

ЭКОНОМИКА И ПОЛИТИКА

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SLAVERY RELATIONS IN THE KHANATE OF KHIVA
(BASED ON ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS)

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Feruza J. TADJIYEVA ^a

^a – University of Mamun, Khiva, Uzbekistan

ORCID: 0000-0002-9320-471X; ftj85@mail.ru

Abstract: *The following article is based on archival documents from the manuscript fund of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, funds of the National State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Khivan Ichon-Kala Museum-Reserve and State Archive of the Orenburg Region of the Russian Federation. The historical sources reflecting the issue of slavery relations in the Khivan Khanate are analyzed, and public attitude to slaves in the country is studied. The documents mainly reflect such issues as slave trade and conditions under which the slaves were liberated. Khivan Khanate's customs of giving slaves and maidservants out as gifts to other owners were analyzed on the basis of related documents. Based on this, the role of Islam in the social and spiritual life of the Khivan Khanate was also analyzed. One of the methods to get rid of slaves and maidservants in the Khivan Khanate was to provide them freedom in exchange for money, and this issue is reflected in some archival sources. Based on the study of the documents of the State Historical Archive of the Orenburg Region, the level of political relations between the Khanate and Russia was discussed, as well as the measures taken by the Russian government to free the slaves. Political and economic relations between the Khanate and Russia were also analyzed, based on the study of documents from the State Historical Archive of the Orenburg Region.*

Keywords: slavery, kadikhat, doghma, hadith, zakat, gift, chavdur, kadhuda, Russian prisoners, medals, governor, adjutant, mission, Turkmen, Kyrgyz, Kazak.

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The archival data and documents are vital to understand and research the nature of slavery relations in the Khivan Khanate. Therefore, the sources of the manuscript fund of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, Khiva Ichon-Kala Museum-Reserve, National State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, and State Archive Fund of the Orenburg Region reflect the issues of slavery in the Khivan Khanate, including trade, gifting, bequeathing and liberation of slaves. Legal documents kept in the treasury of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan also contain valuable information on this issue.

One of the sources dedicated to the slave trade is a manuscript document No. 494 written by a Kadi (an Islamic judge). According to this text, in the month of Ramadan 1221 AH (November 1806), Salihbay, the son of Aralbay Kazak, sold a slave named Fatima to Avazbika, the daughter of Mulla Qutlughmurad, for fourteen Bukhara golden coins, according to the Sharia law¹. The

¹ Islamic canonical law based on the teachings of the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet (Hadith and Sunna), prescribing both religious and secular duties and sometimes retributive penalties for lawbreaking.

document was confirmed with the judge's seal "*Kazi al-Kuzzat*"² by Ismail Khoja ibn Ibrahim Khoja. The names of the witnesses who participated in the meeting – Muhammad Ghaffar Khoja, Muhammad Niyaz Khoja, and Abdusattar Khoja – are listed at the bottom of the document [IOSASRU. Inv. No. 494, p. 1–2].

Document No. 559 also deals with the issue of the slave trade and was written in the month of Muharram 1264 AH (January 1848). The document mentions that Muhammad Karimboy, son of Tangriberdibay, sold 300 tanabs of his land located in the Kalbinbagh region to women named Lolabika, Kishbika, and Aymonbika for 40 Khorezm golden coins, bought a slave named Rajab for 10 coins and maids named Rana and Dastargul. The deal was concluded in accordance with the Sharia law. The document is certified with a round seal of the Kadi. The names of the witnesses – Alimbay, Mulla Ismail, Mulla Said, UstaAllanazar, and others who participated in the meeting – are also mentioned in the end [IOSASRU, Inv. No. 559, p. 1–2].

A custom of gifting slaves and concubines also existed in the Khanate. The master had the right to hand some of his slaves and maids over to his close people or relatives. Small officials gave such gifts to their superiors, disciples – to their pirs (mentors), and governors gave slaves to Khan.

In the treasury of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, documents regarding slave gifting can also be found. In particular, document No. 236 written in the month of Muharram 1276 AH (January 1859) states the following: "Babajan and Rahmanbergan, sons of Avazjan took the property belonging to Rahmonquli and Gulkhanimbika, the children of Allaqli, and Shukurbika, daughter of Mulla Abdurrahman, i.e. a total of three kumghans (copper water tank), a small tung (water tank) and a cow, three cast-iron pots and one doghma,³ and a two-room house located in the old fortress of Khiva (detailed information about the border areas of the house and bordering neighbors) and 95 Khorezm gold coins were distributed and bequeathed in accordance with the Sharia law". The document was approved by a round seal of the Kadi and the names of the participants of the meeting – Damla Saidniaz, Damla Muhammadjan, and Muhammad Panahbay – were recorded [IOSASRU. Inv. No. 236, p. 1].

