

ABSTRACT

Working as a clerk in Hokand Khanate and general secretary of khans and being one of the most esteemed and honourable individuals of that era, Ziyabiddin Magzumi was a statesman who lived in nineteenth century. Magzumi, whose exact birth and death dates are unknown, completed a manuscript work called – “History of the Fergana Khans”- which consisted of 833 leaves or 1666 pages. Written in the Old Chagatai language, this work was written from 1865-1888 upon the order of Khudayar Khan. The only known copy of this manuscript as the most comprehensive work about the Hokand Khanates is available in İstanbul. The unique manuscript of Ziyabiddin Magzumi is preserved under the number of IUNEK TY02408 and with the name of “History of Fergana Hans” in the İstanbul University Library and Documentation Department of Rare Books. In the database of İstanbul University Library, manuscript is shown as having 843 leaves (265X160 mm.). This manuscript was translated into the Kyrgyz language in 2007 and was issued in Bishkek.

The work written by Magzumi, who was referred to as Magzumi in the manuscript, is based on political events during the Kudayar Khan period as well as information about Kudayar Khan’s life and personality. In addition, it includes actions of Sherali Khan to gain the throne in 1842, other plots against the throne in the Khanate, public opinion, and events such as enthronement of Ishak Khan (Polat Khan). Magzumi, who gives information about the Kokand khans, also talks about what kind of rulers they are. This work was written by Khudayar Khan in order to praise his own khanate and in a responsive way to questions such as how the khan should be and how to manage the people. In the work written up in the style of –“Şahname”- there is information about personal qualities required to be a governor. Almost no information is given about failures of Khudayar Khan in the work. However, the manuscript glosses over Khudayar Khan’s failures, which points to the main objective of the work: not to give an unbiased chronological account of the era, but to praise the works of Hokand Khans and Sultan’s sons. Nevertheless, the work contains such valuable information as interrelations of the Khans and Sultan’s sons, wars in which they took part and how the wars were guided, clear descriptions of some names used in Hokand State, diplomacy of the Khanate, relations of the Khanate with other states, rituals for giving presents to each other, order in Hokand Palace, change of thrones, hospitality customs, victory celebrations, and daily life and trips of Khans.

**Keywords:** Magzumi, History of Fergana Khans, Khudayar Khan, Order in Hokand Khanate.



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## A SOURCE RELATED TO THE STATE ADMINISTRATION OF KHOKAND KHANATE:

### “HISTORY OF THE FERGANA KHANS”

#### HOKAND HANLIĞI DEVLET YÖNETİMİNE İLİŞKİN BİR KAYNAK:

#### “FERGANA HANLARI TARİHİ”

### ÖZ

Hokand Hanlığı'nda kâtiplik ve hanlık genel sekreteri olarak görev yapan ve devrin en saygın ve tanınan şahsiyetlerinden biri olan Ziyabiddin Magzumi, on dokuzuncu yüzyılda yaşamış bir devlet adamıdır. Doğum ve ölüm tarihi kesin olarak bilinmeyen Magzumi, 833 varak veya 1666 sayfadan oluşan “Fergana Hanları Tarihi” başlıklı bir el yazması eseri kaleme almıştır. Eski Çağatay dilinde yazılan bu eser, Hüdayar Han'ın emriyle 1865-1888 yılları arasında yazılmıştır. Hokand Hanlıkları hakkında en önemli eser olan bu yazmanın bilinen tek nüshası İstanbul'da bulunmaktadır. Ziyabiddin Magzumi'nin eşsiz yazması İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi'nde IUNEK TY02408 numarası ve “Fergana Hanları Tarihi” başlığı altında muhafaza edilmektedir. İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi veri tabanında yazma eser 843 yaprak (265X160 mm.) olarak gösterilmiştir. Bu el yazması 2007 yılında Kırgız Türkçesine çevrildi ve Bışkek'te yayınlandı.

