



MILITARY ADMINISTRATION AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE ARMY IN THE KOKAND KHANATE

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Abstract. In this article the Kokand Khanate, one of the biggest khanates in Central Asia ruled in 1710-1876, the role of its military system in the social, political and economic life was described. The article mainly focuses on the analysis of the formation of the military administrative system in the khanate, its lower, middle and higher ranks, material and technical supply of the army and the achievements and faults of the military administration on the basis of the historical sources and archival documents.

Key words: Statehood, Kokand Khanate, Military Affair, Arms, Administrative Procedures, Domestic Policy, Foreign Policy, Positions, High Level, Middle Level, Low Level, Fortresses, Beys, Commandant, Commander In Chief, Amirlashkar, Clothing.

Actuality of the research. From the point of view of the history of statehood, military affair is an integral part of the country's domestic and foreign policy. In the history of Central Asia, the military field has always been in the focus of attention of the rulers. They relied on military forces, which were an important factor in the implementation of their domestic and foreign policies. Over the centuries, a certain system of controlling these forces, its various branches have been formed. Accordingly, the scope of positions to be given to those responsible for maintaining the military power of the state was also determined.

Methods of the research. The article is based on generally accepted historical methods such as the principles of historicity, comparability, consistency and objectivity.

The results of the research. The military system formed over the centuries retained its main features in the first half of the XVIII-XIX centuries. This can be observed by analyzing the military positions and the responsibilities of their owners that existed in the Kokand Khanate during the period being studied. Although there was no special cabinet in the field of military administration in Central Asia before the Kokand Khanate, especially in the state of Amir Temur, there were different military officials and the tasks assigned to them by the state were clearly systematized. Based on the data of historical sources, it can be observed that there were three categories of military ranks and titles in the Kokand khanate - high, medium and low.



The high military ranks and titles included mingbashi, amirlashkar, kushbegi (*hist. head vizier or official of similar stature in a khan's court*), batirbashi, voliy (deputy), qal'aban, qurbashi (*hist. custodian of arms of a khan; a high military title during the khanate period; chief of police in the territory of Turkistan; commander of a group of basmachis*), yovar, tupchibashi, to'qsoba, ponsodbashi.

The middle ranks and titles were yuzbashi (*hist. commander of 100 cavalry*), ellikbashi (*hist. military rank of officer in charge of 40-50 cavalry; title of prerevolutionary minor official*), dahbashi (*hist. commander of 10 men*), korovulbegi (*hist. captain of the guard*).

The lower-level military ranks and titles consisted of soldiers, sarboz (*hist. footsoldiers*), navkars (soldiers), mergans (sharpshooters, archers), mahrams (secretary), botur, jazoilchi, guardians and guards.

The candidates for these positions and titles were appointed by the khan. The analysis of historical sources indicates that the representatives of all classes and clans in the khanate could get various military ranks and titles. As H. Bobobekov noted, in the Kokand khanate mainly Uzbek representatives were appointed to the administrative and military positions from the first to the seventh level [20, p. 43]. These views of the scientist are not confirmed in all sources. As the written sources indicated, in the 50s and 60s of the XIX century, the Tajik Shadi, the Kyrgyz Alikuli were appointed to the highest military position of mingbashi, and the Lashkarbeklarbegi, a slave, was appointed as the governor of Tashkent.

The highest of the military ranks and titles in the khanate was the mingbashi. The mingbashi was the commander of a thousand soldiers. As an administrator, he was the governor of the property given by a thousand soldiers. In the Kokand khanate he was the second person after the khan. According to the historical sources, this position was introduced in the Kokand khanate during the reign of Alimkhan. About the duties of the mingbashi, Mulla Alim Mahdum Haji said: "... this position is in the ranks of the military ministry, and can interfere in all the affairs of the governments, including foreign and domestic affairs" [24, p. 104]. It is obvious from that the mingbashi was a person with unlimited power after the khan. In the Bukhara Emirate this duty was performed by the kushbegi (*hist. head vizier or official of similar stature in a khan's court*).

In the khanate, the mingbashi served as a supreme commander. During the military marches, the mingbashi was also given the title of amirlashkar, and all the active troops of the khanate were subordinated to him. The following information of V. P. Nalivkin, who lived in Kokand and wrote his experiences, also confirms it: "Sarboz (Footsoldiers) and artillerymen who lived in Kokand were only under the permanent control of a special deputy, the dodhoh. During the war, the deputy, the dodhoh,



received all the soldiers of the army in his unit and handed over the temporary command to a specially appointed amirlashkar (commander-in-chief)" [12, p. 209].

It is also confirmed in Hakimkhan ibn Sayyid Masumkhan's book "Muntahab ut-Tawarikh" that all divisions of the army were united under the command of one army during the military operations. The author noted: "Muhammad Alikhan, finding these words the very potential, and ordered "Give everything to Haqquli commander whatever comes from the state". And ordered again, "If anything accompanies us, whether it is the tunqator, or the waiter, or the shigovul (hist.court official serving as master of ceremonies), everything is prepared for the war, and all this belongs to Haqquli mingbashi"[2, p. 153]. During the reign of Sultan Sayyidkhan (1863–1865) of the Kokand khanate, Alikuli, a skilled military commander who played an important role in the social and political life of the khanate, constantly retained the title of "amirlashkar" [22, p. 68].

