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Zh. M. Tulibayeva,¹ N. A. Allaeva,² E.O. Ustagaliev¹¹Suleyman Demirel University, Kaskelen, Kazakhstan,²Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, Uzbekistan**SOME REMARKS ON THE DOCUMENTS
ON THE HISTORY OF THE KHANATE OF KHIVA**

Abstract. The article considers the archival documents containing information on the history of the Khanate of Khiva. The extant Khivan documents in their content and variety of factual material occupy an important place among the written sources of the Central Asian region. The materials of the fund “The Chancellery of Khivan Khan” were officially recognized by the Government of Uzbekistan as highly valuable. The authors of the article concluded that the Khivan archival documents are reliable sources for studying the history of the Qazaqs who lived in the territory of the Khanate. The documents, which contain data allowing the reconstruction of the foreign policy relations of the Khivan Khans with neighbouring states, including Qazaq zhuzes, have been preserved. The article was prepared within the framework of the grant of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan that finance the fundamental and applied research.

Key words: the Khanate of Khiva, the Chancellery of Khivan Khan, archival documents, foreign policy relationships, the history of Qazaqs.

Introduction. The funds of the Central State Archive of Uzbekistan contain unique documents created in Chaghatay and Persian languages. Among the archival documents we will mention the funds “Khivan khan’s office”, “Kushbegi’s archival funds”, “Documents of the khan’s yasulbashi”, “Collection of waqf documents”, official and personal archival materials of individual khans, beks and spiritual dignitaries, archival funds of Qāzi courts. Particular attention should be paid to the tax books of the Khanate of Khiva. The materials of the fund “Khivan khan’s office” have been officially recognized by the government of Uzbekistan as particularly valuable [1].

Among the documents of the Khivan chancellery, which are of interest for studying the history of the Qazaqs [2], should be highlighted the following:

- Documents on various types of land ownership and land registration;
- Documents on the collection of land tax;
- Documents on the collection of the tax on livestock;
- Documents on nomads carrying various duties.
- Official correspondence of Khivan high-ranking officials with officials of the Russian Empire in the 19th - the beginning of the 20th century;

Materials and methods. Emphasizing the enormous value of official documents, it is also necessary to note some problematic aspects in working with sources of this kind. In particular, the fragmentation - that is, on the basis of separate documents it is impossible to create an integral picture of historical events. Moreover, the “semantic subtext” of official documents in considerable cases creates an appearance, the interpretation of which does not always coincide with reality.

It should be noted that in such cases, the following tasks can serve as a basic solution:

- Comparative analysis of sources of a different kind and genre (cross-referencing);
- Overview of parallel and subsequent events;

Thus, only on the basis of a comparative analysis of the sources of a different genre and genus, one can achieve the set goal.

Results and discussion. In the 16th century, the territory of the Khanate of Khiva was divided into the specific domains of the relatives of the Supreme khan of the Chingisid clan. During the reign of Abu al-Gazi Khan (1643-1664), the ruling elite attempted to reorganize the khanate's management system. In Khivan historical works, information about ranks and positions in the khanate has been preserved. Under Abu al-Gazi Khan, there were 360 official positions, of which 32 were in the khan's court. Ranks of positions were established: 2 Shaykh al-Islām, 2 Qāzi, 1 Ra'is from descendants of Sa'id Atā, 1 Mutavali, 1 Nakib, 4 Atālyks, 4 Ināqs, 4 Mirābs, 4 Biys, 1 Parvanachi, 2 Akā, 2 Arbābs, 4 Chagatai Ināqs, 1 Vazir (Mehtar), 1 Kushbegi [3, 45].

During the period of the Khanate of Khiva, its own system of office work and special terminology was developed. With the strengthening of statehood in the khanate, the khan's chancellery expanded. Relying on the Muslim system of state administration that has been developed in the region, the Khivan khans established new norms of record keeping and a management system.

