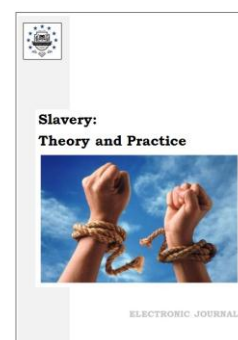


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Published in the USA
 Slavery: Theory and Practice
 Issued since 2016.
 E-ISSN: 2500-3755
 2023. 8(1): 53-62

DOI: 10.13187/slave.2023.1.53
<https://stp.cherkasgu.press>



Slavery in the Khiva Khanate: the Use of Slave Power. Abolition of Slavery and Its Socio-Economic Consequences

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Abstract

This article depicts the system of slavery and the role of the slaves in social and economic life of the Khiva Khanate. Slavery continued in Khiva until the early twentieth century. In the system of the Khiva Khanate, slaves' social status depended on their labor activity and potential rather than their national origin. The article explores documentary evidence of attitudes towards slavery and examines how slavery is treated in Islam. It shows that slavery was developed and perpetuated in the context of the prejudice of certain rulers, their misunderstanding of the essence of Islam, and their desire to amass wealth by any means. It discusses the consequences of the abolition of slavery by Russia in 1873, examining issues that are not covered in other sources about the Khiva Khanate. In particular, there is a focus on the negative social aspects slavery's sudden withdrawal alongside the positive outcomes. The abolition of slavery initially affected the owners and masters of slaves, but negative effects on merchants and artisans soon began to emerge as prices for everything rose. The sudden termination of slavery had a negative impact on the annual income of the owners who used the slave labor to farm. Nevertheless, the existence of slavery is considered one of the main reasons the khanate remained in the swamp of backwardness. After its abolition, the khanate was able to move on from slavery-feudal relations and enter the sphere of advanced market relations.

Keywords: Yavmut, Khiva Khanate, slavery, abolition, sharia law, Islam, Russia, Shia, Sunni, mukataba.

1. Introduction

Slavery was preserved for a long time in the socio-economic life of the Khiva Khanate, albeit at a level that did not meet classical forms of slavery, or farm slavery, as in Greece and Rome. The main feature of these ancient systems was that the slave was not considered a person but an object or a tool of labor. Even Plato and Aristotle, who were considered the most enlightened people of their time, could not abandon that point of view and considered slavery normal (Vallon, 1941: 165-168). For example, Aristotle described the slave as a "speaking instrument of labor" in his work *Politics* (Aristotle [trans. Dovatur], 1983: 381). In ancient Greece, slaves had no rights and slave masters could treat them as they wished. Even for killing a slave there was no punishment for slave owners.

2. Materials and methods

Three groups of sources were involved in the work: archival documents of the Russian State Historical Archive (St. Petersburg, Russian Federation); materials of personal origin – diaries,

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memoirs of the witnesses who took part in expeditions to Central Asia (Yuldashev, 1959; Zimanov, 2009; Infantev, 1912; Vamberi, 2003; Zamechaniya, 1858); and materials from the pre-revolutionary periodical press, for example, the newspaper (Turkestan Gazette) (Kun, 1873).

The methodology is based on the main principles of historicism, objectivity, and consistency of historical research. The historical-chronological method is also used to arrange events in chronological sequence, taking into account the specific historical situation.

3. Discussion and results

According to historical sources on the Khiva Khanate, slave labor was used in various fields, but primarily in agriculture. A small number of slaves were also used in other spheres, including the military and artisanal industries. The reason for this balance lies in the labor-intensive nature of traditional farming. The general question is, why and for what purpose was the power of slaves used in the khanate? One possible answer is the fact that human trafficking brought a lot of money to a criminal chain which operated between the Turkmen Yavmuts and the khanate officials who supported them.

Khorezm's agriculture relied on artificial irrigation; the future of the nation and its industry depended on irrigation. Irrigation ditches need to be cleaned, which is a very time-consuming task. The most crucial tasks for the people of the Khiva Khanate were to dig canals and ditches and clean them annually. Slaves were also employed in these projects. The construction of canals also involved some Russian captives held by the Khiva Khanate. For instance, Andrey Borodin and Ural Cossack, who were captured in 1717 during the Bekovich–Cherkassky expedition, noted that in the Khiva Khanate slaves were employed to clean the rivers each spring (Poyezdka iz Orska..., 1851: 85).

