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## **ҚОҚАН ХАНДЫҒЫ МЕН ТҮРКІСТАН ГЕНЕРАЛ-ГУБЕРНАТОРЛЫҒЫ АРАСЫНДАҒЫ САЯСИ ҚАТЫНАСТАРДЫҢ ОРНАУЫ**

### **Аннотация**

Қоқан хандығы мен Түркістан генерал-губернаторлығы арасындағы қатынастарды зерттеу бүгінгі күні өзекті ғылыми бағыттардың бірі болып саналады. Әсіресе, 1867 жылы Түркістан генерал-губернаторлығы құрылғаннан кейін Қоқан хандығы мен генерал-губернаторлық арасындағы саяси қатынастардың орнауы мен оны жан-жақты талдау қажеттілігі туындады. Атап айтқанда, 1867 жылдың шілде айынан 1868 жылдың ақпанына дейін өзара жіберілген елшілік хаттар мен ноталардың мазмұн-маңызын айқындау, сондай-ақ елшілердің құрамы, мақсаты мен міндеттерін зерттеп, талдау маңызды мәнге ие.

Белгілі болғандай, XIX ғасырдың екінші жартысында Ресей империясының Орталық Азияға белсенді енуі аймақтың саяси өмірінде елеулі өзгерістерге алып келді. Қоқан хандығы өз тәуелсіздігін сақтау үшін түрлі дипломатиялық жолдарды қарастырды және сонымен қатар Ресеймен қатынастарды белгілі бір деңгейде реттеуге мәжбүр болды. Соның нәтижесінде саяси байланыстардың қалыптасуындағы дипломатиялық тенденциялардың сабақтастығы мен тараптардың өзіндік дипломатиялық дәстүрлері екі жақ арасында жанданды.

Осы тұрғыдан алғанда, мақалада Қоқан хандығы мен Түркістан генерал-губернаторлығының 1868 жылдың ақпан айына дейінгі қысқа мерзім ішінде өзара саяси қатынастар орнатқаны бірқатар шетелдік, жергілікті және мұрағаттық материалдар негізінде салыстырмалы-талдамалық әдіс арқылы қарастырылады және соның нәтижесінде өзара саяси қатынастардың орнау тәртібі мен үдерістері ашып көрсетіледі.

**Кілт сөздер:** Түркістан генерал-губернаторлығының құрылуы, генерал-губернатор Константин Петрович фон-Кауфманның Ташкент пен Хожентке сапары, Хұдойорхан ибн Шералиханның Бұхара, Хиуа және Ташкентке хаты, Сыртқы істер министрлігінің Азия департаменті директоры П.М. Стремоуховтың арнайы хаты мен императордың жарлығы, генерал-губернатор штабының полковнигі А.В. Шауфус, Қоқан елшісі Сарымсаққожа мен Мирзо Хаким парваначи және т.б.

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## **УСТАНОВЛЕНИЕ ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКИХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ МЕЖДУ КОКАНДСКИМ ХАНСТВОМ И ТУРКЕСТАНСКИМ ГЕНЕРАЛ- ГУБЕРНАТОРСТВОМ**

### **Аннотация**

Изучение взаимоотношений между Кокандским ханством и Туркестанским генерал-губернаторством в настоящее время является одним из актуальных научных направлений. Особенно после образования в 1867 году Туркестанского генерал-губернаторства возникает необходимость детального анализа установления политических отношений между Кокандским ханством и генерал-губернаторством, а также процессов, сопровождавших этот этап. В частности, важное значение имеет выявление содержания и сути дипломатических писем и нот, обмен которыми происходил с июля 1867 года по февраль 1868 года, а также исследование состава, целей и задач посольств.

Известно, что во второй половине XIX века активное продвижение Российской империи в Центральную Азию привело к значительным изменениям в политической жизни региона. Кокандское ханство, стремясь сохранить свою независимость, предпринимало различные дипломатические шаги и одновременно было вынуждено в определенной мере урегулировать отношения с Россией. В результате в процессе установления политических связей проявилась преемственность дипломатических тенденций, а также активизировались самобытные дипломатические традиции сторон.

