – the Uzbeks. (The Katagan are the main clan of the Uzbeks.) From Mekiren are descended the ..., from Maiky are descended the Uisun proper. Kogam was the patriarch of the Kangly.

Abak, the son of Maiky, had a son, Baidibek, by his senior wife; he also had children from his second wife and from a slave girl. The eldest son of Baidibek was Sary; his second son, Zhorykshy, was by his second wife, whom the Kazakhs call *aulie* (holy). From the three children of Zhorykshy the descendants were: from the first, Alban – the Alban; from the second, Dulat – the Dulat; and [from] Suan – the Suan.

The patriarch Merkes had two sons: Shomanak and Suamanak. Adbag [Alban] had two sons: Sary and Shebel. Sary had two sons: Suierkul and Taubazar [Taubasar]. Shebel's children were called ... while the children of Maiky bear the collective name of Abak. The actual name of [Uisun], given to the whole horde, is mostly used [and relates to] the Uisun proper, but custom does not allow it to be used in that strict sense. The tales of the horde claim that they were a separate people before [the Mongols], and that Maiky *Bi* of the Uisun participated in the election of [Genghis] to be khan.

As regards the Uisun's unification in the nation of the Kazakh people, legend tells that the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Horde, that is, the Ulus

of Chagatai, collapsed. Internal unrest undermined the unity of the tribes. There was no one to maintain their power and to concern themselves with the community. Each clan just had to look after itself; then the people gathered in the Esil steppe ...

Old men say that Nogai was simply the common name for all the nomadic Tatars of the steppe, as distinct from those who were semi-settled. Nogai or Uzbek – they were all called Nogai.

Indeed it does not seem far-fetched to surmise from this that the name Nogai – ‘dog’ – was given to the nomads by their own brothers, who, having converted to Islam in the Golden Horde under Uzbek and in the Ulus of Chagatai under Tarma-Shirin Khan to Islam, went on to call those in the *uhuses* ‘dogs’ because of their loyalty to the ancient beliefs and ways.

Relics of paganism remained strong among the Kazakhs, the Naiman and the Crimean Nogai, and time has not eradicated them even in our days. As regards the subsequent historical destiny of this people as a horde, legend tells us that prior to [Esim] the Brave (1636), all the hordes were [united] and ruled by a single khan. The Uisun ... for the Shu and were adjacent to the seat of the khans [that is, to the city of Turkestan] ... [being situated] close to the khan himself. Under the [Katagan] Khan – [Tursyn] – they captured Tashkent together with him. [FRAGMENTARY NOTES.]

Chapter 15

Historical Legends of the *Batyr*s of the Eighteenth Century

Commentary

Valikhanov had the germ of the idea of collecting Kazakh historical legends as early as 1852, while still a student at the Siberian Cadet Corps. In his memoirs, Grigory Potanin recalls him thinking about it on several occasions: ‘He dreamed of making discoveries in the ancient history of the East from the information contained in folk legends and relics of Kazakh antiquity.’ This work was probably written in 1855–56.

1. Abylai Khan, raiding the Dzhungars on one occasion, sent 1,000 men forward to reconnoitre, dividing them into two detachments under the command of two brave *batyr*s: Karabuzhyr Kanzhygaly Zhanatai and, from the same clan, Bogenbai – the elder.¹ The *batyr*s did not return for a long time and Abylai became seriously concerned. He asked his bard, Bukhar Zhyrau, what had become of them. ‘What has happened to my brave lads and why have they not returned for such a long time?’ Bukhar answered, ‘Zhanatai will go by way of [Fort] Talkyn, Bogenbai will free himself by following the way of Kulzhan. And Baba Khan will come running back. The passages in Zhanatai’s Talkyn are narrow and dangerous. (My Zhanatai is in trouble, Abylai thought.) ‘Zhanatai will go, he will get through to the *uluses* and will plunder far and wide. The white-faced maiden whom Zhanatai will capture, Abylai-Sultan Khan shall have.’ Abylai himself says that only once, on the occasion when this prediction came true, it seemed to him that the top of his head bumped the sky.²

¹ In the sense of the most senior person of that people.

² To bump the sky, *tobesi kokke zheter*. An expression denoting supreme joy, honour and glory. – CV.

2. Once Abylai was forced to retreat by a detachment of Chinese and was terribly angry and sad, knowing the impact this minor reversal might have on the impressionable Kazakhs. Then one of his bards, Tatikara Zhyrau, for the approval³ of the fleeing, running Kazakhs and for Abylai himself, sang: ‘The Chinese who fled are again on the move, they draw the bowstring taut from behind the wild ass mountains. Stout-ribbed, broad-bellied Abylai, endure this little setback. The Chinese enemy’s nags twisted and turned like falcons but no, Abylai did not flee. “Flee” is a bad word: he only moved sideways. Basentiin Syrymbet, shooting arrows, fought. Those who flee have no time to think! Haste admits of no cool head! Bayan of the Uak⁴ – and I have truly seen this! – while turning back was wielding his spear.’
3. Abylai gathered the people in order to go to loot (*shabu*)⁵ the *aul* of Erdene Batyr, an Uisun *bi*, for some slight to himself. On this matter, the khan was [so] adamant that none dared utter a word in defence of the culprit. But then, at the people’s request, Bukhar the Singer made bold to declare, ‘O Abylai! Abylai! Like Ari and Guri⁶ your fame rises up and competes with the mountains. Five gates would not suffice for the slaves you have set free to pass through.⁷ Go beyond Alatau, cool your anger. If you cool it, will not Erdene, your slave in a clownish robe, himself come bringing you 80 horses laden with tribute?’⁸
4. According to legend, Abylai, leaving Turkestan for the steppe to stay with Abulmamet Khan, his closest relative, arrived sharing a single horse with his uncle Oraz. Circumstances obliged him to live incognito for some time with Dauletbai, a rich Kazakh of Clan Karauyl, of the Zhaksylyk branch, where, some say, he had a herd of horses. Dauletbai’s wife noticed with much surprise that the young foreigner never asked for food before he was given it, and even then accepted it only reluctantly; and never drank from cups that were not clean. This was completely untypical behaviour for a Kazakh, and the eccentricity caught the eye of his employer, who thereupon discovered, by questioning Oraz, his antecedents, and immediately took him to Abulmamet Khan, presenting him with the best horse in the herd. The horse selected was the renowned Shalkuiryk (‘Flame Tail’), the heroic ally of the young sultan in his first campaign; Shalkuiryk, on which Abylai earned himself the title of *Batyr* and the respect of the Kazakhs.

³ Error by the copyist, who mistook *obodrenie* (encouragement) for *odobrenie* (approval).

⁴ This was Abylai’s favourite, the bravest warrior of the time. He was of Clan Uak-Kerei, and was killed in a raid on the Kalmyks, as was his brother, the *batyr* Sary. For this reason their names are often linked together: Sary-Bayan. – *CV*.

⁵ In fact, *shabu* means a raid, an attack – *CV*.

⁶ Ari and Guri – the sphere of absolute space beyond the seventh heaven. – *CV*.

⁷ In the East, freeing slaves is one of the greatest virtues, and a sign of magnanimity. – *CV*.

⁸ A fine (*aiyp*). – *CV*.

5. The capture of Abylai by Galdan Tseren. During one of the Dzhungar attacks on the Kazakhs, Abylai killed Galdan's son, Sharshy, in single combat. When Galdan learned of the death of his beloved son, he ordered that the culprit, no matter who or where he might be, should be captured. The Kalmyks sent on this mission caught Abylai off-guard when he was out hunting. They seized him, along with several *bis* and the famed Kudaiberdy Zhapek Batyr of the Atygai Clan,⁹ and brought them before Galdan.

When asked, 'Where did you kill my son?' Abylai replied, 'I am the accused, but he was killed by the people. Through me the will of the people was enacted in respect of your son, Sharshy.' Galdan was so satisfied with this answer that he repeated several times, '*Mon, mon,*' stayed the executioners and ordered that Abylai be held securely in a yurt under strict supervision. That was the beginning of the tormenting of Abylai.

Sharshy's mother went every day to look at the Kazakhs who had killed her son, and every day did her utmost to make their lives misery, with her threats and curses, which she rained down on them, accompanying them with no less energetic gesticulation and constant repetition of the same words: 'How could you kill him? Can you be forgiven for killing him?' Abylai lost patience and one time when, after her usual preliminary ranting, she started grinding her teeth, raised her fist to his face and yet again repeated her question, he replied, 'Who does not kill such prodigal slaves as your son, you wretched old Kalmyk!' She rushed to her husband to demand the insolent Kazakh be put to death, and Galdan, fearing she really might kill Abylai, set him free together with Zhapak Batyr, keeping as an *amanat* (hostage) the latter's son who, for his skill at hunting and his courage, was known as Sary-Kazakh, 'the Yellow Kazakh'.

6. When Abylai was asked whom of all the *batyrs* of all three hordes he most respected, he answered: 'Of the men who have gone before me, two were amazing: Kazybek of Clan Karakesek, who rescued 90 prisoners from Galdan, and Derbisaly of Clan Uak who also freed his men taken prisoner. Kazybek did it by going himself and asking that of Galdan, while Derbisaly scared the enemy while sitting in his *aul*. Of my own *batyrs* there is Malaisary of Clan Basentiin, for his wealth, his bravery and character; and Bayan of Clan Uak. By their intelligence and bravery they rank above all others.'
7. Baigozy, a *batyr* of Clan Tarakty. During the persecution of the Torghuts who were fleeing from Russia, the Kazakhs bivouacked. They were boiling dried horse meat in their pots, adding water to the fermented *kurt* milk in their *torsyk* skin containers. In a word, they were having breakfast, building up their strength for the rest of the day. In one tent sat Abylai and in another Zhanibek, a *batyr* of Clan Shakshak-Argyn known for his extraordinary pride. The *batyr* was sitting silently and smoking tobacco

⁹ Copyist's error. Should read 'Zhapak'.

when a young Kazakh rode impudently up to his tent and, stretching out his hand while still on horseback, said, ‘Zhanibek Batyr, won’t you give me your pipe?’ Zhanibek paid no attention to him and, to make clear his complete contempt, hammered the pipe against the heels of his red boots and carefully and unhurriedly put it in his *kalta* (pocket).

Soon the khan moved from the field, and each clan assembled under its sign. The *batyrs* rode in front in chain mail, their helmets plumed with feathers, with their bows and arrows. They approached the khan and formed a circle. They consulted and decided to attack the enemy despite his greater numbers. To reconnoitre, it was decided to send scouts, and they called for volunteers. The first to come forward was the young man who had asked Zhanibek for his pipe. When, upon their return from their incursion, Zhanibek Batyr questioned those who had been sent,¹⁰ the same young Kazakh replied, ‘Not too many, not too few.’

The battle commenced. There were 10,000 Kalmyks. The Kazakhs suffered terrible losses, finally buckled and fled in retreat. Ahead of all the others, one tall Kalmyk riding a horse as black as night and with a banner in his hand, broke into the ranks of the Kazakhs, unhorsing many. Zhanibek was present at this retreat, and evidently in the midst of those who were fleeing, but he loudly exclaimed, ‘It is a pity not a single Kazakh has been born who could kill this blockhead.’¹¹ Then that one we know, that young man of whom we have spoken, rode forward, turned and drew back an arrow. The bowstring twanged, the Kalmyk swayed on his horse and fell. The arrow lodged in a chink and swayed to and fro. The young *batyr* was so displeased that the arrow had not struck its target straight and declared, ‘That one, it seems, was wearing the cloak of Allah himself.’ The death of the standard-bearer caused disarray in the ranks of the enemy. The Kazakhs took advantage of this to strike back and turn the Kalmyks to flight, and thus they wrested victory from the hands of the enemy. Then Baigozy (for that was the name of the young man) lit a pipe and, approaching Zhanybai¹² Batyr, said, ‘Batyr, this is a better time for pipe-smoking.’ Thus did Baigozy of Clan Tarakty become a *batyr*, and from that time everyone knew his name.

8. Orazymbet Batyr of Clan Baltaly was famed for his amazing speed and skill. Bayanbai Batyr of Clan Baganaly related that, on one occasion, he had been with Orazymbet. That night they rode up to a Kalmyk *aul* of eight yurts, decided to attack it, and did so forthwith. By the time Bayanbai had killed the Kalmyks in two of the yurts, Orazymbet Batyr appeared and declared he had finished off all the others. He received a double share of the booty.

¹⁰ Clearly the question is missing: ‘Is the enemy numerous?’

¹¹ Should read not ‘blockhead’ (*bolvan*) but ‘strongman’ (*baluan*).

¹² That is, Zhanibek.

9. Some Kalmyks had settled in a cave on the steppe. At the entrance they had a marksman with a *Korama* [*sic*], a hunting rifle famous at the time. (The Kalmyks shot saiga antelopes with it across the River Irtysh.) After several hotheads had been killed, none of the *batyrs* dared go near. Suddenly, along comes Elshebek Batyr of Clan Syrgaly [Sirgeli] on a dun horse and proceeds at a casual trot in the direction of the Kalmyks. Everybody is just waiting with bated breath for him to fall. Elshebek, having come quite close in this leisurely manner, suddenly galloped towards the marksman. The Kalmyk applied the wick, the gun failed to fire, and before he could apply it again he was hacked to pieces by the *batyr*. When asked why he had approached so slowly, he replied, ‘The Kalmyk wanted my horse, so he waited for me to ride closer, but I reasoned that while I was approaching, the wick would burn down and the burnt end would not fire the gun.’ After that the Kazakhs had a new saying – ‘applying a burnt wick to a *Korun* rifle’.¹³
10. In his youth, Uali Khan had a reputation as a highly eccentric and wild *tentek*.¹⁴ He caused a war with the Kalmyks, who submitted to Abylai and moved to the steppe to stay under his protection. Uali quarrelled with a young princely *noyon* over a girl, kicked him and, with the heavy heels of the ancient boots of the time, broke the poor Kalmyk’s ribs.
11. In the time of Abylai, a *batyr* called Eset was famous among the Bashkir people. It is said that he once met Abylai, caught him by his armpit and carried him with the same ease as his hat.
12. The Kazakhs of the Middle Horde mounted a raid on the Kyrgyz. The Kyrgyz, however, were forewarned, and expecting their visitors. The Kazakhs fled. Their enemy pursued them to the River Ili, which the Kazakhs forded. The Kazakh Temirzhan Batyr became over excited and went with a small band of daredevils to harry the Kyrgyz on their side of the Ili. Then Tomasha Batyr of the Clan Kanzhygaly, seeing that a Manap had advanced too far and had no comrades to support him, turned back and plunged a spear into the breast of the steed with such force that the noble animal immediately collapsed on to its hind legs. The Manap leaped swiftly off the horse and rushed at Zhaulybai Batyr of the Sirgeli Clan. Eset Batyr of the Kanzhygaly Clan, seeing the danger to his comrade, struck with his lance and the Manap fell to the ground. Tomasha Batyr, who was a short man but with a great soul, sat on him and ripped open his stomach. He was a falcon despatching a swan.

¹³ Korun (Korum). The name of a marksman and renowned inventor of a long-range matchlock gun.

¹⁴ *Tentek*. A mischief-maker.

The naked body of the *batyr* lay in the field, as white as *sazan*.¹⁵ (The Manaps were the forebears of the Kyrgyz.) Temirzhan was splendid in every way: white and well-built. The Kyrgyz saw the death of their beloved Manap and began to pursue them relentlessly. Zhaulybai of the Sirgeli Clan was taken prisoner; he had dismounted from his horse to shoot. Then the Kazakhs Usen Batyr, Altai and Baigozy Batyr were captured. Baigozy Batyr was chosen by lot to atone for the death of the Manap. He was asked, 'Who killed the *batyr*?' He answered firmly, 'I have no wish to bear witness against anyone.' They sat him down, facing east, measured 40 paces, and a Burut with a long-barrelled gun sat opposite and began slowly targeting him.

Baigozy himself said afterwards that he thought absolutely nothing and was not afraid. 'Having strongly bound my head,¹⁶ I sat waiting for the shot but not remarking it. The brother of the dead man came to me and said, "My brother was Shait. I do not want blood. You are free, Kazakh." I could not stand up, the blood in my veins was at a complete standstill and sweat poured from my face like a hail.' He was exchanged for one of Temirzhan's brothers, who had been captured by Abylai, and Zhaulybai was released, promising to deliver the ransom. His comrade and fellow captive Kazakh, Usen, was answerable with his life. He tended sheep and, a few months later, when the occasion presented itself, escaped. Here is the lament of Temirzhan's sister: 'In the herd there is an ash-grey horse whose neck, if I turn it, will cause it pain. My dear brother, so much the son of a khan, if I do not sing, his heart will hurt. My brother, what am I to do?

'Oh God, like *boyak*¹⁷ in a *boksha*,¹⁸ like a *sayak* [a deer] in a herd, like *manat* [Chinese material]. Of my brother, so much the son of a khan, I will not speak. My heart will feel such pain. Oh, my dear brother, what am I to do? Oh God!

13. The final persecution of the fleeing Torghuts in folk legend is known as the Dust Campaign. In this campaign, there were more than *san* people (without number). The khan stood at the assembly site, immobile. He was waiting for the arrival of the brave *batyr*, Bayan, despite the grumbling of the other *batyrs*. At last Bayan appeared with 540 men and came before the khan. 'Wherever, whatever you order me, I shall perform.' The khan turned to the people and said, 'That is why I waited so long for Bayan.'

It was at this time that Zhanatai Batyr of Clan Kanzhygaly, who was in command of an advance guard of 500 men a day's ride distant, was killed by Kalmyks. It happened thus: Uisinbai, the Brother of Zhanatai, out reconnoitring, seized three camels from the Kalmyks. Upon his return, his brother Arkandar Batyr, asked for his share of the *sauga* (booty), but Uisinbai Batyr retorted, 'The

¹⁵ White fat. – *CV*.

¹⁶ That is, binding his head tightly.

¹⁷ Dye.

¹⁸ Bag.

Kalmyks have many camels, you have hands – capture them yourself, you are not ill.’ Arkandar, deeply offended by these insulting words, in order to prove his daring to his brother took seven comrades, including the famed Konai, son of Koyan-Kozdi (‘Hare’s Eyes’), and attacked a Kalmyk herd and seized nine camels. Arkandar sent the booty with his seven comrades on ahead, but himself remained behind to stop the approaching pursuers, or lure them in the opposite direction. At first his comrades saw him enticing them away, but then they saw the *batyr* apparently surrounded. Having ridden further up the mountain, they finally saw the enemy coming at him from all directions. And then, Arkandar was dead.

When Zhanatai heard of the death of his beloved brother, he cursed and took an oath to be avenged: ‘Either I will die or I will sate myself with your blood!’ He ordered horses to be brought and, with a detachment of 500 men, burst into the Kalmyk headquarters. There were 10,000 of them and he sank into a terrible battle in which the Kazakhs were doomed to die. Uisinbai’s belly had been ripped open, but holding the entrails in the folds of his robe, fighting, he called out, ‘What say you, Zhanatai Batyr, can a man live with his belly torn open?’ All his men had fallen, and only Zhanatai, eight men and his son, Tokysh, were still alive. Zhanatai dismounted and gave his horse to his son, saying, ‘Go home, fight your way through, because otherwise there will be nobody to avenge me.’ Then he was killed.

When Abylai heard of Zhanatai’s death he wept inconsolably, saying, ‘My black sword of damask steel! You did not let them whet you!’ The whole army, in *chabdul* formation,¹⁹ sped swiftly to the Ili and, before the Kalmyks arrived, surrounded all the fords. The Kalmyks halted and sent seven men as emissaries. At their head was a tall, black Kalmyk wearing a fox fur on his head the size of a cooking pot. He dismounted a good distance away and approached and greeted the khan with the words, ‘*Alla zhar!*’ (God is our helper). Usa and Seren Khan have sent me. The Kalmyks and Kazakhs were brothers. Let us be brothers now also. Accept a gift of white yurts as tribute and let us be at peace!’

‘Begone!’ said the khan. He gathered his *batyrs* and began the meeting by expressing his opinion. ‘We should accept the white yurts to raise their hopes, and only then plunder them.’ Bayan replied, ‘No! Do not take the white yurts, do not try to deceive them. Usa and Seren have deceived Upper and Lower China, and they will deceive you too.’ The khan twice repeated his view, Bayan twice replied. The khan did not change his mind. The Kalmyks were encamped at a distance of about one *koch*, a day’s journey with a flock of sheep²⁰ (some

¹⁹ Also *shabuyt*. To attack, assail, raid.

²⁰ More correctly, *kosh*, from the word *kosh* – nomadic wandering, a nomadic caravan. *Kosh zher* – the distance to the next encampment.

5 or 6 miles away). They waited two days, but there came no Kalmyk and no white yurts. Later they discovered they had dismantled their camp two days previously and left.

Bayan, with 1,000 men, undertook to pursue them, but caught up just as they were entering China. He came to within 90 paces of capturing them. On the way back they drank water contaminated by the corpses of Kalmyks, fell ill and died from the disease of *kara tyshkak* (black excrement), including famed Bayan.

14. Galdan asked Abylai while the latter was his captive, 'Which sovereigns are mightier than other sovereigns?' 'The Kondaker,²¹ the Russian White Tsar, Ezhen Khan,²² Galdan, and after him, I myself.' '*Men, men!*' said Galdan. 'You rule a small people, but are worthy of a great one,' said Abylai.

²¹ In earlier times, the Kazakhs used this name for the Seljuks, and at a later time it was used for the Crimean Khanate.

²² This was the Kazakhs' name for the Chinese emperors.

Chapter 16

Shona Batyr – An Eighteenth-Century Adventurist

Commentary

Upon arriving in the Kazakh steppe from Bashkiria, a person called Karasakal proclaimed himself as ‘Shona’, the brother of Galdan Tseren, the Dzhungar *kontaishy*. Shona Batyr himself, despite the fact that he was recognised as brave, was forced to flee to the Volga Kalmyks because of the battle with his brother. He was later killed under unknown circumstances. Thus, Karasakal chose the name of Shona in order to gain the support of the Kazakh rulers, who were also in conflict with the Dzhungars. Karasakal had good relations with leading Kazakh figures, including Kazybek *Bi*, Sultan Batyr and Sultan Barak. In 1749, Karasakal died in mysterious circumstances. It’s hard to say who he really was. He remains a mysterious person who left his mark on the history of the Kazakhs.

The Kazakh steppe, not only in the last century but even today, serves as a haven for Central Asian refugees. In the eighteenth century, disgruntled and persecuted people from every part of the world came here to hide. They came from Tatar Siberia, from Kokand, Dzhungaria and the lower reaches of the Volga; besides a multitude of deserters from among the common people, people of aristocratic descent not infrequently also sought refuge here. They were received entirely hospitably, and even retained their august status in the nomadic horde. This was the case for Abylai Khan, a prince of Turkestan who fled to the steppe. In the middle of the last century, two unfortunate Dzhungar princes, Dawachi and Amursana, fled political events in their homeland and were hospitably received in the steppe and immediately allocated an entire Kazakh line [the Naiman] to rule over.¹

Another such celebrated refugee was Karasakal, who had stirred up unrest among the Bashkir people in 1740 and, arriving in the steppe, pretended to be Shona, brother of the then-Dzhungar *kontaishy*, Galdan Tseren. In the steppe

¹ Opposite this in the manuscript is a remark: ‘NB’. Evidently Valikhanov intended to add further text.

he found refuge² with Kabanbai Batyr of Clan Kara-Kereit and, with his help, received a small patrimony in the Naiman line and adopted the name of Kara Khan. He was one of a number of enigmatic and fortunate adventurers in the steppe. Having relocated to the steppe, he represented a danger for both Russia and Dzhungaria: Russia was concerned that he might again incite rebellion among the Bashkir people, while Dzhungaria was alarmed by his imposture. The real Shona, a deceased claimant to the Dzhungar throne, had been so loved by the Dzhungars that they were thought ready to rebel in his name against the then khan, Galdan Tseren.

The Dzhungar Kalmyks regularly enquired whether the Russians were aware of the whereabouts of this new 'Shona'. Mongo Usyumov, a Kalmyk who had fled from Dzhungaria in 1746, testified to the Russian authorities that the Kalmyks wanted Shona Batyr as their ruler and that, it was claimed, he had Russian soldiers at his command. He said that, if the Russian army arrived in Dzhungaria without Shona, the Kalmyks would not surrender without a fight.³

In 1748, Genden, a Kalmyk *demichi*,⁴ asked Sergeant Komovshchikov, who was in Dzhungaria, about Shona Batyr, who had been the brother of Galdan Tseren and whom supposedly two *noyons* – Debachi and Emakkuli⁵ – wished to serve. Debachi had fled from Dzhungaria to the Kazakh steppe. This was evidently their messiah, and when Karasakal, having fled to the steppe, started claiming to be Shona, Galdan Tseren began fearing for his repose and even bribed Barak, an influential Kazakh sultan, to kill the impostor.

We need, however, to enter a reservation here that contemporaries were unable to decide definitively whether he was in fact an impostor rather than the real Shona, and in the legends of native inhabitants of the steppe only Shona figures: the name of Karasakal is nowhere to be found. These legends are highly remarkable. Shona is known throughout the steppes which belong to Russia. His memory is preserved in a poetic tale of the Altai Kalmyks, among the Kazakhs and Volga Kalmyks. The Kazakhs say only that 'Sna Batyr' could draw a very tight bow which could pierce ...

The Volga Kalmyks also have legends about him and, incidentally, say that he perished in the black mudflats of the Kuma estuary. The most extensive tale of Shona is preserved among the Altai Kalmyks. We have taken this story from the *Tomskie Gubernskie Vedomosti* [*Tomsk Governate Gazette*].⁶

² Opposite this is another 'NB'.

³ Archive of the Regional Board of Siberian Kyrgyz. Report of Captain Bykov, 30 October 1746. – *CV*.

⁴ *Demichi*. An assistant to the *zaisans* (chieftains).

⁵ The name can also be read as 'Emakume'.

⁶ V.I. Verbitsky, 'Narodnye legendy kuznetskikh teleutov', *Tomskie Gubernskie Vedomosti*, no. 29, 1858. – *CV*. [Valikhanov calls them Kulchin Tatars.]

According to this legend, Shona was a Kalmyk warrior and a sage. His father, Kongdaich (the Dzhungar khan), had another son, Kaldan.⁷ Shona was living with a concubine, Kara-Kyz, but his brother fell in love with her and they were married. Insulted, Shona invited 12 friends to go hunting with him in the Altai mountains. When they had gone 1 *verst* from home, he told them of his misfortune, drew his bow and shot an arrow at his brother's yurt; the arrow thudded into the door. Kaldan recognised whose arrow it was and complained to his father. That evening when Shona returned from the hunt, Kongdaich summoned him and had his shoulder blades cut out. Binding him hand and foot with strips of rawhide, he had him thrown into a dungeon 70 *sazhens* underground. This was done in secret and nobody knew what had become of the people's favourite. Only one old man, an intimate of the khan, guessed the truth and dug a tunnel from his yurt to the dungeon, feeding the captive for seven years.

A strong neighbour who paid Kongdaich tribute, a Black Kalmyk, hearing that the seer and warrior Shona was no more, sent Kongdaich two magpies, one of which was a real magpie while the other was a crow that had been transformed by magic. If Kongdaich could discern the real magpie from the false one then he, the Black Kalmyk, would pay him tribute as before, but if he could not, he would cease to do so. Kongdaich was perplexed. However, the old man, bringing Shona food, told him of his father's predicament. Shona said: 'Is it so difficult to distinguish a magpie from a crow? Advise my father to place a perch, and beyond it a canopy, and when the weather is inclement let him release the birds: the magpie will fly under the canopy, but the crow will sit on the perch and caw.' Thus was the secret of the birds divined, and the Black Kalmyk continued to pay tribute to Kongdaich.

Two years later, however, the Black Kalmyk again sent ambassadors to Kongdaich with a plant of goat's beard, requiring him to tell the bottom from the top. Kongdaich was again perplexed, and the old man told Shona about the situation. Shona instructed that the plant should be placed in flowing water and the end that pointed forward would be the top and the other end the bottom.⁸ The Black Kalmyk again continued to pay tribute, but a year later he no longer set a riddle but sent an iron bow. The bow was so strong that no one [could] draw it, even though 30 men tried together they met with no success. Then Shona instructed his old man to lament before the khan and say, 'We destroyed our own *batyr*, and now must obey a tributary!'

⁷ That is, Galdan.

⁸ The missionary Verbitsky has probably recorded the legend incorrectly. According to the laws of physics, the opposite should have occurred. We find the same riddle in another Kalmyk legend about a maid called Kookyu. The khan's judges, to test the girl's wisdom, send her a tree, hewn on all sides, to say which was the top and which the root end. Kookyu casts it into water, whereupon the root end sinks while the top floats to the surface. A.F. [or M.?] Voikov, 'Opisanie kalmyt'skogo naroda', *Syn Otechestva*, [part 75?], no. 7 [or 5?], 1822. – *CV*.

‘We should take a look,’ said Kongdaich, ‘and see whether he is not perhaps still alive.’ Shona was dragged from the underground dungeon. He was covered in moss. His shoulders had healed, but he had forgotten how to see the light of the sun. He fell down and thus lay for half a day. His father ordered him washed with camel’s milk and had him clothed. Then Shona asked, ‘Why have you, my own father, disturbed me, a dead man?’ His father, instead of an answer, gave him a huge chalice of wine. The warrior drank it at a draught; He was given another and that too he drank and followed it by eating a whole sheep.

Then his father told him of his predicament. ‘Bring me the bow, my father,’ said Shona. Thirty men brought the bow. He drew the bowstring with his little finger and the bow bent. Then Shona said to his father, ‘And now, father who begat me, give me your blessing for a journey. No more am I a son to you, no more are you my father.’ With these words, he left his native land. Further, the tale relates that he became the khan of Kokania and then, installing one of his friends on the throne of Kokand, he journeyed to Moscow, to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, who favoured him, called him ‘the red-cheeked’ and presented him with a palace. According to a different legend, also recorded by missionary Verbitsky, Shona appeared at the court of Aleksei Mikhailovich as a fugitive.

Kongdaich had two wives; by one of whom he had his son, Shona, and a daughter Shyuzhdy, and by the other he had five sons. Upon the death of Kongdaich, dissension flared among the children. The brothers hatched a plot against Shona but his sister learned of it and warned Shona, and he took refuge under the patronage of Aleksei Mikhailovich. His sister was murdered by the conspirators for revealing their plan.

We have a document from the last century that relates an almost identical tale of that same Shona. It was the Russian government who, concerned about the intentions of Karasakal, in 1745 sent the Bashkir Tyukan to the Kazakh steppe.⁹ The story of this Tyukan testifies to the fact that the adventures of Shona were very popular among the Kyrgyz also. Here, in brief, is his story.

Karasakal, learning that Tyukan had brought Barak Sultan a sword and charter for him to assume Russian citizenship, invited Tyukan to visit him too to discuss the same matter. Tyukan stayed four days with him. Karasakal, the high-born elder Kazybek Bi, and Kibaibai Batyr,¹⁰ after convening a people’s council, authorised Tyukan to convey his request to the authorities in Orenburg to admit them to citizenship of Russia, promising to provide assistance in the event of an attack by the Dzhungar ruler Galdan Tseren. Tyukan even mentions that they ‘became resolute in order to be in a state of readiness therefore’ and ‘gave orders to all in their *uhuses* and people dependent upon them that they should ride and use for their every need colts and horses incapable of anything more, and nurture and keep in reserve good horses suitable for warfare. As regards the state of

⁹ One word is missing, evidently the surname of Tyukan.

¹⁰ A copyist’s error. Should read ‘Kabanbai Batyr’.

the said Karasakal, he, as previously in the Kazakh horde ... claims for himself that he is the son of the deceased ruler of Dzhungaria and *kontaishy*, that his name is Shona, that he could formerly dispense blessings ... but that now he no longer possesses that power.' So that he should not run away, the *kontaish* gave him 40 servants and set aside 1,000 men to guard him, but Shona, together with those 40 servants, fought off the guards and escaped through the Karakalpak and Kazakh steppes to the Volga Kalmyks and his sister, who had been given in marriage to Ayuke Khan, and stayed with her. The *kontaishy*, learning of Shona's place of refuge, wrote to Ayuke that he might return the fugitive. The Kalmyks, desirous of pleasing the *kontaishy*, captured Shona and were wont to hand him over, but, learning of this, the aforementioned sister strangled a Kalmyk and pretended both to Ayuke and the other Kalmyks that the dead man was Shona who had supposedly died. Meanwhile Shona, with six Kalmyks and Kabak, a Kazakh, fled to the Kubans and from them to the Turks and converted to Islam with the strange covenant never again to speak Kalmyk. From the Turks, by an unforeseen turn of events, he came among people who have the heads of dogs and the legs of beasts and eat people, but from there too he escaped and arrived in Russia, and sojourned for a short while in St Petersburg and in Moscow. He came then to Bashkiria and lived 12 years¹¹ on the roads of Nogai and Siberia, in the *volosts* of Ermatly and Karatabyn, finally, in 1740, instigating a popular uprising.

In Bashkiria, '... he said of himself to the Bashkir Aladzhai-Gulu that he was a native of Kuban, his name was Girei Sultan, and the Bashkir agreed with him to rise in rebellion.' When that failed, he fled to the Kazakh Horde and there declared himself to be Shona, the brother of Galdan Tseren, which was confirmed by a Kalmyk and the Kazakh Kabak who were with him and had accompanied him throughout his travels between the people of Kuban, the Turks and Bashkir. The Kazakhs and their elders believed this and had him rule over 2,000 people of the Naiman branch, not including wives and children.

'He, Karasakal, declares that he has the power to cause snow and rain, and when it comes he asserts it to have been his doing; he also cures the ill of various diseases wherefore and for other of his doings people are pleased to shower him with gifts.' Because of 'the reputation which has spread about him' that he is Shona, there escaped from Dzhungaria to join him three years ago Bak-Kashka and, last year, Bargai, who had the same mother as Shona and who, while he was still a child, by order of the *kontaishy*, was blinded and sent into exile. Bargai asked Tyukan whether he believed Karasakal to be Shona 'reflecting on the nature of Karasakal, that he seemed not only unlike Shona but not much like any Kalmyk, and that his condition seemed very different from that of a Kalmyk'. Tiukan replied evasively that Bargai was better placed than he to recognise his own brother, while in fact Tiukan also does not think this is Shona, and that he can only assume he is Bashkir because he does not

¹¹ This is marked 'NB'.

speak the Kalmyk language, knows nothing of Kalmyk ways, and that his speech is ‘wholly Bashkir, of the Siberian road’. From his appearance he is some 40 years of age.¹²

Despite, however, the obvious imposture, Galdan Tseren was afeared of this adventurer. Rumours that Shona was alive and at large in the steppe spread to Dzhungaria itself, as evidenced by Bak-Kashka and Bargai escaping to join him, as well as by the abovementioned Kalmyk enquiries of the Russians regarding the credibility of rumours that Shona was returning with Russian troops. In the presence of so many unsettled minds in Dzhungaria, Karasakal could easily prove dangerous to Galdan Tseren, so that he then began to desire Karasakal’s murder and urged Barak-Sultan to see to it. Barak Sultan and Karasakal had been ‘in harmony with each other’, but later quarrelled.

