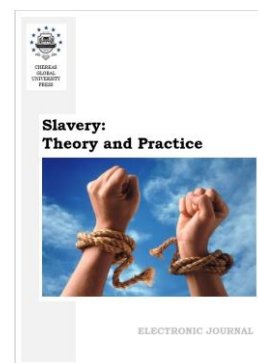


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Published in the USA  
 Slavery: Theory and Practice  
 Has been issued since 2016.  
 E-ISSN: 2500-3755  
 2022. 7(1): 3-13

DOI: 10.13187/slave.2022.1.3  
<https://stp.cherkasgu.press>



## Articles

### The Emergence and Specific Aspects of Slavery in Khiva Khanate. Sources of Slavery, Slave Markets, and Their Prices

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#### Abstract

In this article, the occurrence and specific aspects of slavery in Khiva Khanate and the essence of slavery, and its role in social and economic life are shown. The information is given based on archival documents and sources about the strong community relations in Central Asia from ancient times and the fact that slavery relations were not at their classical level but patriarchal slavery due to the long preservation of these relations. The sources of slavery are identified in the article and the main three factors that caused slavery. Data from Russian and foreign sources and domestic sources are examined to provide information on slave markets and slave prices. The role and differences of slaves belonging to such nationalities as Russian, Kazakh, Kalmyk, Iranian, Afghan, and Azari Turks in social life are mentioned. The issue of slavery in the Khiva Khanate is one of the least studied pages of the history of not only Khorezm but also Uzbekistan. There is no conclusive research on this topic. From this point of view, the issue of studying and researching this topic is of great importance in the science of history today. One of the most important aspects of the issue of slavery in the Khiva Khanate is the question of the price of slaves brought for sale from different regions. In this article, the question of the price of slaves is analyzed based on information from written sources. During the analysis of the sources of slavery in the Khiva Khanate, the issue of the nature of slavery and its place in social and economic life was scientifically analyzed and conclusions were drawn. At the same time, based on the content and essence of the article, issues of the influence of the ethnic and social origin of slaves on their prices and attitude towards slaves in Khiva Khanate were scientifically analyzed.

**Keywords:** talking weapon of labor, holop, classical slavery, patriarchal slavery, alaman Turkmen, yurgen, urgen, minister of artillery, tilla-gold coin, the ruble.

#### 1. Introduction

Slavery was preserved for a long time in the socio-economic life of the Khiva Khanate. But, this level of slavery did not reach the level of classical or, farm slavery, as in Greece and Rome. The main feature of such a system was that the slave was not considered as a person but as an object or a tool of labor. Even Plato and Aristotle, who were considered the most enlightened people of their time, could not leave the point of view of that time to slaves and considered slavery as normal (Vallon, 1941: 165-168). For example, Aristotle described the slave as a "speaking instrument of labor" in his work "Politics" (Aristotel (trans. Dovatur), 1983: 381). During this

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period, slaves had no rights and the slave masters could treat them as they wished. Even for killing a slave, there was no punishment for the slave masters or owners.

## 2. Materials and methods

Three groups of sources are involved in the work: archival documents of the Russian State Historical Archive (St. Petersburg, Russian Federation); materials of personal origin – diaries, memoirs of eyewitnesses who took part in expeditions to Central Asia (Meyendorf, 1975; Poyezdka iz Orska, 1851; Puteshestviye gospodina Antoniya Djenkinsona, 1937; Vamberi, 2003; Zamechaniya..., 1858); as well as the materials of the pre-revolutionary periodical press, for example, “Turkestanskiye vedomosti” newspaper (Kun, 1873).

The work is based on the basic principles of a historical research – the principles of historicism, objectivity and consistency. The historical-chronological method is also important, thanks to which the events are considered by us in their chronological sequence and taking into account the specific historical situation.

## 3. Discussion and results

Although slavery was officially abolished in Europe in the Middle Ages, in practice only the name of the system changed and it survived under other names. For example, in Russia during this period, slaves were known as “kholop”. Slavery formed in Central Asia, especially in the Khiva Khanate, was based on patriarchal, that is, family slavery, in contrast to such slavery. In this, the slave was not treated as an object or thing, but as a member of the family.

Slavery did not rise to its classical level because communal relations were strong in Central Asia from ancient times and these relations were preserved for a long time. Because, of the socio-economic and land relations in these regions, mainly the commune members played an important role (Askarov, 1994: 35).

