

FROM THE HISTORY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KHIVA KHANATE AND KAZAKH TRIBES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Abstract. *This article examines the political, diplomatic, military, and trade relations between the Khiva Khanate and Kazakh tribes in the nineteenth century. It focuses on the role of Kazakh tribes living in Dashti Kipchak, the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, the Emba region, Mangyshlak, and areas near the Aral and Caspian Seas. The study shows that these tribes were an important factor in the rivalry between the Khiva Khanate and the Russian Empire. Special attention is given to the support provided by Khivan khans to Kazakh communities against external pressure, taxation, raids, and Russian expansion. The article also analyzes caravan routes, commercial exchange, and economic cooperation between Khiva and Kazakh territories. The findings demonstrate that relations between the Khiva Khanate and Kazakh tribes were based on political protection, mutual benefit, trade, and historical brotherhood. These ties reveal deep historical roots of Uzbek-Kazakh relations.*

Keywords: *Khiva Khanate, Russian Empire, Kazakh tribes, Lesser Juz, Muhammad Rahim Khan II, trade relations, trade routes.*

Introduction

In the first half of the nineteenth century, officials of the Russian Empire, under the pretext of ensuring the safety of trade caravans travelling through the lands of Dashti Kipchak, mainly the territory of present-day Kazakhstan, to the Bukhara Emirate and other countries, further accelerated the dispatch of military expeditions to territories bordering the Khiva Khanate or falling within its sphere of interest, as well as the construction of military fortifications on these lands. The activities of such military missions were especially active in 1831–1836 [1, p. 29].

The military forces of the Russian Empire pursued a policy of subjugating territories inhabited by clans and tribes that belonged to the union of the Lesser Horde of the Kazakhs, which was under the protection of the Khiva Khanate. The tribal union of the Lesser Horde, on the contrary, recognized the authority of the Khiva Khanate, considered itself a subject of the khanate, and rose up against the collection of taxes from them by Russian officials [2, p. 27]. The uprising was led by Shirgazi Khan Oichuvakov, who appealed to the Khan of Khiva, Allakuli Khan, with a request to take the Kazakhs under his protection and even gave his daughter in marriage to the khan [3, p. 162].

At the end of the 1820s and the beginning of the 1830s, the Khivan khan Allakuli Khan, who ruled from 1825 to 1842, led troops into the Kazakh steppes in order to secure the northern borders and strengthen ties with the Kazakhs [4, p. 162]. The military campaign ended successfully for Khiva. As a result, the khan resettled a significant part of the Kazakh tribes to areas close to the borders of the Khiva Khanate and allocated lands to them from the part of the Syr Darya River that flows into the Aral Sea.

At the beginning of the 1850s, Russian military forces, which had launched military operations against the Kokand Khanate, were interested in establishing at least temporary peaceful relations with the Khiva Khanate, since they did not want to fight on two fronts at the same time. Nevertheless, conflicts constantly arose between the two countries because of attempts to bring under their influence the Kazakh tribes living on the northern and north-eastern shores of the Aral Sea and in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya.

Materials and Methods

This study is based on a historical-analytical research approach. The materials of the study include historical chronicles, archival sources, published collections of documents, scholarly works, and historical studies devoted to the political, diplomatic, military, and trade relations between the Khiva Khanate, the Russian Empire, and Kazakh tribes in the nineteenth century. The methods used in the study include historical analysis, source analysis, comparative analysis, chronological description, and interpretation of political and socio-economic processes. Special attention is given to the analysis of written historical sources, including the works of Agahi, Barthold, Ivanov, Veselovsky, archival materials, and documentary collections related to the conquest of Turkestan and the relations of the Khiva Khanate with neighboring peoples.

Results and Discussion

It should be emphasized that one of the reasons for the conflictual relations between the Khiva Khanate and Russia throughout the nineteenth century was the Kazakh tribes living in the territory of Dashti Kipchak. Agahi writes that the Kazakhs "...in summer settled along the banks of the Yaik and Atil rivers in Dashti Kipchak, and in winter came close to Khorezm and spent the winter in the villages they wished, living and prospering in endless well-being and peace" [5, p. 227].

However, Turkmen tribes constantly organized raids against the Kazakh tribes. "In recent days, in the Kazakh region, the calamity of plundering and robbery by Yamud troublemakers occurred, which caused great harm and suffering to the members of this community. Out of hopelessness, this community went to the Russian regions, made peace with them, and earned a living" [6, p. 227].

