

# The Role of the Institute of Aqsaqal (Consular) in the Diplomatic Relations between the Kokand Khanate and the Ching Empire (1760-1864)

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**Abstract:** The Kokand Institute of Aqsaqals was established and operated in East Turkestan during the period of 1760-1864 as a result of diplomatic relations between the Kokand Khanate (1709-1876) and the Ching Empire (1644-1912). This extraterritoriality was known in historical literature as "The Independent Governor", "The Kokand Consul" and "The Aqsaqals in Kashgar". The organizational structure, tasks and specifics of this institute are not sufficiently analyzed. Therefore, this issue is based on historical manuscripts and archives, an informal union of Kokand traders trying to gain a foothold in East Turkestan economic market - the "hudaida" system and "Aqsaqals Institute" is an organization that had an official status under the treaty of January 13, 1832, between the two countries, are studied in this paper. The Kokand Aqsaqals Institute directly served as a translator for the economic and political interests of the Kokand and Ching empires. The Kokand Aqsaqals first gained control of Kokand citizens in East Turkestan, and later traders from the Bukhara Emirate, Khiva Khanate, Kazakh and Kyrgyz lands, Badakhshan and Kashmir. In turn, the Ching Empire used this institution to sell Chinese goods to the western countries. The work reveals the term aqsaqals, the organizational structure of aqsaqals, the appointment of aqsaqals, their personality, their duties, their work, their relationship with the Ching Empire deputies and governors. After the termination of the Kokand Khanate (1876) it was concluded that the Russian Empire and the British Consulate in East Turkestan were established on the basis of this institution.

**Index Terms:** East Turkestan, Kokand khanate, Ching empire, Manchu deputy, trade union, hudaida, shangmu, aqsaqal, consul, trade relations, trade duty.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

It is well-known that Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan have political, economic, cultural and literary links because of their people, language, religion, traditions and customs. These relations did not stop even when East Turkestan was conquered by the Ching Empire (1758-1759). In Eastern Turkestan, the interests of the Kokand khanate and the Ching Empire were at stake. The diplomatic relations between the two countries were established in October-November 1759 after the visit of Manchu officer Daketana (d.1770) to the Kokand Khanate. As a result of these contacts, Central Asian traders, including Kokand traders, returned to East Turkestan markets. These traders acted as translators between the two countries. Kokand traders also resumed their work to establish an informal association to protect their rights in the Ching Empire in order to continue its traditional trade. According to Islamic rules, the traders paid the trade tax and the zakat to the ruler of the Kokand Khanate which was one of the Muslim countries. The Kokand khans always raised this issue of the association in their diplomatic relations with the Ching Empire. Therefore, this association was informal for 1760-1832 and formal until 1832-1864. Chen Ching-lung, Nizaji Kadir, Biaixam Aji, Zhang Yongxin have written several scientific articles exploring the relationship between the trade union "hudaida" and the Ching Empire [1,2,3,4]. However, these articles were mainly written based on Chinese and Manchurian sources. They did not use the important sources in local Persian-Tajik and Turkic languages on the history of Kokand khanate and East Turkestan which means there is no comparative analysis. Therefore, scholars such as Kim Hodong mentioned that this issue had been insufficiently studied [5: 223].

Also, the formation of the Aqsaqals system, the aqsaqals and their appointment, the legal status of the person appointed to this position, and the differences in the aqsaqal system were not studied in the historical researches. In the study of sources in the 19th century, it can be said that the institute did not only oversee trade, but also engaged in other socio-political and religious issues. The study of this institute will provide a full picture of the political situation in East Turkestan at that time. It also demonstrates the role and role of the khanate in this country, since the system of aqsaqals is one of the clear forms of Kokand Khan's policy with Eastern Turkestan. This issue is of particular importance in the study of the history of interrelations between Central Asian and Eastern Turkestan, including Uzbek, Uigur, Kyrgyz, Tajik and Chinese people.

## 2 MATERIALS AND METHODS

While studying this issue variety of materials, including, scientific papers, monographs, historical manuscripts, archival sources, memoirs in various languages are used in this paper. Information on the activities of Kokand Aqsaqals Institute in Eastern Turkestan can be found in the manuscripts and archival documents of the 18<sup>th</sup> - the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Chinese, Manchurian, Persian and Tajik languages. Chinese and Manchurian Archival Documents have been adequately studied by Toro Soguchi [6], M. Kutlukov [7], N. Kuznetsov [8,9], Pan Chzhepen [10], L.Nyubai [11], Onomu Takahiro, Shenmen Yasushi, Kwahara, Yayovi [12] and other researchers. They focused on the diplomatic and economic ties between the Kokand Khanate and the Ching Empire. The work of Imam Ali Kunduzi (1786-1858), written in the Persian-Tajik language in 1850, tells of Abdughafur, Ruzi, Negmatjon Dodkhoh and other aqsaqals of the Kokand khan who were sent to Eastern Turkestan. The facts of the work were described in "historic style" chronograms of significant events of 1822-1857. The author himself traveled to Kashgar several times and wrote on the basis of his own experiences [13]. In the memory book by Chokan Valikhanov, who came to Eastern