Such relations are called the “Asian style of production” in economic and social sciences. This concept was first introduced in 1859 by the German philosopher and economist Karl Marks (Marks, 1931: 755). “Asian style of production” caused intense controversy in social science in the 20s-30s and 60s-80s of the last century, but did not find its definitive solution.

The main feature of the “Asian style of production” is the observance of state ownership of land. The special economic role of the state comes from this. State ownership of land combined with the system of rural communities opens a wide way for the operation of this production method. In such conditions, the democratic organization of the community, which in turn protects the interests of the members of the community before the state, is in power, not an individual farmer or craftsman. We have full reason to say that this style of production prevailed in Khiva Khanate as well.

Thus, the main productive force in the state was still peasants, so slavery was not of primary importance in the political and socio-economic life of the Khiva Khanate. Except for some periods when wars were frequent and captives increased, the price of slaves was generally high, and only nobles or wealthy families could afford to use slaves on their farms. In addition, the later introduction of Islam partially prevented slavery from reaching the classical level (Sayfuddinov, 2017).

At this point, special attention should be paid to one issue. Many studies focusing on the issue of slavery in the Khiva Khanate, especially in the studies of the Soviet period, also show extreme exaggerations of the attitude towards slavery. We are far from justifying slavery here, of course. Even though Russian, European, or American 19th-century authors who left information about slavery in Khiva Khanate, looked at slavery as an abominable custom, slavery existed in different forms in the society in which they lived. In particular, the American journalist J.A.McGahan, who took part in the invasion of Khiva Khanate, recorded several negative information about slavery in the Khanate in his memoirs. But even though it had been 10 years since the abolition of slavery in the United States (the law about it was passed in 1863 and came into force in 1865), it was known that its complications had not been eliminated during these years (Allaliv, 2017: 76-82).

Slavery in Russia was officially abolished in 1722 by the decree of Peter The First Slavery was completely abolished by the decree of 1746, which prohibited the sale or purchase of people regardless of who they were. However, this decree also applied only to the central regions of Russia. Moreover, such decrees and documents served only the interests of Russian citizens and Orthodox believers. Because in Siberia, the Asian part of Russia, and other remote areas of the empire, slavery continued until the 50s of the 19th century. If we take into account the fact that

serfdom (the dependence of peasants on their masters) in the socio-economic life of Russia is equated with slavery by most researchers, slavery in the real sense in Russia was ended only with the decree of 1861 on the abolition of serfdom ([Cheslavskiy](#)).

The decision of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to end the enslavement of the black population was also largely unique to the African region. Moreover, this decision did not completely end slavery in Africa. Slavery continued officially on the continent until the 1980s (Mauritania's 1981 Law on the Abolition of Slavery). In practice, slavery still exists in various forms in Africa and other parts of the world.

Slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888, in Korea in 1894, and in China in 1910. In Europe, slavery in various forms continued until the 80s of the 19th century (most recently, in Italy, slavery was abolished in 1889). Thus, the problem of slavery relations in the Khiva Khanate has not yet been fully and objectively studied.

It is known that from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, that is, from the period when the Khiva Khanate was established, information related to slavery began to appear in the sources. Because, in this century, two new states that emerged in Central Asia, Khiva and Bukhara khanates, were incessantly fighting each other, and internal struggles within the khanates themselves intensified. In this century, the Baburids of India began to fight for the possession of Badakhshan, a mountainous area on the southeastern border of Bukhara. In addition, during this period, the Safavid state emerged in Iran, and started a struggle for the possession of the border of Khurasan, with Khiva and Bukhara khanates. Other territories and steppes bordering on them had also become a field of mutual wars between different tribes and states. It is no exaggeration to say that especially in the Safavid state of Iran, the Shia sect became the dominant ideology, which was a particularly strong impetus for the further strengthening of the slavery system. Because, as we mentioned above, enslaving one's religious brother is strictly prohibited in Islam, while enslaving "infidels" was allowed. It was done in order to "initiate the slaves who do not believe in Islam to the right path shown by Allah" or to convert them to Islam. For the Sunni school of Islam, those of the Shia school are considered infidels, and for the Shias, the Sunnis are considered infidels. As a result, from the 16th century, and during the next three centuries, the captives captured during the wars with Iran or any campaigns organized into the territory of this country were enslaved ([Rabstvo v islame, 2017](#)).

