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ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ – RESEARCH ARTICLE

KOKAND KHANATE IN PERIOD OF SHIR ALI KHAN (1842-1845)

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ABSTRACT

Established in 1709 under the leadership of the Ming tribe of Uzbeks in the Fergana Valley, the Kokand Khanate reached the peak of its power with Muhammad Ali Khan (1822-1842), who became the ruler in 1822. Although the Kokand Khanate reached the peak of its power during the twenty-year reign of Muhammad Ali Khan, Muhammad Ali Khan's distancing from the state affairs with the sweet smell of victory, his plunge into sing assemblies and the maladministration he exhibited in the last period of his rule attracted the reaction of the people and statesmen. The statesmen, who could not see the future of their Khanate under the rule of Muhammad Ali Khan, requested assistance from Nasrullah (1826-1860), the ruler of the Bukhara Emirate and one of the important powers of Turkestan, to dethrone Muhammad Ali Khan. Emir Nasrullah, who responded positively to this request for help, embarked on two expeditions to Kokand and invaded the Kokand Khanate as a result of the second expedition in 1842. Emir Nasrullah, who had Muhammad Ali Khan and his family executed, appointed Ibrahim Hayel as the governor of Kokand and returned to Bukhara. The brutality of the Bukhara soldiers during Emir Nasrullah's invasion of Kokand and the subsequent maladministration drew the public reaction. The tribes and inhabitants of the Kokand Khanate, who were tired of cruelty and oppression, united around a new ruler and decided to get rid of Bukhara Administration. In line with this decision, Shir Ali, who lived in Talas and was a member of the Kokand dynasty, was enthroned. When Shir Ali became khan (1842-1845), the rule of Bukhara in Kokand was ended and the cities of the Khanate were taken under control one by one. When the Khanate got rid of Bukhara captivity and reached its former borders to a great extent, this time it dealt with domestic disturbances. The Kyrgyz, Kipchak tribes and the settled public who wanted to be effective in the state administration started to struggle against each other and the Kipchaks, one of the parties of this struggle, rebelled against the state under the leadership of Müslümankulu. As a result of the rebellion, the persecution applied by the Kipchaks, who were active in the state administration, attracted the reaction of other tribes and the people, especially the Kyrgyz, and as a result, this time the Kyrgyz rebelled and enthroned the late Alim Khan's son Murad Bek and had Shir Ali Khan killed. Müslümankulu, who did not want to lose his influence in the Khanate, married Shir Ali Khan's son Hüdayar Bek and his daughter and enthroned him in 1845. With Hüdayar Khan becoming the ruler, the administration was completely handed over to Müslümankulu. Illumination of the events of the Shir Ali Khan period is important in revealing the situation of the region at the beginning of the Russian-British conflict in the Turkestan area, which is called as the Great Game. In addition, it is important to understand the causes and consequences of the conflicts within tribes in the state, especially in the Khanate of Kokand, and to determine the consequences of these conflicts during the Russian occupation in the ongoing process. In this study, where we tried to reveal the three-year period of the Kokand Khanate, we mainly used the sources belonging to the Kokand Khanate and tried to explain the reign of Shir Ali Khan by comparing the information given in the main sources of the period with the Kokand sources written later.

Keywords: Kokand Khanate, Bukhara Emirate, Shir Ali Khan, Kipchak, Kyrgyz.

ŞİR ALİ HAN DÖNEMİNDE HOKAND HANLIĞI (1842-1845)

ÖZ

1709 yılında Özbeklerin Ming boyu önderliğinde Fergana Vadisi merkezli kurulan Hokand Hanlığı 1822 yılında hükümdar olan Muhammed Ali Han (1822-1842) ile gücünün zirvesine ulaşmıştır. Hokan Hanlığı her ne kadar Muhammed Ali Han'ın yirmi yıllık saltanatı devresinde gücünün zirvesine ulaşsa da Muhammed Ali Han'ın zafer sarhoşluğu ile devlet işlerinden uzaklaşması, işret meclislerine dalması ve bunlara bağlı olarak iktidarının son dönemlerinde sergilediği kötü yönetim halkın ve devlet adamlarının tepkisini çekmiştir.

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İkballerini Muhammed Ali Han'ın iktidarında göremeyen devlet adamları Türkistan'ın önemli güçlerinden Bukhara Emirliği'nin hükümdarı Nasrullah (1826-1860)'dan Muhammed Ali Han'ın tahtan indirilmesi için yardım talep etmişlerdir. Bu yardıma olumlu cevap veren Emir Nasrullah Hokand'a iki sefer düzenlemiş ve ikinci seferin neticesinde 1842 yılında Hokand Hanlığı'nı işgal etmiştir. Muhammed Ali Han ve ailesini idam ettiren Emir Nasrullah İbrahim Hayel'i Hokand valisi tayin ederek Bukhara'ya geri dönmüştür. Emir Nasrullah'ın Hokand'ı işgali esnasında Bukhara askerlerinin gösterdiği gaddarlık ve devamındaki kötü yönetim halkın tepkisini çekmiştir. Zülüm ve baskıdan bunalan Hokand Hanlığı sınırları içerisinde yaşayan boylar ve yerleşik ahali yeni bir hükümdar etrafında birleşerek Bukhara yönetiminden kurtulma kararı almıştır. Bu karar doğrultusunda Talas'ta yaşayan ve Hokand hanedan ailesine mensup olan Şir Ali tahta çıkartılmıştır. Şir Ali'nin han (1842-1845) olmasıyla Hokand'daki Bukhara hâkimiyetine son verilmiş ve ardında Hanlığın şehirleri bir bir kontrol altına alınmıştır. Hanlık Bukhara esaretinden kurtulup tekrar büyük ölçüde eski sınırlarına ulaştığında bu kez de iç karışıklıklarla uğraşmıştır. Devlet yönetiminde etkin olmak isteyen Kırgız, Kıpçak boyları ve yerleşik ahali birbirleriyle mücadele etmeye başlamış ve bu mücadelenin taraflarından birisi olan Kıpçaklar Müslümankul'un önderliğinde devlete isyan etmiştir. İsyanın neticesinde devlet yönetiminde etkin olan Kıpçakların uyguladıkları zulüm Kırgızlar başta olmak üzere diğer boyların ve halkın tepkisini çekmiş ve bunun sonucunda bu kez de Kırgızlar isyan ederek merhum Alim Han (1798-1809)'ın oğlu Murad Bek'i tahta geçirip Şir Ali Han'ı öldürtmüşlerdir. Hanlıktaki etkinliğini kaybetmek istemeyen Müslümankul ise bu duruma karşı Şir Ali Han'ın oğlu Hüdayar Bek ile kızını evlendirmiş ve onu 1845 yılında tahta oturtmuştur. Hüdayar Han'ın hükümdar olması ile yönetim tamamen Müslümankul'a geçmiştir. Şir Ali Han döneminin olaylarının aydınlatılması Büyük Oyun olarak ifade edilen Türkistan sahasında Rus-İngiliz çekişmesinin başlangıcında bölgenin durumunun ortaya konulması için önem arz etmektedir. Ayrıca Hokand Hanlığı özelinde devlet içerisindeki boy çekişmelerinin sebep ve sonuçlarının anlaşılması ve bu çekişmelerin devam eden süreçte Rus işgali esnasında ne gibi sonuçlar doğurduğunun tespit edilmesi açısından mühimdir. Hokand Hanlığı'nın üç yıllık devresini ortaya koymaya çalıştığımız bu çalışmada biz ağırlıklı olarak Hokand Hanlığı'na ait kaynakları kullandık ve dönemin ana kaynaklarında verilen bilgileri daha sonra yazılmış Hokand kaynakları ile de mukayese ederek Şir Ali Han'ın saltanat devresini açıklamaya çalıştık.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hokand Hanlığı, Bukhara Emirliği, Şir Ali Han, Kıpçaklar, Kırgızlar

