

THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF CENTRAL ASIA

The Russian conquest of Central Asia was perhaps the nineteenth century's most dramatic and successful example of European imperial expansion, adding 1.5 million square miles and at least 6 million people – most of them Muslims – to the Tsar's domains. Alexander Morrison provides the first comprehensive military and diplomatic history of the conquest to be published for over a hundred years. From the earliest conflicts on the steppe frontier in the 1830s to the annexation of the Pamirs in the early 1900s, he gives a detailed account of the logistics and operational history of Russian wars against Khoqand, Bukhara and Khiva, the capture of Tashkent and Samarkand, and the bloody subjection of the Turkmen, as well as Russian diplomatic relations with China, Persia and the British Empire. Based on archival research in Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Georgia and India, memoirs and Islamic chronicles, this book explains how Russia conquered a colonial empire in Central Asia, with consequences that still resonate today.

ALEXANDER MORRISON is Fellow and Tutor in History at New College, Oxford. His publications include *Russian Rule in Samarkand 1868–1910: A Comparison with British India* (2008).

THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF CENTRAL ASIA

A Study in Imperial Expansion, 1814–1914

ALEXANDER MORRISON

New College, Oxford



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-03030-5 — The Russian Conquest of Central Asia
Alexander Morrison
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107030305

DOI: 10.1017/9781139343381

© Alexander Morrison 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-107-03030-5 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

In memory of John Malcolm Morrison (1949–2017)

CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	page ix
<i>List of Maps</i>	xi
<i>List of Tables</i>	xii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<i>Note on Translation, Transliteration and Dates</i>	xviii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xix
<i>Glossary</i>	xxiii
Introduction	1
1 Russia's Steppe Frontier and the Napoleonic Generation	52
2 'Pray for the Camels': The Winter Invasion of Khiva, 1839–41	83
3 'This Particularly Painful Place': The Failure of the Syr-Darya Line as a Frontier, 1841–63	114
4 From Ayaguz to Almaty: The Conquest and Settlement of Semirechie, 1843–82	168
5 The Search for a 'Natural' Frontier and the Fall of Tashkent, 1863–5	216
6 War with Bukhara 1866–8	255
7 The Fall of Khiva 1872–3	307
8 'Those Who Should Be Spared': The Conquest of Ferghana 1875–6	374

- 9 'The Harder You Hit Them, the Longer They Will Be Quiet
Afterwards': The Conquest of Transcaspia, 1869–85 409
- 10 Aryanism on the Final Frontier of the Russian Empire: The
Exploration and Annexation of the Pamirs, 1881–1905 476
- Epilogue: After the Conquest 531
- Sources and Bibliography* 540
- Index* 593

ILLUSTRATIONS

- I.1 Value of exports through the Orenburg customs, 1859–64. *page* 18
 I.2 Value of imports through the Orenburg customs, 1858–64. 19
 I.3 Khudoyar Khan's *sarbaz* infantry on parade before the palace gate, Khoqand. 36
 I.4 Soldiers Uchaev, Butarev and Kochergin, and NCO Arkhipov of the 1st Turkestan Sharpshooter Battalion, Private Tiutrin and NCOs Naidin and Tolstyakov of the 4th Turkestan Line Battalion, awarded the St George's Cross for bravery at the Battle of Irjar, 8 May 1866. 40
 1.1 General Count V. A. Perovskii in the 1850s. 59
 2.1 Allah Quli Khan of Khiva's proclamation rallying resistance to the Russians. 94
 2.2 Camels carrying packs with rusks and oats. 98
 2.3 Orenburg Cossacks and line infantry in winter uniform. 100
 2.4 Cossack light horse artillery. 101
 2.5 Perovskii, Tsiolkovskii, Col. Kuz'minskii, Orenburg Cossack officer, N. V. Khanykov, V. I. Dal'. 106
 3.1 Interior view of Fort Raim by Taras Shevchenko, 1848. 127
 3.2 Plan of siege and assault on the fortress of Aq Masjid, 5–28 July 1853. 134
 3.3 View of Aq Masjid after its capture on the 28 July 1853. 135
 3.4 Syr-Darya Province. Kazalinsk Town. Trading lines (bazaar). 142
 4.1 Early wooden barracks, Fort Vernoe, Almaty. 181
 4.2 Gerasim Alexeevich Kolpakovskii. 189
 4.3 The Pishpek Citadel. 196
 4.4 Plan of the Battle of Uzun-Agach. 198
 5.1 Mikhail Grigor'evich Chernyaev. 224
 5.2 'Alimqul's appeal to Jantai Batyr Dadkhwah. 226
 5.3 Sketch map of the Syr-Darya Valley and the Qara-Tau range by 'Abd al-Vali Qarabai-oghli. 228
 5.4 '*Surrender!*' – '*Go to the Devil!*' – Vasilii Vereshchagin's imagined portrayal of the Iqan Affair. 239
 5.5 The seal of 'Alimqul, military leader of Khoqand 1863–5. 246
 6.1 Amir Sayyid Muzaffar of Bukhara. 262