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Turkestan in 1858-1859, the political and economic situation in Eastern Turkestan, the activities of the Kokand aqsaqals Nematjon and Boykhan are also given [14,15]. "Gharoyibi Sipah" (The Wonders of Army), written in 1864-1865, contains information about A'lam pochcha who was one of the great ambassador of Kokand, the first official Kokand aqsaqal in Eastern Turkestan, sent by Muhammad Ali Khan (The khan of Kokand) (1822-1842) in 1831-1832 [16]. Kurban Ali Ayaguzi's book "Tavorikhi khamsai Sharqi" ("Five History of the East") also provides information on the establishment of the Kokand Aqsaqals Institute (consulate) in Eastern Turkestan and the aqsaqals appointed by the Kokand khanates[17]. Consuls of the Russian Empire in Kashgar, N.Kuropatkin [18], N. Petrovsky's reports also provide a wealth of information about the history of Eastern Turkestan, as well as the political and economic cultural life of the country, as well as the occupations of people from Kokand khanate. Even during the Soviet period, the history of statehood and diplomacy of the Kokand Khanate was unilaterally studied, particularly in terms of classical political and economic relations with the Russian Empire. However, the diplomatic relations of the khanate with China have not been thoroughly studied. Only the works of East Turkestan peoples against the Chinese government led by East Turkestan khodjas were illuminated. Scientific works and dissertations on the relationship between East Turkestan and Central Asia were reviewed and recommended by the Academic Councils of Oriental Studies Institutions in Moscow and Leningrad, not in Tashkent or Samarkand, but only in the "Centers" of USSR [20]. Many studies in Tashkent on this subject were not completed. For example, the researches by oriental scholars A.A.Semenov [21], E.V. Bunakov [22] was not completed. Kokand governors were in constant negotiations with the Ching Empire to use their right to control the institution of aqsaqals in East Turkestan. Many researchers have commented on this. For example, Japanese researcher Toro Soguchi, who conducted his research on Chinese documents, said that the Kokand aqsaqal, who had the seal of Norbotti, and later, with the seal of Olimkhan, had control of the Kokand traders in Kashgar [6:87]. M. Kutlugov believed that this aqsaqal system was started during Norbutabi's period [7: 219]. Historian M. Gureevich wrote that the Kokand Khan - Umar Khan "attempted to appoint a Kokand aqsaqal (hudaida) to oversee the collection of customs duties from the Kokand merchants in Kashgar" [23:238-239]. Kurban Ali Ayaguzi believed that this system of aqsaqals was established after Kokand-China agreement (1832)[24:332]. The principles of objectivity and historicity of historical research, statistical and content, as well as historical and comparative methods of historical research were used in studying the history of Kokand Khanate's Aqsaqals Institute in Turkestan.

### 3 THE MAIN RESULTS AND FINDINGS

#### 3.1. Andijan residents and the market of East Turkestan

In East Turkestan, Central Asians, including Kokand traders, were called "Andijan". This population was the basis of Kokand Aqsaqals Institute. As a result of the political crisis in the Bukhara Khanate, in the first decade of the 18th century, a new state association, the Kokand Khanate, was founded in Ferghana Valley. The rulers of the new state directed domestic and foreign policy on the development of the country. During the rule of strong power, the process of

centralization of the state intensified, and the country's economic and cultural life intensified. An important role in the development of the economy was played by the external economic relations of the Kokand Khanate. One of the main factors in the development of the economy of the khanate was trade relations with China and the population of East Turkestan that is part of it. Of particular importance in this trade was the active participation of Asian traders and artisans, who were called Andijan people (mainly they were citizens of the Kokand Khanate). Studying their activities opens up new pages in the history of Uzbekistan. The main trade route between Andijan and Kashgar-Khutan, leading to Central Asia, China and India, ran through Osh-Sufikorovul-Terak dovon-Egizak and was considered the most convenient and shortest road. In Chinese sources, it was noted that in the XIV-XIX centuries Andijan was an important trading center in the West for the sale of Chinese products [25: 255]. A small village located near the city of Kashgar on this way was called "Kichik Andijon" (Small Andijan) [26:44], the largest caravanserai in the central square of the city of Kashgar was called "Andijonsarai" [27:89]. One of the streets in the village of Yangikurgon, built in 1838 during the reign of the khokim of Kashgar, Zukhuriddunbek, was called Andijonkucha (Andijanstreet) [27:88]. All these names are directly related to Andijan and "Andijan". Orientalist V.V. Bartold wrote, "Trade relations between Central Asia and East Turkestan were mediated by Andijan merchants. In those parts, Andijan was so widely known that merchants and artisans who arrived from Central Asia on Uyghur lands were called "Andijan people" [28: 326]. Andijan people traveled to East Turkestan without any obstacles, were free to trade in the markets of East Turkestan and China because: firstly, the language is an important means of communication, and the Uighurs of East Turkestan and Ferghana Uzbeks spoke a similar dialect [29: 30; 30: 268]. Secondly, the populations of the two territories were mainly Muslims and Sharia rules dominated trade between them. Thirdly, as the historian B. Litvinsky noted, "Central Asia (primarily Ferghana Valley) and East Turkestan have been formed since ancient times in the territories of states with a single ethno-culture and history" [31:28]. All this confirms the connection and similarity in the socio-economic, cultural life of the population of the two territories. At the same time, these ties intensified as a result of political processes and inter-territorial migration of the population. In the years 1755-1759, Chinese troops captured the Khanate of Yorkend (1465-1759) in East Turkestan. This had a serious impact on traditional trade between the Kokand Khanate and the population of this territory. The heirs of the Khanate of Yorkend - Khoji and tens of thousands of East Turkestan were forced to move to the territory of Kokand. This is mentioned in the work "Tarikhi Badakhshoni" by Sanga Badakhshoni: "9 thousand families moved to Kokand" [32: 337]. One of the reasons for the mass migration of people was an unstable political situation. Rebellions began against the power of the Chinese government, which was considered a "Gentile" for the peoples of East Turkestan. As a result of the uprisings in Kashgar in 1760, in Uchturfon in 1765, as well as the uprising led by Jahongir khodja in 1826-1828, Yusufhoji in 1830, Valikhontura in 1847-1857, the population of East Turkestan migrated to save to the territory of the Kokand Khanate. Khans of Kokand allocated territory near Andijan to them. S. Zhalilov wrote that from the second half of the 18th century emigrants from East Turkestan began to settle in the eastern part of the