When Barak Sultan sent his son Shygai to Galdan Tseren to replace the former *amanat* hostage, Galdan Tseren promised he would release his son if Barak Sultan captured the false Shona, ‘... to which he, Barak, appeared inclined, and, plotting¹³ to capture Karasakal, thought to do so by offering Karasakal his sister’. Barak did almost manage to have his sister betrothed to Karasakal but the latter, discovering his true intention, ‘became averse’ to going to him and ‘for safety migrated from Barak to the remote steppe, to the vicinity of the Karakesek-Argyn branch, namely to the nomadic territory of Kazybek Bi. This *bi*, together with Kabanbai under whose protection he had previously lived and with whose aid he had accumulated power and renown, promised to protect him from attack by Barak Sultan.’

There is no question but that Karasakal and Shona were two separate individuals, but that makes all the more enigmatic this Bashkir who managed with his bold initiatives to frighten Galdan Tseren. The tradition of the Volga Kalmyks suggests that Shona met his death in the estuary of the River Kuma, but in the same archive we found a report that Karasakal died of natural causes in the steppe, having fled the Kazakh steppe [Karkaraly district]. Akbai Sundukov testified that he was captured in Grachev *stanitsa* [Cossack village] by Kyrgyz under the command of Barin (Bargai), the brother of Karasakal the ‘Bashkir mutineer’, who had died two months previously. (From a report to Neplyuev, 31 July 1749.) Both reports could be true if they relate to different individuals.

¹² Archive of the Regional Board of Siberian Kyrgyz. Report from Shtokman, 26 June 1745. – *CV*.

¹³ This is marked ‘NB’.

Chapter 17

Draft Materials on the Kyrgyz

Commentary

This rough draft by Valikhanov is preserved in the file of Professor N.I. Veselovsky to whom, in 1889, as the editor of the first publication of Valikhanov's works, it was conveyed by G.N. Potanin along with other materials.

The draft was written on the basis of materials in the archive of Omsk, probably in the winter of 1856–57 when Valikhanov, after an expedition to Issyk-Kol, was preoccupied with the history of the Kyrgyz and, together with G.N. Potanin, was extracting materials from the archive relating to the migration of the Kyrgyz to the territory between the Tian Shan Mountains and the River Yenissei. Valikhanov's main thoughts on this topic are presented in greater detail in his works *Ocherki Dzhungarii* (Outline of Dzhungaria) in the present volume, *Dnevnik poezdki na Ystyk-Kol* (The Diary of a Trip to Issyk-Kol) and in *Zapiski o Kirgizakh* (Notes on the Kyrgyz). See *Collected Works*, vol. 1, p. 306.

a) In the summer of 1746, 12 people appeared at Oskemen, with women and children, and claimed to be Kalmyk Kyrgyz and stated that they 'lived previously in the vicinity of Krasnoyarsk, near ... on their Kalmyk Kyrgyz land, under the leadership of Tanbyn Batyr Datkha. Forty years ago, the *kontaishy*, the father of Galdan Tseren, captured all 300 of them with 'Black Zaisans' – Saldyk, Zukhar, Bikbel and Chailish, the son of the former khan Tanbyn Batyr Datkha – who still live in Urga. They had fled Urga because they had been ruined by the Alman¹ and the war that Galda Tseren fought against Abdakarim, in which the army was commanded by Seiaten² and Khotova. This war and so on. (Report of commander of the troops in the Upper Irtysh fortresses, Colonel Zorin, to Major General Kinderman, dated 28 June 1746.)

On 20 August 1746, General Kinderman, probably after enquiries through Nepluev, instructed Zorin to conduct a thorough interrogation of the new arrivals, since he had doubts 'as to who these Kalmyk Kyrgyz may be, since elsewhere there are none to be found calling themselves Kalmyk Kyrgyz, and

¹ More correctly, 'Alban'.

² More correctly, 'Seiten'.

furthermore in the vicinity of Astrakhan there are [none] apart from white Volga Kalmyk'. At the same time, he surmised that the newcomers were probably from among those white Volga Kalmyks who had been presented by Ayuke Khan to the Dzhungar *kontaishy* when the latter married his daughter. Zorin instructed Second Major Beklemishev, commandant of the Oskemen fortress, to question the natives in detail about everything: who they were, where they came from, whether or not they were Volga Kalmyks presented as dowry for the khan's daughter, and so forth. This time, the answers were given by Khoton, the most senior of the Kalmyk Kyrgyz, who had been ill during the previous giving of testimony.

His tale is so remarkable that we adduce it verbatim.

'He (Khoton), together with the other Kalmyk Kyrgyz, had his abode in the territory of Khan Tanbyn Batyr Datkha in the local Siberian region between the cities of Tomsk and Yeniseisk cities, opposite the city of Krasnoyarsk on the steppe, on the small river called the White Yus, from where the distance to their habitation from the aforementioned city of Krasnoyarsk was an easy ride of about three days. They paid tribute in furs to the treasury of Her Imperial Majesty [along with] other Kalmyks and now, he averred, they had heard that [some] of their kin and other Kalmyk Kyrgyz were likewise paying such tribute to Her Imperial Majesty. And perhaps some 50 years ago or more – they don't remember and cannot say exactly – there came to them from the land of the Kontaishy, under the *zaisans* Dukhar, Sandyk and Chinbil, some 3,500 people. They stood in a separate encampment, making a total in all, of men and women, of some 3,000 hearths,³ and those *zaisans* and their troops suddenly took them captive and led them away to Zengor territory by force, only without fighting. And so they lived in Zengor in Great Urga, and paid Galdan Tseren [Alman]. Of Astrakhan and Krasnyi Yar, which is on the Volga, they claim to know nothing and never to have been there, and the fact that it was his, Khoton's, children who spoke before of Krasnyi Yar near Astrakhan was a misunderstanding through the interpreter, because at that time he was extremely ill. The *kontaishy*, he said, married the daughter of the Volga khan before having taken possession of them.' (Report by Zorin, dated 5 October 1746.)

In the summer of 1747, two men were captured on the River Charysh,⁴ namely Turgai and Tsai Khoton, who called themselves Kalmyk Kyrgyz. These were the same newcomers who in 1746 had appeared in Oskemen and whose father, Khoton provided the above testimony. How they got to the Charysh is evident from their new testimony, which provides yet more information on the Kalmyk Kyrgyz, and accordingly we adduce here in its entirety:

'The fathers of the Kalmyk Kyrgyz race, now in the possession of the ruler of Zengor, in the long distant past roamed the Sagai steppe between the cities of Kuznetsk and Krasnoyarsk. They say that then they paid tribute in furs to

³ That is, families obliged to pay *iasak*, tribute in kind.

⁴ More correctly, 'Charyn'.

Her Imperial Majesty, but they do not know whether or not they paid tribute to the ruler of Zengor. Today in the said Sagai *volost* there roam two of their uncles, Kharta Idan and his brother, Emchen Mergen, who have citizenship and pay tribute to Her Imperial Majesty. And his father (when he left the Zengor territory he does not know) [they] lived in that territory further down the River Ili on the tract called Shorobe (where he was born), with *Noyon Zengi-Kalmak Butui* in slavery. In 1746, his father, Khoton (who as they were travelling here died in the village of Alei), suffering many offences at the hands of that *noyon Butui*, his father with them, Turgai and Tsai, went in the winter season with Turgai and Tsai from there to present himself in Russian territory in order that they might be accepted as formerly as subjects of Her Imperial Majesty.

b) They [spent] the spring near the furthest outposts of the Zengor *uhuses*. They lived in the mountains, and in the summer presented themselves to the Oskemen fortress to Second Major Beklemishev, where they were held for eight months under guard and then released into the steppe. Upon their release the three of them lived for two months along the River Ulba in the mountains and returned to the Oskemen fortress to ask permission to roam in the vicinity of the fortress, only to be told to go back to the steppe. After that, for a couple of months they lived temporarily on that same river and from thence onto the steppe in order to go on to Kuznetsk or Krasnoyarsk to roam with other non-Christians, and while they were at the river Charysh, between the Kolyvan factory and the Bikatun fortress, their father fell ill and they stayed there for about a week, and then Russians, coming upon them, caught them.' (Report of Colonel Pavlutsky of 19 June 1747.)

We do not know what orders Pavlutsky gave in respect of these Kalmyk Kyrgyz, but we must assume they were driven back onto the steppe and advised not to loiter in the vicinity of Russian fortresses. This was the treatment meted out to all the *kontaishy*'s runaway subjects.

In the spring of the following year, 1747, we again encounter the Kalmyk Kyrgyz, and they are probably the self same people, because among their names is that of Turgai, son of Khoton. The Kuznetsk Voivodship Office sent to the Bikatun fortress the Kalmyk Kyrgyz Bayat (elsewhere called Bayan) Atasov, Turgai Khotonov and Choi Bayanov, captured in Sagai *volosts*, where they stole four horses from Russian villages, eating one and selling three. As persons previously detained on more than one occasion in Upper Irtysh fortresses, Mr Pavlutsky ordered them sent to Semey and kept under guard until the arrival of Yusuf Khoja, the Zengor envoy, so that these people, who had arrived in 1747, could be sent with him to their *noyon*, Debachi. (Report by Pavlutsky of 30 March 1748.)

That year (on an order from Pavlutsky to Major Okunkov of 6 May 1748), the aforementioned Kalmyk Kyrgyz were sent to *Noyon Debachi*.

The fate of these unfortunate Kyrgyz, who had sought refuge under the auspices of Russia, was unenviable. Twelve of them, including women and children, had arrived in 1746. In 1747 we found just three of them without a

place to stay on the steppe. In 1748 they were obliged to steal a horse to relieve their hunger.

c) A report from Colonel Pavlutsky, dated 2 June 1747 giving new information about the Kyrgyz: ‘Translator Devyatiyarovsky while with Lieutenant Levashev in Dzhungaria, and here in conversations with merchants in Yamyshev, heard that there are in the land of the ruler of Zengor peoples of other confessions. First there are Kyrgyz, also known as Burut. Their abode is in the city of Andizhan, at the distance from Urga to the west of about one month on foot. In years long past, they were taken captive by the ruler of Zengor, formerly the *kontaishy* where the residence of the present ruler is located. Before that, in years long gone, they had their separate sovereignty and theirs is the Mohammedan law, like the people of Bukhara and unlike the people of Zengor. When Galdan Tseren was alive it was determined that the Kalmyk Kyrgyz Chirikni⁵ should be in command in that city. The second are called Karakolkan. They are the Uryankhai people.’

⁵ That is, belonging to the Kyrgyz clan of the Chirikchi.

Chapter 18

Articles and Notes – The God Tengri

Commentary

These are rough drafts, written by Valikhanov in the early days of his work, probably in 1854–55 after travelling around Central Kazakhstan, Zhetysu and Tarbagatai. They were written as background to Gasfort's project, 'Introduction of a Transitional Religion for the Kazakhs', which considered the possibility of changing the religion of the Kazakhs from Islam to Judaism or Buddhism. It allowed Valikhanov to study their ancient beliefs, noting down their rituals and legends.

Fire: Is venerated as *aulie* (sacred). Curses: You may not spit into a fire and must not step on a hearth. A bride, entering her new family, should go into the yurt of her husband's father and sacrifice a spoonful of oil to the fire, make *salem* (kneeling) and prostrate herself, saying, '*Aruakh razy bolsyn*' – '*Aruakh*, (ancestral spirit), be content!' While the sacrifice is burning, the mother or one of the other women, heating her hand at the fire, passes it over the face of the newlywed, and the newlywed gives a robe in honour of the fire, which is received by the owner of the yurt (the husband's father) as the owner of the hearth, and obliges her to sit on a sheepskin, saying, 'Be as soft as this skin.'

In order to take a *zhan* (oath of fealty), they make fire in two places, lead the person between these two fires and make them kiss the muzzle of a gun out of which someone was killed.

They heal with fire as follows: chunks are cut from seven parts of the body of an animal, thrown into the fire, and then used to warm the place that hurts (mainly for rheumatism).

They purge a person of illness with sacrificial fire: a tin ladle is cast into the fire, and heated until it is red-hot, then oil and a blue rag are put in it; when it catches fire they bring it right under the nose of the ill person and pour in cold water. A terrific amount of steam results. The treatment is called *zhelushyk* [casting the wind spell].

When they see a new moon, they jump up three times and bow three times, then tear up some grass, bring it home and throw it on the fire.

Aruakh: The spirit of the ancestors. In all difficult situations, they turn to them and say, ‘*Aruakhs*, take my hand and support me under the arms.’ They then make a sacrifice: if a cow, then a cow with horns like the moon and hooves like the *asha* that supports a yurt; if a sheep, then a white one with a stripe on its forehead, or a white one with a yellow head, or a blue sheep with ears like *bauyrsaks* (with forked ears and two teeth) and all over as white as snow with a stripe on its forehead; also the firstborn in the herd or flock. If they spare the firstborn, they smear the saliva of the promised animal on the head of another sheep and sacrifice that.

When someone dies, they light a candle for that person’s *aruakh* (spirit) every day until the fortieth day, or only for four days. They place the candles to the right side of the doorway because [they] believe that for 40 days the spirit of the dead person visits their yurt to discover the disposition of their children. For that, every day before the candle is lit, at twilight, they open the door, fill one cup with *kumys* and spread a piece of white felt at the door, preparing a welcome for the deceased. All those present in the yurt, after reading from the Quran, put out a cup for the *aruakh* and light a candle.

When the body is carried out, they say, ‘Far from God while the body is whole’, and place domestic utensils around it, and food.

They do not venerate the soil, but do not walk on a place where an *aul* was pitched, believing spirits gather there. They are fearful of *aruakhs* and of catching rheumatism, which they attribute to walking heedlessly. They do not reap the first grass.

They believe stars to be the souls of men; if they see shooting stars they say, ‘My little star is still up there!’ They make two movements with their hands in the air, thinking that was one soul and that, accordingly, someone must die. One often hears a father say, when he enters the yurt in the evening, ‘Two men must die today.’ ‘How so?’ ‘I saw two stars fall.’

They consider all extraordinary phenomena in Nature to be sacred, places sanctified by the presence of an *aulie* (Mohammedan saint). All tumuli they call *oba*, which means a pile. A solitary tree on the steppe, or a misshapen bush with unusually twisting, curved branches, are venerated and seen as an auspicious place to stay overnight. Everyone riding by will tie scraps from their clothing, or rags, on the bush, or throw cups down beside it, sacrifice an animal or tie a horse’s mane to it.

A salt lake is also called a *ken*, a place on which the eye of *aruakhs* or an *aulie* has fallen.

The fact that cattle are the sole means of subsistence leads to various forms of worshipful behaviour. They will not step on the bones of animals; if milk is spilled, Kazakhs will clean it up painstakingly so as not to leave anything desecrated, and to appease the animals they will make a cross, and bow ... raising their right hand to their forehead, chin, right shoulder, then left. They do the same when they step over a *zheli* [tether for foals], saying that horses’ tethers have *kie* [saintliness] and they perform *taut* [precisely, *tau etu* – a ceremony].

If they see a blacksmith's anvil, they will immediately go over to it and make a cross. They will not step over an *ukriuk*, axe or *bakan*,¹ saying that anyone who steps over a *bakan* will never get rich, and anyone who steps over an axe will never live in plenty.

Horses (*zhylky aulie*, holy horses), camels, sheep, cows. If a Kazakh comes across a cow at night, he must lash it with a whip, because it is a repository of evil spirits. Goats, too, are looked down on. If an animal has any peculiarity, it is called *aulie* and they express joy at it. Horses with knots in their manes and tails, which, according to Kazakhs, are made by evil *shaitan* spirits, are also revered as auspicious and will not be given away to anyone: 'The good luck will go away,' so the most they will part with is the so-called *silekei* – saliva. For example, they might tear a clump of hair from the mane, wet it with the animal's saliva and keep it in a *kalta* [pocket].

They do not shoot swans, for fear of offending their *kie*, and call them the Tsar of birds. They do not kill owls, eagle owls, woodpeckers, blue crows or cuckoos. The latter used to be human. The bridegroom arrives, having lost his horse. The bride's sister goes in search of it and, in her haste, one of the boots she puts on belongs to the groom while the other is her own. This happened in the spring, which is why the cuckoo has one leg red and the other blue, and why he calls, '*aty zhok kokek*' (no horse, *ku-ku*). The cuckoo has *kasiyet* (holiness). If you take a branch on which a cuckoo sat and toss it into the *saba* (a wooden receptacle) with milk² you will get an abundance of butter.

The Mohammedan religion ... which combines monotheism with belief in *tengris* and accepts belief in the existence of disembodied souls, *jinn*s, *peris* and *shaitans*, has proved unable to destroy the shamanic evil spirits. *Peris* can be Muslim or infidel. Infidel *peris* invariably do evil and can be in the form of vultures and eagles. The latter do evil when people themselves do something wrong. They are nomads, like the Kazakhs, do this and ... have been in their *auls*. [Sic.]

Jinn. This is the spirit whom the *baksy* (soothsayer) addresses. It is a demon which has its own names. It can be male or female, young or old and, according to the *baksy* and popular belief, it has human form. We will say more about it in the section on the *baksy*.

Albasty. A spirit which causes harm at childbirth. It is also known as the *Zheztyrnak*, which has bronze claws. Its head is 20 feet high; it has a small chest, and all the rest, its legs and hooves, are very thin.

The Muslims call an illness a '*jinn*'. It has the appearance of a sturdy girl with flowing hair and breasts so enormous that it always throws them up on to its shoulders.

¹ An *ukriuk* (Kyrgyz word) is a noose on the end of a long pole, used for catching horses. Kyruk in Kazakh. The *bakan* supports the *shanyrak*, the round dome of a yurt.

² Intended to be used for butter and making *syrniki* curd buns. The milk is called *erkyt* [*irkit*].

Sorel. A wood demon that in some folktales, is described as the husband of the *albasty*. According to some tales, it can assume all sorts of shapes. It is said to live deep in the forest and to have the aspect of a human being. Its normal-looking human body is so long that it can be as tall as the trees. It kills people by tickling them to death. It is the same as the Russian wood demon.

Kon-Ayak. This has the form of a human being but, instead of legs, it has straps. It lives in forests and on islands. Luring the feckless traveller, it sits on him, binds him with its straps, and rides him until he falls exhausted and dies.

Zheztyrnak. Bronze claws. A spirit in the shape of a woman. Also lives in the woods.

Legend of the *Zheztyrnaks*. In folktales, there are cannibals.

The legend of Batyr Khan. At the birth of a child, a sacrifice is thrown into the fire. Fat is thrown in, saying, 'The belly of the white camel has split.'

If someone dies on a campaign, the whole detachment, returning to the *aul*, cries out, '*Oi bauyrym* (Oh, my relative, *bauyrym* [literally, my] liver!), rushes to his yurt and begins shooting, stabbing with spears and hacking at the wood of the yurt (*bosaga* – the doorjambs).

Ainalmak. A circling sacrifice. The sacrifice thrice circles the being for whom it is being made. Thus, you might catch a bird, circle it three times round your head and release it. The bird will take all your misfortune and illness upon itself. A person doing the same – that is, circling round someone who is ill – takes on their ailments and offers themselves instead to the spirits. To express love the Kazakhs say '*Ainalaiyn*,' I will go round you. The mother says tenderly to her beloved son, '*Ainalaiyn karagym* (the pupil of my eye), *shyragym* (my light).' That is, 'I will go round you, pupil of my eye, my light.'

All the Kazakh soothsayers are known as *baksy* ... and make their predictions on behalf of their spirits whom, out of deference to the proper Muslim religion, they call *pereste* [*perishte*]: angels. The people, as devout Muslims, do not believe in their divinity ... and although they call them *jinn*s, they do firmly believe in their power, the power to do evil. Accordingly, all illnesses and adversity come from the influence of spirits and the harm they cause; the *baksy*, their favourites, can ask their patrons to depart from the person they have taken under their protection. Actually, there are still many people who believe in the supernatural nature and divinity of the *baksy*. These spirits can be ... great, the middling and the petty, which is why the *baksy* ... and their powers also vary. [*Sic.*] The great *baksy* treat all sick people ... they cut bellies, help at childbirth, compelling their spirit to drive away the *albasty*; they tell fortunes, invoking their spirit through play.

The signs of a great *baksy* are as follows: during his playing he will put a sabre down into his stomach, so far that the hilt is in his throat; he will lick red-hot iron, strike his chest with all his might with an axe, and all this is accompanied by the playing of a *kobyz*, an instrument that belongs to the *aulie* Korkyt, and by singing, which is called *saryn*. The playing is how the spirits are summoned, how they are conjured; during the playing the *baksy* goes into a deeper and deeper

trance, becoming more and more frenzied, before collapsing. After a time, he gets up and repeats what the spirit told him during his fainting fit ... This is prophecy. During the playing, metal needles appear on the brow and on the cheeks of some *baksy*, and on their hands knives appear instead of fingernails. These spirits each have their own name, like any other individual, and appear to their *baksy* in the shape of women, old men, *khojas* and *sary kyz* (yellow girls).

Fortune-tellers. All *baksy* are clairvoyants, with their own method of fortune-telling: playing with a whip, holding it between two fingers ... balancing.

Women who have spirits are called *ilty*. They too are *baksy*.

Clairvoyants. The *zhauryrynshy* use a sheep's shoulder blade. The *kumalakshy* lay out little balls in a special way. They have 41 of them. These two techniques are very common. The balls are said to have been used by the prophet Daniel (Danier). The first approach is based on observing the lines formed when the meat is roasted. The *baksy* say that the shoulder blade always shows the entire fate of seven peoples: the death of the kings of those peoples, the death of people themselves, ... and the fate of travellers.

The strong ones are those who tell the future from an unroasted shoulder. For fortune-telling they used the shoulder blade. After cooking it the meat is eaten, but it is important that the teeth should not touch the bone; when it is thrown onto the fire, there must be no iron around. The story about the prediction of a *kumalakshy* and about the explanation of a *zhauryrynshy*. ...

The *ilty* usually predict from the colour of the flame when they throw fat into the fire: if it burns brightly, the omen is good; if it burns red and dark, it is not good. While this is going on, the *jinn* requires some show of eccentricity from the *baksy*. She drinks water constantly – a bucketful – or gets through a whole mouthful of tobacco.

People who predict the weather are called *esepshi* – ‘counters’. In their belief, the weather too will take a particular turn, depending on the constellation of the stars. For example, they always start from *saratan* (the month of April) and the constellation of *Zhauza* – Cancer; its first date corresponds to the first day of the month of *karasha* (October) and the constellation *Kauys* (August).

Among *baksy*, Koilybai of Clan Baganaly enjoys great renown. He is the foremost of all *baksy*. There is also Balakai of Clan Baganaly, and at the present time in Kokshetau District there is the *baksy* Shomen. His spirits are Kokaman and Ershoilan ... the main one is Nadyr-Sholak. The tale is told that one time at the *baige* (horseracing) he entered his own *kobyz*, ordering from his seat that it should be tethered. When the dust of the *baige* appeared in the distance, Koilybai, with a sabre in his hands, began his playing and singing *saryn*. Suddenly a terrible hurricane was seen in the direction of the *baige* and a red wind blew with great gusts. Finally, the first horses were seen in a chaos of darkness and dust, and in front of them a saxaul tree with enormous roots, touching down first one then another on the ground and dragging a long lariat behind it with Koilybai's *kobyz*. The wind and the hurricane were the powers of his spirit Kokaman. He won the prize.

No *albasty* spirit (the murderer during childbirth) has power in the presence of Koilybai. Koilybai needs only to send his whip or his hat for the *albasty* to relinquish immediately its victim. The people still tell the tale of how, on one occasion, wrinkles appeared on Koilybai's brow ... The chief of his *peri* spirits was Nadyr-Sholak; of his *jims*, Kokaman; of his *shaitans*, brave Shoilan. He kept his spirits under strict discipline. There were three *kuryans* [troops] of them, and at his call they were obliged to provide him with a well-armed detachment.

All these tales are from the lips of the people.

One time, Nadyr-Sholak, the head of the *peris*, appeared to Koilybai in a dream to update him with his usual report on the future. He announced that in a few days' time, when a certain woman was giving birth, there would be present the Tsar of the *albasty* himself. The spirit advised him not to go there, saying that we have already turned against us enough of the host of spirits by smoothing over trouble caused by the caprices of man. When he rose the next morning, Koilybai mentioned in passing that in a few days' time there was going to be a terrible birth. And indeed, just two days later a messenger appeared from a certain *bi*, asking Koilybai for help. All the Kazakhs were confident that, while they had Koilybai, they were safe from all misfortunes except death and *tagdyr* (fate). The messenger was in a cheery mood, with every confidence in the power of Koilybai. Not to go would be to lose credibility and show impotence in the face of such petty devils as you *albasty*; to go, however, meant not to show proper respect for the advice and request of Nadyr and to put himself at risk. However, ambition, that great driving force of the Kazakh people, triumphed. Koilybai set out, sending a messenger on ahead and ordering him to assemble 200 people at the yurt of the ailing woman, to open the doors and the *tundik* (top) of the yurt. [He was accompanied by] his two secondary *kurians*, fully armed and under the command of Kokaman and Shoilan; but Nadyr was not with him. He was offended and did not go. Riding up to the yurt, Koilybai made a tremendous noise and, swinging his sabre, rode into the yurt. He fixed his bold, wrathful gaze on the *shanyrak* of the yurt, slashed with his sabre, and it hit something hard. There was a metallic clang ... Koilybai gave a great cry and fell from his horse, unable to breath and suffering terrible convulsions. Black, congealing blood poured from his mouth and ears. The woman in childbirth, who had previously been lying in pain, lost consciousness. Koilybai saw on the *shanyrak* the Tsar of the *albasty* on a velvet-black horse, covered from head to toe in blue iron armour. With a single eye, the size of a cup of *kumys*, bulging in the middle of his broad forehead, he leered maliciously at Koilybai and said, 'We respected you and gave you much, but now, just once, let us have our way.' He held a great red banner in his hands, the attribute of his victory. The metallic clang had been the sound of his armour ringing. He had defeated Koilybai.

The people were horrified. Koilybai lay in the middle of the yurt like a dead horse on the steppe. A fog descended on the yurt, and a hideous, unearthly booming sound cowed the people's souls. It was a terrible battle between the *kuryans* of Koilybai's spirits and the one-eyed Tsar of the *albasty*. The black horse twisted playfully beneath the evil spirit, and he stood his ground. Suddenly a fearsome wind blew up in the distance, a huge black cloud with terrible thunder rushed at terrifying speed through the air and, above the yurt, suddenly descended. Darkness filled the air, the noise intensified, there was a loud crack and the cloud quickly moved off to the west. It was Nadyr-Sholak. Unable to bear the misfortune befalling his favourite *baksy*, he had come with an elite squad. He appeared with a short breast-piercing pine spear and plunged it into the one-eyed *shaitan*. The *albasty* fled. Only then did the dark cloud clear. Koilybai jumped up, shouting, '*Ainalaiyn*' (I will circle you). 'Nadyr-Sholak. I am your sacrifice!' He seized his *kobyz* and began to play, shouting at the top of his voice, 'Take him alive and bring him to me!' The woman in childbirth also came back to life: '*Inshallah, tauba!*' (Thanks be to God. God forgive me!) The *albasty* were completely routed. Their tsar, captured and bound, was brought before Koilybai, who took him into his service, appointing him chief of the *albasty*.

Chapter 19

A Note on the Judicial Reform (Abridged)

Commentary

This remarkable document is the text of a letter sent to the governor-general of Western Siberia, A.O. Dyugamel, in which Valikhanov makes a heartfelt plea for the Russians to consider very carefully before attempting to impose new legal arrangements on the Kazakhs of the steppe. He notes that such laws imposed from the outside on an unwilling population are bound to fail. He shows that the traditional reliance on *bis* is remarkably successful, as shown by the very few complaints made against them.

Reprinted from *Sobranie sochinenii Ch. Ch. Valikhanova*, vol. 1, 2nd edition, pp. 494–522. The work was written in 1864 and first published by N.I. Veselovsky in *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva po otdeleniyu etnografii* (Note of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society for the Department of Ethnography), vol. 29 (St Petersburg, 1904), pp. 151–78; Ch.Ch. Valikhanov, *Stati. Perepiska* (Articles. Correspondence), ed. Kh.G. Aidarova (Alma-Ata, 1947), pp. 40–65; Chokan Valikhanov, *Izbrannye proizvedeniya* (Selected Works) (Alma-Ata, 1958), pp. 196–236. Here and hereafter, text in angle brackets represent fragments absent from N.I. Veselovsky's publication and restored by A.Kh. Margulan from manuscript copies.

Our government has of late been actively engaged in the transformation of our administration and of the judicial system and has paid particular attention to public education. Some of these reforms, for example, judicial reform, have related also to our steppe. Transformations in the judicial realm will probably lead to change in the previous administrative system of our region, and there can be no doubt that in place of a complex bureaucratic chaos as burdensome to the Russian government as for the Kazakh people, a more rational administrative system will be introduced in these districts based on local government, such as is now accepted for both rural and urban Russian communities.

In view of such important transformations projected for my homeland, I consider it incumbent upon me to present (to the august judgement of your Most High Excellency¹, as the regent of the Kazakh people) certain of my

¹ The governor of Western Siberia, A.O. Dyugamel.

thoughts and observations regarding the judicial administrative reform, and in part regarding education of the population.

Russia has among its sons many ethnic groups who in faith and kinship have ways of life diametrically opposite to the way of life of the indigenous Russian population, and who have customs and mores diametrically opposite to those of Russians of the Slavonic tribe. It will be appreciated that transformations designed for the Christian and settled Russian population, for the reasons set out above, will confer no benefit and will be senseless if indiscriminately applied to the nomadic and roaming tribes of European and Asian Russia. It was probably with these considerations in mind that Yatsenko, an adviser to the Provincial Board, was seconded to gather the opinions of *bis* and sultans well versed in the laws and judicial traditions regarding the judicial reforms proposed for the region.

The opinion of the people, however, especially of an ignorant and semi-savage people, cannot always be taken as expressing what the people really need. As for the opinions of the privileged classes of society, these should be viewed in no other way than as a negative expression of the people's true needs, for the interests of high-born and wealthy people, even in exceedingly civilised societies, are for the most part inimical to the interests of the masses, the majority.

The people are rude and dim-witted, and consequently passive. Accordingly, the motivation and direction of popular opinions is dependent on a thousand random circumstances, and on circumstances that are manifestly trivial and petty.

A savage and undeveloped person is like a child incapable of fully controlling its outward feelings. Like a child, he finds it difficult to correlate his emotions with his actions. Although the urge to ameliorate the inward and external conditions of life is inherent in man and has been so in every age and at every stage of human development, he has rarely achieved this goal. With no understanding of himself and lacking any positive knowledge of his natural environment, the child-man could only, like a blind man, grope his way forward in his striving for improvement, and it is unsurprising that he should more often than not have erred, mistaking falsehood for truth, harm for good. History presents us with many highly instructive examples in this regard.

That is why there is no social issue as overwhelmingly important as the issue of popular reforms. There can be no doubt that all the legislators and reformers had and have public utility in mind, but the concept of what is beneficial and what is deleterious to social development has differed in different centuries, and now there are many bizarre hypotheses circulating among us which, as a result of routine and overfamiliarity with tradition, are taken by many on faith as unchallengeable axioms, even though science has clearly proven them fallacious and unsustainable. In our days, the reforms considered most important and urgent for the people are economic and social reforms that directly address the basic needs of the people, while political reforms are seen as a means for implementing the necessary economic arrangements, for each

person individually and all humanity collectively seeks to develop in order to attain the one ultimate goal of improving their material well-being, which is seen as the be-all and end-all of progress.

From this viewpoint, the only reforms that have utility are those that contribute to the improvement of a person's material circumstances, while those that for any reason obstruct the achievement of that goal are harmful. Any reform whose aim is the well-being of society can only achieve its prospective goal, without being deflected by sundry mischances, when a society's needs and resources are known. John Stuart Mill is wholly correct when he says that, before proposing new morals for people of a particular estate, it is essential to undertake exact scientific research into the intellectual, moral and political qualities of the people of that estate. And in very truth, a physician can only then treat a patient with confidence of success when he knows not only the pathological symptoms of the patient, but also the underlying causes of the malady. From ignorance of actual social needs and from excessive devotion to humane theories, innovations and reforms are only too often introduced in our country which are wholly unnecessary at that particular moment and in the circumstances obtaining.

It is very easy to avoid mistakes of this kind if, when introducing various reforms, one unswervingly follows the method used in agriculture in the cultivation of plants. This method requires, first, complete study of the plant itself. Next it is necessary to know the kind of soil it will grow in, how much light and heat and so on it requires. The essence of the theory is to provide the plant with everything it needs and to remove everything that inhibits it.

The conditions the genus of the organism requires in terms of environment, climate and soil should always be in the foreground, because all human motivation is determined by the combined influence of physical and social conditions. Reforms succeed only when they are correct, that is, based on the inevitable laws of progress under which alone healthy development of the social organism is possible. Reform of this kind should encourage, and never obstruct.

All the revolutions there have been in Europe since 1793 have occurred solely because of a government's desire to suppress free popular advancement. Reforms, on the other hand, which were coercive, imposed, based on abstract theories or taken from the life of another people, have hitherto been calamitous for mankind. There is good reason why our modern historians attribute all our social ills and anomalies to the devastating and anti-popular spirit of the reforms of Peter the Great.

From what we have said, it should in no wise be thought that we adhere to the single-minded theory of the wisdom of the people, viewing it as something from the outset predetermined and believing that it ... should develop only out of itself. On the contrary, we consider that the assimilation of European, universal human enlightenment and an energetic struggle against obstacles in the path of achieving this goal should be the ultimate aim for any people capable of development and culture. Culture can change the human organism

for the better, just as intelligent cultivation can improve the breed of domestic animals. In order to make a Kazakh capable of apprehending transformative European ideas, it is essential as a preliminary to develop his skull and nervous system through education. An organism cannot incorporate something for which it is not yet ready.

In 1822 Speransky drew up the Siberian Code, which in 1824 was introduced in the Kazakh steppe. Along with local offices, committees, journals coming in and going out, we had imposed on us Tatar mullahs and Tatar education. We consider reforms of this type truly calamitous for the people and inimical to progress.

We have felt obliged to write this long, and perhaps somewhat pedagogic, introduction because the committee constituted by the Provincial Board to decide on judicial reform in the area of the Siberian Kazakhs was evidently little apprised of scientific facts that are now universally accepted as axiomatic, and wholly unacquainted with the trends and demands of our time. It has based its conclusions on such 'opinions of the people' as are represented by the 'high-born' Kazakhs, which were collected by a single member of the committee, its adviser, Mr Yatsenko. The 'opinions of the people' are, as we noted above, nothing more than the babble of an irrational child, which is why undeveloped peoples are entirely justly described as infantile. The opinions of sultans are even less deserving of respect, because the interests of an entire nation should be favoured above those of a single estate. The issue of reforms demands far greater care and more profound consideration, because on them depends whether the people is 'to be or not to be'.