Russian citizen Peter Maslov reported that he had helped clean the Palvan and Shahabad canals while he was held captive in the Khiva Khanate in the 1830s. (Ivanin, 1950: 269-319).

Including Russian and Persian slaves, about 100,000 people were mobilized in the khanate each year at the start of spring to clean the canals from the Amu Darya, according to the newspaper *Russkii invalid* [The Invalid Russian]. (Ocherki Khivinskogo khanstva [Sketches of the Khiva Khanate], 1873: 004a-005g).

O. Shkapskiy noted that “landowners in the khanate farmed large areas of land with the labor power of slaves until 1873” in his book *Amu-dar'inskie ocherki* [Sketches of Amu-Darya] (Shkapskiy, 1900: 473-483).

J. A. MacGahan noted in his work that Matmurod Divanbegi owned countless lands on both banks of the river, and had 400 slaves (MacGahan, 1875: 304).

Ilya Ilichkov, a Cossack from the Urals who was a slave in the Khanate, recounted his experiences between 1870 and 1873. In the winter, he and three other Russian prisoners dug the ground from dawn until dusk and spread manure on the ground in the Gandimiyan garden of the khan (Rasskazy plennykh..., 1873: 264-268).

Unsurprisingly, there are various sources of information about how slaves were treated. Although the conditions for the slaves were good, they never saw their situation favorably and believed that slavery was an abhorrent condition. The Khanate of Khiva did not, however, exclusively rely on slave labor for farm or agricultural work, as was noted in numerous sources. As an illustration, Andrey Nikitin, a prisoner of the Khiva Khanate, emphasized the prevalence of slavery there as follows:

The Khiva people themselves never performed labor-intensive tasks like land, field, or garden work because those had always been seen as slave labor. I was not sure what it would be like to spread manure on the fields, which was very labor-intensive, to water frequently, to sprinkle and water gardens, and to plant crops if there were no Russian, Iranian, and Kalmyk slaves: To put it simply, the Khiva people typically depended on slaves to survive” (Dal, 1830: 188-211).

To draw such a conclusion from the perspective of a slave who is unfamiliar with the socioeconomics of the khanate is a grave historical error.

The Russian ambassador, N. P. Ignatev, who was in the khanate in 1858, noted that “All the income in this country, all the wealth of the landowners, especially of the influential people, was created due to the labor of Iranian slaves. Slaves are the only farmers in a country based only on land” (Zalesov, 1871: 47).

P.P. Ivanov cites H. Vambery's words in his book *Sketches from the History of Central Asia*, in which the famous Hungarian orientalist states:

Only slaves worked in agriculture in Bukhara, particularly in Khiva, where there are more than 80,000 of them. They saw the plow as an inappropriate tool for their hands and gave it to their slaves because of the rude behavior of the peasant people, who made the sword their indispensable companion (Ivanov, 1958: 164).

Both N. P. Ignatev and H. Vambery had been in Central Asia, but that does not mean that their opinions are accurate. Due to historical evidence, it is known that almost 90 % of the population of the Khiva Khanate were peasants, and a significant percentage of the material wealth that was accumulated by society was produced by peasants rather than slaves during that time.

It should be noted that the sources provide varying details regarding how slaves were treated. Some slave owners mistreated their charges and kept them in appalling conditions. However, despite having better living conditions, some prisoners still tried to flee. Some runaway slaves, like Tikhon Ryazanov, eventually made their way back to Khiva (Dal, 1839: 74-91). Naturally, slaves who attempted to elude would be severely punished (Infantev, 1912: 49).