The rulers issued a special fatwa<sup>1</sup> by Sunni scholars to justify their actions. For example, in the 15th century (according to H. Vamberi in 1500), the chief of Bukhara, Sheikh Shams ud-din, issued a fatwa allowing the enslavement of the Shia sect. For example, in the 15th century (according to H. Vamberi in 1500), the chief of Bukhara scholars, Sheikh Shams ud-din, issued a fatwa allowing the enslavement of captives of the Shia sect ([Vamberi, 1970: 7](#)). In addition, Abdulla Khan II, the ruler of Bukhara's Shaybanids, issued a fatwa from the scholars during his march to Herat in 1586 ([Fayziev: 8](#)).

In addition, Russia, which was another "place of infidels" for the Khanates, had not yet become a great country at that time. The southern and southeastern border areas of Russia became the field of raids of nomadic tribes like Kalmyks, Kazakhs and Kyrgyz, that is, one of the sources of slaves. In particular, in 1558-1559, A. Jenkinson, who was in the Central Asian khanates, freed 25 Russian slaves and brought them to Russia with him ([Allvort, 2016: 18](#)).

In general, incessant wars and raids in this vast area became one of the main reasons for the development of slavery in the states of this region, and especially in the Khiva Khanate.

In fully revealing the issue of slavery in the Khiva Khanate, it is impossible to understand the essence of slavery without fully studying the issue of its sources, which are of great importance in the development of slavery relations.

Geographically, there were three main sources of slavery in Khiva Khanate. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the "crowd" of the Turkmen tribes took the main place in all three sources that mention these slave captives. Because almost all of the information in the sources about slavery of this period definitely mentions the pirate raids of the Turkmens. Because in this century, compared to the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries, it is observed that interstate wars, the struggle for the throne, and internal conflicts in general have decreased significantly.

As we mentioned above, enslaving one's co-religionists was absolutely forbidden in Islam. However, during the invasion campaigns, this law was not followed much. Shiite Persians,

<sup>1</sup> A ruling on a point of Islamic law given by a recognized authority.

Russians, Nogai-Kalmyks, Caucasians, Indians, and some Europeans were also enslaved, along with sometimes Sunni Bukharas, Afghans, Karakalpaks, Kyrgyz, and Kazakhs. For example, according to H. Vamberi, Indians in the Emirate of Bukhara were forcibly converted to Islam, then to his Shia sect, and then enslaved (Vamberi, 2003: 93). At the same time, some merchants, ambassadors, tourists, and representatives of various missions who came to the khanate from these countries were enslaved and sold to neighboring countries. In this regard, there is enough information in the sources. In addition, Bukhara emirs, Iranian kings, and Turkmens who organized raids on the Khiva khanate enslaved the Khiva people without a trace, and the merchant caravans of the Khanate were sometimes attacked, and the merchants of the caravan were captured and turned into slaves. In particular, in the sources of the Caucasian countries, the slaves called *yurgen* or *urgen* slaves are mentioned, and they are understood as the slaves of the inhabitants of the Khiva Khanate in the shape of the city of Urganch (initially Old Urganch, later New Urganch), which is one of the largest cities of the Khiva Khanate (here it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that not only slaves, but also ambassadors, merchants, and until the 17th century, the khanate were sometimes called by this name, including in Russian sources: *posly yurgenskie*, *zemlya yurgenskaya* or *kuptsy yurgenskie* and so on) (Ingrem, 2011: 240).

Among these, the first source that gave rise to slavery was the neighboring Iranian territories, in which the Turkmen tribes organized raids to there. The marches aimed to capture as many captives as possible and sell them as slaves. For almost all Turkmen tribes and clans, these special raids became a source of life, and in the sources, these raids were called "alaman". The "Alaman" invasion also existed in Chechens, Dagestanis, and other Caucasian peoples. However, in them, these invasions were considered a source of accumulation of additional material wealth only after agriculture, handicrafts, and animal husbandry (Inzemtseva, 2014: 59-60). Only among the Turkmens, these raids were the main occupation, and only after that cattle breeding and partial farming became an additional source of life. Especially after the shameful defeat of the Iranian Shah's troops in 1861, the Turkmen raids on the territories of this country intensified (Vamberi, 2003: 93, 142-143, 151). Since the 90s of the 20th century, in many kinds of literature, especially in the works of Turkmen researchers, there are more and more cases of justifying the "crowd" as behavior that the Turkmen are forced to use constantly to protect themselves from the invasions of their powerful neighbors like Iran, Khiva, Bukhara and Afghanistan (Garagezova, 2018). However, Russian and other sources of those times show the opposite, and we witness that "alaman" became a permanent occupation of many Turkmen tribes and clans and the main source of filling the slave markets (Botyakov, Alaman, 2002: 192).

