



THE REFLECTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN JO‘RABEK QALANDAR QORI O‘G‘LI AND KHUDAYARKHAN IN HISTORICAL SOURCES

Parmonov Sharofiddin Shavkatovich

Chirchik State Pedagogical University Faculty of Humanities

Lecturer at the Department of History, PhD in History

E-mail: Parmonovsharofiddin96@gmail.com

Tel.: +998901743031

ORCID: 0009-0009-2602-1030

Abstract

This article analyzes the reflection of the relations between Jo‘rabek Qalandar qori o‘g‘li and Khudayarkhan in historical sources. The study comparatively examines the relationship between these two historical figures, who played an important role in the political life of the Kokand Khanate, on the basis of sources from different periods. In particular, the political, military, and personal factors in their mutual relations are explored through local historical works, memoirs, Russian military-administrative documents, and modern scholarly research. The article also reveals that these relations were interpreted differently in various sources and that, in some cases, subjective approaches were present. As a result of the study, it is scientifically substantiated that the relations between Jo‘rabek and Khudayarkhan had a complex and multifaceted character.

Keywords: Jo‘rabek Qalandar qori o‘g‘li, Khudayarkhan, Kokand Khanate, historical sources, political relations, military activity, local historiography, Russian sources, socio-political processes, historical analysis.



Introduction

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Kokand Khanate experienced complex political processes. During this period, the weakening of central authority, the intensification of internal political struggles, and the increase of external pressures led to significant changes in the system of state administration. In such circumstances, one of the figures who played an important role on the historical stage was Jo‘rabek Qalandar qori o‘g‘li, who left a notable mark on the life of the khanate through his political and military activity.

Khudayarkhan, as one of the last rulers of the Kokand Khanate, was a figure who made important decisions in the domestic and foreign policy of the country. The relations between Jo‘rabek and Khudayarkhan therefore emerge as an important scholarly problem for understanding the political processes of that period.

The relevance of this topic lies in the fact that these relations were interpreted differently in various historical sources. Through their comparative analysis, it becomes possible to present historical reality more objectively. In particular, the comparison of local historical works with sources from the Russian colonial period and modern scholarly research creates the need to develop a new approach to this issue.

The aim of the study is to analyze how the relations between Jo‘rabek Qalandar qori o‘g‘li and Khudayarkhan were reflected in historical sources and to reveal, on a scholarly basis, the essence and content of their mutual relations.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, within the context of the political processes that took place in Central Asia, particularly the complex relations among the Kokand Khanate, the Emirate of Bukhara, and the Russian Empire, the relations between Jo‘rabek Qalandar qori o‘g‘li and Khudayarkhan acquire particular scholarly significance. These relations were described differently in various historical sources, and through their comparative analysis it is possible to reconstruct a more objective picture of historical reality.

It is known from historical events that after the territories of Shahrisabz and Kitab were occupied by Russian troops, Jo‘rabek and Bobobek lost their positions and were forced to seek political asylum.

Jo‘rabek and Bobobek, together with 300 soldiers, evaded their opponents and moved toward Khojand. They intended to pass through the Kokand Khanate to Kashgar and gather forces there. However, the Kokand khan Khudayarkhan



betrayed them and handed them over to Kaufman. Knowing that there was hostility between the beks, Emir Muzaffar, and Khudayarkhan, Kaufman took Jo‘rabek and Bobobek into his service in order to bring them closer to himself and to make use of their prestige among the people¹. Kaufman was also a skilled diplomat. It is not accidental that this official, who came from a Russified German family, entered history almost as a “semi-tsar” — a person who conquered the Turkestan region in the interests of the Russian Empire.

Eugene Schuyler writes on this matter that Jo‘rabek, at the age of about twenty, was elected bek of Kitab. He expelled many officials of the Emir of Bukhara and, in cooperation with Bobobek, who had taken his father’s place, preserved the independence of the small oasis until August 1870, when Shahrizabz was occupied by the Russians and handed over to the emir. He and Bobobek fled toward Kokand, but were captured and handed over by Khudayarkhan. The reason was that when Khudayarkhan had once spoken to Emir Nasrullah about his troubles and exile, Jo‘rabek had mocked him by calling him an “old fox.” Therefore, Khudayarkhan had old grievances against him. They were brought to Tashkent as prisoners and lived for some time under supervision.