The second document – the manuscript No. 500 states the following: "In the month of Rabi al-Sani 1279 AH (October 1862), abiding by the Sharia law, Lolabika, daughter of Muhammad Karim, in the presence of Abdullah Mahzum, son of Niyaz Muhammad Mahzum and Yusuf Kalantar, gave to Qilichniyaz's daughter Oghiljanbika her rightful property – a slave girl named Gulbazar, (a lot of small items are listed), and 60 gold coins". The document is certified with a round seal of the "*Kadi al-Kuzzat*" Abdurrahim bin Kadi Muhammad Sharif Marhumi. At the end of the document, the names of the witnesses – Ishankhoja, Babajanbay, and others – are listed [IOSASRU. Inv. No. 500, p. 1].

One of the ways to get out of slavery in the Khivan Khanate was to obtain freedom in exchange for money. However, not every slave or maidservant was able to collect enough money to cover their costs, because it was extremely difficult to collect such a large sum of money. The needed amount could have been accumulated over 20-30 years on average. According to H. Vamberi, a slave or maidservant received the right to be freed after serving their master for seven years [Vamberi, 1868, p. 206]. Sometimes slaves and maidservants who had been serving well enough were given the right to be freed before the full term. The slaves of Khiva paid special attention to their emancipation efforts. They bought slaves and maids of their own captured from wealthy households, no matter the price, because at some moment in the future the relatives of these slaves and maids would find out that they may come and buy them for a large sum of money.

It is known that the method of slave liberation has had its own rules and regulations, similarly to the way in which the forms of slavery have adapted to the laws of social life. For example, in

² The Judge of judges.

³ A hereditary slave.

most of the documents dedicated to slave liberation in the archives from the Khanate of Khiva, we see the following hadith: “Whoever frees a slave as a believer, surely Allah will save every part of him from the fire of hell”. Many cases of liberation were based on this provision of the Sharia law.

The manuscript fund of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan also contains documents related to the liberation of slaves based on this procedure. In particular, manuscript No. 905 says: “In the month of Rabi al-Sani 1271 AH (October 1855), Yaqub Masharip, the son of Abdullah of medium height, freed a maid named Iyd, purchased from his property, for the sake of God, according to the promise of the Prophet and the blessed hadith “Whoever frees a slave as a believer, surely Allah will save every part of him from the fire of hell”. The document is certified with a round seal of the Kadi “Kadi Abdullah Rais ibn Nurmuhammad. 1271”. At the end of the document, the names of the witnesses – Mullah Abdurahman, Mullah Muhammad Murad, and others who participated in the meeting are given [IOSASRU. Inv. No. 905, p. 1].

Document No. 985 also reflects the form of such emancipation of slaves: “On the 18th day of Rabi al-Sani, 1281 Hijri (September 19, 1864), Atamurodbek, the son of Ahmadniyozbek from Urgench, from the tribe of Baba Ataliq, freed a slave worth 10 gold coins abiding by the Sharia law, in the presence of representative witnesses, according to the hadith of the Prophet (the Arabic text of the hadith is given)”. The document is certified with the seal of the judge. At the end of the document, Muhammad Latif Khoja, Muhammad Niyozbek, WaisKhalifa, and Muhammad Salihbek are listed as witnesses, and Mahzum bin Said Khoja Eshan is listed as a judge [IOSASRU. Inv. No. 905, p. 1].

A part of the Khivan Khanate’s archive is kept in the National State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. These archival documents also contain manuscripts related to slavery, which, as mentioned above, reflect legal relations such as the sale of slaves, the collection of *zakat* based on the number of slaves in a family, and freeing or gifting of slaves. For example, the document kept in the Archive (Fund I-125, inventory 2, list 90) tells us that during the times of Sayid Muhammad Khan (1856–1864), a former Iranian slave (name not given) appealed to the Khan. According to the text of the application, this slave served in the Khan’s palace. However, his liberated relatives (the way how freedom had been achieved was not indicated) forced him to return to their homeland (Iran) with them. For his part, this former slave asked to be allowed to return to the Khan’s service because he had been oppressed by his relatives in his homeland [CSARU. Fund I-125. List 2. Case 90, p. 1].