Of all the ethnic tribes constituting the Russian Empire, pride of place in numbers, wealth, and perhaps prospects for future development belongs to us, the Kazakhs. We occupy one vast, continuous territory. We number as many as 800,000 Russian subjects, and with our fellow tribesmen who are not subjects of the empire we exceed one million. Against that, all the Tatars in European Russia, including Bashkir, the Nogai and Kazakhs of the Bukei Horde, are estimated to number barely one million. All the so-called Central Asian trade of Russia is nothing more than trade with us. The share of Bukhara, Kokand and other Central Asian countries amounts to a very small proportion of the overall trade balance.

Our people has a rich and remarkable literature not without poetic merit, which is closer to the Indo-German epic than to analogous Oriental works. Finally, and most important, the forms of our social development are in that artless period where they are most analogous to the outcome of the highest development of culture. Our hopes for the future are founded on that fact. Moreover, as descendants of the Tatars of Batu, we have a historical and even a blood kinship with the Russians.

The destiny of millions of people who steadfastly place their hopes on civic development, of people who consider themselves brothers of the Russians in terms of their fatherland and who have voluntarily adopted Russian citizenship,

would seem to merit greater attention and greater solicitude in crucial matters than are summarised in Shakespeare's formulation: 'To be or not to be.' The lack of a capacity for rational self-defence, and all sorts of passivity as the result of underdevelopment, place an obligation on the government to be highly attentive and extremely circumspect in its dealings with us.

Only as a consequence of a heedlessness that, it must be said, has in relation to us Kazakhs become habitual for the provincial authorities, could the committee set up by the Provincial Board have accepted so uncritically the opinions of the sultans and other aristocratic Kazakhs as the foundation for its work, and only as the result of that ingrained inattention could it have affirmed in its plans the needless transformations and changes, so contrary to the interests of the people, that the privileged class of the Kazakh people have sought and which the simple people or, as the aristocrats of the steppe describe them, the 'black' Kazakh people, do not want. For a correct assessment of popular opinion, the committee needed only to inform itself of the relations between the various estates of the Kazakh people and their unmediated relations with the Russian government. Finally, the committee had to hand quite enough historical and statistical information to check these bare assertions of opinion.

In this note we take the liberty of clarifying and considering the matter of judicial reform in our area on the basis of more accurate facts and observations. We have availed ourselves of statistical and historical data retrieved from the files of the Provincial Board and district administrative offices.

In order to give a correct view of the importance of the opinions of the people, in order to present them in their true light, I, as an assistant and collaborator of Mr Yatsenko in the mission entrusted to him, consider it essential to begin my remarks with a detailed and precise survey of all the circumstances that attended the performance of our task. I begin with how we defined popular opinion and under which circumstances.

First, evidence was given by the *volost* stewards, elders, sultans and wealthy Kazakhs, that is, officials or would-be officials of the Horde. The common people, that is, the poorer, non-official and untitled Kazakhs, took very little part in the provision of evidence and meetings on this matter. Indeed, to all intents and purposes they took no part at all. To be persuaded of the veracity of this fact, one need only look at the seals and *tamgas*² appended to the testimony, all of which belong to sultans and elders. Simple Kazakhs, owing to the remoteness of their summer roamings from the location of district offices, present themselves for inspections only when absolutely necessary, and when the inspection is over, having exhausted their meagre resources, immediately depart.

The Kazakh dignitaries appear to have made no effort to detain the people for participation in meetings, because of their custom of making free, in their absence, with the votes and opinions of their fellow clansmen, and it would in any case have been no easy matter for them to detain the hungry Kazakhs.

² Clan marks

Certain of the sultans included in the list of 1854,³ who participated in the first meetings on our matter, after a day or two slipped unobtrusively back to their *auls*, leaving their seals in the hands of others, to be affixed in due course to the popular decision, whatever that might be. After that there remained in the offices, as already noted, only Horde officials and ambitious wealthy individuals. And these individuals, when the project was being read to them, displayed an unforgivable lack of interest, some even falling asleep. With few exceptions, none of the Kazakhs understood or wished to understand what this was all about or what was required of them. The reasons for such baffling indifference on the part of the Kazakhs to a matter of such great importance to their people were, first, ignorance and a lack of understanding of their own interests; and, second, the fact that the Kazakhs had been given no advance preparation for understanding what was being read to them and to which they were required to respond immediately. The lack of interest on the part of the Kazakhs was due also to mistrust of the Russian government. They doubted our integrity and thought that our enquiries were being made purely for show or for some other purpose that would not be to their advantage. In every act of the Russian authorities, the Kazakhs see only malign intent and encroachment on their freedoms and privileges. That can come as no surprise, because the Kazakhs judge the Russian authorities by the actions of their Russian representatives.

My explanation may seem highly dubious to many. There may be some gentlemen who will accuse me of slandering my own people. I could present in my defence a host of examples where the suspicion of the Kazakhs and their distrust of the government and of Russian officials (which in the understanding of the Kazakhs is the same thing) is expressed in an even pettier and more childish manner.

In the 1840s, Sotnikov, an official of the former Frontier Board, was instructed to collect information on the legal traditions of the Kazakhs and their judicial customs. The official, probably intending to start his collection of materials with the most ancient legends, assembled the Kazakh clan chiefs in administrative offices and began questioning them on where the Kazakh people originally came from, how they developed and what the word ‘Kazakh’ meant. The Kazakhs began debating why they might be being asked all these questions and what possible use it could be to the Russian government to know about their origins. One astute Kazakh remarked that they probably wanted to turn them into Cossacks, whose ancestors, according to legend, had been

³ This is a reference to a law adopted in 1854 that abolished the position of senior sultans in the Middle *Zhuz* and of sultan rulers in the Junior *Zhuz*. This law standardised the system of governance throughout the whole of Russia, including the judicial and investigative agencies and the prosecutor’s office. ‘See Osoboe Uchrezhdenie upravlenii inorodtsev, imenuemykh Sibirskimi kazakhami’, *Svod zakonov*, vol. 2, part 2 (St Petersburg, 1857).

Kazakhs. This idea struck everyone as so self-evident that they concealed from Mr Sotnikov the actual legends about the Kazakhs and the Three Hundred, and represented themselves as having come from Turkey or Arabia. The rumour circulated for a long time afterwards in the steppe that Sotnikov had been seeking to turn them into Cossacks.

For our part, we not only failed to instil the requisite confidence in the Kazakhs but, to speak honestly, ourselves provoked their habitual scepticism. Let me adduce some facts. A great crowd of titled and common people would assemble, all the Kazakhs who at that time found themselves in the villages and cities that have district offices. In every district, the initial answer was exactly the same, and was expressed unanimously by all assembled: 'The court of the *bis* and their congresses,' the people told us, 'have existed here for a long time and contain all the elements of the community [*mir*] court now proposed by the Russian government. This court,' the assembled Kazakhs continued, 'fully corresponds to the circumstances of the life of our people, and the court of the *bis* and their congresses must be left in the ancient form of our popular tradition.' This was plainly the decision of the people, *en masse*, and of its various sections. Mr Yatsenko, however, probably acting on government instructions, remarked that in their opinions they must take account of the main provisions of the general reform project. For example, the number of *bis* should be fixed by regulation, *bis* should be elected, and so on.

The Kazakhs were thrown into confusion. Mistrust quickly took root in the crowd. They began arguing and conferring and asked for an adjournment. The Kazakhs noisily went outside, gathered in groups and, after a while, came back in, but in much reduced numbers. The second hearing would begin, usually, adding the words that 'the court and congresses of *bis* must be left in their ancient popular form, but certain adjustments and additions could be made in accordance with the spirit of the times and the circumstances.'

Having gained this concession, we read out the provisions of the 'project' to them regarding the regulations for the elections and the duties of the judges of the *mir*. To each point the Kazakhs made clear their opinion, which was invariably the opposite of what they had argued for at the first hearing. That is, they did not adjust, but added, and thereby traduced and wrecked the court of the *bis* whose preservation they had specifically requested. These opinions were expressed by several *bis* and officeholders, and the venerable members of the Horde limited their participation to gestures signifying assent.

At times a shouting match would break out among the representatives of the people, with *bis* wanting to be elected for a longer period, to have the right to accept and decide cases as they personally saw fit and to participate in the implementation of their decisions. The *bis* wanted their decisions in certain cases not to be subject to appeal. In a word, the corporation of Kazakh judges was seeking to turn the Kazakh *bi* from a dispenser of justice into a judge of the *mir*, a judicial official. The heads of *volosts*, exercising their instinct of self-preservation, fervently opposed the *bis*, seeing them as directly encroaching

on the bureaucratic power that currently belonged to them. After compromise on both sides, with mediation by the sultans, the issues were resolved. The venerable non-officials of the Horde agreed to everything, because for them, as future candidates for all these positions, the main thing was for the various authorities in the steppe not to obstruct each other's power to exploit the common people.

From this sketch of our efforts to implement the judicial reform in the area of the Siberian Kazakhs, we can see clearly that the desire of the mass of the people was for the court of the *bis* to be left in its traditional popular form, while the vested interest of officials, titled and wealthy Kazakhs was to see it reformed root and branch.

This fact requires special attention when further considering the issue of judicial reforms in the steppe and is also of significance in giving us instructive information about how unceremoniously wealthy and venerable Kazakhs behave towards their less wealthy and less venerable clansmen. I had occasion to observe an eloquent example of this unceremoniousness in Karkaraly. There the *bis* and sultans gave their opinions without bothering to consult the 'black people' and, moreover, testified that in their district four principal *bis* – *bis* above the *bis*, as it were – should be appointed. This opinion, no matter how ridiculous it was, I was obliged to register in the official record.

While this note was being copied in the district office, my quarters were besieged by a large crowd of Kazakhs on horseback and on foot. The local people demanded removal of the article relating to '*bis* above the *bis*' and would not disperse until their demand was met. The situation was that two of the venerable elders who held official positions – one as a representative and another as a steward – had, by popular demand, been dismissed from their positions for bribe-taking, and now the Kazakh authorities, probably wishing to show solidarity with their fellows and contempt for the people, had decided to invent the position of '*bis* above the *bis*' for these corrupt officials, and had managed to cause a demonstration of protest by the common people.

We hope that all these *acta et facta* are sufficient to demonstrate just how false and deceptive this much vaunted 'popular opinion' is. The committee saw in these opinions a call for reforms and transformations in the court of the *bis*, which according to the testimony of the worthies of the Horde, supposedly were not entirely consonant with the modern social development of the Kazakh people. We, however, considering ourselves in this instance, as an eyewitness, to enjoy greater competence, see in the opinions presented – on the one side, intrigues and base motives, on the other side, indifference and passivity – and on both sides, ignorance and barbarism.

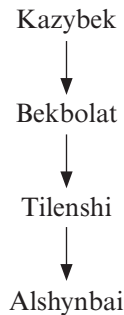
Reproaching the Kazakh aristocracy for unfounded 'testimony', we will not ourselves resort to bare assertion. To this end, we shall now consider the essential nature of the court of the *bis*, in order to understand the character and significance of the institution. Then, on the basis of statistical and other trustworthy facts, we shall attempt to establish the extent to which the court

of the *bis* is or is not consonant with the modern development of the Kazakh people, and in order to reach a final conclusion, we shall compare the extent to which the court of the *bis* is in harmony with the main principles of the community, *mir*, court projected by the government and the extent to which the latter is applicable, or may be totally inapplicable, to the way of life of the Kazakhs.

The court of the *bis* in its ancient popular form

1. Among the Kazakhs, elevation to the rank of *bi* was not by any formal election by the people and required no confirmation by the authority ruling the people. Only profound knowledge of customary law, combined with rhetorical skill, could confer this venerable title on a Kazakh. In order to acquire the title of *bi* a Kazakh needed on more than one occasion to demonstrate in public his legal knowledge and ability as an orator. The fame of such people spread rapidly throughout the steppe, and their names became known to each and every one. The title of *bi* was thus a kind of licence to practise as a judge or advocate. The sons of those who had the title, and hence had great practical legal experience, usually inherited their father's knowledge, and hence his title.

We can offer numerous examples of such inheritance of the title among the Kazakh people. In Clan Karakiset of the Middle Horde at the end of the seventeenth century there was a famous *bi* by the name of Kazybek. To this day his offspring continue to bear the title of *bi*:



However, it should not be thought from this that the title of *bi* was ever hereditary among the Kazakhs. Shorman *Bi* was the son of a wealthy and aristocratic Kazakh of Clan Kardzhas who was not a *bi*. Shorman, whose ancestors had never been *bis*, acquired the title when he was 13 years old, winning an important case for his clan at a people's *sejm*, and was thereafter known as 'Boy Shorman' for the rest of his life. We know many Kazakhs whose fathers were famous *bis*, but who do not themselves bear that title.

2. The law of clan life, under which the members of one clan were considered, as it were, members of a single family, was the reason why a *bi* in the hearing of a fellow clansman against the member of another clan could act only as the advocate for his clansman and not as his judge. For the Kazakhs the concept of clan kinship extended to the most remote lines. For example, the Middle Horde is divided into six main clans: Argyn, Kipchak, Konyrat, Naiman, Uak and Kereit, which are all related to each other through ties of brotherhood. Accordingly, a Konyrat plaintiff in a hearing involving an Argyn defendant had every right to have excluded from the case every *bi* of the entire Siberian Kazakh territory as being kinsmen and hence biased in favour of the defendant. This would exclude the *bis* of the Baganaly, Kipchak, Uak and Kereit clans, which account for a total of some 15 *volosts* in the region. This peculiarity of the Kazakh clan system served as the basis for litigants to have the right to choose freely who should adjudge their dispute from all those having the title of *bi* in the entire Kazakh steppe, thereby ensuring that they had every opportunity to choose a wholly impartial judge.

Thus in 1758 [should read: '1748'], Barak Sultan, one of the most powerful rulers of the Middle Horde, having killed Abulkhair, a khan of the Little Horde, chose four from among the *bis* of the entire Kazakh people to try him. Among his judges were Tole from the Great Horde and Aiteke from the Junior Horde.

The nomadic way of life, facilitating rapid migration from one place to another and frequent clashes between clans; the Kazakh custom of travelling and exploring; the endless congresses of *bis* and other venerable members of the horde from distant parts for wakes, *baiges* [races] and other folk meetings and gatherings – all gave, and still give, the Kazakhs the opportunity to readily place their disputes before the *bi* of another clan or to the judgement of some famed person who is passing by. Kazakhs generally preferred, and prefer, to put their case to a passing *bi* or people with whom they are completely unacquainted rather than to the *bi* of a neighbouring tribe with whom they have frequent relations and, accordingly, clan disputes.

3. Because of the view that a legal dispute is a private matter, relating only to the interests of the litigants, the custom has arisen in certain cases of rewarding the *bi* for his work with a fine, *bidin biligi* [recompense for the decision of a *bi*], levied on whomever the court finds guilty.
4. This same view of the *bi* as a self-employed practitioner, and of the court as a private matter, is the reason why Kazakh *bis* could accept and judge cases only at the request of the litigants or by a decision of the administrative authority, and for the same reason could have no involvement in the implementation of their verdicts.

5. Plainly such a free attitude towards courts and judges could not allow restriction of the right of appeal, and Kazakhs enjoyed that right to a very generous extent.
6. The most remarkable feature of the court is, however, the custom that, when there was no clear evidence against the accused but only a strong suspicion, a *bi* could resort to arbitration by honest clansmen who, under oath, condemned or acquitted the accused. The number of these 'jurors' and the size of the group from which they were selected depended on the seriousness of the case under consideration. Accordingly, the jury was sometimes selected from the immediate tribesmen of the defendant, but sometimes from a whole parish or even an entire district.
7. The trial by *bi* was conducted verbally, publicly, and in every case advocates were permitted. It was so highly respected by the people that it did not, and does not, require any compulsion.

Such is the court of the *bis*, which operated in the steppe until the introduction of district offices in the nomadic grounds of the Middle Horde.

Looking closely at the court of the *bis* as it functions today among the Kazakhs of our region, we see that, despite our eagerness to find something new, something which has been recently added to it, it has the same procedures, the same elements of the ancient people's court that we have outlined above. The court of the *bis*, despite the 40 years of Russian influence, remains as it has been for hundreds, perhaps, indeed, thousands of years before us. Neither the inner inertia of the people, nor the influence of Russian institutions and legislation have succeeded in changing its ancient, simple forms, although the Russian government has more than once had it in mind to give it a more solid, more official structure.

To this end, the law of 1854 was passed that decreed: 'The title of *bi* shall be retained by those entitled to it before 19 May 1854; for the future, however, to award it only to sultans and *aul* headmen who have served in these posts for a minimum of six years and having occupied official positions or been in receipt of honours most graciously awarded, and not otherwise than by election by the community and confirmation by the district office (*Uchrezhdenie po upravleniyu inorodtsami* [Office for the Regulation of Aliens], vol. 2, part 2, Article 94).

This misconceived law aimed to enhance the title of *bi* by giving the holder a bureaucratic status, but a direct consequence of it would have been to ensure that the title of *bi* invariably passed into the hands of ambitious, wealthy people wholly ignorant of folk customs and rights. Fortunately for the Kazakhs, it has had no impact at all on their people's court, because the number of people who were *bis* before 19 May 1854 proved to be, and continues to be, sufficient for the administration of justice for the Kazakh people. Thus, this very ancient institution of the court of the *bis* continues to this day to operate in the Kazakh steppe, on the same basic principles as it did before the Kazakhs' adoption of Russian citizenship.

If the 40 years of Russian sovereignty, which introduced many entirely new elements into the community life of the Kazakh people, have had no influence on the ancient Kazakh court of the *bis*, if this court has been able to withstand the adverse effects of Russian legislation (such as the law of 1854), it is clear that it is entirely commensurate with the present development of the Kazakh people.

That the court of the *bis* is satisfactory is brilliantly demonstrated by official sources, namely in the insignificant number of complaints about the initial decision of *bis* and the almost complete absence of requests from Kazakhs to have cases, subject to the jurisdiction of the department administering the *bis*, heard under Russian laws.

From information in the files of district offices, it is clear that in the past three years there have been no complaints at all in the Karkaraly, Kokshetau and Bayanaul Districts of unjust verdicts of *bis*, or requests to have cases decided in accordance with Russian law. This despite the fact that in the Karkaraly District the number of cases heard was: in 1860, 72; in 1861, 77; and in 1862, 22. In the Atbasar office in 1861, there was only one complaint with a request for a Russian court, and the complainant was not a Kazakh, but a Cossack. Over the last three years, we find the highest level of dissatisfaction with the verdicts of *bis* in the Akmola district; within whose borders there reside the highest number of Russians, Tatars, Tashkentians and other aliens. In 1860 the Akmola office received two complaints, one of which included a request for a Russian court; in 1861 there were three; and in 1862 there were four. Unfortunately, the information provided by the Akmola office on this subject does not identify the tribe and the origin of the complainants. The likelihood seems to be that the petitioners were not Kazakhs.

We know, however, of several instances where Kazakhs really did want a Russian court, but these petitioners were members of a Horde where they had been stigmatised by popular contempt. They were wholly immoral people hoping unlawfully, with the connivance of Russian officials, to overturn cases lost in the people's court. They had nothing to lose. Such a petitioner was Kozhyk, a notorious Kusmuryyn horse thief; another petitioner was Baubek, who had been imprisoned for two years in the Atbasar guardhouse after recurrent complaints from Kazakhs in his own and Kokshetau Districts. This predator, who was once an associate of Kenesary, was sentenced to a fine of several hundred horses by a *bi* court, but completely refused to pay and, while imprisoned in the guardhouse, asked for a Russian court.

In favour of the court of the *bis* we can adduce one further major fact that speaks for itself. That is that Russian plaintiffs and Russian defendants in many cases prefer the court of the *bis* to a Russian investigation. We have reliable information that in Kokshetau this summer several dozen such cases were resolved.

I shall now allow myself to proceed to my main task on the issue of judicial reform in the Kazakh steppe of the Siberian Department, namely a comparison of the main elements of the Kazakh court of *bis* with the 91 guiding principles

of the *mir* community court designed for the Russian governates. At a first glance at these two evidently very different institutions, there is a sense that there is a great deal of similarity between them, that they have much in common in their conception, but when we examine each point individually, we see only differences. Their similarity lies, for example, in the oral and public nature of the judicial process, but even here we find differences in the nuances. The *mir* judges issue their decisions on paper, which with *bis* is not always the case. The *mir* judges conduct their hearings in public only in civil cases, while the *bis* do so in all their cases without exception. (We have borrowed these nuances, together with the articles of the laws, from the committee project.) There is a difference in:

a) The judicial system

1. The number of *bis* is not fixed, but there is a set allocation of several *mir* judges for every *mir* district.
2. *Bis* are not formally elected or formally approved by anyone. Their status is based on the personal authority they acquire in the same way as do poets, scholars and lawyers in Europe. Shakespeare and Goethe are considered great poets by everybody, but the view that they are geniuses is not based on government decrees or formal election by the people. For the election of *mir* judges, there is a specified procedure with a limited franchise.
3. A *bi* is a judge only for as long as litigants turn to him, and they turn to him only for as long as he enjoys a good reputation. Only a loss of authority can deprive him of his status as a *bi*. *Mir* judges are elected for three years and, while serving, have established rights and duties.
4. *Bis* receive no emoluments, either from the state treasury or from the people, but they take *bidin biligi*, while a *mir* judge is entitled to a stipulated income from the Zemstvo local government's revenues to pay his living costs and the expenses of his office.
5. The congresses of the *bis* are not periodic but occasional, while the periodicity of congresses of *mir* judges is fixed.
6. The *mir* judge decides the case on his own, while the court of *bis* will have one judge only if the litigants belong to the same clan as the *bi* and both wish to have only one judge.

b) The court proceedings

Mir judges have jurisdiction: in criminal cases, for minor offences and transgressions listed in Article 19 of the Criminal Procedural Code, and in civil cases for lawsuits involving sums not exceeding 500 roubles (Article 1 of the Civil Procedural Code). *Bis* have jurisdiction over all crimes and transgressions, except for those listed in Article 1167, vol. 15, book 2 of the

Criminal Code; Appendix to Article 183, *ibid.*, book 1, Law §1, point 2 and supplement to this point according to continuation 2; and all civil cases of Kazakhs between themselves or with people of other ethnicities where the latter, being plaintiffs, themselves choose to submit to the court of *bis* (Article 1177, vol. 15, book 2, Criminal Legislation; and Articles 1133 and 1134, vol. 10, part 2, Civil Procedural Code).

2. *Bis* hear cases only if there is a complaint by individuals or following communications from the police and other authorities. *Mir* judges, in addition to such cases, also investigate crimes and transgressions at their own discretion and initiative (Article 24, point 31, Criminal Procedural Code).
3. *Bis* hear and decide cases in their own language, in accordance with their own customs and laws. *Mir* judges of the peace, although they do hear cases in their local dialect, decide them in accordance with their own conscience or on the basis of the legislation of the empire (Article 28, Criminal Procedural Code).
4. Verdicts of *bis* can in all cases be appealed; decisions by *mir* judges are, in certain cases, considered final and not subject to appeal (Article 30 of the Criminal Procedural Code and Article 3 of the Civil Procedural Code).
5. *Bis* hear all cases in public; *mir* judges conduct proceedings in public only in civil cases (Article 5, Civil Procedural Code).
6. In all cases decided by the court of *bis*, legal representation is permitted. In *mir* hearings advocates are mentioned only for civil cases (Article 5, Civil Procedural Code).
7. *Mir* judges register their verdicts in a volume provided for the purpose; *bis* do not have such a book.
8. The verdicts of *bis* are implemented by sultans, stewards and headmen; the *mir* community court's final verdict is implemented by the judge himself.
9. In the court of *bis* there are cases where the participation of 'jurors' is permitted to resolve what the English call 'questions of fact'; the *mir* court dispenses with a jury.

From this comparison of the Kazakh court of *bis* with the *mir* community court, it is evident that the *mir* court, despite a great difference in particulars, has, in its overall conception and practical purpose, much in common with the court of *bis* among the Kazakhs, except that the *mir* court is cluttered with more formalities and has more bureaucratic features. In our opinion, the court of *bis* – and this is not surprising if we take into account the analogy of higher and lower development – has certain advantages over the *mir* court, at least in relation to Kazakhs. We would claim it has total superiority were we not afraid of being suspected of exaggeration.

Overall, the *mir* court is not yet ideal, not the best that can be hoped for. Even in England, that exemplary land of the *mir* community court, according to the latest researchers, there are many lawyers and officials who are less than satisfied with the current state of the English *mir* institutions. Blackstone, Gneist and Charles Comte point in their writings to some manifest shortcomings of the British community court.

The main advantage of the court of *bis* is, in our opinion, the absence of formalities and all manner of official routine. The status of a *bi* is based on his authority, and the title is like a licence for judicial practice. Kazakh litigants enjoy the right freely to turn to any individual with a good judicial reputation, just as the ill turn to medical authorities, and defendants in lawsuits to well-known lawyers. Official elections can never meet these higher demands, while in the steppe, elections, under the influence of the realities of the clan system, currently amount to no more than clan-based intrigues, serving only to satisfy the vanity of wealthy Kazakhs and enrich Russian officials, who are adept at fishing in muddy waters.

If, in accordance with the avaricious desire of Kazakh officials and wealthy herd owners, the selection of *bis* is subject to formal elections, the administration of justice in the steppe will inevitably pass, by way of financial transactions and various low intrigues, as already happens among us only too often, into the clutches of the herding and trading elite, who are wholly ignorant of our judicial customs and legal rights. The free choice of judges from all those individuals who bear the title of *bi*, which is enjoyed by litigants, entirely replaces elections and even better achieves the purpose for which elections are usually conducted. Our *bis* presently engage in their profession by vocation and have reason to safeguard their reputation. If they are converted into elected officials, they will in every respect resemble our stewards, who siphon money from everyone and are themselves obliged to bribe everyone.

A malevolent judge, as things stand at present, can be bypassed without scandal: no one will turn to him and there the matter will end. If, however, this malevolent judge has been officially elected for a fixed term, the Kazakhs will have to endure his churlishness to the end of his term in office. Finally, if the judge is a rich man, then in all likelihood not even elections will save the people from his unjust decisions.

A further advantage of the court of *bis* is that there is rarely only one person involved in the judicial process; it is subject to unrestricted publicity, and sometimes has something analogous to the involvement of a jury. Its decisions are subject to appeal, while the *mir* judges in this respect are given too much power. This carries all the more risk because the judge can in many cases be guided only by his own conscience, without other safeguards.

In respect of the Kazakhs, the court of the *bis* wins definitively because other articles of the general project are simply inapplicable to the life of a nomad, and in particular the main articles on the procedure of the *mir* court. For example, Kazakhs cannot be judged by Russian laws for a very simple

reason. First, from a Kazakh, living within a different tribal organism and under different conditions of environment and culture, it is impossible to demand the same understanding and attitude towards crimes and transgressions as from Russians and other Europeans. Ultimately, Kazakhs do not know, and there is no way they could know, the Russian laws, and yet in an investigation they, like Russians, cannot use ignorance of the law as a defence. A Kazakh who does not understand a single word of Russian cannot use ignorance of Russian laws as a defence! (The absurdity and unimaginativeness of this stipulation are obvious.) This is, of course, Chinese logic raised to astronomical heights. The situation is that our government is, with full knowledge, demanding something impossible from its subjects, as if it were entirely possible.

There is no doubt that the best law for a people is the law with which it is more familiar, its own law, under which it grew up and was educated. No matter how imperfect that law, it must seem to the subject better, more comprehensible and clearer than even the sagest legislation coming from abroad or imposed from above. The fact is that the customary law of the Kazakhs, by that same analogy of the closeness of higher and lower states of development to which we so enjoy referring, has more humane aspects than the legislation of, for example, Muslim, Chinese and Russian law such as it is found in the *Russian Truth*. We do not find in the Kazakh laws those deterrent and intimidating measures that abound in even the latest European codes. The Kazakhs have never resorted to corporal punishment. The laws of clanship, under which the members of a clan are answerable for the deeds of their clansman, given relations between clans, confer many practical benefits.

Initiating cases at their own discretion is also ill-suited to the situation of Kazakhs. This right would turn the Kazakh from a judge into a police snoop, who would become intolerably intrusive in order to obtain more *bidin biligi*, and his participation in the implementation of sentences would give him a degree of unaccountable power <as a result of which he would be transformed from a private judicial practitioner into a police [snoop]>. This externally imposed innovation would be in direct contradiction of the basic concept of the court of the *bis*.

From the facts and evidence we have presented it is clear:

1. That the elements of the *mir* community court projected for the Russian governates are in many respects simply inapplicable to the Kazakh people.
2. The court of the *bis* currently operating among the Kazakhs, given their prevalent clan-based way of life and clan relations, is entirely consonant with the development of the people as a system directly devised by the people itself <from the experience of life in the past, from the fruits of their development and> taking account of the characteristics of their country.
3. That the court of the *bis* has certain advantages over the *mir* court, at least in respect of the Kazakhs.

4. That the wish of the majority of the Kazakh people, when their opinions were gathered on the issue of judicial reform, was in favour of the ancient court of the *bis* without any changes or additions.

Bearing in mind all the above reasons, and in the light of the truth that for the normal growth of a people, irrespective of the degree of development in which they find themselves, what is needed is self-development, self-defence, self-government and its own system of justice, we come to the inescapable conclusion that the court of the *bis* should be left for the time being in the same form as it was before publication of the law of 1854, and that this law, born under the influence of bureaucratic ideas, solely in the interests of formalism and orderliness, should be repealed. In our days, regulation for its own sake and formalism should be regarded as no more than an anachronism, or in the same light as the 10,000 Chinese ceremonies. Formalism and bureaucratic routine have caused only stagnation <and immobility> and have served as a Great Wall of China, obstructing all useful social activity and halting the free flow of those constant daily reforms and improvements demanded by the live power of the people. In order to inculcate any kind of transformation and for it to endure, it is essential that reform should correspond to material needs and be adapted to the national character of the society for whose benefit it is being undertaken. Any innovation that fails to meet these conditions may be unambiguously harmful, and as an aberrant phenomenon can only generate incurable social ills and anomalies.

Needless to say, our government will never agree to transfer to the court of the *bis* those crimes and transgressions that until now have been judged under the provisions of Russian criminal law and which have been the object of special government surveillance. 'In respect of the Siberian Kazakhs the following are considered criminal offences,' states Article 1167 of the Criminal Procedural Code, vol. 15, part 2, 1857 edition: 'treason, murder, brigandage, *barymta*, incitement of their fellow tribesmen against the government, manifest disobedience towards the established authorities, abuse of office, forgery and intentional circulation of counterfeit state notes and coin, arson, and perjury in cases being judged on the basis of the general laws of Russia. For such crimes, as well as for crimes and transgressions committed by Kazakhs not on their nomadic territories but in cities and villages, they are sentenced in accordance with the general laws of the empire.'

We find that murder, robbery and predation should by all means be judged in accordance with Russian laws, since the Kazakh judicial customs in this regard are highly unsatisfactory, assessing the value of a human life at 100 horses and 6 items of value. In respect of *barymta*, however, there should be some mitigation and concessions. In our courts, the word *barymta* has a fatal, terrible meaning not attributable to the act itself. It is considered the most serious crime after treason and murder.

This importance of *barymta* for us is based on mere legend and prejudice. Its criminal nature is not in the act but in the malign sound of the word. There is a need to be clear about what is called *baranta* in our criminal law. The issue has not been clarified, and in fact no definite answer is possible. The provincial board has for several years been demanding an answer to this question from the district offices and is still waiting. Mr Kondratovich, the solicitor of the provincial board, interprets *barymta* as meaning ‘misappropriation with murder’, but this is no more than an intelligent guess. We shall attempt to explain it as it is understood by the Kazakhs themselves. Among the Kazakhs, *barymta* was sometimes permitted by law. For theft, robbery and rustling of livestock they imposed *aiyp* [that is, a fine, a penalty], but for *barymta* – nothing. *Barymta* is the seizure of someone else’s livestock or belongings or other property for non-payment of a debt: *kalym* or *kun*. It might happen in the olden days that a Kazakh with strong ties of kinship <failed to pay *kun* for murder or *aiyp* for an insult inflicted on a Kazakh less powerful than himself>. Having committed a murder or some capital offence, he was refusing to be taken to court. In that case, the tribal *sejm* might decide that the insulted and humiliated party could resort to *barymta* and, by seizing something that would be painful for the arrogant offender, force him to give legal satisfaction. After reconciliation, the *barymta* livestock would be returned in full, without any *aiyp* payable.

Barymta could be carried out openly, during the daytime and, if need be, with the use of force; or it could be done by stealth, like theft. In the latter case, those performing the *barymta* were required to notify their adversaries within three days that they had performed it and explain the reason. Otherwise, the appropriation was treated as theft. Clearly, open *barymta* could meet with organised resistance; there could be fighting, murders. But all this is possible with straightforward rustling, which is not considered a criminal offence.

Misappropriation is just rustling, robbery, predation, when for no reason and with no justification, for purely mercenary reasons, someone attacks and steal herds of horses from an insufficiently vigilant Kazakh. In our days, *barymta* is usually in retaliation for debt, for unpaid *kalym*, and is usually done by stealth, thievishly.

Barymta, of whatever kind, amounts to taking the law into one’s own hands and cannot, of course, be tolerated by our government. However, taking account of the popular opinion on the matter and the force of custom, we think our government is acting too strictly, and perhaps not entirely justly, in giving *barymta* this degree of severity. We think that stealthy, thievish *barymta* should be passed to the court of the *bis* as a kind of theft, but that public *barymta* should be viewed more leniently. In fact, why not also pass it over to the court of the *bis*, if it was not aggravated by murder, because it is really just the same as rustling?

But whatever is decided with *barymta*, there will remain many other criminal offences and transgressions for which Kazakhs have been tried, and, of course, will now be tried under the general criminal law of the empire.

The location of courts in the Kazakh provinces presents some problems because of particular local conditions that we shall now address. The Kazakhs, when their views were being solicited on this subject, had only one concern, and that was that the criminal court should be situated as far away from them as possible. On the basis that they have very few cases requiring criminal proceedings, they proposed establishing the court in Akmola [Akmolinsk]. Some suggested Omsk, but this did not find favour with Mr Yatsenko.

And indeed, to date there have been very few criminal cases in our region requiring court proceedings. During the last three years, the number of cases referred for review to the Provincial Board has been as follows:

in 1863 45
 in 1862 27
 in 1861 37
 Total 109

These cases came through the following offices	In 1861	In 1862	In 1863
Kokshetau	31	7	13
Atbasar	1	3	2
Akmola	3	5	4
Bayanaul	2	5	4
Karkaraly	8	7	14
Total	45	27	37

Of 109 cases there were resolved:

In 1861 34
 1862 35
 1863 34
 Total 103

I think it is not otiose to observe that in the cases completed it was found that a crime had been committed in only 43 cases.

