

DATA ON PROMINENT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MUSLIM ELITE OF THE KHIVA KHANATE IN THE 19TH CENTURY STORED IN THE PHOTO COLLECTION OF THE “ICHAN-KALA” KHIVA STATE MUSEUM-RESERVE

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Abstract

This article examines the history behind a single photograph, illuminating through historical sources the life and activities of Muhammad Rahim Khan II and court officials who governed the Khiva Khanate in the late 19th century. Like other rulers of the Islamic East, Muhammad Rahim Khan II sought to be a patron of Sharia. According to the Khiva court historian and poet Muhammad Yusuf Bayani, more than fifteen mosques and madrasas were erected in Khiva during his reign¹. One of these madrasas was constructed with his personal funds and named in his honor—the Muhammad Rahim Khan Madrasa. During these years, the historian Ogahi was compiling the history of Khorezm. Furthermore, under the patronage of Muhammad Rahim Khan II in 1874, the first printing house in Central Asia for lithographic publishing was established in Khorezm. Among the first works printed there were Alisher Navai's *Khamisa* and the *Divan* of the poet Munis, among others.

Keywords: Khiva Khanate, Muhammad Rahim Khan II, Matmurad Divanbegi, Colonel Sultan Jafar Asfandiyarov, Kamil Khorezmi.

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Introduction

Khwarazm is one of the oldest cultural oases located in the northwestern region of modern-day Uzbekistan. The cultural development and human settlement of this oasis were made possible exclusively through the implementation of artificial irrigation. It was here, along the banks of the monumental Amu Darya River, that one of the most ancient civilizations of Central Asia emerged. Within the oasis, urban culture flourished dynamically, accompanied by a rapid expansion of specialized crafts and regional trade networks.

Chronologically, Khwarazm is a contemporary of Urartu and Babylon. Its inhabitants spoke the Khwarazmian language, which coalesced during the 1st millennium BCE and belongs to the ancient

¹ Khiva // *Architectural Epigraphy of Uzbekistan* / Abdukhaliqov F. F. — Tashkent: Uzbekistan Today, 2015.

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Eastern Iranian linguistic group. The Khwarazmian script emerged between the 7th and 5th centuries BCE, and the Khwarazmian language continued to be spoken as late as the 11th century CE.

The earliest written records mentioning Khwarazm are preserved in the oldest surviving Central Asian written monument—the sacred *Avesta* (dating to the 1st millennium BCE), where the country is referred to under the toponym "*Hvairizem*"². According to a number of prominent scholars, the text of the *Avesta* itself is of Khwarazmian origin.

References to Khwarazm have also been deciphered within the Behistun Inscriptions, carved onto the cliff faces of Mount Jamshid near the city of Persepolis (Shiraz), as well as in the surviving geographical writings of Hecataeus of Miletus (6th century BCE). Furthermore, Greek authors of the 4th century BCE report the existence of a major, consolidated state formation in Central Asia known as "*Greater Khwarazm*." Subsequently, historical sources from the era of the Arab conquests frequently designate Khwarazm as the "*Land of a Thousand Fortresses*"³.

The territory of present-day Uzbekistan was situated at the crossroads of this trade route, attracting merchants, artisans, scholars, and architects from across the globe. Along the Great Silk Road, large-scale commercial exchanges took place, diplomatic agreements were concluded, and military alliances were forged. The peoples of Central Asia made significant contributions to the dissemination of written language and world religions (Buddhism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, and Islam) into Inner Asia and the Far East. The Great Silk Road served not merely as a caravan route, but as a broader historical phenomenon that left an indelible mark on the civilization of Eurasian peoples, acting as a crucial factor in their multifaceted development.

Methods

Khiva was not the original capital of Khorezm. According to historians, the Amu Darya shifted its course in 1598, leading Khiva to become the capital of the Khiva Khanate. The desire to restore the lost former glory of the ancient state of the Khwarazmshahs persisted and intensified among the Khwarazmians over many centuries. The struggle waged to achieve this goal culminated when Ilbars Khan ascended the throne in 1511, bestowing upon the realm the status of the Khwarazmshah state. Following the transfer of the state capital to Khiva, it came to be known as the Khiva Khanate. However, this designation was used exclusively in Russian and European literature, whereas in local official toponymy it was referred to as the State of Khorezm. In historical studies, the Khiva Khanate is divided into three distinct periods:

1. 1511–1740: The reign of the Yadigarid (Jochid) dynasty.
2. 1740–1770: Following the conquest of Khorezm by the Iranian Nader Shah in 1740, a period commenced marked by a rapid succession of rulers, characterized by historians as the "Game of Khans."
3. 1763/1804–1920: The reign of the Qungrat dynasty.

In 1924, national-territorial delimitation was carried out across the territories of the Khorezm, Bukhara, and Turkestan republics, leading to the formation of the Uzbek and Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republics. Since that time, Khorezm has been an integral part of the Republic of Uzbekistan and a national treasure of the entire Uzbek people. Khiva is one of the ancient cities located in the lower reaches of the Amu Darya River and serves as the jewel of the Khorezm oasis. The city emerged on fertile irrigated lands near the waters of the Amu Darya. Known as an open-air museum, the Ichan-Kala territory

² N. I. Veselovsky (1848–1918), Russian archaeologist and scholar of the history and archaeology of Central Asia. *An Outline of Historical and Geographical Information on the Khiva Khanate from Ancient Times to the Present* (St. Petersburg, 1877), p. 47.

³ L. Mankovskaya and V. Bulatova, *Architectural Monuments of Khorezm* (Tashkent: Gafur Gulyam Publishing House of Literature and Art, 1978), p. 47.

of Khiva was declared an architectural museum-reserve in 1969. Subsequently, in 1990, it became the first site in Central Asia to be inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List⁴.

Today, the State Museum-Reserve "Ichan-Kala" encompasses 15 permanent exhibition halls and houses over 60,000 artifacts in its repository, reflecting the rich history of Khorezm from ancient times to the present day. The museum staff collaborates on the study and translation of historical documents with researchers from the Abu Rayhan Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies under the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Institute of Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and Tokyo and Kyoto Universities in Japan. The museum-reserve also maintains research partnerships with the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg, the K. Zhubayev Aktobe Regional University in Kazakhstan, and colleagues from Budapest on the establishment of the "Vámbery and Khorezm" museum in Khiva. Among the 19 collections of the State Museum-Reserve "Ichan-Kala," the photo negative collection comprises over 3,000 photographs and nearly 1,000 glass-plate photo negatives. Its compilation began in 1924 after the Khiva Museum was relocated from the Kunya-Ark building to Tash-Khauili—the palace of Allakuli Khan⁵.