Although the answer and outcome of this letter are not known, for various reasons we cannot say that all slaves returned to their country and normal life. This document also proves the fact that for some reason or as a result of the influence of others, they sometimes preferred the old way of life.

Document No. 94 also belongs to the era of Sayid Muhammad Khan. In the letter from 1856 (1272 Hijri), a person named Muhammad Muradbek asked the Kadi of Khanka and several rich people to return a slave girl to her owner Mirkhaydarbay. According to the letter, this maid had been kidnapped during the invasion of the Chavdur Turkmens. This conclusion stems from the indication that Chavdurkadhudas⁴ knew about the situation [CSARU. Fund I-125. List 2. Case 94, p. 1].

On page 1 of the document No. 418a, it is stated that in the Year of the Rabbit (in 1855 or 1867, judging by the chronology of the archive’s documents), a slave costed 90 gold coins [CSARU. Fund I-125. List 2. Case 418a, p. 1].

First of all, it is necessary to mention the documents related to the collection of tax from the sale of slaves and the per capita tax paid for slaves – *zakat*.

⁴ Head of the clan.

On p. 11 of the 37-page document set in inventory list 2 of the Fund I-125, kept in the Khivan Khanate archive department, one can find calculations of the amount of *zakat* and the overall number of slaves and maidservants in the country. These documents list only the number of families and their slaves. In some documents, we can see that some slaves were jointly owned by several masters. For example, the first page of the fund reads: “Muhammadjan bay from Farman has three hereditary slaves and a maid with a child, Muratboy from Kiziltakir and his partners have five hereditary slaves and a maidservant, Muhammad Husain from Ghamal (?) has two hereditary slaves and a maidservant... Sheikh Kholmurad from Bajkir and his partners possess two hereditary slaves and a maidservant...” [CSARU. Fund I-125. List 2. Case 418, p. 1]. The second page reads: “Qurbaniyaz from Chatkopir has four hereditary slaves... Javlan Kara has three hereditary slaves... Ornabay has two hereditary slaves...” [CSARU. Fund I-125. List 2. Case 418, p. 2].

The third document states: “Mulla Husain, who came on the 18th of the month of Zul-Hijjah, has three hereditary slaves, Tahir Sufi has two maids and a hereditary slave, Abdullah has two hereditary slaves, Avazberdi from the Taka Turkmen tribe has two hereditary slaves, Babashaikh has two hereditary slaves. Vapo has a hereditary slave. Ahli Vali taka has two hereditary slaves” [CSARU. Fund I-125. List 2. Case 418, p. 3].

P. 19 of the collection: “Allanazar Bukri and his partners have eight hereditary slaves... Pirmuhammad and his partners have nine hereditary slaves... Taji Ata and his partners have two maidservants, two hereditary slaves... Muhammadniyaz Kosa has two hereditary slaves. All these owners came from Hazarasp” [CSARU. Fund I-125. List 2. Case 418, p. 19].

On p. 20, slaves are now listed together with the number of camels. “...Ataullapatak has four hereditary slaves, Kazak sheikh – six hereditary slaves, Jafarbay, a guest of Ataullapatak, has a hereditary slave and a maid, the younger brother of the caravan leader has three hereditary slaves. Total amount: fourteen hereditary slaves and one maidservant” [CSARU. Fund I-125. List 2. Case 418, p. 20].

Pp. 22–24 contain a list of rural households subject to *zakat* tax and a number of slaves belonging to them. It also lists the number of slaves along with camels, sheep, and other animals, as the household masters paid a certain share of the profit from both these work animals and slaves to the state.