The post of mingbashi was given to only one person in the khanate. In the Kokand khanate, the role of the mingbashi became a high-level position during the reign of Sheralikhan [32, p. 6]. The mingbashi was actively involved in political and economic activities in addition to the military affairs. This can also be seen in the following example. The zakat tax in the amount of 80,000 gold coins, collected by the governor of Tashkent and given to the khan's treasury, was sent to the Kokand khan in cooperation with the pansodbashi and the yuzbashi and handed over to the mingbashi and reported to the khan by the mingbashi [1, p. 134]. Thus, the economic life of the khanate was also under the control of the mingbashi to a certain extent.

As it has been noted above, the post of mingbashi also gave great political rights to the person who held it. The person who held the post of mingbashi tried to appoint his relatives to the high positions in the khanate as much as possible in accordance with the tribal traditions. This can be seen in the activities of the Musulmonkul mingbashi, who played an important role in the administrative system of the Kokand Khanate in the middle of the XIX century. While Musulmonkul mingbashi, who ruled the country on behalf of the father-in-law of Khudoyorkhan, originally came from the Kipchak origin, was holding the position of mingbashi, the Kipchaks were not only appointed to various positions, but also, they made up the bulk of the army [28, p. 5].

The unlimited privileges that the position of mingbashi would give to the person who possessed it would naturally lead to a struggle between the different tribes to occupy that position. In the Kokand khanate, a person who occupied the position of mingbashi, in some cases, became the full ruler of the khanate. Musulmonkul, who was the custodian of young Khudoyorkhan, and Aliquli, who was the guardian of Sultan Saidkhan (1863–1865) can be included in such commanders. Historical evidences also confirm that they had unlimited power, and in some cases abused their rights. Musulmonkul left



Mallakhan, the brother of the supreme ruler Khudoyorkhan, among the military commanders and gave to him a military unit of 200 Karakalpaks. However, he restricted Mallakhon's rights and appointed Jabborquli Kipchak, from the Kipchaks, as his assistant. In practice, the division was subordinated only to Jabborquli [11, p. 39]. According to archival documents from 1863, Mingbashi Aliquli appointed the governors of all cities and fortresses by his own free willing after occupying this position [9, p. 116]. In the system of military ranks and titles of the Kokand khanate, the position of kushbegi occupied the next place after the mingbashi. The holder of this post, which was one of the highest military titles, vied for the position of mingbashi. The author of the book "History of Turkistan" gave the following description of this position with high military status: "The position of Kushbegi, the people in this position are always in the presence of the khan as advisers, or they are awarded as the governor of a large city" [24, p. 104–105]. The people who were appointed to the position of Kushbegi could also govern a separate province. These people were also responsible for the protection of the territories at their disposal, in addition to commanding the provincial military forces entrusted to them. Also, according to Sh. Vahidov this position was often given during the military marches and battles [32, p. 7].

Differing from the Bukhara khanate, four people were appointed to the position of Kushbegi in the Kokand khanate. In most cases, those who hold the position of Kushbegi were appointed the governors of the Tashkent region. The Kushbegi that ruled Tashkent, which played an important economic and political role in the Kokand khanate and was the basis of the defense system on the northern borders of the khanate, had great opportunities. Kushbegi, who was appointed the governor of Tashkent, was superior to other regional governors in terms of military power. In some cases, the governor of Tashkent was given the title of Beklarbegi.

The title of Beklarbegi was given to the supreme Commander-in-Chief during the Timurids period [20, p. 27]. In the Kokand khanate the governor of Tashkent Lashkar beklarbegi was awarded such a title (1810–1812 and 1813–1831). The social origin of the Lashkar beklarbegi was a slave, and was brought to Kokand from Chitrali [3, p. 2]. There are also archival documents from 1861 that the title of Beklarbegi was also awarded to Qanoatshah custodian and that this title was given to him by Mallakhon. According to archival documents this situation was described as following: "Khan Mallabek warmly welcomed the promise of Qanoatshah custodian to allow the Russians to invade other territories and gave him the title of Beklarbegi. He also gave him the garrison and protection of several fortresses included not only in Tashkent region in which he was governing but also in Kokand district in addition to the right of using all the military opportunities in the khanate" [32, p. 132].

Qanoatshah was Tajik and was one of the military and political figures in the Kokand khanate. In 1846–1847 he left for Bukhara after the death of Sarimsakhan, the governor of Tashkent and in 1861–



1862 he led the military operations of Kokand army against the Russians, who attacked the fortresses of Turkistan, Yangikurgan, and Julek [4, p. 380]. In other khanates of Central Asia, the duty assigned to the holders of this title was slightly different. In particular, in the Khiva khanate, unlike in Kokand, the bekларbegi was an honorary title given to the elders of Karakalpak and other nomadic peoples [34, p. 246].

One of the most important positions in the military system of the Kokand Khanate was the botirbashi. In the Khanate provinces, there was a unit of more than five hundred soldiers – the botirbashi (a battalion commander) was in charge of the military operations in the province. This is confirmed by the following information about Tashkent. According to it, there were two deputies of the governor of Tashkent, one was the sarkor (a commander) who was in charge of tax collection and civil affairs, and the other was the botirbashi (a battalion commander) of the army [3, p. 10]. The botirbashi was responsible for the training and discipline of the army.