So, as we mentioned above, as a result of organized raids on the territories of Iran, Afghanistan, and Russia, and as a result of taking away people from these countries, and sometimes robbing trade caravans, many captives were brought and sold as slaves in the slave markets of Khiva Khanate. The cities of Merv, Atrek, and Gyumushepa were the main slave markets for captives brought from Khorasan and Iran, and from here thousands of slaves were sent for sale in the four directions (Vamberi, 2003: 33, 37-38, 40-42, 93, 137).

The second source of slavery was the southern borders of the Russian state, the steppes and deserts inhabited by Kyrgyz and Kazakhs, and the lower reaches of the Syr Darya. In the regions, troops of the Khiva Khanate, Turkmens, and other Noghais, Kazakhs, and Kyrgyz organized raids on the Russian border towns and cities and sold the captives in the markets of Khiva. A lot of Russian prisoners were sold in this direction (Samoylovich, 1932: 356). In this direction, there were also special people of Khiva khans, who brought a lot of "living goods" - slaves to the Khiva markets and the khan's palace. Khiva Khan himself was a big slave owner, and thousands of slaves worked in the palace and on farms belonging to the palace (Kharoshkin, 1873: 485). Abduction of people from the border areas of the Russian Empire and their subsequent sale as slaves was initially considered the main occupation and source of high income for the Kalmyks, but later Kyrgyz-Kazakhs and Turkmens engaged in this illegal activity (Bukharin, 1892: 42).

In these areas, pirates captured lone hikers, fishermen, entire villagers, farmers, and their families, or entire ship crews and sent them to the slave markets in groups. Even the robbers attacked the military without hesitation. For example, in the spring of 1836, the official who controlled the waters of the Emba River was kidnapped, and in the fall, a small army of 4th artillerymen with all their military equipment and a ship was captured and taken away as a slave (Terentev, 2010). However, as we noted above, in the Russian sources of the 18th-

19th centuries, slave markets were not only a result of raids and robberies but it was also recorded that Kyrgyz and Kazakhs sold their children to Khivans as a way to escape poverty or debt during famines (RGIA. Source of history of Kazakhstan ASSR: F. 383).

At the same time, Russian people were sometimes engaged in "hunting slaves" and selling them. In particular, Mikhail Zaychikov, a participant of the Perovsky campaigns of 1839–1840, the winner of the gold medal "For his enthusiasm and services" in this campaign, a merchant from Orenburg was also secretly involved in the slave trade. His servants hired peasants to work in the merchant's fields outside the city. After working, they made a party for the hired peasants and deliberately made them drunk before sending them home. In midnight, according to M. Zaychikov's instructions, the Kazakhs attacked and took them captive, and, they were delivered to familiar slavers in Khiva. From the slavers of Khiva, he received various products and valuable goods from the East in exchange for slaves. His crimes were exposed by the Russian slaves freed by the English ambassador R.Shakespeare after this campaign, that is, in 1840. Most of the freed people recognized Zaychikov and said that it was Zaychikov who sold them into slavery. According to the rumors spread among the people in Orenburg at that time, Zaychikov was not alone in the secret slave trade, and there were many slave traders like him. But it was very difficult to expose them at that time (Ermashova, 2003: 10).

The third route from which captives were brought to the Khiva slave markets was considered to be the Bukhara Emirate and the border areas with Afghanistan. In the memoirs of the famous Hungarian traveler H. Vamberi, the events of the enslavement of the slaves from Hirato or the inhabitants of the city of Andkhai, the plundering marches of the Hazari inhabitants of Qalai-Nav together with the Turkmens to Khorasan and selling the captives from there as slaves in Bukhara, the fact that this city of Qalai-Nav was a large slave market, just like Merv such historical events are mentioned (Vamberi, 2003: 110-111, 115-116, 120, 137).