For the Kazakhs and for the Russian residents in the steppe villages, locating a court in Akmola, given the extreme insignificance of cases subject to the court's competence, will only be a needless waste of money. If, on the

other hand, the court is, as has been suggested by some, a circuit, nomadic court, then it will be intolerably onerous for the Kazakhs. The legal obligation to provide transport for officialdom has, as we know from experience, been one of the main reasons in the past century for the Russian people's disaffection with the government. Siberians and Siberian (Central Asian) tribes to this day complain about the burdensome obligation of providing wagons for police officers, government officials and priests. Among the Kazakhs this obligation is administered chaotically and very unevenly. Many officials even now take 40 or 60 horses for a single carriage and give nothing to the carter other than a punch in the face. This custom extends also to private individuals.

It not infrequently happens that certain 'majors' (as the Kazakhs call all Russian officials) do not return to their owners the horses they have taken to draw their wagon (without a punch in the face).

For all these reasons, we think that there is no particular need to institute a special court for our steppe. Omsk, where there would probably be one instance of the court, is not less advantageous in terms of geographical location than Akmola. If for Clan Baganaly, roaming the Rivers Shu and Sarysu, it would be much further than Akmola, for other, more populous districts it would be closer and more convenient. It is, at all events, far more advantageous for Kazakhs to travel to Omsk than to have to host the judiciary in their *volosts*.

Another question concerns jury selection. To tell the truth, it is difficult to vouch for unbiased selection of these individuals, and one cannot but fear the influence of aristocratic members of the Horde and clan-based sympathies and antipathies. In order to avoid this drawback, it seems to us that it should be possible for the jury to be selected by the court, taking a list of all the *bis* who decided cases in the preceding year, and choosing the jury from their number by drawing lots. Providing subsistence for the jury during a court session will, of course, cost next to nothing if we bear in mind the savings to the treasury from not establishing a special district court for the steppe.

Concluding my notes on the judicial reform, I cannot silently pass over another issue of equal importance to the people, which is the question of religion, the more so since this matter will now become linked in some wise to judicial matters.

When volunteering their opinions on the judicial reform, Kazakhs in every district of our region, with the exception only of Kokshetau, requested that 'cases relating to marriage and divorce, which are presently dealt with by the mullahs, should be returned to the jurisdiction of the court of the *bis*'. The reasons for this popular protest can be explained by certain historical facts, which we shall now consider.

There is no talk for now about administrative reform, and we shall accordingly not touch upon this subject which is, for many reasons, a delicate matter. The administrative question is of far too much interest to us Kazakhs for us to talk about it only in passing. We believe, however, that the experience of the partial administration of the Orenburg steppe in the context of the

administrative reform of our provinces might with great profit be taken into consideration, as something that has now been tested over a period of many years. The Orenburg authorities have probably had sufficient time to note its advantages and shortcomings.

The most fundamental flaw of the Orenburg steppe administration is, of course, the fact that Horde officials there are appointed not by election by the people, but at the discretion of the frontier authorities. The right to elect our own authorities, which we in the Middle Horde enjoy, is a right that we cannot but cherish, although we currently use it both badly and unjustly.

From a scientific point of view, the onerous wagon levy taken from the Trans-Ural Kazakhs is inappropriate. Although the tax does not stand up to even the most cursory criticism, certain of our frontier administrators, for reasons of their own, are addicted to it to the point that they are thinking of introducing a universal tax per household in our steppe too. There is no doubt that the *yasak* [that is, payment in kind], paid by the Siberian Kazakhs based on the number of livestock they own, is the only one possible and, according to the latest theories of taxation, the only appropriate impost that can be levied on nomads which is not unreasonably burdensome.

Chapter 20

A Letter to Professor Ilya Nikolaevich Berezin

Commentary

This draft fragment, which has no heading, was preserved among papers later given the title of ‘Valikhanov’s Draft Notes on Oriental Studies’. The fragment was written as a response to an 1852 letter from the orientalist Professor Ilya N. Berezin to Nikolai Fyodorovich Kostyletsky, through whom he asked Valikhanov to decipher certain historical ethnographic terms found in decrees of the khans. Valikhanov had first met Berezin while studying at the Cadet Corps at Omsk. The latter had encouraged the young scholar to pursue his interest in Kazakh folk culture. The date of Valikhanov’s reply is unknown, but from the content of the letter it is evident that it was written shortly after publication of Berezin’s *Decrees of the Khans* (Kazan, 1850). In his reply, Valikhanov gives an interpretation of a number of archaic words from a decree of Tokhtamysh. In support of his arguments, he draws on information from the *Zhalaiyri Collection of Chronicles*.

Having read your publications *Decrees of the Khans* and *The Oriental Historian’s Library*, and learning from my erstwhile mentor Nikolai Fyodorovich Kostyletsky of your proposal to seek in the Kazakh language the meaning of certain words in *The Decree of Tokhtamysh* which are not in use in the Tatar language of the present day, I have discovered through enquiring of elderly Kazakhs a number of words in our language which I make haste to send you.

Upon reading your translation of *The Decree of Tokhtamysh to Jogaila* and the translation of the Tarkhan decrees of Timur-Kutluk and Saadat-Girei, I found a number of words still in use by the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde, and resolved to inform you of their contemporary meanings among our people. If my comments should be in some degree of assistance to you then my goal will have been achieved.

In accordance with their legends, the Kazakhs esteem themselves descendants of the Tatars of the Golden Horde, which in their heroic epics (the *zhyls*) is called *نوغایلی ننگ اوز بورت*, and the hero of all these poems of the Nogai of the Golden Horde is Edige, including his flight to Tamerlane and his subsequent

banishment. [*The Lay of*] *Tokhtamysh* is an immense and much-loved poem, and his grave is on Ulytau, the Great Mountain; the legend of Orak Mirza of the Clan Karauyl of Erkokshe and Erkosai: these are epic heroes from the time of the Golden Horde and the central figures of their poems.¹

All the information, in the gathering of which I am presently engaged, if it is not ...² does at least confirm that the Kazakh people (for as such we call ourselves) was formed from the union of various Turkic and Mongol tribes during internecine strife within the Horde, which began immediately after the death of Berdibek, and not the ancient people of whom Ferdowsi wrote. Every descendant of Batu Khan wanted to be a khan and to have his own people and that, I surmise, is how the Crimean and Kazan khanates arose, the Shoraigak Horde, and the union of the Sheiban Uzbeks with the Kazakhs.³ The Kazakhs' legend about their origins is founded on the tales in your *Sheibani-name* التواريخ جامع, which was written by a Kazakh of the Great Horde of the Zhalaiyr tribe, which had a crested *tamga*. The author says of himself (see p. 169):

بو تاريخ⁴ فه اوراز محمد خان ضرترلى ننگ انا السیدین قوللوق قیلا کیلگان جلاير تراق تمغالی
بردی؛ جنکز امه کتابیین فارس تیلینین [ترك تیلیگه اوکوردی. قایوسن سونک زماندا بولغان لارنى اوز
استنباطیندین تصنیف قیلد⁵

Oraz-Mukhammed, to whom he came after serving his father and mother, was a Kazakh sultan (Levshin, p. 20). In the Siberian chronicles he is called the Kazakh Crown Prince Sultan ('Siberian Chronicles', Appendix to P.I. Nebolsin's, *Pokorenie Sibiri* (The Conquest of Siberia), St Petersburg, 1849; *Otechestvennye Zapiski*, vols 60 and 61, issues for October, November and December 1848).

There it is said, 'Some days later, Prince Seidyak came out from the city of Sibir, and with him Sultan, the tsarevich of the Kazakh Horde and Tsar Koshim's *karasha* [adviser], and with him 500 men-at-arms; when they came to the place that is called Prince's Meadow, he set hawks to hunt birds.' *Letopis Savvy Esipova* [The Chronicle of Savva Esipov].

¹ The innumerable Nogai people.

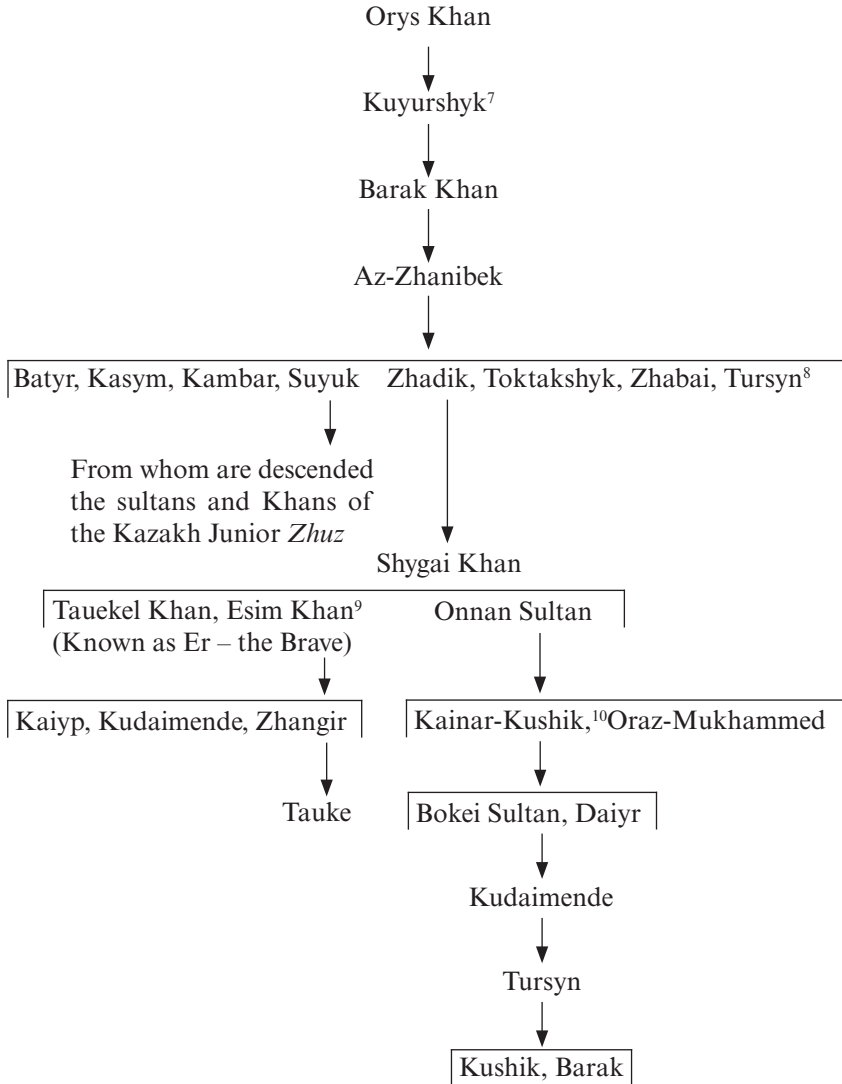
² The edge of the sheet is damaged.

³ Levshin, the Herodotus of our people, thinks that certainly the word 'Kazakh' and 'Kazachestvo' [the Cossacks] may be similar, but I surmise that the Keikabad Kazakhs do not have anything to do with our Cossacks. – *CV*.

⁴ One word is missing. – *CV*.

⁵ The circumstances in which these chronicles appeared are that there was a Zhalaiyr of the Crested *Tamga* Clan, who had served the parents of Oraz-Mukhammed Khan. He translated this book, according to the *Genghis-name*, from the Persian and described events that took place in later times on the basis of his own researches. *Sbornik letopisei (Zhalaiyri)* (The *Zhalaiyri Collection of Chronicles*), pp.169–70.

The genealogy of Oraz-Mukhammed Khan in جامع التواريخ (pp. 140–45, *داستان اوراز محمد خان بن اوندان*)⁶ is much in accordance with the genealogical tables of Kazakh sultans compiled here by the frontier officials. I adduce by way of an example and for comparison:



⁶ *Rasskaz o Oraz-Mukhammede, syne Ondona* (The Story of Oraz-Mukhammed, Son of Ondon), *ibid.*, pp. 162–65.

⁷ More precisely, Kuyurshyk.

⁸ Those underlined are in جامع التواريخ – CV.

⁹ جامع التواريخ *Esim* has been called a sultan. – CV.

¹⁰ جامع التواريخ Named simply as Kushik. – CV.

An envoy sent by Tsar Ioann in 1569 to the Nogai tells of an attack on their Kazak *ulus* by the horde of Tsar Khaknazar, of Tsarevich Shygai and of Tsarevich Shelim. According to the *Collection of Chronicles*, جامع التواريخ, Khaknazar حق نظر was the son of Kasym, Shygai was the son of Zhadik, and Zhadik and Kasym were sons of Zhanibek, but there is no mention of Shelim. Should that be Tukym? This Khaknazar is known for his oppression of the Bashkirs in 1556. The Englishman Jenkinson, who was in Bukhara in 1556–59, speaks of a war between the people of Tashkent and the Kazakhs. Could this be the war of Burunduk with Sheibani Khan?

The author of جامع التواريخ, describing the election of Oraz-Mukhammed to be the khan of the Kasym, and depicting the shape of the khan's throne, speaks of the right and left hands. On the right side ميسره [maisara] two *beks* are shown – one of Clan Argyn, the other of Clan Kipchak.¹¹ On the left ميمينه – [maimene] are the Zhalaiyr Kadyr-Galibek and [Samanai]bek of Clan Mankut.

The author, as a Zhalaiyr, writes in detail about this tribe, dating it from the time of Oguz Khan, and at the end of the book sets out in detail the genealogy of his clan, from Genghis to the times of Kadyrgali.¹²

In all the decrees, the Golden Horde is referred to as اولوغ اولوس,¹³ and among Turkic historians and in folk legend it means part of an entire country or people and is never called a 'horde'; The Kazakhs say:¹⁴ نوغايلى نى اور يورت <where for اولوغ اولوس is substituted a heavy *yurt*>. It seems to me that the word 'horde' اوردو had in the past the same meaning in the Golden Horde as it now has among the Kazakhs and Kalmyks, and had the general meaning of the location of the capital of a khan, and the more specific meaning of his headquarters. The Golden Horde was a golden pavilion and a yurt in which the khan presided. It subsequently came to refer to all the urban quarters in which khans resided.

¹¹ The Kazakh Middle Horde is divided into five main clans: Argyn, Kipchak, Konyrat, Naiman and Uak-Kereit. The Great Horde consists of Clan Uisun itself, and of the Dulat, Zhalaiyr, Shapyrashty and Alban, all subsumed under the single name of *Uisun*. – CV.

¹² *Sbornik letopisei (Zhalaiyri)*, p. 171.

¹³ *Ulugulus* (Turkic). The Great *Ulus*.

¹⁴ Two words undeciphered.

Accordingly, the words *Ak Orda*, *Kok Orda* and *Sary Orda* should be taken not as the name of an *ulus* or yurt, but as the name of a main encampment, the residence of khans. When he sent this missive, Tokhtamysh was, as we learn from the decree, on the summer nomadic migration in the Don area and living in a yurt, in the sense that I am proposing. In the original and in the modern translation, ‘horde’ is understood in the sense of, first, اوردو دان دا the horde on the Don and, second, that the decree has been written within the horde at the estuary of the Don.

And indeed the words of the modern translation – ‘they gave the revenue to the White Horde, they gave to us what was ours’,¹⁵ demonstrate that what is meant by the White Horde is the yurt of the khan, the place where all the power was concentrated, and the only place where revenue was collected. ‘They gave to us what was ours’ proves that all the revenue was received by the khan himself. The khans were constantly being replaced, and accordingly the word ‘horde’ and the person of the khan signified one and the same thing. My thinking suggests we may surmise that they had no overall common name as a people; each tribe retained its own name: for example, the Konyrat, the Naiman, the Kipchak and so on. (See مع التواريخ)

In ادیل جاییق the Russian Golden Horde corresponds to جامع التواريخ.¹⁶ To refer to the Trans-Volga *ulus* the expressions used are ‘the Blue Horde’, *Kok-Teniz* or, more often, *Syr-Kuan*.

Black Sand قراقو we may surmise from the words of a contemporary translation, came from the men Aksak Temir – Iron Foot from Black Sand.

In the Kazakh steppe the Karakum Desert lies in the area from the estuary of the River Syr Darya to the River Sarysu. All routes from Central Asia to Orenburg, Troitsk and Guryev cross it.

The verb توتماق [*tutmaq*] is used by the Kazakhs exactly as here. They say [and] write, instead of ‘I write’, ‘I inform’ توتتوم – ‘I hold’.

The distinction اولك قول, اولك قول¹⁷ still exists among the Kyrgyz – the ‘*On Kyrgyz*’ and ‘*Sol Kyrgyz*’. The Bugu tribe is one of the main members of the former, while the Soltu belong to the latter. جامع التواريخ ascribes an ancient origin to the division into right and left. The six sons of Oguz Khan, the patriarch

¹⁵ Our inverted commas.

¹⁶ *Edil, Zhaiyk*. The Rivers Volga and Ural.

¹⁷ Right and left hand.

of the Turkic tribes, ruled the right and left wings in the following order (See جامع التواريخ, p. 14):

			دست راست ¹⁸
			[اونك قول] سول قول
		كوك خان تاق خان	كون خان اي خان
		ايدور, چنه سالور ايمور	قائى بايات بازار دوکار
		چش الايونتلى	دوردرغه, قراولى
		قراولى اوکوز	
		دينکيز خان	يولدوز خان
		يندو, يکدر بوکدور	اوشر, قريق, بکلى, قارقين
		قنيق	

Here it can be seen that the tribes were wholly divided into two wings, each of which had its own rearguard.

And to this day, in the East and in Bukhara, the *beks* always have their places to the right and left sides of the king in accordance with the precedence of the clans they represent, as a result of which disputes regularly break out between them. It is analogous to the Russian order of precedence.

[The author of] جامع التواريخ, describing the throne of Oraz-Mukhammed Khan in Kasymov, provides a diagram of it, on which are marked the places to right and left, and the names of the *beks* occupying the right and left sides. In order to prove the importance and influence of the Zhalaiyr *beks* with the descendants of Orys Khan, he shows their place on the left side of the throne. The Zhalaiyr who, according to the author, are the most powerful among the *arasnada* occupy the left hand, while the 200-strong Kangly stand on the right side. This tells us that among the peoples who emerged from the *ulus* of Juchi, the left wing was also regarded as senior and more honourable.

Since, however, there are no data that would admit of such a division in the political structure of the Golden Horde, the missive of Timur-Kutluk, or rather his decree, addressed to the *uglans* of the right and left wings, can be understood precisely in the sense of *uglans* of the right and *uglans* of the left side.

¹⁸ دست (Persian) – hand. راست – right.

¹⁹ چب – left.

[Now about some words that appear in the decree of Tokhtamysh to Jogaila.²⁰] The verbs تیلانمک to desire and تیلانچی to ask as a beggar. [In the Arabic] asking from him, that is, as a beggar. [In the decree we read]: ‘At their treacherous begging he came forward.’

As regards قیغان یدا, I do not know and have not heard of such a word in either the Tatar (Siberian) or Kazakh [languages], and doubt whether [it] exists. The Kazakhs have a word قیماق – to leave without pity, without caring, – موچنن منان منى قیغاننك – ‘Are you really abandoning me?’ the Kazakh wife wails, tearing at her face on her husband’s death.

تیر باماک – for the Kazakhs means continuous rocking and is most commonly used in the sense of rocking a cradle بالا تیر باتمک.

تاریبت بتماک - means to disperse, to break apart. توزماق – is used to express the disorderly fleeing of people, like the word بوسما.

تاریق – to strike with a hoof, kick. It is not permissible to use this verb when speaking of a horse. (then it is essential to use *tepmek* (تپیمک)).

Despite my best endeavours and enquiries among Kazakhs, I have been unable to find the word *munganaldy*. Their word for slaves, as with the Tatars, is قول [ku/], but, just like the Kalmyks, they distinguish between prisoners of war اولجالاسقان قول or more commonly use *zhesir*, and bought slaves, peacefully acquired, who are called *zhetym*, orphans. Among a people such as our قزاق Kazakhs, where might was right, rootless, powerless people could not aspire to independence and became slaves of a sultan or *bi*, and this may be the derivation of the word جتیم in the sense of a slave.

I have found nothing even resembling مونغانالدى or *banzarovo monhaniulya*. There is a verb مونکلئق, and derived from it there is مونکلئ – unhappy, sad, مونك – sadness, with the same meaning as ایغر. I shall try to enquire about this word among the Kyrgyz, and if I find it I shall immediately notify you.

اولجا in the technical language of brigands means plunder, and from it اولجالاس – crafted goods.

بسە – also Mongolian *byasya*.

In Yenisei Governate, a Turkic language is spoken, specifically by the Karagas, a wandering, non-indigenous tribe. In the language of this people, money is *mungan*, and silver is *akmungan*. Perhaps this word had, and should have, a different meaning? Among the Tungus gold is *mungimo*, which can be compared to the Slavonic language and approximates to the meaning of ‘money’. In later times, the adjective *ak* – white, confirms this opinion. ‘Has no *mungan*’ – in the sense of money or silver. In respect of the Bazar, *monkhaniul bederge* is a slave not purchased but enslaved. ‘God was good to us. The Most High sold the warring *uglans* and *beks* to us. That is, he gave them totally into our power, into bondage.’ (See *Vestnik Imperatorskogo Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, no. 6, 1854.)

²⁰ The beginning is lost: one sheet of the manuscript is missing.

I do not know why بازارگان should refer only to the merchants of Tokhtamysh. It seems to me that اورتاق expresses part of the whole, the company rather than individual members of the company. In the latter sense, it would be اورتاقچی and it seems that the placing of the particle of the genitive case نك is an error on the part of the scribe, instead of ن, because the ending نك makes both بازارگان the merchants and اورتاق the company to be those of Jogaila, whereas the following الا يوروش 'let them go' expresses the reciprocity of the action (or relationship). If we read بازارگان اورتاقلارين داخی يوروش سونلار – let our merchants or companies wander freely as formerly, or, let the guests have company with each other and leave. We might express this in a modern translation as, 'The road is clear for the guests, both for your and our merchants.'

As regards the decree of Timur-Kutluk, why not read تومان ادكو باشليق as the Vizier of Edige, because شليق is the chief of a *tumen*, because باشليق is used even today among the Siberian tatars and باستيق among the Kazakhs in the sense of the main leader. Any Russian official they call *bastyk*. From the use of this word in the two decrees of Tokhtamysh to Jogaila, and of Temir-Kutluk, it is evident that the sense is grand vizier, adviser or, in Russian, general, and accordingly تومان باشليق, تومان بكي, تومان بكي means 'general', 'emir', foremost of the grandees at the court of the khan. It seems to me that the *ulus* of Juchi, as a nomadic horde, never had a regular administrative structure with permanent ranks, other than the retinue of the khan, such as بارسچی, قوشچی, بيساوو and other ranks, whose continuity was necessary in the interests of the khan. For example, *darugas, baskaks, bitikchis, tamgachis, tartnakchis* and so on. See *Decrees of the Khans*, vol. 3, p. 11.²¹ There were *uglans*, princes, progeny of the khans. There were *beks* or *bis* – clan representatives of the tribes. Before Genghis Khan, every clan, every Mongol tribe, had its own khan. Genghis Khan, uniting all the tribes under his authority, did not always completely destroy the status of these khans, who sometimes even became *beks*. On the contrary, he forged bonds of kinship with the most powerful of them, and even upheld their lineal rights, as in the case of the Konyrat, Zhalaiyr and others. See Abulghazi²² and the *Sheibani-name*, جامع التواريخ. There is no doubt that he adhered to the same principle in respect of other conquered peoples. Accordingly, the precedence enjoyed by *uglans* and *beks* was theirs by right of birth rather than through appointment.

The division of the *uglans* into great, middle, and lower can be explained by the fact that in the states of Maverannakhr to this day, when decrees of a khan are published, there is written اولوغ كچوك لارغه, that is, great and small, understanding thereby the seniority of those in charge of the troops

²¹ I.N. Berezin, *Khanskie yarlyki*, vol. 3 (Kazan, 1850).

²² *Abulghasi Bahadür Chani historia Mongolorum et Tatarorum nunc primum tatarice edita auctoritate et munificentia illustrissimi comitis Nicolai de Romanzoff Imperii Russici cancellari supremi* (Casani, Ex Universitatis Imperialis Typographeo, 1825).

who assemble in case of need and join the side of *On* اونك and *Sol*.²³ One or two of these *beks* were always in attendance on the khan, in particular as a vizier, and managed the *ulus* as a minister; or one was امراءيك while the duty of the other was to manage the *volosts* with the rank of ... As one may suppose, variously: in the first case اولوغ امراءيك, and in the other – تومان باشلى and the emir of a *tumen* of 10,000 local men. Such are Kutlubuga, Asan under Tokhtamysh, Edgu under Temir-Kutluk and his successors. See جامع التواريخ. A whole succession of such favoured officials, starting with the reign of Togtagu Khan, was called اولوغ امراءيك. See p. 100 جامع التواريخ, chapter داستان اوروس خان. Such were the *ulus* or patrimonial *beks*. It seems to me that the *Bek* of the Horde, Prince of the People, اولوس بكى ايل بكى were different expressions of the same dignity, because اولوس – appanage, and ايل – tribe are evidently one and the same; by ‘appanage’ can be understood ايل because this *bekzhe*²⁴ in war commanded the people of his ايل and in accordance with the number under his command نفر was called a thousand-man commander, centurion, ten-man commander, and full company man. The commander of a city was called a city commander.

[The word *mashaikh*.] In the Kazakh steppe there are many tombs and stone mosques called *stan* or *tam*, which are named after their founders and over whose bodies these monuments are erected. These places are called *aulie* – holy, and *mashaikh*. The *tams* serve as a place for their religious *ziaret*,²⁵ and they regard these *aulie* and *mashaikhs* as protectors of their people, and so on. ²⁶ياسير نينك قرق شاينخ. يا جان انا

Bukaul is used in the steppe to this day. Kazakhs have a saying:

²⁷از غانه اسقا بوكاول بولما, از غانه ايلگا بيك بولما Here *bukaul* has the meaning of one who takes round food. The verb in Arabic is much in use among the Kazakhs and means to create an obstacle, to stop (توقتاتمق). From it comes بوكاو -, an obstacle, and بوكاو سالماق, to build a dam, hold back, and so forth.

In communicating the meaning of several words that have been preserved in the Kazakh language, I must ask you to excuse my having included in these comments several of my own surmises. If this letter should be found worthy of your attention, then I will be in a position to communicate to you with the greatest of pleasure the song بيساول قار اول.

²³ The edge of the manuscript is torn off.

²⁴ Clerical error corrected from *zhe* to *bekzhe*.

²⁵ *Ziaret*: visiting the graves of ancestors.

²⁶ ‘Oh, 40 holy [fathers] of Syr Darya, O Zhan-Ana!’

²⁷ ‘*Azguna aska bukaul bolma, azguna elge bek bolma.*’ ‘Do not be the *bukaul* (organiser) of a small feast, do not be the *bek* of a minor people.’

As I am engaged in gathering information about the Kazakh people,²⁸ I would most humbly ask that, if you should happen while deciphering and reading various Asian historians to come across anything about the word ‘Kazakh’, or about Kazakhs قزاقلدا or the Kazakh people, that you should communicate it to your humble servant. I should be so very obliged. Having no other sources to hand other than the history of Abulghazi (the Rumyantsev edition), your *Sheibaniad* and جامع التواريخ, which is exceedingly important in this regard, I have no means of checking Levshin’s fragmentary indications in his *Description of the Kazakh Hordes*. In the tidings of Arabian historians, as I surmise, there should be nothing about the Kazakhs because, I am sure, this people formed no earlier than the fourteenth century, at the time of the collapse of the *ulus* of Juchi. Kyatib Chelebi, it is evident from Levshin’s history, has something to say about the Tatar Kazakhs. It would be interesting to know when this geographer lived and to read this item in the Turkish language.

Klaproth in *Magazine Asiatique* has printed a translation of a description of the Kazakhs from the Chinese geography of *Dai-tsin-I-tun-chzhi*, but unfortunately the journal is unobtainable here. Levshin, on the basis of an assertion by our renowned orientalist Senkovsky, says that Ferdowsi in his history of Rustem mentions the Kazakh people and Kazakh khans. On page 42 Levshin is evidently quoting Senkovsky’s words: ‘This people is exceedingly ...’ and so on; but it is curious where they can have found a Kazakh people before Genghis Khan and among the tribes of Genghis. At all events, Abulghazi and the *Sheibani-name*, جامع التواريخ in those periods make no mention of the Kazakhs, do not even use the word قازاقلق دا, which is used from ... and was in use in the time of Sheibani Khan. Babur speaks in his *Notes* about a Kazakh khan, Arslan, who had 400,000 warriors. The original text of this mention in the *Notes* of the royal author would be interesting to see. And might there be anything about them in the notes of Timur or of his historians?

²⁸ There is a note in Valikhanov’s hand on the left corner of the sheet:
يورئول, اقطاعى (اقتاچى).

Glossary

Abak: The patriarch of the Kereit tribe. The Kazakh Abak-Kereit now live on the Black Irtysh River and adjacent areas of North-West China and Mongolia.

Abakumov, Captain S.: A commissioner of the Alatau District and the Kazakhs of the Great (Senior) *Zhuz*. He was a correspondent of the Moscow Society of Investigators of Nature, to whom he sent taxidermic specimens of birds, reptiles, insects and so on. He was well known to Thomas and Lucy Atkinson, who stayed with him at Kapal for nine months in 1848–49.

Abdakarim: Son of Shakhrukh, khan of Kokand, eighteenth century.

Abdul-Rashid: The son of Sa'id Khan, the khan of Kashgar in the mid-sixteenth century.

Abulkhair (1693–1748): A Kazakh khan of the Junior *Zhuz* who led the struggle against the Dzhungars in the 1720s. After the seizure of South Kazakhstan by the Dzhungars (1723–32), Abulkhair appealed to the Russian government, expressing his desire to become a Russian citizen, and doing so in 1731. This act marked the beginning of the voluntary accession of Kazakhs to Russia.

Abulmamet (more precisely, **Abulmambet**: His name is erroneously given in the literature as Abulmagamet, Abulmakhamet; d. 1771). A khan of the Middle *Zhuz*, proclaimed khan in 1739 after a victory over the Dzhungars.

Abylai Khan (1711–81): A Kazakh khan of the Middle *Zhuz*, one of the most authoritative political actors in Central Asia in modern history. In the first half of the eighteenth century, he had great influence among the Kazakhs due to his intellectual and organisational skills, which were particularly evident during the struggles against the Dzhungars. In 1740 he took Russian citizenship. Abylai's aim was to create a centralised and independent Kazakh state. In 1771 he was elected khan of the Middle *Zhuz* and was officially recognised as such by the Russian government that same year. See N.G. Apollonova, *Ekonomicheskie i politicheskie svyazi Kazakhstana s Rossiei v XVIII–nachale XIX v.* (Moscow, 1960); V.Ya. Bassin, *Rossiya i kazakhskie khanstva v XVI–XVIII vv.* (Alma-Ata, 1971); V.S. Kuznetsov, *Tsinskaiia imperiya na rubezhakh Tsentralnoi Azii, vtoraya polovina XVIII–pervaia polovyna XIX v.* (Novosibirsk, 1983).

Afanasyev, A.P. (1826–71): A renowned collector and researcher of Russian and Slavic folktales and epic stories. Afanasyev's principal works are *Poeticheskie*

vozzreniya slavyan na prirodu, 3 vols (1865–69); and *Narodnye russkie skazki* (1835).

Aiganym (1785–1856): Widow of Uali (Ualii) Khan and grandmother of Chokan Valikhanov.

Aiteke: One of the foremost *bis* of the Kazakh steppe under Tauke and ruler of the Junior *Zhuz* before Abulkhair.

Akhun: The title of a mullah recognised by the Tsarist government under the Charter of the Siberian Kazakhs. Not to be confused with *akyn*, the respectful name for folk singers.

Akmola District: An important administrative and trading district linking Northern Kazakhstan with the southern Russian provinces. Formed in 1833.

Aksakal (literally, ‘white-bearded’): Corresponds to the concept of an ‘elder’. In settlements, the *aksakals* were in charge of administrative and political matters. They also collected taxes from the population. In cities an *aksakal* was the headman of a district (*makhalla*).

Alai: A latitudinal ridge bordering the Fergana Valley on the south. Starting in the west of the Zeravshan Mountain plexus, it connects in the east with the south-east end of the Fergana range. There had been very little exploration of the vast area of the Pamirs and Altai at that time, and accordingly CV was unable to obtain accurate information on the location of the country’s main ranges and valleys. First described by Russian explorer A.P. Fedchenko in 1871.

Alash: The legendary patriarch of the three Kazakh *zhuzes*.

Alban: One of the main tribes of the Great (Senior) *Zhuz* of the Kazakhs.

Alei Murza: A Nogai *murza* to whom, at the end of the sixteenth century, several Nogai cities in Siberia were paying tribute.

Alexander the Great (356–23 BC): A great commander and statesman of the ancient world, king of Macedonia in its heyday. In 330 BC, having conquered Egypt and the countries of the Near and Middle East, he embarked on the conquest of Central Asia, reaching the upper reaches of the Rivers Oxus and Jaxartes (Syr Darya and Amu Darya), capturing Bactria and Sogdiana. Many legends around his name survive in Central Asia.

Aleksei Mikhailovich (1629–76): Second tsar [1645–76] of the Romanov Dynasty, father of Peter the Great.

Alimuly: A tribal union of the Kazakhs of the Junior *Zhuz*.

Almalyk: A city that existed in the Middle Ages in the region of Korgas (near today’s Kuldzha). It was considered an important place on the great caravan route from Central Asia to China. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it served as the main residence of the eastern Chagataiids, and public and

religious buildings – mosques, temples and tombs of the Chagataiids – were located there. Almalyk ceased to exist in the late fifteenth century. See V.V. Bartold, ‘Otchet o poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu s nauchnoyu tselyu 1893–1894’, *Sochineniya*, vol. 4 (Moscow, 1966), pp. 79–81.

Almatu: An ancient city at the foot of the Trans-Ili Alatau Mountains, on the site of which a new city, Vernyi (Almaty), was founded in 1854. The remains of ancient Almatu were investigated in 1922 and 1924 by V.D. Gorodetsky, who established the topographic basis of the settlement, situated opposite the exit from the gorge of the River Lesser Almatinka. See V.D. Gorodetsky, ‘Ostatki drevnego poseleniya k yugu ot g. Almaty (byvsh. Vernyi)’, *V.V. Bartoldu. Turkestarskie druzya, ucheniki i pochitateli* (Tashkent, 1927), pp. 145–50.

In the 1990s the Almatu site was surveyed by Academician V.V. Bartold, together with the city architect who had managed to locate the remains of major public buildings and fragments of building materials.

Alshyn: A tribal union of the Kazakhs of the Junior *Zhuz*.

Altyn Khan (Golden King): The title of rulers of the Tumet and Khotogoit tribes, which inhabited North-Western Mongolia in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries.

