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XIVA XONLIGI TARIXSHUNOSLIGI: YEVROPA VA MAHALLIY TADQIQOTLAR (XIX–XXI ASRLAR)

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Annotatsiya.

Mazkur tadqiqot Xiva xonligi tarixshunosligining shakllanishi va rivojlanish bosqichlarini ilmiy jihatdan tahlil qilishga bag'ishlangan. Unda XIX asr Yevropa tadqiqotchilarining xonlik haqidagi qarashlari, XX–XXI asrlarda xorijiy hamda mahalliy tarixshunoslikda yuzaga kelgan ilmiy yondashuvlar qiyosiy asosda o'rganilgan. Tadqiqot davomida Xiva xonligining siyosiy, ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy, huquqiy va madaniy hayotiga oid ilmiy adabiyotlar, xon yorliqlari, qozilik hujjatlari, vaqf hujjatlari hamda diplomatik yozishmalar manbashunoslik va tarixshunoslik nuqtayi nazaridan tahlil qilingan. Shuningdek, mustaqillik yillarida amalga oshirilgan ilmiy izlanishlarning mazmuni va ilmiy yangiliklari baholanib, xonlikning tashqi siyosati, savdo-iqtisodiy aloqalari, yersuv munosabatlari, vaqf instituti hamda davlat boshqaruvi tizimiga oid tadqiqotlarning asosiy natijalari umumlashtirilgan.

Xususan, Xiva va Qo'qon xonliklari o'rtasidagi diplomatik munosabatlar tarixiy manbalar asosida yoritilib, elchilik institutining amaliy faoliyati hamda siyosiy ahamiyati ochib berilgan. Tahlillar natijasida Xiva xonligi tarixining alohida yo'nalishlari bo'yicha salmoqli ilmiy tadqiqotlar yaratilganligi aniqlangan bo'lsa-da, xonlik davlatchiligining tarixshunoslikdagi talqini hali ham kompleks va tizimli tadqiq etilishi lozim bo'lgan dolzarb ilmiy muammolardan biri ekanligi asoslab berilgan. Tadqiqot natijalari Xiva xonligi tarixini zamonaviy tarixshunoslik yondashuvlari asosida o'rganish hamda ushbu yo'nalishdagi keyingi ilmiy izlanishlarni rivojlantirish uchun muhim ilmiy-amaliy ahamiyat kasb etadi.

Kalit so'zlar: Xiva xonligi, tarixshunoslik, davlatchilik, tarixiy manbalar, xon yorliqlari, qozilik hujjatlari, diplomatik aloqalar, vaqf instituti, tashqi siyosat, Qo'qon xonligi.

ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ ХИВИНСКОГО ХАНСТВА: ЕВРОПЕЙСКИЕ И ОТЕЧЕСТВЕННЫЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ (XIX–XXI ВВ.)

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Аннотация.

Настоящее исследование посвящено научному анализу становления и этапов развития историографии Хивинского ханства. На сравнительной основе рассматриваются взгляды европейских исследователей XIX века на историю ханства, а также научные подходы, сформировавшиеся в зарубежной и отечественной историографии XX–XXI веков. В ходе исследования с источниковедческой и историографической точек зрения проанализированы научная литература, ханские ярлыки, судебские документы, вакуфные акты и дипломатическая переписка, отражающие политическую, социально-экономическую, правовую и культурную жизнь Хивинского ханства. Кроме того, дана оценка содержанию и научной новизне исследований, проведённых в годы независимости, и обобщены основные результаты работ, посвящённых внешней политике ханства, торгово-экономическим связям, земельно-водным отношениям, институту вакфа и системе государственного управления.

Особое внимание уделено дипломатическим отношениям между Хивинским и Кокандским ханствами, которые рассматриваются на основе исторических источников; раскрываются практическая деятельность института посольства и его политическое значение. Анализ показывает, что, несмотря на наличие значительного числа научных исследований по отдельным направлениям истории Хивинского ханства, историографическая интерпретация его государственности по-прежнему остаётся одной из актуальных научных проблем, требующих комплексного и системного изучения. Результаты исследования имеют важное научно-практическое значение для изучения истории Хивинского ханства на основе современных историографических подходов и дальнейшего развития исследований в данном направлении.

Ключевые слова: Хивинское ханство, историография, государственность,

исторические источники, ханские ярлыки, судейские документы, дипломатические отношения, институт вакфа, внешняя политика, Кокандское ханство.