El yazmasında Magzumi olarak geçen Ziyabiddin Magzumi'nin kaleme aldığı eser, Hüdayar Han dönemindeki siyasi olayların yanı sıra Hüdayar Han'ın hayatı ve kişiliği hakkında bilgilere yer vermektedir. Ayrıca Şerali Han'ın 1842 yılında tahtı ele geçirme eylemleri, Hanlık'ta taht aleyhine yapılan diğer komploları, kamuoyunu, İshak Han'ın (Polat Han) yükselişi ve tahta çıkması gibi gelişmeleri de içerir. Kokand hanları hakkında bilgi veren Magzumi, onların nasıl bir hükümdar olduklarından da bahseder. Bu eser, Hüdayar Han tarafından kendi hanlığını övmek için ve han nasıl olmalı, insanları nasıl yönetmeli gibi sorulara cevap verecek şekilde yazılmıştır. “Şahname” üslubunda kaleme alınan eserde, vali olarak atanmak için gereken meziyetler hakkında bilgiler de yer almaktadır. Ancak, Hüdayar Han'ın başarısızlıkları hakkında hemen hemen hiçbir bilgi verilmemesi, hatta Hüdayar Han'ın başarısızlıklarının örtbas edilmesi dikkat çekmektedir. Bundan hareketle çalışmanın ana hedefinin tarafsız kronolojik bir eser ortaya konulmasından çok Hokand Hanlarının ve padişah oğullarının eserlerini övmek olduğu anlaşılıyor. Bununla birlikte eser, hanların ve hanın erkek çocuklarının birbirleriyle olan ilişkileri, katıldıkları savaşları ve savaşların nasıl yönetildiği, Hokand devletinde kullanılan bazı isimlerin net tasvirleri, hanlık diplomasisi, hanlığın diğer devletlerle olan ilişkileri, birbirlerine hediye verme törenleri, Hokand sarayında düzen, taht değiştirme, konukseverlik gelenekleri, zafer kutlamaları, Hanların günlük hayatı ve seyahatleri hakkında önemli bilgiler içermektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Magzumi, Fergana Hanları Tarihi, Hüdayar Han, Hokand Hanlığı'nda Düzen.

### INTRODUCTION

Ziyabiddin Magzumi, one of the respectable and respected persons of the palace who worked as a clerk and a general secretary in the Khanate of Kokand, is a statesman who lived in the nineteenth century. We learn from Kushbek Usenbayev's study, which addresses the Andijan Uprising as well, that the full name of Magzumi is Muhammad Ziauddin Mahsum Dammula Sharifoglu.<sup>1</sup> The information about Magzumi being considered as a respectable, reputable and educated person in the Khanate of Kokand is found in the book “History of Fergana” written by Hodja Ishakkan Cunaydullaoglu (Ibret) in 1916.<sup>2</sup> In this work, Ziauddin Magzumi is described as one of the knowledgeable, reputable and leading figures of the palace.

It is known that Magzumi worked as a clerk and a work manager under the auspices of Khudayar Khan<sup>3</sup> after Khudayar Khan had gained the throne 3<sup>rd</sup> time in 1865. According to the information provided by I. Yuvachev, Mollah Magzumi was one of the people who started the Andijan Uprising in 1898 as the advisor of Madali Dukchi. Lieutenant General Terentyev, who investigated Russia's invasion of Central Asia, said that Magzumi had been an educated person, that he had built a library in his hometown, that he had accepted a donation for education, and that he had served as a clerk at the side of Kokand Khans, that he had increased the reputation of Madali Khan after he had arrived beside him, that he had arranged the document to make, Madali the heir of him, by counterfeiting the stamp of an opposing religious leader and had been given him the title of caliph and that he had been involved in various activities to be considered as miracles.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kuşbek Usenbayev, *Narodniye Dvijeniya Sredney Azii v XIX Veke*, Bishkek-Osh 1998, p. 117-118.

<sup>2</sup> Üçler Bulduk, *Hokand Hanlığı ve İbret'in Fergana Tarihi*, Berikan Yayınevi, Ankara, 2006, p. 78 (46 b).

<sup>3</sup> The work is referred to with nicknames such as Kudayar Khan, Shahzada, Shahzada-i Aalam, Valamir, Seyid, Seyid Mohammed, Padisha-i Aalam Sultan Bakaram, Shahi Fargana (Magzumi, *Fargana Handarının Tarihi*, Moldo Sabir, Omor Sooronov, Bishkek: Turar, 2007, p. 256).

<sup>4</sup> M. A. Terentev, *Istoriya Zavoevaniya Sredney Azii*, C. 3, SPb.: Typolitography V. V. Komarova, 1906, p. 478.