- 6.2 Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman, first Governor-General of Turkestan. 284
- 6.3 The site of the battle of Chupan-Ata. 289
- 6.4 The Bukhara Gate of the city of Samarkand. 294
- 6.5 N. N. Karazin *The Entry of Russian Forces into Samarkand on the 8 June 1868*. 296
- 6.6 'At the Fortress Walls – Let Them Enter!' Vasilii Vereschagin's portrayal of the 1868 siege of Samarkand. 298
- 6.7 'Abd al-Ghafar Bek, the former ruler of Ura-Tepe. 304
- 7.1 Map of the Khivan invasion routes. 328
- 7.2 Baron Johann Friedrich Gustav Aminov. 333
- 7.3 N. N. Karazin, *The Khiva Expedition of 1873. The Crossing of the Dead Sands to the Wells of Adam-Krylgan by the Turkestan Force*. 335
- 7.4 N. N. Karazin, *The Crossing of the Amu-Darya by the Turkestan Force, 1873*. 339
- 7.5 The route of the Orenburg column from the Emba to Kungrad. 350
- 7.6 Nikolai Nikitich Golovachev. 365
- 8.1 Khudoyar Khan of Khoqand. 381
- 8.2 Mikhail Dmitr'evich Skobelev. 383
- 8.3 Nasruddin *Bek*, eldest son of Khudoyar Khan. 386
- 8.4 The two stormings of Andijan. 392
- 8.5 'Abdullah Bek's letter to Skobelev. 402
- 8.6 A modern statue of Qurmanjan *Dadkhwah*, the 'Queen of the Alai', in Central Bishkek. 404
- 9.1 Nikolai Pavlovich Lomakin. 418
- 9.2 Plan of the engagement with the Turkmen at Qizil-Arvat, 1877. 426
- 9.3 Route of the Akhal-Teke expeditionary force from Chikishlar to Denghil-Tepe, 1879. 441
- 9.4 Alexei Nikolaevich Kuropatkin. 452
- 9.5 Depiction of the martyrdom of Agafon Nikitin. 457
- 9.6 Plan of the Storming of Denghil-Tepe (Gök-Tepe). 459
- 10.1 Bronislav Ludwigovich Grombchevskii. 489
- 10.2 Map of the Pamir military expeditions. 496
- 10.3 *Pamirskii Post* from the south-west. 504
- 10.4 Andrei Evgen'evich Snesarev with other Turkestan officers, c. 1904. 526

MAPS

1	Central Asia before the Russian conquest	<i>page xxv</i>
2	The northern steppe	86
3	The Syr-Darya valley	117
4	Semirechie	171
5	Tashkent and its environs	218
6	The Zarafshan valley	259
7	Khiva and the routes to it	314
8	The Ferghana valley	377
9	Transcaspia	414
10	The Pamirs	484

TABLES

I.1	Value of exports through the Orenburg customs, 1859–64 (roubles)	<i>page 17</i>	
I.2	Value of imports through the Orenburg customs, 1858–64 (roubles)	19	
I.3	Sieges and battles in the Russian conquest of Central Asia, 1853–81	31	
2.1	Supplies for the Khiva expedition	99	
3.1	Livestock seized on the Siberian frontier, June–July 1840	120	
3.2	Garrisons of the Syr-Darya Line, February 1854	138	
9.1	Daily summer ration for a soldier in Transcaspia, 1879	435	
10.1	Major items of equipment and supplies for the second Pamir expedition	500	

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book has been ten years in the making, during which I have had three different jobs and worked in archives and libraries in six different countries. I have made many friends and accumulated many scholarly debts along the way, and will try to remember them all as best I can.

In what was then still the *School* of History at the University of Liverpool I would like to thank Paul Booth, Harald Braun, Marios Costambeys, Alex Drace-Francis, Charles Esdaile, Michael Hopkins, Michael Hughes, Richard Huzzey, Stephen Kenny, Eve Rosenhaft, Benedetta Rossi, Nigel Swain and Dmitri van den Bersselaar for many years of advice, support and guidance in what was my first academic job. I could not have asked for better colleagues or a more supportive environment as I adjusted to full-time teaching and the dreary requirements of the 'Research Excellence Framework'. During my time at Liverpool I also held a fifty-pound Fellowship at All Souls College, Oxford, which was of great assistance to my research: my thanks to the Warden and Fellows.