INTRODUCTION

Having been separated from Bukhara Khanate and founded under the leadership of the Ming tribe of Uzbeks in the center of Fergana Valley in 1709, the Kokand Khanate managed to become a regional power in the first half of the century and played an important role in the political, military and socio-economic events of Turkistan. During the reign of Alim Khan (1799-1809), the Kokand Khanate moved its borders beyond the Fergana Valley and took over Tashkent, an important city in international trade, in 1805.¹ During the reign of his brother Omar Khan (1809-1822), who took his place by staging a coup against Alim Khan, the borders of the Khanate continued to expand into the Kazakh steppes and some of the Kyrgyz tribes were taken under the Kokand nationality.² The Khanate lived its most glorious period during the reign of his son, Muhammed Ali Khan (1822-1842), who was replaced by the death of Omar Khan in 1822. In this period, when important gains were achieved in international politics, a battle for domination in the East Turkestan area with the Manchus and in the Kazakh steppes with the Russian Empire was given. As a result of this struggle, the Kokand Khanate, which obtained the right to collect the taxes of East Turkistan³, made an agreement with the Russian Emperor and made the Göksu River accepted as the border between the two states.⁴ Furthermore, in order to be the sole authority in East Turkestan trade⁵, he took Karategin⁶ and Darvas under his rule as well as Alay and made the Kyrgyz subjects of the Khanate.⁷ Thus, Muhammad Ali Khan, who brought the Khanate to the top both politically and militarily, started to fight with the Bukhara Emirate for the domination of Turkistan. He

¹ Dinçer Koç, *Rus Elçilik Raporlarına Göre Hokand Hanlığı (XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısı)*, İdeal Kültür&Yayıncılık, İstanbul 2015, s. 31.

² Hüseyin Şen, "Ömer Han Dönemi Hokand Hanlığı (1809-1822)" *Genel Türk Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* C.3, S.5, 2021, s. 117-118.

³ For the struggle of the Khanate of Kokand with the Manchu Empire, see. Hüseyin Şen, *Muhammed Ali Han Dönemi Hokand Hanlığı (1822-1842)* İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü (Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi), İstanbul 2020, s. 102-126;129-146. For the agreement signed between the Kokand Khanate and the Manchu Emperor, see. A.N. Kuropatkin, *Asya'nın Kalbi Doğu Türkistan Fiziki, Coğrafi, Demografik, Etnografik, Sosyal, Askeri ve İktisadi Yapısı*, yay. haz. Feyzullah Uygur, İlgü Kültür Sanat, İstanbul 2016, s. 175-176; Mehmed Âtîf, *Kaşgar Tarihi*, yay. haz. İsmail Aka vd., Eysi Yayınevi, Kırkale 1999, s. 274-275; Ç. Valihanov, *Sobranie Soçineniy v Pyati Tomah*, T.3, Glavnaya Redaktsiya Kazahskoy Sovetskoy Entsiklopedii, Alma-Ata 1985, s.147; Eugede Schuyler, *Turkistan Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Kokand, Bukhara and, Kuldja*, C.1, Sampson Low, Marston, Searly&Rivingson, London 1876, p. 343.

⁴ Horwath, *History of Mongols*, C.II, Longmans, London 1830, p. 825; Muhammed Yunus Taşkendi, *The Life of 'Alimqul: Native Chronicle of Nineteenth Century Central Asia*, Edited and Translated T. K. Beisembiev, Routledge, London and New York 2003, p. 73-74.

⁵ For East Turkestan and Kokand trate see Tuba Tomboğlu, "Seyyahlara göre Fergana'nın Ekonomik Durumu (18. Ve 19. Yüzyıl)", *Seyyahların İzinde Türkistan* Mustafa Gökçe Ed., Pegem Akademi, Ankara 2019, s. 182-185.

⁶ The Karategin region is located in the Kızılsu basin, one of the starting branches of Amuderya on the borders of Tajikistan. Islamic Geographers recorded the region as Rasht. Recep Uslu, "Karategin", *TDVİA*, Ek-2, s. 26.

⁷ For more detailed information, see. Şen, *agt.* s. 138; 152-156.

collaborated with the judge of Jizak⁸, Kunduz⁹, Şehr-i Sebz¹⁰ and the Kive Khanate against the Emirate of Bukhara. With the subjugation of Öretepe¹¹, he started to threaten Zeferşân Valley. The Khanate surrounded the Emirate of Bukhara when Muhammad Ali Khan included Darvaz and Karategin within the borders of the state. Thus, the conflict with Muhammad Ali Khan became inevitable for the Emir of Bukhara, Nasrullah. The Emir of Bukhara, Nasrullah, used the opposition against Muhammad Ali Khan in this conflict. In particular, Muhammad Ali Khan's execution of chief of Mingbaşı Hakkulu, prompted the opposition to the state. Kyrgyz and Kipchak tribes, Tashkent and Kokand notables could not see their prosperity in the reign of Muhammad Ali Khan and started to oppose the Khan. The mainstay of this opposition was Sultan Mahmud, the brother of Muhammad Ali Khan. Unable to openly attack Muhammad Ali Khan, the opponents wrote a letter to ask for help from the Emir of Bukhara, Nasrullah.¹² Emir Nasrullah, who wanted to take advantage of this situation, used the construction of the Peşagar Fortress as an excuse and embarked two expeditions to Kokand, and as a result of these expeditions, he invaded the Kokand Khanate. When Emir Nasrullah invaded Kokand in 1842, he committed a huge massacre in the city. According to the information provided by the Kokand historical sources, when the Bukhara soldiers entered the city, they looted the Kokand palace, Orda, like gog and they even entered the privy chamber of the Harem and completely plundered the treasure. Bukhara soldiers, described by Müntehabü't-Tevarih as human-looking animals, attacked Kokand women and looted even their clothes. They also, detained Muhammad Ali Khan's mother, Mahlar Ayim and the women in the Harem in a humiliating manner and imprisoned them in a house after walking them on the street with their head uncovered and their feet naked. The Bukhara army, which plundered everything in the palace, made the people so miserable that the people had to flee by closing private parts with their hands. Moreover, the Bukhara army raped the women of the city inhabitants.¹³ The looters plundered not only the Kokand palace, but also the madrasas and mosques. They destroyed the books in madrasahs, carpets and felt in mosques.¹⁴ As a matter of fact, they tied their horses to mosques and turned them into a stable, as stated in the Divan-i Mutrib, one of the sources of the period.¹⁵ The persecution was so great that the smoke formed as a result of this persecution covered the sky, and the smell of cruelty spread throughout the world.¹⁶ Besides, Emir Nasrullah had Muhammed Ali Khan, Sultan Mahmud, prince Muhammed Emin and Mahlar Ayim (Nadire), the mother Muhammed Ali Khan and Sultan Mahmud executed.¹⁷

1. Bukhara Administration in Kokand

Emir Nasrullah appointed Ibrahim Hayal as the governor of Kokand after invading Kokand Khanate and killing Muhammad Ali Khan and his family. He returned to Bukhara, taking the city's scientists and craftsmen with him.¹⁸ After Emir Nasrullah's return, the governor of Kokand, Ibrahim Hayal, exhibited a maladministration. In the words of Avaz Muhammed Attar, he started to receive heavy taxes from the private

⁸ The city of Jizak, also known as the Small Fortress, is located in the northeast of Samarkand, in the north of Nura-Dağ. The city, which is located on the route of the Ancient Silk Road, is on the road connecting Kokand and Tashkent to Samarkand. M. Bilal Çelik, *1800-1865 Yılları Arasında Bukhara Hanlığı*, Sakarya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü (Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi), Sakarya 2009, s. 38.