Kiyas Moldokasimov cited Magzuni as a Kyrgyz by referring to many resources addressing the events of the time. One of those resources provides the following information about Magzuni: “The Kyrgyz, who Madali had considered closest, most reliable and beloved, was Ziauddin Magzumi, the religious leader from the village of Cuma (Cumga) adjacent to Min Töbö. He was an aged but vigorous man about 80 years old. He was an experienced, pleasant-spoken and impressive person”.<sup>5</sup> Magzuni actively participated in the uprising against Kokand Khans Mala, Madali, and Khudayar, and despite being one of the closest persons to the executed Pulat Khan, he knew how to survive all of the riots. After the Andican uprising was suppressed, Magzuni disappeared without a trace and escaped to Kashgar together with Abdulcelil from Turkey. The grandchildren of Magzuni live predominantly in Nookat province of Kyrgyzstan.<sup>6</sup>

Now, let us briefly give information about the meeting of Magzuni with Abdurrahman Efendi, who put a great effort in manuscript reaching the present day. Abdurrahim Efendi met Magzumi in the Andijan region by the end of 1887 or the beginning of 1888, and the mentioned literary work could possibly have reached to him after this meeting. According to the information in the book, Abdurrahim Efendi Abdulazizoglu met with Khudayar Khan in 1882, when he lived more than a year in Mecca. Afterwards Khudayar Khan spent more than three months in the house of Abdurrahim Efendi in Istanbul. Khudayar Khan asked Abdurrahim Efendi to go to Fergana and to take back 12,000 gold coins from the rich people, who owe him money, for his sons and wives and he gave the documents related to them to Abdurrahim Efendi. Abdurrahim Efendi informed his Sultan Abdulhamid about Khudayar Khan. Even though Abdulhamid told Khudayar Khan that he was willing to help him, Khudayar Khan died on his way to his hometown. However, Abdurrahim Efendi came to Tashkent in 1887-1888 to fulfil the will of Khudayar Khan, met with the sons of the Khan, and helped them to collect the receivables of their father.<sup>7</sup>

### 1. About the Book

While Kyrgyz scientist Anvar Mokeev was doing research at the Library of Istanbul University in 1992, he saw the manuscript about the Khanate of Kokand<sup>8</sup> history and published an article about this.<sup>9</sup> The manuscript mentioned by the famous Kyrgyz scientist was the manuscript of Ziyabiddin Magzuni. The unique manuscript of Ziyabiddin Magzuni is preserved under the number of IUNEK TY02408 and with the name of “History of Fergana Hans” in the I. Ü. Library and Documentation Department of Rare Books. In the database of Istanbul University Library, manuscript is shown as having 843 leaves (265X160 mm.). Mokeev, who introduced the work to the Kyrgyz scientists, stated in his relevant article and in the translation of the work published in Bishkek that the manuscript had 833 leaves and the number of it was TY2448.<sup>10</sup> Mokeev also states that the name “History of Fergana Khans” may have been given to the manuscript by library experts, although a more appropriate name for the work would be “Shahname-i Khudayar Khan”.<sup>11</sup>

The manuscript was written in the second half of the nineteenth century in the ancient Chagatai language. The years of the events have not been specified in the manuscript. The translators of the manuscript report that the events described in leaves numbered 62, 98, 122, 164, 262, 368, 500, 510a and 754 are interrupted and that 108 leaves of it were missing.<sup>125</sup>

It is also unclear how the handwritten manuscript arrived in Istanbul. In the book it was only stated that Magzuni gave the work to Abdurrahim Efendi from Turkey by saying “After the death of Khudayar Khan, the work became unclaimed. The children of the khan did not understand the value of this book”. Magzuni, who began writing his work on Khudayar Khan’s recollection, wrote this work in 22 years by making corrections. If we consider that

<sup>5</sup> Kiyas Moldokasimov, “Kızmat Ötögön Kırgız Tarihçisi and Kokon Handıgının Tarakhine Arnalgan Anın Kolazazı in Kokon Ordos”, *Fargana Handarın Tarihi*, Bishkek 2007, p. 8-14.