В этой связи в статье на основе сравнительно-аналитического подхода с привлечением ряда зарубежных, местных и архивных материалов рассматривается установление политических отношений между Кокандским ханством и Туркестанским генерал-губернаторством в короткий период до февраля 1868 года, а также освещаются порядок и процессы формирования данных отношений.

**Ключевые слова:** образование Туркестанского генерал-губернаторства; визит генерал-губернатора Константина Петровича фон-Кауфмана в Ташкент и Худжанд; письмо Худояр-хана ибн Шерали-хана в Бухару, Хиву и Ташкент; специальное письмо и императорская грамота директора Азиатского департамента МИД П.М. Стремоухова; полковник штаба генерал-губернатора А.В. Шауфус; кокандские послы Саримсакходжа и Мирзо Хаким Парваначи и др.

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## **THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KOKAND KHANATE AND THE GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP OF TURKESTAN**

### **Abstract**

The study of relations between the Kokand Khanate and the Turkestan General-Governorship is currently one of the relevant scientific directions. In particular, after the establishment of the Turkestan General-Governorship in 1867, there arose a need for a detailed analysis of the establishment of political relations between the Kokand Khanate and the General-Governorship, as well as of the processes accompanying this stage. Of special importance is the identification of the content and meaning of diplomatic letters and notes exchanged between July 1867 and February 1868, as well as the examination of the composition, goals, and functions of the embassies.

It is well known that in the second half of the nineteenth century, the active expansion of the Russian Empire into Central Asia led to significant changes in the political life of the region. The Kokand Khanate, seeking to preserve its independence, pursued various diplomatic measures and, at the same time, was compelled to regulate its relations with Russia to a certain extent. As a result, the continuity of diplomatic tendencies and the distinctive diplomatic traditions of the parties became more pronounced in the process of establishing political ties.

In this regard, the article, based on a comparative-analytical approach and drawing on a range of foreign, local, and archival materials, examines the establishment of political relations between the Kokand Khanate and the Turkestan General-Governorship during the short period up to February 1868, and highlights the order and processes of their formation.

**Keywords:** establishment of the Turkestan General-Governorship; visit of Governor-General Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman to Tashkent and Khujand; letter of Khudoyar Khan ibn Sherali Khan to Bukhara, Khiva, and Tashkent; special letter and imperial charter of P.M. Stremoukhov, Director of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Colonel A.V. Shaufus of the Governor-General's staff; Kokand envoys Sarimsoqkhoja and Mirzo Hakim Parvonachi; etc.

**Introduction.** It is known that on July 11, 1867, by decree of Emperor Alexander II (1855–1881), the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan was established, and General-Adjutant Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman (1867–1882) was appointed as its first Governor-General. His thorough and meticulous policy ensured political dominance over the Uzbek khanates and neighboring states within a short period. In particular, his efforts to establish political relations with the Kokand Khanate led Khudoyar Khan ibn Sherali Khan (1865–1875) to recognize the importance of formalizing political relations. That is, Khudoyar Khan favored establishing only friendly relations that would not directly and negatively affect the internal policy of the khanate.

However, the establishment of these friendly ties resulted in the conclusion of a treaty that contained provisions of a directly colonial nature, impacting both the internal and external policy of the khanate. Indeed, this situation must also be considered in the context of the growing geopolitical and military power of imperial states in the mid-19th century. From this perspective, the study of the establishment of political relations between the Kokand Khanate and the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan remains an urgent issue.

**Literature review.** In studying the establishment of political relations between the Kokand Khanate and the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan, it must be emphasized that specialized research devoted exclusively to this subject remains rather limited. Consequently, this study has relied primarily on sources and research works concerning the Kokand Khanate during the 1860s of the nineteenth century, which has significantly contributed to a more systematic and comprehensive understanding of the topic. For instance, a substantial portion of the corpus is represented by the works of local historians [1–6]. Notably, the chronicles *Tarikh-i Jahonnomayi* by Avaz Muhammad Attor Khokandi and *Tarikh-i Azizi* by Muhammad Aziz Margiloni provide detailed accounts of events from 1866 and 1868, which in turn allow for a more nuanced examination of the political developments relative to 1867 [7–10].