The School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Nazarbayev University in what I will continue to call Astana was a remarkable place to work and a unique intellectual community – well on the way to becoming the most important centre for Central Asian studies in the world after barely a decade of existence. Thanks to my friends and colleagues Erika Alpert, Zhuldyz Amankulova, the late Sofiya An, Aiganyam Ayazbayeva, Alima Bissenova, Daniel and Zohra Beben, Elliott Bowen, Aziz Burkhanov, Mwita Chacha, Zachary Cofran, Neil Collins, Eric Espinoza, Andrei Filchenko, David Hammerbeck, Michael Hancock-Parmer, Meruert Ibrayeva, Saniya Karpykova, Meiramgul Kusseinova, Yoshiharu Kobayashi, Kevin Lam, Jack Lee, Don Leggett, Laura Makhulbayeva, Gwen McEvoy, Gabriel McGuire, James Nikopoulos, Loretta O'Donnell, Brendan Pietsch, Duncan Priestley, Daniel and Christina Pugh, Nurlan Qabdilhaq, Danielle Ross, Rosario and Aida Ronga, Edwin Sayes, Caress Schenk, Daniel Scarborough, Uli Schamiloglu, John Schoeberlein, Francesco Sica, Charles Sullivan, Victoria Thorstensson, Alexei Trochev, Nikolai Tsyrempilov, Siegfried van Duffel, Stephen Wheatcroft, Chris Whitsel, the late Matthew Wilhite, Spencer Willardson, Zbigniew Wojnowski, Mahire Yakup and Almira Zholamanova – and to my students

Alibek Akhmetov, Alen Askar, Laura Berdikhojaeva, Madina Bizhanova, Yerkebulan Dosmakhambet, Yuan Gao, Inzhuna Karazhanova, Galiya Khassenkhanova, Dmitri Melnikov, Nursultan Nurmukhanov, Xeniya Prilutskaya, Makhabbat Sadykova, Aliya Tazhibayeva, Adina Tulegenova, Di Wang, Kamshat Yermaganbetova and Ademi Zhakyp. There is nothing like teaching *History of Kazakhstan* semester after semester to help you refine and focus your ideas about Central Asia's past.

I have also benefited hugely from being part of the wider community of Kazakhstani historians during my time in Astana and since: thanks to Miras Abdrakhim, Meruert Abusseitova, Mikhail Akulov, the late Timur Beisembiev, Assylkhan Bikenov, Karlygash Bizhigitova, Gianluca Bonora, Tenlik Dalayeva, Irina Erofeeva, Gulbanu Izbassarova, Nikolai Kropivnitskii, Zhanar Jampeissova, Ablet Kamalov, Svetlana Kovalskaya, Galina Ksenzhiik, Yerlan Medeubaev, Ashirbek Muminov, Gulnara Musabalina, Arailym Musagalieva, Gulmira Orynbaeva, Pavel Shabley, Dina Sharipova, Anar Smagulova, Gulmira Sultangalieva, Zhuldyz Tulibaeva, Saule Uderbaeva and Marziya Zhylysbaeva.

In Oxford David Parrott made me feel at home at New College from the moment I arrived, and has been unfailingly kind and patient with the many idiotic queries I have put to him since. I would also like to thank Roy Allison, Katya Andreyev, Robert Beddard, James Belich, Nigel Biggar, the late Jeremy Catto, Erica Charters, Nicholas Cole, Sarah Crook, the late John Davis, Michael Feener, John-Paul Ghobrial, Adrian Gregory, Dan Healey, Edmund Herzig, Rob Johnson, Catriona Kelly, Colin Kidd, Robin Lane-Fox, Noel Malcolm, Julia Mannherz, Katie McKeogh, Andy Meadows, Asli Niyazioğlu, Sofya Omarova, Ali Parchami, Christian Sahner, Beatrice Teissier, Hannah Theaker, Christopher Tyerman, David Washbrook, the late Mark Whittow, Peter Wilson, George Woudhuysen, John Vickers and Andrei Zorin.

I began the research for this book in 2009 thanks to a small research grant from the British Academy, which also funded a conference on the Russian conquest of Central Asia at the University of Liverpool in 2012. This did much to form my ideas and resulted in a special issue of *Central Asian Survey* on the topic. In 2011, together with Dr Berny Sèbe of the University of Birmingham, I was awarded an AHRC early career research grant, 'Outposts of Conquest', for a comparative study of colonial fortresses in the steppe and the Sahara which funded an important field trip to the Syr-Darya region. In 2012 I was awarded a Philip Leverhulme Prize by the Leverhulme foundation, which funded trips to Moscow, St Petersburg and Amsterdam, as well as a semester of leave at Liverpool. Most recently I have benefited from funding from the History Faculty at Oxford for a monograph workshop in the summer of 2018, which did much to finally get me over the finishing line, and a subvention from the Ludwig Humanities Research Fund at New College to pay for the drawing

of maps and the inclusion of additional illustrations. My thanks to all these funding bodies.