Not only Bukhara but Khiva khanate played a big role in this trade. For example, in many documents and lists drawn up by the Russian government in connection with the abolition of slavery in the regions inhabited by Kazakhs and Kyrgyz in the 1950s, Afghans are the majority of the slaves brought from the markets of Khiva (Morozova, 2009: 279-285).

In addition to the above information of H.Vamberi, we should also mention the information of the Russian researcher V. Masalsky. In the 1830s, Turkmen raids on Afghanistan and Badakhshan intensified to such an extent that the population of these regions, especially Badakhshan, decreased dramatically (Rossiya, 1913: 385).

The kidnapping process was organized in such a way that the would-be victims were attacked when they did not expect any danger, when they did not suspect anything, and when they were not ready to defend themselves. Even if there was resistance to the contrary, the invaders used brutal measures (Efremov, 2006). Once the pirates had captured their captives, they traveled hundreds of miles without stopping to avoid pursuit as much as possible. The captives were forced to run long distances on horses or in many cases on foot. Then they were divided into groups in pirate camps and sent to Khiva, Bukhara, and Kokan slave markets. In order not to show resistance and escape, they hardly fed the captives on the way, they always humiliated them by using various forms of physical violence. In particular, according to the memoirs of the Russian officer Philip Efremov, who was a slave in Bukhara for a long time, if the fugitive prisoners were caught again, their ears and noses were cut off, and they were subjected to some cruel punishment or they were killed. In order not to escape, the heels of the captives were cut off and powdered horsetail was sprinkled on them. As a result, the captive was almost unable to walk. Not all captives could endure this severe suffering, and many of them died on the way. Wounded and crippled, unfit for work, or insane captives were condemned to a painful death and left alone in the desert without food or water (Efremov, 2006). Generally, after being stolen, the condition of the captives was extremely difficult until they came into the hands of the buyer.

Bashkirs, Tatars, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, and in some cases even Russian slaves who were citizens of the Russian Empire were not captured only by raids or incursions. If we pay attention to the information from the sources, rebels were fleeing from the pressure of the Russian government, criminals, or those who moved to the territory of the khanate for other reasons. In particular, according to the information of Stepanovna Akulina Gregorevna, who was a slave in Khivada Khan's palace for six years (1835–1840), the Old Believers (Supporters of a religious movement that arose as a result of the split of the Orthodox Church in 1667 and includes sects that adhere to

old beliefs) who opposed the official Orthodox Church in Russia lived in the Khanate. According to the information of this former maid, such people had special religious monks and they kept their religion. They were also allowed to live in their traditional way of life in the Khanate ([Dubrovskiy](#)).

According to the sources, Old Believers, people who tried to escape from the oppression of serfdom, and those who evaded military service began to move to the border regions of Central Asia from the end of the 17th century to the beginning of the 18th century. However, as a result of the transfer of the territories of the Kazakh Zhuz together with the above territories to the Russian Empire, some of them settled in Khiva Khanate ([Bukharin, 1892: 32-33](#)).

Many criminals from Russia, especially military fugitives, also took refuge in the khanate. One such person, Sergei Agha, the "Minister of Artillery" of the Khan of Khiva, was mentioned in the information about the P.G.Danilevsky mission that came to Khiva in 1842. In 1840, when an English officer took many of R.Shakespeare's Russian slaves with him, and in 1842, when P.G.Danilevsky promised to take him to Russia, where he asked for forgiveness for his crimes and promised to make him his adviser, Sergei remained in Khiva of his own free will ([Vamberi, 2003: 72](#)).

The topographer G.Zelenin, who was in Khiva in 1842 as part of the P.G.Danilevsky mission, also provides information about a Russian (or rather Tatar) military officer who escaped to Khiva. The topographer mentions that this person had a separate house and Russian slaves sometimes gathered there. But, he did not mention the name of this Russian (the author probably didn't mention his name because the war criminals could not escape punishment even after many years) ([Zakharin, 1894: 441-442](#)).