As it was noted above, the army in the provinces obeyed the provincial governor. The governor was in charge of the military and administrative affairs of the province. The deputy of the capital, on the other hand, was responsible for the artillery, that is, the cannon of the moving army, responsible for its preservation and delivery to the destination [22, p. 68].

The qal'aban (Kutvol) was in charge of the fortresses and fortifications located on the borders of the Kokand Khanate, and he was responsible not only for the socio-economic life of these districts, but also for military affairs and border protection. Considering the importance of the fortresses in the khanate's defense system, the people with the title of dodhoh, kushbegi were appointed the qal'aban. The qal'abans of Central fortresses and the commanders of small fortresses were appointed by the khan. Small fortress commanders were in some cases appointed by provincial governors and commanders as well. The qal'aban of Oqmasjid fortress Yaqubbek Badavlat (1848–1852) was appointed by Normuhammad Kushbegi, and the qal'aban of Yangikurgan fortress Qalandar batir (1864) was appointed by Amirlashkar Alikuli [3, p. 5]. Several military officials worked under the command of the qal'abans. One of them was the military engineers, who were responsible for the construction of the defensive walls of the fortress and the defensive fortifications of army during the wars.

Another position was the Katavuls, who were engaged in the reconstruction and repair of the damaged places of the fortress [33, p. 323]. As it was mentioned above, dodhohs were also appointed to the post of the fortress commandant - the qal'aban. Dodhoh corresponded to the rank of colonel of the Russian military of the XIX century [16, p. 38].

In the military system of the Kokand khanate there was also a position of korboshi, which was engaged in the production and storage of weapons, their delivery to the divisions at the right time.



Korboshi was subordinated to the khan and the mingbashi and headed the barracks, the rifle, the artillery. He was also responsible for finding the raw materials and for the production of ready military products [32, p. 8].

Jibachi is also mentioned as the head of the armory store. The documents from the archives of the Kokand khans of the XIX century also confirm that Kurboshi headed the process of arms production. In many of these documents of the 60s of the XIX century Bakhti Muhammad Korboshi was often mentioned. The study of the documents shows that the Kurboshi controlled from the the supply in the workshops to the production process [29, p. 312–313].

In the system of military positions of the Kokand khanate there were different positions and titles, which played an important role in different units of the army, with different responsibilities. These include the yawar, the special guard, the artilleryman, the pansodbashi, the yuzbashi, the ellikbashi, the onbashi, the guard, the qazi askar, the qazi mufti, and the qazi rais. They occupied various positions in the khanate's military system in terms of the duties assigned to them. One of them was yawar, who was also recognized as the head of the amirlashkar's (commander-in-chief) personal detachment, the head of the arms-making workshops. There were usually a hundred men under his control. In some literatures, the Yawar is mentioned as the head of a hundred-man artillery division in the Kokand khanate [29, p. 564]. The personal guards of the Kokand khans were brought up from childhood and trusted persons were appointed as their leaders. Some rulers tried to increase the number of their personal bodyguards.

One archival source from 1874 states that Khudoyorkhan's bodyguards consisted of 400 soldiers who were trained from childhood, and led by three close people of the khan, and a person named Uncle Nasim Kora was appointed as the general supervisor [14, p. 198]. The khan's personal bodyguards were responsible not only for the security of the khan and his family, but also, in some cases, for the security of foreign ambassadors. A. P. Fedchenko wrote that during his stay in the Kokand khanate in 1868–1871, in order to ensure its security, the khan's special personal bodyguards were appointed. The author noted that in addition to the task of guarding, these people were also tasked for inspiring soldiers during the battle, reminding them about their duties [15, p. 38].

In the Khan's army, the head of the artillery unit, who was responsible for its supply and war operations, was the artilleryman. By the 50s and 60s of the XIX century, the weight of artillery in modern warfare had increased. It could also be observed that the external threat, which was dominated by the possession of this type of weapon – Russia's aggressive actions in cases where the Kokand rulers appointed foreign mercenary specialists to lead the artillery.



In the administrative system of the Kokand army there were various officials who headed its various divisions. One of them was the Toqsoba, who was the head of a military detachment having its own flag. He led the army of five hundred men. The Pansodboshi and higher military officials had their own mirzas. Pansod was ranked 16th place among the positions in the Kokand Khanate and ranked second place among the military positions.

According to the authors of the XIX century and archival documents of this period, the army of the Kokand Khanate was respectively divided into five hundred and one hundred. The commander of infantry division was called the sarbozbashi (footsoldier-captain), and the captain of artillery was the Tupchibashi (artilleryman-captain). In addition to the Pansodbashi and the yuzbashi, there were also ellikbashi and onbashi positions, which were not included in the list of high military ranks (officers). The ordinary soldiers, who were distinguished by their bravery, courage, and ingenuity were appointed to the posts of ellikbashi and onbashi.

Although the children of the Pansodbashi and the Yuzbashi captains began their military careers as ordinary soldiers, they were able to hold the titles of their fathers in the future [27, p. 29]. In a certain sense, military positions were also inherited and passed from father to son. However, in most cases such consistency was not followed. To achieve such a high military position, soldiers also had to have the qualities of courage and resourcefulness to be the model for others.

According to the information given by Sattorkhon Abdulgafforov, if the army revolted against the khan's policy, the lower-ranking military officers were left in their positions [27, p. 29]. These positions were middle-class, and included the Yuzbashi, ellikbashi and onbashi. It is noted that the position of Dahboshi (onboshi) was first used in historical sources in the Kokand army during the reign of Alimkhan, during the siege of Jizzakh (early XIX century) [22, p. 69].