<sup>6</sup> For further information on the grandchildren of Magzuni, see M. Bostonbayev, “Ziyabiddin Maksim Kim Bolgon?”, *Kırgız Tuusu Newspaper*, 18-20 May 2004, p. 21; M. Bostonbayev, “Ziyabidin Maxim Tarihtan Öz Ordun Tabış Kerek”, *Fargana Handarın Tarihi*, Bishkek 2007, p. 15-21; Döölötbek Saparaliyev, “History of Kyrgyz Turkish Cultural and Political Relations (Beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and 19<sup>th</sup> Century)”, Translated by: Ulanbek Alimov, *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 2/2, Spring 2007, p. 545-546.

<sup>7</sup> Magzuni, *Fargana Handarının Tarihi*, Bışkek 2007, p. 5-8.

<sup>8</sup> In the book, Hokand is sometimes called “Kokonçin”. There is no explanation by the interpreters about the meaning of this. Anvar Mokeev reports that this is “Hakan-i-china” (Anvarbek Mokeev, “Noviy Istocnik Po Istorii Kokandskogo Hanstva”, *Dialog Tsvivilizatsiy*, December 2002, p.24), which we think is the case.

<sup>9</sup> Anvarbek Mokeev, “Hokand Hanlıgı Tarihinin Ait Yeni Bilgiler”, *Bir Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi*, S. 1, İstanbul, 1994, s. 107-113.

<sup>10</sup> Magzuni, *Fargana Handarın Tarihi*, Çağatayca’dan Kırgızca’ya aktaranlar: Moldo Sabır ve O. Sooron Sopus, Turar Basımevi, Bışkek, 2007, p. 3. We went to Istanbul University Library and checked the place and page numbers. There is no mistake in the library records, and there must be a mistake in the writing of Mokeev’s teacher due to a technical error.

<sup>11</sup> Anvarbek Mokeev, *Ibid*, p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 41.

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the work was written in 22 years, we can say that it had been written from 1865 to 1888. After Khudayar Khan gained the throne for the third time in 1865, he attempted to write “Sahname”, which describes his own life, and gave this task to Magzuni, one of the most intelligent people of the time.<sup>13</sup>

Magzuni’s manuscript differs from the known written sources of its history regarding the Khanate of Kokand, both in terms of its appearance and content. Mullah Niyaz Muhammed Hogandi’s “Historical Shahruh-I”, which is regarded as the main source for the history of Khanate of Kokand, consists of 350 pages. In addition, work of Kokandi only talks about events until 1876.

Another characteristic of the work of “History of the Fergana Khans” is the lack of genealogy for the Golden Cradle.<sup>14</sup> As is known, the genealogy of “Golden Cradle” is a genealogy linking the roots of the Khanate of Kokand to Babur. It is not yet proven that this genealogy is authentic. Therefore, it is beneficial to approach this in a cautious way. The lack of this genealogy in Magzuni’s work may be the cause of reconsideration of the origin of Kokand Khans.

The work is about the political events at the time of Khudayar Khan, information about Khudayar Khan’s personality and life. There are also events such as the capture of the Sher Ali Khan (1842)<sup>15</sup>, the period of which the Khudayar Khan had the power of ruling, the constipations of Kokand, the games of thrones, popular fluctuations, and the clan of Ishak Khan. The destiny of Khudayar Khan after 1875 was elaborated in the manuscript as him being sent to Orenburg to exile, escaping there, going to Mecca via India, and returning from there, in Afghanistan.

This work is well known in Kyrgyzstan. Up until now, Magzuni and his work have been published in dozens of articles in magazines and newspapers, communiqués regarding this work were presented and a master’s thesis was prepared about it<sup>16</sup>

## 2. Information on the State Administration of Khanate of Kokand in the book

Although Magzuni’s work is well known in Kyrgyzstan, the subject of state administration under the title of “History of Fergana Khans” has not been used as a subject for a research until now. In the introduction to the book, Omor Sooronov, who has only translated the manuscript to Kyrgyz, is concerned with the subject, and a few detections in the article that Kyrgyz scientist Mamatali Murzayev introduces this work.<sup>17</sup>

This work was written by Khudayar Khan in order to praise his own khanate and in a responsive way to questions such as how the khan should be and how to manage the people. This is the reason why the work was written in the style of Shahname. The work also shows the Kokand khans and their children, the khans, and the princes to give detailed information about the work they are doing and what the original purpose of the work is. I would also be appropriate to mention here that there is no room for the same volume for each Khan of Kokand here.

Since the work was written to praise those who are descendants of the khan, it sometimes contradicts while talking about Malabek. While Malabek is compared to Khudayar, it is shown as malicious, incompetent, heroic elsewhere as a brave commander who leads the war and empties cities from the enemies.