khanate. Most settled in the upper part of the Okbura River Valley, in the Kurshab Valley, near Uzgan, in the Jalolobod and Suzok districts of Kuchartsoy Valley, in the regions of Shakhrikhon, Yazyavan, Andijan and formed villages on these lands [33:51]. The arrival of emigrants had an impact on the economy of Kokand Khanate. They began to develop new lands, contributed to the activation of the sedentary nature of nomadic Kirghiz. This ensured the expansion of the territory of the khanate to the east and the safety of caravan routes. Probably, the local people, having learned that among the emigrants from East Turkestan who settled near Andijan there are their compatriots who returned to their original lands, began to call them "Andijan people" (people from Andijan) [30:54]. Family ties were established between them. At the same time, residents of East Turkestan, and Chinese administrators, and merchants from among citizens of Kokand Khanate were called "Andijan people". Kokand khans of Erdon (1751-1770) and Norbutabi (1770-1798) refused to demand the Chinese government to extradite the heirs (representatives) of the Khanate of Yorkend - the Khoja emigrants and their murids. [7: 203]. Then the Chinese government invited the Kokand Khanate to keep khodjas, for which a wide path for trade in East Turkestan would be open for the Khanate, and 1,000 silver bars would be paid annually [34: 196]. The rulers of Kokand accepted this proposal, and the obtained silver bullion was used for the economy of the Khanate. 700 silver coins were minted from each ingot [35: 5; 36: 58]. These coins were put into circulation. In accordance with the agreement reached between the Chinese government and Kokand, Andijan people began to occupy the markets of East Turkestan. In 1761, the commander of Yorkend reported to the government of Hsinchu Qingn: "A lot of Andijan merchants arrive here regularly, mix with the local population. It is of concern that the enemy may not only be outside, but also hide in the territory itself" [8: 19; 37: 131]. This, of course, alerted the Chinese government. Because "Andijan" traders began to occupy markets in various territories of East Turkestan. Moreover, they reached the Chinese province of Shansu-Gansu in the eastern part of East Turkestan. This was stated in a report by the Governor-General of the province, Yang Yingjiyuy: "Recently, Andijan, Badakhshan, Kyrgyz and other Muslims have been trading in our markets. They travel freely to their homes" [9:53]. "Andijan people" took part in the above-mentioned uprisings. To stop their activities, the Chinese government took certain actions. So, in accordance with the decree of the Chinese government of 1795, girls from East Turkestan were forbidden to marry Andijan guys, and after the uprising of Jahongir khodja in 1826-1828, a decree was issued to confiscate the property of Andijan people living in East Turkestan and their expulsion from the country [7: 212]. Trade between the Kokand Khanate and East Turkestan developed under the influence of political processes, close relations developed between the merchants of the two territories, they knew very well the peculiarities and prices of goods in bilateral circulation. They had information about political processes, natural, social and economic conditions in these two states. Based on their information, the terms and conditions of trade between the two territories were developed, and brochures were written about this. These brochures indicated that trade was based on Sharia rules, that the buyer was not allowed to cheat, a prerequisite was an indication of the shortcomings of the goods being sold. Trading was handed down from generation to generation, in

various territories it was possible to carry out trade on behalf of his father, who became famous in trading circles. Subsequent generations sought to maintain this fame, that is, the authority gained in trading circles. N.F. Petrovsky, who served as consul of the Russian Empire in Kashgar in 1882-1903, wrote: "Andijan people and Kashgars trade like their ancestors did as well. Commonality in trade affairs united them, led to a commonality of opinion and formation as a trading team" [19: 134-135]. Trade obligations were fulfilled between them, they freely shared their opinions on the prices of goods, and, most importantly, they never fooled each other. Thanks to this, Andijan merchants gained the trust of the owners of manufactories in Russia and the Chinese Empire. Between these empires developed trade relations. And the position of intermediary was firmly taken by the Andijan people. The Sino-Manchurian government, which created a state monopoly on the trade in silk and tea, was only allowed to sell this product. And they even transferred Russian merchants across the borders of East Turkestan under the name of "Andijan", dressing them in Asian clothes. [38: 198]. They managed to expel Indian and Kashmir merchants from the markets, secretly importing goods from England to Central Asia. Because the trust of the population of Central Asia and East Turkestan was won by "Andijan" traders. There is no exact data on the number and places of residence of the Andijan people in East Turkestan and China, but some sources of this are found in some sources. Most of them lived in Kashgar. People from Kokand lived in the largest caravanserai of Kashgar, Andijanesarai, and merchants from Margilan, Uratyube and Khojent were mainly located in Kokandsarai and other caravanserai of the city [27:89]. In addition, the caravanserais of Andijan merchants were in Yorkend, Huton, Oksuva, Uchturfon and other cities. Foreigners in Kashgar made up one fourth of the local population, their number was 145 thousand people, among them about six thousand were Andijan people [39: 269]. The following data are given in Chinese sources: the total number of Andijan residents was 5122 families, of which 3602 lived in the southern part of the Tien Shan, 460 in the territory of Ili [40: 514; 41: 1190]. Certainly, these data were approximate and changed in connection with various socio-political processes. That is why the Manchu government registered all people from Kokand khanate and the people who came to Central Asia in 1828 in Eastern Turkestan. As a result, there were overall 5,122 families and especially 3602 families lived in the south of the Tien Shan, namely Kashgar, Yorkend, Khuton, Uchturfon, Yangikhisor, Kuchor, Aksu and others. 460 families were found to live in the northern Ili region of Urumchi, Gulja, and Chuguchak [6:88; 8: 133-134]. People from Kashmiri, Bukhara, and Badakhshan were people in that list. In fact, most people from Kokand Khanate were in Eastern Turkestan at that time. All of them were not included in the census led by Chinese official Na Yanchen. The above figures were only the number of citizens of the Kokand khanate who came to East Turkestan between 1818 and 1828. Manchu government aimed to collect taxes from people who came before 1818. For this purpose, the citizens of the Kokand khanate were registered as Uighurs living in East Turkestan and were subject to state taxes such as land and housing taxes. At the same time, Manchu government relocated them to undeveloped land. In particular, more than 600 Muslim traders from the khanate were forced to reclaim the vacant land around Uchturfon, cultivate crops, clean the ditches, and