In particular, p. 22 contains the following: “Mitti Tighirzhik – two camels and a hereditary slave, Karakal’s son – two camels and a hereditary slave. Allayarjing-jing has a camel and a hereditary slave, his partner has a camel and a hereditary slave, Khumangli Kholniyaz has four camels and two hereditary slaves. Mengli Niyazkardashli has a hereditary slave and two camels. Amanpakhta – two camels and a hereditary slave. Zarli Khoja has 110 sheep. Bekjan’s guest has eight camels. The guest of the one who celebrated the feast has four camels and three maids. The son of Dr. Nazar has four hereditary slaves. The guest called Pul has a hereditary slave. Sheri Makhtum – a camel and two hereditary slaves. Mulla Bekli, Jumakeldi, Amankeldi – three hereditary slaves and five camels. Inakeldi taka – a hereditary slave and a camel. The one who has a relative called Koklang has two camels and two hereditary slaves. Khoja Taka has a camel and a hereditary slave, Muhammadrakhim Kadi and Karaboy Dev have a hereditary slave. Yusuf bald has a hereditary slave. Mengi taka has a hereditary slave. Odina Muhammad – twenty-one hereditary slaves. Mekhli Mulla Abdullah has a maidservant. Qurban has a hereditary slave. Sa’d Pakhlavon’s brother has a hereditary slave, Aydos’t brother has ten camels and two hereditary slaves. Kuklang Dustmuhammad from Kanjik’s yard has a hereditary slave. Muhammad Vali from Karadosh has a hereditary slave, Mehli Muhammad Niyaz from Gadayniyaz has a maidservant” [CSARU. Fund I-125. List 2. Case 418, p. 22].

On p. 23: “Nine or eight gold coins belonging to Mohammad Makhvir from Ghaziabad area were taken. Babaytaylak (3 hereditary slaves, 1 maidservant, 5 camels) – 10 gold coins.

1 hereditary slave and 20 tangas taken from Mingli. From Avazniyaz and Yusuf Murad taka. from Muhammad Kara (hereditary slave, 3 maidservants) – 8 gold coins, 3 normal tangas.⁵ Received 55 sheep, 3 camels and 5 gold coins from Ataberdi. Received 4 hereditary slaves and 10 gold coins from Kutlugmurad. Boynazar – 2 hereditary slaves and 4 gold coins. Avaz and Yusuf from Fayizli – 5 and 2 hereditary slaves, two normal tangas, 13 gold coins, 100 sheep, and 50 normal tangas. A guest of Safar Sallakhni – twenty sheep and 10 tangas. From Taylaq – 50 sheep. Received 50 sheep, 9 sheep, 11 gold coins, and 2 tangas from Khotam. Durdibay and Hasan – 4 camels, 30 tangas. Nurullabay – 300 sheep, 15 gold coins and 5 tangas. 190 sheep, 8 gold coins, - and one tanga from Amangaldi. Rahmon from Shahabad – 240 sheep, 12 gold coins and 3 tangas were taken. Muhammad Khan Eshon – a hereditary slave and 20 tangas. Khojamurod – 100 sheep, 50 tangas. Yusuf Bahadir – 2 hereditary slaves and a maidservant, 11 gold coins, 5 tangas, Qilich Muhammad Usta Bayram – 140 sheep and 65 tangas, Inakeldiboy – 50 sheep, 3 camels, 45 gold coins. Aman from Karayilgin – two hereditary slaves and 42 tangas. From Bejik Mullah and Mekhmar Kara, 300 sheep and 15 gold coins were taken. Shakhmuradata – 30 sheep and 15 tangas. Berdijan received eight gold coins and four tangas for two hundred sheep. 130 tangas were taken from Amanniyaz Bald's guest for 200 sheep. Agha Muhammad – 90 sheep and 5 gold coins. Inakeldibay's guest Yamut Kuklang – 230 sheep, 2 hereditary slaves, 2 tangas and 17 gold coins. Kilichniyaz's guest from Tavaqli – 3 maids and 16 gold coin" [CSARU. Fund I-125. List 2. Case 418, p. 23]. This document also mentioned the *zakat* tax and the cost of slaves, making it highly valuable for the research.

P. 24 contains the following information: "Khojaniyaz's guest who is the cart driver, Muhammad – 100 pul (tanga of small value) and 50 tangas. 180 sheep and 90 tangas from Shikh and Kazakh Gok. From Muhammad Hasan Sufi – 140 sheep, 70 tangas, Kasim – 60 camels and sheep for 400 sheep. Keldikuli Eshon – 2 hereditary slaves and 33 tangas. 50 tangas for 100 sheep were taken from Khanabadli Abdughafar. Muhammad Sharif Sufi, a hereditary slave and maidservant – from Avezniyaz with Yusuf. Hasan Muhammad – 50 sheep and 2 camels. Uyghur Abdullah from Chaliş – 180 sheep. Gaffar from Khanabad – a camel and 200 sheep. Khojam Sufi was given 180 sheep and one gold coin. Avazniyaz from Hilali area – a hereditary slave. Takirshiq – a hereditary slave. Allanur Makzum was given a hereditary slave and 8 gold coins. Allayarjing-jing – a hereditary slave, 20 tangas; Muhammad Durdibay – a hereditary slave, and 2.5 gold coins were given" [CSARU. Fund I-125. List 2. Case 418, p. 24].