In 1939, following the opening of the Regional History Museum in the Nurullabay Palace, its holdings received photographs and glass negatives produced by Khudaybergen Devanov—the pioneer of Uzbek photography and cinematography—depicting historical events of the late XIX and early XX centuries, architectural monuments of Khorezm, and the daily life and customs of the local population. Khudaybergen Devanov holds a prominent place in the history of Uzbek cinematography and photography as a trailblazer in these fields. His initiation into the arts of cinema and photography was made possible through contact with Mennonite Germans who had migrated to the Khiva Khanate from the Volga region. They had been personally invited to Khorezm by the Governor-General of Turkestan, Konstantin von Kaufman, to develop model agricultural practices. Facing pressure from the Yomud Turks, the Mennonites sought protection from Said Muhammad Rahim Khan II (r. 1864–1910).

The Khan ordered that a tract of land be allocated to the settlers in the village of Ak-Metchet, located 12 km from Khiva on the estate of his brother, Atajan-Tura. The Germans earned a reputation as master blacksmiths and carpenters, supplying their manufactured goods to Khiva and Petro-Alexandrovsk (Turtkul). The German community was led by Emil Riesen, who spoke fluent Uzbek, Russian, and German. Muhammad Rahim Khan II appointed him to serve as an interpreter and economic advisor, treating him as a local elder (kadkhuda)⁶.

Every year, the Khan bestowed upon him royal gifts on par with those granted to other Khivan officials. Muhammad Rahim Khan II was the first in Central Asia to support Khudaybergen Devanov in advancing the art of photography, despite fierce opposition from religious figures. Within the photo negative collection, a photograph dated 1888 depicts Muhammad Rahim Khan II surrounded by court officials. This study provides historical information on the lives and activities of the individuals featured in this photograph⁷.

⁴ A. Abdurasulov, *Khiva* (Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 1997). D. Bobojonov . Ichan-Kala State Museum-Reserve: The History Of Creation. Turkish Journal of Physiotherapy and Rehabilitation. Article ID: -TJPR-2021-2177 . Dec 03, 2021. P. 33422

⁵ I. I. Notkin, *Tashkhonli* (Tashkent, 1968).

⁶ R. Nazarov, "Matmurad-Devanbegi: A Prominent Representative of the 19th-Century Muslim Elite" (Moscow, 2018).

⁷ Khiva State Museum-Reserve (KhMZ), Inventory No. KP-2863, *The Khiva Khan with a Group of Officials*.



Results

Muhammad Rahim Khan II “Feruzshah” (r. 1864–1910)

Muhammad Rahim Khan II, the eldest son of Sayyid Muhammad Khan, was born in the spring of 1844 in the Kunya-Ark (Old Citadel) of Khiva. His father bestowed upon him the title *Babajon Tora*⁸ in the hope that he would grow into a great figure like his grandfather. During his youth, the prince received instruction from esteemed tutors, and upon reaching the appropriate age, he enrolled in a madrasa. Although the untimely death of his father prevented him from completing his formal studies, he nevertheless attained literacy and fluency in Turkic and Persian, as well as a foundational knowledge of Arabic.

Following the death of his father, Sayyid Muhammad Khan, Muhammad Rahim Khan II ascended the throne on September 22, 1864, at the age of nineteen. An educated ruler, he had studied in his youth at the Arab Muhammad Khan Madrasa⁹ in Khiva, where one of his prominent mentors was the distinguished Uzbek poet and historian Ogahi¹⁰.

⁸ Tora / Tora — Title reserved for the son of a Khan.

⁹ Arab Muhammad Khan — Khan of Khiva, reigning from 1602 to 1621.

¹⁰ Muhammad Reza Ogahi (1809, Khiva – 1874, Khiva) — Prominent Uzbek poet, historian, and translator. Muhammad Reza Ogahi was born in 1809 in the village of Kiyat near Khiva into the family of Erniyazbek, a *mirab* (chief official overseeing water resources and irrigation). He belonged to the Uzbek nobility of the Yuz tribe. Following the death of his father when Ogahi was three years old, he was raised by his uncle, Munis Khwarazmi—himself a renowned poet, writer, historian, translator, and successor to the position of *mirab*. Upon Munis Khwarazmi's death in 1829, Ogahi inherited the office of *mirab*, a position he held until his resignation in 1857.

Ogahi is the author of several major historical works, including:

During the reign of Muhammad Rahim Khan II, the Khanate of Khiva maintained diplomatic relations with the Russian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, Iran, and Afghanistan. Among the rulers of the Uzbek Qungrat dynasty, Muhammad Rahim Khan II stood out as a particularly prominent figure. At the same time, it is worth noting that rich cultural traditions had flourished in Khwarazm prior to his accession: classical literary works were translated, manuscripts were systematically copied, and various libraries were established.

Muhammad Rahim Khan II was an enlightened monarch, a renowned poet, and a composer. He sought to refine and elevate his courtly milieu primarily through cultural patronage and artistic achievements. Enhancing court culture—alongside fostering the proliferation of poetic compositions and artistic works within his court—constituted the central ambition of his reign. Muhammad Rahim Khan II composed music himself and strove to ensure that musical gatherings at court met the highest standards of the art; notably, it was during his reign that a system of musical notation was developed in Khwarazm for the first time. The musical framing of courtly evenings under Muhammad Rahim Khan II was firmly rooted in the region's long-standing historical and cultural traditions. Concurrently, there were domains of culture in which the Khan eagerly embraced modern innovations.

Under Muhammad Rahim Khan II, dozens of intellectuals took up poetic composition—many of whom simultaneously functioned as poets, calligraphers, translators, and historians. In total, more than thirty court figures produced poetic works. The Khan led this literary circle and himself composed poetry under the pen name (*takhallus*) Feruz¹¹. In his literary endeavors, he largely emulated the works of Alisher Navai. His entire inner circle wrote in the Chagatai (Old Uzbek) language and similarly adhered to Navai's literary tradition. Nearly every court poet compiled his own poetic collection (*divan*); the completion of a *divan* served as the definitive benchmark of a poet's artistic maturity and mastery. Fostering this milestone was crucial for Muhammad Rahim Khan II, who actively cultivated and elevated his courtly poetic environment. The court poet Kamil Khwarazmi noted that under Muhammad Rahim Khan II, poets were accorded the honor and recognition they deserved.