In the Kokand khanate the Karavulbegi was the chief of the guards who guarded the khan's residence at night. The duty of the Karavulbegi was to place and control the guard detachments, to guard the prison. This position existed in other khanates of Central Asia too. In particular, in the Emirate of Bukhara the Darbon did this duty. The Darbon was also involved in the investigation of people who were dangerous to the Emir's authority. The Kushbegi and the Darbon didn't need to leave the arch in any case [20, p. 66].

The Qaziaskar (judge-soldier) dealt with legal issues in the Khanate's army. The Qazi (judge) was a person who made decisions and sentences, and the position of a judge was first introduced during the reign of Caliph Umar (634–644), and from that time the position of a judge-soldier was also introduced [20, p. 125, p. 294]. The Qaziaskar (judge-soldier) was the judge of the military soldiers. When the khan set out on a journey, the judge-soldier accompanied him and personally informed the



khan about his affairs abroad as part of his mission [5, p. 276]. The judge-soldier, who was the army judge, declared holy war a “jihad” on behalf of the supreme ruler, assessed the spoils captured, and supervised their proper distribution. The person to be appointed to the military post of the judge-soldier was required to have a good knowledge of military law.

In the book "Shohnomai Nusratpayon" of Mirzo Qalandar Mushrif Isfaghariy it was noted “...The Qaziaskar served in the army and controlled the rules and regulations of Sharia law. It is clear that a well-educated jurist will be appointed to this position” [30, p. 16–17]. During the military operations, the judge of the area where the army was stationed handed over his powers to the judge-soldier. However, as the author of the XVIII century Mirza Badi Devon pointed out, the order of the supreme ruler was needed [13, p. 93]. In addition to serving as a military judge resolving disputes between soldiers, the judge-soldier was also responsible for the moral views of the army. When the military violated discipline, they were subjected to a variety of punitive measures, particularly, flogging was used.

The Qaziaskars (judge-soldiers), in turn, were subordinated to the the chief judicial officer of the country – the Qazikalan (the Judge). The case of the soldiers accused of committing a serious crime, i.e., premeditated murder and treason, was investigated by the Qazikalan (the Judge). They were also sentenced to death in appropriate cases. In addition to the Qaziaskar (judge-soldier), the army also had a position of Qazi-rai (judge-chairman), who oversaw the execution of the fatwa issued by the army mufti.

Law enforcement officials who served in the Khanate’s army were responsible for strict adherence to the army morale, laws, and regulations. After all, discipline in the army was the warranty of victory.

From the above information, it can be seen that some administrative and religious positions in the Kokand Khanate were mixed with military ranks. This can also be seen in the following case. The naqib (Arabic - chief, leader, chairman) hodja was a close adviser of the khan, who had graduated from a madrasa and was supposed to be a descendant of the prophet. In official ceremonies, he stood first on the left side of the khan. At the same time, the naqib hodja had his own soldiers, they took part in the military expeditions [24, p. 183]. This indicates that the military ranks in the khanate were inseparable from the positions in the administration of the government.

Although the system of military administration in the Kokand khanate was similar in many respects to that of the Bukhara and Khiva khanates, it also had its own peculiarities. While the positions of Kushbegi, Devonbegi, Otalik, Parvanachi, and Dadhah were high, in the Kokand Khanate the position of some military officials, especially the Mingbashi, was higher than they. It should be noted



here that the Kokand Khanate, like other Central Asian khanates, did not have a centralized system of military administration as in the developed European countries of that time. However, from officials to the ordinary soldier served equally for the security and protection of the country.

In any system of government, the army is a key factor in the implementation of domestic and foreign policy pursued by the supreme head of the central government. The Kokand khanate was no exception.

At this point, naturally the question arises as to what was the army, its structure and composition in the Kokand khanate, and whether its combat was consistent with the implementation of state policy.

While searching the respond to this question, it is necessary to note the following information based on the different sources, literatures and archival documents.

Many Russian travelers and authors of the XIX century argue that the Kokand khanate did not have a regular army, but an irregular army in the khanate, which was gathered only before the marches [22, p. 115]. Indeed, these ideas are not in vain. In the military system of the Kokand khanate there was a large number of auxiliary detachments – “black cherik” and “black cauldron”, which were gathered during the military operations, which outnumbered the regular army. This, in turn, led to the incorrect conclusion that the XX century Russian authors did not have a regular army in the khanate. Similar ideas were reflected in the works of the XX century authors too.

Particularly, A. L. Troitskaya argued that the regular army in the Kokand Khanate was formed during the third reign of Khudoyorkhan (1866–1875), and since then general military obligations had been established [22, p. 138]. He indicated the evidences of the “Russian refugee” in the Kokand khanate, as the confirmation of his opinions, which was written by an unknown author in 1871. It reads the followings: “One of the most difficult obligations in the Kokand Khanate is military service. Khudayarkhan began to establish a regular army in Asian-European style consisting of the soldiers came from neighboring countries and regions, especially, from Bukhara. In doing so, he puts such a weak and small state in a difficult position. Because in the Kokand khanate the population does not know what the general military obligation is. They only know how to arm and fight when it is needed.” The “Russian refugee” also said: “Military service is very heavy in the khanate, and mobilization for military service is not fair. This, in turn, is one of the factors of provoking protests among the people. The Kokand khan, who formed a large army, did not have sufficient funds to provide for the assembled army. As a result, soldiers have to steal and forcibly seize food and eat” [5, p. 29].