Inventory No. 125, 2 lists, document No. 590, stored in these funds, turned out to be a contract of slave sale. It contains the following: In 1288 Hijri (1871 AD), the son of Gadoyboy Shononboy from Koktiyik community sold his property, Abdullah's 13-year-old son, to the son of Yunus Abulqasim Eshikaghasi (doorman) for ten gold coins. This document is approved with the judges' round seal. The names of the witnesses are listed below the inscription line: Kadi Mirza ibn Mirza Aziz Domla and Kadi Rahmatulla ibn... Witnesses participating in the meeting: chairman Mulla Muhammadsadiq, Yakhshibay yuzbashi (centurion), Muhammad yuzbashi, Isa yuzbashi. The brief form of this contract is presented on the second page of this document. However, it states that a slave costed 40 gold coins. This estimate is close to the truth [CSARU. Fund I-125. List 2. Case 590, p. 1–2].

Document No. 591 reads: "In the year 1254 Hijri (1838 AD), in the month of Jumadul-Awal, Abul Ghazi Muhammad Rahim Bahadir Khan freed a slave named Hasan, a native of Khurasan, bought from the master's pure and honest property. He freed his slave for the sake of God, according to the provision of the Prophet and the blessed hadith "Whoever frees a slave as a believer, surely Allah will save every part of him from the fire of hell" The document was approved by a round seal of the judge "Kadi Muhammad Sharif ibn Haji Muhammad marhumiy

⁵ The *tanga* was a unit of currency in historical Central Asia made from silver.

(deceased)» The names of the witnesses who participated in the meeting are mentioned under the writing line [*Katalog hivinskih kaziyskih dokumentov XIX – nachala XX vv.*, 2001, p. 691].

The judicial documents stored in the manuscript fund of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan also contain information on the purchase, sale, or release of slaves [*Katalog hivinskih kaziyskih dokumentov XIX – nachala XX vv.*, 2001, p. 161].

In particular, it is indicated on p. 12 of digital judicial document No. 494: “In the month of Ramadan of 1221 Hijri (November – December 1806), Kazakh, son of Soriboy Orolboy, confirms that he sold his nine-year-old maid named Fatima to Avaz Bika, the daughter of Mulla Qutluq, for 14 gold coins, each coin equal to a miscal⁶ (two of them are abulmumins gold coins, another coins are padshahiy ones)”. It should be clarified that if the slave girl had the right to be freed (*mustahaq*) or if her original lineage (*hurra al-asl*) came from free people, Avaz bika had the right to require anyone who bought her returning the money they paid whenever she wanted. Witnesses listed at the bottom: Abdul Ghaffar Khoja, Muhammad Niyaz Khoja, Abdusattar Khoja, Ovat Muhammad Sufi, Ata Husayn and Usta Khojaniyaz. The document was approved with a round seal of the Kadi. Seal: “Kadi al-Quzzot Kadi Ismail Khoja ibn Ibrahim Khoja Alavi. 1221 (1806–1807)” [*Katalog hivinskih kaziyskih dokumentov XIX – nachala XX vv.*, 2001, p. 163].

On p. 14 of the document No. 500: “In Rabi’ of 1279 Hijri (October of 1862), Abdullah Mahdum Niyoz Muhammad, son of Mahdum, and Yusuf Kalantar Eshmuhammad witnessed that Lola bika, Muhammad Karim’s daughter, sold her maidservant named Gulbazar to Oghiljan Bika, Niyoz’s daughter, through her representative Yusufjanbay, son of Khojaniyaz, with jewelry and household items for a total price of 60 gold coins, under the condition of donating this money to Oghiljan Bika. The document is certified with a round seal of the Kadi. Witnesses: Eshankhoja, Babajanbay. Seal: Kadi aqsa al-quzzot Abdurahim ibn Kadi Muhammad Sharif Eshan Marhumi. 1275 (1858–1859)” [*Katalog hivinskih kaziyskih dokumentov XIX – nachala XX vv.*, 2001, p. 163].