Thus, a unique political, socio-economic and spiritual society formed in the Khiva Khanate over many centuries was the reason for the preservation of the traditions of slavery for a long time. The main sources of this slavery were raids and incursions, and in some cases, forcing one to sell one's children or family members into slavery to escape poverty, famine, or debt was also considered a source of filling the slave markets. The existence of slavery and its long existence in the khanate was partially caused by the formation of views in the Islamic world that converting "infidels" – non-believers to the path of true faith is a righteous deed in the path of God ([Rabstvo v islame, 2017](#)).

One of the most important aspects of the issue of slavery in the Khiva Khanate is the question of the price of slaves brought for sale from different regions. The availability of different information about this in different sources makes it difficult to find a complete solution to this issue, of course.

We can conditionally divide the sources that provide information about the price of slaves in the Khiva Khanate into two groups:

1. In Russian and European sources of the 16th-19th centuries (including Kazakh);
2. Iranian, Bukhara and Khiva sources.

Interestingly, the most important of these sources are Russian sources, and information about it is extremely rare in Iranian, European, Bukhara, and especially Khiva sources. Therefore, we will start the analysis of sources with Russian and European sources as an addition, and we think that it is appropriate to analyze these sources periodically. We can find a lot of information about the price of slaves in the Russian-European sources on various topics or contents of the 16th-19th centuries.

The earliest information about the emancipation of Russian slaves in the countries of Central Asia dates back to the 16th century, and this is Antony Jenkinson's account of the emancipation of 25 Russian slaves during his trip to the Khanates of Khiva and Bukhara in 1558–1560 ([Puteshestviye gospodina Antoniya Djenkinsona, 1937: 167-192](#)). But, unfortunately, it does not mention the price of these slaves.

The first information about the price of slaves in the Khiva Khanate was reflected in the documents of the Russian ambassador Ivan Khokhlov, who was in the Central Asian khanates from 1620-1622. In particular, Ivan Khokhlov initially freed 27 Russian prisoners in Bukhara. When he came to the Khanate of Khiva, 23 of them were seized by Habash Sultan, the son of Khiva Khan Arab Muhammad Khan. However, Khokhlov freed 31 Russian prisoners from Khiva in different ways. In particular, he bought two of them for 78 rubles. In addition, Elbers Sultan, another son of Arab Muhammad, freed 13 Russian slaves and sent his ambassador Mahkamboy to Russia with Ivan Khokhlov. In total, Ivan Khokhlov managed to free 44 Russian slaves ([Jukovskiy, 1915: 17-18](#)). But what their average prices were is not given in full. The above two slave values are not enough to draw a conclusion. In addition, the fact that these data are mainly presented in units of value that were in circulation in Russia or other regions (for example, the aforementioned Antony Jenkinson

quoted the value of several products in Central Asia in English currency units: pounds or pence) at that time makes the matter a little more difficult. Because, although some Russian sources indicate the currency units in circulation in the Central Asian khanates and their ratio to the Russian currency units, the mutual ratio of the currency units of both sides was never kept in balance.

The ambassadors of the Russian Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, led by Ivan Fedotov, were also tasked with freeing the Russian prisoners in the Khanates of Khiva and Bukhara. However, in the Khanate of Khiva, Ivan Fedotov was allowed to visit all the territories of the Khanate (later no such opportunity was given to any ambassador at all), but the Khan did not free any Russian prisoners of his own free will. Only Ivan Fedotov bought 12 Russian slaves at his own expense. However, it is not mentioned here how much money was spent to buy these captives (*Zapiski Imperatorskogo...*, 1851: 310). The embassy mission led by the Pazukhin brothers managed to buy 22 Russian slaves for 585 rubles (Boris, Pazuxin, 1894: 13, 61). Naturally, the price of these captives was different. However, with this information, it is possible to estimate the average value of Russian slaves in the Khiva Khanate. That is, their average price was 26.5 rubles. This information is important because the Pazukhin brothers mention that Khiva Khan had 50 Russian slaves because Khiva Khan was also a big slave owner in addition to being a large landowner in the Khanate (Jukovskiy, 1915: 32).

Vasily Daudov and Muhammad Yusuf Kasimov, who was sent to Khiva and Bukhara in 1675, also freed 63 Russian prisoners, but 8 of them died on the way. 29 of the captives were freed in Khiva Khanate. Detailed information about this embassy and expenses for the release of captives is provided in the documents entitled "Embassy books of the late 15th early 18th centuries" kept in the State Archive of Ancient Documents of Russia (Samoylovich, 1932: 284-288).