This information provided by an unknown author can be evaluated bilaterally. First of all, the author's opinion that the supply of troops in the Kokand khanate was not well organized is quite close to the truth. However, the idea that the regular army in the Kokand khanate was formed by Khudoyorkhan only in the third years of his reign is far from the truth. Because, according to historical data, the fortress and the frontier troops, which existed in the Kokand khanate during the reign of Norbotabiy, served as the basis of the regular army.

The regular army was founded by Kokand khan Alimkhan. During the reign, Alimkhan, nicknamed "Sahibkiran", formed a special troop consisting of soldiers selected from the existing army and called it galabahadirs or galabatirs. The following information about it was given in the book "History of Turkistan": "... Alimkhan established peace in the province and in the country, travelled his everywhere in his property and he gathered clever, careful and brave people from everywhere, examined them, made a new notebook, wrote the names of each of them in the notebook, and named them Gala Bahadir" [9, p. 20].

Relying on the organized gala batir guards, Alimkhan was breaking the resistance of the revolting provinces. After that, he formed two divisions consisting of mountaineers who were pleased with their bravery. The first division consisted of 3,700 Qarataghins, and the second division consisted of 2,200 Darvoz, Badakhshan, Shogun, Rushan, "free and slave" Iranians. In the book "Tarihi Shohruhi" this military structure was called the "new army" against the "old army." This military structure was composed of "mir bachchagon" and "bekbachchagon", i.e. the representatives of different regions, and was called the bek's children because they were under the direct leadership of the bek. Until then, the army was called the "black cauldron" and the "black scorpion" [9, p. 95].

Alimkhan marched to Uratepa, relying on the army in the new order. Iriskulbek, Mominbek and Jumaboy Kaytakiy from Karakalpakstan also took part in the march. Although the khan did not like the new army and the new order in general, they wanted to command this army, but the khan kept the command of this army under his control [30, p. 95]. It can be seen from these data that the regular army was formed in the Kokand khanate not in the last years of Khudayarkhan's reign, but in the years of Alimkhan's reign in about 1801.

Historical sources of the XIX century enable us to think about the structure of the army of the Kokand Khanate. According to them, the army of the Kokand Khanate was divided into cavalry, artillery and infantry. In addition to these large divisions, there was a special guard division – the galabatirs and sharpshooter troops.



The main part of the army, that is, the core, was made up of cavalry. According to V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov and A. B. Verevsky, the cavalry was given horses by the government, each valued at up to 80 gold coins [25, p. 115].

F. Nazarov, who was in Kokand in 1813–1814, wrote about keeping horses for 20,000 soldiers in the Kokand khan's stable [21, p. 51]. His following opinions are also noteworthy: “The cavalry soldiers rode on strong horses, wearing expensive coats and red leather trousers. They wore red turbans on their heads. Other types of armies wear white turbans. The uniforms and behavior of the cavalry make impression” [27, p. 50–51]. This view, on the one hand, disproves the view of some researchers that the Kokand cavalry did not have special uniforms [27, p. 139], and, on the other hand, that different military units of the Kokand army had their own uniforms, also indicates that their uniforms were partially different from those of other army types.

Supplying the cavalry and constantly expanding their ranks cost the khanate very expensive. In particular, Khudayarkhan, who was actively involved in military operations in the 60s of the XIX century, in the last years of his reign tried to mobilize the rich people who had their own horses in the cavalry in order to save the khanate's treasury and expand his sphere of influence among the army. According to archival documents, Khudoyorkhan tried to mobilize young men who had strong horses and knew the secrets of riding [22, p. 2014]. The representatives of nomadic Kyrgyz tribes living in the territory of the Kokand Khanate were also mobilized as soldiers to auxiliary cavalry units. Also, according to the procedures introduced in the Kokand Khanate during the height of the military actions, every healthy person was required to come with their horses and take part in military expeditions [18, p. 75].

One of the major components of the army – the infantry division was almost equal in number to the cavalry division. This type of army, which took an active part in military operations, also had its own uniform. The 19th century author wrote about their clothing: “Soldiers' clothing was different from that of other types of troops and ordinary people. The soldiers were wearing red jacket, red leather trousers and red caps” [31, p. 9].

In the Kokand khanate, the artillery division was officially formed for the first time, during the first reign of Khudayarkhan (1845) [15, p. 9]. It should not be concluded that there was no artillery in the army of the Kokand khanate until Khudayarkhan. In fact, even before Khudayarkhan, the khan's army had artillery. This can be seen in the information of Khorunji Potanin, who was in the Kokand khanate in the 1930s, that there was an artillery in Tashkent. The cannons and artillerymen were usually kept in the fortresses at the frontier points, and they were the basis for the formation of the artillery unit during the first reign of Khudayarkhan.



The sharpshooter's division was less than other types of troops in number. It was natural that the soldiers of this division were selected among the other types of armies, just as the galabatirs. According to the author of "Tarihi Shohruhiy", the Kokand army consisted of chapavul and iraul divisions, which were engaged in collecting loots and spoils in the occupied territories as a result of the military marches. Their boss was called the 'Kurchibashi'. The place where the weapons of the guards were kept was called a "Kurchikhana"(barn) [25, p. 69].