Eugene Schuyler writes the following about Jo‘rabek: if the Emir of Bukhara or the Khan of Kokand were to be dethroned and a vassal appointed, Jo‘rabek would be a person equally acceptable to both sides — the local population and the Russians. At the same time, his origin from the Kenagas tribe, one of the four tribes entitled to ascend the throne of the emirate, would have ensured that he could be considered worthy of the throne without resistance from the population². Sven Hedin, in his work *The Heart of Asia*, relying on what he heard from Jo‘rabek himself, writes: “Together with his friend Bobobek, Jo‘rabek wandered for a long time among mountains and rocks without shelter. Eventually, seeking generosity and assistance from Khudayarkhan, he came to Kokand. However, the khan acted treacherously toward Jo‘rabek, had him arrested, shackled his hands and feet, and sent him to von Kaufman, who was the bek’s enemy. Von Kaufman received Jo‘rabek with an open face, yet kept him in captivity. After Jo‘rabek and

¹ Пармонов О., Бердиев А. Китоб тумани. – Тошкент: «Фан», 1996. – Б. 42.

² Южин Скайлернинг “Туркистон: Россия Туркистони, Қўқон, Бухоро ва Ғулжага саёҳат қайдлари” инглиз тилидан таржимон, кириш, изоҳ ва кўрсаткичлар муаллифи З. А. Саидбобоев. – Тошкент: «Ўзбекистон», 2019. – Б. 60.



Bobobek were kept under house arrest for some time, they were forced to accept Russian citizenship and enter the service of the Russian army”³.

Eugene Schuyler and Sven Hedin met Jo‘rabek and were guests in his house. Therefore, the information they recorded may be considered relatively more reliable than other accounts. This is because both authors, unlike Russian writers or historians of the emirate and khanate who wrote about Jo‘rabek, can be regarded as comparatively independent authors.

Avaz Muhammad Attor, however, provides a different account. “The governor of Shahrisabz, Bobobek, together with his brothers, his deputy Jo‘rabek dodkhah, and other attendants, wandered for some time and entered the territory of the Fergana country. They informed Khudayarkhan of their arrival in Fergana. His Majesty Khudayarkhan consulted with the amirs on this matter. The khan’s brother Sulonmurodbek, together with many amirs and ministers, submitted the following opinion: if we accept the governor of Shahrisabz in the Fergana court, the Emir of Bukhara will certainly incite Russia against us. In that case, Russia will undoubtedly demand the governor of Shahrisabz. If we send him into Russia’s hands, we will be disgraced. If we reject Russia’s request, then the Russians will find a pretext and reason to violate the treaty. The appropriate solution is to provide the governor of Shahrisabz with travel necessities and road expenses as assistance, to show hospitality for several days, and then send him toward Kashgar.”

After this sound advice was accepted, one of the trusted men of the court was sent to convey the hospitality invitation and the aforementioned excuse, together with money and necessary items for travel. The official who received the order went to the governor of Shahrisabz, Bobobek, explained the matter, and delivered the money and various goods as sincere assistance. He then said: “According to the existing treaty, the ruler of Fergana is concerned about keeping you in Kokand. If you stay for several days on the outskirts of Fergana territory, we shall fulfill the conditions of hospitality there. Then, if you go toward Kashgar, we shall escort you as far as its territory.”

The governor of Shahrisabz replied to the official: “We have no desire to pass on to Kashgar. We fled from Shahrisabz to this side because we feared the Emir of Bukhara. The Emir of Bukhara killed many of our ancestors and elders. Taking

³ Свен Хедин. В сердце Азии. Памир – Тибет – Восточный Туркестан. Путешествие в 1893 – 1897 годах. – Москва: Издательство «Ломоносовъ», 2010. – С. 31.