The historian and poet Ogahi, in his historical treatise *Shahid al-Iqbal (Witness of Good Fortune)*, documented the early years of Muhammad Rahim Khan II's reign. Ogahi recorded that the Khan devoted considerable time to learned discussions with scholars, engaging in debates on religious doctrine and reviewing historical and literary texts. During these gatherings, poets recited verses written in praise of the ruler, and it was precisely during this period that Muhammad Rahim Khan II began composing poetry himself. By royal decree, the copying of one thousand manuscripts was initiated, and more than one hundred celebrated historical and literary works of the East were translated into Chagatai (Old Uzbek). Medieval cultural traditions were thus preserved, refined, and brought to culmination. His reign also saw the compilation of major court poetic anthologies, including *Majma-yi Shuara-yi Firuz-Shahi*, *Mukhammasat-i Majma-yi Shuara-yi Firuz-Shahi*, and *Haft Shuara-yi Firuz-Shahi*¹².

The Turkologist and scholar A. N. Samoylovich (1880–1938), who visited the Khivan palace in 1908, spoke positively of the Khan, noting: “Sayyid Muhammad Rahim II, an enlightened patron of Khivan science and art, demonstrated complete willingness to assist in the scientific study of his country and granted me access to his own personal literary treasures...”

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- *Riyaz ul-Dawla (Gardens of Prosperity)*, detailing the history of Khwarazm from 1825 to 1842;
 - *Zubdat ut-Tavariikh (The Cream of Chronicles)*, covering the period from 1843 to 1846;
 - *Jami ul-Waqiati Sultani (Collection of Sultan's Events)*, spanning 1846 to 1855;
 - *Gulshani Davlat (Garden of Happiness)*, documenting 1856 to 1865; and
 - *Shahid ul-Iqbal (Witness of Good Fortune)*, dedicated to the period from 1865 to 1872.

In his poetry written in Uzbek and Tajik, Ogahi articulated civic themes, reflecting dissatisfaction with contemporary social realities and condemning hypocrisy. His lyrical *divan*, *Talisman of Lovers*, praised high human values and ideals. Furthermore, Ogahi translated over twenty historical and literary classics of the East into Uzbek, including Saadi's *Gulistan*. His historical chronicle was subsequently continued by the historian Bayani (Muhammad Yusufbek Bayani, 1859–1923; Uzbek poet, historian, musicologist, calligrapher, and translator). The renowned song *Feruz*, performed widely by Uzbek vocalists to this day, features lyrics authored by Ogahi. His poetic verses continue to ornament numerous historic monuments across Khwarazm, particularly within the city of Khiva.

¹¹ Feruz / Firuz — *Lit.* "Prosperous," "victorious," or "auspicious."

• ¹² *Istoriya Khorezma [The History of Khwarazm]*. Edited by I. M. Muminov. Tashkent, 1976.

Muhammad Rahim Khan II chose the late Timurid period¹³—specifically the reign of Husayn Bayqara (r. 1469–1506), when culture in Herat reached its zenith—as one of his primary structural and ideological models. During that golden age, architecture, the applied arts, calligraphy, and the art of the book flourished. The Khan's interest in the cultural legacy of the Timurids (1370–1405) manifested in a conscious emulation of the cultural models of that era. This orientation can also be observed in his emulation of prominent figures of the Timurid epoch, such as Sultan Husayn Bayqara and the court poet Alisher Navai (1441–1501). The poetry of the Khwarazmian court in the early twentieth century continued to adhere strictly to the traditions of Navai—the medieval traditions of the golden age of Chagatai (Old Uzbek) literature. This phenomenon was documented by the Orientalist A. N. Samoylovich and the chief Khwarazmian court poet and historian, Ahmadjan Tabibi¹⁴.



Like every ruler of the Muslim East, Muhammad Rahim Khan II sought to act as a protector of the *Sharia*. According to the Khwarazmian court historian and poet Muhammad Yusuf Bayani, more than fifteen mosques and madrasas were constructed in Khiva during his reign¹⁵. One of these madrasas was built using his personal funds and was named in his honor—the Muhammad Rahim Khan II Madrasa. It was during these years that the historian Ogahi actively compiled the historical chronicle of Khwarazm.

In 1873, following the Russian conquest, the archive of the Khivan Khans from the reign of Muhammad Rahim Khan II was removed to Saint Petersburg, where it was later discovered and studied by P. P. Ivanov¹⁶.

In 1874, under the direct patronage of Muhammad Rahim Khan II, the first lithographic printing press in Central Asia was established in Khwarazm. Among the earliest books published on this press were Alisher Navai's *Khamsa (Quinquain)*, the *Divan* of the poet Munis, and several other foundational works.

Muhammad Rahim Khan II was the last independent ruler of Khwarazm¹⁷. In 1873, despite armed resistance, the Khanate was forced to accept a Russian protectorate. Within the Imperial Russian military hierarchy, the Khan was promoted to Major General, Lieutenant General (1896), and General of the Cavalry (1904). In 1902, Emperor Nicholas II granted him the style of *Serene Highness (Svetlost)*.

Imperial Russian Honours and Awards:

- Order of Saint Anna, 1st Class with Diamonds (1883)
- Order of the White Eagle (1891)
- Diamond Cipher of His Imperial Majesty Nicholas II (1896)
- Order of Saint Alexander Nevsky (1900)
- Imperial Portrait Set with Diamonds (1905)
- Diamond Insignia of the Order of Saint Alexander Nevsky (1907)
- Order of Saint Vladimir, 1st Class (1908)¹⁸

¹³ Kostenko, L. *Gorod Khiva v 1873 g.* [The City of Khiva in 1873]. *Turkestanskii sbornik*, Vol. 82. Saint Petersburg, 1873, p. 237.

¹⁴ Karimov, E. *Regesty kazii skikh dokumentov i khanskikh yurlykov Khivinskogo kbanstva XV–XX vv.* [Regesta of Qadi Documents and Khanate Yarliks of the Khiva Khanate from the 17th to the Early 20th Century]. Tashkent: Fan, 2007, p. 34.

¹⁵ Abdulkhalikov, F. F., ed. *Khiva. Architectural Epigraphy of Uzbekistan series*. Tashkent: Uzbekistan Today, 2015.

¹⁶ Gulomov, Kh. G. *Diplomaticheskie otnosheniya gosudarstv Srednei Azii s Rossiei v XVIII – pervoi polovine XIX veka* [Diplomatic Relations of the Central Asian States with Russia in the 18th and First Half of the 19th Century]. Tashkent, 2005.

¹⁷ Zhelyabuzhsky, E. *Ocherki i zavoevanie Khivy* [Essays and the Conquest of Khiva]. Moscow, 1875, pp. 53–54.

¹⁸ Reference compiled from imperial state registers and archival records of state honors.

In 1910, Muhammad Rahim Khan II passed away and was interred in the Sayyid Mohi Ruyi Jahan Mausoleum. He was succeeded on the throne by his son, Asfandiyar Khan (r. 1910–1918).