⁹ The city located on the banks of the Kunduz River in northern Afghanistan. Anonim, *Zafername-i Hüsravi*, çev. Ş. Vahidov, Şirali Jurayev Tarihi Meros, Taşkent 2011, s. 35, Footnote 116.

¹⁰ Its old name was Keş and it was named Şehr-i Sebz, which means "green city" in the XIVth century. Established in the upper course of Kaşga Derya, the city is located on the Samarkand-Tirmiz road and is 40 leagues from Bukhara and 30 leagues from Samarkand. Çelik, *agt*, s. 34; Şen, *agm*, s. 120, Footnote 51. Şehir-i Sebz is in the upper course of Kaşga Derya River. A. Burns, *Travels into Bukhara*, C. II, A. Spottiswoode, London 1839, p. 162.

¹¹ It is a strategically located city on the Öretepe / İstiravsan Taşken-Kokand road, which is a district in the Sogdia Province of the Republic of Tajikistan today. Anonim, *Zafername-i Hüsravi*, s. 21, footnote 60.

¹² For the details of the letter, see. Hakimhan Töre, *Muntahab at-Tevorih (Hukand Va Bukhara Tarihi, Seyahat Va Hotralar)*, çev. ve yay. haz., Ş. Vahidov, Yangi Asr Avlodi, Taşkent 2010, s. 156; Hüdayarhazade, *Ancum at-Tavarih (Zvezdi İstori)*, çev. ve izahlar müellifi Ş. Vohidov, Ş. Elşibaev, Yangi Asr Avlodi, Taşkent 2011, s. 159; Ziyâbüddin Mahzûnî, *Fergana Hanları Tarihi*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi T.2408, s. 9^a-15^a.

¹³ Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 176-177.

¹⁴ Niyoz Muhammed Hokandî, *İbretü'l Havakin (Tarih-i Şahrui)*, çev. ve yay. haz. Ş. Vahidov, Turon Zamin Ziyu, Taşkent 2014, s. 144.

¹⁵ Mutrib, *Şahnâme-i Divane Mutrib*, Özb. FA. ŞE. 596/IV, 32^p. Niyoz Muhammed Hokandî states that this plunder lasted four hours. Niyâz Muhammed Hokandî, *age*, s. 144. Mirza Alim Mahdum Hodja also says that looting took four hours. Mirzo Olim Mahdum Hoca, *Tarih-i Türkistan*, yay. haz. Ş. Vahidov, Yangi Asr Avlodi, Taşkent 2009, s. 97. Hakimhan Töre notes that the looting took several days. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 177. In *Zafername-i Hüsravi*, on the other hand, the cruelty of looting is not emphasized. It is stated that only Emir Nasrullah entered the city in the morning, that the order was given to end the looting at noon and not to damage the property of the poor. Anonim, *Zafername-i Hüsravi*, s. 129. Encüm At-Tevarih tells about this brutal plunder that the Bukhara army plundered everything but the traces of carpets on the houses and spider webs on the walls. As the end of the looting, he states that when there is nothing left to be taken from the state and the people in the city, it was terminated by order of Emir Nasrullah. Hüdayarhazade, *age*, s. 177.

¹⁶ Andalib, *Şahnâme-i Divane Andalib*, Özb. FA. ŞA. El Yaz. Böl. No.696, 2^b

¹⁷ For Emir Nasrullah's Kokand expeditions, see. Şen, *agt*, s. 188-226. For the executions of Muhammad Ali Khan and his family, see. Murtib, *age*, s. 13^a-17^b.

¹⁸ *İstoriya Uzbekistana (XVI-Pervaya Polovina XIX Veka)*, İzd. "Fan", Akademii Nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan, Taşkent 2012, s. 183. It is unclear how long Nasrullah stayed in Kokand. According to Tarih-i Turkistan, Nasrullah stayed in Kokand for seventy days. Mirzo Olim Mahdum Hoci, *age*, s. 11. Müntahabü't-Tavarih, this period is given as two months. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 661. In *Zafername-i Hüsravi*, the period is given as two months. Anonim, *Zafername-i Hüsravi*, s. 132. İbretü'l Havakin gives seventy-seven days, Niyoz Muhammed Hukandî, *age*, s.147. Mutrib gives this period as three months. Mutrib, *age*, s. 14^a.

properties of the people and mills. This situation went so far that people were even taxed for the parsley they planted in their gardens to flavor their meals. When the people, overwhelmed by heavy taxes and maladministration, complained, they were accused by the rulers of Bukhara of not being Muslim.¹⁹ In one of the main sources of the period, the *Sahname-i Divane Andalib*, it is stated that the people of Kokand were oppressed under the persecution and they begged Allah day and night to get rid of this cruelty.²⁰ When the time of the Kokand people spent under the rule of Bukhara is described in the *Shahnama-i Divane Mutrib*, one of the main sources of the period, it is recorded that every part of the society, where every day passes like a thousand years, received their share from the persecution, and even the sufi made their dhikr silently due to the persecution.²¹ The inhabited tribes of the Kokand Khanate, who were not satisfied with the rule of Ibrahim Hayal, agreed with each other and decided to enthrone a person from the Kokand ruling family. Considering that the most suitable person for this job would be Shir Ali, who lived in Talas, they sent a messenger to him.²²

2. The Genealogy of Shir Ali Khan

Shir Ali (est. 1797-1845), on whom the people, who were not satisfied with the Bukhara administration and agreed to dethrone, is the nephew of Narbuta Bek (1763-1798); the son of Hacı Bek, and the son of Alim Khan and Omar Khan's uncle. Hacı Bek, Rüstem Bek and Alim Bek fought for the throne in the Khanate after the death of Narbuta Bek, and with the support of the Ming tribe, Alim Bek was victorious and ascended to the throne (1799-1810). After Alim Khan ascended the throne, the first thing he did was to get rid of the Khan candidates he struggled against. In this context, he had Rüstem Bek and Hacı Bek executed (est. 1801-1802). Although Hacı Bek was killed, his sons Uluğ Bek and Shir Ali Bek fled to Talas. Uluğ Bek died in Talas, and Shir Ali Bek lived here until he ascended the throne.²³ The name of Shir Ali Khan was not mentioned for the first time in 1842 for the Kokand throne. The state officials who had previously attempted a coup against Alim Khan wanted to replace Alim Khan with Shir Ali, but thinking that because he was not recognized by the public and would not be accepted, they agreed on Alim Khan's brother Omar.²⁴ In our opinion, the question to be asked here is why Shir Ali was elected? Because, although Muhammad Ali Khan and his family were murdered, except for Shir Ali from the Kokand ruling family, Alim Khan's sons İbrahim and his brother Murad, known as Atalık, were still alive. Moreover, according to Hakimhan Töre, the name of Atalık came to the agenda for the throne during the period of Muhammad Ali Khan. When Hakimhan Töre was dismissed from the Namangan²⁵ administration, his supporters offered him to rebel and to replace Muhammad Ali Khan with Atalık; however, Hakimhan did not accept this.²⁶ Apart from this, Atalık, who was in Karategin in 1834, rebelled with the support of the Emir of Bukhara, yet Muhammad Ali Khan suppressed this rebellion and took over Karategin.²⁷ In our opinion, the fact that the tribes agreed on Shir Ali Khan for the throne of the Khanate of Kokand was influenced by the fact that the tribes were not under the guidance of any khan or ruler, that he did not claim to be sovereign with the help of a political power, or he did not strive for the revenge of his murdered father. Additionally, other khan candidates were the sons of the late Alim Khan. Since Alim Khan was a ruler who was deposed by a coup, his children could feud and take revenge on the tribes and families they saw guilty in the death of their father. Since there was no power and energy to set aside for backdate showdowns in the struggle to regain independence, Shir Ali should have been deemed suitable for the Kokand throne, not Atalık or Murad. Apart from these, as we will mention later, right after Shir Ali saved Kokand from the Bukhara administration, Atalık came to the borders of Kokand and tried to be a rival to Shir Ali. This situation should not be accidental. Just like Muhammad Ali Khan, Emir Nasrullah must have tried to use Atalık against the ruler of Kokand.