When compared to information from other sources, the information provided in the memoirs of many Russian prisoners about the appalling conditions in which slaves were kept is not always accurate. A great deal of accurate information about how slaves should work and how they were given money to feed and clothe themselves can be found, in particular, in the archival documents of the Khanate of Khiva (Yuldashev, 1959: 363). Other Russian slave accounts that do not agree with those mentioned above suggest that slaves were not always treated poorly or negatively. The majority of slaves who worked in the military were married to either Khivan women or their fellow slaves, including the married Iranian chief commander Ismail Mirpanji who was once captured.

According to M. Ivanin, Russian slaves were treated very well by the Sarts. Only Uzbeks, especially Turkmen treated Russian slaves badly (Ivanin, 1950: 269).

If we pay attention to the content of interviews with several former Russian slaves, which can be found in Russian sources from this period, we can see that the majority of them were treated well. For example, in N. Mikhailov's article "*Golosa khivinskikh plennikov*" [Voices of the Captives in Khiva] in *Niva* [Niva] magazine, a Russian prisoner discusses the attitude of Khivan people toward slaves is quoted. According to this prisoner, "The people of Khiva treated diligent, hardworking, and reliable captives with compassion and kindness, they appreciated their work and services. No matter what their faith, the slaves were not discriminated against. The Turkmen had treated me very badly: when I was captured, the Turkmen ripped off the cross from my neck and threw it away. Khiva people did not insult our religion and did not prohibit our worship" (quoted in Mikhailov, 1873: 465-470).

Slaves were generally given the opportunity to demonstrate their mental and physical abilities. Talented and diligent slaves were freed, and some even managed to rise to a good position or rank, accumulating considerable wealth, such as Matmurad and Khoja Ali, the Khan's *mahrms* (the khan gave gifts of state lands to the officials who served him impartially, to his close relatives, to servants and religious people who served him faithfully; such individuals were called *mahrms*) who had previously been slaves in the mid-nineteenth century (Yuldashev, 1959: 363). Even Shirinbika, the most beloved wife of the Khivan Khan Firuz-Khan, was brought from Iran by Turkmen Yavmud when she was young and sold to harem members in Khiva's slave market. In addition, there were Sharia laws according to which there could be no prohibitions for the child of a slave woman. For example, Matniyaz Divan Begi's mother was a Russian slave (Khoroshkhin, 1876: 473-483).

Russian slaves were given tasks such as instructing the Khiva soldiers in the rules and regulations of contemporary military art or teaching them how to use the modern cannons required by the Khan's army, primarily because they were military experts. For example, Vasily Lavrentev served as the head of the khan's guards in 1838 (Dal, 1839: 106-108).

Sergey Agha, the Minister of Artillery, was one of the Khivan Khan's most valued slaves, as mentioned in the documents of the P.N. Danilevsky mission that visited Khiva in 1842. He was in charge of the Khan's army's cannoners during Allah Kuli Khan's 1842 march to Bukhara (Semenov-Tyanshansky, Lamansky 1916: 385).

The khan's slaves were fed on schedule so they could work efficiently, were constantly watched, and took care of his lands, primarily the gardens in his field yard. Between 1847 and 1850, the Rapanik yard employed 41 and 53 slaves who had access to 31 horses and 30 oxen. The Gullan

Bagh yard employed 8–10 slaves at that time, along with seven horses and seven oxen. Twenty slaves labored in the Okmachit yard (Yuldashev, 1959: 363).

The *beks* (statesmen), officials, merchants, and priests had access to a large number of slaves. Approximately 400 affluent Khanate citizens employed slave labor in the middle of the nineteenth century (Yuldashev, 1959: 363).

Slaves obeyed only their masters' orders, not those of others; if they proposed a more beneficial idea, the owner would put it into action. Many female slaves worked in the home. Men who were slaves worked in agriculture.

According to the archive, slave farming in the Kyziltakir region produced 6,000 botmon of wheat during the economic year 1849–1850. Slaves worked the land in the Kilich Niyazbay region that year, harvesting 400 botmon of rice, 40 botmon of cotton, 30 botmon of corn, and 150 botmon of legumes (Yuldashev, 1959: 363). A botmon was unit of measurement equal to 20.16 kg to 40.95 kg used in Khorezm in the nineteenth century.