Matmurad Devanbegi (also known as Muhammad-Murad Devanbegi Sheikh-Nazar-Yasaulbashi-Oghli) was born in 1830 in Dishan-Kala (the Outer City of Khiva) into the family of Sheikh-Nazar-Yasaulbashi Muhammad-Murad-Oghli, a high-ranking dignitary and Minister of War of the Khiva Khanate.

Matmurad was himself a prominent political, civic, and military figure in the nineteenth-century Khiva Khanate, as well as one of Khiva's largest landowners—holding 50,000 *tanaps* (approximately 20,500 hectares) of land¹⁹—and a major horse breeder. He served as the chief dignitary during the reign of Muhammad Rahim Khan II (1864–1910) in the rank of *Devanbegi* (Prime Minister)²⁰. As General M. A. Terentyev observed:

“The *Devanbegi* serves as commander-in-chief and additionally oversees irrigation, the collection of the *zakat*, and the royal mint. The *Devanbegi* at that time was... named Mad-Murad”²¹.

Matmurad graduated from a Khivan madrasa and maintained close friendships with prominent Khivan poets, including Qadi Inayatullah, Bayani, Mirzo, and Tabibi. Widely regarded as one of the most educated individuals in the Khanate, he was fluent in nearly all Turkic languages (including Uzbek, Turkmen, Ottoman Turkish, and Tatar), as well as Arabic, Persian, and Russian, and he composed poetry himself.

He began his career in the personal guard of the Khan of Khiva, rising through the ranks from a junior officer to Commander of the Guard, Minister of War, and Commander-in-Chief of the Khanate's armed forces. He held the military rank of General of the Army of the Khan of Khiva and was the recipient of numerous high honors from the Khanate. Matmurad served successively under five Khans: Muhammad Amin Khan (1845–1855), Abdullah Khan (r. 1855), Qutlug Murad Khan (1855–1856), Sayyid Muhammad Khan (1856–1864), and Muhammad Rahim Khan II “Feruz” (1864–1910). Under the latter two rulers, he headed the State Council (*Devan*) attached to the Khan²².

As the modern historian N. Polvonov notes:

“Matmurad (Muhammad Murad) Devanbegi rose to prominence as the figure in whose hands the primary administrative functions of the state were concentrated”²³.



In 1864, Matmurad supervised the construction of the Sayyid Muhammad Khan Madrasa²⁴. Distinguished by his courage, strong willpower, and “bravery and energy” (Ogahi), he participated in numerous military engagements against rebellious Turkmen and Kazakh tribes, as well as against Iranian and Imperial Russian forces. In 1871, he commissioned the construction of a madrasa in Khiva, which became known as the Muhammad-Murad Madrasa.

In 1866, leading the Khivan forces, Matmurad defeated Yomud rebels near the fortress of Gaziabad. In 1867, he achieved further military victories in a series of engagements near the settlement of Kattabag, Lake Korp, the Ak-Yab Canal, and Keneges—campaigns recorded in the chronicle of Ogahi²⁵. For these

¹⁹ Yuldashev, M. Yu. "K voprosu ob osobennostyakh razvitiya zemlevladieni v Khive XIX veka" [On the Features of Land Ownership Development in 19th-Century Khiva]. In *Materialy 1-i Vsesoyuznoi konferentsii vostokovedov* [Proceedings of the 1st All-Union Conference of Orientalists]. Tashkent, 1957, pp. 202–205; Pogorelsky, I. V. *Istoriya Khirinskoi revolyutsii i Khorezmskoi narodnoi sovetsskoi respublikii* [History of the Khivan Revolution and the Khwarazm People's Soviet Republic]. Leningrad: Leningrad State University Press, 1984, p. 28; Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan (TsGA RUz), Fond I-2, Opis 1, File 291, Folio 103.

²⁰ Khudoyberganov, K. *Khiva kbollari tarixidan* [From the History of the Khans of Khiva]. Urgench, 2008, pp. 157, 160.

²¹ Barthold, V. V. "Sobytiya pered khivinskim pokhodom 1873 goda po rasskazu khivinskogo istorika" [Events Prior to the Khivan Campaign of 1873 as Told by a Khivan Historian]. In *Sochineniya* [Collected Works], Vol. 2. Moscow, 1964, p. 405.

²² Polvonov, N. *Istoriya sotsial'nykh dvizhenii i politicheskikh partii Khorezma (1900–1924)* [History of Social Movements and Political Parties of Khwarazm (1900–1924)]. Tashkent: Academnashr, 2011, p. 18.

²³ Polvonov, N. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁴ Sayyid Muhammad Khan, Khan of Khiva (r. 1855–1864). For details on the construction, see: *Sayyid Muhammad Khan Madrasa*, Historical Architecture Registry of Khiva.

²⁵ Muhammad Reza Mirab Ogahi. *Shahid al-Iqbal* [Witness of Good Fortune: History of the Reign of Sayyid Muhammad Rahim Khan]. In *Materialy po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii* [Materials on the History of Turkmens and Turkmenia], Vol. 2. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, 1938, pp. 612–615.

and other victories, he received high royal honors, including gold-embroidered robes of honor (*kehalat*) with ceremonial sashes, precious gem-encrusted daggers, and thoroughbred Arabian stallions.

In 1869, Matmurad commanded Khivan troops dispatched to Tau-Kara (Dau-Kara). As documented by the Orientalist V. V. Barthold:

“News arrived that the Russians, who had constructed the Kazalinsk fortress on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, intended to subjugate the Kazakhs [*kirgizy*] who maintained summer encampments on the southern bank of the river and paid *zakat* and *kharaj* to the Khivan government. The Khan resolved to dispatch a detachment under the command of *Devanbegi* Muhammad-Murad to the locality of Tau-Kara”²⁶.

As reported in the Saint Petersburg journal *Niva* at the time:

“First place among the counselors and ministers of the Khan belongs to *Devanbegi* Mat-Murad, a man of exceptional talent... Mat-Murad acquired immense influence over the sovereign”²⁷.

This circumstance was likewise noted by the American journalist J. A. MacGahan:

“Hitherto the Khan had left the entire administration of the state to his minister, *Devanbegi* Mat-Murad...²⁸ He had also managed to win the favor of the young Khan, who, upon his accession to the throne, made him his chief advisor”²⁹.