3. Shir Ali Khan's Ascension to the Throne

¹⁹ Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *Tarih-i Cihânnûmai (Olemini Kürsatuvçı Tarih)*, çev. ve yay. haz., Ş. Vahidov, Akademik Yay., Taşkent 2012, s. 12.

²⁰ Andalib, *age*, s. 3^b-4^a.

²¹ Mutrib, *age*, s. 14^a.

²² Zebiniso Husayn Kamalova, *Hokand Hanlığı'nın Son Hükümdarı Hüdayar Han ve Dönemi (1845-1875) Fergana Vadisinde Rus İşgali*, Çağaloğlu Akademi, İstanbul 2020, s. 79.

²³ Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 273; Niyoz Muhammed Hukandî, *age*, s. 63; Kurbanali Hacı Halitoğlu, *Tevarih-i Hamse*, Örnek Matbbası, Kazan 1910, s. 31-32. While this situation is mentioned in Ancüm At-Tevarih, one of the historical sources of Kokand, considering the future of Alim Khan, His uncle Hacı Bek's sons Uluğ Bek, Bekoğlu Bek, Sir Ali Bek and his brother Rüstem Bek, Fazıl Bek, Yadiğâr Bek exiled his brother Buta Bek to the Talas Valley. The exiled kinsmen passed away here and Sir Ali lived here for forty-five years. Hüdayarhanzade, *age*, s. 92.

²⁴ Hüdayarhanzade, *age*, s. 113.

²⁵ Today, Namangan, one of the important industrial cities of the Republic of Uzbekistan, is located in the south west of the Fergana Valley. As the city of Ahsi fell into ruin as a result of earthquakes and invasions, the city of Namangân took its place and became one of the important cities of the region. Mairanbek Tagaev, *Hokand Hanlığı'nın (1709-1876) Sosyal ve Kültürel Tarihi*, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü (Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi), İstanbul, 2017, s. 126.

²⁶ Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 464-467.

²⁷ Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s.635-637; V. Nalivkin, *Kratkaya İstoria Kokondskogo Hanstva*, İmparatorluk Üniversitesi Yayınları, Kazan 1886, s. 135.

The pillage made during the occupation of the Kokand Khanate, the murder of Omar Khan's children and his wife, the looting of the city and the subsequent maladministration drew the reaction of the inhabited tribes, Tajik and Afghan groups in Kokand Khanate and they decided to enthrone one of the members of Kokand ruling family.²⁸ Sarımsak Hodja Pervaneci, İrskulu Bek from Ming tribe, Yusuf Bek from Kyrgyz, Muhammed Nazar Bek from Kipchaks, Molla Halbek and Utanbay Bek led this decision.²⁹ According to Andalib, Shir Ali, who was aware of the events in Kokand, accepted the offer to end the persecution of the people³⁰ and came to Tura Kurgan from Talas and led the army mostly formed by the Kirghiz, Kipchak and Karakalpak tribes in order to end the rule of Bukhara.³¹ As stated by Mirza Alim Müşrif, Shir Ali, who was acclaimed a Khan in Tura Kurgan, made a distribution of duties in the state according to Genghis traditions.³² Shir Ali Khan, who entitled Yusuf Bek from the Kyrgyz as mingbasi³³, appointed Muhammed Nazar Bek as emir-i lesker³⁴, Koçar Bek as baturbasi³⁵, and also appointed pansadbasi³⁶, captain³⁷, yasavulbasi³⁸, tunkatar³⁹, dasturhanist⁴⁰ and hudayists⁴¹ from every society that strived to enthrone him⁴².

4. Shir Ali Khan's Redemption of Kokand from the Captivity of Bukhara and His Political Activities

After Shir Ali Khan made necessary administrative division between the tribes and groups who enthroned him, the Kokand army took action and captured Turakurgan⁴³, Ahsi⁴⁴, Çust and Gulamsaray (Haramsaray) and came to Kokand.⁴⁵ Since there was no fortress in the city of Kokand, the army led by Shir Ali Khan was countered by the Bukhara soldiers with barricades they set up. The barricades that were set up did not work and the Kokand army of 3-4 thousand people entered the city and took control of it. Kokand ruler Ibrahim Hayal was aware that Bukhara would not support them because of his distance and he left the city and fled⁴⁶ to Hocend⁴⁷. Nearly 2-3 thousand soldiers from Merv who were members of the Bukhara army in Kokand⁴⁸ were either killed or taken prisoner and thrown into dungeon by the Kokand people who supported Shir Ali. Muhammed Attar Hukandî, the author of the work titled Tarih-i Cihânnûmai, remarks that, as a scribe, he listed the prisoners and notes that 1,500 people were captured.⁴⁹ After the city was conquered and the soldiers of the Bukhara Emirate

²⁸ Mirzo Olim Müşrif, *Ansab Us-Selatin Va Tavorih Ul-Havakin (Qukan Honlğı Tarihi)*, yay. haz. A. Matgaziev, Gaffur Gulam Neş., Taşkent 1995, s. 22.

²⁹ Hüdayarhanzade, *age*, s.181-182; Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 17.

³⁰ Andalib, *age*, s.4¹. The same information is also available in Müntahabü't-Tawarih, and according to what is stated in the work, Sir Ali Khan organized a consultancy assembly first and then contacted the leaders of the tribes in the Khanate of Kokand. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 400.

³¹ Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 400.

³² According to Mirza Alim Mahdum Hodja, when Sir Ali Khan came to Tura Kurgan, he waited in the city for 3 days and during this time the army gathered to take Kokand again. Mirzo Olim Mahdum Hoci, *age*, s. 98.

³³ In Mingbaşı, that is, the major Kokand Khanate, he was the most authorized state official after the khan with the administrative division made during the period of Omar Khan (1809-1822). Hüseyin Şen, "Hokand Hanlığında Saray Teşkilatı Ve Kullanılan Unvanlar", *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, S. 44, s. 57.

³⁴ Emir-i leşker, which is a military title, is the commander of the army. Mirzo Olim Mahdum Hoci, *age*, s. 165.

³⁵ It is the title given to the military officer who is in every province in the Kokand Khanate and commanding the province soldiers. Muhammad Umar Umidi Margiloni, *Tarihçe-i Turani*, yay. haz., Ş. Vahidov, Tarihiy Meros, Taşkent 2012, s.52. Footnote 80.

³⁶ It is the title given to the commander who leads the five hundred troops in the Kokand Khanate military organization. Ş. Vahidov, "Kukan Hanlığında Unvan va Mansaplar", *Şark Yulduzu* 3-4 ,1995, s. 218.