work on other types of collective duties such as hashars [25: 170]. The Manchurian government ordered the seizure and confiscation of all Kokand citizens who came to East Turkestan in 1818-1828. In particular, the goods of Milasalay (Mirsolih - Q), one of the organizers of the Jahongir Khoja's uprising, he was a trader from Andijan, were seized for the amount of 3 597 lyan [66], 7 tsiang [67] 3 feng [68] silver [25:166]. Of all the Muslims who participated in the Jahongir Khodja's uprising, 181,000 silver lian goods were seized and confiscated for the state treasury [25: 164]. Andijan people brought textile and agricultural products manufactured in Central Asia to the markets of East Turkestan, Russian goods - metal and cast iron products, from Europe imported fabrics, steel, Bulgarian leather, paper products, chintz. From East Turkestan exported and sold tea, leather products, Chinese silk, silver bullion [27:87]. Ch. Valikhanov, who visited East Turkestan in 1850-1858, wrote: "The merchants of Central Asia sought trade with Kashgar. Andijan residents, Bukhara residents in large volumes purchased local paper products, paper (cotton) fabrics of black and gray color, striped felt and semi-silk fabrics. Perhaps the total annual trade turnover of Kashgar exceeds 10 million rubles "[27:87]. Another source indicates that the annual trade turnover between the Kokand Khanate and East Turkestan was equal to 30-40 thousand gold [42:19]. The activities of Andijan people continued in the last years of the Kokand Khanate, did they contribute to the khanate commander Muhammad Yokubbek in the construction of the state of Ettishahar? In 1865, after the capture of the city of Tashkent by Russian troops, tens of thousands of citizens of the Kokand Khanate came to East Turkestan to Muhammad Yokubbek. One of the historians of that time, Muhammad Olim, in his work "Tarikhi Khuton" wrote about the "Andijan people" who served Muhammad Yokubbek and noted that among the "Andijan people" there were 2 thousand people in Yorkend, Kuchor - 6 thousand, Turfon - 2 thousand, Urumchi - 8 thousand people [43: 142]. Russian sources indicate that the total number of Andijan residents exceeded 500 thousand people. A lot of information about "Andijan people" is also in the works of Robert Shaw, Forsyth, who were considered agents of England [44: 132; 45: 224]. The study of the activities of merchants and artisans called "Andijan people" who played a serious role in the trade relations of Central Asia, in particular, the Kokand Khanate with China and East Turkestan, is one of the most important issues in the history of Central Asia. The study of this issue on the basis of new sources and a new approach will be of particular importance in studying the history of trade relations in Central Asia.

### 3.2. The terms of aqsaqal and hudaida

The term aqsaqal is used among the people of Central Asia and East Turkestan to be respected, prestigious and business people. Aqsaqal played an important role in the Kokand khanate and administrative system of the Central Asian states. Aqsaqal (literally, 'white beard' in the Turkic languages of Central Asia) is an expression to designate the aqsaqals, sages who could fill the informal or more formally codified functions of advisers or mediators. The term "aqsaqal" is synonymous with the word "hudaida" (呼岱达), the Chinese "shangmu" or "maima touren" - the "head of the trade" [2,3,4, 11: 65-66]. Aqsaqal system of khanates in Central Asia was a position in local government, and the man helped bring people who had a strong sense of community to live together and