Altyshtahr (Alty-shaar): Literally, ‘the Six Cities’. One of the names for Eastern Turkestan. For Valikhanov these are the cities of Kashgar, Yanysar (Yangi-Khisar), Yarkand, Khotan, Aksu and Ush-Turfan. In the 1870s there was a new name – Jetti-shar, that is, the Seven Cities. An independent Uighur state was established by insurgents who threw off the Qing yoke. This included Kashgar, Yangi-Khisar, Yarkand, Khotan, Aksu, Kucha and Karashar, as well as a number of smaller towns and villages. See D.A. Isiev, *Uighurskoe gosudarstvo Iettishar (1864–1877)* (Moscow, 1981).

Amet and **Samet:** According to Zhalaiyri, the first Kazakh khans, executed by Timur in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Amban: One of the highest-ranking titles in Eastern Turkestan during the rule of the Manchu dynasty. The *amban*, administering a district, was subordinate to the *hebe-amban*, the deputy governor. Here the sense is a ‘colonel’.

Amursana (1722–57): Sovereign feudal lord of the Dzhungar khanate who played an important role in its struggle against the Chinese, 1755–58. After the death of Galdan Tseren Khan in 1745, Amursana attempted to ascend the throne. Facing the resistance of other claimants, he sought the support of Manchu Chinese troops but, concluding that the Manchus were intent on liquidating the Dzhungar Khanate, he led an anti-Manchurian uprising, which was brutally suppressed. He fled to Russia, where he died shortly afterwards.

Apanbu: One of the legendary patriarchs of the ancient Turkic tribes.

Apak Khoja: A seventeenth-century descendant of the Dzhuibar sheikh Makhdum-i A'zam, founder of the dynasty of Belogory (Aktaglyk) *khojas* who ruled Kashgar in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He was widely regarded as a Muslim saint.

Argyn: One of the Kazakh tribes of the Middle *Zhuz*. In the view of N.A. Aristov, they are mentioned in the *Yuan-shi* transcribed as *a-g-in*. M.S. Mukanov associates their origins with the Karluk. The first reliable mention of Argyn as Kazakhs dates from the first half of the eighteenth century. In the pre-1917 period, the Argyn were the most numerous tribe, inhabiting a vast area from the Turgai steppe in the west to the River Irtysh in the east, from the Omsk region in the north to Lake Balkhash in the south. See M.S. Mukanov, *Etnicheskii sostav i rasselenie Kazakhov Srednego zhuzu* (Alma-Ata, 1974).

Asan Kaigy (Asan the Hapless): A legendary personage sung of in folk legends.

Ashina: A ruling family that provided the dominant elite in the ancient Turkic khanate. Opinions vary regarding the ethnic history of the Ashina. S.G. Klyashtornyi believes they originally inhabited the Si Khai [Xihai] region (the lower reaches of the River Edzingol) and had close ties with the Huns. They subsequently migrated to Pinlyan and Khesi [Hexi], where they assimilated the Iranian-speaking 'mixed Khu [Hu]'. Later they migrated to Gaochan, where they fell under the rule of the Zhuan-Zhuan and were then displaced to the southern spurs of Altai, where they took the name 'Turk'. Yu.A. Zuev considers it possible, on the basis of ethnonymic calquing, to explain transformation of the ethnonym *Usun* into *Ashina*. The forebears of the Ashina would have been an eastern section of the Sako-Usun, which by the fifth century had submitted to the Zhuan-Zhuan. See S.G. Klyashtornyi, 'Ancient Turkic runic monuments', pp. 110–13; Yu.L. Zuev, 'Tamgi loshadei iz vassalnykh knyazhestv', *Trudy Instituta istorii, arkheologii i etnografii AN Kazakhskoi SSR*, vol. 8 (1960), pp. 121–4; Zuev, 'Drevnetyurkskie genealogicheskie predaniya kak istochnik po rannei istorii tyurkov, *Avtoreferat dissertatsii kandidata ... istoricheskikh nauk* (Alma-Ata, 1967), pp. 5–14 and *passim*.

Astrakhan Khanate: Emerged in the late fifteenth century on the ruins of the Golden Horde.

Atbasar District: One of the outer *okrugs*, formed in 1841 on the border between the Turgai steppe and the Siberian Kazakh Province.

Atil (Itil): One of the ancient names for the Volga.

Atygai: A sub-branch/clan of the Argyn tribe of the Middle *Zhuz*. Kazakhs of this clan inhabited Kokshetau Province, which existed in Kazakhstan until the late 1990s, and is the present-day North-Kazakhstan Province.

Ayuke Khan: Khan (1709–21) of the Volga Torghut Kalmyks.

Az: Wise, knowledgeable, great. An epithet applied to a number of Kazakh khans (Az-Zhanibek, Az-Tauke). The Kazakhs have the personal name of Azbergen ('wisdom-endowed'). The expression *az-tengri* means 'the great sky'.

B.: Initial B. refers to Bezverkhov, I., translator of the Provincial Board of Siberian Kazakhs, who also served as a consular secretary in Kuldzha.

Baba Khan: The son of Barak, rival of Abulkhair Khan. In historical legends he represents the type of the faint-hearted, inglorious warrior. See Levshin, *Opisanie*, vol. 2 (St Petersburg, 1832), p. 63.

Babur, Zahir Ud-Din Mohammed (1483–1530): A descendant of Timur and son of Sheikh Omar, ruler of Fergana. He inherited his father's lands at the age of 12 but, as a result of internecine warfare, was driven out. In 1525, after meticulous preparation, he invaded India, capturing Delhi and Agra in 1526. Subsequently, extending his power over most of India, he founded the Mughal Empire. Babur left his memoirs in the form of an artistic historical work, the *Babur-name*, written in the Old Uzbek (Chagatai) language. The memoirs were first published in 1887 by I.I. Ilminsky in Kazan. A translation into Russian by M.A. Salye was published in 1948 in Tashkent. In addition to the *Babur-name*, Babur wrote a collection of lyric poems, *Divan*, published in 1917 by the Faculty of Oriental Languages of Petrograd University.

Baer, Karl Maksimovich (1792–1876): A renowned naturalist scholar, academician and the director of the Zoology Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences. He founded the embryology department of the Medico-Surgical Academy in St Petersburg. Baer was one of the most versatile naturalists of the nineteenth century, and an outstanding embryologist. Some of the exhibits collected by Valikhanov during his travels are in the zoology museum created by Baer.

Bagryanorodnyi, Konstantin (905–59): Byzantine Emperor and author of several works containing information on the peoples living to the north and north-east of the Black Sea.

Bahadur, Abulghazi/Abu al-Ghazi Bahadur (1603–63): Khan of Khiva and seventeenth-century writer. Highly knowledgeable about the history of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, he was the author of the renowned works *Shadjara-yi Turk* (Genealogy of the Turks) and *Shadjara-yi Tardkima* (Genealogy of the Turkmen). The original of *Shadjara-yi Turk* was first found in Tobolsk in the 1730s, and this was followed by publications in Russian and European languages.

Baigozy: A *batyr* of the Middle *Zhuz*, of Clan Tarakty (Akmola steppe). One of the heroes of the struggle against the Dzhungars in the eighteenth century.

Baiuly: A tribal union of the Kazakhs of the Junior *Zhuz*.

Barak (d. ca 1750): Influential sultan of the Middle *Zhuz*. From 1723 to 1730 he was a leader in the struggle against the Dzhungar. See: ‘Barak-batyr’, *Narodnye predaniya po zapisi*, S. Sarybaeva (*ROB AN KazSSR*, No. 1084).

Basimi (Basmil according to the Orkhon inscriptions): An independent tribe neighbouring the Uighurs and roaming the headwaters of the River Irtysh and to the west of it.

Bator (Batur): A Dzhungar *kontaishy* (1635–54), regulator of Mongol common law. He is credited with authorship of the Regulations of the Steppe code. In the 1640s he led an invasion by Kalmyk *noyons* of Kazakh lands and temporarily captured the eastern part of Zhetysu.

Batyr: A valiant warrior.

Bayan: A *batyr* of the Middle *Zhuz*, of Clan Uak-Kerei, a hero of the struggle of the Kazakhs against the Dzhungar invaders in the early eighteenth century. The historical lay *Bayan Batyr* is widely known among the legends and in the oral folk art of the Kazakhs. It contains a description of his heroic exploits and death in battle. See *Kazakadebiety tarikhy*, vol. 1, pp. 308–09 b.

Bayanaul District: The historically correct name is Bayan-Aula, from the Mongolian *Bayan-Ola* – mountain of happiness, bliss. Adjacent to Bayanaul (in its range) is Zhaman-Aula, the ugly or unlucky mountain. Bayanaul was administratively subordinate to the head of the Siberian Kazakh Border Administration (later the Provincial Board), formed in 1832. See M. Kuzminskii, *Kratkoe statisticheskoe obozrenie Zapadnoi Sibiri. Materialy dlya statistiki Rossiiskoi imperii*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg, 1839).

Bayankuly (fourteenth century): A Chagataiid, his famous tomb is in Bukhara.

Bek: An ancient Turkic term for a feudal ruler, chief of a clan or tribe. In the era of feudalism, *beks* were sovereign princes of particular provinces or cities.

Berdibek (d. 1359): Son of Zhanibek, grandson of Uzbek, khan of the Golden Horde of the Juchid Dynasty. His reign (1357–59) saw the beginning of the protracted internecine feuding that led ultimately to the downfall of the Golden Horde. The instigator of the troubles was Berdibek himself, who murdered his father Zhanibek and ascended the throne of the khan. This event is immortalised in folk tradition by the saying, ‘*Nar moiyny Berdibekte kesildi*’ [The dromedary’s neck was cut in Berdibek’s reign]. That is, the Batukhanid Dynasty was terminated in Berdibek’s reign. See Abulghazi, *Shedzhere-i-turk (Rodoslovnaya tyurok) Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares*, tr. and ed. Le Baron Desmaisons, vol. 1: Text (St Petersburg: 1871); vol. 2: Translation (St Petersburg, 1874).

Berezin, Ivan Nikolaevich (1818–96): A Russian orientalist who from 1846 was a professor at Kazan University and, from 1858, at St Petersburg. He was the author of numerous works on the history and philology of the peoples of Asia,

mainly Turkic-Mongolian. In 1848–53 he brought out a series of publications under the title *The Oriental Historian's Library*, which included the historic work the *Sheibani-name*, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* (The Zhalaiyri Collection of Chronicles) and Abulghazi's work, *A Genealogy of the Turks*. He also published the works of Rashid-ad-Din and a Turkic anthology that includes examples of the national epics of the Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Turkmen and other peoples of Central Asia.

Berezin maintained links with numerous correspondents and scholars, through whom he collected works of folk literature of Turkic-speaking peoples. He was in particularly close contact with N.F. Kostyletsky, a former fellow student at Kazan University and lecturer at the Siberian Cadet Corps, through whom he acquired examples of Kazakh literature. Kostyletsky helped Berezin establish scholarly ties with Chokan Valikhanov. On Berezin, see V.V. Bartold, 'I.N. Berezin kak istorik' (I.N. Berezin as an historian), *Sochineniya*, vol. 9 (Moscow, 1977), pp. 737–56; A.N. Samoilovich, 'I.N. Berezin kak tyurkolog (1818–1919)', *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov*, vol. 1, 1925, pp. 161–72; S.A. Vengerov, *Kritiko-biograficheskii slovar russkikh pisatelei i uchenykh*, s.v. 'Berezin', vol. 3 (St Petersburg, 1892) (autobiography); *Biograficheskii slovar professorov i prepodavatelei Kazanskogo universiteta (1804–1904 gg.)*, ed. N.P. Zagoskin, part 1 (Kazan, 1904).

Bishbalyk (Beichin, Beidzhin): An ancient city located near Karakhoja in Eastern Turkestan.

The Black Mountain faction (in Uighur, *Karataglyk*): One of two religious/political parties in Kashgar (the other party was the White Mountain faction, or *Aktaglyk*). Initially arising out of a religious schism, the parties subsequently assumed a purely political character. Each was headed by representatives of the most senior Muslim clergy of the Khoja Dynasty. In the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries there was an implacable power struggle between the parties, which ceased only after Eastern Turkestan was annexed to China. See V.V. Grigoryev, *Vostochnyi, ili Kitaiskii, Turkestan*, pp. 355–59.

Blackstone, Sir William (1723–80): An English lawyer, Oxford University professor and author of the classic *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Oxford, 1765–69).

Blue Sea (in Kazakh, *Kokshe teniz*): One of the names of Lake Balkhash.

Bogenbai: A *batyr* of the Middle *Zhuz*, of Clan Kanzhygaly. He was known as Kanzhygaly Bogenbai. An organiser and leader of the Kazakh folk militia in the struggle against the Dzhungars (1720s–30s). There are many legends, myths and lays about him in the oral folk poetry of the Kazakhs. The historical epic poem *Bogenbai*, based on these, is well known. The extolling in historical legends in the eighteenth century of the exploits of Bogenbai, and of such other heroes of the struggle against the Dzhungars as Kabanbai and Kazybek, greatly idealises their images in accordance with the traditions of the heroic epic. These idealised impressions stripped their historical prototypes of any

negative features they might have had but did, to varying degrees, reflect popular notions of an ideal hero who would protect the common people from foreign conquest. See S. Amanzholov, *Bogenbai-batyr* (Almaty, 1946).

Bolor: One of the ancient local names for the northern chains of the Kunlun, now known as the Sarykol and Kashgar ranges.

Eleven *bu* (*bulo*): Eleven *aimaks* or districts, divided not on a territorial but a clan basis. The reference is to the Karluk and Basimil clans, whom Iakin identifies with the Uighurs.

Bukei Horde: A khanate formed in 1801 by unification of some of the Kazakh tribes of the Junior *Zhuz* on territory bounded in the west by the steppes of the lower Volga region, and in the east by the River Ural. See S.Z. Zimanov, *Rossiya i Bukeevskoe khanstvo* (Alma-Ata, 1981).

Buladchi (Puladchi): The main emir of Mogulistan, of the Dulat tribe.

Burut: A name for the Kyrgyz people, given to them by their Chinese and Kalmyk neighbours.

Catalan Atlas: A geographical map compiled in Italy in 1375. It was published in 1742 in France in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, etc., vol. 14 (Paris, 1742). Like other Italian maps of the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, the Catalan Atlas was compiled for a practical purpose, as a route map for Italian merchants conducting trade with Desht-i-Kipchak, Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan. Two other maps closely related are the Venetian map of Fra Mauro Camaldolese (compiled in 1459) and the map of Domenico and Francesco Pizzigani, compiled earlier than the Catalan Atlas, in 1367. The Fra Mauro map was published by the Vicomte de Santarém, a collector of ancient maps. See Santarém, *Atlas composé de mappemondes, de portulans et de cartes hydrographiques et historiques depuis le VI-me jusqu'au XVII-me siècle, pour la plupart inédites*, etc., (Lisbon, 1842–53). This map was published in Venice in 1869 as *Il mappamondo di Fra Mauro Camaldolese*. A facsimile of the large map of the Pizziganis was published by Edme Jomard (*Les monuments de la géographie ou recueil d'anciennes cartes* (Paris, 1842), No. 1, 1, 3. Comprehensive information on the Catalan Atlas can be found in Joachim Lelewel, *Géographie du moyen âge*, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1852), pp. 52–88.

The young Chokan Valikhanov was one of the first to draw attention to these historical maps at a time when they were still little known to academics. Valikhanov undoubtedly familiarised himself with them from the eighteenth-century French edition. The Catalan Atlas is of immense importance for studying the history of the cities and settlements of Kazakhstan and Central Asia. It is an important and rare source on the historical topography of the vast territory of the Russian Empire. It and the other maps contain the earliest information, available from no other source, about cities and towns that existed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the North Caspian region, along

the Syr Darya, in Central Kazakhstan and Zhetysu. None of the cities depicted on these mediaeval Italian maps are any longer in existence; all that remains of them now is ruins and great mounds. The Russian orientalist V.V. Grigoryev attempted to use the Catalan Atlas to establish the historical topography of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in his 'O mestopolozhenii Saraya, stolitsy Zolotoi Ordy' [The location of Sarai, capital of the Golden Horde], *Zhurnal Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del*, Nos 2–4, 1845; and in his 'Opisanie Khivinskogo khanstva i dorogi tuda iz Saraishykovskoi kreposti', *Zapiski Rossiiskogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, No. 2, 1861, p. 110; and by the Soviet scholar and academician, V.V. Bartold.

Chakhar: A major Mongol tribe that lived in the Chakhar *aimak* [district] of Inner Mongolia. In the eighteenth century the Manchu government resettled a portion of them in Eastern Turkestan as a border force and farmers. A small number of their descendants live in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

Chan: A lake situated in the Baraba Steppe in Western Siberia.

Chatrar: More correctly, Chitral. A principality in the Hindu Kush, separated from the Gorno-Badakhshan Province of Tajikistan by a narrow strip of the Afghan Pamir. In the west it borders Afghanistan. The most convenient passes through the Hindu Kush lead to Chitral.

Chete (Zhete): The name of a political union of the Zhetysu and Shu tribes which arose during the disintegration of the Ulus of Chagatai. The acts of the union were directed against the policies of Timur and the Timurids. See V.P. Yudin, 'Ordy: Belaya, Sinyaya, Seraya, Zolotaya ...', *Kazakhstan, Srednyaya i Tsentralnaya Aziya v XVI–XVIII vv.* (Alma-Ata, 1983).

Choras: An influential emir of Mogulistan, of the Dulat tribe.

The Chud mines: Ancient workings found in large complexes in parts of Kazakhstan, southern Siberia and the south-eastern Urals. They date from the two major periods, the Andronovo and Karasu cultures, of the Bronze Age.

Chumi: A confederation of Zhetysu tribes.

Chuyue: A distorted form of the name of the Shui tribes.

Chzhonke (Changji): A city in Tarbagatai district.

Comte, Charles (1782–1837): French legal scholar and journalist who defended the ideas of the first French Revolution.

Crimean Khanate: Covered the Crimean Peninsula, the Kuban region, the Azov steppe and steppe to the north of the Black Sea. It arose in the early fifteenth century as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde and existed until 1783.

Dairim: Refers to part of the Karakorum range known as Roma, in the south of which is a trail from Kashmir to the Karakorum Pass and on to Yarkand.

Dai-tsin-I-tun-chzhi: A description of the history and geography of China and subordinate lands during the Manchu Dynasty in the eighteenth century. The 1774 and subsequent editions comprise 24 volumes and 356 chapters. Chapters 344–56 are devoted to Mongolia and Xinjiang.

Darvaz: Formerly a realm of Pamir *beks*, located in a remote mountainous region of the Darvaz Range between the Peter the Great Range, the Vanch Range and a large bend of the River Pyandzh. In 1895, as a result of the demarcation of the Pamirs, the left-bank territory of Darvaz was ceded to Afghanistan. Today most of the territory is included in the Kalan-Khumb district of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region of Tadjikistan.

Dalai Lama: The supreme spiritual leader of the Tibetan Buddhists, and also head of the secular power in Tibet.

Daniel: One of the four biblical prophets. According to biblical legend, he was taken into Babylonian captivity, where he became renowned for his loyalty to his people and gained a reputation as a soothsayer.

‘... the black-kaftan *Dashis*’: The name given by the Chinese to the Arabs who conquered Central Asia in the eighth to tenth centuries.

Datkha (Dadkha): According to the table of ranks, one of the highest-ranked officials in the khan’s court. He is the fourth person in the khanate, receiving petitions addressed to the khan, and informing supplicants of the decisions taken.

Daur (Dakhur): A people of Mongol origin. They are considered descendants of the ancient Khitan tribe. Until the mid-seventeenth century, the Daur lived on the River Amur and along the River Zeya. In 1654 the Chinese authorities deported them to the territory of present-day Dunbei, where they still live today. Part of the Daur live in Inner Mongolia. In the eighteenth century a small number were transferred to the western regions of China as border troops. Their descendants now live in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of the People’s Republic of China.

Dawach: The last Dzhungar khan (eighteenth century), overthrown by Chinese troops under the command of General Bandi and Amursana.

Debachi (Dabachi, Davatsi): An eighteenth-century Dzhungar sovereign prince of Clan Tsewang Rabtan, one of the claimants to the throne of the khan in Dzhungaria.

Dulat: One of the ancient tribes genetically linked with the Dulu tribal group of Western Turks who had their own union in Zhetysu in the seventh to eighth centuries, then became members of the Karluk and Karakhanid Khaganates. After the collapse of the Chagataiid state, the political state of Mogulistan (Zhete) arose on the territory of Zhetysu and Eastern Turkestan in the mid-fourteenth century on a local substrate basis. The leaders of the Dulat tribe played an important role in the Mogulistan state. The Dulat at this time inhabited

the valleys of the Rivers Shu, Ili and Talas, to the south of Issyk-Kol, as well as Southern Kazakhstan. In the fifteenth century, together with other Zhetysu tribes, they became part of the Kazakh Khanate. The Dulat were one of the largest tribes in the Great (Senior) *Zhuz*. See: V.V. Bartold, 'Kirgizy: Istoricheskii ocherk', *Sochineniya*, vol. 2, part 1 (Moscow, 1963) p. 512; Bartold, 'Duglat', *Sochineniya*, vol. 5 (Moscow, 1968), pp. 532–33; K.A. Pishchulina, *Yugo-Vostochnyi Kazakhstan v seredine XIV–nachale XVI vekov* (Alma-Ata, 1977).

Dulgas (Dulu): Names for the ancient Turks in Chinese sources.

Dungans: Chinese Muslims.

Durham bull: From the name of the English city of Durham in the eponymous county, which was famous for breeding strong, fat bulls.

Dzhigetai: The wild ass (*Equus hemionus*) is a species of wild horse which lived in the deserts and semi-deserts of Mongolia and North-West China. Herds of these animals live in the highlands in summer and in the plains in winter, depending on the availability of natural fodder.

Dzhungaria: A geographical name used in the nineteenth century to designate the extensive area of the Dzhungar Alatau between the Ili and Alakol depressions and the East Tian Shan Mountains.

Dzhungars (Oirat): The name by which the western Mongol tribes were known in Russia. The neighbouring Turkic-speaking peoples called them Kalmyks. In the first half of the seventeenth century these tribes formed a strong alliance, the Dzhungar or Oirat State, which dominated over the eastern Mongols. The Oirat State was at the height of its power at the end of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries during the reigns of the Khans Batur, Tsewang Rabtan and Galdan Tseren.

Elshebek: A *batyr* of the Great (Senior) *Zhuz*, of Clan Sirgeli, who inhabited the valley of the Rivers Chirchik and Keles. A hero of the struggle against the Dzhungars who invaded South Kazakhstan. See *Kazakadebiety tarikhyy*, vol. 1, 308 b.

Ereimen (Ereimentau): Mountains in Central Kazakhstan.

Erkokshe and Erkosai: Renowned Kazakh *batyrs* [warriors], a father and son of Clan Uak of the Middle *Zhuz*. Valikhanov's remark that the names of the warriors are unknown is mistaken. Indeed, Erkokshe and Erkosai are the most popular heroes extolled in the Kazakh folk epics. The Kazakhs of Clan Uak, inhabiting the Esil steppe, to this day consider Erkokshe to be their patriarch. Numerous variations exist of an epic about him and his son Erkosai. In the *Manas* epic, Erkoshai is an elder warrior, the 'father of the people', who inhabits the Ulytau Mountains. See M.Zh. Kopeev, 'Erkokshe', *Rukopisnyi otdel Biblioteki Akademii nauk Kazakhskoi SSR*, no. 929; G.I.

Potanin, 'Kazakh-kirgizskie i altaiskie predaniya, legendy i skazki', *Zhivaya starina* (Petrograd), vols 2–3, 1917, pp. 80–85.

Esenbuga (Elkhodzha): The son of Doichechen, first khan of Eastern Turkestan descended from Chagatai.

Esipov, Savva: A chronicler and the deacon of the archbishop of Tobolsk. His chronicle was written in 1636 and has been preserved in two versions: the basic redaction and the extended redaction. The basic redaction comprises 35 chapters and begins with a narrative about the conquest of Siberia, and ends with the announcement of the death of Koshim. In the extended redaction, there is greater detail about the deeds of Yermak and the history of the conquest of Siberia. The chronicle of Esipov was first used at length by the historian G.F. Miller. It was published by G.I. Spassky, and later by P.I. Nebolsin.

Fatima: The daughter of Mohammed.

Fischer, Johann Eberhard (1697–1771): An academician who studied the history of Siberia and adjacent territories.

The Fore Cheshy: A principality that existed in Eastern Turkestan during the Han Dynasty. The seat of the prince was in the city of Chzhokha-khota.

Fort Perovsky: A city on the right bank of the River Syr Darya. Until 1853 it was known as Akmeshit. After its conquest by Russian troops under General Perovsky, the city was renamed Fort Perovsky, and later the city of Perovsk. In 1867 it became the centre of Syr Darya district. In 1925, the city was renamed Kyzyl-Orda.

Forty maidens: As in Kyrgyz i.e. *Kyrk* – forty, and *kyz* – a young woman. Quite apart from the legend, this expression has a traditional aspect, recognised in epic poetry and ancient legends. The number '40' is a favourite in the folklore of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. There are poems about 40 girls, 40 *zhigits*, 40 viziers and so on.

Galavatr (in Kokand sources, *Gala-bakhadur*): A unit of elite warriors first formed in Kokand at the beginning of the reign of Alim Khan (1798–1810). (Taarikh Shakhrokhi, *Istoriya vladetelei Fergany. Sochinenie Molly Niyazi Mukhammed ben Ashur Mukhammed, khokandtsa* [Kazan, 1885], pp. 42, 72. In the Persian and Chagatai languages).

Galdan Boshugtu (1671–97): A Dzhungar *kontaishy*. One of the first, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, to initiate the conquest of the Kazakh lands.

Galdan Tseren (1671–45): A Dzhungar *kontaishy*. Waged war against China and the Kazakhs. In 1741–42 he organised devastating raids on the lands of the Kazakhs of the Middle *Zhuz*, as a result of which part of the Kazakh nomad territory in Zhetysu was temporarily occupied by Dzhungar troops. After his death, centrifugal tendencies in Dzhungaria strengthened and internecline

strife broke out. This contributed to the disintegration of the khanate and, in 1758, it was conquered by Manchu troops. He was the last powerful khan of the Dzhungar Kalmyks.

Gangmu (*Tun-Tsyan-Gan-Mu*) is a Chinese chronicle that describes events in China and Central Asia which occurred during the Shu ('Minor')- Han, Wei and Song Dynasties. Its author, Zhu Xi [Chzhu-Si], is also known as Zhu-Tzu [Chzhu-Tsy], the philosopher Zhu.

Gaochan. The ancient homeland of the Uighurs; the Chinese name for ancient Eastern Turkestan.

Gaoliang: a variety of millet or sorghum which belongs to the *poaceae* family of cereals.

Geikh: The name of the River Yaik (Urals) in early Latin sources.

Gelolu (Karluk): A union of tribes inhabiting territory from the Altai to Zhetysu.

Gerbillon, Father Jean-François, (1654–1707): A French Jesuit missionary in China at the court of the Emperor Kangxi where, in addition to missionary activities, he acted as an interpreter.

Get: Described by Valikhanov as a tribe that was part of the Massaget confederation of tribes.

Ghiyasuddin, Hondemir (1475–c.1535): A Persian historian, author of the history of the Chagataiids. He lived in the reign of the Timurid, Hussein Baikara.

Gilgit: Not, in fact, the name of a people but of the realm of Gilgit, located on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush range between Chitral and Hunza-Nagar. From 1890, a British territory. Since 1947, a province of Pakistan within Azad Kashmir.

von Gneist, Heinrich Rudolf (1816–95): A German scholar and politician, from 1844 a professor at Berlin University. He became famous after publication of his *Englische Verfassungsgeschichte* in 1882.

Gobi (Manchurian): 'Sand, desert'. *Gov* (Mongolian). The word for all deserts and semi-arid regions in south-east Mongolia.

de Góis, Bento (d. 1607): A Portuguese explorer, director of one of the Jesuit missions to the countries of the East. Lived for many years in India at the court of the Grand Mughal Akbar. In 1603 he travelled to China (Lahore to Kabul across the Pamirs and Eastern Turkestan, then to Yarkand–Aksu–Turfan–Hami to Central China). He died while travelling in Suzhou.

Golubev, A. F. (1832–66): A geographer and lecturer in geodesy at the Academy of the General Staff. Best known for his research on Lakes Issyk-Kol and Alakol. He conducted topographical surveys in the Zhetysu and Trans-Ili Regions and around Lake Issyk-Kol. Golubev wrote a number of original works

on the geography and ethnography of these areas. He published topographic materials based on the account of a Chinese officer, Ma Tianshi, in *Zapiski Rossiiskogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 1, 1862, pp. 93–100. Golubev first met Chokan Valikhanov in Omsk in 1859 and maintained friendly and business ties with him in St Petersburg, often visiting his apartment.

Great Alatau: The reference is to the entire massif of the northern Tian Shan Mountains, as distinct from the Dzhungar, or Variegated, Alatau. The Kishi (Little) Alatau is another historic name for the Dzhungar Alatau.

Guen-Tsang: A distortion of Xuanzang (c. 600–664). A Chinese explorer and Buddhist monk. He roamed through Central Asia and India and published the information he collected in *Notes on Countries of the West [Xi You Ji]* in 648.

de Guignes, Joseph (1721–1800): A French historian, orientalist, author of a major work on the history of the Huns, Mongols and Turks.

Gundze (more precisely, **Hunza**): A small principality of the Hindu Kush, situated in the far north of Kashmir, north of the Hunza River, which flows into the River Gilgit, a tributary of the Indus.

Gusu (Guz, Oguz): A confederation of Syr Darya tribes.

Hebe-amban: More correctly, *hebei-amban* (Manchurian); *canzan dachen* (Chinese); the title of the governor of a region.

von Helmersen, Gregor (1803–85): A Russian geologist and academician known for his research in the Urals, the Altai and Kazakhstan. Jointly with Karl Ernst von Baer, he published *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Russischen Reiches und der angrenzenden Länder Asiens*, to which Valikhanov refers, and where the work by A.I. Schrenk to which Valikhanov refers was published.

The Hinter Cheshy: A realm that existed in Dzhungaria during the Han Dynasty and the Three Kingdoms. From the time of the Yunwei Dynasty, it was dependent on the Uighurs, then on the Zhuzhan, then on the Turks. When China acquired these lands in 640, it allocated them to the Gin'man District.

von Humboldt, Alexander (1769–1859): Renowned German natural scientist and traveller, one of the pioneers of plant geography and geophysics; explorer of Central and South America. In 1829, he embarked on an expedition around the Urals and visited Semey, Eastern Kazakhstan, and the Altai Mountains. On the return journey, he conducted research at the Caspian Sea. The results of his expedition are set out in his renowned three-volume *Central Asia* (1843), which has never been published in English.

Hulagu/Khulagu (1217–65): Grandson of Genghis Khan, son of Tului, founder of the Mongol Hulagid – also known as the Il-khanid – Dynasty in Iran.

Iakinf, Father (Nikita Yakovlevich Bichurin) (1777–1853): A Russian scholar, sinologist, author of numerous works on China, Mongolia and the peoples

of Central Asia. A.N. Bernshtam's research suggests that Iakinf was exiled to the Volokolamsk monastery not for 15, but for four years. (R.E. Skachkov, *Ocherki istorii russkogo kitaevedeniya* (M., 1977).

Ilek: The title of the 'lowest' khans of the Karakhanid Dynasty (tenth to early thirteenth centuries). It was given by the supreme khans to family members who were dependent on them as vassals. The *ileks* in Zhetysu (Balasagun, Taraz) and Fergana were of great political significance. The title of *ilek* was almost never used after the eleventh century. Researchers sometimes use it in modern studies as a synonym for the entire Karakhanid Dynasty but, strictly speaking, this is inaccurate because not all of them were *ileks*.

Ilkhan: Title of the Mongol khans of the Hulagid Dynasty, who ruled in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.

Ilty: A state of complete intoxication or ecstasy. From the Kazakh *eltu*, stoned (from smoking hashish or opium).

Ilyas Khoja: The son of Tugluk-Timur, one of the feudal rulers of Eastern Turkestan.

Imeretians (Imereti, Imeri): A Georgian tribe living in Kutaisi Province, in the upper reaches of the River Rion.

Inner Districts: Under the 'Charter of the Siberian Kazakhs' of 1822, the entire territory occupied by the Kazakhs of the Middle *Zhuz* was divided into outer and inner districts, subordinate to the Omsk Provincial Board. The Inner Districts were Omsk, Petropavlovsk, Semey and Oskemen. In 1838, Omsk Province was abolished. The Inner District cities of Omsk, Petropavlovsk, Oskemen and Semey became part of Tobolsk and Tomsk Provinces, and administration of the Kazakhs of the Inner Districts was transferred to the Frontier Board of Siberian Kazakhs. See *Materialy po istorii politicheskogo stroya Kazakhstana*, vol. 1, Alma-Ata, 1960.

Iskardo (Skardu): A city on the River Indus, below the point where it is joined by the River Shaioik. The centre of Baltistan, one of the border districts of Kashmir.

Issyk-Kol Expedition. Organised in the summer of 1856 under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel M.M. Khomentovsky, a mutual friend of Fyodor Dostoyevsky and Valikhanov.

Jenkinson, Anthony (1529–1610/1611): An English merchant and diplomat who visited Moscow and the Muscovite state several times, and twice travelled to Persia and Central Asia. In 1558, passing by way of Astrakhan and Mangyshlak, he reached Khorezm. He visited Bukhara as a representative of the Muscovy Company and as the official ambassador of Ivan the Terrible.

The diary of his journey through the North Caspian region of Central Asia has survived. In it he describes the plight of the Nogai, suffering the ravages of *zhut* (steppe murrain) and war, and also the victory of the Kazakh Khaknazar Khan over Bukhara. See Edward Delmar Morgan & Charles Henry Coote (eds), *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and other Englishmen*, vol. 1, Hakluyt Society, London, 1886.

Jeparle (more accurately, *Dzhiparlyk*): The name not of a pass (which is *muzart*, ‘icy pass’) but of the glacier whose surface is for many miles the route through the pass. See *Rossiya*, ed. P.P. Semyonov-Tian-Shansky, *Turkestan-skii krai*, vol. 19 (St Petersburg, 1913) pp. 73–75.

Jin (Chinese, *jin*): A measure of weight equivalent to 16 *lyangs*.

Jogaila (c. 1351–1434): Grand Duke of Lithuania. From 1386, King Władysław II Jagiełło of Poland.

Juchi-Tokai-Timur: More correctly, Tokai-Timur, the son of Juchi and grandson of Genghis Khan. The Kazakh sultans of the north-east regions of Kazakhstan considered themselves to be descended from the eldest son of Juchi, Orda-Edmen, the first ruler of the White Horde. See Valikhanov, *ibid.*, p. 663; T.I. Sultanov, *Podnyatyie na beloi koshme. Potomki Chingis-khana* (Almaty: Daik-Press, 2001), p. 142.