³⁷ It is the title given to the commanders who lead a hundred-person military unit in the Kokand Khanate military organization. Ş. Vahidov, *agm*, s.218.

³⁸ He is a state official working under Shigavul who is responsible for welcoming the ambassadors who come to the Khanate of Kokand, organizing the official ceremony and bringing the ambassadors before the inn. Hüseyin Şen, "Hokand Hanlığında Saray Teşkilatı Ve Kullanılan Unvanlar", s.62.

³⁹ Tunkator, who was chosen from among the people close to the inn in the Kokand Khanate and who was responsible for ensuring the security of the inn while sleeping, was also responsible for guarding the inn and providing rest in times of war. Hüseyin Şen, "Hokand Hanlığında Saray Teşkilatı Ve Kullanılan Unvanlar", s. 63.

⁴⁰ Dasturhancı was usually the name given to the government official responsible for the kitchen and table of the inn. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 92. Footnote 161.

⁴¹ In Kokand Khanate, people with this title are in lower rank than shigavul and their duties were; to accompany the inn during his trips, to see those who wanted to appear before the inn and learn their purpose, and to convey the answers of the complaints and supply letters from the citizens to the addressee. Hüseyin Şen, "Hokand Hanlığında Saray Teşkilatı Ve Kullanılan Unvanlar", s.52-53.

⁴² Mirzo Olim Müşrif, *age*, s. 22.

⁴³ Today, a city in the Namangan Province of the Republic of Uzbekistan. During the Kokand Khanate period, the center of the Namangan judges was in Tura Kurgan. Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 78. Footnote 147.

⁴⁴ Ahsi, one of the ancient cities of the Fergana Valley, or the city of Ahsikes, according to the information given by Babür, is the largest town in the region after Andijan. Gazi Zahîreddin Muhammed Babür, *Babürnâme*, Doğu Türkçesinden Çev. R. Rahmeti Atar, Kabalıcı Yayinevi, İstanbul 2005, s.136. Over time, it lost its importance and remained under the shadow of the city of Namangan During the period of the Shibani, the Ahsi City was used as the administrative center of the Fegana Region. Mirzo Olim Mahdum Hoci, *age*, s. 43.

⁴⁵ Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 18-19; Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 400. Mirza According to Mirza Alim Mahdum, after the Kokand army crossed Sirderya, Sir Ali khan sent an envoy to the city and stated that he came to take over the throne to which he was the heir. In addition, Mirza Alim Mahdum showed Muhammed Ali Khan as the uncle of Şir Ali Khan. Mirzo Olim Mahdum Hoci, *age*, s.98.

⁴⁶ Anonim, *Zafername-i Hüsvrevi*, s.132; Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 400-401.

⁴⁷ The city that is in the Republic of Tajikistan today is the center of Sugd Province. Hüseyin Şen, *agt*, s. 18, footnote 83.

⁴⁸ Hakimhan Töre records that those killed were nobles and soldiers from Bukhara and gave the number 3,000. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 401.

⁴⁹ Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 18-19.

were captured, Shir Ali Khan was reacclaimed as the Khan by the notables and tribes of Kokand.⁵⁰ The people who redeemed from the domination of the Emirate of Bukhara celebrated this situation by organizing entertainment for days in the festive mood, and even people named Baltacan Hafız Namânganî and Kôr Yusuf Namânganî organized entertainment with musical instruments until the morning.⁵¹ Shir Ali Khan, who saved the Khanate from the Bukhara invasion, mobilized to heal the wounds of the people⁵², and as the first thing, he took the opinion of the dignitaries and ordered the construction of a fortress because the Emirate of Bukhara was predicted to attack again.⁵³ People named Müminkul and Mirza İsmail were assigned for the construction of the castle. Although the people of Kokand were not satisfied with the Bukhara administration, Emir Nasrullah still had supporters in Kokand. Müminkul and Mirza İsmail, who undertook the construction of the castle, were also supporters of Nasrullah and they tried to delay the construction of the castle so that the Emir could conquer the city of Kokand easily, but they did not succeed. When their intentions became clear, these two people were executed by order of Shir Ali Khan.⁵⁴

Emir Nasrullah, who learned that Kokand had been taken by Shir Ali Han and that İbrahim Hayal had fled to Hocend, got furious and prepared his army and embarked on an expedition against Kokand again.⁵⁵ Emir Nasrullah, who spoke with his soldiers before the expedition, demanded that the city be looted for three days, that everyone be killed, regardless of the old and young, and thus he set out for Kokand.⁵⁶ Knowing that he would be subjected to the attack of Bukhara, Shir Ali Khan decided to build a castle in the city by taking the opinion of the dignitaries. For this purpose, in order to prevent a possible attack, he appointed his elder son Sarımsak Bek (Abdurrahman Bek) and Yusuf Mingbaşı as the army commander and settled some of the Kokand army seven kilometers away from the city and controlled the region up to Kanıbadem.⁵⁷ Shir Ali Khan, who thought that he would save time, was not wrong. The army under the command of Sarımsak Bek and Yusuf Mingbaşı met with Emir Nasrullah's pioneer troops and as disclosed by Attar, Kokand troops that were as warrior as Rustem defeated⁵⁸ the Bukhara vanguard forces composed of forty clans in Kanıbadem⁵⁹. The Kokand army, which defeated the Bukhara pioneer units in Kanıbadem, went after the Bukhara soldiers, but was defeated as a result of the sudden raid of Jizak ruler Seyid Muhammed Toksaba and retreated to the city of Kokand and helped to build a castle.⁶⁰ This precaution taken by Shir Ali Khan enabled the walls to be completed until the army of Bukhara arrived.⁶¹ The Bukhara army that came in front of Kokand encountered the city walls, and Emir Nasrullah was surprised by this situation and besieged Kokand.⁶² The Bukhara army, which placed cannons in different points of the city, bombarded Kokand for ten days, but couldn't succeed.⁶³ All efforts of the Bukhara army, which also tried to cut the water supply of the city, were in vain, and every attack was repelled by the Kokand soldiers under the command of Shir Ali Khan, who also received the support of the people.⁶⁴ Emir Nasrullah, who had detected the weak points of the city walls of Kokand by sending scouts before the siege, intensified his attacks from the point of Mui-Mubarak⁶⁵, which he also used in the first siege to attack the city.⁶⁶

⁵⁰ Mirzo Olim Müşrif, *age*, s. 23; Andalib, *age*, s.5^{a-b}; Mirzo Olim Mahdum Hoci, *age*, s. 99; Niyoz Muhammed Hukandî, *age*, s. 148-149; Muhammed Umar Umıdî, *Mektupçe-i Han*, yay. haz. C.R. Hasanov, Özb. FA. Ebu Reyhab Birünî ŞE Ali Şir Nevaî Devlet ve Edebiyat Müzesi, Taşkent 2007, s.11.

⁵¹ Mirzo Olim Müşrif, *age*, s. 23

⁵² After Shir Ali Khan ascended the throne, he met with the leading notables of the Kokand Khanate. Telling them that the material damage he suffered during the administration of Bukhara is not important, the property is temporary, and he promised that he will engage with them in the decisions he will take and display a fair management. Stating that he is the representative of the people, Shir Ali Khan stated that he will protect the honor of the people. Muhammed Niyâz Hukandî, *age*, s. 149; Mirzo Olim Mahdum Hoci, *age*, s.99.

⁵³ Andalib, *age*, s. 5^b; Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 24-25 ; Niyoz Muhammed Hukandî, *age*, s. 149.

⁵⁴ Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s.25.