During the summer months, Kazakh tribes migrated in the areas of Dashti Kipchak belonging to Russia, across the open spaces between the Yaik, or Ural, and Itil, or Volga, rivers, while in winter they lived in the territories of the khanate and paid khiraj and zakat [7, p. 12]. The Kazakh tribes, exhausted by the aggression of the Turkmens, were forced to turn to the Russians and reach a compromise with them. However, Russian officials increased taxes and placed the Kazakhs in an even more difficult situation [8, p. 177].

Therefore, in 1869, Kazakh clans appealed to the Khivan khan for help in the struggle against the "infidels," that is, the Russians [9, p. 228]. Agahi wrote about this: "Later, the clans of the infidels began to demonstrate domination and power and began to collect excessive taxes and duties. This community could not tolerate worldly oppression and the power of the infidels, and found refuge and safety under the shadow of the state of His Majesty Zilli Subhani. Knowing this, they asked for help and support from the Almighty, sent envoys and messengers with sincere loyalty and informed him about their situation" [10, p. 228].

The Khan of Khiva, Muhammad Rahim Khan, who ruled from 1864 to 1910, sent a group of ambassadors consisting of respected officials to the Kazakh ulus in Dashti Kipchak and even sent a large army with them. According to the khan's order, "...Yasaulbashi Mahmud Niyaz with the Chaudar troops, Khudoynazar Mahram with the Kuklan army, Khudoynazar Devonbegi with

the soldiers of Besharyk, and yuzbashi Muhammad Karim with the Ata fighters shall go to Dashti Kipchak and move this Kazakh elat. If anyone interferes, they shall bring their wrath onto the field of anger, draw the sword of courage from the sheath of bravery, strike the blasphemer by the grace of the poor, and bring them to the punishment of Almighty Allah and the force of the authority of this country” [11, p. 234].

The Khivan khan instructed his army to protect the Kazakh tribes from the Russians if necessary. However, according to Agahi, “...the Kazakh clans, inclined to nomadism and having remained in the country for some time, were ordered to move and prepare their campaign equipment. And the Russians could not enter and fight” [12, p. 235]. Eventually, a significant part of the Kazakhs was resettled to the territory of the Khiva Khanate. The Khivan khan provided them with a place to live in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya and along the shores of the Aral Sea.

The Khiva Khanate had a dispute with Russia over domination of the tribes living in the territories from the Ustyurt Plateau to the Mangyshlak Peninsula and the north-eastern coast of the Caspian Sea. The Kazakh tribes living there considered themselves, to one degree or another, dependent on the Khiva Khanate [13, p. 177]. The aim of Russian military officials was to present the policy of the Khiva Khanate as the main reason for the unwillingness of the Kazakhs to submit to Russia and accept Russian subjecthood. Therefore, Russian ruling circles paid special attention to this aspect of the issue and believed that “...without the conquest of the Khiva Khanate, it was impossible to establish Russian domination over the Kazakhs” [14, p. 90].

The nomadic peoples living in the steppes and deserts of Central Asia lived a free life and fought against Russian occupation. The Khiva Khanate provided maximum support to the participants and leaders of this liberation struggle. On September 20, 1869, the Governor-General of Turkestan, von Kaufman, wrote a letter to the Khan of Khiva demanding that he stop supporting the steppe population [15, p. 153]. He then threatened: “...If His Excellency does not fulfill my demands, the friendly relations between us will be terminated, which may lead to bad consequences” [16, pp. 29–30].

In June 1869, Kaufman wrote a letter to the Russian Minister of War, D. A. Milyutin, in which he indicated the need to build a strong military fortress on the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea, which was part of the territory of the Khiva Khanate, and the expediency of using the “semi-wild” Turkmen tribes living in adjacent areas in actions against the khanate [17, p. 30]. On February 12, 1870, the director of the Asian Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent Kaufman a letter in which he called his plans “hasty” and “...advised him, under the present circumstances, not to think about any military actions against the Khiva Khanate” [18, p. 29].

However, contrary to the instructions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in 1869 Kaufman sent a military detachment led by Colonel Stoletov to the locality of “Kaddi-Shah” in Krasnovodsk Bay and built the Krasnovodsk fortification there [19, p. 31]. Kaufman tried to justify these actions by claiming that they were not directed against the Khiva Khanate, but rather aimed at protecting merchants’ warehouses and trade caravans from Turkmen raids.