Juvayni, Ata Malik ibn Muhammad (1226–83): A court historian of the Mongol Hulagid dynasty, compiler of the work on the history of the East *Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha*.

Kabanbai: A famed eighteenth-century Kazakh *batyr*, one of the leaders and organisers of the struggle against the Dzhungars. A valuable epic about him survives in numerous versions. One of the copies is preserved in the St Petersburg Department of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences (St Petersburg), in the archive of Professor I.N. Berezin (*fond 5, opis 1, listy 174–77*). See *Kazak adebiyeti tarikhy*, vol. 1 (Alma-Ata, 1948), p. 308; *Kabanbai batyr zhyry*, ROBAN KazSSR, nos 996–99; Amanzholov, *Voprosy dialektologii i ystorii kazakhskogo yazyka*, p. 52.

Kadyr-Galibek (more correctly, **Kadyrgalibek**): Counsellor to Koshim and later to Seidyak. Kadyrgalibek was the son of Koshymbek and the grandson of Temshik-Bakhadur. He was descended from the Clan of the Crested Tamga of the Kazakh Zhalaiyr tribe. Moving across to the opposition to Koshym Khan, together with Oraz-Mukhammed, he joined Seidyak, thereby raising the prestige of the latter. The Russian chronicles note that Seidyak ‘grew stronger after he was joined by a tsarevich of the Kazakh Horde (Oraz-Mukhammed) and Karash-myrza, who had joined him shortly before.’ In 1588, during an

‘entertainment of hawk hunting on the bank of the River Irtysh’, Kadyrgalibek, together with Oraz-Mukhammed and Seidyak, was taken captive by the Russian military leader Shulkov and despatched to Moscow. Here he compiled the celebrated *التواري جامع* *Collection of Chronicles*.

Kainak (according to Guillaume de Rubruk, **Cailac** and today known as **Koilyk**): An ancient city, formerly the centre of the Karluk Khanate, which existed in the eighth to thirteenth centuries in the valley of the River Karatal. Its ruins are near the city of Taldykorgan. Excavations carried out in 1939 by Professor A.N. Bernshtam revealed that the mound has three cultural layers, in which ceramics, the bones of domestic animals and the remains of tools used in everyday life were deposited in considerable quantities. The first layer dates back to the early Mongol period (twelfth century); the second layer has been dated by coins to the Karakhanid period (tenth to twelfth centuries); and the third layer reflects the history of the Karluk and early Karakhanids (ninth and tenth centuries).

There are differing opinions on the exact name of the city: V.V. Grigoryev believed that de Rubruk’s ‘Cailac’ was a distorted form from the Turkic ‘Kayalyk’. (*Kaya* is a cliff.) See V.V. Grigoryev, *Vostochnyi, ili Kitaiskii, Turkestan*, pp. 301–2. A.N. Bernshtam showed that the true name of the city is ‘Koilyk’. See: De Rubruk, *Puteshestviya v vostochnye strany* (St Petersburg, 1911) p. 105; A.N. Bernshtam, ‘Pamyatniki stariny Alma-Atinskoi oblasti’, *Izvestiya AN kazSSR, seriya arkheologicheskaya*, issue 1 (Alma-Ata, 1948) pp. 82–84.

Kalinovsky, I.G.: Secretary of the Russian consulate in Kuldzha.

Kalkamanov, Bukhar Zhyrau (1693–1787): A well-known Kazakh singer who improvised many didactic songs that have remained popular. Certain historical events of that time are faithfully reflected in his works. He hymned the liberation struggle of the Kazakh people against the Dzhungars, and such heroes of that struggle as Bogenbai, Kabanbai and Zhanibek. Closely associated with Abylai Khan, Bukhar Zhyrau supported his policy of playing off Russia against China. The language of the works of Bukhar Zhyrau are the foundation of Kazakh written culture. See *Istoriya kazakhskoi literatury*, vol. 2, Alma-Ata, 1979, pp. 33–51.

Kamar-ad-Din: An influential emir of Mogulistan, of the Dulat tribe, he led the fight against Timur in Eastern Turkestan.

Kamau: The delta section of the River Ili, immediately adjacent to the southern shore of Lake Balkhash.

Kamensky, Pavel Ivanovich: Monastic name: Pyotr (1765–1845). A sinologist, in 1820–30 he was in charge of the Russian ecclesiastical mission in Peking.

Kanagatcha (Kana’at Shakh): A Tajik who became a Kokand military commander and politician. In 1846–47, ruling the city of Turkestan, he spoke out against the Fergana Kipchaks who were in power in Kokand after he

learned of the murder of Sarymsak Khan, the former *khakim* of Tashkent. He defended Turkestan for seven months, then fled to Bukhara. In 1860, he ruled Tashkent and commanded the Kokandians in the Uzun-Agach battle. In 1861–62 he led the Kokand campaign in Turkestan and Iany-Kurgan and Dzhulek. On his initiative, after the news of the murder of Malla Khan (24 February 1862), the commanders in Turkestan invited Khudayar Khan to accede to the throne. Then Kana'at Shakh bore the title of *atalyk*. After the second accession of Khudayar Khan (1862), he was sent for negotiations to the Emir of Bukhara, but a few days later was executed by the latter. (*Taarikh Shahrokhi ...*, pp. 180, 215–20, 224–25, 227, 232–37 239, 240.)

Kangly: One of the oldest tribes, mentioned in the second century BC. It occupied a vast territory extending from the River Talas to the lower reaches of the Syr Darya and the foothills of the Karatau. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, part of it spread to the Ulytau Mountains and Turgai steppe. The Kangly were members of the confederation of tribes that later formed the Kazakh Senior *Zhuz*. After the collapse of the Golden Horde and Ulus of Chagatai they were a major constituent of the Kazakh union. In the history of the Kazakh people, the Kangly and Uisun are considered the most senior tribes of the Kazakh *zhuzes*, founders of the ancient system of law and order, and they accordingly have an honourable place in legend. See N. Aristov, *Opyt vyyasneniya*, p. 424; S. Amanzholov, *Voprosy dialektologii i istorii kazakhskogo yazyka* (Alma-Ata, 1959) pp. 67–72; *Istoriya Kazakhskoi SSR*, vol. 1.

Kangxi The device of the rule of the second emperor of the Qing Dynasty (1662–1722). The emperor's personal name was Xuanye, and the temple name was Shengzu. Since it was taboo to mention the personal names of the emperors, they are referred to in Chinese historical literature by the device of their reign. This convention was followed in Russian and Western sinology when naming the Qing rulers.

Kangyui: A proto-state association at the beginning of our era, known from Chinese sources (Tsyang-Khanshu [Qian-Hanshu]) under the name of Kantszyui. Its domain was the middle and lower reaches of the Syr Darya. It appears that a large part of the territory of today's Kazakhstan was under the sway of Kantszyui. Some scholars believe the ethnic basis of this proto-state association was provided by East Iranian tribes descended from the Saka of Syr Darya. See B.G. Gafurov, *Tadzhiki: Drevneishaya, drevnyaya i srednevekovaya Istoriya* (Moscow, 1972) p. 137. In the view of other scholars, the Kangyui tribes were Turkic-speaking. See A.N. Bernshtam. *Ocherk istorii gumnov* (Leningrad, 1951) p. 107. Several authors point out the political nature of the term 'Kangyui', which was not directly associated with any one ethnos. See S.G. Klyashtorny, *Drevnetyurkskie runicheskie pamyatniki kak istochnik po istorii Srednei Azii* (Moscow, 1964) p. 173, n. 187.

Kanjut: An old, shared name of the principalities of Hunza and Nagar.

Kanzhygaly Kazakhs: A section of the Argyn tribe (Middle *Zhuz*). The majority lived in the mountains of Ereimentau on the territory of Akmola Province, and a minority on the left bank of the River Irtysh in Pavlodar District.

Kaotsche (Gao-gyui): A Turfan oasis and basin of the River Tarim, the ancient homeland of the Uighurs. See D. Pozdneev, *Ocherk istorii Uighurov* [St Petersburg, 1883].

Kara Kazak or Kara Bukara: ‘The black people’ is how the Kazakh common people were known. In the literature one sometimes finds, instead of *Kara-Kazak*, the term *Kara-suiek* (black bone), but this was not a term used by the Kazakhs themselves.

Kara Khitai: An early feudal state (eleventh and twelfth centuries) that extended from Mongolia to the Aral Sea.

Karakesek: A clan of the Argyn tribe. It consisted of individual clans that had long lived in the Karakalpak steppe and settled in the east up to the River Irtysh, and in the west up to the watershed of the Rivers Sarysu and Mointy, and in the south to Lake Balkhash.

Karakolkan: This tribal name has evidently been given to the people from the name of the sultan whose nomadic territory was in the present-day Karakol District.

Karakorum: The capital of the Genghisid state, in the upper reaches of the River Orkhon. Founded by Genghis Khan in 1220.

Karasakal (Kara Khan): Instigator of the Bashkir uprising of 1794 against the accession of Bashkiria to Russia. After suppression of the uprising, Karasakal moved to Kazakh territory and was given refuge by Kazybek in the Karkaraly steppe. Fearful of a conspiracy of Kazakh feudal lords hostile to Kazybek, Karasakal soon left and moved to the Black Irtysh River, where he found a new patron in the powerful leader of the Naiman, Kabanbai Batyr. He remained with him for the rest of his life. See *Materialy po istorii Bashkirskoi ASSR*, vol. 3 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1949), pp. 524–39; R. Ignatyev, ‘Karasakal, lzhe-khan Bashkirii’, *Trudy nauchnogo obshchestva po izucheniyu byta, istorii i kultury bashkir pri Narkomprose BASSR*, issue 2 (Sterlitamak, 1922), pp. 38–66.

Karasha (more correctly, **Karashy**): The title of a counsellor of Koshim and subsequently of Seidyak. His actual name was Kadyrghali Zhalaiyri. In the Middle Ages, the title of *karashy* was given to the highest-ranking officials serving at the court of the khan. There is an expression in Kazakh – ‘*Khan kasynda karashy*’ – which means, ‘The khan always has a *karashy*.’ *Karashy* means the Khan’s *dumny* [counsellor]. See Miller, *Istoriya Sibiri*, vol. 1, pp. 274–75, 487.

Karategin: Formerly a realm of Pamir *beks*, occupying the territory of the basin of the middle reaches of the River Vakhsh-Surkhob. Its centre was the village of Garm. Now part of Tajikistan (Garm District).

Karaul: Guard, from the Mongolian *kharul*, which originally meant the duties of a beater in a hunting group. In the warfare terminology of nomads, the vanguard that begins a battle or reports the appearance of an enemy. Also the sentinel service, standing guard, etc.

Kari kulak: ‘Old ears.’ That is, knowledgeable people well acquainted with the history of past times.

Karelin, Grigory Silych (1801–72): A Russian natural scientist and explorer. In the years 1827–28 he explored West Kazakhstan, and in the years 1840–45, Central and East Kazakhstan and Zhetysu. He assembled rich mineralogical and zoological collections and was the first person to survey and describe the architectural heritage of Central Kazakhstan. His writings on Kazakhstan are very extensive and varied, but they still have not been published in full. A brief extract of his report on his travels in Kazakhstan was published in *Otechestvennye zapiski* in June 1841.

Karkaraly District: One of the outer *okrugs* and an important administrative and trading area located on the high road connecting Central Kazakhstan and the Zhetysu Region. Formed in 1824. Kent and Kazulyk are mountains in the Karkaraly range. They are located to the east and south-east respectively of the city of Karkaralinsk.

Karzhas: A Kazakh clan that lived east of Karaganda, and to the south and south-west of the Bayanaul Mountains.

Kasym Khan (d. 1523): A Kazakh khan, the son of Zhanibek and grandson of Barak Khan. Inheriting the khanate from his father, Kasym Khan sought to restore the eastern part of the Ulus of Juchi to its former eminence. Under his authority, he united not only the Kazakhs but also a portion of the Nogai, Karakalpaks and Kyrgyz. Kasym Khan sought to consolidate the system of appanage lands. He distributed the richest agricultural areas of the south (the basin of the Lower Syr Darya, Karatau, the districts of Sairam, Talas and Shu) among his family and supporters – his sons, brothers and major *beks* – and himself settled in Karatal, situated in the vicinity of the town of Syganak. Folk tradition associates Kasym Khan with the creation of a feudal code of laws, *The Path Beaten by Kasym Khan*. The text of the code has not been preserved and the legend does not convey its full content, but evidence enables us to conclude that its purpose was to reinforce feudal property rights.

Kasymov, Kenesary: Grandson of Khan Abylai and a sultan of the Middle *Zhuz*, and for ten years (1837–46) led a struggle against the Russians in an attempt to restore the power of the khan and to create a Kazakh khanate. In 1846 he was captured and killed in a skirmish with the Kyrgyz.

Kazakh: On the date of the appearance and the meaning of the word ‘Kazakh’, see A. Samoilovich, ‘O slove kazakh’, *Antropologicheskie ocherki* (Leningrad,

1927); S.K. Ibragimov, ‘Eshche raz o termine “kazakh”’, *Novye materialy po drevnei i srednevekovoi istorii Kazakhstana, Trudy Instituta istorii, arkheologii i etnografii AN Kazakhskoi SSR*, vol. 8 (Alma-Ata, 1960).

قزاقلىق *Kazakylyk*: The way of life of a ‘kazakh’, that is, of a person who for some reason has left his tribe or clan, or lost power and is roaming the outer reaches of the state or a foreign land, often subsisting with the aid of weapons.

Kazan Khan: The son of Isuntu and great-grandson of Chagatai. One of the first Chagataiid khans in Maverannakhr.

Kazan Khanate: Existed in the Middle Volga region (1436–1552), centred on Kazan. It was formed following the collapse of the Golden Horde and occupied the territory of Volga-Kama Bulgaria which, in 1236, was conquered by the Tatar-Mongols. In 1445 the son of Ulu-Mukhammed Makhmutek, khan of the Golden Horde, laid the foundation for an independent Kazan Khanate, which established itself in the city of Kazan.

Kazybek: A famous *bi* of the Middle *Zhuz* and of the Kazakh Khanate in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Tradition has it that Kazybek was one of the authors of the *Code of Laws of Tauke Khan*, known as the *Zhety Zhargy* [Seven Truths], fragments of which have survived in the notes of Ia.P. Gaverdovsky, G.I. Spassky and A.I. Levshin. See *Rukopisnyi otdel Leningradskogo otdeleniya Instituta istorii Akademii nauk SSSR, Kolleksiya* 115, No. 495; G.I. Spassky, ‘Kazakhi Bol’shoi, Srednei i Maloi ordy’, *Sibirskii Vestnik* (St Petersburg, 1820) parts 9–11; Levshin, *Opisanie*, vol. 3, pp. 169–77. Kazybek had great influence among the Kazakhs of the Middle *Zhuz*. According to Russian sources, he was revered in the horde as the senior judge, whom even Abulmambet Khan and Abylai consulted, and without whose consent nothing of major importance was done.

In legend and folk poetry, Kazybek is depicted as the architect of the overall struggle against the Dzhungar occupiers. Many sayings, aphorisms and fragments of oratory attributed to Kazybek have survived. A considerable number of them were published in the Soviet period. A brief portrait of Kazybek, as the ruler of the Middle *Zhuz* under Tauke, is given by the Tatar scholar Shikhabaddin Mardzhani (who calls him *Kozybek*) in his work, written in the Tatar language, *Mustafad al-Akhbar fi akhval Kazan va Bulgar* [An extraction of information about the state of Kazan and Bulgar] (Kazan, 1885) p. 155. See also Levshin, *Opisanie*, vol. 2, p. 63; *Kazak adebieti tarikhly*, vol. 1, pp. 271–72, 275, 308; K. Baibolov, *Tole bidin tarikhly*, ROBAN KazSSR, no. 763, *list* 226; Baibolov, *Esim khannyn zhyry*, ROBAN (Rukopisnyi otdel Biblioteki Akademii nauk) KazSSR, No. 513, *list* 398.

Kenzhe: The youngest son who, under customary law, inherits his father’s household.

Kereit: One of the largest ancient nomadic tribes, known to history from the twelfth century. They inhabited an area from the headwaters of the River Selenga in the north to the bend of the Huang He [Yellow River] in the south, from the Khangai Mountains in the west to Lake Buir-Nor and the River Khalkhin-gol in the east. The ethnicity of the Kereit is much debated. According to some researchers, they spoke Mongolian (V.V. Bartold, B.Ia. Vladimirtsov, N.N. Poppe, L.N. Gumilev and others). A majority of researchers (N.A. Aristov, G.E. Grumm-Grzhimailo, S. A. Amanzholov, M. S. Mukanov and others) believes they were Turkic-speaking.

Supporters of the view that the Kereit spoke Mongolian believe their later descendants were certain branches of the Oirat tribes. See U.E. Erdniev, *Kalmyki. Istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherki*, second ed. (Elista, 1980), pp. 52–53. For criticism of this position, see V.P. Sanchirov, ‘Etnicheskii sostav oiratov XV–XVIII vv. po dannym “Iletkhel Shastir”’, *Iz istorii dokapitalisticheskikh i kapitalisticheskikh otnoshenii v Kalmykii* (Elista, 1977), pp. 23–24.

Supporters of the belief that the Kereit spoke a Turkic language propose that their heirs were the Kazakhs of the Kereit association of tribes, branches of the Karakerei Naiman and the Kereit Zhetyru union of tribes. See V.V. Vostroe and M.S. Mukanov, *Rodoplennoi sostav i rasselenie kazakhov: konets XIX–nachalo XX v.* (Alma-Ata, 1968). At the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Kereit had a proto-state association under the leadership of Wan Khan, who fought for political hegemony over the nomads of Central Asia. In this battle with the Mongol tribes of Genghis Khan, Wan Khan was defeated. The Kereit used the Old Uighur alphabet and professed Nestorian Christianity, which may suggest that they were ethnically diverse. The view of L.L. Viktorova is that they included both Turkic peoples and Mongols. See L.L. Viktorova, *Mongoly: proiskhozhdenie naroda i istoki kultury* (Moscow, 1980), p. 168.

Kereit: One of the tribes of the Zhetyru union of the Junior *Zhuz*. During the winter the majority of the Kereit were concentrated in the Syr Darya region. They had their summer territory on the north side of the Aral Karakum.

Khadis (Khoja Sybek): The *khakimbek* of Ush-Turfan. In 1755, he delivered Dawachi, the Dzungar khan, to the Chinese, and later the leaders of the national liberation movement in Xinjiang, the brothers Burkhaniddin and Khoja-Zhagan.

Khaidu River (Khaidykgol): This flows not into the River Tarim but into Lake Bagrashkul.

Khakimbek: One of the old, highest-ranking positions in Eastern Turkestan: the independent and plenipotentiary ruler of a large city or settlement. After the conquest of Eastern Turkestan by China in 1758, the *khakimbeks* were transformed into Class 3 officials with limited rights, and their position ceased to be elective. The *khakimbek* was appointed by the *hebe-amban* and confirmed in Peking.

Khaknazar (1538–80): The son of Kasym, grandson of Az-Zhanibek, one of the most powerful khans of the sixteenth century. During his reign there was a consolidation and centralisation of the power of the khan, and a unification of the forces of the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz and Nogai against the expansionist ambitions of the khan of Bukhara. Khaknazar died in an internecine war.

Khe: The present-day Katta Tumulus.

Khi: According to Chinese sources, the Kai (snake) tribe. See S.M. Akhinzhanov, ‘Etnonimy “kimak” i “kipchak”’, *Arkheologiya epokhi kamnya i metalla Sibiri* (Novosibirsk, 1983), pp. 106–22.

Khitan: A Mongol tribe which was the backbone of the Kara Khitai state.

Khodzko, Aleksandr (Aleksander Chodźko, 1804–91): A well-known Polish poet and orientalist. His poetry was published in St Petersburg in 1829 and in Poznań in 1833. Until 1845, he was a Russian consul in Iran and studied the literature of Eastern peoples. In Paris, Chodźko published translations of Iranian poets and a grammar of the Persian language. Valikhanov is referring to *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia* (London, 1842).

Khoja: A title of respect, often referring to a teacher.

Khonakai: An ancient city in Zhetysu.

Kho-Urluk: A Kalmyk khan who led the migration of the Kalmyks from Central Asia to the lower reaches of the Volga. In the 1630s, he broke away from the main Oirat territories and migrated first to the Tyumen region and then to the lower reaches of the Volga. In 1633, Kho-Urluk inflicted great harm on the Nogai in battle. He was killed in 1644 when attacking the Kabardians and Circassians.

Khudayar Khan: A Kokand ruler who defeated the Kipchaks in autumn 1852. See V.M. Ploskikh, *Kirgizy i Kokandskoe khanstvo* (Frunze, 1977), p. 164.

Khulum (Khulm): The city now known as Tashkurgan, located in northern Afghanistan on the lower reaches of the River Khulum.

Khutukhtu: In Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism, one of the highest ranks in the religious hierarchy. Most often, these were abbots of large monasteries.

Kie (also *izgi, igi*): Grace, goodness extended by a deity to various beings and objects, as opposed to the evil principle, *kesir* (diminution, loss), applied to evil (misfortune) wrought by a deity.

Kipchak: In the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries Kipchaks comprised the core of the Kazakh people, later joined by other tribes. In the late Middle Ages, some Kipchaks migrated to territory that is nowadays the Fergana Province of the Republic of Uzbekistan. A small number joined the Kyrgyz, Karakalpaks and Bashkirs. The regions principally inhabited by the Kipchak tribes are the Torgai and Kostanay steppes and areas adjoining the

South Urals. A significant proportion live along the River Syr Darya and in Akmola, Pavlodar, Omsk and Karaganda Provinces. See: Mahmud al-Kashgari, *Divanu Lugati't-Türk, tarih ta'lifti* (Year 466 Hijri); Musakhkhikh Kelisli Mu'allim Rif'at, vol. 1, Istanbul, 1333 (1915) p. 32; V. G. Tizengausen, *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoi Ordy*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg, 1884); vol. 2 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1941). The area covered by the nomadic Kipchak tribes extended to the Black Sea steppes in the west. The entire steppe from the River Irtysh as far as the south of Russia was known as Desht-i-Kipchak [the Kipchak Steppe] in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. V.V. Bartold, *Sochineniya*, vols 1, 5 (Moscow, 1963, 1968); *Istoriya Kazakhskoi SSR*, vol. 2 (Alma-Ata, 1979).

Kiyat: A Mongol tribe.

Klaproth, Heinrich Julius (1783–1835): A renowned orientalist, traveller and author of numerous works on the history of the Turkic and Mongol tribes. He spent the years 1802 to 1811 in Russia and in 1806 was elected to the Russian Academy of Sciences. A member of Count Golovin's embassy to China, he studied the language and life of the Siberian peoples, as well as of the Mongols, Manchus and Chinese. His works were extensively used by Russian orientalists in their studies of Central Asia, and many of them maintained close scholarly links with Klaproth. Like many of his predecessors, Chokan Valikhanov makes frequent reference in his writings to Klaproth's *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie, depuis la monarchie de Cyrus jusqu'à nos jours, accompagnés par recherches historiques et ethnographiques sur cette partie du monde* (Paris–London–Stuttgart–Gotha, 1826).

Kobyz: A ancient two-stringed instrument of Turkic origin, with deep spiritual and cultural significance for Kazakh and Kyrgyz peoples.

Koïilder (Kaldar, Kelar): The patriarch of the Katagan and Shanyshkyly tribes, which were members of the Uisun Confederation. The Katagan are an ancient tribe that inhabited the territory of modern Southern Kazakhstan and Central Asia. In the early seventeenth century, they were the main force of Tursyn Khan, the ruler of Tashkent. From the middle of the seventeenth century, a portion of the tribe became part of the Uzbek people, while another portion merged with the Kazakh Shanyshkyly tribe.

Kokshal River: This description of the middle and lower reaches of the River Kokshal contains an inaccuracy. The River Aksai, after breaking through the Kokshal range, which at this point is flowing along the meridian, takes the name Kokshal (on old maps it is named as the Taushken-Darya), and continues from west to east. As it approaches Ush-Turfan, following the line of the Kokshal and Karateke ranges, between which it flows, the river takes a north-easterly turn. Then, at the eastern extremity of the Karateke ridge, it turns south-east and, just before flowing into the Aksu, again makes a smooth turn to the north-east.

Kokshetau District: One of the outer *okrugs* of the Siberian Kazakh province. It was formed in 1824 after the adoption of the Charter of the Siberian Kazakhs.

Komovshchikov: Should read ‘Kotovshchikov’.

Konyrat: An ancient tribe, known from the eighth to ninth centuries, which played a significant role in the history of Central Asia from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. In the *uluses* of the nomadic Desht-i-Kipchak Uzbeks, the Konyrat, unifying the numerous Turkic clans, were an important political force. The majority of the Konyrat were incorporated into the Kazakh people, while an insignificant minority joined the Karakalpaks and Uzbeks. The Konyrat were part of the Middle *Zhuz*, but in the late eighteenth century, because of a threatening political situation, left it and joined the Senior *Zhuz*. See A. Levshin, *Opisanie kirgiz-kaisatskikh ili kirgiz-kazachikh ord i stepei*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg, 1832) pp. 160–5; N.I. Grodekov, *Kirgizy i karakirgizy Syrdaryinskoi oblasti* (Tashkent, 1889) p. 11; A. Nurekin, ‘Aristokraticeskaya kasta v konyratskom rode’, *Turkestanskije vedomosti*, no. 43, 1873; N. Naushabaev. *Manzumat Kazakiya*, Kazan, 1903, p. 27 (in Kazakh); M.S. Mukanov, *Etnicheskii sostav i rasselenie kazakhov Srednego zhuza* (Alma-Ata, 1974), pp. 58–65.

Korama: The legendary long-range gun of the Kazakh sultan, Ondan, who died in the fifteenth century in a war against the Dzhungars. In traditional poetry the sultan was called *Uzyn okty Ondan*, Long-shot Ondan.

Korgan Tobe: One of the Talgar settlements, situated where the River Talgar emerges from the mountains onto the plain. The former settlement has been razed to the ground.

Koshim (d. 1598): The son of Murtaza of the Sheibanid Dynasty of the Golden Horde. The last khan of the Siberian Yurt. He seized the khanate around 1556, overthrowing the former ruler, Yediger of the Taibugi Dynasty. Koshim’s lands extended south to the present North Kazakhstan Province; to the west, to the estuary of the River Tura (Tarkhan city); to the south-east to the Baraba Steppe; to the north to the border of the lower reaches of the Ob and Irtysh.

Koshim exacted tribute from all the peoples inhabiting the vast West Siberian plain and introduced Islam. However, the local population reacted strongly against coercion to adopt the new religion. The political and cultural centre of the khanate was the city of Isker (Kashlyk, Sibir). In 1581 he was defeated by Yermak and retreated along the Irtysh. Above Omsk he founded a new residence called Chernyi Gorodok. He refused repeated proposals by the Moscow tsars that he should surrender. Suffering a final defeat in 1598, Koshim moved to the Yesil Steppe, then to the Nogai, where he died. (See Miller, *Istoriya Sibiri*, vol. 1, pp. 197–201, 299.)

Kostyletsky, Nikolai Fyodorovich (1818–69): One of the most forward-looking teachers at the Cadet Corps, Kostyletsky was an ardent supporter of the ideas

of the Russian revolutionary democrats and a friend and mentor of Valikhanov. He was educated first at Omsk Military Academy, then became a student at the Oriental Faculty of Kazan University, graduating with a Master's degree in Oriental Philology. He had an excellent knowledge of Turkic languages and of Arabic and Persian. Kostylevsky tutored a large group of young Kazakhs studying at the Siberian Cadet Corps. In 1865 he was accused in the case of the 'Siberian separatists' and dismissed from the academy.

Kovalevsky, Egor Petrovich (1811–68): A specialist in geology, redoubtable geographer, tireless explorer, writer and outstanding figure in public life, member and deputy chairman of the Russian Geographical Society, director of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1850–61) and founding member of the Society for the Welfare of Writers and Scholars in Need. Kovalevsky was educated at Kharkov University and in 1829 entered government service in the Department of Mines in St Petersburg. Until 1837 he worked as a mining engineer in the Altai mines. In the years 1839–40, together with Aleksandr Gerngross, he explored Western Kazakhstan and the Northern Caspian Sea region, where he conducted the first geological studies of the Mugodzhar range, the Aral Sea region, Ustyurt and the River Emba basin. The result of this expedition was a work written jointly with Gerngross, 'Opisanie zapadnoi chasti Kirgiz-kaisatskoi stepi' (see *Gornyi zhurnal*, vol. 4, 1840). In 1851, with the rank of colonel of the Corps of Mining Engineers, Kovalevsky directed geological research in Zhetysu and also visited Kuldzha.

Kovalevsky's meeting with the Kazakh poet Makhambet Utemisov in 1839 in the Caspian steppes is an event in cultural history. His pen portrait presents a vivid image of the Kazakh poet. Kovalevsky travelled extensively in the countries of Western Europe, and in the Near and Middle East. He visited Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Syria, Greece, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Kashmir, China and Mongolia. During his exploration of Mongolia and China, he collected interesting materials on the basis of which he published *Puteshestvie v Kitai* (St Petersburg, 1853).

Kovalevsky's travel sketches depicting the life and customs of those he met are imbued with a humane respect for everybody, irrespective of the colour of their skin.

As chairman of the Society for the Welfare of Writers and Scholars in Need, in 1861–68 Kovalevsky often organised literary readings that became a platform for progressive ideas and a regular meeting place for notable cultural figures. These readings were attended by Chernyshevsky and by Chokan Valikhanov, where they would have been able to become well acquainted. The first literary reading took place on 10 January 1860 at Kovalevsky's residence. Kovalevsky gave Valikhanov practical support in his scholarly and public career. He was one of the instigators of Valikhanov's expedition to Kashgar and had a very high opinion of the Kazakh scholar's work.

Kozgan Kazakhs: A division of the Argyn tribe. They lived on the River Esil in the Atbasar steppe. A minority were dispersed through other districts (Akmola, Bayanauly).

Kubylgan: Literally: reincarnation, rebirth. A principal teaching of Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism.

The way of Kulzhan: To break free of the enemy by conducting a battle skilfully, demonstrating adroitness and courage. From the name of Kulzhan, a hero of ancient times who was a fearless warrior and remarkable tactician.

Kumalak (little balls): The use of small balls for fortune-telling among the Kazakhs. The *kumalaks*, inscribed rounded pebbles, are systematically laid out in three parallel lines. The *kumalakshy* explains the results of the fortune-telling based on how the pebbles in these lines correlate. The total number of balls is traditionally 41.

Kuman/Coman. Called Polovtsians in Russian literature of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, this is another word for the Kipchaks.

Kumys: A slightly alcoholic drink made from fermented mare's milk that is a staple summer food for steppe nomads. – *NF*

Kungei Alatau: In the early 1850s, the geographical term 'Trans-Ili Alatau' was not yet current. Instead, the term used was 'Kungei Alatau'. Researchers then believed the Almaty ridge and Kungei Alatau were one and the same. Differentiation between the Trans-Ili Alatau and Kungei Alatau came only later. Kazakhs had earlier called the Trans-Ili ridge Almaty Tauy (Almaty ridge).

Kunmi: The title of the ruler of the Usun, the head of the ancient Usun tribal state. The main seat of the *kunmi* was Chigu-chen, located to the north-east of Lake Issyk-Kol.

Kurekan, Mukhammed-Khaidar (Mirza Mohammed Khaidar Dulat, 1499–1551): An historian and author of the book *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, which describes historical events in Mogulistan and Central Asia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Mukhammed-Khaidar was a member of the Dulat tribe, which had considerable political influence in Mogulistan (Zhetysu and Eastern Turkestan) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. His forebears served as *ulus-beks* under the last Chagataiids. Mukhammed-Khaidar himself played an important role in the history of Eastern Turkestan in the mid-sixteenth century. See V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov, 'Issledovanie o Kasimovskikh tsaryakh i tsarevichakh', *Trudy Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhelogicheskogo obshchestva*, part 11 (St Petersburg, 1864); V.V. Grigoryev, *Vostochnyi, ili Kitaiskii, Turkestan*, p. 315, note 50.

Kurlaut: A branch of the Kipchak tribe. The reference is to the Kurlaut-Kipchak Clan that inhabited the Turgai steppe.

Kusbegi: The original meaning is falconer, the person in charge of hunting with birds and weaponry. In the Kokand Khanate this was a very senior position, the highest official dignitary after the *mynbasy*, the ruler (governor) of a major *vilayet* (province). The *kusbegi* were usually appointed from those in the khan's immediate retinue and were endowed with extensive powers. In the Bukhara Khanate, the *kusbegi* was the grand vizier, the 'premier', corresponding to the *mynbasy* in the Kokand Khanate.

Kusbegi Lyashker: Lyashker Kusbegi (who also had the title of *beklarbegi*) was a senior Kokand official who, for over a quarter of a century until 1842, ruled Tashkent and South Kazakhstan. *Taarikh Shakhrokhi*, pp. 81, 87, 91–92, 132–33.

Kushluk: The son of Tayang Khan of the Naiman, he led the struggle against the Mongols who were invading the territory of Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

Kutlubuga (Kutlu-buka): A fourteenth-century *bek* of the Golden Horde who served under Tokhtamysh as an envoy (*elchi*) in Eastern European states.

Kyatib Chelebi/Kâtip Çelebi/Hajji Khalifa Mustafa (1609–57): Turkish scholar, historian and geographer, author of *The Mirror of the World* (1732) – تاب بان نما لکاتب چلبی. استانبول، ۱۱۴۵. On the basis of information in this book, Valikhanov compiled a schematic map of Central Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The map is stored in the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences (*fond 23, opis 1, ed. khr. 17, list 49*).

Kyrgyz: 'The opinion ... that resettlement of the Kyrgyz from the Yenisei to the Tian Shan Mountains in the early eighteenth century ... proves less than correct.' Valikhanov emphatically rejects the theory that the Kyrgyz were deported from the Yenisei to the Tian Shan Mountains and seeks to show that they were native to the Tian Shan. That is where they lived in ancient times, and it was only during their migrations that they spread to the Altai and Upper Yenisei, making an annual return journey between the Tian Shan and southern Siberia. This migration, in Valikhanov's opinion, was interrupted when the ancient nomadic routes of the Kyrgyz were blocked by the powerful Oirat state that occupied Dzhungaria from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Folk legends about the migrations of the Kyrgyz between the Tian Shan and the Altai Mountains are clearly reflected in the *Manas* poem. In this legend, commemoration of the deceased Kukotai Khan takes place not in the Issyk-Kol Valley, but in the Altai.

There is an extensive historical literature regarding the spread of the Kyrgyz to the Altai and the Yenisei, and evidence from archaeological excavations confirms this. See V.V. Bartold. *Kirgizy. (Istoricheskii ocherk)* (Frunze, 1927); Bartold, *Sochineniya*, vol. 2, part 1 (Moscow, 1963), pp. 471–543; S.E. Malov, *Eniseiskaya pismennost tyurkov. Teksty i perevody* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1952); S.V. Kiselyov, *Drevnyaya Istoriya Yuzhnoi Sibiri* (Moscow, 1951).