support each other. Aqsaqals were formerly the chief of the clan and later became officials. For example, in the Khiva khanate, aqsaqals were active in receiving ambassadors and in many other activities. Aqsaqals were elected by the people, but they were also mediators between the rulers and the people. The role of aqsaqal is also used in irrigation, trade and economic systems. For example, aqsaqal of irrigation system, aqsaqal of trade, and so on. This name has been used by Central Asians for a long time in the management of the team and has been preserved as a national tradition, and its functions and powers have been formed. Hence, in the Middle Ages, the name aqsaqal was used in many areas. Together with aqsaqal, the Kokand Khanate also used the name of a commander. But the chief of the army was an administrative position during the khanate, and was used in the form of fifty chiefs, centurions, and chiefs and aqsaqals of the rulers of certain territories. But this was not official, but it was roughly the same as the centurion and the fifty. He was formally called an aqsaqal in charge of a particular team and was even called an aqsaqal by the name of the official. One of our historical sources can be seen in the works of Muhammad Yunus Toyib's "Historical Aliquli Amirlashkar" and Muhammad Salihkhoja's "Tarikhi Jadidai Tashkent" as the leader of a particular community in the Kokand Khanate. In particular, U.Sultanov who has done research on the historical work called "Tarikhi Jadidai Tashkent" points out that governors during the Kokand Khanate ruled the city by relying on four more aqsaqals [46:112-113]. The name of aqsaqals as a commander continued throughout the nation during the Russian Empire. Especially after the uprising of 1892, when the term "aqsaqal" was no longer used, the locals used the name "mingbashi" (thousand captain) instead of "starshina". Even in archival documents, the term was difficult to find since then and was used as a starshina or a commander in its place [47:32]. In the media, the term was used as a "starshina aqsaqal" in recent years. During the Kokand khanate, "bek" was head of Tashkent. When the Russian Empire invaded the city and introduced new rules, this position was abolished, with the chief aqsaqal taking charge of the four-lane city. Well-known historians N.Abdurakhimova and F. Ergashev said about the chief aqsaqal of the city of Tashkent: "The aqsaqal was subordinate to all the nobles, the nobles, and the judges". According to historian F.Ozadaev, aqsaqal worked in the administration and controlled the city's police system [49:107]. A.D. Middendorf, "Aqsaqal system is the center of local government in the Fergana Valley. All the elements of community management revolve around it, and it is well organized" [50: 170-171]. The ruler who came to power relied on village aqsaqals to operate the village community and to collect timely and full collection of state taxes [38: 240]. The villages were led by aqsaqals, elected by the people and confirmed by the ruler [51: 151]. The aqsaqals also played a role in the economic life of the khanate and in trade. For example, the aqsaqal of Margilan market, who gave a permission to start the market and controlled the market. Aqsaqal prevented buyers from being misled by shoppers, selling poor-quality goods, and stealing [52:52]. The Kokand rulers sent their orders not only to the Kokand aqsaqals, who lived in the khanate, but also in other countries. Aqsaqals who had labels of Kokand ruler also lived in the Russian Empire and East Turkestan. About this, H. Ziyoyev notes that "Kenjatoy Boyjanov, aqsaqal of the Kokand traders who lived in Petropavlovsk, Russia in 1821, had a special label of

Kokand Khan in his hands" [53: 186]. The Kokand aqsaqal with such a label also worked in East Turkestan. However, the functioning of this system of aqsaqals in East Turkestan was quite difficult. "Hudaida" can be found in the memorials in Chinese. For an example of former, the works of Ma Dazheng and Wu Fengpei are written about "hudaida" [54]. Nevertheless, I suppose that the term is more likely to be derived from the Persian word "khuda-dad", since a Chinese document notes that "shang-tou" (the chief of commerce) is called hudaida in the language of the Muslims.

### 3.3. "Hudaida" in East Turkestan

Initially Aqsaqal Institute in East Turkestan was founded in 1762 by the Kokand merchants as an independent association in Yorkent. Rizokuli who was a merchant from Kokand, was appointed an aqsaqal of the Kokand traders in Yorkend. The second aqsaqal was appointed in Kashgar, a trader from Tashkent, Nematjon (1808) [11:66]. Russian orientalist A.A. Semenov noted that one of such aqsaqals was a Nematboy from Tashkent, who was sent to East Turkestan as an aqsaqal [21: 7]. In Chinese sources, these aqsaqals were appointed by the governors of Yorkend and Kashgar with the consent of the Kokand governor. The Ching Empire administration agreed. Kokand traders of Yorkend and Kashgar met with an aqsaqal in Kashgar's old district four times in a month [2:94]. His job was to collect duties and taxes from all the Kokand traders and the Muslim population in Kashgar. However, relations between the governor of Kashgar - Akbek and Nematboy became worse. Erdogan sent a group of Kokand soldiers to Kashgar in order to discredit Akbek in front of the Manchurian government. As a result, this led to the removal of Akbek from his position. Instead, a man named Iskandarbek from Turfan appointed as a governor of Kashgar. He sent a large gift to Kokand, earning the respect of Kokand's officials, and releasing a Chinese officer from captivity. This led to his growing reputation in Manchu government. The Manchurian government gave him the title of "wong". After the death of this man who served as governor of Kashgar for 40 years, his son Yunusbek was replaced by the governor of Kashgar [21: 7]. One of the reasons for Iskandarbek's stay in the post of governor of Kashgar, of course, was his good relationship with the Kokand side. This historical event demonstrates that Kokand rulers paid special attention to the aqsaqal management system in East Turkestan and made every effort to improve it. According to local sources, Norbutabi (1763-1798) tried issue coins to raise the khan's economy and to trade with neighboring countries [55:17; 56:40-45]. The purpose of controlling the circulation of these coins in East Turkestan led to the emergence of an aqsaqal system. Therefore, according to Chinese documents, the position of a so-called "hudaida" of trade in Eastern Turkestan may be considered to have been introduced since Norbutabi's period. This information was also recognized by Muhammad Sodiq Kashkari in his work "Asar ul-Futuh" [57: 9]. In 1792-1793 Mirza Maim Raim (Muhammad Rahim) and Silibu (Sharif) and Babajan and Sharif embassies, sent to Beijing in 1796-1797, they asked from Manchu government to establish "hudaida" – officials center of Kokand which controlled Kokand traders in Eastern Turkestan [10:28; 9:59] and Manchu government agreed. Ne'matjon's son Salijon was appointed as the aqsaqal of the Kokand by the ruler Olim khan (1798-1810) in Kashgar [6:88]. This association was also officially recognized by the Empire of Manchu, and it was in the interest of the