After this embassy, the arrival of ambassadors from Russia to the Khanate of Khiva decreased considerably, and demands for the release of Russian slaves stopped for almost a century. The main reason for the deterioration of relations between the two countries was the destruction of the Bekovich-Cherkassky expedition in 1714–1719 by Khan of Khiva Sher Ghazi Khan. Many of the soldiers in this expedition were massacred, and many were sold as slaves. However, some of these captives were released for large money. For example, during the study of documents related to this expedition kept in the State Archives of Russia, one of the members of the expedition, officer Andrey Drummond, was released by Tatars from Astrakhan, who were trading in Khiva Khanate, for 500 rubles. His comrade Ivan Kiselnikov was also released by the Khiva after the Tatars paid 200 rubles (Toropitsin, 2016: 267).

The important part of these documents for us is that we can find out the price and number of slaves in the Khiva Khanate at the beginning and middle of the 18th century.

According to the information given to D. Gladishev by Andrey Borodin, who lived in slavery in the Khiva Khanate, there were 3,000 Russians, Kalmyks, and other nationalities with Russian citizenship in the Khanate, and 500 in the Aral State (Khanikova, 1851: 18). In the memoirs of Alexander Blankennagel, an ophthalmologist who was in the Khiva Khanate from 1793–1794, valuable information about the price of slaves in the Khiva Khanate at the end of the 18th century was given. For example, he claims that he bought two Russian slaves from the Khiva people for 90 chervans (a gold coin in circulation in the Russian Empire, the value of which was almost the same as the Khiva gold coin), and according to his information, the price of Russian slaves varied. Female slaves were twice as expensive as male slaves, valued at 50-100 chervans. Male slaves were around 40-50 chervans (Grigorov, 1858: 7, 12). At the same time, A. Blankennagel wrote that there were about 2,000 Russian and more than 20,000 Iranian slaves in the Khiva Khanate at the end of the 18th century.

In the memoirs of Metropolitan Khrisanf, who was in the Khanate of Khiva in the 1790s, information was kept about the number of Russian slaves in the Khanate and their price. In particular, according to Khrisanf's proposal to the Russian government, Russia should have good relations with the Iranian state, and through this, it would be possible to attack the Khanate of Khiva from the Iranian city of Astrobád and free 4,000 Russian prisoners who were suffering in the Khanate. This work also contains valuable but general information about the price of slaves. He notes that the total value of the slaves was estimated at 40-60 chervans (a gold Russian coin of roughly the same value as a Khiva gold coin) (Grigorov, 1861: 5, 7).

In 1819–1820, the Russian ambassador N.N. Muravev, who was in the Khiva khanate, also provided valuable information about the slavery relations in the khanate. He said that during this period, the price of young and strong Russian slaves in the khanate was equal to 1000 rubles (about 70 gold coins) in Russian money (Putishestvie v Turkmeniyu I Xivu v 1819 v 1829 gg., 1822: 99-100).

E.K. Meyendorff, who participated in the Russian embassy headed by A.F. Negri in the Emirate of Bukhara in these years, cites information about the price of slaves in the Emirate of Bukhara: that is, the price of a strong male slave in the Emirate was 40-50 gold (640-800 Russian rubles), a slave with a profession – 100 gold (1600 rubles), young beautiful maids – 100-150 gold (1600-2400 rubles) (Meyendorff, 1975: 145).

If we compare these data with N.N. Muravev's data, we can see that the value of slaves in Khiva Khanate was almost the same as the value of slaves living in the Bukhara Emirate. M.I. Ivanin, relying on the information of those who were held captive in the khanate, wrote that in 1838 the price was set for Russian citizens from 30 to 90 golds, and for Iranians from 15 to 30 golds. At that time, a camel was sold in the khanate's markets for 4 to 12 gold tilla, a bushel of wheat from 60 tiyin (small currency of Central Asia) to 1 ruble, and a bushel of oats from 40 to 80 tiyin (Ivanin, 1955: 311).

A. Vamberi, who came to the Central Asian khanates in 1863, said that strong male slaves in the emirate were valued at 40-50 gold, and older women could be sold for up to 10 gold. However, he says that in 1861, after the defeat of the Iranian army by the Turkmen near Merv, 13 thousand Iranian warriors were sent to the slave markets, and the price of slaves in the Emirate of Bukhara decreased tenfold this year, falling to 3-4 gold (Vamberi, 2003: 93, 110-111, 137).