Thanks to Michael Watson, Emily Sharp and Lisa Carter of Cambridge University Press, for their understanding and patience during this book's very long gestation, and to Steven Holt for his eagle-eyed copy-editing. Portions of the Introduction and of Chapters 2, 3 and 5 first appeared as articles in *Ab Imperio*, *Central Asian Survey*, *The Journal of the Economic & Social History of the Orient* and *Modern Asian Studies*. My thanks to the editors of those journals for permission to re-publish. I would also like to thank Teona Iashvili, Arnur Karymsakov and Tat'yana Burmistrova, the directors respectively of the National Archives of Georgia, the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian State Military-Historical Archive, for permission to reproduce images of documents from these archives. Especial thanks to Natasha Bregel for permission to base Map 1 on her father Yuri Bregel's teaching map of Central Asia at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

I began writing this book in 2010 on a Visiting Fellowship at the Slavic Research Centre of Hokkaido University, where I was hosted by Uyama Tomohiko, an inexhaustible fount of knowledge on everything to do with the history of the Qazaqs. It was he who told me I needed to explain not just why the conquest of Central Asia happened, but why it happened *when* it did. Dominic Lieven's work has long been an inspiration, and for the last twenty years he has encouraged me to persist with the diplomatic and military history of the Russian empire in the teeth of academic fashion. Scott Levi has always been ready to enlighten me on abstruse points of Central Asian military terminology over a beer or two. David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye has been generous with his insights on Turkestan generals and explorers, and in sharing sources. When I was in Astana David McDonald offered unstinting moral and practical support in the face of the more surreal aspects of NU's bureaucracy, as well as much sound academic advice there and as a very generous host in Madison. Over the last four years it has been a great privilege to be able to discuss the nomadic economy, the vacuousness of the 'Silk Road' and the dietary benefits of horsemeat with Anatoly Khazanov.

Neither this book nor any of my other research would have been possible without the endless kindness and hospitality of Misha Labovsky and Olga Vinogradova, who for two decades now have been offering me a home from home on Malaya Bronnaya whenever I have needed to work in Moscow: I am deeply grateful to them. Also in Moscow I would like to thank Vladimir Bobrovnikov, Tatiana Kotiukova, Evgenii Kozhokin, Andrey Larin and Dmitrii Vasil'ev. In St Petersburg Sergei Abashin, Alfrid Bustanov, Boris Kolonitskii, Roman Pochekaev and Alexander Semyonov have provided academic support and unfailingly stimulating ideas, and Olga and Emmanuel Berard much-needed relaxation at their picture-perfect dacha. In Orenburg

Sergei Liubichankovskii was an exemplary host and allowed me to present my work on the Orenburg customs to an expert audience.

In Tashkent and Samarkand I am grateful to Bakhtiyar Babajanov for his generous hospitality and incisive conversation, as well as Evgenii Abdullaev, Raushan Abdullaev, Hushnud Abdurasulov, Akmal Bazarbaev, Said Gaziev, Muhayo Isakova, Alisher Khaliyarov, Oybek Mahmudov, Sherzodhon Mahmudov, Jalol Nasirov, Hilola Nazirova, Sirojiddin Nurmatov, Azim Malikov, Ludmila Pak, Oksana Pugovkina, Elena Pustovaya, Sanobar Shadmanova, Uktambek Sultonov, Gulchehra Sultonova, Nuryoghdi Toshev, Abdurahob Vahidov and Qahramon Yaqubov. In Khujand Inomjon Mamadaliev and Nabijon Rahimov were kind and generous hosts. In Bishkek and Karakol I would like to thank Gulzada Abdalievna, Gulnara Aitpaeva, Christopher Baker, Janyl Bokontoeva, Svetlana Jacquesson, Adyl Kanimetov, Aziza Suiumbaevna, Medet Tiulegenov and Cholpon Turdalievna. In Tbilisi Timothy Blauvelt took me to the sulphur baths, while Anton Vacharadze showed that post-Soviet archives *can* be accessible and user-friendly when they have the right person running them.

In Delhi, Bhola and Promodini Varma, Manik Varma and Sachi Srivastava have been encouraging my scholarship for nearly two decades. I am deeply grateful to them, and to Madhavan Palat.

For invitations to speak, assistance in archives, conversations at conferences, discourses at dinners, comments and challenges I would also like to thank Sergei Andreyev, Ingeborg Baldauf, Matthias Battis, Evrim Binbash, Assel Bitabarova, Vladimir Boyko, Ian Campbell, Chida Tetsuro, Aminat Chokobaeva, Sally Cummings, William Dalrymple, David Darrow, Devin DeWeese, Simon Dixon, Nicola Di Cosmo, Rossen Djagalov, Askar Djumashev, Cloé Drieu, Jipar Duishembieva, Stéphane Dudoignon, Jeff Eden, Tim Epkenhans, Olivier Ferrando, Svetlana Gorshenina, Jörn Happel, John Heathershaw, Philippa Hetherington, Rosemary Hill, Geoff Humble, Ali Iğmen, Hamid Ismailov, Clare Jackson, Catherine Pujol, Artemy Kalinovsky, Jennifer Keating, Michael Kemper, David Kenrick, Adeeb Khalid, Kimura Satoru, Masha Kirasirova, Komatsu Hisao, Jo Laycock, Zeev Levin, Lhamsuren Munkh-Erdene, Rachel Lin, Morgan Liu, Thomas Loy, Olga Maiorova, Azim Malikov, Virginia Martin, Nick Megoran, David Moon, Robert Middleton, Naganawa Norihiro, Timothy Nunan, Isabelle Ohayon, Elena Paskaleva, Jürgen Paul, Joe Perkins, Niccolò Pianciola, Madeleine Reeves, Philipp Reichmuth, Flora Roberts, Montu Saxena, Yue Shi, Shioya Akifumi, Eric Schluessel, Ron Sela, Nariman Skakov, Elena Smolarz, Heather Sonntag, John Steinberg, Rory Stewart, Ronald Suny, Tommaso Trevisani, Gabrielle van den Berg, Denis Volkov, Nick Walmsley, Kim Wagner, Franz Wennberg and Paul Werth.