Matmurad began his official service during the reign of the Khan’s father and: “...managed to win the favor of the young Khan, who, upon his accession to the throne, made him his chief advisor... He commanded the Khivan army at Sheikh-Aryk and subsequently accompanied the Khan,” namely, during the offensive of the Imperial Russian forces against Khiva in 1873. This military event is depicted in the paintings of the artist N. N. Karazin: *The Khivan Campaign of 1873: The Crossing of the Turkestan Detachment through the Dead Sands to the Adam-Krylgan Wells* and *The First Appearance of Russian Troops on the Amu Darya: The Crossing of the Turkestan Detachment at Sheikh-Aryk*. The historian N. Polvonov characterizes Matmurad as a “hero in the struggle against the Russian conquerors”³⁰.

In 1873, Matmurad commanded the Khivan forces in battle³¹, losing his eldest son, Qutlug-Murad, in action. Unlike a number of other high-ranking dignitaries of the Khanate (such as Mat-Niyaz, Sayyid-Amir-ul-Umar, Yusuf-Maksum, and others), who advocated for the prompt conclusion of a peace treaty with the Russian Empire, Matmurad was a staunch proponent of continued armed resistance against the invaders³². As MacGahan recorded: “When the Khan surrendered to the Russians, Mat-Murad was captured”³³.

Owing to Matmurad and a number of other patriots (such as Rahmatullah-Bek Yasaulbashi and Abdullah-Bek) who led the anti-imperial resistance, the Khiva Khanate was not completely liquidated—an outcome that had been under consideration in the initial Russian plans.

Literature Review

Following the defeat of the Khiva Khanate and the signing of the Treaty of Gandimak with the Russian Empire, the most active leaders of the resistance against tsarist troops were subjected to state reprisals. Matmurad was among those punished: he was exiled alongside his entire family, first to Kazalinsk (1873–1874) and subsequently to Kaluga, where he resided until 1880, and where his two

²⁶ Barthold, V. V. "Sobytiya pered khivinskim pokhodom 1873 goda po rasskazu khivinskogo istorika" [Events Prior to the Khivan Campaign of 1873 as Told by a Khivan Historian]. In *Sochineniya* [Collected Works], Vol. 2. Moscow, 1964, p. 405.

²⁷ "Seid Mukhammed Rakhim — Khivinskii khan" [Sayyid Muhammad Rahim — The Khan of Khiva]. *Niva*, no. 38 (1873), pp. 593–594.

²⁸ MacGahan, J. A. *Campaigning on the Oxus, and the Fall of Khiva*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, & Searle, 1874 [Russian edition: *Voennye deystviya na Okse i padenie Khivy*. Moscow, 1875, p. 206].

²⁹ MacGahan, J. A. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

³⁰ Polvonov, N. *Istoriya sotsial'nykh dvizhenii i politicheskikh partii Khorezma (1900–1924)* [History of Social Movements and Political Parties of Khwarazm (1900–1924)]. Tashkent: Akademnashr, 2011, pp. 40–41.

³¹ Grodekov, N. N. *Khivinskii pokhod 1873 goda. Deystviya kavkazskikh otryadov* [The Khivan Campaign of 1873: Actions of the Caucasian Detachments]. Saint Petersburg, 1883; Alikhanov-Avasky, M. *Pokhod v Khivu (Kavkazskikh otryadov), 1873. Step' i oazis* [The Campaign to Khiva (Caucasian Detachments), 1873: Steppe and Oasis]. Saint Petersburg, 1899.

³² Report of Colonel Lomakin, Commander of the Mangyshlak Detachment, dated July 18, 1872 (No. 859), to Prince Svyatopolk-Mirsky, Viceroy of the Caucasus. Central State Historical Military Archive (TsGVIA), Fond 400, File 13, Folios 107–115.

³³ MacGahan, J. A. *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

youngest sons were born. As V. V. Barthold observed: "After the capture of Khiva, his property was confiscated, and he was exiled to Kaluga, where he lived for six years"³⁴.

Exiled alongside him were two of his closest associates: Rahmatullah Yasaulbashi and Abdullah-Bek. According to some historical sources, Matmurad Devanbegi maintained contacts with exiled relatives and former companions-in-arms of Imam Shamil who were residing in Kaluga. One defining feature of Kaluga was that it was virtually the only city in central Russia (aside from Moscow) that possessed an active mosque. Consequently, defiant Muslim elites were frequently exiled to this location. At various times, Kaluga served as the place of exile for:

- Shahin Giray, the last Khan of the Crimean Khanate;
- Aringazy Khan, the last Khan of the Kazakh Little Horde (*Müzz-Jüz*);
- Cherkez Khan, leader of the Turkmen uprising;
- Kunta-Haji Kishiev, the Chechen Sufi leader;
- Imam Shamil; and
- the exiled Khivans: Matmurad Devanbegi, Rahmatullah-Bek Yasaulbashi, and Abdullah-Bek³⁵.

Around the late 1870s and early 1880s, the tsarist government began transitioning from a strategy of rigid confrontation and coercion against Muslim elites to a policy of co-optation and conciliatory patronage³⁶. This shift was reflected in the admission of scions from noble Muslim families into Russian military academies and prestigious units of the Imperial Russian Army and the Life Guards, including His Imperial Majesty's Own Escort (*Sobstvennyy E.I.V. Konvoy*)³⁷. During the period of exile in Kaluga, Matmurad's two sons—Sheikh-Nazar (the future *Yasaulbashi*) and Husayn-Muhammad—were enrolled in the Muslim section of the Voronezh Cadet Corps (1878–1880)³⁸.

In 1879, following a personal petition submitted by the Khan of Khiva, Matmurad was pardoned by Emperor Alexander II and granted permission to return to his homeland. In December 1879, the Governor-General of Turkestan, General-Adjutant K. P. von Kaufman, addressed the Khan of Khiva:

"Pursuant to my representation submitted in consequence of Your High Excellency's petition regarding the repatriation of the Khivan dignitaries exiled in 1873—*Devanbegi* Mahamed-Murad and

Yasaulbashi
i
Rahmatullah—the
Sovereign
Emperor,
the
Merciful
White
Tsar, on
the 27th
day of
September
of this
year, was
graciously
pleased to
command



³⁴ Barthold, V. V. *Sochineniya* [Collected Works], Vol. 2, Part 1. Moscow: Nauka, 1963, p. 413.

³⁵ Nazarov, R. R. "Matmurad-Devanbegi — yarkiy predstavitel' musul'manskoi elity XIX veka" [Matmurad-Devanbegi: A Prominent Representative of the 19th-Century Muslim Elite]. Kiev, 2000, p. 4.

³⁶ Nazarov, R. R. "Etnicheskie elity Tsentral'noi Azii (krug sushchestvuyushchikh mnenii)" [Ethnic Elites of Central Asia: A Survey of Current Opinions]. *EvrAzija: Rossiya — Uzbekistan: istoriya i sovremennost'*, no. 7 (December 2008), Part 4. Moscow: RGGU, IAT's MGU.