In the Khanate of Khiva, each separate department concentrated in their hands all documents relating to their activities. For example, the financial department was concentrating all financial documents of the state in its hands. The term treasury, *khazāna* was used to refer to the state money fund and the state archive of Khivan Khans. The term *fihrist* was used to indicate the records of cases and papers that were in the khan's office. A special register of tax records for each district was called *kitābcha*. The position of the responsible official for filling the *kitābcha* was called *mustaufi*. The chief treasurer of the state held the position of Mustaaaf al-Mamālik.

At the beginning of the 19th century, with the advent of the new khanate dynasty, the process of consolidation the state and strengthening the central power began. If earlier the head of a clan or tribe came to Khiva with a tax collected by him at his own discretion, now the Khiva khans themselves began to establish the district's ability to pay and appoint their tax collectors there [4, 214]. During the reign of the first Kungrats, the administrative and management system of the state underwent significant changes. First of all, the reorganization affected the state apparatus, the number of established posts (three hundred and sixty) was increased to one hundred.

In the Khanate of Khiva, the fullness of administrative, legislative and judicial power was in the hands of the supreme ruler - Khan. The city of Khiva, the capital of the state, was under the direct control of the Khan. The administration of all khanate was conducted from the residence of the khan (*ark*, *urda*, *kurgan*, *qal'a*). During the reign of the Kungrat dynasty, the palace of Tāsh-hauli, became the main residence of Khivan khans. During the Kungrat dynasty, a new body was created in the system of state administration: the Oliy Kengash (Supreme Council) for solving issues of national importance.

In the absence of the supreme khan during military campaigns, Mehtar often remained in the capital to rule the country. Mehtar (vazir) - the post of one of the highest officials of the Khanate of Khiva. In the Khivan historical chronicles, Mehtar is also mentioned as the head of the entire civil administration of the khanate. The khan's office kept documents on land ownership. The document on land ownership was called "*Yād dāsh*". The original document on land ownership was confirmed by seals of persons on behalf of whom the document was drawn up and the stamps of witnesses.

The documents evidencing the division of land between nomadic tribes have been preserved. Including the documents of the withdrawal of land from individual clans, the division of land within the clans. The documents testify to the emergence of various conflicts between the tribes over the division of communal lands [5].

Archival documents on tax collection of salgut (land tax), records of petitions from Qazaqs and correspondence between Khiva officials on the establishment of the tax rate of salgut have been preserved. Information about the size of the salgut is different and contradictory. In the 19th century, nomadic tribes paid annually land tax "salgut-kesme", a pre-established size, regardless of the area of cultivated land and the size of the crop. The total amount of tax was determined in 20,000 small tilya (1 small tilya = 9 tenga). Salgut-kesme was collected by the Qazaq Biys, each from its own kin, and then handed over to the Khiva officials. The kins were divided into lower tax units - atlyks, which were obliged to supply one armed rider to the Khivan army. The records in the exercise books have been preserved, representing a kind of accounting documents that were submitted to the treasury along with the collected tax money by the official who was responsible for collecting this tax.

Archival documents on the collection of *zekat* (tax on livestock) from Qazaq tribes have been preserved [6]. The tax of *zekat* was collected by Khivan officials by territorial units. *Zekat* from the nomads, according to Khivan officials tax department of the 19th century, was an essential part of the income of the Khivan khan [7].

In the Khivan chronicles, the order of collecting *zekat* is described. In the main areas of the khanate, one of the highest Khiva officials of the first rank, *duvanbiki*, was responsible for collecting *zekat*. In other parts of the khanate, the *zekat* was gathered by second-rank officials appointed by the khan. At the disposal of the tax collectors were scribes or secretaries (*divan*), who led the books of accounting of the collected *zekat*. The money was accepted, apparently, both by the collectors themselves, and by their servants *divān*.