At the same time, foreign sources also hold considerable value. In particular, D. I. Romanovskiy (1828–1871), in his memoir *Notes on the Central Asiatic Questions*, offers important insights regarding the objectives behind the establishment of the Governor-Generalship, the disagreements within the committee on this matter, and the distinct privileges accorded to its administration in comparison with other guberniyas [11]. Furthermore, one of the archival documents preserved in the National Archive of Uzbekistan contains rare and valuable information on the stages of establishing political relations between the Governor-Generalship and the Khanate in 1867, including details of diplomatic missions and correspondence exchanges. This document is based on the memoirs of Governor K. P. Kaufman [12].

In the course of this research, scholarly literature and foreign monographs and articles related to the subject have also been encountered. This made it possible not only to compare the present study with previous works and substantiate aspects that had not yet been explored, but also to determine the novelty of the research. In particular, although there are monographs and methodological manuals devoted to the general history of the khanate [13–26], the following works provide more specific analyses directly relevant to the scope of this study: Nosirjon Topildiyev's "*The Socio-Political Situation of the Kokand Khanate on the Eve of and during the Conquest by the Russian Empire*", Valijon Ishqumatov's "*Kokand–Russia Diplomatic Relations in the*

*Historiography of the Second Half of the 20th Century*”, and Dilshodbek Uraqov’s “*Political and Economic Relations of the Turkestan General-Governorship with Neighboring States.*” These studies present a detailed analysis of the establishment of the General-Governorship, the arrival of its first governor in Tashkent and his relations with Kokand, as well as the stages of organizing correspondence and diplomatic missions [27–31]. However, it should be noted that V. Ishquvatov addresses only historiographical issues, while D. Uraqov focuses on the relations of the General-Governorship not with the Kokand Khanate, but rather with other states such as Iran and Afghanistan.

At the same time, the scholarly works of Hamid Ziyoev, *The Struggle Against Russian Aggression and Domination in Turkestan (18th – early 20th centuries)*, N.A. Abdurahimova and F.R. Ergashev, *The Colonial System of Tsarist Rule in Turkestan*, and Zebiniso Kamolova, *The Last Ruler of the Kokand Khanate, Khudayar Khan, and His Era (1845–1875) during the Russian Conquest of the Fergana Valley*, are of great significance. These studies contain fragmentary yet valuable information concerning Kokand–Russian relations in the years 1867–1868 [32–35].

Accordingly, on the basis of the above historiographical analysis, clarification can be provided to the fragmented and ambiguous aspects of previous research regarding Kokand–Russian political relations, thereby contributing to a more precise understanding of how the political ties between the Khanate and the Governor-Generalship were established.

**Research Methodology.** The study was conducted on the basis of local and foreign sources, archival materials, and scholarly literature concerning the establishment of political relations between the Kokand Khanate and the Turkestan Governor-Generalship. In the research process, source-critical, comparative, systemic, chronological, inductive–deductive, and analysis–synthesis methods were employed. These methods served to ensure that the research was presented in an objective, scholarly, and impartial manner.