It was culturally accepted that a landowner who had a good harvest of crops would give his slave more than just his grain: he also paid money for the slave's clothing. The archives show that Hasan Divan Begi alone spent 104 gold to outfit 52 slaves. Additionally, it is stated in other documents that in 1866–1867, "5 gold was given to 5 slaves to buy clothes." Two slaves who were in his employ from the month of Muharram to the month of Jumad al-Avval received 16 botmon of wheat from Atajan Tura, according to records kept by the Khans of Khiva (Yuldashev, 1959: 363).

Thus far, we have focused more on Russian and European sources when discussing the issue of attitudes toward slaves. It would be appropriate to examine how slaves were treated from the perspective of Islam at this point. It is evident that during the Khiva Khanate, those Russian and European sources expressed more favorable views on the subject of adhering to Islamic principles. Therefore, examining how the Khiva Khanate's slave-owning class treated slaves and how Islam in general viewed slavery makes it possible to draw broad conclusions.

Slavery continued in the Islamic world for a number of reasons, and it had significant impact on social relations. Slavery was already ingrained in society for a long time before the inception of Islam. Given that it is impossible to completely abolish slavery, Islam made an effort to lessen its effects and alter its fundamental nature. For instance, in the Islamic faith, the concept of a slave changed; all people are treated equally and are only understood as servants or slaves of Allah. For example, the Prophet, peace be upon him, told slave owners, "None of you should call the servants 'my slave or my maid'. But let him say 'my son and my daughter'" (Sheikh Muhammad Sadiq Muhammad Yusuf).

Slave owners were warned by the teachings of Islam that the slaves in their possession were fellow human beings and brothers. For instance, the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, said in the hadith narrated by Imam Bukhari, "Your servants are your brothers. You are in charge of them because of Allah. Therefore, whoever has a brother under his control should feed him and clothe him in the same clothes that he wears" (*Islom va quldorlik. Zikr ahlidan so'rang* [Islam and slavery. Quest the people of Zikr]. URL: <http://www.info.islom.uz/24/08/2016>).

Instructions on how slaves should be treated can be found in many chapters of the hadiths. For instance, the Prophet, peace be upon him, declared, "A slave is given food and clothing, and they are not required to perform labor that they cannot bear" (*Sunani Termiziy*. URL: <https://hadis.uz/hadiths?query=qullar>).

In addition, it was utterly prohibited to enslave Muslims who adhered to Islam. One example of how the Islamic religion fought against slavery is the emphasis placed on the virtue of including the release of slaves as one of the five fundamental Islamic obligations, with divine rewards promised for doing so. For instance, it is stated that whoever releases a slave will be spared from the torment of Hell; therefore, if he does not already own a slave, he should purchase one before releasing it. The practice known as *mukataba* in the Quran expresses this behavior. In the dictionary, the word *mukataba* actually means "writing both from right and left side" and in Islamic law it refers to an agreement between a slave and their master that grants the slave freedom in return for a set sum of money or other services from the purchaser. This was a condition set up to allow slaves to achieve freedom as well as a means of combating slavery in Islam. Indeed, slaves were one of the main recipients of the zakat tax: the Holy Quran forbids using all of the zakat for anything other than freeing slaves (*Islom va quldorlik. Zikr ahlidan so'rang* URL: <http://www.info.islom.uz/24/08/2016>).

Islam raised the emancipation of slaves to the level of the greatest form of worship and the most effective means of generating charity for Allah.

Numerous verses and hadiths demonstrate that in the Islamic faith, liberating a slave or contributing money to their release is the first of the good deeds that will lead a person to heaven. Additionally, it was suggested that the Islamic government set aside money from the Bayt al-mal, the government's treasury, to free slaves (Sheikh Muhammad Sadiq Muhammad Yusuf. *Islomda inson huquqlari. Islom va qulchilik* [Human rights in Islam. Islam and slavery]. URL: <http://www.info.islom.uz/03/30/2016>).