From the herds of nomads constantly living in the territory of the Khanate of Khiva, they were levied in the following order: for a head of cattle - 1 *tenga*, for one sheep - 1/5 of a *tenga*. From Qazaqs arriving from Ustyurt to summer pastures, they were charged: for a camel - 1 *tenga*, for a head of cattle - 1 *tenga*, for 40 sheep - 1 sheep, and for the next 100 sheep - 1 sheep [8]. However, there are other data on taxes. According to Russian prisoners who were in the khanate in the 1820s and 1830s, the Qazaqs wandering near Khiva “have to pay cattle tax: for one sheep - 25 kopeek, but they do not pay for a camel or horse. If anyone does not have money, he pays the livestock after assessment” [9].

The immediate collection of the *zekat* was directed by one of the *mehrems*, who was close to the khan, and, along with the clerk, travel all over the nomadic tribes. It was difficult to calculate the cattle of the nomads precisely, for this reason the tax for each tribe was determined annually by agreement with its *aksakal* (the representative of the clan). The annual collection of the *zekat* lay on the *aksakals*, who transferred a certain amount to the Khiva officials. Such a *zekat* was called *kesme-zekat* [10]. Only in separate and special cases, the collection of the *zykat* from the nomads was carried out by special khan officials sent to the tribes [8].

Notes on the record of a *zekat* show that there was a territorial unit called *kuren*. All herders, whose flocks were grazing in this territory, were attributed to the *kuren*, regardless of their tribal affiliation [11]. In the notes for the accounting of the *zekat*, the *kurens* are listed in the sequence in which they were visited by Khiva officials. Sometimes in the records are marked the day of departure of the *zekat* collectors from Khiva and the dates of their arrival in the *kurens* are marked. Tax collection began, usually in August, but sometimes also in July or in September.

Management of the nomadic and semi-nomadic population of the Khanate of Khiva was under the jurisdiction of the *Kushbegi*. To the position of *Kushbegi*, one of the highest officials of the Khanate, a representative of the tribal aristocracy was usually appointed. Also *Kushbegi* was responsible for the state of the military forces of the Khanate and participated in all military campaigns. Among the surviving documents of the khan's office about the *nuker* service, the military forces of the Khanate of Khiva, we note the materials on the military service of the nomads [12].

The head of the secret service of the Khivan khan was the *Yasāulbāshi*. In his charge were: the protection of khan, supervision of prisons, the storage of secret documents. The regular troops of the Khanate of Khiva were subordinate to the *Yasāulbāshi*. *Mingbāshis* were subordinated to *Yasāulbāshi*, and supervised *Yuzbāshi*, who supervised *Unbāshi*. During the military campaigns, *Yasāulbāshi* was responsible for organizing and timely training the troops. In peacetime, his function was to receive and examine petitions and complaints from the population [13, 283]. In his subordination there was a large staff of *Yasāuls*, who carried out special assignments at the court, in particular, delivered the orders of the Khan and high officials [3, 603].

Judicial power in the Khanate of Khiva was represented by *Qāzis*, whose competence included registration of various civil acts of the population, consideration of various disputable issues and their solution on the basis of the *Sharia*, adoption of appropriate decisions on complaints of the population. In each region, one to four *Qāzis* engaged in legal activity. In connection with the appointment of *Qāzi*, the post was issued by the khan's *yarlyq*, in which khan's decree determined the location, the region where the official was appointed. The population was charged with the obligation to obey him and address questions of the *Sharia* [14]. Complaints against the decisions of the *Qāzis* were considered by one of the two supreme *Qāzis* in the city of Khiva, which were called *Qāzi-kalān* and *Qāzi-urdā*.

The Muftis participated along with Qāzis in legal processes, whose duty was to draft a court decision and to verify the correctness of the execution of documents. The document acquired official status after the personal seal of the mufti was assured. The eldest of muftis with deep knowledge in Sharia was the *A'lam*, whose duty included checking rivayats and *fetwa*. After establishing the identity of these *rivāyats* with the original, the *a'lam* fixed the fatwa with his seal, thereby confirming the accuracy of the document [13, 277].