⁵⁵ Anonim, *Zafername-i Hüsravi*, s. 132-133. Emir to join the army prepared by Nasrullah, Muhammed Şerif Atalık turned to Kokand with the army he gathered from the Kazakh steppes and committed massacres on the way. Muhammed Şerif caused the people to flee to Osh and East Turkistan because of this harsh attitude. Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 25.

⁵⁶ Andalib, *age*, s. 6^b.

⁵⁷ Anonim, *Zafername-i Hüsravi*, s. 134-135. According to Hakimhan, when Shir Ali Khan learned that the Bukhara army was coming to Öretepe, he divided the existing Kokand army into two, and a unit under the command of Muhammed Nazar Bek and Isa Dadhah asked him to go to Gulamsaray and Çust to block the way of Bukhara soldiers from Tashkent. He ordered the troops under the command of his elder son Sarımsak Bek to be deployed in Kanıbadem. The troops under the command of Isa Dadhah and Muhammed Nazar Bek were defeated by the Bukhara army under the command of Muhammed Şerif Atalık and Gadaybay Pervaneci from Tashkent. The victorious Tashkent troops dominated Gulamsaray, Çust, Turakurgan and Osh. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 401-402.

⁵⁸ Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 26.

⁵⁹ The city located within the borders of the Republic of Tajikistan today. Rıza Kurtuluş, "Tacikistan", *DİA*, C. 18, s. 273.

⁶⁰ Anonim, *Zafername-i Hüsravi*, s. 134-135. Hakimhan Töre reports that the Urgut soldiers helped the Bukhara troops and that the people of Kokand were defeated as a result of this help. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 401. 0 Attar states that the Kokand army was victorious in the same matter and they retreated to the city victoriously. Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 24-26.

⁶¹ According to Hakimhan, the Kokand Castle was built by the people from all over the Khanate in 15 days. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 401.

⁶² According to Zafername-i Hüsravi, Emir Nasrullah sent scouts before he besieged the city and tried to detect the weak spots of the walls. Anonim, *Zafername-i Hüsravi*, s. 135.

⁶³ Anonim, *Zafername-i Hüsravi*, s. 135.

⁶⁴ For details of the siege and public support, see. Andalib, *age*, s. 4^b-19^a; Mutrib, *age*, s. 17^a-27^a; Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 400-402.

⁶⁵ Today, Mui-i Mubarek is a town of Uzbekistan in the Fergana region and at the same time bearing the name of Kara Tepe. There is also a mosque named Mui-i Mubarek in this place, which is one kilometer away from Kokand city. Hüdayarhanzade, *age*, s. 199, footnote 308.

When all the attempts of the Bukhara army were failed due to the people of Kokand, Emir Nasrullah wanted to make an agreement with Shir Ali Khan, upon the effect of the Urgench Khanate's attack on the lands of Bukhara. To this end, Müslümankul from the Kipchak tribe was assigned.⁶⁷ In Kokand, where he came as a Messenger of Bukhara, Müslümankulu not only informed Shir Ali Khan about the difficult situation that Bukhara fell into with the attack and attack of Khiva Khanate on the Emirate but also entered the service of Shir Ali Khan.⁶⁸ Nasrullah, who was betrayed by Müslümankulu, wanted to make peace through İşans⁶⁹ this time, but he was not successful.⁷⁰ Emir Nasrullah, who failed in all the attacks he made in the siege of Kokand due to the walls and could not find a way to deal with Shir Ali Khan, had to lift the siege and return to Bukhara owing to the attack of the Khive Khanate.⁷¹ The main reason why Emir Nasrullah failed in the expedition was undoubtedly the plunder, persecution and subsequent maladministration during the first invasion in 1842. The people of Kokand and statesmen deemed Emir Nasrullah as the redeemer against the rule of Muhammad Ali Khan in 1842. In fact, they invited the Emir to the city, but the brutality and subsequent practices that Kokand displayed during his capture drew the public's reaction. Realizing that Emir Nasrullah was not a just ruler, the people of Kokand did not resign themselves to him this time.⁷² After the siege of Bukhara was lifted, Shir Ali Han appointed his eldest son Abdurrahman Bek (Sarımsak Bek) as the emir-i leşker. He brought the leader of the Kyrgyz, Yusuf, to the office of mingbaşı. Muhammad Ali Khan's uncle Muhammed Nazar Bek was appointed as Hocend's ruler, his middle son Malla Bek as Merginân's ruler⁷³, and his younger son Hüdayar Bek as Namangân's⁷⁴ ruler.⁷⁵

Immediately after the withdrawal of the Bukhara army from Kokand, Atalık Emir, the eldest son of the late Alim Khan, came to Yedi Köprü district from Sehr-i Sebz to take refuge in his uncle's sons.⁷⁶ Shir Ali Khan, who was aware of the situation, invited Atalık to Kokand, but Atalık did not accept this offer and stated that he was an enemy of Shir Ali Khan. Upon this situation, Shir Ali Khan sent Seyyid Ali Bek Dasturhancı to Atalık and Seyyid Ali Bek Dasturhancı besieged Atalık on Yedi Köprü and seized it. He was executed on April 7, 1843 at the age of 41, with the approval of Shir Ali Khan.⁷⁷ Considering that Atalık rebelled in Karategin during the reign of Muhammad Ali Khan with the support of Nasrullah, the Emir of Bukhara, his arrival to the Yedi Köprü located on the border of Kokand can be considered as a move of Emir Nasrullah. While Nasrullah was organizing an expedition to Kokand, he thought that he could easily capture the city, just as in the period of Muhammad Ali Khan, but could not conquer the city as a result of the people turning their back on his rule due to his cruelty. Although he lifted the siege as a result of the attack made by the Khive Khanate on the territory of Bukhara, he may have sent Atalık to the Khanate of Kokand, which could be a rival to Shir Ali Khan. After the unsuccessful siege of Emir Nasrullah and the suppression of Atalık Bek's rebellion, Shir Ali Khan took action to bring the cities that the Kokand Khanate ruled during the reign of Muhammad Ali Khan under the control of the Khanate again. For this reason, he appointed his son Sarımsak Bek and Yusuf Mingbaşı as the army commander. Yusuf Mingbaşı and the prince first besieged the city of Hocend. The ruler of the city, Hüdayar Bek, realized that he could not resist the Kokand army, and he went to Kokand to appear before Shir Ali Khan as he handed over the city to the prince.⁷⁸ After capturing Hocend, the Kokand army headed towards Nev Castle, a strategically important fortress, and took control of the castle. With the capture of Nev Castle, Cizak and Samarkand became vulnerable to Kokand attacks; however, due to the unrest caused by the Kipchaks in the Kokand army, the army returned to Kokand before proceeding in the direction of Jizak.⁷⁹

After the army that captured Hocend and Nev Fortress returned to Kokand, the consortium council was established and the decision was made to organize an expedition to Tashkent. In line with this decision, the army

⁶⁶ Anonim, *Zafername-i Hüsravi*, s. 135.

⁶⁷ Mahzuni, *age Tarihi*, s. 178^b-179^a.

⁶⁸ Anonim, *Zafername-i Hüsravi*, s. 136-137.

⁶⁹ İsan is a title given to scholars and sheikhs in Turkestan and Idil Basin Turks in the sense of "sufi, miracle worker, saint". Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat*, 32. baskı, Aydın Yayınevi, Ankara 2016, s. 534.

⁷⁰ Andalib, *age*, s. 15^a-16^b. According to what is stated in the History-i Turani, Nasrullah sent the sons of Caliph Hüseyin as envoy. Umar Muhammed Umidi, *age*, s. 52.