**Results.** On December 11, 1866, Romanovskiy returned from Tashkent to St. Petersburg. In his memoirs, he stated that during his administration of the Turkestan province, which lasted 8 months and 16 days, four of those months were spent engaged in military operations [11, p. 55]. Another study indicates that he governed the province from March to December 1866 [18, p. 70]. Until the establishment of the Turkestan General-Governorship—i.e., from December 11, 1866, to July 11, 1867—the Turkestan province, as part of the Orenburg General-Governorship, was temporarily administered by Kryzhanovskiy. The 13-member Commission unanimously recognized the necessity of providing all means for establishing and maintaining Russian rule in the province. However, the proposal to separate Turkestan from the Orenburg General-Governorship and to establish an independent Turkestan General-Governorship was not supported by the Orenburg administration itself [11, p. 59]. Furthermore, unlike other governorates within the empire, this was conceived as an independent and distinct administrative entity [31, p. 26]. Even the obligations set forth by the “Steppe Commission,” established in 1865 to draft a project for the general-governorship, were not imposed on General-Governor Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman. Instead, he was granted the discretion to choose which of the recommendations were expedient to implement [11, p. 60]. Emperor Alexander II approved the Committee’s proposal on April 11, 1867 [34, p. 41]. By confirming the majority opinion, the emperor decreed the creation of a new military district and the Turkestan General-Governorship on the territory of the former Turkestan province and part of the Semipalatinsk province. He also ordered its division into two new districts—Syr-Darya and Semirechye [11, p. 60]. This decree was officially announced on July 11, 1867 [21, p. 66], though some studies cite July 14 [6, p. 338]. On November 7, 1867, Kaufman arrived in Tashkent [31, p. 27; 12, p. 1a], although some sources mention January 1868 instead [21, p. 66].

Prior to Kaufman’s arrival in Tashkent on November 7, 1867, his duties were carried out by the Governor of Orenburg, General N. P. Krijanovskiy [31, p. 27]. Following the establishment of the Turkestan General-Governorship on July 11, 1867, the customs offices of Orenburg and Siberia were abolished and transferred to Tashkent [18, p. 77]. In this context, it was deemed necessary to establish political relations with neighboring states in order to organize trade and ensure the



consolidation of Russian political administration in the governor-generalship. Consequently, on November 14, 1867, Kaufman dispatched a letter to Qo'qon, requesting a trustworthy representative to conduct negotiations on trade and friendship [31, p. 27; 27, p. 100; 12, p. 2a]. On November 19, he visited Xo'jand with the purpose of familiarizing himself with the border territories, where he learned that troops were being mobilized in Qo'qon against the Russians and that private gunsmiths were receiving orders from the state treasury for weapons production. Immediately thereafter, in order to halt these activities, he sent a second letter to Qo'qon, explaining that the emperor desired friendship with his neighbors and that his visit to Xo'jand was solely intended for inspection of the frontier regions [31, p. 27; 27, p. 100; 12, p. 1a].

When Xudoyorxon ascended the throne, he initially declared his intention to come to terms with the Russians and began enriching his treasury. Nevertheless, taking into account the succession of Russian officials—M. G. Cherniaev (1828–1898), D. I. Romanovskiy (1867–1871), N. P. Krijanovskiy (1827–1885), and K. P. Kaufman (1867–1882)—each of whom pursued the conclusion of distinct agreements, Xudoyorxon found himself on the verge of shifting away from a conciliatory policy towards Russia. This contrasted with his stance upon regaining the throne in 1865, when he had favored reconciliation with the Russians [9, p. 14].

Furthermore, when Sultan Sayidkhan ibn Mallakhan (1863–1865) appealed to the Ottoman Empire for assistance, Sultan Abdulaziz (1861–1876), in his reply, advised him to unite against the Russians—a counsel that later influenced Xudoyorxon [18, p. 76]. Consequently, Xudoyorxon delayed responding to Kaufman's first letter. In reply to Kaufman's conciliatory message of November 19, he dispatched Sarimsoqkhoja solely to establish friendly relations, explaining the rumors in Qo'qon as mere seasonal practices of changing military uniforms in summer and autumn and conducting troop inspections [12, p. 1a]. According to other sources, Xudoyorxon had even sent letters to Bukhara and Khiva, urging them to form an alliance against Russia [28, p. 133].