The khanlikers were engaged in the protection of the khanlikers. During the reign of Amir Temur, the Kurchis were engaged in the protection of arable lands. The khankurchis were engaged in the protection of the lands of the khanate. There were Kurchis during the reign of Amir Temur too and their main duty was to protect the arable lands [31, p. 32].

The army of the Central Asian khanates also had musicians. They challenged the army to battle with various musical instruments, proclaimed victories through music, and served to raise the spirit of the soldiers. For example, there were many musicians in the regular army formed in Bukhara in 1837. In particular, the 700 people strong division of footsoldiers and artillery consisted of 14 drummers, 14 sunay players and 6 karnay players, as well as 2 Turkish drummers and four karnay players [17, p. 213]. Military musicians were organized since the time the permanent army was formed. The 40-member musicians were led by a bandmaster (military orchestra conductor) with the title of yuzbashi. The Kokand army was no exception. Usually in the Kokand khanate, two or three musicians were attached to each group of 20-30 people.

The musical instruments of the military musicians consisted of drums, kettledrums and trumpets. The costumes of the musicians were also different from those of other soldiers. A.P. Fedchenko wrote about one of them: "Among all the soldiers we met, we were amazed by a soldier in a red shirt, and chopon, a black headwear made of sheep skin and a copper plate hanging on the saddle of his horse. Later we found out that he was a cavalry musician" [19, p. 32].

The army music was remarkable for being resonant and noisy. Funds were allocated from the khan's treasury for the clothing of army musicians, their musical instruments and supplies. In one of the archival documents from 1871, Sultan Murodbek ordered Bakhti Muhammad Korboshi to give a drum and a kettledrum to a soldier musician [10, p. 2037]. The military musicians of the Kokand khanate, as in the Bukhara emirate, were paid the same as the soldiers during the marches [17, p.215]. It can be seen that the attention paid to military musicians and their supply was almost the same as the supply of soldiers.



It is well known that each state declares mobilization to strengthen its military power and to join the army in times of military threats and actions. Military mobilization was carried out in different periods and in different countries on the basis of specific procedures and rules.

In the Kokand khanate all able-bodied men were involved in the military mobilization. The number of soldiers from which area to be mobilized was determined by the government. This rule was also applied to the regular army. It should be noted that any person was drafted into the army, that is, a regular army, as XIX century Russian tourists and officers described [9, p. 61]. In the Kokand khanate, regular military service was inherited, and military service was passed from father to son. If a soldier died in the battle, his weapons were given to his son, and if he did not have a son, then it was given to his close relatives [7, p. 11]. It is true that in some cases, young men who disobeyed their fathers, wandered at night and were caught stealing were also accepted to the army as a punishment. Because military procedures were based on strict discipline, soldiers who violate it were severely punished. In this respect, military service served as a separate school for the above people. Many of these people, who were accepted as a soldier, showed their bravery during the khanate's military operations, including the battles with the Russians.

Soldiers could not leave their places of service without permission. In peacetime, 1/10 of the soldiers were allowed to go to see their families every day [25, p. 115]. A person enlisted in the military did not have the right to withdraw from that list at their willings. Men who were the sole breadwinner of the family and persons with physical disabilities were not included in the military mobilization procedures. This can also be seen by the archival materials from the mid-nineteenth century. Uncle Eshan Ali, the enlistment officer, was asked by an unknown person to release Koldosh Mahram from military service, that is, to remove him from the military list. The reason was that Koldosh Mahram had many children and his one arm was shorter than the other [6, p. 2019]. In one document from the 1960s, a man named Mulla Sayfiddin Haji requested Mulla Eshmuhammad Akhund, a military enlistment officer to remove his brother Mulla Kozimurod from the list of cavalry division. The reason was his illness and having many children [27, p. 2020]. It is obvious that the military mobilization in the khanate had its own rules, which did not bypass the eastern humanitarian features.

Auxiliary units such as Karakazan (black cauldron) and Karacherik (black cherik), qilquyriq were gathered if necessary, according to the population, the economic power of the region.

It was clear where the number of Karacherik (black cherik) auxiliary units would come from. This in turn made it possible to calculate how many troops the khanate could gather. Auxiliary units involved one or two people from each household. According to Burnashev and Pospelov, who were in



Tashkent in 1800, the center had 25,000 apartments, and if one soldier was taken from each house, the number of soldiers would be 25,000 [27, p. 42].

According to the ethnographer R.F. Rassudova, the Bukhara khanate sent 175,000 to 225,000 troops to auxiliary units in the 17th century, 40,000-50,000 in the mid-19th century, 3,000-4,000 from the Fergana Valley in the 17th century, and before Tashkent was part of the Kokand khanate (before 1808) it was possible to collect 2,000-3,000 to 30,000 people. In the 19th century, the Kokand Khanate could gather 25,000 troops from Tashkent alone [22, p. 33–34].

From the data of the above sources, it can be seen that the number of auxiliary units that could be collected in the khanate was clearly systematized. The mobilization and gathering troops in the khanate were carried out not out of order, but on the basis of certain procedures. This can also be observed in the following case. Mobilization was usually announced in the markets by the announcers. As soon as the mobilization was announced, all had to arrive at the designated place on time. Otherwise, the soldier would be punished besides being left without supplies [22, p. 15].

