



KHUDOYARKHAN'S LAST RETURN TO POWER IN LOCAL SOURCES

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Abstract: The study of relations between Uzbek khanates and neighboring states in the 1860s–1870s remains a relevant scientific direction today. In particular, it is important to examine and analyze the political and economic processes that occurred in the Khanate prior to the establishment of the Turkestan General-Governorate in 1867, especially events between 1865–1866. This article investigates the initial policies of Khudoyarkhan of Kokand (r. 1865–1875) and their influence on the neighboring state of the Bukhara Khanate and the Turkestan region using a comparative-analytical approach based on a number of local sources. The article also highlights significant historical developments in the internal affairs of the khanate during this period.

Keywords: Bakhodirxantura Kosoni, diplomatic distrust, nepotism, Oqjar, war against Kokand, alliance treaty against future war with Russians, congratulatory letter, ninety-nine types of ceremonies, Uchtepa, the Khan's policy against the Russians, Khudoyarkhan's promise, the Khan's refusal to help the Khojand people a second time, close friendship ties.

Introduction

It is well known that on June 14, 1865, General M.G. Cherniaev (1828–1898) captured Tashkent, and in September of the same year, Orenburg Governor-General Kryzhanovsky (1818–1888) arrived in Tashkent and officially declared that the city had been incorporated into the Russian Empire. Although his intent was to prevent Tashkent from falling under the influence of the Kokand Khanate or the Emirate of Bukhara, Emperor Alexander II (reigned 1855–1881), following Kryzhanovsky's suggestion, summoned General Cherniaev to St. Petersburg due to his unauthorized actions—particularly his defeat in Jizzakh by Bukhara forces in February 1866—and replaced him with General D.I. Romanovsky in March of that year. Additionally, in August 1866, an imperial decree was officially issued stating that Tashkent had become part of the Russian Empire's territory[12].

At that time, due to the death of Alimqul, one of the Kokand Khanate's military leaders, during the battles and the subsequent capture of Tashkent by the Russians, the reigning Khan of Kokand, Sultan Said ibn Mallakhan (r. 1863–1865), fled to Bukhara. Following a 14-day interim reign by Khudoyqulikhan from June 17, 1865, Khudoyarkhan ibn Sheralikhan ascended the throne of Kokand for the third time with the assistance of Emir Muzaffar of Bukhara (r. 1860–1885).

It is essential to examine the causes and consequences of these historical events up to July 11, 1867. In particular, a focus on the policies of Khudoyarkhan (r. 1865–1875) during this period remains a pressing issue.



Literature Review

This article focuses on the third restoration of Khudoyarkhan to the throne of Kokand and the geopolitical context that influenced his policies. To explore this issue, reliance on local sources provides more detailed and identity-specific insights than foreign travelers or Russian military officers. Therefore, it is crucial to reference eyewitness accounts or oral histories recorded in local sources of that time.

The following key local sources have been utilized to illuminate the topic:

Tarixhi Jadidayi Toshkand (1863–1888) by Muhammad Solihkhoja Domla Rahmatkhoja's son[12];

Tarixhi Jahonmayi (1868–1869) by Avazmuhammad Attor Hoqandi[12];

Tarixhi Shohruxiy – Ibart ul-Havoqin (1871–1889) by Mullo Niyoz Muhammad Hoqandiy (1802–1877)[12];

Ansob ul-salotin va tavarix ul-havoqin (1901–1902) by Mirza Olim Mushrif[12];

Tarixhi Aziziy (1903–1905) by Muhammad Aziz ibn Muhammad Rizo Marg'iloniy[12];

The scholarly legacy of Zokirjon Kholmuhammad o'g'li Furqat (1859–1909)[12];

Tarixhi Turkiston (1915) by Mullo Olim Maxdum Hoji (Abduqosimov)[12];

Tarixhi Farg'ona (1916) by Is'hoqxon Ibrat Judaydulloh o'g'li (1862–1932)[12].

Additionally, some Russian sources and modern Uzbek research were also referenced for clarification of certain details. These include:

Zametki po Sredne-Aziatskomu voprosu by D.I. Romanovsky[12];

Istoriya Kokanda by H. Bobobekov[12];

Dissertations by N. Topildiyev and M. Ahmedova[12].

Research Methodology

This article employs historical-analytical, comparative, systematic, and chronological methods. Throughout the research, the return of Khudoyarkhan to the throne of Kokand and his subsequent political activities are analyzed based on both local and Russian sources, as well as contemporary scholarly literature. The views of local chroniclers and historians are compared, and different interpretations of events are studied. Political developments are presented in chronological order, revealing their causes and consequences.

Agar tayyor bo'lsangiz, endi Analysis and Results (Tahlil va natijalar) bo'limining tarjimasiga o'tamiz. Bu bo'lim ancha uzun, uni qismlarga bo'lib tarjima qilaman. Davom etaymi?