In accordance with the style of the works of nineteenth century, brief information about the prophets from Hazrat Adem to Hazrat Muhammad in the book of “History of the Fergana Khans”. Magzuni’s “There are many stories about the Sultans. It is appropriate to mention here that the statement of Muhammad Aleyhisselam was sitting on the throne as the first Sultan” was in this work as well.<sup>18</sup> Magzuni, who writes about the rulers of the Islamic State up to Hussein, mentions the genealogy of the Kokand Khans her afterwards. Magzuni, who gives information about the Kokand khans, also talks about what kind of rulers they are. For example, Alimbek (Alim Khan) was reported to have received the name “Tyrant Khan” because of the persecution of the people.<sup>19</sup> Muhammed Ali Khan’s truculence was so great that he told ulemas to find a way to marry his stepmother or that he would be head all of them.<sup>20</sup> As can

<sup>13</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Magzuni, *Fargana Handarin Tarihi*, Turar Basımevi, Bishkek 2007, p. 4; For more information on genealogy, see T. Kenensariyev, *Kagyrdar Cana Cocoon Handbook*, Osh: Osh State University, 1997, p. 12-14.

<sup>15</sup> Works are referred to with nicknames such as Şerali Han, Seyid Muhammed Evliya Baatir Khan, Padisha Aalam Sultan Bakaram, Şahzada Baatir, Oluya Baatir Han, Azireti Şer Muhammed Ali Han, Shah Aalam, Avliya Markamat Kahan, Sultan Aalam, Valikan. 265).

<sup>16</sup> Ilyaz Mırzakulov, *Magzuni “Fergana Handarin Tarihi” Kol Cazmasının Transkriptsiyası Cana Kirgız Tiline Tieşelüü Sözdör*, Unpublished Master Thesis, Bishkek 2009, 172 p.

<sup>17</sup> Mamatali Murzayev, “Fargana Handarı Tarihi” “Köp Nerselerdi Açık Kurka Çırgargan Kımbat Emgek”, *Camı Ala Too*, No. 7-8, 2009, p. 243-248; Omor Sooronov, “Kokon Ordosu Kyrgyzdrga Ögoy Emes”, *Fargana Handarin Tarihi*, Bishkek 2007, p. 22-43.

<sup>18</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 48 (v. 6).

<sup>19</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 49 (v. 8); 69 (v. 65a)

<sup>20</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 51 (v. 12).



be seen from this example, the issue of state administration of the Khanate of Kokand is explained by emphasizing how the khan could not rule the state, its wrong works, and how they did not learn lessons from the events.

It is frequently reported from the beginning to the end of the work that; polygamy and marriage to the other wives of his father caused the badge of administration and the worn out state.<sup>21</sup> In the warning letter sent by Buhara Khan to Kokand Khan Muhammed Ali Khan, it was stated that instead of gathering the frolicsome and women around him that the Khan had to place more importance on to the army and the soldiers, that it was necessary to keep the leading reverends, viziers and warriors with them and pleasing them and that the frolicsome and women would be leaving him at the first opportunity.<sup>22</sup>

Of course, how the state treasury had been governed was one of the most important measures of the state director. Magzuni used the famous saying of Turkish people “the father gathered with the spoon, but he threw it away with the scoop” as an example of a bad ruler in the book. The work also mentions with some examples that the abduction or relocation of the treasure causing the ruling person to change.<sup>23</sup>

It is useful to talk about the topic of women separately here. Looking at the writings of Magzuni, we can say that the author and Khudayar did not look positively upon women engaging in state affairs. Although the author gives important information about female members of the dynasty, it can be seen throughout the work that they did not want women to interfere with their administrative affairs.<sup>24</sup> However, it is a known event in the history of the Kokand Khanate that women belonging to the dynasty family played an active role in state affairs.

On the other hand, they found beautiful young ladies and made them marry the khan in order to keep the khan close to themselves and to manage the state affairs alone. Ancestry also made the khan marry the girls from their relatives. For example, Mosulmankul ancestry brought his sister and all the beautiful girls he knew to Khudayar Khan and made him marry. Thus, Khudayar Khan had 40 wives and Mosulmankul attained his desire.<sup>25</sup> It was a tactic practiced every time and everywhere to attract and connect the Khan tightly. However, the fate of this has not always been as it should be for those who have connected the khan to herself. Mosulmankul himself was ruthlessly killed.