The governors of the provinces, the beys were responsible for the mobilization of the troops in time, their weapons, clothing, and their presence at the designated place in time as well. Bey was both the administrative and military chief of his territory. In addition to the right to appoint middle and lower-ranking military commanders to the army assembled in his province, Bey also brought the army into battle under the command of the commander-in-chief [31, p. 29]. The number of the troops that the bey should gather was assigned by the central government the khan was running. In some cases, the beys tried to gather as many troops as possible, thereby gaining the khan's attention. Which province had the most troops, the ruler of that province had the most reputation in the palace. This allowed him to intervene in government policy and resolve many issues for his benefit. For example, the governors of Tashkent were always involved in the struggles for the throne in the Kokand khanate. Some governors, on the other hand, tried to reduce the number of regular and mercenary troops in order to reduce the cost of the army, and gain more wealth [14, p. 93].

The army was loyal to its bey. Because, all supplies of the soldiers were done by the beys. The good dress and food of the soldiers depended on the wealth and generosity of the provincial governor. If it was on the contrary, the condition of the soldiers got worse too. According to Sattorkhon Abdulgafforov, the governor's house was located in the center of the city, and his house was entered through a large gate, with cannons and constantly armed soldiers on either side of the gate. All the supplies of weapons distributed to the army were kept in the bey's house [22, p. 29]. Bey had three military secretaries; one of them calculated and recorded in a notebook the expenses for the supply of troops. Each bey in the Kazakh and Kyrgyz steppes had their own army and fortress.



By the 50s and 60s of the XIX century, foreign mercenaries from Afghanistan began to serve in the army of the Kokand Khanate. In particular, according to the author of the book “Tarihi Shahruhiy”, in 1864 Jamandar Afghan served as the head of the Kokand artillery. He was aware of European-style procedures in the military [23, p. 81]. During the same period, most of the Russian captives were transferred to the army of the Kokand Khanate. Because most of the captives in the khanate were Kazaks, they were aware of military work. In some cases, captains – the yuzbashis were appointed among them [23, p. 369]. “People of other religions who were taken prisoner were forced to accept Islam. If a prisoner accepted Islam, he was drafted into the army, if he refused, then he was killed or sold into slavery.” The purpose of recruiting foreign mercenaries and Russian prisoners of war was to train the army to fight in the European style. This situation is in a sense justified. In the battle with the Russians in Chimkent in 1864, the commander of the Kokand artillery, Jamandar Kabuli, mentioned above, ordered the Afghan artillery to spread across the front and open fire. In this way, the Russian army retreated, seeing that it was being fought in the European style [22, p. 127].

The regular recruitment of prisoners of war was also practiced in other khanates of Central Asia. In particular, such a situation existed in the Emirate of Bukhara. In 1837, the Emir of Bukhara Nasrullakhan recruited 800 foreign soldiers and 250 artillerymen for the regular army. The weapons and clothing given to these captives belonged to the commander-in-chief, and the soldiers who served in the regular army did not have their own personal weapons [8, p. 213].

According to the book "Tarihi Shahruhiy", during the reign of Madalikhan the flag of the Kokand khanate was white [15, p. 69]. It was woven of silk, and from the top to the bottom hung hangers. In the army of the Kokand khanate, each of the five hundred divisions had its own flag. Each one hundred division also had its own symbol (coat of arms). The information of the author of the work "Tarihi Shahruhiy" about the flags should not be accepted as very strict and accurate information. Some sources state that different divisions and subdivisions of the Khanate's army had flags of different appearance and different colors. One of the flags looted by the Russians in the city of Turkistan was red, and the flag looted from Akbulak had a shiny gleam [8, p. 86]. In 1842, Madalikhan fought against the Emir of Bukhara Nasrulla with an army of five flags. These flags were blue, white, yellow, red, and one flag was black [27, p. 86].

It should be noted that there was no special educational institution that provided military education and training in the khanate. However, they tried to teach the new soldiers military science in every way. In particular, in the Central Asian khanates, some of the young soldiers were trained in martial arts by skilled and experienced soldiers and they were called “shogirdpesha” (apprentices).



This situation can also be observed in the Kokand khanate. According to the book "Tarihi Shahruhiy", a person named "Normuhammad Kushbegi" brought up 500 "shogirdpeshas" (apprentices) from the children of his close people and relatives [26, p. 75]. It shouldn't be concluded that only young men who had been apprenticed in the khanates had military training. In the Kokand khanate, soldiers underwent military inspections twice a year. These inspections included not only the distribution of uniforms to the soldiers, but also their combat and tactical training, and weapons. The young soldiers mobilized to the regular army of the khanate underwent military training in their chosen areas under the guidance of experienced soldiers until they mastered the secrets of the use of weapons.

Experienced soldiers, the yuzbashi and the onbashis, who were engaged in the conscription of new soldiers, trained them in various traditional ways. In particular, they made extensive use of hunting to master certain military tactical training. During the hunt, the soldiers learned lessons such as siege, mass attack, and orderly retreat. Soldiers who wanted to join the sharpshooter's division were given the opportunity to train with rifles, and funds were allocated from the khanate's treasury. The artillerymen, in turn, practiced with the artillery. From time to time, all types of troops also participated in general training together. About the methods of training soldiers in general training in the 70s of the XIX century, the Russian Dm. Dolgorukoy noted: "The artillerymen started the training first. The artillery officer punished a soldier who was slow three times by with a stick. Then the infantry soldiers joined the exercise and attacked and they were supported supported by the cavalry. Such training of the army is much lower than the training of our (Russian army-T.B.) Army" [26, p.269].