into account the possibility that the old hostility between our tribe and the Emir of Bukhara may be revived, and also the close friendship between the general and the Emir of Bukhara, we did not consider it appropriate to go to the general of Samarkand, Abramov, and surrender. Had we gone to the governor of Samarkand, he might have accepted a gift from the Emir of Bukhara and made efforts before the Turkestan Governor-General von Kaufman to hand us over to the Emir of Bukhara. If His Majesty the Khan of Fergana sends us under his protection to Kaufman, that would be better than all other options. For us, the right path and salvation is to go directly to the Turkestan Governor-General Kaufman and surrender ourselves, without the mediation of the Samarkand general or others. For the Russian state is a great and mighty order, and according to its regulations and laws, prisoners and those who surrender themselves are not killed. I have heard many times from respected people that when rulers of various regions — Tatars, Circassians, and others — fell into Russian hands, they were not condemned to death but were instead treated with care. Therefore, we shall not wander in travel to another region. We consider it preferable to surrender to Tashkent and into Russian hands. If His Majesty the Khan of Fergana sends us to Tashkent with his envoy, we shall be grateful and pleased with His Majesty the Khan.”

After hearing these words from the governor of Shahrisabz, the official came to His Majesty the Khan and reported them. The benevolent khan accepted the request of the governor of Shahrisabz and sent travel necessities and expenses from the treasury. The governor of Shahrisabz, Bobobek parvonachi, together with some of his close attendants and his deputy Jo‘rabek dodkhah, son of Qalandar eshik-og‘asi, was sent to Tashkent from Kokand with an envoy. For the other relatives of the governor of Shahrisabz and all the attendants who had come to Fergana with Bobobek parvonachi after fleeing from the danger of the Emir of Bukhara, salaries were assigned from the treasury according to their requests and wishes⁴. Avaz Muhammad Attor was one of Khudayarkhan’s personal historians; therefore, it is likely that he did not portray Khudayarkhan as a traitor here. It is also noteworthy that the author expressed favorable views about Emir Muzaffar as well.

⁴ Аваз Муҳаммад Атор Тарихи жаҳоннамои. Форс – тожик тилидан таржимон, кириш, изоҳ ва кўрсаткичлар муаллифи Шодмон Воҳидов. – Тошкент: ТошДТУ, 2012. – Б. 409.



In his work *History of Fergana*, Is'hoqxon Ibrat, citing Mulla Muhammad Umarbek Andijani, one of the khan's close attendants, narrates the following event. After spending the night, we departed in the morning from the Mahram fortress and stopped at Isfisor. After spending one night there, the next day, Friday, we arrived in Khojand. Scholars and learned men came out to welcome us. At the gate of Khojand, two men in Russian uniform were standing. We stopped. One of them greeted the khan — it was Jo'rabek — and said: "Peace be upon you, Your Majesty Khan, how are you, are you well? Now you too have entered the road on which we once stood. So this is your present condition! At one time, when we came to you seeking refuge, you seized us by the collar and handed us over to Russia. We did not die; praise be to God, we are in government service!"

He continued: "We asked for refuge, believing that a Muslim would give shelter to a Muslim; now you too shall see!" The khan became enraged and said: "What kind of apostate are you?" He replied: "It is you who should be called an apostate, for you ruined your land and trampled Muslims underfoot!" When the khan drew his sword and the other also took up his sword, Cossack soldiers protected the khan and sent him away⁵. This event shows that Khudayarkhan betrayed Jo'rabek and Bobobek, handed them over, and that the beks had gone to Khudayarkhan seeking assistance.

Mirzo Abdulazim Somiy, in his work *Tarikhi salotini mang'itiya*, writes that after the beklik of Shahrisabz and Kitab were occupied by Russian troops, Bobobek and Jo'rabek fled to Kokand seeking refuge from Khudayarkhan. However, Khudayarkhan did not allow them to enter Kokand.