Kyzai: A clan of the Naiman tribe in the mid-nineteenth century who roamed the valleys of the Rivers Emil and Karagash and wintered along the eastern tributaries of Lake Alakol and the Rgaity tract. The majority of its members roamed Chinese territory and had both their summer and winter encampments there. Clan Baizhigit is part of the Naiman tribe, of the Karakerei branch of the Middle *Zhuz*. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Baizhigit roamed the area between the River Kara-Irtysh in the north-east and Lake Alakol in the south. From 1847 the Baizhigit began adopting Russian citizenship. In 1855, the Togas *volost* was formed from four clan divisions. Another section permanently roamed from the River Tamyrsk eastwards within China, was considered subject to the *volost* and paid tribute in kind.

Kyzylsu: The River Kyzylsu has its origin on the northern slopes of the eastern extremity of the Trans-Alai ridge (east of the Kyzylart pass) and flows to the north-east. In the region of Ulugchat it turns to the south-east. On this stretch it also has other names – the Ulugchat, the Kabaatsu. It takes the name of Kashgar-Darya when it is already beyond Kashgar, in its lower reaches. To the west of its sources, another River Kyzylsu flows westwards, the headwater of the River Surkhob-Vakhsh.

Lanckoroński, Przeclaw: A Polish army commander (*voivod*) who died in 1531.

Lao-shan (Du-men): A mountain (in Chinese sources), lying close to the Tannu range, which extends from the Altai, east to the Khangai Mountains.

The Left Flank: A military geographical designation used during preparations to annex Zhetysu and South Kazakhstan to Russia (1850–65). It originally referred to the territory of Semey Province, including the Zhetysu Region, but with the establishment of Vernyi it came to encompass the area from Semey to Tashkent, including the south and south-east of Kazakhstan (the Tarbagatai mountains; the Dzhungarian and Trans-Ili Alatau Mountains; Zhetysu; the River Ili Valley; and so on). The right flank comprised the steppe districts of Kusmurnyn, Kokshetau, Akmola, Bayanaul and Karkaraly. The left and right flanks were defined from the viewpoint of the governor-general administering the region from Omsk, that is, facing south-east, south and south-west.

Levshin, Aleksei Iraklievich (1799–1879): Russian scholar and state official. One of the founders of the Russian Geographical Society. Famed for his research on the history and ethnography of the Kazakhs, he was the author of a major three-volume work, *Opisanie kirgiz-kazachyikh, ili kirgiz-kaisatskikh ord i stepei* (St Petersburg, 1832).

Liang (Chinese): A measure of weight, ranging from 35.0 to 37.8 kg in different parts of the Chinese Empire. 80 *liangs* = about 300 kg.

Little Bukharia: In the pre-1917 Russian literature called East Turkestan, as distinct from Greater Bukharia – Western or ‘Russian’ Turkestan. For further detail, see Ch.Ch. Valikhanov, ‘On the Western Region of the Chinese Empire’ in this volume.

Lobnor: An endorheic saline lake in western China. Valikhanov takes the name to mean ‘Sea of Stars’ in Mongolian. *Nor*, or *nuur*, means a lake; but the meaning of *Lob* has yet to be clarified.

Maiky (in the literature, also Baiki and Baiku): The legendary patriarch of the Kazakh *bis* of the Senior *Zhuz*. A folk saying about him has survived: ‘All true words go back to the same source: they were pioneered by Maiky.’ According to the historical sources, Maiky (Baiku) was a contemporary of Genghis Khan and lived in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. According to Rashid-ad-Din, Maiky was a member of the Uisun tribe and was a *tysiachnik* – equivalent to colonel – in the Ulus of Juchi, leading the army of the right wing. See Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, vol. 1, book 2 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1952), p. 274. For Kazakh legends about Maiky (Baiku), see G.N. Potanin, ‘Kazak-kirgizskie i altaiskie predaniya, legendy i skazki’, *Zhivaya starina*, Nos. 2–3, 1917, pp. 51, 54–55, 59.

Maimana, ميمينه, **maisara** ميسره: The Arabic terms for the right and left wings (flanks in a military formation). They correspond to the Turkic *On* and *Sol*, and the Mongolian *barungar* and *dzhuvangar*.

Maituza (*maitintszy*, Chinese): A Chinese Customs officer.

Malaisary: A *batyr* of the Middle *Zhuz*, of Clan Basentiin. A hero of the eighteenth-century struggle for the freedom of the Kazakhs against the Dzhungars. His name is immortalised in several toponyms, particularly in the valley of the River Ili and in the vicinity of the Altynemel ridge, where an historic battle was fought by Kazakh *batyrs*, led by Malaisary, against the Dzhungars. See *Kazakadebieti tarikhy*, vol. 1, 308b.

Manas: A city in Dzhungaria, located north of Urumchi.

Mansurov, Mukhammed Sherif: A self-proclaimed prophet in the mid-nineteenth century who lived in North Kazakhstan and preached Muridism. He was arrested and exiled to hard labour.

Margilan: A city in the Fergana Valley. Mentioned in written sources from the tenth century (Ibn Khaukal al-Mukaddasi and others, and on coins) as ‘Marginan’. A detailed description of the city was compiled by F. Nazarov, the first European traveller to visit Fergana, in 1813–14. He lived there for three months.

Mashaikh: Muslim religious instructor.

Massaget: Tribes related to the ancient Saka and which inhabited the Aral Sea region in the fifth to fourth centuries BC.

Maverannakhr: Arabic for ‘what is beyond the river’: in this case, the region between the Rivers Syr Darya and Amu Darya. The name has been in use since the Arab conquest of Central Asia in the eighth century, mainly in Arabic-language writing.

Mekiren (in the literature, **Bekren and Bekrin**, according to Rashid-ad-Din, also **Mekrin**): An ancient tribe, named after its patriarch, and a member of the Uisun Confederation. The Mekiren lived in the mountains of East Tian Shan (Saryyaz).

Merovingians: The first Frankish royal dynasty arising from the development of feudal relations in France in the fifth to eighth centuries. The Merovingians were absolute monarchs, but from the end of the sixth century effective power in the country was exercised by the majordomos, the highest officials who ruled the state during this dynasty. On officials in Mogulistan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see V.V. Grigoryev, *Vostochnyi, ili Kitaiskii, Turkestan*, p. 298.

Merzlyi Gorodok [Frozen Town]: The translation of the name of an ancient town in Western Siberia.

Metempsychosis: A mystical religious doctrine of the transmigration of the soul from one organism to another after death. It is one of the forms of the doctrine of justice in the afterlife.

Mevlevi: A Turkish Dervish order, abolished in 1925.

de Meyendorff, Georges (1798–1865): An officer of the Russian General Staff, secretary of the Negri embassy to Bukhara in 1820. Valikhanov is referring to his work, written in French, *Voyage d'Orenbourg à Boukhara, fait en 1820* (Paris, 1826). See A. Kamensky, 'Nrav i obychai Kirgiztsev (iz "Puteshestvia v Bukharu" barona Meiendorfa)', *Severnyi arkhiv*, part 2, 1826, pp. 268–81.

Mill, John Stuart (1806–73): A positivist English philosopher and economist, author of numerous scholarly works in which experience was recognised as the only source of knowledge.

The Moats of Zhanibek: 'The moats of Zhanibek' or 'the moats of Tamerlane' are the remains of large-scale excavations, not only for hunting but primarily for irrigation. They are found in various parts of Kazakhstan and there are numerous legends associating their origins with the doings of various khans. See D.N. Dzhetybysbaev, 'Rov Tamerlana', *Protokoly zasedanii i soobshchenii chlenov Turkestanskogo kruzhka lyubitelei arkheologii*, 1899, pp. 137–38.

Mogul-Ulus (Mogulistan): A feudal state that arose in Zhetysu and Eastern Turkestan after the collapse of the Ulus of Chagatai in Central Asia. The *ulus* was centred on Kashgar and Almalyk.

Mu: A Sogdian possession.

Mugodzhzar Mountains: Low mountains in Aktobe Province, southern spurs of the Ural Mountains. They consist of two parallel rocky ridges, extending 250 miles from north to south, from the headwaters of the River Irgiz to the Ustyurt plateau.

Müller, Gerhardt Friedrich (1705–83): A famous historian and explorer of Siberia and the Altai region. Author of numerous works on the geography,

history and ethnography of the peoples of Siberia and Central Asia; member of the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Over a period of ten years (1733–43) he researched the archives of the administrative centres of Western and Eastern Siberia. This work resulted in 38 folios of copies of official documents – the ‘Müller Portfolios’. Müller’s *magnum opus* was *Istoriya Sibiri* in two volumes.

Muradbek: Seized power in Kokand in 1844 and succeeded in holding onto the throne for only seven days; other sources say 9–11 days. After him, Khudayar, not Sarymsak, was proclaimed khan. Sarymsak was never on the Kokand throne. See Ploskikh, *Kirgizy i Kokandskoe khanstvo*, pp. 70, 160–1; *Katalog monet Kokanda XVIII–XIX vv.*, comp. S.Kh. Ishankhanov (Tashkent, 1976) pp. 4–5.

Muryndyk: Son of Kerei, grandson of Zhanibek, a Kazakh khan, predecessor of Kasym Khan. Ruled only nominally at the end of the fifteenth century, actual power being in the hands of his cousin, the powerful Kasym Khan. Deprived of authority and power, Muryndyk left Desht-i-Kipchak, moved to Samarkand, and died there.

Musulmankul: A regent in the history of Fergana (1844–52). A member of the feudal nobility of the Fergana Kipchak. In 1845, he was appointed to the position of the highest-ranking official of the khanate, the *mynbasy* (commander-in-chief). He was regent and *de facto* ruler in the Kokand Khanate while the khan was still a minor. During these years, he undertook several military campaigns against Uratobe and Tashkent, seeking support from Bukhara. In 1852 he was executed by Khudayar Khan.

Mutie (Khotan dialect): From the word *mut* – free of charge, buckshee, without recompense. In this case, without a bride-price.

Mynbasy (*mingbashi*): One of the highest official positions in the Central Asian khanates. In the Kokand Khanate this was the title of the commander-in-chief and first minister. In the Bukhara Khanate he was the equivalent of the *kusbegi*.

Naiman: Believed by most researchers to be one of the ancient Turkic-speaking tribes, they played a significant role in history during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. According to Rashid-ad-Din and Giovanni da Plano del Carpine, the Naiman lived in the mountains of the Great Altai and on the River Irtysh, extending eastwards as far as Karakorum and west to the Genghis ridge, which at that time was called the Naiman *kukh*, or Naiman ridge. During the Mongol invasion (early thirteenth century), a section of the Naiman – the Baltaly and Baganaly – were displaced by the troops of Genghis Khan and retreated to the Ulytau Mountains of Central Kazakhstan. In the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries the Naiman were a major constituent of the nascent Kazakh nation. The bulk of the Kazakh Naiman live on the territory of their ancestors, occupying the Upper Irtysh and the area from the Western Altai to the Tarbagatai Mountains. See N. Aristov, ‘Zametki ob etnicheskom sostave tyurkskikh plemen i narodnostei i svedeniya ob ikh chislennosti’, *Zhivaya starina*, vols 3–4 (St Petersburg, 1896) p.

361; K. Khalitov, *Tauarikh Khamsa* (Kazan, 1911), pp. 226–7; S. Amanzholov, *Voprosy dialektologii i istorii kazakhskogo yazyka*, pp. 52–61; P. Poucha, *Třinácť tisíc kilometrů Mongolskem* (Prague, 1957), pp. 128, 159.

Namangan: A city in the northern part of the Fergana Valley. Known from the seventeenth century.

Nanlu: Full name in Chinese, Tianyian-nan'lu. In the pre-1917 Russian literature it is referred to as the Southern Border, Kashgaria, and Eastern Turkestan. These were the names given to the territory on the southern slopes of the Tian Shan Mountains. Another name was Khoibu (Chinese), literally Uighuria. The territory on the northern slopes of the Tian Shan range was called Beilu (Dzhungaria).

Nebolsin, Pavel Ivanovich (1817–93): Russian historian, ethnographer, researcher of the history of Siberia and of trade relations of Siberia with Central Asia, member of the Russian Geographical Society. Of his 370 fact-packed works, the most important are 'Ocherki volzhskogo nizovya', *Zhurnal Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, part 39, 1852; 'Ocherki torgovli Rossii so Srednei Aziei', *Zapiski Rossiiskogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 10 (1855) pp. 1–442; *Pokorenie Sibiri* (St Petersburg, 1849).

Neplyuev, N.N.: Governor-general of Orenburg in the mid-eighteenth century.

Nimrod: The legendary founder of Babylon. According to biblical legend, he undertook a grand project to construct a tower up to Heaven. The attempt failed when God punished the builders by making them speak different languages, which meant they could no longer understand one another. The Tower of Babel is a symbol of chaos and pointless work.

Nogai: A Turkic tribe that lived in West and North-West Kazakhstan and had considerable influence after the collapse of the Golden Horde.

The Nogai Epics: The *zhyr* (in Kazakh, *nogailynyn zhyry*). A cycle of epic tales of the Kazakhs, Nogai and Karakalpaks, about historical events of the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries, that have been preserved in folk memory. The cycle includes the poems *Erkokshe*, *Er Saiyn*, *Er Targyn*, *Kobylandy*, *Kambar* and others. See *Voprosy izucheniya eposa narodov SSSR* (Moscow, 1958), pp. 47–49, 53.

Noyon/Noyan: A Mongol princely title.

Numismatic collection: A small collection of Oriental coins (18 items), collected by Valikhanov and donated by him to the Asian Museum, together with a rare manuscript of Khakani's *Divan*, was described by V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov in French in 1860. See 'Description de quelques monnaies de l'oulovs de Djaghataï, de Khiva, et de Khokand, par V. Véliaminof Zernof', *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, no. 3, vol. 2 (St Petersburg, 1860) pp. 207–18. These coins, part of the numismatic collection

of the former Asian Museum, were transferred to the collection of the State Hermitage Museum in 1930–31.

Nurali Khan: The son of Abulkhair Khan, a khan of the Junior *Zhuz* (1748–86). As a result of an uprising by Khivans against Nadir Shakh's governor, Takhir Khan, in Khiva, and the killing of the latter, Nurali was proclaimed khan in Khiva. He reigned for a little over six months and died in exile in the city of Ufa.

Nushibi: According to Chinese sources, the ethnonym of a confederation of ancient Turkic tribes that inhabited the area between the Rivers Shu and Talas.

Oboloba: Among the Mongols and Turks in antiquity, places for venerating the spirits who possessed a locality. They had the form of stone or earth mounds, or stones arranged in a spheroidal pattern with branches stuck in them, to which scraps of material and tufts of hair were tied – sacrifices to the spirits of the mountains. In Mongolia, *obos* were often situated high up in mountain passes. The Kazakhs made such sacrificial offerings at the most revered tomb sites.

Ogadai (Ugedei, Oktai): The third son and successor of Genghis Khan.

Oguz Khan: The legendary patriarch of the Turkic peoples, particularly the Oguz tribes living in the lower reaches of the River Syr Darya (eighth to eleventh centuries). A great semi-legendary epic, the *Oguz-name*, is associated with his name. It describes the lineage of Oguz Khan and the origins and development of the ancient Turkic tribes. The poem has been translated from Turkic into all the major languages of the world.

Oikhor emissary: The emissary of the Oikhor (Uighur) khan to China – Doyan (or Dayan or Tayan) Ebo (or Abe).

Okse: A distortion of the Arabic name Ukkasha. For the historically untrue legend of the origin of the Kazakhs from Akashe and Anes, see Potanin, *Kazak-kirgizskie i altaiskie predaniya*, pp. 54, 57.

Olet: Mongols, belonging linguistically to the western group. Together with the Mongol Khoshout, Durbet and Torghut lines they comprised the Oirat Alliance. Today they live in the foothills of the Mongolian Altai and, to the west of it, in the People's Republic of Mongolia and in Xinjiang Province in China.

Orak Mirza: Apparently the Nogai *mirza*, Orak, nephew of Mamai and grandson of Musa Mirza.

Oraz-Mukhammed (d. 1610): The son of Sultan Ondan, nephew of Tauekel Khan. In the Russian chronicles he is called the 'tsarevich of the Kazakh Horde'. In 1588 he was taken captive in the city of Sibir (see below) by the military commander Danila Shulkov, together with the prince of the city of Sibir, Seitakhmet Bekbolatov, and Karash Mirza (later to be the author of the *Zhalaiyri Collection of Chronicles*). That same year, both were despatched to Moscow. In the 1590s

Oraz-Mukhammed is regularly mentioned in military and palace reports as taking part in expeditions and court ceremonies. In 1590 he participated in a campaign against the Swedes, and in 1593 against the Crimean Tatars. In 1600 Boris Godunov appointed him 'tsar' of the city of Kasymov on the River Oka.

The tsarist government at that time readily employed the scions of former Asian dynasties as vassal rulers in frontier regions. Some of them, like Oraz-Mukhammed, were granted lands in those parts in recognition of their services in defending the frontier. In 1608 Oraz-Mukhammed threw in his lot with the second False Dmitry but, suspected at the False Dmitry's staff headquarters of treason, was perfidiously murdered. See V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov, *Issledovaniya o kasimovskikh tsaryakh i tsarevichakh* (St Petersburg, 1864), part 2, p. 398; Berezin, *Biblioteka vostochnykh istorikov*, vol. 2, part 1: 'Kazan' (St Petersburg, 1854); G.F. Miller, *Istoriya Sibiri*, vol. 1 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1937) pp. 274-76, 495-96; Grekov and Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda i ee padeniye*, pp. 416, 417.

Orazymbet: A famous *batyr* of the Middle *Zhuz*, of Clan Baganaly (of the Ulytau Naiman). A hero of the struggle against the Dzhungars.

Orkhon script: Unknown in Valikhanov's time. An Old Turkic script used by the Göktürks and other early Turkic khanates during the eighth to tenth centuries, it came to scholarly attention only in 1889 when it was discovered by Nikolai Yadrintsev besides the River Orkhon in Mongolia. The discovery confirmed the correctness of Chinese references to the existence of a runic script. See V.V. Radlov, *Trudy Orkhonskoi ekspeditsii, Atlas drevnostei Mongolii* (St Petersburg, 1892); *Sbornik trudov Orkhonskoi ekspeditsii* (St Petersburg), vol. 1, 1892; vol. 2, 1896; vol. 5, 1901; Ia.Ia. Veselovsky, 'Orkhonskie otkrytiya', *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya*, vol. 92 (St Petersburg, 1894).

'P.': Valikhanov is evidently referring to Colonel M.D. Peremyshevsky, who was serving at that time as commissioner of the Alatau district of the Kazakhs of the Great Horde.

Pageboys: Used metaphorically by Valikhanov in reference to a *bacha*, a boy in the harem of Central Asian feudal lords.

Panchen-Erdeni: One of the highest spiritual leaders of the Tibetan Buddhists and deputy of the Dalai Lama in secular affairs.

Polo, Marco (1254-1323): A famous Italian traveller who spent a long period in Mongolia and China. In 1271-95 he travelled through the southern regions of Central Asia, visited the Pamirs and Eastern Turkestan, and from there went deeper into Asia. Lengthy service at the court of Kublai Khan afforded Marco Polo the opportunity of visiting the most remote corners of the Mongol Empire, to familiarise himself with different peoples, and to describe their lives and ways. See Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, 2 vols (London, 1871).

Potiphar: According to biblical legend, Potiphar was the captain of the pharaoh's guard. He bought Joseph from his brothers. Potiphar made Joseph the head of his household, but then, on the false accusation of his wife Zuleikha who failed to seduce Joseph, threw him into prison.

Ptolemy Lagus: A general under Alexander the Great who founded a Hellenistic dynasty in Egypt (305–30 BC). Under his rule the economic life of the Mediterranean and countries of the East, with which Egypt carried on a lively trade, was greatly stimulated.

Qin Dynasty (221–06 BC): The first slave-owning dynasty of China.

Qin Shi Huang: The first Qin emperor, who is believed to have built the Great Wall of China.

Rashiddin/Rashid-ad-Din Fadlullah (1247–1318): A famous historian and statesman of the Ilkhans (Mongol rulers of Iran and Transcaucasia). His most renowned work is *Jami-at-tavarih* [Collection of Chronicles], dedicated to the history of the Mongol conquests, as well as to descriptions of the states of Central Asia and Transcaucasia during the period of Mongol ascendancy. This work is one of the most important and detailed sources on the history of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Southern Siberia in the early Middle Ages.

Red ball: An Uighur *bek* who received a mark of distinction (a red ball) from the Chinese government for his service and the title of *wan* and *baitszy*. The ball was worn on the hat and its colour indicated the level of distinction. Uighur officials were divided into seven classes: Class 1 officials had ruby balls; the Class 2 ball was coral and was worn by *khakimbek* rulers of cities; Class 3 was of lapis lazuli; Class 4 was of blue glass; Class 5, of green glass; Class 6, of white stone; and Class, 7 of silver.

Rishakhat ainel Khayat: In Arabic *Rishakhat 'ain al-khaiat* (Drops from the source of life). A work containing the biographies and teachings of sheikhs of the Dervish order of Nakshbandi, and Sufi poets of mediaeval Central Asia. It was written in 1503 by Ali ibn Khusein al-Wa'iz ('the preacher') al-Kashifi, known under the pseudonym of al-Safi (d. 1532), and published on more than one occasion in Tashkent and Kazan. Early copies of the work are preserved in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in St Petersburg. See B. Dorn, *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque impériale publique de Saint Pétersbourg* (St Petersburg, 1852) item 310, p. 299; Velyaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o Kasimovskikh tsaryakh*, p. 128; K. Zaleman and V. Rozen, 'Spisok k persidskim, turetsko-tatarskim i arabskim rukopisyam biblioteki Spb. universiteta', *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 2, 1888, p. 254. Other copies of the work are described in E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1905–1934), vol. 1, p. 269; and Wilhelm Pertsch, *Die persischen Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* (Gotha, 1859).

‘Ruler of the Ili Region’: A term proposed by General Gasfort in place of ‘commissioner’ of the Great Horde and Alatau District. The government did not accept it. Valikhanov and G.A. Kolpakovsky thought it best for the new region to be called the ‘Alatau District’, and to call the person administering it the ‘ruler’, by analogy with the sultans ruling the western provinces of Kazakhstan. When the post of ruling sultan was abolished, the proposal fell. Under a new provision of 1868, the Alatau District became known as Zhetysu Province.

Russkaya Pravda [Russian Law]: A compilation of ancient Russian feudal laws. It has come down to us in copies made in the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries in three redactions: the Short, Extensive and Abridged Editions. It includes the Law of Yaroslav the Wise, the Law of Yaroslav’s Sons, the Charter of Vladimir Monomakh, and other documents. It was based on customary law, princely legislation and judicial practice. It provided for the abolition of blood feuds, the protection of the lives and property of warriors of the prince and severe punishment for crimes such as arson of state buildings, deliberate harming of livestock, concerted violation of the property rights of wealthy individuals and so forth.

Rustem Sultan. A contemporary of Sypatai, hero of an epic by Zhambyl. They fought for the independence of the Kazakhs of the Great Horde from China and the Kokand Khanate. From archival documents it is evident that Sypatai subsequently adopted a different stance.

‘S.’: Evidently Spiridonov, the military governor of Semey Province.

Saadat-Girei: Khan of Crimea (1523–27). The son of Mengli-Girei and grandson of Khadzi-Girei, founder of the feudal dynasty of the Crimean Gireis. After a failed campaign against Moscow, he was overthrown by princes and fled to Turkey. See: N.M. Karamzin, *Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiiskogo*, vol. 7 (St Petersburg, 1892) pp. 128–51. His decree, published by I.N. Berezin, was written in 1523 (*Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, 1849).

Libraries of Samarkand, Tashkent ...: The libraries of the cultural centres of ancient Central Asia – Samarkand, Bukhara, Khiva and Tashkent – were not completely destroyed and have, to some extent, survived to the present day. The main extant manuscript treasures are presently concentrated in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan.

Samarkand Observatory: A famous observatory founded in the first half of the fifteenth century by Ulugbek, the grandson of Timur, an outstanding Uzbek scholar and ruler of Central Asia. For many years it was covered with soil and its location unknown. Only references in ancient sources enabled V.L. Vyatkin, a Samarkand archaeologist, to discover the sextant, the observatory’s main instrument, in 1908–09. During the Soviet period it was subject to meticulous archaeological excavation and study and was found to comprise a three-storey building, circular in plan and divided into a number of sections. In the very centre,

aligned with the meridian, was the sextant, flanked by two capital walls. See T.N. Kary-Niyazov, *Astronomicheskaya shkola Ulugbeka* (Moscow, 1950), pp. 60–92.

Sameke: A khan of the Middle Zhuz, the son of Tauke Khan. See Valikhanov, *Sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 4, p. 663; I.V. Erofeeva, *Kazakhskie khany*, pp. 539–40.

Sanangseten: Author of a Mongolian chronicle of the era of Genghis Khan.

Sarkar: An aide of the *khakim* (ruler). The duties of the *sarkar* included the collection and delivery of taxes, *haraj*, etc. to the treasury. He also managed warehouses from which, on instructions from the *khakim*, food supplies and forage would be issued to military units passing through.

Saryichak (more correctly, ‘**Saraishyk**’): A city on the River Ural which existed from the thirteenth century until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Its ruins lie 11 miles to the north of the city of Guryev. As described by Ibn Battuta, an Arabian traveller of the fourteenth century, Saraishyk was a substantial city for trade and craftsmanship and attracted merchants from other countries.

Sary-Kazak: A binominal ethnonym. The term *sary* is often used as part of such ethnonyms as Sary-Kipchak, Sary-Argyn, Sary-Uighur in geographical nomenclature, and means ‘western’. See A.N. Kononov, ‘Semantika tsvetooboznachenii v tyurksikhazykakh’, *Tyurkologicheskii sbornik 1975* (Moscow, 1978). The word *sary* is also used with the meaning of ‘great’, ‘wide’ and ‘strong’.

Sarykol: Not a settlement but a valley to the west of Yarkand, in the vicinity of Lake Sarykol, whose main settlement is Tashkurgan.

Sary Uisin (Yellow Uisun): A clan of the Kazakh Uisun tribe who inhabited the lower reaches of the River Ili and the border area of Dzhungaria. They engaged mainly in agriculture and the manufacture of original household utensils dating back to ancient times.

Schlagintweit, Adolf (1829–57): A German scholar, geographer, naturalist and explorer. In 1854–57 he explored a number of regions of India and Central Asia, collected an immense amount of material on the geography and ethnography of the area and wrote up a description of his travels which was published in English and German. Soon after he arrived in Kashgaria he was arrested by Valikhan-Tyure Khoja and publicly executed in Kashgar. The first news of his tragic death was brought back by Valikhanov from his expedition. According to some reports, Valikhanov also retrieved Schlagintweit’s head and returned it to his family in Germany.

Seidyak/Seitakhmet: Prince of the city of Sibir, son of Bekbolat, nephew of Ediger (Yadiger). In the 1580s he led the struggle for hereditary rule and opposed Koshim Khan of the Genghisid Dynasty. In 1588 Seidyak was captured, together with Oraz-Mukhammed and Karash-myrza, and brought

to Moscow. Nothing is known of his subsequent fate. See G.F. Miller, *Istoriya Sibiri*, vol. 1, pp. 189–97, 274–76, 474–75.

Seikhun: The ancient name for the River Amu Darya.

Semyonov-Tian-Shansky, Pyotr Petrovich: A renowned Russian geographer and pioneering explorer of the Tian Shan Mountain system, as a result of which he was awarded the honorary addition to his surname of ‘Tian-Shansky’. Semyonov-Tian-Shansky was the effective leader of the Russian Geographical Society and organiser of several expeditions to study Russia and Central Asia. He was the author of numerous works on the geography, statistics, regional study and geographical zoning of Russia. He translated Carl Ritter’s *Die Erdkunde von Asien* and others works. A substantial portion of Semyonov-Tian-Shansky’s work is devoted to Kazakhstan and Central Asia. After meeting Chokan Valikhanov in Omsk in the spring of 1856, the great Russian scholar extended all possible support to him.

Senkovsky, Osip (Yulian) Ivanovich (1800–58): A Russian orientalist, critic and journalist. From 1819 he was a member of the Russian embassy staff in Istanbul, and later undertook a series of expeditions through Syria and Egypt, where he studied Arabic. In 1822 he became head of the department of Oriental languages at St Petersburg University. He published a number of works in French and Polish on the history, ethnography and philology of the Muslim East. From 1833, Senkovsky became well known as a fiction writer and wrote in humorous journals under the pseudonym of Baron Brambeus.

The Seven Cities: The cities of the Turfan and Hami districts.

Shadman-Urak: A Kokand military commander and politician. In 1860 he commanded a 7,000-strong spearhead of the Kokand troops in the Battle of Uzun-Agach. In 1862–63 he was the *mynbasy* and fought together with the feudal lords of the Fergana steppe against Khudayar Khan. He was then appointed to govern Tashkent, but shortly afterwards was killed on the orders of the Kokand dictator, Alimkul. (See *Taarikh Shakhrokhi*, pp. 216, 232, 238–39, 255–56, 263–65).

Shafi: Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi‘i was an Arab Muslim theologian, writer and scholar, who was the first contributor of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence. Often referred to as ‘Shaykh al-Islam’, al-Shafi‘i was one of the four great Imams whose legacy on juridical matters and teaching eventually led to the Shafi‘i school of *fiqh*.

Shahrisabz: (literally, ‘City of Greenery’). One of the most ancient cities of Central Asia. It was the summer residence of Timur.

Shamuratbek (Shakh-Murad-bek): A son of Sarymsak Khan, eldest son of Shir-Ali Khan (1842–44). In 1862, at the age of 15, he was placed on the

Kokand throne for a short time by the nomadic chiefs of Fergana, who killed him in 1863. *Taarikh Shakhrokhi*, pp. 230–32, 239, 264.

Shang [Khoi shun] Dynasty: The legendary earliest dynasty of China.

Shanyshkyly: One of the tribes of the Great (Senior) *Zhuz*. The main areas they inhabited were the oasis of Tashkent, the Keles steppe, the valley of the River Arys and the foothills of Karatau.

Shegen: An ancient tribe that became part of the Kazakh people as the Shegendyk and settled along the River Esil in the Atbasar steppe.

Sheibani Khan (Mukhammed-Sheibani) (1451–1510): Son of Shakhbodak, grandson of Abulkhair. Founder of the Uzbek Khanate and the dynasty of the Sheibanid khans. He led the internecine struggle against the Kazakh Kasym Khan and organised a winter campaign in 1509 against Sozak and Ulytau but was defeated. He died in battle against Persian troops at Merv. According to Abulghazi, Sheibani Khan was not only a state and military leader, but also an exceptional poet.

Sheibani-name: A historical work of the early sixteenth century. The author is Kamal ad-din Ali Mukhammed al-Harawi, better known by the pseudonym of Binai (d. 1512). He served at the court of the Timurids. The work extols the deeds of the founder of the Uzbek Khanate, Mukhammed Sheibani. It also contains interesting information on the history of the peoples of Central Asia and, in particular, of Kazakhstan (in the period when the Kazakhs separated from the Uzbeks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). First published by I.N. Berezin in 1851 in the series *Biblioteka vostochnykh istorikov*, part 1 (Kazan, 1851).

Shi: The Tashkent oasis.

Shilling, Pavel Lvovich (1786–1837): A Russian scholar and orientalist. He worked for many years in the Oriental Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Renowned for his support of the initiatives of orientalists.

Shon/Shong (1742–1828): A hereditary *bi*, the son of Edige *Bi* who was renowned in the steppe. Shon was the first senior sultan of the Bayanauyl District. There is an interesting correspondence between him and the Western Siberia administration. See Valikhanov, *Sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 4 (1968) p. 663.

Shona (Shono-Louzan): Son of the Oirat khan, Tsewang Rabtan, born of his marriage to the daughter of the khan of the Volga Kalmyks, Ayuke-Seterdzhah. In the mid-1720s, fearing the death of Galdan Tseren, he fled to the Volga Kalmyks, where he died in 1732. See: V.A. Moiseev, 'Delo Shono-Lou-Zana', *Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae. Tezisy i doklady XIV nauchnoi konferentsii* (Moscow, 1982).

Shuchzha-ad-din: A sheikh descended from the Bukharan Sheikh Shudzha-ad-din (fourteenth century). A teacher of Islam in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan.

Shygai (d. 1582): The son of Zhadik, grandson of Kasym Khan. A Kazakh khan of the second half of the sixteenth century. Clashing with Baba Sultan, the ruler of Tashkent, he concluded an alliance with Abdullah, the khan of Bukhara, and helped him against Baba Sultan. The latter, pursued by the allies' troops, fled to the Ulytau Mountains and perished there. Shygai remained on good terms with Abdullah, for which the khan of Bukhara granted him the township of Kumiskent, where he died in advanced old age.

Si Yui: the author of this work, Chun-Yuan, is a Manchu official who served for a long time in Eastern Turkestan. His book *Xiu-wen-jian-lu* [*Si-yui-ventszyan-lu*] was published in Chinese in 1777. Valikhanov used the translations of Father Iakinf (N.Ya. Bichurin), *Opisanie Dzhungarii i Vostochnogo Turkestana v drevnem i nyneshnem sostoyanii* (St Petersburg, 1829) and of Julius von Klapproth.

The Siberian Kazakh Province and Semey Province: Established by the law of 22 June 1854, following the abolition of the Frontier Board of Siberian Kazakhs. Its administrative centre was in Omsk. The province consisted of the districts of Kusmurnyn, Kokshetau, Karkaraly, Bayanaul, Akmola and Atbasar. Semey Province incorporated the Inner District and the districts of Kokpekti, Ayagoz and Kapal, as well as the military forts of Oskemen and Bukhtarma.

Siberian Kazakhs: Kazakhs of the Middle *Zhuz*, inhabiting territory in the Akmola and Semey Provinces and in part of the Tomsk governorate.

Sibir (Isker, Kashlyk): A city on the River Irtysh, above the influx of the River Tobol. In the sixteenth century, the cultural and political centre of the Siberian Khanate, the capital of Kuchum Khan. Other towns in the vicinity of Sibir were Suzgun-tur and Bitsik-tur. The city was named Sibir by Russian military commanders from the name of the entire territory, about which they first received information from indigenous peoples. The city was conquered by Yermak on 26 October 1581 and burned to the ground. For information about the site of Isker, derived from archaeological excavations, see B.Ya. Pignatti, 'Isker-Kuchumovo gorodishche', *Ezhegodnik Tobol'skogo gubernskogo muzeya*, 1915, no. 25; A.A. Dmitriev, 'Kuchumov Isker na Irtyshe', *Izvestiya Obshchestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii pri Kazanskom universitete*, vol 16, issue 3.

Sibo: (Chinese, *Aibotszy*). A Manchurian people deported from North-East China to the Western Territory as border troops.