In addition to these positions, there was also a post of Qāzi-hasse, the post of Qāzi-askar. Qāzi-askar, who was at the head of the military trial, delivered sentences on various issues that arose in the military sphere. Qāzi-askar was endowed with great powers. For example, in the territory of military clashes, he was free to vacate the local Qāzis from his post without the consent of the supreme ruler. And the Muftis-askars were to follow the accuracy and conformity of the verdicts passed by the Qāzis with the basics of the Sharia.

An important place in the spiritual and religious life of the Khanate of Khiva was occupied by Nakibs, responsible for the religious sphere of society. In the khanate, there was also the post of Mutavalli. According to archival data, he controlled income coming from the waqf property [15]. In addition, he monitored the state and material security of the madrasas, in favour of which a certain waqf was established, and also controlled the timely delivery of grain from tenant landowners to the madrasa.

Among the documents on the history of external relations of the Khanate of Khiva in the late medieval period, we will consider four documents concerning the diplomatic relations of the Khanate. The first document: Letter from Iranian shah Abbas I (1587-1628) to Khivan Arab Muhammad Khan (1603-1622) [16]. This document gives an idea not only of the traditions of the Khivan-Iranian relations, but also sheds light on the political situation in the Khanate.

At the beginning of the letter, historical ties between the Khanate of Khiva and Iran are mentioned. Shah Abbas underlines the help of his great-grandfather Shah Tahmasp I, provided to Khorezm Ali Sultan at the time, as well as the support of the Sefevid house in relation to Khivan khan Khadzhi Muhammad (1558-1602). The Iranian Shah, hinting at his “patronage”, notes that his “instructions”, as in the days of his great-grandfather (Tahmasp I), are aimed at preserving and continuing the traditional rules of state administration and the upbringing of children. He, expressing his readiness to educate the Khorezm sultans in his court, informs:

“Arab Muhammad Khan, following the traditions that arose during the time of his great-grandfather [Tahmasp], can send one of the sons to the service of the shah. They, as in former times, will be awarded to the royal upbringing and honour” [16, 74].

The practice of “amanat” was widely used in the East, especially since the days of Chingizids, and for a long time served as a guarantor of good-neighbourly relations between the Safevids of Iran and the Khiva Arabshahids. In this case, the “instructions” of the Shah of Iran seem to be directly related to political turmoil in the Khanate of Khiva, where in 1620-1621, because of the high-handed actions of the eldest sons of the khan Ilbars and the Habash sultans, not only did several conspiracies against the central government take place, but relations with neighbouring states, in particular Bukhara and Iran, also became more complicated.

In the testimony of the younger son of the Afghan khan Afgan Sultan, who was forced to leave his homeland, on the agitation of the Russian ambassador I. Khokhlov arrived in Russia, it is emphasized that the raids of the brothers of Ilbars and Khabash on the territory of Iran and Bukhara led to an aggravation of relations with father khan [17, 300]. Based on the details examined, it can be concluded that the “Letter of Instruction” of the Iranian Shah Abbas I represents a hint of frequent raids, by the Khorezm sultans, on the territory of Khorosan, and to which the shah expresses his dissatisfaction with “ill-mannered sultans”, makes an attempt to stop such actions.

The second document: A letter from Abulkhair Khan dated 1732, sent to Khiva [18, 71]. The letter was compiled in the form of a decree. It speaks of the acceptance of Russian citizenship by the Qazaqs, and that he, Abulkhair Khan, can help in establishing trade ties between Khiva and the Russian Empire. The letter contains reproaches to the Khivans for the improper treatment of his son Nurali Sultan and his people, as well as the violation by the Khivans of the oath of allegiance given to them by Abulkhayr Khan. The letter ends with a threat of military alliance with the Aral Khan against the Khivans.

To represent a complete picture, there is also need to look at local narrative sources of Khorezm [19]. The dates indicated in the above letter (1731-1732) coincide with the rule of Ilbars khan, and in *Firdaus al-Iqbāl* it is noted that “in his epoch the country was in peace and prosperity for eight years” [20, 101]. Also, according to this source, Ilbars-khan not only was able to resist the political forces that formed in the Aral region, but also having strengthened the khan's power, he organized a number of successful campaigns in Horosan [20, 102].