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE KHIVA KHANATE: EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL SCHOLARLY STUDIES (19TH–21ST CENTURIES)

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Abstract.

This study provides a scholarly analysis of the formation and stages of development of the historiography of the Khiva Khanate. It comparatively examines the views of nineteenth-century European scholars on the khanate and the academic approaches that emerged in foreign and domestic historiography during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The study analyzes scholarly literature, khan decrees, judicial documents, waqf records, and diplomatic correspondence relating to the political, socio-economic, legal, and cultural life of the Khiva Khanate from source-critical and historiographical perspectives. It also evaluates the content and scholarly contributions of studies conducted during the years of independence and summarizes the principal findings of research on the khanate's foreign policy, trade and economic relations, land and water relations, the institution of waqf, and the system of state administration.

Particular attention is given to diplomatic relations between the Khiva and Kokand Khanates on the basis of historical sources, with emphasis on the practical functioning and political significance of the institution of diplomatic missions. The analysis demonstrates that, although substantial scholarly research has been conducted on individual aspects of the history of the Khiva Khanate, the historiographical interpretation of its statehood remains an important academic problem requiring comprehensive and systematic investigation. The findings have significant scholarly and practical value for studying the history of the Khiva Khanate through contemporary historiographical approaches and for advancing further research in this field.

Keywords: Khiva Khanate, historiography, statehood, historical sources, khan decrees, judicial documents, diplomatic relations, waqf institution, foreign policy, Kokand Khanate.

Introduction. Introduction. The historiography of the Khiva Khanate has developed through several distinct stages, reflecting changes not only in the range of available sources but also in scholarly approaches to the political, social, and economic history of Central Asia. Nineteenth-century European knowledge of Khiva was initially shaped largely by the accounts of diplomats, military officers, travelers, and Orientalists whose observations were closely connected with the geopolitical rivalry surrounding Central Asia. Consequently, many early works interpreted the political organization, economy, and social structure of the Khanate through the conceptual framework of imperial expansion and the so-called "Great Game." Nevertheless, these accounts remain valuable historical sources because they recorded information about the administrative system of the Khanate, the activities of local officials, irrigation networks, bazaars, caravan routes, taxation, population groups, and relations with neighboring states. Following the Russian military campaign of 1873 and the establishment of the Russian protectorate over Khiva, the volume of statistical, geographical, economic, and administrative information concerning the Khanate increased considerably. Seymour Becker's study of Russian protectorates in Central Asia demonstrated that the relationship between Khiva and the Russian Empire after 1873 cannot be reduced to formal political dependence alone; increasing Russian intervention was closely associated with the expansion of trade, communications, financial obligations, and imperial political influence [2].

A significant transformation in the study of Khiva occurred when indigenous written sources began to be examined systematically alongside Russian and European materials. One of the most important examples is *Firdaws al-Iqbāl*, written by the Khorezmian historians Munis and Agahi. Yuri Bregel's annotated English translation of this work made one of the principal Chaghatay sources on the political and social history of Khorezm accessible to international scholarship. The work is particularly detailed in its treatment of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and contains valuable evidence concerning the Qongrat dynasty, military campaigns, relations with the Turkmen, Karakalpak and Kazakh populations, political contacts with Bukhara and other neighboring territories, as well as the internal organization of the Khivan state [3]. Its publication contributed to a methodological shift from interpretations based predominantly on external observations toward the reconstruction of Khorezmian history through locally produced narratives.

Archival research has further expanded the source base for studying the Khanate. The surviving documents of the Chancellery of the Khiva Khans constitute one of the richest documentary collections relating to a Central Asian Muslim polity. According to the description of the collection included in UNESCO's Memory of the World programme, the archival fund contains more than 20,000 documents dating from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century. Written mainly in Arabic-script Turkic, Chaghatay, Persian, and Arabic, these materials provide information on state

administration, taxation, land tenure, diplomatic correspondence, judicial affairs, public institutions, and relations with Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, the Ottoman Empire, Bukhara, and Kokand. The documentary tradition of Khiva is therefore particularly important because it makes it possible to study the Khanate not only from the perspective of foreign observers but also through records produced within its own administrative system.