Therefore, just as Islam gradually reduced the occurrence of social diseases that people were accustomed to, such as alcoholism, adultery, and usury, it gradually reduced slavery as well. The systematic and ongoing fight against slavery was started by Islam. Adherents were told that it was bad for them to use one another as slaves. It was then explained using verses and hadiths that freeing a slave is a good deed that guarantees the forgiveness of sins and salvation in the hereafter. Prayers such as zakat and expiation included mention of the emancipation of slaves. The most crucial aspect is that these decisions were made in practice rather than being mere talk (Ali Vecheslav Polosin, Oydin Alizoda. *Islomning quldorlikka munosabati*. URL: <https://islom.uz/maqola/3736/22.04.2017>).

Peace be upon the Prophet Muhammad, who released 63 slaves. The Prophet Muhammad's wife, Aisha, freed 67 slaves while he was alive. The uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, Abbas Ibn Abdul Muttalib, freed 70 slaves; Hakim Ibn Hizam, may Allah be pleased with him, 100; Abdullah Ibn Umar, may God be pleased with him, 1,000; Zul Kula Humayri, may God be pleased with him, 8,000; and Abd al-Rahman Ibn Awf, may God be pleased with him, 30,000. The number of slaves freed by Hazrat Abu Bakr and Hazrat Uthman, may Allah be pleased with them, is unknown to historians (Ali Vecheslav Polosin, Oydin Alizoda, *Islomning quldorlikka munosabati* [Islam's attitude to slavery]. URL: <https://islom.uz/maqola/3736/22.04.2017>).

Among Muslims, this practice became very widespread. The process of emancipating former slaves began and, at the same time, Islam forbade the enslavement of free people. Only prisoners taken in battle were exempt from this rule and could be made slaves, for which permission was granted in accordance with the circumstances at the time. Thus, slavery was not entirely abolished when we take into account the circumstances of certain people.

Generally speaking, family slavery relationships replaced economic slavery in Islamic society, and Sharia laws do not apply to the presence of obscene forms of slavery in society.

The existence of false beliefs and opinions from external sources that Sharia encouraged the spread of slavery among the people and states of Central Asia raises another delicate issue in this context. Such viewpoints are particularly prevalent in Russian sources. It is completely incorrect to place the blame for this situation on Islam or Sharia. We have already made numerous references to how Islam's perspective on slavery is reflected in its teachings. At this point, it would be accurate to state that the development of slavery resulted from the limited outlook of certain rulers, groups, or individuals: from their failure to comprehend the essence of Islam, or, more precisely, from their deception and desire to amass wealth through any means. Islam, like all other religions, promotes humanity and elevates basic human values. It is up to each individual's conscience whether or not to abide by Sharia law and whether to believe in religion in general.

Slavery in the Khiva Khanate was conducted strictly in accordance with Sharia law, as can be seen from the evidence presented above. First and foremost, it was forbidden to enslave Sunni Muslims. There is hardly any evidence in the available sources, not even in Russian ones, that this rule was broken. In his essay *Shajara-i Khorezmshahi*, Bayani condemns the fact that not only Muslims but also Russians from Khorezm's neighboring villages were kidnapped and sold as slaves in Khiva (Bayoniy, 1994: 23).

There were cases where parents sold their children to escape debt, poverty, or famine. We must stress, however, that they did not sell their children into slavery. This situation was particularly prevalent among the nomadic tribes and, more specifically, among the tribes known in Russian sources as Khiva Kyrgyz (Kazakhs and Kyrgyz). According to purchase and sale documents that have survived, the children were sold to work for a set period of time but were not referred to as slaves (Zimanov, 2009: 279-285).

In the Khiva Khanate, the power of slaves was widely utilized in virtually all areas of social and economic life, but particularly in agriculture. The treatment of slaves is regarded as a relatively complex issue, and written sources reflect conflicting information.

After the capture of the city of Khiva by Russia, the commander of the Russian troops, General Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufmann, announced that he would find Muhammad Rakhim Khan II and establish a treaty only with him. As a result, Muhammad Rakhim Khan II returned to Khiva and started negotiations with the Russian command. According to Bayani, “The people of Khorezm were a valiant and combative group. Some national traitors used our country as a front for international unrest in order to further their goals. The Russian army would not be able to prevail if the entire population of Khorezm joined forces and attacked the Russian soldiers, just as they were unable to do so when they previously attacked five times” (Bayani, 1994: 222).