Kaufman, however, emphasized that friendship necessitated the conclusion of a trade treaty. On December 19, he made it clear through envoys and a written message to the khan that without a trade treaty, there could be no friendship, and he forwarded a draft consisting of five articles, stating that he could not conceive of its rejection [12, p. 2a]. Yet, recognizing that the proposed treaty directly infringed upon the khanate's internal affairs, Xudoyorxon convened a council [28, p. 137]. Aware of Russian military superiority and the grave consequences of resistance, he was compelled to agree to Articles 1 and 5 of the treaty, which allowed Russian merchants access to all regions of the khanate and passage to neighboring states. However, he declined to provide guarantees against nomadic raids. At the same time, he requested permission to send an embassy to St. Petersburg.

The governor, however, rejected this request, declaring that “the nomads must be subject either to your government or to mine.” He insisted that a journey to St. Petersburg was unnecessary, as all matters could be handled in the emperor's name by the governor himself. To reinforce this, he even enclosed an imperial decree with his letter to the khan [31, p. 28; 28, p. 138; 12, p. 1b–2a]. This measure was intended to counteract the widespread anti-Russian sentiment within the khanate, where alliances with figures such as Yaqubbek, the ruler of Kashgar, were being considered while awaiting a favorable moment [27, p. 37]. Nevertheless, within the khanate's administration, unlike among the general populace, there existed factions in favor of compromise. Their concern, however, lay in ensuring that friendship be concluded directly with the emperor, rather than with Kaufman, so that future military or political circumstances would not alter the agreement. Perceiving this hesitation, Kaufman forwarded the imperial decree [31, p. 28; 28, p. 138; 12, p. 2b]. Upon receiving it, the khanate's officials interpreted negotiations with Kaufman as equivalent to concluding them with the emperor's authorized representative. As a result, they accepted the treaty, thereby formalizing political relations.

The establishment of friendship and political relations between the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan and the Kokand Khanate began with the conclusion of a trade agreement initiated by the Khanate on 13 February 1868. Prior to this, there had been an exchange of two official letters and

two embassies from the Governor-Generalship, as well as three embassies from the Kokand side. These interactions are examined in detail below.

From the Governor-Generalship, two letters and two embassies were dispatched:

- The first letter, dated 14 November 1867, contained a proposal of friendship, notification of the establishment of the Turkestan Governor-Generalship, and the appointment of General K.P. von Kaufman as Governor-General.

- The second letter, dated 19 November 1867, was intended to mitigate the intensification of military activities around Kokand following von Kaufman's visit to Khujand.

- The first embassy, sent on 19 December 1867, was headed by the staff colonel of the Governor-Generalship, A.V. Shaufus. Its objectives were to secure the signing of a treaty, to assess the attitudes of the Kokand elite and population toward the Russians, to examine the routes between Kokand and Tashkent, and to obtain permits for mineral exploration.

- The second embassy, dispatched on 29 January 1868, sought to resolve the question of authority over nomadic groups—whether under the Khanate or the Governor-Generalship—and clarified that travel to St. Petersburg was not required in exchange for receiving an imperial patent.

From the Kokand Khanate, three embassies were organized:

- The first embassy, at the end of November 1867, was intended to conceal the Khanate's letters to Bukhara and Khiva soliciting an alliance against Russia, as well as the mobilization of troops and state orders placed with private gunsmiths. Officially, it was presented as an effort to establish relations of friendship. Sadr Sarimsoq Khoja was dispatched as the Khanate's permanent representative.

- The second embassy, in January 1868, addressed the issue of the nomadic threat by refusing to guarantee compliance with Articles 1 and 5 of the treaty, while simultaneously requesting permission to send an envoy to St. Petersburg. It also sought to obscure the Khanate's alliance with the ruler of Kashgar, which had been concluded in anticipation of a favorable moment for hostilities against Russia. Mirzo Hakim was sent as the Khanate's permanent representative in Tashkent.

- The third embassy, in February 1868, conveyed the treaty signed by the Khan. In this instance, Kaufman was regarded as the imperial plenipotentiary, and the treaty was understood to have been concluded with the Emperor himself. At the same time, the embassy requested permission from the Governor-General for non-Russian merchants to pass through Kokand and, via it, to neighboring Asian states.