At the same time, recent scholarship has revised the traditional assumption that the so-called "Archive of the Khans of Khiva" represented a single centralized archive comparable to modern state archival institutions. Paolo Sartori, examining nineteenth-century Khorezmian documentary practices, demonstrated that the production, circulation, preservation, and disposal of documents formed part of a much more complex culture of governance [4]. His research emphasizes that reports, fiscal records, petitions, administrative instructions, and locally produced documents should be studied according to the institutional context in which they were created rather than simply treated as components of a centralized bureaucracy. This approach has significantly broadened the historiography of the Khanate by drawing attention to the everyday mechanisms through which the Qongrat rulers communicated with local communities and officials.

Another important development in contemporary historiography is the study of the legal and judicial system of Khiva through qadi documents, petitions, rescripts, reports, and other administrative records. Paolo Sartori and Ulfat Abdurasulov have shown that the administration of justice in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Khorezm was not confined exclusively to professional Islamic judges. Representatives of the ruling dynasty and administrative officials also participated directly in conflict resolution and judicial procedures. Their study, *Seeking Justice at the Court of the Khans of Khiva*, is based on a substantial corpus of original documents, including rescripts, administrative reports, notifications, and qadis' reports, and illustrates the close interaction between political authority, local administration, and Islamic legal practices [5]. Such findings make it possible to reconsider earlier descriptions of the Khivan state as a relatively simple or institutionally underdeveloped political structure.

Economic history has likewise become an important field in the modern historiography of the Khanate. Researchers have increasingly focused on internal and external trade, bazaars, caravanserais, customs duties, *zakat*, agricultural taxation, irrigation, artisanal production, and the role of merchants in connecting Khorezm with Russia, Bukhara, Iran, the Kazakh steppe, and other regions of Central Asia. H. Ziyoev, examining internal commerce, noted that during the 1870s markets were held twice a week in a number of towns and settlements of the Khiva Khanate, while the city of Khiva itself contained approximately 400 shops and its caravanserai included 105 trading stalls [1]. These figures indicate that permanent urban retail trade existed alongside periodic rural and regional markets and that Khiva functioned as an important commercial center within the lower Amu Darya oasis. Studies of the post-1873 period also demonstrate the growing influence of Russian economic policy. The indemnity imposed on Khiva following the 1873 campaign amounted to 2.2 million rubles; annual payments of approximately 120,000–200,000 rubles represented a substantial burden in relation to the Khanate's estimated annual revenue of around 400,000 rubles in the 1870s [6]. This financial pressure should therefore be considered alongside changes in trade, taxation, irrigation, and political dependence when assessing the economic development of the Khanate during the protectorate period.

Thus, the historiography of the Khiva Khanate has gradually moved from descriptive travel narratives and imperial interpretations toward source-based studies of governance, law, economic relations, documentary culture, and local social institutions. Although earlier Western and Russian scholarship often examined Khiva within broader narratives of Central Asian history and Russian imperial expansion, more recent studies increasingly treat the Khanate as a distinct political, economic, and legal system. In particular, the combined analysis of chronicles, khan decrees, qadi documents, fiscal registers, petitions, diplomatic correspondence, and trade-related records provides an opportunity to reconstruct internal processes that were largely overlooked in earlier historiography. This approach is especially important for the study of internal and external trade relations, since commercial activity in the Khiva Khanate was closely interconnected with taxation, state administration, irrigation, urban development, diplomatic relations, and the changing geopolitical position of Khorezm during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the historiography of the independence period, particular importance should be attached to the collection *Historical Science in Uzbekistan: Achievements and Problems of Development*, which brought together materials of the Historiographical Readings and reflected the methodological reassessment of a number of problems in the history of the Khiva Khanate. The volume included, among others, O. G. Pugovkina's study of the representation of the Russian campaign against Khiva in Russian historiography from the 1870s to the beginning of the twentieth century, U. A. Abdurasulov's analysis of agrarian relations in the Khiva Khanate as interpreted in Soviet historiography of the 1930s–1980s, and M. U. Kayumov's examination of problems relating to the history of the Khanate in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These studies are significant because they shifted attention from a simple reconstruction of historical events toward the analysis of how those events had been interpreted under different ideological and methodological conditions. The collection itself was published in Tashkent in 2006 on the basis of the materials of the 2004 Historiographical Readings under the responsibility of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan.