Document No. 559, p. 21: “In the month of Muharram 1264 Hijri (December 1847 – January 1848), Muhammad Karimbay, son of Tangriberdibay, sold his 3 and a half tanobs⁷ of land in Gullanbagh (borders indicated) to his daughters named Lola bika, Kish bika, and Ayman bika for 30 gold coins in circulation. Karimboy immediately gave this money to the mentioned daughters, 10 gold coins each. He gifted his daughters a 12-year-old female hereditary slave named Rajab, born in his house (*ghulomi – khanazad*), and two maidservants from Khorasan, named Rana, about 35 years old, and Dastagul, about 26 years old. The document is approved by two round and oval seals of the Kadi: (appendix) Witnesses: Alimbay, Mulla Ismail, Mulla Sayed, Usta Allahdad, Pahlavan Niyaz, and others. Seal: “Aqsa al-quzzot Qazi Muhammad Musa ibn Abdullah Khoja Marhumi. 1275 (1858–1859)” [*Katalog hivinskih kaziyskih dokumentov XIX – nachala XX vv.*, 2001, p. 183].

On p. 11 of document No. 905: “On the 17th of Rabi 1271 Hijri (January 7, 1855 AD), Abdullah, son of Yaqub (Jacob) signed a document stating that he would release his 15-year-old maid named Iyd, originally from Khorasan, keeping all his rights. Yaqub declared that he would not claim any ownership or rights over his freed slave from now on. The document is approved with a round seal of the Kadi. Witnesses: Mulla Abdurrahman, Mulla Muhammad Murad and others. Seal: Abdullah Kadii ibn Nurmuhammad. 1271 (1854–1855)” [*Katalog hivinskih kaziyskih dokumentov XIX – nachala XX vv.*, 2001, p. 293].

⁶ Miscal or Mithkal is a varying unit of weight in the Muslim countries: in Persia – equal to about 71 grains, in Turkey – to 74.2 grains.

⁷ *Tanob* (Arabic: rope) – a unit of length used in Central Asia, in particular, in the territory of modern Uzbekistan. In the 17th century, it was equal to 39.9 m. In the Central Asian khanates, it was a surface unit used to measure the cultivated area.

On p. 10 of document No. 985: «On the 18th of Rabi' 1281 Hijri (September 20, 1864 AD), Atamurodbek, son of Ahmad Niyaz from Urgench, from the Bobo ataliq tribe, representing Mastura Bika, the daughter of Shahmurodbek, as confirmed by Khojaniyazbek and Muhammad Sadiqkhoja, freed a slave named Rizaquli, originally from Khurasan, on Mastura Bika's behalf for 10 gold coins. Witnesses: Muhammad Latif Khoja, Muhammad Niyazbek, Atash Khalifa, Muhammad Salihbek and others. The document is approved with a round seal of the Kadi. Seal: Qazi Sayyid Masum Rais ibn Sayyid Adil Khoja Eshan" [*Katalog hivinskih kaziyskih dokumentov XIX – nachala XX vv.*, 2001, p. 320].

In addition, documents related to slavery in the Khivan Khanate are also available in the State Archive of the Orenburg Region. Fund 6, List 10, Section 1, Case 157, stored in the State Archive of Orenburg Region, consists of 242 pages, and was collected in the period from April 1805 to April 26, 1810. It includes contents of the decree prohibiting Khiva and Bukhara merchants from buying children from the Kyrgyz-Kazakh tribes as slaves. It is noted that separate, especially strict prohibitions were imposed on Khiva merchants [*SAOR*. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 157, p. 242]. Pp. 10-26 and 48-87 of this collection contain necessary information for the research on this topic. These documents prove that the number of slaves was not only created or multiplied through invasions, raids, and mutual wars, but also when young children were sold by their parents in the slave markets of Russia, the Khanate of Khiva, and the Emirate of Bukhara as a way to get out of poverty [*SAOR*. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 157, p. 48–87].

Among these documents, case No. 197 is also interesting as it mentions military defectors who escaped punishment for various reasons and returned to Russia. Thus, Tatar, Bashkir and Russian soldiers who fled to the Khivan Khanate's territories as a way to escape punishment for crimes or defection, even at the cost of losing their personal freedom, became another source of slavery. [*SAOR*. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 197, p. 13]. This situation is often mentioned in various Russian sources. Soldiers from Tatar and Bashkir communities chose this way to escape punishment more often, as, being Muslim, they had a better chance to adapt to the realities of the Khanate. For their part, ethnic Russian prisoners generally lived in much worse conditions than that of the Tatars and Bashkirs. It should also be pointed out that Russian captives were treated better than, for instance, Iranian ones, as they were known to be hardworking and brave, at the same time, highly skilled in metal work. The Khivan masters tried to keep Russian prisoners at more privileged positions, such as palace and military service, whenever possible. Some of the slaves were married to the owner. Such "privileged" slaves were also allowed to retain their own religion and worship freely.