Special thanks to those who read and commented on individual chapters to help me avoid the worst howlers: Ulfatbek Abdurasulov, Bakhtiyar Babajanov,

Daniel Beben, Victoria Clement, Markus Hauser, Anton Ikhsanov, Ablet Kamalov, Oybek Mahmudov, Robert Middleton, James Pickett, Daniel Prior and Paul Richardson. Paolo Sartori and Marianne Kamp read the entire manuscript at the monograph workshop in Oxford in 2018 and provided detailed comments. I am deeply grateful to them for taking the trouble. I would also particularly like to thank Daniel Beben, Tom Welsford and Paolo Sartori for assistance with documents in Chaghatai and for correcting my execrable Persian. Tom also read the entire manuscript, providing line by line commentary, proof-reading and copy-editing. If this book is readable at all it is thanks to him. The remaining errors are of course my own responsibility.

Berny Sèbe also deserves special thanks for his acute observational skills, brilliant photography and unflagging cheerfulness during our journey from the Aral Sea along the valley of the Syr-Darya in search of fortresses in the summer of 2012. My memories of that trip are all the more precious since the third member of our party was my dear friend Alim Sabitov, whose death in 2019 has left a void that can never be filled. Every one of the many trips I have made to Almaty since 2005 has been a *prazdnik* thanks to him and Gulnara Abikeyeva.

My mother, Penny, and brother Nicholas have reminded me that there is more to life than academia – for cricket, theatre, birds and bumblebees my thanks and love.

My wife, Beatrice Penati, was healthily sceptical about this book from the beginning – too many men with moustaches and not enough numbers or Excel spreadsheets. She has been striving heroically for the last ten years to turn me into a *poryadochnyi chelovek*, and along the way we have shared many things which are much more important than this book. The fact that I have finished it is a testimony to her patience, support and love.

My father, John Morrison, encouraged me to become a historian rather than follow in his footsteps as a journalist because I never use one word where six will do. He did not live to see the completion of this book, but I know that he would have thought it far too long. I dedicate it to his memory.

NOTE ON TRANSLATION, TRANSLITERATION AND DATES

For the transliteration of Russian terms and proper names I have used the simplified library of Congress system without diacritics, apart from ' to indicate the soft sign (ь), and using *ya* rather than the misleading *ia* for я. Terms and names in Central Asian languages are generally transliterated from historic spellings in the Arabic script, again using a simplified system without diacritics except for ' to indicate 'ain (ع) and ' for hamza (ء). Where familiar versions of a name already exist in English I have stuck with the established spelling (e.g. Samarkand not Samarqand). Where a direct English equivalent exists, technical terms have been translated, notably *oblast'* (province) and *uezd* (district). Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from Russian, French and Persian are my own, while all translations from Chaghatai are by a friend who prefers to remain anonymous, but whose assistance I gratefully acknowledge.

Before 14 February 1918 the Russian empire operated according to the Julian calendar, which was thirteen days behind the Gregorian calendar used in the rest of Europe, and now worldwide. Almost all dates in this book are Old Style (O.S.), but when the Russians were dealing directly with the British I have also given Gregorian dates. All dates in the footnotes are those given in the original document, which in most cases means they are O.S.

ABBREVIATIONS

Archives

- F. – *Fond* (Fund); **Op.** – *Opis'* (Catalogue); **D.** – *Delo* (File); **I.** – *list'* (folio); **ob** – *oborot'* (verso).
- AV** *Arkhiv Vostokovedov Sankt-Peterburgskogo Filiala Instituta Vostokovedenii RAN* (St Petersburg Filial of the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Archive of Orientalists)
- AVPRI** *Arkhiv Vneshnei Politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii* (Archive of the Russian Empire's Foreign Policy, Moscow).
- BL** British Library, London.
- GAOO** *Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Orenburgskoi Oblasti* (State Archive of Orenburg Province, Orenburg)
- GARF** *Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow).
- IAOO** *Istoricheskii Arkhiv Omskoi Oblasti* (Historical Archive of Omsk Province, Omsk)
- IOR** India Office Records (British Library, London)
- IISH** International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam
- NAG** National Archives of Georgia (Tbilisi)
- NAI** National Archives of India (New Delhi)
- RGIA** *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (Russian State Historical Archive, St Petersburg)
- RGIMOPi** *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei, Otdel Pis'mennykh Istochnikov* (Russian State Historical Museum, Division of Written Sources, Moscow)
- RGVIA** *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voенно-Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (Russian State Military-Historical Archive, Moscow).
- TsGARKaz** *Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Respubliki Kazakhstan* (Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Almaty).
- TsGARUz** *Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Respubliki Uzbekistan* (Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Tashkent).