³⁷ Serving notably in the Life Guards and the Imperial Escort were sons of Imam Shamil, scions of Kazakh, Azerbaijani, and Central Asian Khans, North Caucasian princes, and figures such as Allahquli Jurabekov, son of the Uzbek General Jurabek.

³⁸ Khairetdinov, D. Z. "Istoriya islama v Voronezhskoi oblasti" [History of Islam in the Voronezh Region]. *Medina al-Islam*, no. 93 (2009).

‘to return the aforementioned Khivans to their homeland.’ In communicating this Supreme Command to Your High Excellency, I request that upon the return of Mahamed-Murad and Rahmatullah to their homeland, you maintain strict oversight over them”³⁹.

Following his return to his homeland in 1880, Matmurad was reappointed to the post of *Devanbegi*. As V. V. Barthold observed: “Upon his return to Khiva, he was re-entered into state service and by 1883... served as chief minister”⁴⁰.

It should be noted that Matmurad frequently defied or evaded instructions issued by the tsarist authorities, a fact documented in official imperial correspondence. For instance, in a letter dated June 17, 1898, from the Governor-General of Turkestan, S. M. Dukhovskoy, addressed to the Khan of Khiva, the governor writes: “Muhammad-Murad could not failed to have comprehended that the directives of the Governor-General of Turkestan—as a representative invested with the complete confidence of His Imperial Majesty—are communicated to the Khivan authorities for precise execution. Consequently, it remains entirely incomprehensible to me what considerations could have guided *Devanbegi* Muhammad-Murad in failing to comply with my order”⁴¹.

Under the reign of the new Emperor, Alexander III, Matmurad received a number of Imperial Russian orders (including the Order of Saint Stanislaus, the Order of Saint Anna, and the Order of Saint Vladimir) and was granted the military rank of Colonel in the Imperial Russian Army (at a time when the Khan of Khiva himself held the rank of Major General). Matmurad was additionally decorated with high honors from the Khiva Khanate, the Emirate of Bukhara, and Sublime State of Persia—most notably the Order of the Noble Bukhara (*Nishon-i Iskandariy*) and the Persian Order of the Lion and the Sun (*Nir-i Shirus Khurshid*).

Numerous contemporary observers noted Matmurad’s penchant—particularly following his return from exile—for European forms of lifestyle and domestic arrangement. As V. V. Barthold highlighted: “In Khiva, he maintained a residence built in the European style, complete with European furnishings and glass windows”⁴².

As a member of official Khivan diplomatic missions and in a private capacity, Matmurad visited various cities across the Russian Empire (including Moscow and Saint Petersburg) on numerous occasions. He passed away in Khiva in 1901 and was interred in his family mausoleum⁴³.

Mirzabashi Kamil Khwarazmi (1825–1899) was a prominent Uzbek poet, musicologist, calligrapher, and statesman. His birth name was Muhammad Niyaz Mirzabashi.

He received his education at a madrasa in Khiva and was a distinguished pupil of the school of Ogahi. He served under Muhammad Rahim Khan II as personal secretary and head of the royal chancery (*mirzabashi*). Kamil Khwarazmi developed a unique system of musical notation—known as the “Khwarazmian notation” (*Khorezm tanbur notatsiyasi*)—and was the first to transcribe classical Uzbek musical modes into written form. He translated the renowned fable collection *Kalila and Dimna* from Persian into Chagatai (Old Uzbek). In addition to his literary achievements, he was a talented artist and a master calligrapher. As head of the royal chancery of the Khan of Khiva, he trained over fifty disciples in the arts of calligraphy and music. As a statesman, he contributed significantly to the spiritual and cultural development of Khwarazm; through his initiative and under the patronage of Muhammad Rahim Khan II, the first printing press in Khiva was established in 1874⁴⁴.



³⁹ Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan (TsGA RUz), Fond I-125 (*Chancery of the Khan of Khiva*), Opis 1, File 24, Folio 169.

⁴⁰ Barthold, V. V. *Sochineniya* [Collected Works], Vol. 2, Part 1. Moscow: Nauka, 1963, p. 413.

⁴¹ Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan (TsGA RUz), Fond I-125 (*Chancery of the Khan of Khiva*), Opis 1, File 52, Folio 48.

⁴² Barthold, V. V. *Op. cit.*, p. 413.

⁴³ Nazarov, R. R. "Muhammad-Murad-Devanbegi." In *Islam v Tsentral'noi Rossii* [Islam in Central Russia], Islam in the Russian Federation Series, Iss. 4. Moscow – Nizhny Novgorod: Medina Publishing House, 2009.

⁴⁴ Bobojon Tarroh Azizov (Khodim). *Khorezm navazandalari* [Musicians of Khwarazm]. Urgench, 1994.

In 1883, Kamil Khwarazmi accompanied Muhammad Rahim Khan II on an official journey to Moscow and Saint Petersburg, where he studied the cultural life and social institutions of the Russian Empire. Upon returning from this trip, Kamil Khwarazmi supervised the establishment of a Russian-Native school (*rus-tuzemnaya shkola*) in Khiva and regularly organized literary and musical salon evenings (*majlis*).

His son and pupil, Muhammad Rasul Mirzabashi (1870–1916), utilized the Khwarazmian tanbur notation system developed by his father to fully transcribe the *Shashmaqam* (the six principal classical musical modes).

Discussion

The autograph manuscript *divan* (collected poems) of Kamil Khwarazmi is preserved in the manuscript collection of the Abu Rayhan Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies at the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Sultan Jafar Asfendiyarov (Sultan Jafar Asfandiyarov) was a Colonel in the Imperial Russian Army and a diplomatic interpreter attached to the Office of the Governor-General of Turkestan. He visited Khiva on numerous occasions in his capacity as an interpreter and periodically accompanied the Khan of Khiva on his travels across the Russian Empire as a political advisor.

In an autobiographical statement written on October 18, 1898, Sultan Jafar Asfendiyarov recorded that he was a direct descendant of Abulkhair Khan, ruler of the Little Horde (*Müzz-Jüz*)—specifically a great-grandson of Aishuak Khan, who reigned over the Little Horde. He noted that he had served for nearly thirty years as an interpreter in Turkestan, was awarded a retirement pension in 1874, and was the father of eight children.

In his memoir, he reflected on the financial hardships of retirement, explaining that his modest savings had been depleted to support his family and educate his children, alongside the loss of two parcels of land he had acquired near Tashkent. Having served for decades as a military interpreter under the Governor-General of Turkestan, he ultimately retired in 1916 with the rank of Major General⁴⁵.