As another reason for the worsening of the state administration and the inability of the administrator to govern the state, Khan killing his faithful friends and honest managers or moving away from them was shown in the book. Examples are given in many parts of the work on this subject.<sup>26</sup> As it is known from the history of mankind, the ruler to lose his power falls apart in time, who brings himself to that position and completes the weaker parts of himself. In general, this situation is explained by the ruler’s poisoning of power. We see the same situation in the Khanate of Kokand.

The work also provides information on how the throne changed, which was essential for the state administration. For example, Seyh Muhammad Ali Khan poisoned his father and gained the throne.<sup>27</sup> The throne change also takes place by calling on the help of some people to demolish the khan which is incompetent or persecutes the people by gathering mullahs, teachers, ulamas, elders in community and wives in the khanate.<sup>28</sup> Opponents united against the existing khan used to proclaiming the throne by placing a patriarch in white line on the white felt. For example, the Mala khan was declared as the khan in this way. The four important opposition leaders also held the new khan from the four corners of the white felt and placed him on a new throne in front of the soldiers.<sup>29</sup>

When someone gains the throne, it was declared to the public as the throne's owner changed by calling “Who, who’s the time? The time of this person” on the streets.<sup>30</sup> The ruthless attitude of the throne change was expressed as “There is no father, mother, brother, brother in the Sultanate (in power)”. As a matter of fact, Murat Khan, who gained the throne, commanded his father and afterwards his brother to be killed.<sup>31</sup> Since in the Turkish states, only

<sup>21</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 223 (v. 677)

<sup>22</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 52 (v. 14-15a).

<sup>23</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 220-221 (v. 661-664).

<sup>24</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 52 (v. 14-15a); 223 (v. 676-677)

<sup>25</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 32-33.

<sup>26</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 57 (v. 23a-24).

<sup>27</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 50 (v. 9).

<sup>28</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 51 (v. 13 a); 53 (v. 16 a); 57 (v. 25)

<sup>29</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 220 (v. 659).

<sup>30</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 99 (v. 274); 141 (v. 238a); In another part of the work, the throne change is declared as “This time is the time of Murat Khan” (Magzuni, A. g., p.186).

<sup>31</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 186-188 (v. 511a-522).

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the people who were in the dynasty of the Khan could sit on the throne, the groups that were in power were fighting to become the vizier or the ancestor of the Kokand Khan. In the last years of the Khanate of Kokand, those who wanted to rule the Khan were known very well in the example of Polat Khan, who is not one of the innermost, because of his facial similarity.<sup>32</sup>

In the “History of the Fergana Khans”, the goods of power are also striking. For example, the belts are seen as a symbol of power.<sup>33</sup> In addition, the flag, the seal, the drum, and the zurna also appear as other signs of power.

Since Magzuni was a person from the palace he provides information about the rules in the Khanate of Kokand, hospitality toward guests, rewards for the winners of the war, and the daily life of the khans. As it is known, everybody greeted the khan and the governors by bowing and gently leaning over their exposures, taking their hands to their chest. Kissing the leg and foot of the khan also occurred frequently.

In the Kokand Khanate palace or anywhere where the khan was present, the high governors seated themselves according to their closeness to the khan, Kokand Khan’s son generally sat on the Khan’s right side, while his vizier, who ruled the state, or his commander-in-chief, sat on his left side.<sup>34</sup> However, another part of the work states that on the right side of the Han were the ulama, the kadi, the mufti and the scholars, on the left side were the vizier and the majors, and in front of him sat the city.

In another part of the work it is stated that the ulama, the kadi, the mufti and the scholars were on right side of the Khan, vizier and the majors on the left side and the son of the khan was sitting in front of the Khan.<sup>35</sup> During the visit of the khan’s sons to the khan in the palace, it is seen that the khan’s sons sat on the right and left sides of the him according to their ages.<sup>36</sup> The final form of seating can be described as a family seating arrangement typical of the old Turkish states. In the khanate this layout was a little stretched and was arranged according to the situation.

In many parts of the work, we witness the practice of allegiance method often in the Kokand Khanate. Particularly in the case of throne change, allegiance method increased.<sup>37</sup> However, it seems clear that the events of this allegiance are “as late as the past”. Perhaps because of this, the Kokand Khanate was not able to achieve stability and the khanate collapsed.