During their treaty, General von Kaufman declared that he was still in charge of the nation. Muhammad Rahim Khan II took some time to rest in the place designated for him in Gandimyan Garden, and it was not until June 6 that he entered Khiva and took his seat on the throne. Von Kaufman unveiled a new rule regarding the running of the khanate. As a result, the Khivan Khan was acknowledged as the nation’s ruler. The “Kengash” board was established as the khanate’s ruling body. The army was led by the khan and, on General von Kaufman’s advice, it also included Artillery Lieutenant Colonel Ivanov, General Staff Lieutenant Colonel Pozharov, Lieutenant Colonel Khoroshkhin, and a Tashkent merchant called Oltinboev.

Matniyoz Divan Begi, Eltuzar Inaq, and Mihtar Abdulla Bey joined the Khiva Khanate’s administration. Divan only kept working until the month of August. The council voted on matters pertaining to the administration of the khanate, including the provision of food, fuel, and fodder for the Russian government’s troops. Von Kaufman urged the khan of Khiva to free the Iranian detainees in Khorezm on that condition.

On June 12, Sayeed Muhammad Rahim Khan issued a special decree addressing the fulfillment of that demand and directed its prompt distribution to the khanate’s towns and cities. Iranians in the oasis received the decree’s details from messengers. As a result, Khorezm’s Iranian residents were freed from slavery. As was previously mentioned, the permanent abolition of slavery was stipulated in the 17th article of the Gandumyan Agreement, which was signed with the Khanate of Khiva on August 12, 1873. When Russian troops occupied Khiva in June 1873, the decree issued by Muhammad Rahim Khan Firuz on that date served as the basis for the content of this article of the contract:

Sayeed Muhammad Bahadir Khan’s order, which was made public on June 12 of this year, to free all slaves in the khanate and put an end to slavery and human trafficking there permanently is still in effect. The government of the Khan will take action to complete this task as strictly and diligently as possible.

At the time this decree was issued, it generated a range of responses from different groups of people. For instance, Iranian slaves rose up and riots broke out in the city of Khiva when the city was occupied by Russian forces and slavery was declared to be illegal. The uprising and other disturbances in the city were only put down under the pressure of the Russian troops (MacGahan, 1875: 227-228). The Russian military asserted that the local slavers’ actions in this instance contributed to the Iranian slaves’ uprising. Many slave owners started tormenting their slaves in various ways or employing various forms of punishment to frighten them because they did not want to be separated from them. The Iranian slaves heard about their release and attacked their owners, seizing their property. Due to the strict measures imposed by the tsar’s government, the slave riots were eliminated. In addition, two of the main slave abusers were hanged.

The fate of Iranian slaves after slavery was abolished is another topic covered by Bayani.

All of the Iranian citizens were set free, totaling 27,000 individuals. All expressed satisfaction and gratitude to Russia. They also sewed red cloths and rags on their crops after noticing China in Russia’s crops. The captives were temporarily set free. One group of slaves was led by Ibrahim Basmachi, also known as Sultan, who had been known to slander and assault his masters. All of the prisoners immediately began rioting, sedition, and pillaging the populace. The local inhabitants visited Kaufman and announced their complaints. With Kaufman’s gesture, His Majesty the Khan dispatched two Iranians to make their requests. The conspiracy felt relieved after that. All the prisoners were to assemble in Katta-bagh, one farsah northwest of the

city, according to Kaufman's order. The prisoners then left for Katta-bagh, where there was silence" (Bayoniy, 1994: 36).

An important aspect of this source is that it mentions the number of Iranian captives. There are still various opinions regarding the total number of slaves prior to the abolition of slavery, and the number of slaves cited by Komyob below is also there. In general, the number of Iranian slaves recorded by Bayani, Kamyab and Laffasi is important in solving this problem. A conclusion can only be reached based via a comparative analysis between these numbers and the numbers given in Russian and foreign sources (below).