Indeed, military training in the Kokand Khanate was much lower than in the European army. However, the khanate tried to improve the military-tactical skills of the soldiers as much as possible. In order to achieve this goal, they tried to make as much use of traditional military methods as possible.

Soldiers learned how to use firearms, cannons, and how to fight with them. They also conducted many exercises, such as besieging and attacking fortresses, which played an important role in the Central Asian defense system. A. P. Fedchenko's statement, who witnessed such an exercise, is a clear confirmation of it: "We were surprised by the sound of drums in the evening. Then, we witnessed soldiers training in nearby castles. The training was mainly on the walls of the fortress, and from time to time we saw soldiers running to the walls of the fortress" [26, p. 33].

Soldiers who had undergone special training during the military parade lined up with military commanders. At the beginning of the line there was first artillery, then a group of 20-30 people from each division, and in front of the group there was an officer and next to him there were 2-3 military musicians [26, p. 259].



The division of the army in the Kokand khanate was carried out on the basis of widespread traditions in Central Asia. In the khanates, the ancient tradition of the division of the army was preserved.

The army, consisting of a large number of soldiers, was hierarchically organized into tumans (10,000 men), which were subdivided into hazors (1,000 men, each with a flag in the Kokand Khanate), then into dastas (500–1,000 men), further into hundreds (also bearing flags), and finally into fifties and tens.

When the Kokand army set out on a military expedition, each division was accompanied by a group of 5 non-military men. One of their tasks was to take the wounded soldiers out of the battlefield and place them in carts and bury the dead soldiers (whether they were enemies or their own soldiers, if they were Muslims) [33, p. 32].

The representatives of different nationalities mobilized from the Khanate provinces were sent to various fortresses and border points for service after having certain military training. The gathered soldiers served under the command of provincial governors and castle commanders until a state of war broke out. In particular, the permanent army mobilized in and around Tashkent was not involved in military operations in the interior and south of the Kokand Khanate. They were tasked with protecting the northern borders of the khanate and carrying out military operations in the northern territories.

It can be seen that the traditions existing in the army of Amir Temur had a strong influence on the military structure of the army and military tactics in the Central Asian khanates.

During the military actions, the whole army was mobilized and the soldiers were divided into the sides and wings according to the region and nation they were called to mobilization. The wings consisted of right, left and middle – central wings. Such division enabled to use various military tactics in the battles.

This method of division, as mentioned above, was taught to the soldiers by hunting and *ulak – kupkari* (a game played on horseback in which players struggle for possession of a headless goat or calf carcass). In the 19th century, this style of division was reflected in the Kupkari race. According to it, the right and left sides competed with each other, and the center was called the middle-mayor, and acted as a judge. In the Kokand khanate, mainly Kipchaks, Kyrgyz and Tajiks competed against the Mings [33, p. 32]. This situation, in turn, was also reflected in the battlefield. The left wing was at a higher level than the right wing in terms of reputation and combat glory. In the Kokand khanate, the central part of the army consisted of representatives of the Uzbek tribe.



The placement on the left and right wings varied during the time of the different khans. During Alimkhan's reign, the left wing was occupied by Tajik soldiers. After the political events that took place in the khanate in the following years, during the reigns of Sheralikhan, Sultan Muradkhan and Khudayarkhan, the Kyrgyz and Kipchaks were on the left wing. Such division also existed in other khanates of Central Asia. For example, in the Bukhara Emirate, Tajiks and Khojas were placed at the center of the army. The left wing was occupied by the Mangits, Kutchis, and Qatagans living in the Zarafshan, Kashkadarya, and Surkhandarya oases, while the right wing was occupied by the Naymans, Qirq Dormons, Karakalpaks, and Turkmens.

The organizational structure of the army of the Khiva khanate was the same as in the Kokand khanate and the Bukhara emirate, consisting of the front avant-garde, the right wing, the center, the left wing and the ambush troops. The central troop usually started the battle, and the fate of the battle depended more on them. After the attack of the avangarde troop, the right and left-wing soldiers attacked and blockade the enemy. The troops in the ambush suddenly attacked the enemy and hastened their defeat.

Conclusion. Efforts to establish and improve a regular army in the Kokand Khanate were directly influenced by each ruler's political approach and the socio-political conditions of the time. The regular army that had been formed during the reigns of Alimkhan, Umarkhan, and Madalikhan was weakened by internal conflicts under Sheralikhan's rule. Subsequent attempts at military reform were carried out only in the central region – the city of Kokand.

The failure to extend these reforms to the peripheral provinces and border garrisons significantly undermined the Khanate's overall defensive capability. The rise in the number of irregular troops further complicated command and discipline within the army. Most importantly, the development of the military system was inconsistent and intermittent, which hindered the Khanate's ability to effectively resist the threat posed by Russia.

This situation demonstrates that military reforms in the Kokand Khanate needed to be conducted not only at the organizational level, but also in coordination with broader political and regional considerations. These factors played a critical role in the weakening of the Khanate's military structure and its eventual loss of sovereignty.



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