⁷¹ Andalib, *age*, s. 19^a; Mutrib, *age*, s. 27^a; Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 35. For the ambassadors and agreement efforts Nasrullah sent to Shir Ali Khan, see. Andalib, *age*, s.12^a-18^b. According to Hakimhan, the Bukhara orders' turning their back on Nasrullah was effective in lifting the siege. The judge of Kurmana rebelled and there was stirring in Tashkent. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s.402.

⁷² Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 34-35; Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 402.

⁷³ It is a city established at the end of the XI century, probably on the banks of the Mergilân Iss, one of the small rivers in the south of the Sirderya River. Mergilân, one of the important cities of the Fergana Basin in the X century, is the place where the first Samani coins were minted. Ahmet Taşağul, "Merginân", *DİA*, C.29, s. 181.

⁷⁴ Namangân, one of the important industrial cities of the Republic of Uzbekistan today, is located in the southwest of the Fergana Valley. As the city of Ahsi fell into ruin as a result of earthquakes and invasions, the city of Namangân took its place and became one of the important cities of the region. Mairanbek Tagaev, *agt*, s. 126.

⁷⁵ Muhammed Umar Umidi, *age*, s. 52; Niyoz Muhammed Hukandî, *age*, s. 458-459.

⁷⁶ Avaz Muhammed Hukandî, *age*, 37-38. While Hakimhan gives information on the same subject, he emphasizes that Atalık came to the region at the order of Emir Nasrullah and cooperated with the Kyrgyz. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 402-403.

⁷⁷ Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 38; Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 404-405.

⁷⁸ Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 404

⁷⁹ Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s.44; Muhammed Umar Umidi, *age*, s. 56-57; Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 408.

was prepared and set out. Learning that the Kokand army was heading towards Tashkent, Tashkent ruler Muhammed Şerif Atalık sent a letter to his affiliate Bukhara Emir Nasrullah and asked for his support. Not refusing this request of Muhammed Şerif Atalık, Nasrullah, sent a Bukhara force of several thousand people to Tashkent under the command of Abdurrahman Mangit. The army gathered by Muhammed Şerif Atalık in the Kazakh steppes and the reinforcements sent from Bukhara could not prevent the Kokand army from capturing the city and Tashkent was taken under the rule of Kokand. While Muhammed Şerif Atalık was taken prisoner, Abdurrahman Mangit and Gadaybay Pervaneci managed to escape to Bukhara. Brought to the capital Kokand, Muhammed Şerif Atalık, was judged and executed for the crimes he committed during the period of Muhammad Ali Kan, and his family was exiled.⁸⁰

With the takeover of Tashkent to the sovereignty of Kokand, the authority for most of the Khanate was restored and the people celebrated the takeover of Tashkent with a week-long toy.⁸¹ During the reign of Shir Ali Khan, the captivity of Bukhara was ended, the rebellion of Atalık was suppressed, and important cities such as Hocend and Tashkent were again taken under the rule of Kokand, yet the stones in the Khanate were dislodged and somehow did not drop into place. Just as everything was in order and went better, this time the tribes and the settled people within the Kokand Khanate started to quarrel with each other in order to gain power in the State. Shir Ali Khan, who spent a long period of his life among the Kyrgyz, naturally appointed the Kyrgyz to important positions in the State when he became the ruler. This situation caused the reaction of Kipchak tribes and settled people in Kokand Khanate. In the struggle for power, the Kyrgyz were represented by Shir Ali Khan's relative Yusuf Mingbaşı, the settled people were represented by Şadi Dadhah, and the Kipchaks were represented by Müslümankulu and Muhammed Nazar Bek.⁸² The first dissatisfaction of the Kipchaks came to light when the Kokand army captured Hocend and Nev Castle. As the dissatisfaction of the Kipchaks in the Kokand army came to light, the Kokand army, which captured the Nev Castle, returned to Kokand in order to ensure peace before heading towards Öretepe. When the situation in Kokand was reflected on Shir Ali Khan, the Khan wanted to clear the Kipchaks in the army, but could not succeed. The Kipchaks, who served in the Kokand army, escaped from the capital and came to Duab and made it a center for their rebellion and made connections with the enemies of Shir Ali Khan. Shir Ali Khan assigned his son Sarımsak Bek and Yusuf Mingbaşı to suppress this rebellion. Realizing that they would not be successful, the Kipchaks met with the prince and appealed for mercy. Before the meeting, Yusuf Mingbaşı realized that if the Kipchaks were not blocked at this stage, they would become more dangerous for the Khanate in the future and suggested the prince that the rebel leaders, especially Müslümankulu, should be killed and said that that they siezed this opportunity. Shadi Dadhah (Kel Shai) opposed these ideas of Yusuf Mingbasi. Reminding that the arrivals were honorable and respected tribesmen, Shahdi Dahdah emphasized that such a massacre would disturb both tribes and neighboring Khanates. The Prince would have found the words Shahdi Dahdah more logical that Yusuf Mingbaşı was first dismissed from his position and appointed as the ruler of Merginân after meeting with the Kipchak tribe chiefs. Şadi Dadhah was appointed as the mingbaşı in the place of Yusuf Mingbaşı. After Yusuf Mingbasi was dismissed, Muhammed Kerim Yasavul, who was known for his close proximity to Shir Ali Khan, was executed, after a short while the former mingbaşı Yusuf was killed and the Kyrgyz were removed from the state bureaucracy one by one, and the relatives of Shadi Dahdah were brought in their place.⁸³ The leader of the Kipchak rebellion, Müslümankulu was appointed as Baturbaşı in Andijan.⁸⁴ Abdurrahman Bek was appointed as the ruler of Tashkent and Muhammed Nazar Bek was appointed as his assistant. Although Abdurrahman Bek was the ruler of Taşkent, the entire administration was under the control of Muhammed Nazar Bektey.⁸⁵ This situation shows us that Şadi Dadhah benefited from the Kyrgyz-Kipchak conflict and firstly dismissed Yusuf Mingbaşı and then displaced the Kyrgyz from the bureaucracy and he started to be active in the state.

After Shadi Dahdah (Kel Şadi) came to the office of mingbaşı and removed the Kyrgyz from the bureaucracy and appointed his relatives as the state officials, the Kipchaks, who were not satisfied with the situation, rebelled again under the leadership of Müslümankulu. Hoca Mahmud from Kokand was assigned to suppress the rebellion, but Hodja Mahmud could not suppress the rebellion and was executed by the Kipchaks. In addition, Müslümankulu came to Tura Kurgan from Nemengân with his army formed by the settled Kipchaks from Andijan and Şehrihan and plundered the city. When the situation was heard in Kokand, the state council convened. It was decided to execute Kel Shadi, who was seen as the responsible of the incident, and to appoint

⁸⁰ Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 403-404; Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 37-38.

⁸¹ Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî *age*, s. 38.

⁸² Dinçer Koç, *age*, s. 51. According to the of the, the aim of Müslümankulu was to depose Shir Ali Khan and replace him with a young and inexperienced ruler. Muhammed Umar Ümidi, *Tarihçe-i Turani*, s. 56. Hakimhan is that Shir Ali Khan wanted to murder Muhammed Nazar Bek at the beginning of the rebellion. For this purpose, Şir Ali Han, who sent Muhammed Nazar Bek to the Kazakh steppes to collect taxes, then sent two executioners to kill him, but he could not get results. Thereupon, he revolted against Muhammed Nazar Bek and Şir Ali Khan of Müslümankulu. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 409. Müslümankulu eliminated Muhammed Nazar Bek in order to become a leader in the future.

⁸³ Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 54-58.