government. First, it aimed to gain control over foreigners and traders who migrated from the Central Asian khanates to Eastern Turkestan, and secondly to sell and benefit Chinese goods to the western countries. This aqsaqal negotiated with the administration of Manchu and freed Abdulla detained Kokand merchant from Yorkend Prison [9:53]. According to a Chinese document, the "Kokand aqsaqal Salijon, who was based in Eastern Turkestan, first managed financial affairs in the Kokand khanate on behalf of Norbutabi. He, along with his brother-in-law, Kurbanbek, controlled each of the coins in Kokand. It is clear that he was a wealthy merchant and understood the financial processes of the country. Another task of the aqsaqal was to oversee the relations between the Manchu government officials of East Turkestan and local Uighur officials and the citizens of Kokand, and to be able to oppose and secure any policy against the Kokand citizens. That is why this aqsaqalhood was not officially recognized by the government of Manchu, and these aqsaqals sometimes acted in secrecy. In particular, Tokhta Khoja, who was appointed an aqsaqal to East Turkestan in the days of Umar Khan (1809-1822), was secretly found by the government of the Manjur who exposed him and sent him back to Kokand. In 1814, Omar Khan, along with an envoy named Mirza Abbas, sent two judges to Eastern Turkestan to defend the rights of Tokhta Khoja [6:98]. They came to the governor of Kashgar and negotiated them on the task of collecting trade duties from the Kokand residents. At the same time, the Kokand traders living in Kashgar agreed to pay all Sharia taxes and duties to the Kokand khan and not to Manchu administration [8: 120]. There is no information whether Kokand aqsaqal knew or did not know the exact number of Kokand citizens in East Turkestan. In turn, Manchu government did not register Kokand citizens who were trading in East Turkestan between 1759 and 1828. However, after Jahongir khodja's uprising in 1826-1828, the Institute of Aqsaqal was discontinued. After the uprising, the citizens of Kokand were taken strict measures.

### 3.4. Treaty of 1832 and formalization of Kokand Aqsaqals Institute

The ban on the activities of Kokand aqsaqal in East Turkestan by Manchu government led to opposition from Kokand rulers. Because Kokand ruler Muhammad Ali Khan (1822-1842) also sent ambassadors to Manchu government several times to officially recognize this system of aqsaqals. One of these ambassadors was Ayalanbay (Grand Pole), who visited Beijing on several occasions between 1831 and 1834, the capital of Manchurian government. This is described in detail in the work of Kokand historian Tajir in "Gharayib Sipah" [58: 456]. According to Ch.Valikhanov, A'lam pochcha's real name was A'lam Pashsha [15: 147]. In the Chinese sources, Researcher L. Nbay emphasizes that in 1834 an ambassador named "Olimboy" came from Kokand [11: 122]. E. Yakubov considered him to be of Jewish descent [59]. However, A'lam was not really a "scholar" name but it was the name of a religious position in the Kokand khanate. Therefore, the original name of the envoy is still unknown. The Kokand khanate's aqsaqal system in Eastern Turkestan system was restored. Borders were reopened, trade relations continued, and property seized from Kokand traders was returned to the owners. An Order of the Emperor of Manchu Daoguan (1821-1850) on January 13, 1832, established an Aqsaqally Institution for taxation from Kokand Traders in Eastern Turkestan [9:98]. On April 13, 1832, A'lam pochcha promised