Sogdiana: A country situated in the southern part of Central Asia. Its centre was in the Zeravshan Valley. The information that Eastern Turkestan belonged to Sogdiana is not wholly accurate: there was only a Sogdian colony there.

Solon (Mongolian: archers): A Manchu people living along the River Nonni in Manchuria. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a part of

the Solon population was resettled by the Chinese authorities in the Kuldzha region as a military force.

Speransky, Mikhail Mikhailovich (1772–1839): Russian statesman and politician. He drafted the Charter of the Siberian Kazakhs, adopted in 1822.

Stanitsa Koryakovskaya (in Kazakh, **Kereku**): An outpost on the River Irtysh, named after General Koryakov, founder of the fortress. Now the city of Pavlodar. See Valikhanov, *Sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 4, p. 663; *Toponimika Kazakhstana. Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Almaty, 2010), p. 710.

Suan: A sub-branch of the Uisun tribe.

Sui: The Sui Dynasty of China (581–618).

Sultan Kaiyp: The son of Batyr, and a strong rival of Clan Abulkhair. In 1747–57, khan of Khiva. See Valikhanov, *ibid.*, p. 663; I.E. Erofeeva, *Kazakhskie khany i khanskie dinastii v XVII–seredine XIX vv.*, pp. 125–6.

Satuk Bughra Khan Ghazi (Abd al-Karim Satuq Bughra Khan): A mid-tenth-century *khagan* of one of the Turkic tribes living to the east of Central Asia, and founder of the Karakhanid Dynasty.

Syan-Tszun [Xiang Zong]: A Chinese emperor of the Tang Dynasty.

Syrmanak: According to Kazakh legend, two related tribes existed in antiquity: the Syrmanak (on the River Syr Darya) and the Shumanak (in the valleys of the Rivers Talas and Shu).

Syrymbet: A renowned eighteenth-century *batyr* of Clan Basentiin who distinguished himself in the struggle against the Dzhungars.

River Talgar: Valikhanov refers to a fort known as Verkhnetalgar, now located within the boundaries of the city of Talgar.

Taliyatsin: A city in Khotan District.

Talkyn (also **Talkan, Talky**): A military fortress near Khorgos, not far from Kuldzha.

Tamga: A sign of ownership in the clan-based society of the nomads of Central Asia. *Tamgas* were used to mark livestock and items belonging to the family or tribe or made by its members: weapons, dishes, carpets, etc. Later used to mark the property of immediate family and individuals. The personal *tamgas* of khans served as feudal crests and were depicted on *yarlyks* (decrees), official documents, state seals and coinage as signs of official authorisation.

Tanais: The ancient Greek name for the Don, which had the city of Tana on its estuary.

Tang Dynasty (618–907): A Chinese dynasty during the period when China's trading relations with Central and Western Asia were developing. From this

time, more detailed geographical information about the countries of West Asia begins to be found in Chinese sources.

Taranchi: A Turkish-influenced population of Eastern Turkestan, deported to the Ili Region by the Chinese government in the mid-eighteenth century. The Taranchi were so named after the fact that they were tillers of the soil. Usually they were given names from the locality where they lived: Kash-Karlyk, Aksuluk, and so on. The Chinese usually called them *Huizu* [Khueitszu] or *Chantou*, and called the nomads after their characteristics. In 1921 at a congress of their representatives in Tashkent, the name 'Uighur' was adopted, which extended to all the settled Turkic and Turkish-influenced populations of Eastern Turkestan living in the mountains and agricultural oases. In the pre-revolutionary period, the name of Taranchi was applied only to those Uighur who lived in the Ili Region and later migrated to Zhetysu. In this territory, the Taranchi were a relatively isolated and autonomous ethnic community who stayed apart from the rest of the Uighur people. See I.V. Zakharova, 'Uighury', *Narody Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1963), pp. 488–526; P.G. Galuzo, *Uighurskoe i dunganskoe krestyanstvo v dorevolutsionnom Zhetysu*, *Trudy Instituta istorii, arkheologii i etnografii Akademii nauk Kazakhskoi SSR*, vol. 11 (1961); M. Kabirov, *Pereselenie iliiskikh Uighur v Zhetysu* (Alma-Ata, 1951); I.V. Zakharova, 'Materialnaya kultura Uighurov Sovetskogo Soyuz'a', *Sredneaziatskii etnograficheskii sbornik*, issue 2 (Moscow, 1959), and others.

Tarikh-i Rashidi: An historical work written by Mukhammed-Khaidar in the 1540s which contains valuable information about Eastern Turkestan and its adjoining provinces, data on the history of the formation of the Kazakh and Uzbek khanates and about the relationship between the Kyrgyz and the Uighurs in the first half of the sixteenth century. *Tarikh-i Rashidi* has come down to us in several handwritten copies in the Persian and Turkic-Kashgar languages. The most complete and earliest copy is evidently that preserved in the holdings of the Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan. The library of the Eastern Faculty of the University of St Petersburg contains an incomplete copy with many errors. The Uighur version of *Tarikh-i Rashidi* is a translation by Mukhammed-Sadyk of Kashgar. The best, but incomplete, copy of the Uighur version is preserved in the archives of the St Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. *Tarikh-i Rashidi* was partly translated into Russian by V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov and included in his extensive monograph *A Study of the Kasym's tsars and tsareviches*. A complete translation into English was made by E.D. Ross, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia: being the Tarikh-I-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat* (London, 1895). There is a review of the English edition by V.V. Bartold, *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 10, 1897, pp. 215–26; and Bartold, *Sochineniya*, vol. 8 (Moscow, 1973), pp. 63–73.

Ala ad-Din Tarmashirin: Spread Islam in Central Asia in the fourteenth century. Ruler of the Ulus of Chagatai in 1326–34.

Tashmamet, Seifullin: Taught Turkic languages at the Omsk (Siberian) Cadet Corps.

Tatarinov, A.A.: Doctor, traveller, expert in Chinese language and medicine, the first Russian consul in Shuguchak. He worked for many years as a doctor in Peking, where he studied Chinese and Chinese medicine thoroughly. Tatarinov assembled an extensive collection of objects relating to Chinese medicine and applied art. In 1865, while exploring Central Asia, he was arrested by the khan of Bukhara. Tatarinov described his impressions of Central Asia in an essay *Semimesyachnyi plen v Bukharii (s kartoi)* (St Petersburg, 1867).

Tatikara Zhyrau: A major Kazakh improvisational singer and storyteller of the second half of the eighteenth century. Although his songs and epic poetry preserve the basic traditions of oral folk art, there are already elements in them that were to become standard in written literature.

Tauke: In historical writing it is customary to refer to a Kazakh khan of the late sixteenth century as *Taukel*, and another khan of the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries as *Tauke*. Valikhanov erroneously refers to *Taukel* as *Tauke*.

Taut etu (Kazakh): A traditional rite of sanctification or dedication (of a foal, horse and so on).

Tazkiryai Khojagyan/Tazkira-i khojagyan (Arabic title): *Istoriya dinastii khodzhei v Vostochnom Turkestane* [A history of the dynasty of the Khojas in Eastern Turkestan]. A historical work written in 1768 by the Uighur Mukhammed-Sadyk of Kashgar, also known for translating into Uighur the *Tarikh-i Rashidi* and *Tarikh-i Tabari*. See V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o Kasimovskikh tsaryakh i tsarevichakh*, p. 138). The manuscript of this work was brought by Valikhanov from Kashgar and presented to the library of the Asian Museum (now the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences). See V.V. Grigoryev, *Vostochnyi, ili Kitaiskii, Turkestan*, p. 355, note 8.

Tazkiryai Sultan Sutuk: In Arabic, (*Satuk*) *Bughra-khan* (The biography of Sultan Satuk Bughra Khan). A mediaeval work written in Kashgar by an unknown author and dedicated to Satuk Bughra Khan (d. 955) of the Karakhanid (Ilek) Dynasty. He was the first khan to convert to Islam and spread it in Eastern Turkestan and Zhetysu. See V.V. Bartol'd, *Ocherk istorii Zhetisu, Sochineniya*, vol. 2, part 1 (Moscow, 1963) pp. 41–42. The tomb of Bugra Khan is located near Kashgar, by the village of Altyn-Artysh. A brief summary in Uzbek of this work, made by Mullah-Khadzhi, is preserved in Tashkent at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, edited by Professor A. Semyonov, vol. 1 (Tashkent, 1952)

pp. 53–4; vol. 3 (1955) pp. 139–41; and in the State Public Library of Uzbekistan. See V.L. Vyatkin, ‘Perechen vostochnykh rukopisei v Gos. pub. biblioteke UzSSR’, *Turkestanskaya Gosudarstvennaya Publichnaya biblioteka UzSSR*, vol. 1 (Tashkent, 1935), p. 68; another copy is preserved in the M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in St Petersburg, *Collections scientifiques de l’Institut des langues orientales du Ministère des affaires étrangères*, vol. 8: ‘Manuscrits Turcs’ ... décrits par W. D. Smirnow’ (St Petersburg, 1897), no. 79, p. 160.

Teles (Teiles): An ancient Turkic ethnic grouping.

Tengri: Celestial, beneath the heavens, cf. Khan-Tengri, Ruler of Heaven.

Thierry, Amédée (1797–1873): One of the most prominent French historians, a supporter of liberal historiography known for his research on the history of the Huns and their relations with ancient Rome. Valikhanov refers on more than one occasion to his *Histoire d’Attila et de ses successeurs*, which was several times reprinted.

Thomson, Thomas (1817–78): An English traveller, doctor and botanist. Member of an expedition to Tibet organised in 1847 by the Anglo-Indian government, to define frontiers and conduct geographical research. In 1848 he explored the River Shyok, a tributary of the Indus, to its sources in the Karakoram Pass. He was a professor of botany and director of the botanical gardens in Calcutta. His works include *Western Himalaya and Tibet* (London, 1852) and, jointly with Joseph Hooker, *Flora Indica* (London, 1855).

Timur/Tamerlane (also Aksak-Tiemi, or Timur the Lame, as he was nicknamed by his contemporaries, due to his limp) (1336–1405): Emir and ruler of Maverannakhr and the adjacent territories of Central Asia, renowned conqueror and military commander, son of Taragai Bek of the Barlas tribe. Participated in his youth in internecine wars. In 1370 Tamerlane assumed the title of Grand Emir and, on behalf of a puppet Genghisid khan, began governing the land single-handedly. In 1388 he took Khorezm and, after three major campaigns in 1389, 1391 and 1394–95, defeated the Golden Horde. He created a vast state which included Maverannakhr, Khorezm, Khorasan, Transcaucasia, Persia and Punjab.

Timur-Kutluk/Temir-Kutlug (d.1400): The son of Temir-Malik, grandson of Orys Khan, nephew of Edige. One of the main rivals of Tokhtamysh, and later khan of the Golden Horde (1395–1400). Until 1395 Temir-Kutluk was a little-known prince (*oglan*) of the White Horde but then, joining forces with Emir Timur, an old enemy of his grandfather, his rise began. In 1395, after the defeat of Tokhtamysh, Timur made him khan of Desht-i-Kipchak. Timur-Kutluk was only the nominal ruler, the effective ruler being his uncle Edige. Coins are extant that were minted in 1397–1400 on behalf of Temir-Kutluk in Sarai al-Dzhadida, Ordu al-Dzhadida, Sarai, Hadzhi-Tarkhan and Saryi Krym – in other words, throughout the Golden Horde. See I.N. Berezin, *Khanskie yarlyki*,

vol. 2; V.V. Radlov, *Yarlyki Tokhtamysha i Temir-Kutluga*, pp. 1–40; Grekov and Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda i ee padenie*, pp. 103–9.

Toishybek Fort: A military fortress built by Toishybek on the bank of the River Aksai at the foot of the Trans-Ili Alatau Mountains. Toishybek, a protégé of the Kokand Khanate, was a major Kazakh feudal lord who ruled Kazakhs of the Shapyrasht and Dulat tribes. The fort was destroyed by a detachment led by Karbyshev in 1861.

Tokhtamysh (d. 1406): A descendant of Genghis Khan. During the internecine strife in the 1370s he fled persecution by Orys Khan and found refuge in Samarkand with Timur, a rival of Orys Khan. In 1381 Tokhtamysh effected a coup in the Golden Horde and, having deposed the acting ruler Mamai, became khan of Desht-i-Kipchak. In an effort to return the Golden Horde to its former power after it had been weakened following the Battle of Kulikovo Field (1380), Tokhtamysh conducted several campaigns in the west. Jogaila, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, again became his vassal. Having consolidated his power, Tokhtamysh repudiated his patron and began to conduct an independent policy, often against the interests of Timur. The decrees presented in this volume by Valikhanov, and coins struck by Tokhtamysh in the cities of the Golden Horde, give a clear picture of the years of his rule. ‘The decree of Tokhtamysh to Jogaila’, written after his battle against Timur on the River Kunduzchi in 1391, is one of the oldest diplomatic missives in the Kipchak language. See I.N. Berezin, *Khanskije yarlyki*, vol. 2: *Tarkhannye yarlyki Tokhtamysha, Timur-Kutluga i Saadat-Gereya* (Kazan, 1851); V.V. Radlov, ‘Yarlyki Tokhtamysha i Temir-Kutluga’, *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Rossiiskogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 3, issue 1, pp. 1–40; *Iarlyki Tokhtamysha Khana i Saadat-Gireya*, tr. Ya. Yartsev, with notes by V.V. Grigorev (Odessa, 1844); B.D. Grekov and A.Iu. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda i ee padenie* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1950), pp. 103–05, 112–13.

Tole Bi: A famous *bi* of the Senior *Zhuz* in the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries and one of the most authoritative experts on the Zhety Zhargy code of Kazakh laws. At the time of the unification of the *zhuzes*, he held the position of supreme judge and was considered the principal *bi* (*uly bi*). After the collapse of the Kazakh khanates into separate fiefdoms, Tole administered only the Senior *Zhuz*.

Torghut: One of the major Kalmyk tribes involved in creating the Oirat’s feudal state in Dzhungaria. In the seventeenth century, a significant number of the Torghuts moved to the lower reaches of the Volga (the River Edil), where they formed a separate khanate. The present-day Volga Kalmyks are descendants of those Torghuts.

Tortuyl volosts: Villages in Bayanaul District.

‘...**Tower of human skulls**’: A construction in Kashgar, built on the orders of the ruler, Valikhan-Tiure, in 1857 from the skulls of the people he had had executed. These included the heads of the scholar and geographer Adolf Schlagintweit and Namedkhan, a political exile from the Kokand Khanate. See P.P. Semyonov[-Tian-Shansky], *Istoriya poluvekovoï deyatelnosti Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, part 1 (St Petersburg, 1896), p. 276.

Trans-Ili Valley: An obsolete and inaccurate definition meaningful only in administrative, not geographical, terms. Because the centre of the region was located in Western Siberia (Omsk), reference was often made to Western Siberia when what was meant was the Kazakh steppe.

Treaty of Kuldzha: A trade agreement between Russia and China signed on 25 July 1851 in Kuldzha. It allowed Russia to open trading posts and establish consulates in the cities of Kuldzha and Shuguchak in the near future. Duty-free trade on a reciprocal basis was introduced for citizens of the two states. The purpose of the treaty was to cement friendship between the two powers, and concern for the maintenance of peaceful relations. The Treaty of Kuldzha facilitated the further development of political and economic ties between Russia and China.

Tsewang Dorji Namjal: The son of Galdan Tseren, khan of the Kalmyk (born. *c.* 1732). In 1746, after the death of his father, he was proclaimed khan, but in an internecine struggle with his brother, Lama Dorji (born to a concubine), he was defeated in 1750, blinded and exiled to Aksu.

Tsyanlun [Qianlong]: The Chinese Emperor who, in 1758, after a protracted war, annexed Dzhungaria to the Qing empire. Shortly afterwards, in 1759, Kashgaria was also subjugated.

Tugyu: The Chinese name for an ancient Turkic khanate, an early feudal state which existed in the sixth to eighth centuries in territory bounded in the east by modern Mongolia, and in the west by the Caspian Sea.

Tugluk-Timur (d. 1362): The last Chagataiid, founder and khan of Mogulistan (1347–1362), patriarch of a dynasty that ruled in Eastern Turkestan until the mid-sixteenth century. His realms extended from the River Ili to the Pamir and Kunlun Mountains. He adopted Islam from Seid Rashid-ad-Din and began bestowing hereditary land and granting special rights and privileges to Muslim clergy.

Tukholo: The Chinese name for the Tokhara tribe.

Tukratu-buzluk, Askunlug-Tukram: Probably an error, which should read Bukratu-buzluk, Askunluk-Tanrim, Bukratu. Nowadays, Bukurtai, Mukur, Mukurtai: high mountain peaks, often shrouded in mist. *Buzluk* – a glacier, from *buz*, ice; *askunluk* (*askynlyk*) – high, hanging, height, hence figuratively, celestial. See S.E. Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoi pismennosti* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1951), p. 361.

Tunyuigu (Tonyukuk according to the Orkhon inscriptions): The name of an adviser to the Turkic khans Mogilyan and Kultegin. Kyue-Dele (Kultegin according to the Orkhon inscriptions) was one of the last Turkic khans.

Tunlo: An ancient tribe in Mongolia.

Tunus: A town on the lower River Irtysh dating from the time of Kuchum Khan. It was burned down in the early seventeenth century. See Müller, *Istoriya Sibiri*, St Petersburg, 1750, vol. 1, pp. 45, 296.

Turan: The legendary name of ancient Central Asia, as distinct from Iran.

Tursyn: A Kazakh khan who ruled Tashkent in 1613–26. Killed in 1628 in an internecine war with Esim Khan.

Tutsishi: In Chinese sources, the Tyurgeshi.

Tyznab (Tiznab, Tiznaf): A river that, on modern maps, is named the Tashkurgan-Darya (other local names: Sarykol, Tagdumbash), which runs down from the Khudzherab Pass in the Muztag ridge (Kara-korum) in the upper reaches of the Sarykol Valley. It flows north through the Sarykol Valley to the village of Tashkurgan, below which, at the *kishlak* of Tiznab, it turns sharply eastwards and, running on some 60 miles, flows into the Yarkand-Darya.

Uak: One of the major tribes of the Middle *Zhuz*, whose provenance is associated in folk tradition with the Kerei. They lived mainly in small groups scattered over a substantial territory from Turga to the Irtysh. See N.E. Masanov, 'K etnicheskoi istorii uakov', *Problemy izucheniya i okhrany pamyatnikov kultury Kazakhstana* (Alma-Ata, 1980), pp. 129–35.

Uali Khan (d. 1819): The eldest son of Abylai Khan and grandfather of Chokan Valikhanov. After his father's death in 1782, he was recognised as the khan of the Middle *Zhuz*, in which he shared power with Bokei Khan.

Ubasha: A Torghut Kalmyk who, in the 1730s, roamed the lower reaches of the Rivers Ural and Volga. In 1771, under his leadership, some 50,000 families returned to Dzhungaria. The lack of pasturage and the expansion of tsarism were major reasons for the migration. See A.P. Chernyshev, 'O perekochevke volzhskikh kalmykov v Dzhungariyu v 1774 g.', *XV nauchnaya konferentsiya 'Obshchestvo v Kitae'* (Moscow, 1982). See also Thomas de Quincey's remarkable essay *Revolt of the Tartars*, Dropmore Press, London, 1948.

Uighur: One of the very ancient Turkic languages of Central Asia. It is the language of the Uighurs, who inhabited Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang) and part of Gansu Province. The term was first introduced by Mukhammed-Khaidar, and subsequently taken up by the French orientalist Abel Rémusat and Klapproth.

Ulus: Initially referred to an alliance of tribes within a defined (tribal) territory. In the feudal era, it came to mean patrimonial lands (the Ulus of Juchi, the

Ulus of Chagatai, etc.). In a broader sense, the word refers to a state, a people, a nation. All the Kazakh national holidays used to be called *Ulystyn uly kuni*, that is, 'Holiday of the whole people, the entire nation'.

Uratobe (Ura-Tyube, Uratepa): An ancient city in Central Asia. An important border post and fortress over which, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Bukhara and Kokand Khanates fought relentlessly.

Urga: The headquarters of the Dzhungar khans. Miller had already in the eighteenth century noted that Urga served as a gathering place for the parliaments of the Kalmyk nobility (*noyons*), where there was often trading with Central Asian and Kashgar merchants.

Urten, urtengi, urton (Mongolian): A station; *taichzhan* (Chinese).

Usten: An arterial canal formed from a river immediately after it leaves the mountains. Usually very long; over time it becomes difficult to distinguish it from natural watercourses.

River Usten: Also known as the River Yamanyar, it originates from Lake Karakol in the tableland of the Pamirs. The River Iaman'iar (more precisely, the Gez-Darya, of which the Iaman'iar is a particular stretch) comprises rivers originating in the Sarykol Ridge and flowing from glaciers on the western slopes of Mount Muztag-Ata. In its upper reaches it flows through Lake Karakol Minor, located in the Sarykol Valley. Greater Lake Karakol, located in the northern part of the Pamir tableland, is endorheic. Note also that the River Yansar-Usten (shown on modern maps as the Karatashsu) originates on the eastern slopes of the Kongur-Muztag range in the Kashgar mountains. It comprises the Rivers Merkesu, Sugetsu and Karatashsu. It is possible that there are glacial lakes in the upper reaches of the Karatashsu and Sugotsu which are not shown on maps, but it is not known whether they are called Sarykol.

Usun Confederation: The Uighurs and Dzhungars cannot be considered the main aboriginal groups of Zhetysu. From ancient times, its indigenous tribes were those of the Usun Confederation, who in turn were descended from their forebears, the Zhetysu Saka. From the sixth to the eighth centuries the main inhabitants of Zhetysu of whom we know were the Shigil, Turgesh, Karluk, Yagma and a number of others who, like their predecessors, left tumuli, fortified settlements, inscriptions on rocks and so forth. The Dzhungar conquest of Zhetysu was of short duration, beginning in the first half of the eighteenth century.

When referring to the Uisun, Valikhanov has in mind the Usun Confederation. The first mention of them is at the end of the second century BC, at which time they inhabited Zhetysu and Eastern Turkestan. In the first century BC, according to written records, the Usun numbered in excess of 600,000 souls. This was a powerful entity, with the first glimmerings of state authority and the pursuit of an independent foreign policy. The question of the language spoken by the Usun is still a matter of

debate, with rival theories over whether they spoke Turkic or Iranian. There are reasonable grounds to surmise an ethnic continuity between the ancient Usun and the Uisun who later became part of the Kazakh people. Within the population of the Senior *Zhuz*, the Uisun were one of the largest tribal associations. On the basis of genealogical legend, the Uisun saw themselves as identical with the Senior *Zhuz*. See N. Aristov, 'Opyt vvyasneniia etnicheskogo sostava kirgiz-kazakov Bolshoi Ordy i karakirgizov', *Zhivaya starina*, Nos 3–4, 1894; B.G. Gafurov, *Tadzhiki: Drevneishaya, drevnyaya i srednevekovaya Istoriya* (Moscow, 1972), p. 129; *Istoriya Kazakhskoi SSR*, vol. 1 (Alma-Ata, 1977), pp. 284–320.

Uz: The Oguz.

Uzbek (1282–1341): Khan of the Golden Horde from 1312. During his reign the Golden Horde was at its height.

Vasilyev, Vasily Pavlovich: (1818–1900). A Russian scholar, orientalist (sinologist) and professor at St Petersburg University. As a young man he spent ten years with the ecclesiastical mission in Peking.

Verbitsky, Vasily Ivanovich (1827–90): An ethnographer and missionary. After graduating from Nizhny Novgorod seminary, he lived in the Altai among local tribes, attempting to convert them to Christianity. Verbitsky studied the life and language of the Altai population and published several important books on Altaic language and culture: *Altaiskie inorodtsy*; *Kratkaya grammatika altaiskogo yazyka*; *Slovar altaiskikh i aladagskikh narechii tyurkskogo yazyka*.

Vlangali, Alexander Georgievich: A mining engineer and explorer who worked for many years as a diplomat. In 1849 and 1851 he conducted geological research in East Kazakhstan and Zhetysu. He twice visited Kuldzha, in 1851 with E.P. Kovalevsky, and in 1856 with Chokan Valikhanov. The findings of Vlangali's trip to South-East Kazakhstan are published in his travel sketches *Geognosticheskie poezdki v vostochnoi chasti Kirgizskoi stepi v 1849 i 1851 gg.*, (St Petersburg, 1853), parts 1 and 2.

Wahhabis: A Muslim sect and political doctrine that arose in Nejd in Arabia in the eighteenth century.

Wan Fan-i: A Chinese commander during the reign of Emperor Gao-tsung of the Tang Dynasty (650–83).

The Western Territory (Chinese, *Siyui*): A geographical term occurring already in the reign of the early Western Han Dynasty (206 BC–250 AD), designating the land to the west of the border fortifications of Dunhuang.

Wudi: A Chinese emperor of the Han Dynasty (140–87 BC).

Yanysar: More correctly, Yangi-Gissar [Yangi-Hissar].

Yarkand-Usten: Probably a separate branch of the Yarkand-Darya or a canal drawn from it, but it is impossible that the river itself could have that name.

The word *usten* means a canal and cannot be used in relation to the main channel of a natural river. The Yarkand-Darya, which in its upper reaches (before its confluence with the River Tashkurgan-Darya) is known as the Raskem-Darya, originates on the northern slopes of the Karakorum Pass. Its sources were discovered by the Englishman George Hayward in 1868. For its bearing of gold and other mineral resources in its valley, the Yarkand-Darya is sometimes called Zeravshan – ‘gold-bearing’.

ياسول *Yasaul* (Mongolian): A person in charge of deployment of troops in combat, at parades and in general of matters pertaining to warriors. Source of the Russian word *esaul*, a captain of the Cossacks. *Yasauls* were also in charge of counting the spoils of war and taking from them the portion due to the khan.

Yatsenko, Ivan Eremeevich: An official of the Provincial Board of the Siberian Kazakhs. In 1852 Yatsenko was appointed chairman of the Frontier Board’s committee to compile a code of Kazakh laws. To collect materials on Kazakh customary law he frequently organised trips into the steppe. Chokan Valikhanov took part in one of these in 1862 and gives a damning description of Yatsenko’s efforts.

Yazid: the murderer of Mohammed’s grandchildren, Hassan and Hussein, in the Karbala desert. This is in Iraq and located on the right bank of the middle reaches of the River Euphrates.

Yu (more correctly, *yui*): Jade, jasper.

Yuezhi: The eastern branch of the Saka, who lived in Eastern Turkestan prior to the foundation of the Chinese province of Gansu.

Zakuski: Snacks – especially pickles – served with tea or vodka.

Zantorin, Akhmet: Ruling sultan of the Torgai and Aktobe Kazakhs in the nineteenth century.

Zaistykkol Kyrgyznyn-Alatau: A reference to the Teriskei Alatau, which bends round the south side of Lake Issyk-Kol.

Zhadik (sixteenth century): The son of Zhanibek and brother of Kasym Khan. He was elected khan during the lifetime of Kasym Khan, when the latter was very old. Killed in an internecine war with the Nogai Murza Shegim (Shakh-Mamai), he is buried in Urgench, alongside the mausoleum of the poet Bakyrghan-Ata (of Suleiman).

Zhalaiyr: A member of the Zhalaiyr tribe – one of the ancient and founding tribes of the Senior *Zhuz*. According to Kazakh genealogical tradition, the Zhalaiyr are the main branch of the Uisun tribe. The Shumanak are considered to comprise the main line of the Zhalaiyr. They are Shu tribes whom some scholars identify with the ancient Shumugun and Syrmanak (Syr-Darya tribes

and *oguzes*). The names of other Zhalaiyr clans of interest are: the Kyrgyz, Ogiz, Ak-marka and Kara-marka (named in the ancient *oguzes* as ak-Koiunlu and Kara-Koiunlu), the Eltezer and others. The presence of these tribes among the Zhalaiyr is fairly certain evidence they were of Turkic origin.

In the early Middle Ages, the Zhalaiyr, as one of the major tribes, played an active role in the history of Central Asia, and were actively involved in the formation of a dynasty in Central Asia and Iran. After the Mongol conquest, a portion of the Zhalaiyr migrated to the Zeravshan Valley and merged with the Uzbeks. For the most part, however, the Kazakhs of the Zhalaiyr tribe settled in Zhetysu, in the valley of the River Karatal, occupying territory south of Lake Balkhash as far as the Dzhungarian Alatau. See: N. Aristov, 'Opyt vyiasneniya etnicheskogo sostava kirgiz-kazakov Bolshoi ordy i kara-kirgizov', *Zhivaya starina*, vols 3–6 (1894), pp. 407–8; S. Amanzholov, *Voprosy dialektologii i istorii kazakhskogo yazyka* (Alma-Ata, 1959), pp. 43–46.

Zhan: An oath of fealty. A form of the oath continued from pre-Islamic times. Consecration by fire is described by the Greek historian Menander when the Byzantine ambassador Zemarchus visited the headquarters of the Turkic *khagan*, Dizabul, in the sixth century. In antiquity, an oath was taken on a sabre or sword, a custom preserved among many peoples to this day. The special importance attached to items related to killing the enemy has also been evident among nomads from ancient times. A nod to Islam, which among the Kazakhs existed only in tandem with pagan beliefs, was taking an oath on the Quran, perceived in this instance as a 'sacred object', along with the items in the pre-Islamic belief system.

Zhanatai: An eighteenth-century *batyr* of the Middle *Zhuz*, of Clan Kanzhygaly. He features in a number of historical and poetic legends and lays of Kazakh folklore as a hero in the struggle against the Dzhungars. See *Kazak adebietinin tarikhy*, vol. 1, (Almaty, 1948), pp. 307–08.

Zhanibek: A *batyr* of the Middle *Zhuz*, of Clan Saryzhetim Shakshak, fighting alongside Abylai Khan. In the oral folklore of the Kazakhs, Zhanibek is seen also as a popular orator of great eloquence. This was particularly in evidence in his speeches at judicial hearings into disputes between clans. See *Kazakadebieti tarikhy*, vol. 1, 308–09 b; 'Zhanibek Batyr', *ROBAN KazSSR*, no. 955.

Zhanibek Khan: Known in literature as Abu Sa'id, d. 1477. He was the son of Barak Khan, the last ruler of the Horde, and the great-grandson of Orys Khan. He succeeded in uniting the ancient Kazakh tribes, founded the Kazakh Khanate and was one of its first khans. The unification of the Kazakh tribes occurred in the mid-fifteenth century, after the collapse of the Golden Horde (in Desht-i-Kipchak) and the Ulus of Chagatai (in Central Asia). As the founder of the khanate, uniting a significant proportion of the Kazakh people, he was given the honoured title of Az-Zhanibek (Zhanibek the Wise).

Lake Zhasyl Kol: The correct name of the mountain lake, which was later given the inaccurate name of ‘Issyk’. It is often confused with Lake Issyk-Kol. ‘Issyk’ (in fact: ‘Esik’) is the name not of a lake but of a river originating from Lake Zhasyl Kol.

Zhirenshe-Sheshen: The name of a legendary sage, thinker and source of instructive utterance. Depicted in Kazakh historical legends as a defender of the people. In popular legends, the image of Zhirenshe-Sheshen is mixed with the personality of another champion of the people, the thinker of the steppe, Asan Kaigy. In reality, these are entirely separate historical figures. Zhirenshe-Sheshen, according to legend, lived in the pre-Mongol era, while Asan Kaigy was a contemporary of Zhanibek Khan (fifteenth century).

Zhuz: A *zhuz* is one of the three main territorial and tribal divisions in contemporary Kazakhstan and represents the main tribal division within the ethnic group of the Kazakhs. Its original meaning was ‘horde’ or ‘one hundred’. The Great (Senior) *Zhuz* or *Uly Zhuz* covers territories of Southern and South-Eastern Kazakhstan, North-Western China and parts of Uzbekistan. The Middle *Zhuz* or *Orta Zhuz* consists of six tribes, covering Central and Eastern Kazakhstan. The Junior *Zhuz* or *Kishi Zhuz* consists of three tribes, covering Western Kazakhstan and Western Russia.

Zhuzhan (Zhuan-Zhuan): An alliance of nomadic Turkic tribes formed in the third to fourth centuries in Central Asia. Later the Zhuzhan displaced a segment of the Usun from Zhetysu to the Pamir and Tian Shan Mountains and the west, and waged wars against the Uighur and ancient inhabitants of Kazakhstan. In the mid-sixth century, under blows inflicted by the Turkic tribes, the Zhuzhan alliance collapsed. The Avar are considered to be descended from them. See: *Istoriya Mongolskoi Narodnoi Respubliki*, 3rd ed. (Moscow, 1983), p. 108.

Zodiac: Valikhanov mistranslates and erroneously correlates the months of the eastern solar calendar with the signs of the zodiac: *Saratan* (Cancer) falls in June–July; *Zauza* (Gemini) falls in May–June; *Kauys* (Sagittarius) falls in November–December. The April constellation is *Sauir* (Taurus) and the August constellation is *Sumbile* (Virgo).

Zurdunbek (Zukhurad-din): The ruler of Kashgar from 1830 to 1846. A supporter of the Chinese in the Kashgaris’ struggle for independence.

SELECTED WORKS OF CHOKAN VALIKHANOV

Pioneering Ethnographer and Historian of the Great Steppe

When Chokan Valikhanov died of tuberculosis in 1865, aged only 29, the Russian academician Nikolai Veselovsky described his short life as ‘a meteor flashing across the field of oriental studies’. Set against his remarkable output of official reports, articles and research into the history, culture and ethnology of Central Asia, and more important, his Kazakh people, it remains an entirely appropriate accolade.

Born in 1835 into a wealthy and powerful Kazakh clan, he was one of the first ‘people of the steppe’ to receive a Russian education and military training. Soon after graduating from Siberian Cadet Corps at Omsk, he was taking part in reconnaissance missions deep into regions of Central Asia that had seldom been visited by outsiders. His famous mission to Kashgar in Chinese Turkestan, which began in June 1858 and lasted for more than a year, saw him in disguise as a Tashkent merchant, risking his life to gather vital information not just on current events, but also on the ethnic make-up, geography, flora and fauna of this unknown region. Journeys to Kuldzha, to Issyk-Kol and to other remote and unmapped places quickly established his reputation, even though he always remained inorodets – an outsider to the Russian establishment. Nonetheless, he was elected to membership of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society and spent time in St Petersburg, where he was given a private audience by the Tsar. Wherever he went he made his mark, striking up strong and lasting friendships with the likes of the great Russian explorer and geographer Pyotr Petrovich Semyonov-Tian-Shansky and the writer Fyodor Dostoyevsky.

Despite his remarkable insights, Valikhanov is not well known in the English-speaking world. This is the first collection of his writings translated into English since four essays were published in 1865. It includes several of his most important works, including the report on his visit to Kashgar and a number of essays on the history and genealogy of the Kazakh people. These fill an important gap in the literary history of Central Asia and hopefully will stimulate further interest in this remarkable man.

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