Laffasi left valuable information on the prices of slaves on pages 37-38 of his work "Azadnama". In particular, it is reported that Russian slaves were valued more expensively than Iranian slaves because they were hard workers. The price of Russian slaves was 100-200 gold on average, while the price of Iranian slaves was 60-70 gold. If sold with the family of an Iranian slave, he was sold for 100-150 gold.

Due to the high price of Russian slaves, they were mostly bought by the khan and his relatives or scholars (Lavasiy, UzR ASIO. Inv. No.12581: 37-38).

The manuscript also mentions the ethnic composition of slaves and the sources of slavery. In particular, while the majority of the slaves were "Parsiyni" (Iranians-Persians), there were also a certain number of Azerbaijani Turks belonging to the Shia sect, Afghans, Kalmyks, and Russian slaves (Lavasiy, UzR ASIO. Inv. No.12581: 34-35). Although there is no information about the slaves from Caucasian peoples such as Georgians and Cherkasy after Abulghazi Bahadirkhan, it is clear that there were slaves from them as well. Because it is known from history that the troops of Iranian Qajars made many marches to the Caucasus regions. Only in the 50s and 60s of the 19th century, after large areas of the Caucasus region, including the territories of Georgia and Dagestan, were incorporated into Russia, these raids stopped.

From this information, it is possible to determine the sources of bringing slaves to the Khanate of Khiva. In particular, the slaves from Iranian and Azari Turks were mainly brought as a result of the raids of the Tekes which are the Turkman tribes on the territories of the Iranian state. The Russians were mainly brought as a result of raids by Kazakh and Kalmyk tribes on the border regions of Russia and attacks on fishing vessels in the Caspian Sea. Afghans were brought as a result of a purchase from the Emirate of Bukhara or as a result of the attacks of the Turkmen on the one hand, and the emirs of Bukhara on the other hand, on the borders of Afghanistan (Lavasiy, UzR ASIO. Inv. No.12581: 34-35).

According to the Orientalist A. Kun's article in 1873, the price of a young slave girl in the khanate markets ranged from 40 to 250 gold coins. A young, strong slave was sold for 30 to 250 gold. At that time, the price of 80 kg of wheat was sold in the market for 1 gold coin (Kun, 1873: 310). M.I. Ivanin reported that most Khivans had 10 or more slaves, and the medial rich Khivans had 1-2 slaves. Therefore, only the richest families in the khanate had the opportunity to buy slaves. Therefore, a person who bought a slave for a large amount of money naturally became the owner of the slave for life.

In 1873, on the eve of Kaufman's march to the khanate, the price of captives was raised, from 100 to 200 gold coins for Russian slaves, from 70 gold coins for the Iranian slaves, and from 60 to 300 gold coins for female and children slaves from Iran under 14 years of age.

In general, the value of slaves was naturally not always the same. Their value fluctuated due to political, economic, and social reasons. In particular, the nationality of the captive or slave was one of the factors affecting its value. For example, according to the information of many Russian travelers, explorers, or ambassadors, Russian slaves were sold at a higher price than Iranian, Kazakh, or Afghan slaves (Vasalovskiy, 1881: 5). Afghan slaves, on the other hand, were



underestimated because, according to all sources, Afghan slaves were "disobedient", "vengeful" and "belligerent" towards their masters (Fayziev, 1975: 98).

However, as we mentioned above, no matter how much the price of slaves decreased, the slave was still valuable for civilian.

The latest Russian and foreign data on the price and number of slaves in the Khiva Khanate stopped by 1873. After all, in 1873, with the conquest of the Khanate of Khiva by Russia, slavery in the Khanate was ended forever.

#### 4. Conclusion

Summing up, it is important to note that slave-owning relations in Central Asia in general, and in the Khanate of Khiva in particular, were not at their classical level, but were based on patriarchal slavery, which was caused by the duration of the preservation of such relations in the region. Most of the slaves were Iranian, but there were slaves of other nationalities in Khiva, for example, Russian, Kazakh, Kalmyk, Afghan and Azari Turks. Speaking about the prices of live goods, it should be noted that the cost of slaves was high, however, during successful campaigns with the capture of new prisoners, the price could significantly decrease.

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