Document Collections

- AKAK** *Akty, sobrannye Kavkazskoi Arkheograficheskoi Kommissii* (Tiflis: Tip. Glavnogo Upravleniya Namestnika Kavkazskogo, 1881)
- KRO** F. N. Kireev (ed.): *Kazakhsko-russkie otnosheniya v XVIII–XIX vekakh (1771–1867 gody): sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1964)

- MPITT* V. V. Struve, A. K. Vorovkov & A. A. Romaskevich (ed.) *Materialy po Istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii* Vol. II (Moscow–Leningrad: Izd. AN SSSR, 1938).
- PP* *Parliamentary Papers*
- PSZ* *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*
- PT* A Il'yasov (ed.) *Prisoedinenie Turkmenii k Rossii. Sbornik Arkhivnykh Dokumentov* (Ashkhabad: Izd. AN Turkmenskoi SSR, 1960)
- RTO* S. G. Agadzhanov & A. Il'yasov (ed.) *Russko-Turkmenskii otnosheniya v XVIII–XIX vv. (do prisoedineniya Turkmenii k Rossii). Sbornik arkhivnykh dokumentov* (Ashkhabad: Izd. AN Turkmenskoi SSR, 1963)
- Serebrennikov
Sbornik A. G. Serebrennikov (ed.) *Sbornik Materialov dlya istorii zavoevaniya Turkestanskogo Kraya 1839 g–1845 g* (Tashkent: Tip. Sht. Turkestanskogo V.O., 1908–1912) 4 Vols & *Turkestanskii Krai. Sbornik Materialov dlya istorii ego zavoevaniya 1846 g–52 g, 1864 g–66 g* (Tashkent: Tip. Shtaba Turkestanskogo Voennogo Okruga, 1914–15) 13 Vols
- SIRIO* *Sbornik Imperatorskogo Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva*
- VPR* *Vneshnyaya Politika Rossii XIX i nachala XX veka: Dokumenty Rossiiskogo Ministerstva inostrannykh del Series I & II* (Moscow: Gos. izd-vo polit. lit-ry, 1960–1995)
- Zagorodnikova
Bol'shaya Igra T. N. Zagorodnikova, (ed.): *'Bol'shaya igra' v Tsentral'noi Azii: 'Indiiskii pokhod' russkoi armii. Sbornik arkhivnykh dokumentov* (Moscow: Institut Vostokovedeniya, 2005)

Chronicles

- Donish Risala* Ahmad Makhdum-i Donish: *Risala ya Mukhtasari az Ta'rikh-i Saltanat-i Khanadan-i Manghitiyya* (c. 1878) ed. Abulghani Mirzoev (Stalinabad: Nashriyat-i Daulati-yi Tajikistan, 1960)
- TA* Mullah Muhammad Yunus Jan Shighavul Tashkandi: *Ta'rikh-i 'Aliquli Amir-i Lashkar* (c. 1903) ed. & trans. T. K. Beisembiev as *The Life of 'Alimqul. A Native Chronicle of Nineteenth-Century Central Asia* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003)
- TJT* Muhammad Salih Khwaja Tashkandi: *Ta'rikh-i Jadidah-yi Tashkand* (c. 1886) Al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Manuscript No. 11073/II, portions transcribed by Bakhtiyar Babajanov at <http://zerrspiegel.orientphil.uni-halle.de/t386.html>
- TSh* Mullah Niyaz Muhammad b. 'Ashur Muhammad Khoqandi: *Ta'rikh-i Shahrukhi* (1871) ed. Nikolai Pantusov as *Taarikh Shakhrokhii. Istoriya Vladetelei Fergany* (Kazan': Tip. Imp. Universiteta, 1885).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

xxi

- TSM Mirza 'Abd al-'Azim Sami: *Ta'rikh-i Salatin-i Manghitiyya*. (c. 1907) ed. & trans. L. M. Epifanova as *Istoriya Mangitskikh Gosudarei Pravivshikh v Stolitse, Blagorodnoi Bukhare* (Moscow: Izd. Vostochnoi Literatury, 1962).