⁸⁴ Mirzo Olim Mahdum Hoci, *age*, s. 57.

⁸⁵ Mirzo Olim Müşrif, *age*, s. 46-47; Mizo Olim Mahdum Hoci, *age*, s. 107; Niyoz Muhammed Hukandî, *age*, s. 163.

the Prince, Sarımsak Bek, the ruler of Tashkent, to suppress the rebellion. The prince was asked to suppress the rebellion with the army he gathered from the Kazakh steppes. Meanwhile, Kel Shadi did not stand idly by and gathering a large army, he passed by Seyhun and came to Çust. The rebels encountered Kokand army and Müslümankulu won the battle.⁸⁶ The Kipchaks, who captured Kel Shadi, killed him. Defeating Kel Shadi's troops, Müslümankulu headed from here to Kokand. Şehzade Sarımsak Bek could not catch up with the war with his troops. When he came to Sher Ali Khan, he became aware of the situation and he turned directly to Kokand. He entered the city, kissed his father's hand and began preparations for war.⁸⁷ While preparations for war were being made in Kokand, the Kipchaks took control of Çust, Nemengân and Tura Kurgan. Finally, on the 31st of May, 1844, the Kipchaks, who came before Kokand, encountered the Kokand army and won the battle. Shir Ali Khan and Sarımsak Bek had to flee from Kokand.⁸⁸ Although the Kipchaks captured Kokand, it was not possible for any of them to ascend the throne, so they decided that Shir Ali Khan should remain on the throne. Despite the fact that Shir Ali remained on the throne, the administration, thereafter, passed into the hands of Müslümankulu, that is, the Kipchaks.⁸⁹

The people who were not satisfied with the control of the Khanate by the Kipchaks under the leadership of Müslümankulu and the injustice they showed in the administration, rebelled in Tashkent and Osh. In 1845, the Kyrgyzs rose in Osh, Üçkurgan and Alay, and the Kyrgyz and Kokand notables contacted the late Alim Khan's son Murad Bek, who was from his Kyrgyz wife. Murad Bek was living in the city of Öretepe at that time. They sent him various letters to persuade him to ascend the throne. Meanwhile, the Kyrgyz living in the Osh and Alay united, rebelled and plundered the cities. Knowing about the situation, Müslümankulu immediately went to Osh and intervened in the Kyrgyz rebellion there. Taking advantage of Müslümankulu's departure from Kokand, Murad Bek captured Kokand with the help of the Avahat tribe of the Kyrgyzs. He ascended the throne having made Shir Ali Khan executed in 1845.⁹⁰ He declared himself vassal of the Emir of Bukhara. The people who were tired of Emir Nasrullah's cruelty reacted to this situation. Müslümankulu, who did not want to leave the power, came to Namangân after suppressing the Kyrgyz rebellion and married Shir Ali Khan's young son Hüdayar Bek and his daughter. After the marriage, he came to Kokand from Namangân, killed Murad Khan and ascended his son-in-law Hüdayar Khan to the throne on August 24, 1845.⁹¹ Having declared himself the regent of his son-in-law, Müslümankulu took over the administration of the Khanate completely. By bringing Sarımsak Bek from Tashkent to Kokand and executing him, he dominated the entire Khanate and eliminated those who might oppose Kipchaks in Kokand in general.⁹²

The domination of the Kipchaks in the Kokand Khanate under the leadership of Müslümankulu greatly affected the settled inhabitants of the Khanate. The Kipchaks confiscated the homes and lands of the wealthy people as well as levied high taxes on the water canals indispensable for agriculture. They married settled girls without paying bride price and persecuted other tribes living in the Khanate, especially the inhabitants.⁹³

CONCLUSION

As a result, the Kokand Khanate, which managed to expand its borders outside the Fergana Valley with Alim Khan and became a regional power, was invaded by Bukhara as a result of the conflicts during the period of Muhammad Ali Khan. As a consequence of the persecution and subsequent maladministration during the capture of Emir Nasrullah Kokand, whom the people and statesmen regarded as the savior, the people hated the rule of Bukhara and sought a khan from the Shahruh generation. In this quest, Hacı Bek's son, who lived among the Kyrgyz, came to the fore because he had not been involved in power struggles before. Being not under the control of any rulers, Shir Ali, was enthroned by the joint decision of the tribes in Kokand and a full scale struggle for independence was given against the Emirate of Bukhara. As a result of this struggle, the Kokand Khanate, which gained its independence and regained its former lands; however, this time, the tribes and

⁸⁶ Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 409-410.

⁸⁷ Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *Tarih-i Cehânumâyî*, 66. According to Hakimhan, when the Kipchak troops besieged Kokand, they gave up hope from Shir Ai Khan, and sent Abdurrahman Divanbegi to the Kipchaks as an ambassador and offered peace. Shir Ali Khan stated that when he learned this, it would be right to fight by not accepting it. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 410. From the records of Hakimhan, it can be deduced that Kokand statesmen turned their back on Şir Ali Khan and this situation also had an effect on the victory of Kipchaks.

⁸⁸ According to Hakimhan's records, Abdurrahman Bek, who escaped from Kokand, went to Hocend first, but the people did not accept him as a ruler. Upon this situation, the people of Abdurrahman Bek, who turned to Tashkent, did not enter the city. Realizing that he could not stay in Kokand cities, Abdurrahman Bek took refuge in Emir Nasrullah. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 412-413.

⁸⁹ Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandî, *age*, s. 67-69; Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 410-412. When the Kipchaks took over the domination of the Khanate, they made the necessary appointments and brought their own brothers to the governorship of some provinces. Mirzo Olim Müşrif, *age*, s. 39; Mirzo olim Mahdum Hoci, *age*, s. 107; Niyoz Muhammed Hukandî, *age*, s.163. Hakimhan gives the names of those who know the same subject. A Kipchak named Bazarbek was appointed to Tashkent, Kerimkulu Dadhah was appointed to Merginan, and Hüdayar Bek, the youngest son of Shir Ali Khan, was appointed to Tura Kurgan. Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 413.

⁹⁰ Mahzuni, *age*, s. 200^a-201^b; Kurbanali Hacı Halitoğlu, *age*, s. 34.

⁹¹ Hakimhan Töre, *age*, s. 692; Niyoz Muhammed Hukandî, *age*, s. 176.

⁹² Viktor Dubovitskii, Khaydarbek Bababekov "The Rise and Fall of the Kokand Khanate", *Fergana Vally: The Heart of Central Asia* Ed. S. Frederick Starr, New York 2011 p. 35; Mirzo Olim Mahdum Hoci, *age* s. 107-114; Avaz Muhammed Attar Hukandi, *age*, s. 87-90.

⁹³ P.P. Ivanov, *Oçerki po Istorii Sredney Azii (XVI- Seredenia XIX v.)*, İzd., Vostochnoy Literaturi, Moskva 1958, s. 211.

KOKAND KHANATE IN PERIOD OF SHIR ALI KHAN (1842-1845)

residents under the state administration competed with each other to gain power. The Kipchaks won this struggle for power and gained weight in the state administration. The brutality displayed by the Kipchaks, who gained power in the state administration, attracted the reactions of the people, especially the Kyrgyz, and some riots broke out. As a result of these rebellions, in 1845, Shir Ali Khan was deposed and executed, Murad Bek became the ruler instead of him. His reign lasted for nine days, and this time Hüdayar, under the control of the Kipchaks, ascended the throne. Shir Ali Khan's incompetence to provide central authority and his inaptitude to distribute power equally and fairly to the tribes and settled put his head in a noose. The events that took place during this period caused hostility among the people to develop and deepen.

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