The Russian state tried to return the Russian captives from the Khivan Khanate, sent various embassies and missionaries, and tried to use merchants in this policy, ordering them to liberate the Russian slaves kept in the khanate and bring them to their homeland while visiting the territories of the khanate.

According to a 1806 document, a merchant named Mr. Bashirov was granted a permit to trade in Bukhara, Khiva, Urganch, and the Turkmen and Karakalpak Horde under the condition of freeing Russian prisoners [*SAOR*. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 198, p. 2].

Document No. 404 is a sentencing indictment, in which Mr. Ganshin, a Cossack of the Redoubt border fortress, was accused of kidnapping a Kyrgyz called Sultankeldi and selling him to Khiva [*SAOR*. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 404, p. 4].

According to document volumes No. 884–886, in 1812, a private soldier of the Orenburg Field Army, Shestakov, was freed from the Khivan captivity and given housing in the Tomsk Province. P. 18 of the document also contains Shestakov's report. Therefore, this document is highly important and needs further study [*SAOR*. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 884, p. 14].

In the collection No. 906, the details of the incident when a resident of Astrakhan together with Gergilev's son was freed from Khivan captivity for a ransom are given [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 906, p. 4].

The information in the document No. 1269 is also important. Since 1815, the main demand of the Russian government in its relations with the Khivan Khanate has been to increase the quantity of embassies and missions sent in order to require the release of Russian slaves, and when these embassies failed to succeed, the Russian government adopted a policy of detaining Khiva merchants in border towns until the slaves have been freed. Sometimes the property of these merchants was confiscated [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 1542, p. 29].

Another important source is the collection No. 1542–1873, which consists of materials by the adjutant of the Orenburg military governor, *poruchik* German, advisor Bekchurin and *poruchik*⁸ Subkhankulov sent to the Khivan Khanate as an ambassadorial delegation to develop trade and restore friendly relations between the states. In addition to this report of the embassy, there is also a memorial book by the representative of the embassy, Subhankulov – an account of the mission's actions and details of the trip. However, it does not contain much information about slavery in the Khivan Khanate [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 1873, p. 67].

The collection of documents No. 1572 tells that in May–August 1817, the Orenburg Border Commission assigned the chieftain Sirimov, who belonged to the Chiklin clan of Kyrgyz, to buy a young daughter of the soldier Kolotilkin out of the Khivan captivity. The document consists of 16 pages, and it is evident that the age of the captives was not taken into consideration during enslavement [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 1572, p. 16].

Collection No. 1585 mentions that Khivan officials came to Orenburg and Troitsk border customs offices and collected customs duties. However, this had become possible due to the efforts from the Khanate of Khiva's side, and the Khan's officials brought some Russian prisoners with them. It is difficult to understand why the authorities of Khiva behaved in this way, as even though the collection consists of 150 pages, the documents were poorly preserved, thus, they are hardly legible in many places and cannot be fully understood [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 1585, p. 150].

Collection No. 1623 is an account of the instance when Sarimov, the head of one of the Kyrgyz-Kazakh clans, and Sardalin, the head of the caravan, brought several Russian captives back from Khiva [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 1585, p. 12]. The collection volume No. 1734 is one of the most interesting sources from the first part of the document collection. It tells about the Khivans bought by Orenburg and Ural troops and brought to the Russian border in 1814 [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 1734, p. 4].

Looking through these documents, one can see that merchants were highly active in the freeing of Russian prisoners. In particular, Khivan merchant S. Bakiev freed Rebrov, a peasant from Saratov Region, from the Bukharan captivity in 1818 [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 1889, p. 17]. Case No. 1924 also contains relevant information. According to this source, the leader of the Great and Small Cossack Hordes Y. Sarimov was awarded a silver medal for the liberation of numerous Russian prisoners from the Khivan captivity [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 1924, p. 15].

Soldiers and fishermen who worked in the Caspian Sea made up a large majority of the slaves captured by the Khanate of Khiva. For example, in 1820, together with Russian fishermen captured in the Strait of Emba, the soldiers of the Orenburg border troops from the Red Fortress were released for a large sum of money [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 2136, p. 22].