Journals and Publications

- AHR *American Historical Review*
 AI *Ab Imperio*
 AS *Asiatische Studien*
 CAC *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale*
 CAS *Central Asian Survey*
 CSSH *Comparative Studies in Society & History*
 EcHR *Economic History Review*
 EHR *English Historical Review*
 GJ *The Geographical Journal*
 HJ *The Historical Journal*
 IIRGO *Izvestiya Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva*
 IJMES *International Journal of Middle-East Studies*
 IS *Iranian Studies*
 IV *Istoricheskii Vestnik*
 IZ *Istoricheskie Zapiski*
 JAH *Journal of Asian History*
 JBFGO *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*
 JESHO *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
 JGH *Journal of Global History*
 JIS *Journal of Islamic Studies*
 JMH *Journal of Military History*
 JPS *Journal of Persianate Studies*
 JRGS *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*
 JWH *Journal of World History*
 Kritika *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*
 MAS *Modern Asian Studies*
 MES *Middle-Eastern Studies*
 PPV *Pis'mennye Pamyatniki Vostoka*
 PRGS *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*
 RA *Russkii Arkhiv*
 RS *Russkaya Starina*
 RV *Russkii Vestnik*
 SEER *Slavonic & East European Review*
 SR *Slavic Review*
 St Pb. *St Petersburg*

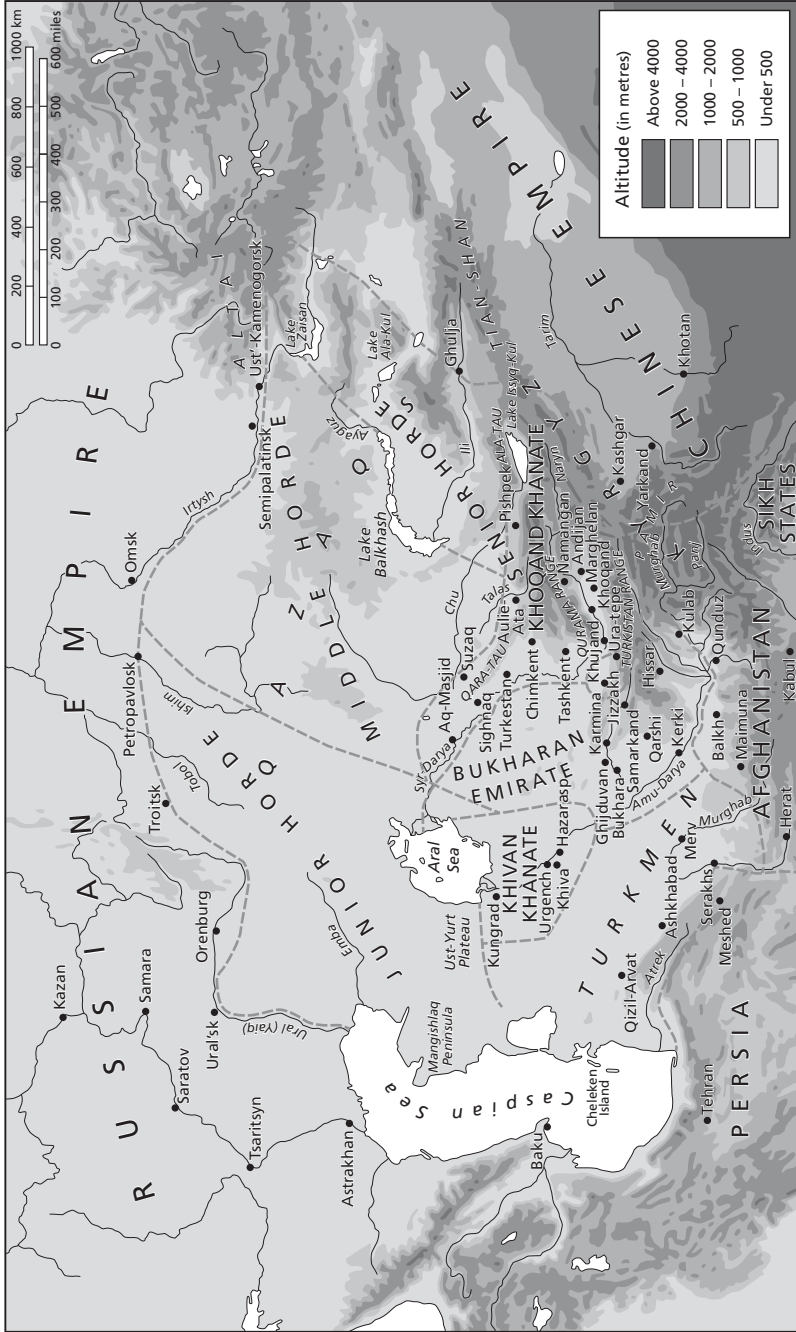
TKLA	<i>Protokol zasedaniya i soobshcheniya chlenov Turkestanskogo Kruzhka Liubitelei Arkheologii</i>
TOUAK	<i>Trudy Orenburgskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Komissii</i>
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
TVOIRAO	<i>Trudy Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva</i>
TS	<i>Turkestanskii Sbornik</i>
TV	<i>Turkestanskii Vedomosti</i>
VE	<i>Vestnik Evropy</i>
VIRGO	<i>Vestnik Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva</i>
VS	<i>Voennyi Sbornik</i>
ZIRGO	<i>Zapiski/Zhurnal Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva</i>
ZVOIRAO	<i>Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva</i>