with the Qur'an not to allow Khojas to enter Eastern Turkestan and he was appointed an aqsaqal to Kashgar [5:28]. According to Japanese researchers, this aqsaqal has been appointed since 1833 [12]. At that time, Eastern Turkestan was only needed for the empire of the Manchurian Empire as a peace place. The ambassadors of Kokand, A'lam pochcha and Muhammad Dukarbay played an important role in this situation. The Kokand khanate was not limited to collecting taxes from the Kokand traders. In 1833, Muhammad Ali Khan sent an ambassador named Mirza Ayyub. The ambassador asked the permission to collect taxes not only from Kokand traders, but also to all foreign merchants in Eastern Turkestan. Isa, a merchant from Kokand, was appointed an aqsaqal in the village of Uchturfan [9:99]. In 1834, another ambassador came from Kokand, and he wanted to ask the Kokand traders in Eastern Turkestan to pay no more taxes. He also said he was going to Beijing to solve this problem. Arriving in Beijing in 1834, A'lam Pochcha also urged from the government to not take taxes from people from Badakhshan, Kashmir for trading. Kokand aqsqaqs had special rights in East Turkestan. Kurban Ali Ayaguzi wrote in his work "Tavorikhi Hamsa Sharqi": "Each of the aqsaqal had such power in Kashgar that the government of the Manchu had to reckon with. The aqsaqal's servant, who had met the governor of Kashgar on the horse, was assaulted. The aqsaqal became angry and he sent soldiers to the head of the Chinese administration demanding that the governor's apologize ... Otherwise, I will send a letter to the khan (Kokand khan) about this, and I will invite the masters here. I will narrow the world in his eyes" (17: 101). When it became known to the head of the Chinese administration, the aqsaqal immediately negotiated and apologized to him with donating two silver coins and a few pieces of cloth. He fired the governor from his post. The aqsaqal calmed down. It should be noted that the aqsaqal sent 500 silver yams to the treasury of the Kokand Khanate from Kashgar [39:274]. Thus the aqsqaqs had great authority. According to Imam Ali Kunduzi and Chokan Valikhanov, "This position was a lease given by Kokand rulers. Initially people from this category of merchants were appointed to the post, and later more were occupied by military men. The last two aqsqaqs are dodxoh's [69] soldiers. The chief aqsaqal, who had the right of a representative, lived in Kashgar, where a zakat officer [70], treasurer [71] and chief of staff [72], and a number of other civil servants served for him. He had the authority to appoint aqsqaqs in cities other than Kashgar. The appointed aqsaqal, in turn, leased these positions based on the importance of commerce in ten cities and the profits that come from it. The rent of Kokand aqsaqal in Khotan, which was considered the most expensive among these cities, was 16 yombu. Because in Khotan there were many factories, including nephrite mines. The profits from Muslim traders were high. Yorkend paid 6 yambu, Aksu 8 yambu, and Turfon and Yangihisor 4 silver yambu respectively [60: 438]. According to "Tavorikhi Manzuma" this aqsqaqhood is called "musofirkhana" (strangers house). In addition, all aqsqaqs had village police officers to collect taxes, tax collectors, devotees, and subordinates in Kyrgyz tribes. And in this eastern Turkestan Kashgar there were leaders, judges and imams of an aqsaqal. The Chief Leader resided in Kashgar. In the presence of the aqsaqal, a broker was appointed by the khan and hence the broker called the khan broker. Since this official was an intermediary in the trade with the emigrants, they received 3 gold coins in every yambu and one tenth of every

gold products. Two coins were levied on each caravan traveling from Kashgar. The brokers paid 1,200 pieces of tea - 3,600 silver yambu in a year. Therefore, the sources referred to this aqsaqal as "Khan broker" and "Representative State" [61:102]. During the bazaar days in Kashgar, Chinese soldiers and law enforcement officers opened the way for the aqsaqal and protected him from the crowd. At the request of the aqsaqal, several brothels were closed [14:374]. If the aqsaqal did not like the politics of the administration of the Manchu, he secretly sent 15-20 soldiers to the Kashgar Mountains and killed several of the Manchu soldiers on the border. Then they returned to the city and spread rumors that the Khojas were going to attack Kashgar. The men were then sent to the aqsaqal. At the same time, the administration of Manchu always sent him presents. Imam Ali Kunduzi wrote earlier that Ruzi was twice appointed the aqsaqal of Kashgar. He was known as a cunning man because he was a very clever person. Cunning Ruzi was first appointed as an aqsaqal to Kashgar in 1842-1843, and the second was appointed between 1843-1844 [13: 43a, 46a, 68a page]. This may be due to the political situation in the Kokand khanate. Because at that time Muhammad Ali Khan was killed by the Emir of Bukhara Nasrulla Khan. Cunning Ruzi may have been sent by his successor Sherali Khan (1842-1845) to Kashgar as an aqsaqal. During the reign of the Kokand Khan – Khudoyar Khan, Nematjon dodkhoh [13:68a-page], a merchant from Tashkent, was appointed an aqsaqal in East Turkestan [1844-1852,1852-1855]. He was one of the organizers of the Seven Khojas uprising (1846-1847) in East Turkestan. In "Tavorikhi Manzuma", it is said that the Kokand Aqsqaq Abdulghofur who was the aqsqaq in 1848-1849, was captured by Kokand Soldiers and was taken as prisoner to the city of Kokand [13:606-pages]. There is little information about this person and Kurban Ali Ayaguzi wrote that the aqsqaq's name might be Abdukahhor or Abdurasul [62:32]. He mistakenly stated that his aqsqaqship was from 1834 to 1835. He was actually killed by Khudayarkhan between 1849 and 1850 [page 13: 60b]. Japanese historians also studied the letters of Abdugafur in 1848 to the governor of Kashgar, Tajihakimbek and Manchu governor – Suli [12]. These letters tell about the deeds of Nematjon Mullah Muhammad. Abdulghofur's father was Abdulsobir. In 1852, at the request of Manchu administration, Nematjon Dodkhoh (13: 67b page 1852-1853) was replaced by Bayjanbi (in some sources, Boykhan [14: 374] 1852-1853). He was previously promoted to aqsqaq from zakat collector in Osh. Upon arriving in Kashgar, he tried to make equal the citizens of Kokand with Manchu governors and he forbade to greet Manchu governors descending from the horse in East Turkestan. After Bayjanboy, Sayid Uroq [page 13: 68a] was an aqsqaq. He was soon released. Ne'matjon was re-appointed as an aqsqaq. In 1855, he was summoned to Kokand and imprisoned by order of the khan. Also according to "Tavorikhi Manzuma" between 1853-1854 years, Qori Muhammad Khaliq pakana form Kokand [page 13: 28a] to Kashgar, between 1851 and 1852, Abduvali Andijani [page 13: 64b], in 1853-1854 another Andijan resident - Tashmuhammad [page 13: 64b] was sent to Khuton, in 1853-1854 Ismailboy [185: 175b], aqsqaq of Kokand strangers were appointed to Uchturfan by Ne'matjon Dodkhoh Chokan Valikhanov, who came to Kashgar in 1858-1859, wrote that while all Kokand people were formerly subordinate to Khodjas, they were now living and operating under the auspices of Kokand aqsqaqs. When he arrived, Nasreddin was an aqsqaq in Kashgar [13:43a-page].