At the end of Bayani's work, he wrote that some of the slaves who went to Iran arrived safely, but later it is mentioned that they were robbed by the Yavmuts of Avazgeldi-khan, and most of them were killed on the way (Bayoniy, 1994: 41). For example:

More than 5,000 Iranian prisoners who had survived and were headed for their provinces perished in the year 1292 of the Hijra. In Kattabagh, some of them gathered and strolled around. While gathered in Tashhavuz, some of them kept quiet. The majority of them obtained many things from their masters by defaming them, stealing numerous items, looting various locations, and assembling numerous items. As a result, they all amassed substantial wealth. They hope to bring this wealth and travel to Iran in good health.

A man named Avazkeldi-khan came and made friends with some of the Iranian nobles and said: "I will become a captain and take you to Iran." Everyone was happy and promised to give him a lot of things and moved with him to Tash-khavuz. The captives of Tash-khavuz were also happy and named Ali Mohammad as their Iranian. After that, they set off on the road and went towards Kuhna Urgench. Avazgeldi-khan sent a message to the Yavmuts with one of his men and wrote: "I will lead the captives as a captain." They have a lot of goods and dinar coins. Of course, young men who are in need should show themselves and enjoy this wealth.

After hearing that news, more than twelve thousand Yavmuts set out on their way. At that time, Ali Muhammad Khan led Avazgeldi-khan on his way, gathered in Kukhna Urganch, stayed for a few days, washed and took food supplies, went on their way over Manggir and came to Qattigogar. The captives tried to fetch water.

Avazgeldi Khan forbade it and said: "Do not take water here. You can take the water at the banks of the Yagan-kilich ditch and then go on your way." So they went on without water and he stopped them in the desert, not at Yagan-kilich ditch. This time, the troops of the Yavmut tribe came and attacked and surrounded the captives. After being surrounded and trapped for two days, the captives dug springs, as they were suffering from thirst. But no water came out them. After that, the captives dispersed and set off for the waterside. At that time, the Yavmuts attacked them and killed them on horseback. The captives were killed there, and not one of them escaped. The Yavmuts returned to their homeland with a lot of booty, gladness and joy (Bayoniy, 1994: 42).

This story was only mentioned in full by Bayani and in the manuscript *Azadnama* by Laffasi, discussed below.

The specifics of the conquest of the Khanate of Khiva and the city of Khiva are discussed on pages 41–46 of Laffasi's *Azadnama*. Pages 45-47 are crucial to the subject of this study, because they discuss how Iranian slaves rebelled against their owners and severely injured them during the Russian occupation of Khiva. As a result, von Kaufman took extreme action and gave the order to hang two of the rebellion's most active participants. Even though they stopped fighting, these slaves occasionally went to von Kaufman to vent their frustrations with their owners. Laffasi evaluated the slave uprising from the perspective of the court officials, recording no instances in which the local people punished the slaves by beating or killing them in groups, fomenting uprisings and quarrels, and causing disturbances, as described in Kamyob (Laffasi. UzR ASIO. Inv. No.12581: 92-95).

Laffasi wrote that as the slaves' unpredictable behavior increased, Kaufman asked the khan to free every slave in the khanate and issue a proclamation stating that from that point forward no one would be subjected to slavery. Muhammad Rahim Khan II complied with the request and, through announcers distributed throughout the khanate, he issued a decree on the subject. The slaves, who rejoiced at the decision, showed their gratitude to the Russians by donning red garters that matched their military uniforms. Even Murad Ali and Muhammad Ali, two loyal khan officials with considerable clout in the khanate, did so (Lafassiy. UzR ASIO. Inv. No.12581: 48-50).

Laffasi elaborates on the 17th article in the Treaty of Gandumyan, signed August 12, 1873, which calls for the abolition of slavery in the khanate. However, the manuscript the treaty contains no information regarding it (Laffasi. UzR ASIO. Inv. No.12581: 51).