During this period, a resistance movement developed among the local population in the territories occupied by Russia. Some leaders of the rebels visited the Khiva Khanate in search of support and military assistance. On January 10, 1869, Siddiqtura, the son of the famous hero Kenesary and one of the Kazakh leaders, arrived in Khiva with 60 warriors. He had fought bravely against the Russians as part of the Bukharan army. After the emir’s surrender, he fought independently, but was forced to retreat because of the small number of his troops [20, p. 32]. The

Khivan khan received him warmly and allocated land and property to him in the locality of Uyghur, situated on the northern bank of the Amu Darya.

Ten days later, on January 19, another Kazakh military commander, Hakimtura, who had fought against Russian troops, arrived in Khiva from Tashkent [21, p. 11]. At the beginning of 1869, Russian soldiers who were building the Kazalinsk military fortress in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya began an attempt to subdue the Kazakhs living there, who were subjects of the Khiva Khanate. Upon learning of this, the Khivan khan Muhammad Rahim Khan, also known as Feruz, sent an army to that place under the command of Muhammad Murad Devonbegi, together with commanders such as Muhammad Mahram and Abdurrahman Sarkhang [22, p. 12].

The army left Khiva on February 1, 1869, and reached a place called Taikara. It was tasked with determining the truth of the rumors about the invasion of Russian troops into the borders of the Khiva Khanate and, if necessary, striking them in order to ensure peace in the border areas [23, p. 12]. Within fifteen days, the khan's representatives resettled the Kazakh clans living in the border areas to safer inner regions of the country in order to protect them from the Russian threat [24, p. 12].

The Khiva Khanate maintained intensive trade relations with the Kazakh tribes. In the nineteenth century, trade relations between the Russian Empire and the Khiva Khanate mainly passed through territories inhabited by Kazakh tribes. For example, the "Northern Route" began in New Urgench, went along the left bank of the Amu Darya through the Ustyurt Plateau to the Mangyshlak Peninsula, from there by sea and land to the northern shores of the Caspian Sea, and then to the city of Astrakhan, located in the lower reaches of the Volga River [25, p. 88].

The length of this caravan route was about one thousand versts, or 1,060 kilometers, and the distance from it to the city of Orsk, located further north, was 1,250 versts, or 1,325 kilometers [26, p. 12]. The trade route from the Russian city of Nizhny Novgorod to the markets of the Khiva Khanate also passed along this same route, stretching from the Volga across the Caspian Sea to the port of Krasnovodsk, or in the same direction to the Mangyshlak Peninsula [27, p. 536]. The caravan route from Mangyshlak to Khiva passed through the flat mountains of Ustyurt and was covered in 30 days. Merchants paid 2–4 rubles for each pood of cargo [28, p. 536].

The length of the caravan route from Orenburg to the city of Khiva was 1,300–1,308 versts [29, p. 39]. This road began from Khiva and passed through the cities of Khojayli and Kungrad to the city of Orenburg, and its total length was 1,297 versts [30, p. 12].

Trade caravans departing from Orenburg also travelled through the Kazakh steppes, along the upper reaches of the Ilek River to the Mugodzhar Mountains, to the upper reaches of the Emba River, then from Tungustag to the Ustyurt Plateau, from there to the western shores of the Aral Sea, and from the town of Oy-Buyir through Old Urgench or Khojayli to Khiva [31, p. 13]. The cost of hiring a freight camel from Khiva to Orenburg averaged 3–4 gold coins, and each camel was loaded with no less than 18 poods of cargo [32, p. 109]. For each pood, 50–80 silver coins were paid. The caravan journey from Khiva to Orenburg took 45–55 days [33, p. 109].

The Kazakh clans of Mangyshlak district, located in the north-west of the Transcaspian region, were regular trading partners of the inhabitants of the Khiva Khanate. In the markets of Khiva, they sold surplus wool, leather goods, and livestock transported by camels, and also bought handicraft products, flour, and household items [34, p. 266]. In 1899, the people of Mangyshlak brought goods to the Khivan bazaars on 23,371 camels, while the Khivans sold goods to the people of Mangyshlak, brought by seven caravans, for 94,009 rubles [35, p. 267].

Conclusion

Thus, in the nineteenth century, the Khiva Khanate established regular political and trade-economic relations with the Kazakh tribes. These relations were built on mutual trust, benefit, and profit. The Khivan khans, as far as possible, supported and protected the Kazakh tribes from all kinds of external pressure and threats, both diplomatically and militarily. This historical experience shows that the good-neighborly and fraternal relations that exist today between the two brotherly peoples, the Uzbeks and the Kazakhs, have historical roots.

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