The process of establishing political relations between the Kokand Khanate and the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan thus unfolded between 14 November 1867 and 13 February 1868.

During the negotiations of 14 and 19 November 1867, the Kokand Khanate appeared to hold the upper hand. By contrast, in the sessions of 19 December 1867 and 29 January 1868, the superiority of the Governor-Generalship was clearly evident. The Governor-Generalship's relative weakness in late 1867 lay in its inability to assume a decisive role in negotiations, largely because it lacked sufficient knowledge of the attitudes of the Khanate's elite and population toward Russia. In other words, at that stage, the Governor-Generalship's policies relied on the external diplomatic posture of the Khanate. This explains why the initial phase of negotiations was comparatively favorable to Kokand.

However, between December 1867 and January 1868, the Governor-Generalship acquired deeper insight into the Khanate's internal politics and the sentiments of both elites and commoners toward Russia. As a result, negotiations became increasingly difficult for the Khanate. The intelligence gathered by embassies—particularly that of Shaufus—proved decisive in shifting the balance of diplomatic engagement in favor of the Turkestan Governor-Generalship, ultimately shaping the establishment of political relations on its terms.

Another significant aspect, as noted by N. Topildiyev, is that the fact that **Kokand–Russian relations were resolved in Tashkent constituted a humiliation for the Khanate** [28, p. 125]. In other words, the ratification or rejection of the trade treaty—stipulated as a prerequisite for

establishing political relations—was effectively determined by the **Shaufus embassy**. As a result, political relations were established that rendered the Kokand Khanate subordinate.

Regarding the **signing of the trade treaty**, which was considered the essential instrument for establishing bilateral political relations, R. Nabiyeu has observed that some researchers assume it was concluded already in **1867** [28, p. 131]. Indeed, in the works of Sh. Vohidov and Isaboyeva, one finds the assertion that a Kokand–Russian treaty was signed in that year [10, p. 22; 8, p. 407; 19, p. 126; 7, p. 135]. However, other authoritative studies demonstrate conclusively that the treaty was in fact signed in **1868** [1, p. 10; 18, p. 76; 26, p. 123; 32, pp. 201–207; 22, p. 22; 35, p. 156].

For the Kokand Khanate, the establishment of political relations with the Turkestan Governor-Generalship imposed numerous difficulties beyond the treaty provisions themselves. For instance, on **13 February 1868**, Khudayar Khan formally petitioned Governor-General von Kaufman to permit **non-Russian merchants** to engage in trade within the Kokand Khanate and, through it, with neighboring Asian states [28, p. 139]. This was necessary because foreign traders were already active in the region. By way of illustration, in **1867**, silk weighing some 12,000 *batmans* was exported on 1,000 camels to Hindustan—a figure markedly lower than in previous years [17, p. 62].

Russian merchants also entered the Khanate in 1867, but in the absence of formalized political relations they encountered considerable obstacles to free trade. For example, the trading caravan of the Russian merchant Arzamastev was detained on suspicion of espionage; it was released only after a bribe of 15,000 was paid to the prime minister. Thus, the signing of the trade treaty—integral to the establishment of political relations—granted **privileges to Russian merchants** and put an end to the difficulties they had previously faced.

At the same time, however, issues pertaining to the **internal politics of the Khanate**—such as the ability of non-Russian merchants to engage in commerce—became subject to the discretion of the Governor-Generalship.

**Conclusion / Recommendations.** The establishment of political relations between the Kokand Khanate and the Turkestan General-Governorship was finalized through two letters and envoys from the governorship, and three embassies dispatched by the khanate. The dynamics of these processes reveal that the initial dominance of the khanate was later replaced by the ascendancy of the governorship, ultimately resolving in favor of the latter. Although numerous studies have been conducted on the khanate, the specific process of establishing political relations has not been examined in detail. The available data on this subject are fragmented, and only certain aspects have been addressed in previous research, while others remained vague. This study, by incorporating newly discovered archival materials, contributes to ensuring greater coherence in the scholarship and offers a comprehensive clarification of the previously obscure aspects.

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