It is also possible to see that the important decisions of the khanate, such as decisions to go to war, were made using the council method.<sup>38</sup> Although important decisions were made in consultation, the last word always belonged to the Khan. In the event of such a consultation, the head of the Kokand Khanate, the head of the city, the head of the village, the headman of the village, the village headman, and the treasure chest were determined.<sup>39</sup>

Communication, which is an indispensable part of the state administration, was carried out mostly through letters in the Kokand Khanate. Various orders were fulfilled by the edict written, and the letters were delivered to other cities and towns. The letters must have been sealed to be valid.<sup>40</sup> The letters coming from the khan were received by kissing and rubbing them to the eyes. We should also mention here that the gossip was also used in the Kokand Khanate as an important means of conducting communications. It is mentioned in the book that a few people killed their opponents.

The work also describes the Kokand Khanate’s relations with other khanates and the administrators of Kokand’s cities. It is seen that the Kokand Khanate was the most interrelated with the Bukhara Khanate.

We can see that Bukhara Khanate wanted to bring an end to the Khanate of Kokand by organizing wars and that with this purpose the Bukhara Khanate’s policy of keeping the Kokand Khanate under control was to welcome the khan’s sons escaping from the Kokand Khanate.<sup>41</sup> Therefore when we talk about Kokand-Buhara relations, we cannot talk about a biased relationship. The relation between these two khanates have always been deep and

<sup>32</sup> For more information on Polat Khan, see (T. Kenensariyev, *Ishak Asan Uulu Polot Khan*, Bishkek: Kyrgyzstan, 1997).

<sup>33</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 78 (v. 85); 172 (v. 154a)

<sup>34</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 99-100 (v. 274a); According to the information on the 188th page of the work, the Han sits on the right side of his sons, and on the left side he also places the clan (v. 537).

<sup>35</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 104 (v. 295-195a)

<sup>36</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 172-173 (v. 155)

<sup>37</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 95-98 (v. 257-269)

<sup>38</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 101 (v. 284a); 128 (v. 190a); 137 (v. 218a)

<sup>39</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 129 (v. 190)

<sup>40</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 76 (v. 79 b); 94 (v. 254a-257); 102 (v. 285a); 144 (v. 247)

<sup>41</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 56 (v. 21a); 194-195 (v. 567-570a); 217 (v. 641-642); 225 (v. 686); 227 (v. 697)

complex. It is obvious in Magzuni's work that the Buhara factor should be included in the account when talking about the administration of the Kokand Khanate.

The battle events, heroism of the khan's sons and war rules are the most discussed topics in the book. For example, battles definitely started with the shooting of drums, and the end of the battleground or war day was also reported by the sound of drums. The wars were usually started after the morning prayer and were terminated when the evening prayer started. Before the war began, one valiant from the two sides would always say "Hay-hay" and the one-on-one fighting would start and if the defeated valiant asks for forgiveness, he would be forgiven. The case of forgiveness was also valid for the soldiers and the community of the defeated side.<sup>42</sup> The ones, who asked for forgiveness, did this by hanging their belts on their necks. Of course, the greatest forgiver was the Kokand Khan. The battle scenes in the book resemble war scenes of state-worn regular armies. We know that the whole of these wars did not take place as described in the book because the work was written in order to praise the khan and his sons. However, it is a reality that the state order was reflected in these wars and that these wars were built on certain rules.

We mentioned earlier that there are a lot of war scenes in the book. The soldiers in the battle scenes were usually led by princes. This is explained in the form of "The horse becomes a horse, and a lion becomes a lion" (At balası at bolot, şer balası şer bolot).<sup>43</sup> Of course, it was also obvious that there were experienced commanders who knew the business besides the prince who governed the military. Here these princes were always asking for permission from their father to start the war or to fight one-on-one before the battle.<sup>44</sup> It might be wrong to think of the fact that things worked like this every time. In fact, it is also doubtful that the princes have come to one-on-one fighting. The message to be given here is that the original owner of the state is the family of the dynasty.

Another practice that was practiced during wars was that the valiant, who was the battle commander, was first rewarded by the princes, who were victorious in the battle, and then by the Khan. Kokand Khan gave the leaders of the war heroic governance the cities that were seized besides precious items such as gold and silver.<sup>45</sup> It was also the influence of the prince to appoint rulers to small places, and of the Khan to appoint rulers to big cities.