Analysis and Results

We observe that local sources provide differing or similar accounts of the historical processes and consequences surrounding Khudoyarkhan's final return to power. This variation helps us understand the broader set of causes and outcomes. For instance, in Tarixhi Aziziy by Muhammad Aziz Marg'iloniy, it is noted that after the flight of Sultan Said, the son of Mallakhan (r. 1858–1863), to Bukhara, Khudoyqulikhan ruled for 14 days starting from June 17, 1865, then fled to Kashgar with the state treasury. Amidst the resulting unrest in the khanate, Khudoyarkhan, with the support of Emir Muzaffar, reclaimed the throne for the third time[12].



Historians Haydarbek Bobobekov and Muqaddaxon Ahmedova also confirm that Khudoyqulikhan took the treasury to Kashgar[12]. While Emir Muzaffar may have intended to stabilize the region by supporting Khudoyarkhan, Zokirjon Kholmuhhammad o'g'li Furqat wrote in his poetry that shortly after the Russian occupation of Tashkent, Emir Muzaffar reinstated Khudoyarkhan and took Sultan Said to Bukhara[12]. This implies that Emir Muzaffar not only sought to eliminate disorder but also removed Sultan Said to prevent any future claim to the throne, while simultaneously ensuring Khudoyarkhan remained in a position of dependence.

In Tarikhi Farg'ona, Is'hoqxon ibn Junaydulloh notes that after the military commander (Amirlashkar) died in battle, and with Sultan Said no longer present in Tashkent, Emir Muzaffar took the opportunity to install Khudoyarkhan and loot Kokand[12]. This may also reflect the weakness of Sultan Said's authority, suggesting that without military support, he could not reclaim power.

In Tarikhi Shohruxiy, Niyoz Muhammad Hoqandiy states that Khudoyarkhan seized power with Emir Muzaffar's "assistance," during which Kokand was plundered—suggesting the emir harbored hostility toward the city[12].

Although there are differences in these sources, they all agree that Khudoyarkhan's return to power was facilitated by Emir Muzaffar. A careful inductive analysis of supplementary details suggests that Emir Muzaffar's main objective was to maintain geopolitical balance in the region, especially considering the growing military might of Russia. By installing a friendly regime in the politically unstable Kokand Khanate, he sought to solidify his influence in the region.

Khudoyarkhan, realizing that he could not ascend to the throne without Emir Muzaffar's help, initially accepted a de facto–de jure dependence on the Emir. However, over time, his goal became to achieve full sovereignty for the Kokand Khanate in both domestic and foreign affairs. For instance, Tarikhi Jahonnoma records that in mid-February 1866, when Emir Muzaffar held the traditional winter “Ninety-Nine Ceremonies,” Khudoyarkhan sent gifts and emissaries through Bakhodirkhantura Kosoni[12].

In this context, Russian expansionist policies were shaped by the fear of a potential alliance between Bukhara and Kokand. The Russians only initiated military operations when they were confident that relations between these two states were strained. Local sources indicate that during and even after the Russian capture of Tashkent on June 17, 1865, there was no real danger of such a unification.

For example, Tarikhi Farg'ona notes that when Emir Muzaffar arrived in Khojand to install Khudoyarkhan on the throne, he ignored a plea for help from the people of Tashkent. Instead, he agreed with Khudoyarkhan that if war with the Russians occurred, they would fight together against them. However, the Emir then returned to Bukhara without attempting to retake Russian-occupied Tashkent[12]. This suggests that Emir Muzaffar may have been reluctant to see Kokand grow too strong geopolitically.

After regaining the throne, Khudoyarkhan sought to restore good relations with his people and govern based on justice and equality. Tarikhi Aziziy records that if the Kyrgyz and Kipchak tribes had been aware of Khudoyarkhan's pledges, they might not have caused unrest or allowed Khudoyqulikhan to flee to Kashgar with the treasury, and instead would have welcomed Khudoyarkhan[12].



As ruler again, Khudoyarkhan paid special attention to the economy, recognizing it as the foundation of state stability. According to Tarikhi Aziziy, as the territory of the Khanate expanded and Russian-held lands also grew, Khudoyarkhan sought out individuals like Mulla Iso Avliyo who could generate wealth and fill the state treasury. He subsequently appointed Mulla Iso Avliyo as Finance Minister (1865–1875)[12].

In the regional geopolitical arena, Khudoyarkhan ranked neighboring states based on their potential strength and adopted a diplomatic approach to maintain peaceful relations. Tarikhi Aziziy states that after much deliberation, he chose the policy:

“I will not fight Russia. I prefer to pay taxes and duties. If I increase wealth, there will be no external enemy.”

This reveals a calculated diplomatic strategy aimed at economic survival and peace[12].

However, although Khudoyarkhan managed to secure peace for Kokand by concluding diplomatic agreements with powerful imperial neighbors, he could not influence or prevent their expansionist policies toward other states in the region. As a result, he and his khanate remained politically and economically vulnerable.

For example, Tarikhi Shohruxiy notes that although peace was formally achieved with the Russians during Khudoyarkhan’s third reign (1865–1875), the period was politically turbulent due to Russia’s aggressive campaigns against Bukhara and Khiva[12]. Nevertheless, the Russians did not declare open war on the Kokand Khanate during Khudoyarkhan’s rule.

Tarikhi Turkiston confirms this, stating that from 1865 to 1876, the Russians, despite being neighbors of the khanate, maintained friendly relations and never launched an attack.

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