An important contribution to the expansion of the documentary source base was made by E. E. Karimov in his *Regests of Qadi Documents and Khan Yarliks of the Khiva Khanate from the Seventeenth to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* [2]. Published in Tashkent by Fan in 2007 under the academic editorship of E. V. Rtveladze, the 223-page work was prepared with the participation of the Ichan-Kala State Museum-Reserve and the French Institute for Central Asian Studies (IFEAC). The publication is particularly valuable because it systematizes legal and administrative documents relating to the Khiva Khanate and includes facsimiles of original materials. The documents represented in

the collection illuminate such matters as judicial practice, property relations, appointments to administrative and judicial offices, legal transactions, and the functioning of the qadi institution. Thus, Karimov's work transformed a substantial body of qadi records and khanly yarliks from individual archival items into a source complex that can be used for the reconstruction of the legal and administrative history of Khiva.

Q. Munirov's monograph *Historiography in Khorezm (Seventeenth–Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries)* [3], published in Tashkent in 2002, occupies a different but equally important place in the historiography of the Khanate. The work systematically examines the Khorezmian tradition of historical writing and analyzes the historical legacy of authors such as Munis, Agahi, Kamyab, and Muhammad Yusuf Bayani. Particular importance is attached to the value of these chronicles for reconstructing political events, dynastic succession, relations between Khiva and neighboring territories, irrigation and agrarian conditions, social life, and the cultural environment of Khorezm. Munirov's study is therefore important not merely as a survey of historical writings but also as a source-critical assessment of indigenous historiography, demonstrating how locally produced narratives complement Russian, Iranian, and European evidence on the history of the Khanate. The bibliographical record confirms that the 2002 edition comprises 192 pages.

Dissertation research further broadened the historiographical analysis of the Khiva Khanate. O. M. Masaliyeva's 1999 candidate dissertation, more precisely entitled *The History of the Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand Khanates in Twentieth-Century Anglo-American Historiography*, analyzed how the Central Asian khanates were interpreted in English-language scholarship and contributed to the reassessment of Western historiographical approaches that had previously been discussed primarily through the prism of Soviet criticism. Later assessments indicate that Masaliyeva analyzed a substantial body of Uzbek, Russian, and English-language scholarly literature in examining interpretations of Russian policy toward Khiva and the other Central Asian khanates. U. A. Abdurasulov's 2008 dissertation, *Land Relations in the Khiva Khanate in the Second Half of the Eighteenth – First Quarter of the Nineteenth Centuries* [4], in turn, concentrated on agrarian relations and the legal and fiscal status of landed property. His subsequent research also examined the formation and fiscal position of various categories of mulk property in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Khorezm, thereby contributing to a more differentiated understanding of land tenure rather than treating the agrarian structure of the Khanate as a single, homogeneous system.

Although substantial research has therefore been conducted on individual aspects of the political, agrarian, legal, cultural, diplomatic, and socio-economic history of the Khiva Khanate, a synthetic historiographical analysis integrating the institutions of state administration, mechanisms of political authority, fiscal organization, judicial practice, documentary culture, and relations between central and local authorities remains comparatively limited. The problem should consequently not be formulated as an assertion that "Khivan statehood has not been studied," since separate components of statehood have already been examined in considerable detail. Rather, the historiographical gap lies in bringing these specialized fields together and tracing how interpretations of Khivan statehood have changed from imperial and Soviet scholarship to post-independence and contemporary international studies. This formulation provides a more precise basis for defining the scholarly novelty of further research.

Among the important dissertation studies produced during the independence period, Q. K. Yakubov's *Waqf Institution in the Khanate of Khiva in the Second Half of the Nineteenth – Early Twentieth Centuries: Historical and Source-Study Analysis* [5] deserves particular attention. The dissertation, defended as a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) study in historical sciences in 2018 under the specialities 07.00.01 and 07.00.08, examined the waqf institution not only as a religious-charitable phenomenon but also as an important component of property relations, educational and religious financing, and socio-economic administration. Yakubov investigated waqf deeds in Arabic, Persian-Tajik, and Chaghatay Turkic, as well as qadi documents and other manuscript sources. The dissertation identified and introduced into scholarly circulation approximately 1,000 waqf deeds, 32 documents relating to land lease (*khatt-i ijara*), around 200 documents concerning *bay'-'i jā'iz*, approximately 80 petitions and claims, 44 sale documents, and waqf registers containing information on the property and income distribution of more than 200 religious and educational institutions.