Laffasi provides information that is not mentioned in other Khivan sources about the consequence of the abolition of slavery in the Khanate in 1873. In particular, he noted that the abolishment of slavery had a negative impact on slave owners and masters first, followed by merchants and artisans. He cites the application from leather coat makers led by Nur Muhammad Makhsun to Muhammad Rahimkhan II in 1877. He notes that the market price increased as a result of slaves being freed from their masters, going from 16 gold to 29 gold and even 32 gold (Laffasi. UzR ASIO. Inv. No.12581: 8-11). Based on this, Laffasi writes with regret that even after the abolition of slavery, slave owners continued to torture their former slaves for some time under various pretexts.

Even though many European nations condemned Russia's occupation of the Khanate of Khiva, only those from these nations' upper classes thought that slavery had been abolished in this region. For instance, in an article published by *The Times* newspaper, which at that time represented the interests of the Liberal Party of Great Britain, it was emphasized that Russia's occupation of the Khiva Khanate had a humanitarian component. The article expressed "wholehearted" support for Russia's complete abolition of slavery, particularly in the region.

Around the same time, an article in *The Standard*, which served the interests of Britain's Conservative Party, then in opposition, stated that Russia's policy of ending slavery was an excuse, but acknowledged that the end of slavery was nevertheless a positive development (Unichtojeniye rabstva v Xive, 1873: 169-172).

The newspapers of the Slavic countries neighboring Russia overestimated Russia's efforts to abolish slavery and pointed out that Russia was considered a great country with humanitarian ideals, not an uncivilized or wild country in the sight of the countries of Germany, France, and England. In particular, pro-Russian ideas were reflected in the Polish newspaper "*Politik*" [Politician] published in Poland and the Czech newspaper "*Narodnye Listy*" [Public Pages], both of which praised the abolition of slavery in the Khiva Khanate by Russia (Unichtojeniye rabstva v Xive, 1873: 173).

After slavery was permanently abolished in the Khiva Khanate, it continued in practice for a while, albeit to a lesser extent. This can be ascertained archival manuscripts. In particular, in the 27th document in file inventory number 125, list 2 of the office, the Head of the Amu Darya Department No. 2633 dated August 22, 1883, and No. 2769 dated September 4 1833 were both sent to the head of the Amu Darya Department, Colonel V. Bulgavitinov, on behalf of the former slave Mustafa Muhammad Niyaz. According to the content of the letter, he appealed for help in freeing his sister, who was kept as a slave by Iskandarbay in Khanka. V. Bulgavitinov acknowledged the appeal and sent a letter to the khan of Khiva, asking him to send her to Turtkul. However, according to the evidence given by a slave boy, she remained a slave in the presence of Iskandarbay. She denied this, but it appears that her owner may have forced her to give such instructions. Although it is not known how this event ended, this document clearly shows that slavery continued even after 1873 in Khiva Khanate. According to the slave boy's testimony, they forced, threatened, or deceived him into testifying that she was not a slave (CSARU. F. I-125. Op. 2. D. 591. L. 1).

Another document confirming the existence of slavery long after its abolition was taken from the private manuscript fund of Mulla Ahmadjan Turdiokhunov from Khiva. This is the first time this document has been covered in the literature. It says, "On the twenty-fifth of the month of Jumad al-Sani in 1320 AH [September 27, 1902], Ghaybuli Ghulamkul Jumaniyaz doyen, with the confession of his master, received from him the birth certificate of 1320. A letter was written this month saying that he should not be offended by the fact that he paid birth tax. 20 Salghut [gold] was taken."

4. Conclusion

This article has explored the consequences of the abolition of slavery on the socio-economic life of the Khiva Khanate, examining both the positive and negative sides of the abolition of slavery.

On the positive side, slavery was a great obstacle to the socio-economic development of the khanate. Its existence was is one of the main reasons the khanate remained in the swamp of

backwardness. On the negative side, the sudden end of slavery greatly affected the annual income of the class of owners who had relied on slave labor for farming.

As an important conclusion, it should be noted that although slavery officially ended in the 1870s in the Khiva Khanate, in practice it continued until the 1920s, based on information from various sources. The actions of Russia and Great Britain, which tried to end slavery, and the eventual abolition of this practice were of great importance. As a result of the abolition of slavery, the region was drawn into the relations of the market economy, and the elements of a modern economic state began to form.

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