A photograph depicting Sultan Jafar Asfendiyarov alongside Muhammad Rahim Khan II “Feruz” and a group of high-ranking Khivan officials, taken in 1888, is preserved in the collections of the Ichon-Kala State Museum-Reserve in Khiva.

His daughter, Umami-Gulsum Asfendiyarova, was an early female physician (obstetrician-gynecologist) who practiced medicine in Khiva from 1912 to 1914.

Umami-Gulsum Asfendiyarova (1880, Tashkent – 1937) was the third daughter of Sultan Jafar Asfendiyarov (a great-grandson of Aishuak Khan of the Little Horde) and his wife Gulandam (née Kasimova). Gulsum received her primary education at home alongside her siblings. In 1890, at the age of ten, she entered the Tashkent Women’s Gymnasium, graduating with distinction in 1899.

In 1897, the St. Petersburg Women’s Medical Institute was founded as the first higher medical education institution for women in Europe. While several imperial officials in Turkestan sought to enroll their daughters, the significant distance to the capital made tuition prohibitive for many families. To address this, in 1902—following the return of two professional female physicians from the institute—the Council attached to the Governor-General of Turkestan established ten state scholarships for young women from the Turkestan Krai. Alongside the daughters of Russian officials, two Kazakh women—



⁴⁵ Personnel File of Umami-Gulsum Asfendiyarova. Central State Historical Archive of Saint Petersburg (TsGIA SPb).

Zeynab Abdurakhmanova and Gulsum Asfendiyarova—were awarded these scholarships. Upon completing her medical degree in 1908, Asfendiyarova returned to her native region, becoming one of the earliest indigenous female medical doctors in Turkestan.

Asfendiyarova's life and career remained closely tied to Turkestan. In 1910, she transferred to the Pap rural medical sector in the Namangan Uyezd, where working conditions were somewhat less demanding⁴⁶.

Late in 1911, her father conveyed an offer from the Vizier of Khiva inviting her to join the staff of the newly constructed Khiva City Hospital. She accepted under the condition that her salary and pension guarantees would match those of the Imperial Russian medical service. In 1913, she assumed her duties in Khiva as an obstetrician and assistant to the chief physician. There, she performed the first Caesarean section in the medical history of the region. Despite its modest size, the Khiva City Hospital treated between 3,000 and 4,000 patients monthly⁴⁷.



In 1914, amid rising regional instability, Asfendiyarova returned to Tashkent. With her father's assistance, she opened a private 30-bed maternity hospital. Her father, an active public figure involved in patriotic and social movements in Turkestan, gradually drew her into civic work. During the revolutions of 1917, her position as director of a city maternity clinic, combined with her personal reputation, led to her nomination in 1918 as a delegate to the All-Russian Congress of Muslim Women in Kazan, where she was elected to the Organizational Bureau. Upon returning to Tashkent, she remained director of the city maternity hospital, engaged in the political life of the city, and assisted her brother, Dr. Sanjar Asfendiyarov (the future People's Commissar of Health of the Kazakh ASSR), in organizing relief efforts for the homeless and destitute⁴⁸.

In 1920, under the auspices of the Muslim Bureau led by Turar Ryskulov, Asfendiyarova established the Women's Obstetric Courses in Tashkent, personally teaching the course *Physiology of Pregnant Women*. Although these courses were later reorganized under the Yuldash Akhunbabaev Tashkent Medical Technicum, she continued to teach there until her death in 1937.

The economic, political, and cultural ties between the Uzbek and Kazakh peoples extend back across many centuries. From the late eighteenth century onward, Genghisid princes—primarily from the Kazakh steppes—were periodically invited to occupy the throne of Khiva. The Kazakh dynasty of Gaip Khan reigned over the Khiva Khanate from 1746 until 1804. In 1804, the Uzbek Qungrat dynasty established its rule, ending the tradition of inviting Genghisid sovereigns; the Qungrat dynasty ruled the Khiva Khanate until the proclamation of the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic in 1920.

In the 1720s, students from across Central Asia gathered at the *Maskan-i Fazlil* ("Abode of the Learned") madrasa, constructed in Khiva by Shergazi Muhammad Bahadur Khan. Historical records indicate that forty-five senior scholars (*akbunds*) taught at the institution, including Muhammad Yaqub Akhund Eshan, Hussein Akhund Eshan, Muhammad Rafi Akhund Eshan, and Ortuk Akhund Eshan. According to the chronicler Shermuhammad Munis, Shergazi Khan was a just and virtuous ruler who supported scholars from across Central Asia and the Kazakh steppes. Prominent historical figures who studied at the *Maskan-i Fazlil* include:

- Magtymguly Pyragy (1733–1793) — Classical Turkmen poet and philosopher;
- Beket-Ata (Beket Ahmad) (1750–1813) — Revered Kazakh Sufi scholar;

⁴⁶ "Umni-Gulsum Asfendiyarova — pervaya vrach-kazashka" [Umni-Gulsum Asfendiyarova: The First Kazakh Female Physician]. *Mediker* (Almaty), June 2002, pp. 58–59.

⁴⁷ Makhmudov, M. "Pervaya bol'nitsa v Khorezme" [The First Hospital in Khwarazm]. *Sovetskoe zdorookhranenie* (Moscow), no. 1 (1984), pp. 67–69.

⁴⁸ Makhmudov, M. "Pervye zhenshchiny-vrachi v dorevolutsionnom Turkestane" [The First Female Physicians in Pre-Revolutionary Turkestan]. *Sovetskoe zdorookhranenie* (Moscow), no. 8 (1988), pp. 68–70.

- Azhiniyaz Kosiboy-Uli (1824–1878) — Prominent Karakalpak poet.

During the nineteenth century, the Khwarazmian state fought alongside Uzbek, Kazakh, and Turkmen commanders (*batyrs*) against Imperial Russian expansion. Key figures included Syrym Datuly (1753–1802), Isatay Taymanuly (1791–1838), Makhambet Utemisuly, Sadyk Sultan, and Bolekbay Batyr (1785–1875).

- Syrym Datuly (Syrym-Batyr): A leader of the Kazakh national liberation movement in the late eighteenth century. The search for his burial place led to a tomb near Gurlen (60 km from Urgench), known locally as *Gaip-Ata* ("The Unknown/Foreign Saint"). In 2007, a black marble memorial stone reading "*Gaip-Ata – Syrym Datuly*" was dedicated near the mausoleum in the Gurlen district of the Khorezm region.

- Isatay Taymanuly (1891–1838): A leader of the 1836–1838 Kazakh uprising against the authorities of the Inner (Bokey) Horde—a vassal state of the Russian Empire—and the Ural Cossacks. Rising against the seizure of fertile lands along the Ural and Volga rivers by regional nobility and Cossack forces, Taymanuly led armed detachments throughout 1837. After being forced across the Ural River, he fell in battle near the Akbulak River on July 12, 1838.