Yakubov's source-based findings considerably clarify the internal operation of the Khivan waqf system. He analyzed changes in the language, structure, external form, and codicological characteristics of waqf deeds from the second half of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century and reconstructed the functions of waqf administration, the categories of waqf objects and subjects, and mechanisms for distributing waqf revenues. Particular attention was given to relations among *mutawallis*, administrative representatives, and tenants. The research established that leasing was one of the principal mechanisms for the economic utilization of waqf property and confirmed the existence of long-term leasing known as *ijara-yi tavila*. It further demonstrated that by the final quarter of the nineteenth century, with the intensification of commodity-money relations, cash increasingly became an important object of waqf and that income from cash waqf could be generated through the practice recorded in the documents as *bay'-'i jā'iz*. These conclusions are especially important because they reveal that the waqf institution was closely integrated into the wider economic and contractual environment of late Khivan society rather than functioning exclusively as a mechanism for financing religious establishments.

A broader external dimension of Khivan statehood was investigated by N. A. Allayeva in her DSc dissertation *The History of Foreign Relations of the Khiva Khanate in the Sixteenth – 1870s of the Nineteenth Century* [6], defended in 2019. The chronological formulation of the title is significant: the study does not cover the nineteenth century in its entirety but extends specifically to the 1870s. Allayeva analyzed the Khanate's relations with Bukhara and Kokand, the Kazakh zhuzes, Iran, Russia, and other neighboring political actors using historical-objective, comparative, statistical, content-analytical, and hermeneutic methods. One of the principal conclusions of the dissertation challenges the older

representation of Khiva as an isolated and inherently “backward” state. Instead, the research demonstrates that the Khanate participated actively in regional political and diplomatic networks and maintained mechanisms for exchanging envoys and diplomatic correspondence even in the absence of permanent foreign embassies in Khiva.

Allayeva also reconsidered the causes of conflict between Khiva, Bukhara, and Safavid Iran. Her analysis indicates that the struggles of the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries should not be explained solely through the Sunni–Shi’a religious opposition. Primary sources suggest that rivalry over strategically and economically important borderlands—particularly Khorasan—was a major factor, while in the nineteenth century the economic interests of ruling elites became increasingly significant. The military campaigns of the Bukharan ruler ‘Abdullah Khan II (1557–1598), for example, altered the regional balance of power and encouraged closer political contacts between Khiva and Safavid Iran; these relations became particularly significant during the reign of Haji Muhammad Khan in Khiva. The dissertation further emphasizes the role of what Allayeva terms the “Chinggisid factor” in the legitimation of political authority and analyzes the impact of the Russian presence on Khivan-Kazakh relations during the nineteenth century.

The source base of Allayeva’s work is also methodologically significant. The dissertation reports the introduction into scholarly circulation of eighteen official documents in Persian, Turkic, and Russian preserved in archival collections in Iran, Russia, and Uzbekistan. It also examines different forms of diplomatic correspondence and the ceremonial procedures associated with receiving foreign envoys, demonstrating that external relations formed an institutional component of Khivan governance rather than merely a sequence of individual diplomatic missions. Allayeva subsequently developed this line of investigation in her 2019 monograph *Diplomacy and Trade Relations of the Khiva Khanate*, which further links diplomacy to commercial interests and the wider system of Khiva’s interstate relations.

According to the results of the research, the socio-political processes in the Khiva Khanate and the principal aspects of its foreign relations have been examined in the context of world history. The research challenges the view that the Khiva Khanate was a backward state isolated from the outside world. It argues that the formation of the Khanate was directly related to Khorezm’s traditional ties with Dashti Kipchak, with the “Genghis factor” in state governance and the legitimization of power identified as an important influence, while representatives of the local population are presented as a major driving force. The study also highlights specific features of the Khanate’s diplomatic relations, including extensive exchanges of ambassadors with neighboring countries such as Bukhara and Kokand, even in the absence of permanent foreign embassies on its territory or during periods of conflict. One example concerns diplomatic relations between the Khiva and Kokand Khanates in 1855: according to the cited historical account, Qubadkhan Khoja traveled to the Kokand region on an embassy mission with the permission of the state authorities. Khudoyar Khan received the envoy with honor and sent Orun Khoja Mirasad to meet him with gifts and a letter, after which the envoys returned to Khorezm. This episode illustrates the ceremonial and political functions of diplomatic exchanges between the two khanates.

Conclusion. The analysis demonstrates that significant research has been conducted on various aspects of the history of the Khiva Khanate; however, the historiographical interpretation of its statehood, governance, and diplomatic relations still requires more comprehensive and systematic study. Further research based on historical sources and modern historiographical approaches can contribute to a deeper understanding of the Khiva Khanate and provide a solid foundation for future scholarly work.

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