GLOSSARY

- ‘Adat* – customary law, applied in the Russian Empire to the law used by nomads.
- Aul* – a nomadic encampment or winter settlement.
- Aqsaqal* – ‘white-beard’. An elder, a village headman.
- Arba* – a high, two-wheeled cart.
- Ariq* – an irrigation canal.
- Batyr* – a warrior or hero, cognate of *Bahadur* (Persian) and *Bogatyr* (Russian).
- Bek/Beg* – a title of respect, (sometimes) governor of a province.
- Berdanka* – affectionate term for the Berdan rifle, introduced in the Russian army after 1870.
- Bii* – a Kyrgyz or Qazaq judge or figure of authority.
- Dadkhwah* – a Khoqandi court rank, literally meaning a ‘petitioner for justice’.
- Dasht-i Qipchaq* – ‘the field of the Qipchaqs’. Name used for the steppe between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries.
- Desyatina* – Russian measurement of area, equivalent to 2¾ acres or 1.09 hectares.
- Diwan* – Qazaq term for the administrative divisions created by the Russians in the steppe in the 1820s, but with the broader meaning of a court or political centre.
- Diwan-begi* – chief minister (Khiva).
- Dungan* – Han Chinese Muslims, many of whom migrated to Russian Turkestan in the 1880s.
- Fazany* – ‘pheasants’ – a contemptuous term for aristocratic officers who secured a transfer to Central Asia when there was a campaign and a chance of medals or promotion.
- Jigit* – Turkic term meaning a mounted warrior, used by the Russians for mounted messengers, bodyguards etc.
- Jungharia* – what is now northern Xinjiang in western China.
- Khan* – a royal title indicating (in principle) both Chingissid descent and widespread recognition of a right to rule. By the nineteenth century only Qazaq Khans were genuinely Chingissids.
- Khoja* or *Khwaja* – a religious honorific indicating descent from the prophet’s kin, and (sometimes) membership of a Sufi lineage.
- Kibitka* – term used by the Russians for nomadic households and *yurts*.
- Kirgiz* – The generic term used by the Russians for both Qazaqs and Kyrgyz in Central Asia. I have preserved it in quotations from primary sources, while referring to Qazaqs and Kyrgyz in the main body of the text.
- Inorodtsy* – literally ‘those of a different birth’. A term used to describe some of the non-Russian peoples of the empire. As a legal category it denoted those excluded from Russian citizenship.

- Ishan* – a religious leader, whose authority could derive from personal charisma, or from blood descent from or being taught by a famous saint. Associated with Sufism, although not all *ishans* belonged to a Sufi order.
- Lazutchik* – scout or spy.
- Manap* – a figure of authority among the Kyrgyz.
- Mawara' al-nahr* – ‘the land beyond the river’. The river in question is the Oxus or Amu-Darya. This was the classic Arabic term for the settled lands of Central Asia, lying roughly between the Amu-Darya and the Syr-Darya.
- Oblast'* – a province, with a population of a million or more. Known as a *guberniya* in European Russia.
- Okrug* – a military district.
- Otdel* – an administrative division.
- Pood* – Russian measurement of weight, equivalent to 36 lbs.
- Pristav* – in this period the officer in charge of a region whose administration has not yet been regularised.
- Qazi-Kalan* – the chief Islamic judge of a city.
- Qush-begi* – Chief Minister (Bukhara).
- Sarbaz* – infantry drilled according to modern methods in the armies of Bukhara and Khoqand.
- Sart* – a generic term used both by Russians and by nomads for the settled population of Central Asia.
- Sayyid* – one claiming descent from the tribe of the Prophet.
- Shaika* – raiding band.
- Sotnya* – a company of Cossack cavalry, usually 100–120 men.
- Stanitsa* – a Cossack settlement.
- Sultan* – a title which among Qazaqs indicates Chingissid descent, i.e. membership of the ‘white bone’ aristocracy.
- Taranchi* – ‘farmer’ – the name by which the modern Uyghurs were known in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.
- Töre/Tura* – a title of respect, indicating membership of the ‘white bone’ Chingissid aristocracy among Qazaqs.
- Trakt* – highway or post-road.
- Tuzemtsy* – ‘natives’. The general term used by Russians to describe the local population.
- Uezd* – a district, which in Turkestan could have a population of 250,000 or more.
- 'ulama* – the collective term for Muslim clergy and theological scholars, plural of *alim*.
- Verst* – Russian measurement of distance, equivalent to about two-thirds of a mile.
- Volost'* – an administrative division, in Central Asia usually with about 2,000 households.
- Zakat* – the Islamic tax on goods, 1/40th of their value – widely applied to livestock in Central Asia.
- Zhuz* – ‘hundred’, usually translated as ‘horde’. Name for the three political divisions of the Qazaqs.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
 978-1-107-03030-5 — The Russian Conquest of Central Asia
 Alexander Morrison
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



Map 1 Central Asia before the Russian conquest. (Redrawn from 'Central Asia: First Half of the 19th Century'. © Yuri Bregel, with the kind permission of Nataasha Bregel.)