Here is a professional, academic translation of the text, styled for publication in a peer-reviewed scholarly or historical journal. The translation standardizes historical terminology, improves syntactic cohesion, and ensures academic tone while remaining strictly faithful to the source material.

Makhambet Utemisov (1803–1846) was one of the prominent leaders of the Kazakh uprising in Western Kazakhstan between 1836 and 1838. A renowned poet (*aqyn*), he served as a court poet at the headquarters of Zhangir-Kerey Khan prior to the rebellion. Makhambet received his primary education at a madrasa and subsequently pursued his studies in Orenburg. In 1824, Zhangir, the Khan of the Inner (Bukey) Horde, dispatched the already well-known young poet to the city to serve as a tutor to his son, Zulqarnai. During his time in Orenburg, Makhambet mastered the Russian language and literacy. He was a devout man, deeply knowledgeable in Islamic theology. After serving as the tutor to the khan's heir for approximately five years, a conflict erupted between Makhambet and Khan Zhangir.

In the autumn of 1829, Makhambet actively participated in an insurrection that broke out across the steppe. Consequently, he was imprisoned in the Kalmykovskaya fortress, where he spent two years before successfully escaping in 1831.

Alongside Isatay Taymanov, Makhambet assumed command of the insurgent detachments, waging military campaigns against the imperial Russian government troops and the forces of Khan Zhangir. Following the defeat of the rebels at the Battle of the Akbulak River—during which Isatay Taymanov was killed—Makhambet fled south, remaining in hiding for several years.

On October 20, 1846, he was assassinated by hired killers dispatched by his adversaries within the territory of the modern-day Atyrau Region.

As the son of Utemis, a wealthy, influential figure closely tied to the khan's inner circle, Makhambet stood out among his peers due to his sharp intellect, profound curiosity, and razor-sharp eloquence. Contemporaries noted his comprehensive knowledge of the Quran and his familiarity with the specialized language of official administrative correspondence—skills most likely acquired during his madrasa education.

In 1836, an uprising erupted within the Bukey Horde against the arbitrary rule of Khan Zhangir, who had continually burdened the population with escalating taxes, requisitions, and duties. Isatay Taymanov and Makhambet stepped forward as the leaders of the rebellion. Units of the regular Imperial Russian Army were deployed to suppress the movement. For two years, ordinary nomads confronted the numerically and technologically superior forces of the khan's nukers (warriors) and regular tsarist troops. Armed only with pikes and sabers against rifles and cannons, the insurgents secured multiple victories. This resilience was substantially fueled by Makhambet's inspiring poetic songs. Simple, concrete, striking, and undeniable in their vivid metaphorical power, his verses exerted an influence on the rebels comparable to that of the Quranic surahs.

On July 12, 1838, near the Kiyl River, the insurgents engaged the superior forces of the adversary. Isatay was killed in this unequal battle, forcing the remaining rebels to retreat. Although Makhambet managed to evade his pursuers, he was unable to rally the scattered insurgent forces across the steppe. The

poet fled to Khiva, but upon returning to his homeland, he was arrested on March 17, 1841, following a betrayal by an informant, and was escorted to Orenburg. The military court delivered the following verdict:

"In consideration of the good disposition toward the government shown by the defendant Utemisov during his stay in the Trans-Ural Horde, he shall be released from punishment and escorted beyond the border line, with a strict prohibition against approaching it. Should he dare to violate this restriction or cross into the inner side, he shall be subjected to the severest punishment."

For several years, Makhambet remained in hiding within remote auls (villages) beyond the Ural River. Yet, even there, the warrior-poet's enemies did not leave him in peace. Sultan Baimukhamet (Baimagambet), who seized power following the death of Khan Zhangir, initially attempted to co-opt Makhambet. By flattering the poet and offering him a position at court, the Sultan sought to compel him into service, calculating that the allegiance of a highly revered aqyn would legitimize his own rule. Makhambet refused to compromise his principles, instead composing a song that publicly proclaimed the moral victory of the warrior-poet and his comrades over the oppressors of the people. His work, "A Word Spoken to Sultan Baimagambet," serves as a testament to the poet's irreconcilable stance toward the ruling regime, his condemnation of policies driving socio-economic inequality in the Kazakh steppe, and his enduring commitment to the struggle through both physical warfare and poetic genius.

Conclusion

Makhambet was an aristocratic singer who openly aligned himself with the popular masses. By developing the traditions of heroic epic singers, he transformed the imagery of Kazakh poetry and amplified its social themes, thereby pioneering the genre of civic lyricism in the history of Kazakh literature. The lyrical genres of Makhambet's songs and poems are notably diverse, encompassing addresses to friends and foes structured as rallying cries or indictments, ritual laments (zhoqtau), philosophical reflections (tolgau), and elegies. His definitive works include: "Curse upon Zhangir," "To Sultan Baimagambet," "War," "Isatay, Son of Tayman," and "The Great Dream."

The writer E. P. Kovalevsky, a contemporary who knew Makhambet personally, characterized him in his mid-nineteenth-century book, *A Traveler by Land and Sea*, as follows:

"I understood him to be an extraordinarily remarkable man among his people, selflessly devoted to them, highly educated, politically astute, well-versed in the Russian language, a heroic nature, a genuine patriot, a man of sharp intellect, a passionately searching soul, and great charisma—an exceptionally captivating interlocutor."

Bolekbay Batyr (1785–1875): A batyr (warrior-hero) from the Tabyn tribe of the Lesser Zhuz, originally hailing from the Aktobe steppes. In his youth, he emerged as a prominent leader of the Kazakhs in the wars against the Kalmyks. He was a physically formidable individual who knew no fear. Later, Bolekbay and his voluntary military detachment dedicated themselves to the defense of the Khivan Khanate, eventually settling in Khwarazm. Consequently, he was appointed to the rank of Beck (governor/commander) and enjoyed unrestricted access to the Khan's palace. He passed away in Khwarazm in 1875.

Kalzhan Akhun (1862–1920): The son of Bolekbay Batyr. He pursued his education in the major Islamic scholarly centers of Khiva and Bukhara, ultimately achieving the prestigious religious and academic rank of Akhun (a senior Islamic scholar/professor).



Within the territory of the so-called "Turkestan Krai" (Turkestan Governorate-General), close cooperation was observed between the nomadic peoples of the Kazakh steppes and the sedentary population of the Khivan Khanate in their resistance to the global geopolitical ambitions of their northern neighbor.

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