Abulkhair Khan, at the time of A.I. Tevkelyov's arrival in the steppe, not only had no opportunity to interfere in the internal affairs of the Khanate of Khiva and act as a “sovereign suzerain”, but also because of the weakening of his power, did not enjoy authority even among other Qazaqs khans and sultans. Abulkhair khan himself confessed that “khan only bears the name of the khan, and has no power over his subordinates” and compared the position of the khan with the wild horse, which “both people are beating and the beasts are preying” [21, 122]. In this regard, the question arises, what was the real influence of Abulkhayr khan in Khiva? The above-mentioned “The Decree to Khivan Chief Advisers” was not just a kind of tactic of this Qazaq khan who tried to appear before the Russian government as the most powerful ruler of the steppe?

To find answers to these questions in the events indicated in the letter of 1731-1732 will lead to a certain confusion. A careful chronological analysis in the horizontal and vertical direction will give an opportunity to view the situation in a more extended perspective. The fact is that the promises of the Khivan elite “to obey his decrees as long as he (Abulkhayr-khan) is alive” should have been attributed to the situation that arose in the 1720s, namely, during the crisis of central power in the Khanate of Khiva.

It should be noted that at the end of the first quarter of the 18th century, the Khivan Arabshahids not only lost real power, but the pretenders to the throne from this dynasty were physically destroyed. According to Khorezm chronicles: “After him [Shirgazi Khan] they brought Sarig Aygir (Mamai), one of the brothers of the Qazaq padishah Abulkhair Khan and proclaimed him khan. It was on Friday, on the way to the Friday prayer (namaz), he fell from a horse (argamak), crashed and died. Bahadur Khan, he too, was from the brothers Abulkhair Khan. After Sarig Aygir, Ishmuhammad Biy brought him [Bahadur Khan], put him on the throne and he stayed for six months, at night [secretly] get down from the Akshaykh building, and fled” [20, 101].

The local elite of Khorezm in this crisis situation was interested in strengthening relations with the Qazaq khans. Because in connection with the loss of political power of the rulers of the Arabsahid dynasty, from the second quarter of the 18th century, the Qazaq khans and sultans, like the descendants of Chigiskhan, were often invited to the throne of the Khanate of Khiva. Also, if we take into account the fact that Abulkhair Khan in the 1920s, as the commander-in-chief of the combined military forces of all three Qazaq zhuzes, gathered against the invasion of the Dzungars, he had a fairly strong political position in the steppe. In this regard, the spread of its influence on the Khanate of Khiva has a real basis.

But, the subsequent events show that in the 1930s Abulkhair Khan lost his power, including his threats aimed at “calming the Khiva Khan with the help of the Aral's forces” did not yield any results. Thus, it can be concluded that Abulkhair Khan indeed, by the above-mentioned “Decree” sent to the Khivan advisers, tried to artificially exaggerate his power in front of the government of the Russian Empire.

R.Yu. Pohekayev assessing the personality of Abulkhair khan, wrote: “... the most authoritative among the Qazaq monarchs in the eyes of the central authorities of the Russian empire was still Khan Abulkhair, who continued “to cloud the eyes” of Russian monarchs and their dignitaries about his own dominant position among the Qazaqs. Not surprisingly, Neplyuev began to build relations with the Qazaq vassals of the Russian Empire precisely with Abulkhair” [22, 56].

The third document: Authentic diploma (with a gold inscription) of Emperor Peter I to Khivan khan Shirgazi khan Chingizid [23].

“By the merit from the Highness and most powerful grand Sovereign, Tsar and grand knyaz Peter Alekseevich, the autocrat of whole great Russia, ... Jurgen and Khivan lands to the head of Shir Gaza khan, our Majesty congratulations. We, the great Sovereign our Majesty, decided to send our ambassador Alexander Bekovich Cherkassky for needs of the common good, both our Russian State and the Khivan land. And you, Shir Gaza khan, the head of Jurgen and Khivan lands, to greet Him, our ambassador, by his rank and dignity, and he will also offer you in the name of our Tsar Majesty, to give decisions on desirable affairs to the common good.