In 1820, the Russian government introduced the amount of ransom money needed to buy the captives out of slavery [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 2847, p. 5]. In July 1823, several

⁸ A *poruchik* (lieutenant) was normally assigned to the assistant commanding officer of a company, later a platoon.

peasants of the Astrakhan province and one Iranian slave were released for ransom [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 2909, p. 5].

During the study of archival documents, one can see that from 1823 to 1830, the Russian government freed more than 100 soldiers who were kept in captivity in the Khivan Khanate for a large compensation. Meanwhile, Turkmens, Kyrgyz and Kazakhs became more active and took more than 1000 Russian citizens into slavery, because the Russian government had imposed a large ransom for the release of captives, which in turn only made the slave hunters more active [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 2909, p. 11].

As a result, the Russian government began sending more embassies to release large numbers of Russian prisoners. In particular, from October 1828 to February 1829, a delegation headed by Aitov, the head of the khanate, was trying to free the captives. However, it did not yield any results [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 34229, p. 9].

The Russian government also began to reward individuals who made a contribution to the liberation of prisoners. In particular, Kyrgyz delegates Kazirev, Taubaev, Serkachev and Izbosarov, Kazakh sultans Aychuvakov and Urganichboev, and Bukhara merchant Atagaliev were awarded monetary rewards and medals for freeing several Russian citizens from the Khivan captivity. [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 3347, p. 5].

The Russian government's active efforts to free the captives have certainly reached the Russian captives in the Khivan Khanate. In 1830, they sent a letter to the Orenburg general governor Sukhtelen asking to be rescued from captivity [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 3661, p. 8]. This letter caused a great uproar in the entire Russian society, and progressive intellectuals have even appealed to the emperor many times.

As a result of this, in May 1831, the Department of Asian Affairs of the Russian government adopted a document on the release of Russian citizens suffering in captivity in the states of Khiva and Bukhara. The contents of this document can be found in archival funds. Unfortunately, a complete analysis was not possible as most of the 55-page document collection was of very poor quality [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 3755, p. 55].

In 1834, the department of the Ural troops allocated 10,000 rubles for the liberation of slaves from the Khivan captivity [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 4156, p. 15]. In 1835, the Department of Asia and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs adopted an act providing measures for the release of Russian prisoners in the Khanate of Khiva and the improvement of political and trade relations with this country [SAOR. Fund 6. Inv. 10. Part 1. Case 4371, p. 362]. Unfortunately, comprehensive study of this 362-page set of documents is impossible due to their poor condition.

CONCLUSION

In general, archival sources provide the most accurate information on the topic of this research and allow us to outline a final conclusion. However, in the manuscript funds of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, National State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan and Khiva Ichon-Kala Museum-Reserve, as well as in the extensive archives of the Russian Federation, there are still many documents related to slavery that need to be studied.

Another document confirming the existence of slavery for a long time (this manuscript from the personal manuscript fund of Mullah Akhmadjon Turdiokhunov of Khiva has entered academic circulation for the first time) says: "On the twenty-fifth of the month of Jumad-us Sani, 1320 Hijri (September 27, 1902), we received the slavery tax of 1320 coins from Ghaybuli Ghulamqul and leader Jumaniyaz. This month, they received a letter telling the, not to be offended by the fact that they were required to pay a slavery tax. 20 (gold coins) were taken".

In a word, it shows the consequences of the abolition of slavery in the socio-economic life of Khiva Khanate, its positive and negative impact. On the positive side, slavery was a great obstacle to the socio-economic development of the Khanate. That is, its existence was considered one of the main reasons why the Khanate remained deeply backward, and this situation was quickly eliminated. Of course, as a result the Khanate shifted, albeit slowly, from the highly backward slavery-feudal production relations into the framework of advanced market relations. On the negative side, the sudden end of slavery greatly affected the annual income of the class of owners who were used to slave labor based farming.

СОКРАЩЕНИЯ / ABBREVIATIONS

IOSASRU – Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

CSARU – Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

SAOR – State Archive of the Orenburg Region, Russian Federation.

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ИНФОРМАЦИЯ ОБ АВТОРЕ / INFORMATION ABOUT THE AUTHOR

ТАДЖИЕВА Феруза Джумабаевна – кандидат исторических наук (PhD), доцент кафедры истории и психологии Университета Мамуна; Хива, Узбекистан.

Feruza J. TADJIEVA, PhD (History), Associate Professor, Department of History and Psychology, Mamun University, Khiva, Uzbekistan.