That aqsaqal allowed Chokan Valikhanov to enter Kashghar as a merchant. He was accompanied by Muhammad Razzaq bin Pirnazarboy who was a merchant from Margilan. Knowing this, the Khan of Kokand, Mallakhan (1858-1862), relieved Nasreddin from being an aqsaqal and was replaced by Nurmuhammad [13:43a, 46b page]. There are two possible reasons for Nasreddin's release. In our opinion, there were two possible reasons: the first reason is that He helped Chokan Valikhanov, a Russian citizen, stealthily enter Kashghar, and the second was because he was an aqsaqal appointed by Khudoyarkhan who was Nasr Muhammad Mallakhan's enemy. According to Kurban Ali Ayaguzi, Shukur Khan, whose years of aqsaqalhood were unknown, sat next to Hamrokuli as an aqsaqal [17: 101]. However, according to Chinese sources, the aqsaqal Shukur witnessed the murder of the Kokand ambassador Abdukarim and 25 Kokand citizens in 1859 in Yorkkend by the commander of the Manchu army Yuy Zhuy and his soldiers. Therefore, Manchu government arrested aqsaqal Shukur Khan, and then sent him to another city [9: 106]. The ambassador and his comrades were accused of disobeying the order of the emperor and causing disorder. The real situation was kept secret. Epar, a trading aqsaqal in Yanghisor, rebelled in February and March 1860. But Epar was arrested. Kokand governor sent his ambassador to set him free. On September 2, 1860, Epar was freed. In 1864 there was a mass revolt in East Turkestan. In 1864, Shukur Khan was an aqsaqal in Kokand. In 1864 Hamrokuli [73] was appointed an aqsaqal of the Kokand in Kashghar [63: 120]. Information about when Kokand aqsaqal was terminated is also problematic. According to Kurban Ali Ayaguzi in his book "Tarikhi Khamsai Sharqi": "This aqsaqalhood was ended after the uprising against the government of Manchu" [17: 101]. However, in the 60s of the XIX century the command of Kokand commander Muhammad Yakubbek's Yettishahar state was not completed. Muhammad Yakubbek, who established his rule in East Turkestan, where he implemented a state system the Kokand Khanate. During this time his powers were greatly expanded. The system of aqsaqalhood established during the Kokand khanate did not stop its work even after the termination of the khanate in 1876. This system of aqsaqals expanded in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to such cities as Aksuw, Gulja, Uchturfon, Yorkkend, Khuton, Kuchor, Karashahar, Lobnor, Turfon, Khami, Keria, and Dunhuang [64:74; 65: 71-80].

#### 4 CONCLUSION

An informal association of Kokand merchants in Eastern Turkestan was subsequently registered by Kokand authorities. The functions of Aqsaqals Institute, appointed by Kokand khan, to control traders, peasants and craftsmen who are citizens of the Kokand khanate in East Turkestan is divided into two stages. The first is a system of aqsaqals called "hudaïda", which had the tab of Kokand rulers in East Turkestan from 1760 to 1832. At this stage, "hudaïda" - the system of aqsaqals - was not officially recognized by the government of the Manchu. Thus, the aqsaqals sometimes worked in the public and sometimes secretly. His official mandate was to collect Shari'a taxes from the citizens of Kokand in East Turkestan, and to control the coins minted in khanates in the country's markets. The second stage covered the period from 1832 to 1864. Under the Kokand-China Agreement of February 13, 1832, a system of aqsaqals was established. At this stage, the Aqsaqals were officially

recognized by the government of the Manchu. His powers were expanded considerably. From his legal authority it is clear that it was the duty of today's consul. Another important task of the Kokand Aqsaqals in East Turkestan was to ensure security on Kokand-Kashghar caravan routes. This mandate was assigned in accordance with the Kokand-China Agreement. The military team under Kokand Aqsaqals also did this. This is regarded as an important innovation in the history of diplomacy. After the Kokand Khanate was abolished, the aqsaqal system continued their activities in East Turkestan and they became important people between the Ching government and Russia and Britain to negotiate.

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- [66]. Lyan is a Chinese unit of measurement. 1 lyan – 37,301 r [8;177].
- [67]. Tsiang is a Chinese unit of measurement. 1 tsiang – 3,7301 [8;177].
- [68]. Feng is a Chinese unit of measurement. 1 feng – 0,373 gr[8;177].
- [69]. Dodxoh - official charge accepting petitions presenting them khan khanate Bukhara, laudatory term used officials Tashkent Ferghana valley pre-revolutionary times.
- [70]. Zakat is an Islamic finance term referring to the obligation that an individual has to donate a certain proportion of wealth each year to charitable causes. Zakat is a mandatory process for Muslims and is regarded as a form of worship. Giving away money to the poor is said to purify yearly earnings that are over and above what is required to provide the essential needs of a person or family.
- [71]. A treasurer is the Head of the State Treasury.
- [72]. Mirzabashi - head of mirzabashis during the khanates.
- [73]. In fact, it is thought that Umarkul Dodxoh was a Kipchak. He was in the army of Amirlashkar of Muhammad Yakubbek
- [74]. Aqsaqal or aksakal (literally meaning "white beard" in Turkic languages) metaphorically refers to the male aqsaqals, the old and wise of the community in parts of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Bashkortostan.