He separated the accompanying soldiers from the beks and sent the two beks from Sariqsuv to Tashkent, to the governor, as prisoners, thereby serving the governor. The governor acted with foresight in the interests of his state, took the beks into service, and assigned them monthly allowances and suitable houses. He continues to patronize these rulers up to the present time when this work is being written, and they are living in Tashkent. Before long, Shahrisabz and Kitab were again annexed to the possessions of the Bukhara state; the state was strengthened, and a peaceful period began in the territories opposed to it. Friendly relations were established between His Majesty and the Russians, and the path of mutual

⁵ Исҳоқхон Тўра Ибрат Тарихи Фарғона. Нашрга тайёрловчилар, изоҳ муаллифлари: У. Долимов., Н. Жабборов. – Тошкент: «Маънавият», 2005. – Б. 30.



communication and exchange was opened⁶. The evidence presented by Mirzo Abdulazim Somiy also shows that Bobobek and Jo‘rabek were brought to Tashkent not as traitors, but as captives.

A.P. Khoroshkhin, in his book *Collection of Articles on Turkestan*, written in 1876, wrote the following about Bobobek and Jo‘rabek. The Kenagas behaved very badly both toward us and toward the emir. This nest of robbers provoked a campaign against itself in 1870, which ended with the capture of Kitab, the main city of the Kenagas. After that, the lands of these Uzbeks were returned to the emir as the ancient vassal possession of his ancestors. The Kenagas beks, Jo‘rabek and Bobobek, fled to Kokand. Khudayarkhan immediately sent them to Tashkent at the disposal of Adjutant-General Kaufman, and now they live in Tashkent, receiving a sufficient pension from the emir⁷. Russian sources also wrote that the beks were handed over by Khudayarkhan.

The activity of Jo‘rabek Qalandar qori o‘g‘li, who was a product of a complex and contradictory era, was not free from mistakes and shortcomings. In 1875, General Kaufman invited Jo‘rabek to participate in the military campaigns for the conquest of the Kokand Khanate. Jo‘rabek accepted this invitation and, at his own expense, formed a detachment of two hundred men and joined General Skobelev’s expedition. His detachment participated in the bloody battle near Mahram and in the first assault⁸ on Andijan. In addition, courier and reconnaissance service in the Fergana Valley was also entrusted to him. Owing to Jo‘rabek’s skillful actions, large-scale bloodshed on both sides was prevented several times in many battles⁹.

Having learned of Jo‘rabek’s successful struggles against the oppression of Khudayarkhan, the people of Uzgan addressed him with a special letter in 1874 and asked him for help in freeing them from the khan’s tyranny. Later, Jo‘rabek gladly fulfilled the request of the people of Uzgan¹⁰.

Angered by the outrageous actions of the Khan of Kokand, Jo‘rabek participated in the Russian military campaigns against Uzgan, Khojand, and Andijan, not realizing that by doing so he had cast a shadow upon his own reputation.

⁶ Мирзо Абдулазим Сомий Тарихи салотини манғития. – Москва., 1962. – С. 114.

⁷ Хорошхин А.П. Сборник статей о Туркестане. – СПб., 1876. – С. 519.

⁸ Мирзо Олим Махдум хожи Тарихи Туркистон // Сўзбоши ва изоҳлар муаллифи Ш.Воҳидов. Араб ёзувидан таъдил Ш.Воҳидов, Р.Холиқова. Масъул муҳаррир З.Чориев. – Тошкент: Янги аср авлоди, 2009. – Б. 37.; Мухаммад Азиз Марғилоний Тарихи Азий: (Фарғона чор мустамлакаси даврида) // Сўзбоши ва изоҳлар муаллифлари: Ш. Воҳидов, Д. Сангирова Масъул муҳаррир: А. Қаюмов. – Тошкент: «Мавнавият», 1999. – Б. 23; Терентьев М.А. История завоевания Средней Азии. Т. II. – СПб., 1906. – С. 358.

⁹ Голендер Борис Анатольевич. Мои господа ташкентцы. История города в биографиях его знаменитых граждан. – Ташкент., 2007. – С. 59.

¹⁰ Юсупов Ш. Исёнкор додхоҳ//Ўзбекистон адабиёти ва санъати, 1991, – № 22 (31 май) – Б. 5.



The fate of Khudayarkhan, the former Khan of Kokand who had handed Jo‘rabek and Bobobek over to the tsarist authorities, was extremely tragic. Shohruhbek Umarov, a descendant of Khudayarkhan’s son Sayyid Umarbek, writes in his book *The History of Khudayarkhan’s Descendants* that the khan had eleven children.