Written in our Reigning City in St. Petersburg. 1716 years from the birth of Christ, March 17. Statehood of our 34th year of our reign.”

According to the diplomatic protocol (etiquette), the ambassador was instructed to deliver an oral message or message from his ruler, which requires researchers to recruit additional sources.

The fourth document: Letter of the Iranian shah Muhammad Shah Kadjar to Khivan khan Allaqli Khan [24]. The message of the Iranian shah represents his desire to “strengthen friendly relations”. Shah, reports that the envoy of the Khivan khan Ataniyaz Mahram, who arrived together with the Iranian envoy Mirza Riza, was graced with an honorary reception. Also, Muhammad shah stresses that in order to express loyalty to the friendship and the alliance of the Iranian state with the Khanate of Khiva, he sends his representative Shahsuvarbek as an ambassador and accompanying person. In this letter, which is called “Humāun-nāme-yi dustāne”, shah notes that ‘... it will be known that how much friendship and love and harmony from your side will be, then more friendship and honour will be given from our side”.

Conclusion. Thus, the study of archival material on the history of the Khanate of Khiva shows that the extant written sources contain important and factual information. The Khivan documents have numerous data on the history of nomadic peoples, including the Qazaqs who lived in the territory of the Khanate of Khiva.

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ХИУА ХАНДЫҒЫ ТАРИХЫНЫҢ КЕЙБІР ҚҰЖАТТАРЫ ТУРАЛЫ

Аннотация. Хиуа хандығының тарихы бойынша мәліметтер бар архивтік құжаттар қарастырылады. Бізге жеткен хиуалық құжаттар өзінің мазмұны мен фактілік материалдардың алуан түрлілігі бойынша Орталықазиялық аймақтағы жазба деректердің арасында маңызды орын алады. «Хиуа ханының кеңсесі» қорының материалдары Өзбекстан үкіметі тарапынан аса құнды деп ресми танылды. Мақала авторлары хиуалық архив құжаттарының шынайы дерек болып табылуымен қатар хандық аумағында мекен еткен қазақтардың тарихын зерттеу үшін де құнды деген қорытындыға келді. Хиуа хандарының көршілес мемлекеттермен, соның ішінде қазақ жүздерімен сырты саяси қатынастарын қалпына келтіруге мүмкіндік беретін мәліметтері бар құжаттар сақталған. Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Білім және ғылым министрлігінің іргелі және қолданбалы ғылыми зерттеулерді қаржыландыру гранты аясында дайындалды.

Түйін сөздер: Хиуа хандығы, хиуа ханының кеңсесі, архив құжаттары, сыртқы саяси қатынастар, қазақтар тарихы.

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О НЕКОТОРЫХ ДОКУМЕНТАХ ПО ИСТОРИИ ХИВИНСКОГО ХАНСТВА

Аннотация. Рассматриваются архивные документы, содержащие сведения по истории Хивинского ханства. Дошедшие до нас хивинские документы по своему содержанию и многообразию фактического материала занимают важное место среди письменных источников Центральноазиатского региона. Материалы фонда «Канцелярия хана хивинского» официально признаны правительством Узбекистана как особо ценные. Авторами статьи сделан вывод, что хивинские архивные документы являются достоверными источниками и для изучения истории казахов, которые проживали на территории ханства. Сохранились документы, в которых содержатся данные позволяющие реконструировать внешнеполитические отношения хивинских ханов с соседними государствами, в том числе, и с казахскими жузами. Статья подготовлена в рамках гранта Министерства образования и науки Республики Казахстан по финансированию фундаментальных и прикладных научных исследований.

Ключевые слова: Хивинское ханство, канцелярия хана хивинского, архивные документы, внешнеполитические отношения, история казахов.

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