We are witnessing that it was one of the indispensable state rituals in the Kokand Khanate to dress the people from their heads to the feet (sarpay) or to give them clothes.<sup>46</sup> Thus, they atoned for a guest or anyone, whom they had a quarrel with, and if there was a problem the ice between them was broken this way. "Sarpay" was also put on news reporter that brought good news.

It is told that ranks and titles such as "laskarbasi", "major", "captain", "parvana" and "datka" were given to the soldiers according to their heroism shown in the war. The Khan usually gave rank or various titles after the war or when someone joined him with his soldiers. For example, when Koruulu joined himself, Khudayar gave him the title "datka" and put on an "anchor".<sup>47</sup> This method has also been used by the governors to please the public and to attract them to their side.

It is told in the "History of Fergana Khans" that the soldiers, who went to war, acted as a division to the right of the prince, a divide to the left, and a main army in the middle.<sup>48</sup> We know that this marching style has been an army tactic applied by the Turks since ancient times.

In his work Magzuni tells with a few examples that the people nearest to the khans hurt them more and that they should be punished.<sup>49</sup> The punisher here was sometimes Bukhara Khan, sometimes Khudayar Khan and sometimes the prince in other cases. When Magzuni talked about the incident, he used the phrase "How can you serve someone else if you cannot honour your own growth?" In fact, this story is a phenomenon frequently encountered in historical monuments, and mankind cannot make a course and continue to repeat itself.

It is also seen that those who betrayed the state, and the khan were seriously punished. For example, Mamasharip, who betrayed Kokand, was seen hanging in jail one time where the public could see, then he was tied to the tail of 40 mares and was killed by being dragged.<sup>50</sup> The leader of the Kipchaks, killing many people in power,

<sup>42</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 83 (v. 90); 87 (v. 109); 93 (v. 252); 127 (v. 185); 141 (v. 236); 168 (v. 136 a)

<sup>43</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 138 (v. 226); 156 (v. 412a); 188 (v. 535a)

<sup>44</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 79 (v. 88a); 84 (v. 101); 87 (v. 106); 89 (v. 114 a); 106 (v. 301a); 124 (v. 172a-173)

<sup>45</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 93 (v. 253); 160 (v. 425)

<sup>46</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 169 (v. 143a)

<sup>47</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 83 (v. 90); 87 (v. 109); 93 (v. 252); 127 (v. 185); 141 (v. 236); 168 (v. 136 a)

<sup>48</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 138 (v. 226); 156 (v. 412a); 188 (v. 535a)

<sup>49</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 79 (v. 88a); 84 (v. 101); 87 (v. 106); 89 (v. 114 a); 106 (v. 301a); 124 (v. 172a-173)

<sup>50</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 93 (v. 253); 160 (v. 425)

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was handcuffed to Mosulmankul by Kerimkul Maktar and placed in front of Mosulmankul, who was captured for 10 days. It was a hill from human heads. On the eleventh day Mosulmankul was also beheaded.<sup>51</sup>

**CONCLUSION**

The work of Muhammad Ziauddin Mahsum Dammula Sharifoglu known as Magzuni in the book “History of the Fergana Khans” is an important work on the history of the Kokand Khanate. The manuscript provides detailed information about the history and state administration of the Kokand Khanate. Based on manuscript evidence, we can conclude that Kokand Khanate was governed by old Turkish and Muslim rules, that changes in the dynasty were commonplace, and that it played an important role in maintaining the power of the army and the treasure. It appears that the author agrees that Khudayar Khan’s influence on women should not be authorized by issues such as throne changes and state governance. The greatest disaster that can harm Khan is ranked as to become a fan of entertainment, marriage to polygamy and stepmother, the removal of loyal persons to Khan being separated from the administration. On the other hand, finding a new wife for the Khan was seen as the most important tool to get close to the Khan and to put him under control. Those who betrayed the Khan, and the state were severely punished. Giving presents, dressing “sarpay” and assigning governors to cities were among the sine qua non of bilateral relations. Also, by looking at the information in the book, we can say that the counselling method was constantly carried out in the Khanate of Kokand.

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<sup>51</sup> Magzuni, *Ibid*, p. 169 (v. 143a)