His sons were Nasriddinbek (1850–1882), Muhammad Aminbek (1857–1923), Sayyid Umarbek (1863–1928), O‘rmonbek (1867–1883), Ibn Yaminbek (1871–1918), and Fansurullobek (1872–1931).

The youngest, the sixth son of Khudayarkhan, was Sayyid Muhammad Fansurullozbek, who was born in 1872 in the khan’s palace in the city of Kokand. His mother was Mas‘udakhon, also known as Og‘acha oyim, the beautiful daughter of Ibodulloxo‘ja from Kashgar¹¹.

His childhood coincided with the difficult times of the khanate, and he shared the days of humiliation and hardship experienced by the khan together with his mother Mas‘udakhon Og‘acha oyim. When the khan left Kokand and came to Tashkent, he took with him Og‘acha oyim and the princes Sayyid Muhammad Nasrullo, known as O‘rmonbek, and Sayyid Muhammad Fansurullozbek, who were under her care.

The khan, who went through Tashkent to Turkestan and visited the mausoleum of Khoja Ahmad Yasawi, said farewell to Mas‘udakhon Og‘acha oyim and Sayyid Muhammad Fansurullozbek and left them in the house of his close acquaintances there. He himself continued his journey and arrived in the city of Orenburg.

In 1880, Nasriddinkhan, returning from exile in the Russian city of Vladimir, entered Turkestan, visited Mas‘udakhon Og‘acha oyim, met with his brothers, and brought them with him to Tashkent on July 29. At that time, the princes Sayyid Muhammadaminbek, Sayyid Umarbek, and Ibn Yaminbek, who had been born to the khan’s other wives, were living in Tashkent.

After receiving education in old-style schools in Turkestan and Tashkent, the young prince Fansurullozbek continued his studies at a Russian-native school and at the Eshonquli Dodkhah madrasa in Shaykh Khovand Tohur.

The name of Fansurullozbek’s wife was To‘ra Chuchukoy, the daughter of Jo‘rabek Qalandar qori o‘g‘li, and their marriage took place in 1893. It is said that after Khudayarkhan’s death, Jo‘rabek, who had returned from Turkestan to

¹¹ Умаров Ш. Худойрхон авлодлари тарихи. – Тошкент: «Турон замин зиё», 2014. – Б. 634.



Tashkent and at that time held the rank of colonel, decided to marry Mas'udakhon Og'acha oyim. However, Jo'rabek was unable to persuade Og'acha oyim to accept his proposal. He even tried threats and coercion. Yet she replied: "I am the wife of a khan; a soldier is not my equal." Later, when Fansurullohbek reached manhood and became respected in every respect, he married the daughter of Jo'rabek Qalandar qori o'g'li. Through this marriage, Fansurullohbek's relations with Jo'rabek Qalandar qori o'g'li became even closer. From the marriage of Fansurullohbek and To'ra Chuchukoyim were born sons named Xisravbek and Hojibek, and daughters named Humoyunxon and Podshosohibaxon.

In conclusion, after the struggles of Jo'rabek and Bobobek against the Russian invasion in the 1870s ended unsuccessfully, their fate led to complex political transformations. As a result of the betrayal of the Kokand khan Khudayarkhan, they were handed over to Kaufman. The activity of General Jo'rabek Qalandar qori o'g'li in the Turkestan Governor-Generalship was, by its nature, a process rich in contradictions and conflicts. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, when the policy of the Russian Empire was aimed at bringing Central Asia fully under its sphere of influence, Jo'rabek's activity manifested itself in two directions: on the one hand, he sought to defend the interests of the local population; on the other hand, he was forced to adapt to the Russian political system.

The fact that Jo'rabek Qalandar qori o'g'li established kinship ties with a person who had been in sharp political opposition to him — in particular, that he gave his daughter in marriage to the son of a man who had shown hostility toward him — clearly demonstrates not only his pragmatic political approach, but also his qualities as a tolerant, forgiving, and kind-hearted person. This circumstance shows that the institution of marriage occupied an important place in the socio-political environment of that period as a means of mitigating conflicts and restoring mutual trust.

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