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CAMPAIGNING ACROSS THE STEPPE: THE VITAL ROLE OF THE JUNIOR ZHUZ KAZAKHS IN IMPERIAL RUSSIA'S 1839 KHIVA CAMPAIGN

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The Khiva campaign of 1839–1840 represents a critical chapter in Tsarist Russia's quest for colonial expansion in Central Asia. This study examines the involvement of the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs in supplying crucial baggage animals, specifically camels, for the campaign. The campaign's success was contingent on meticulous planning, strong logistical support, and alliances with local actors. The administration of General V.A. Perovsky brought renewed vigor to Russian military efforts, recognizing the significance of comprehensive strategies and local collaboration. *Goals and objectives.* This research highlights the intricate dynamics of power, agency, and cultural exchange between imperial forces and indigenous communities. By analyzing historical documents, correspondence, and archival records, the study explores the negotiations, incentives, and challenges faced during the collection of camels from diverse Kazakh clans. It reveals both cooperative and resistant behaviors among the Kazakh communities, shedding light on the broader implications of colonialism in the region. *Results.* The findings underscore the importance of logistics and local support in military campaigns, challenging existing historiography. The research illuminates the multifaceted interactions between imperial powers and local populations, offering a comprehensive understanding of the historical

context. This study's insights contribute to a more nuanced comprehension of Russian imperialism, the complexities of territorial expansion, and the marginalized narratives of local communities. *Conclusion.* The Khiva campaign of 1839–1840 serves as a lens through which to explore the intertwined histories of empires and local populations, emphasizing the need for critical examination and recognition of diverse perspectives in historical research.

Keywords: Khiva campaign, Russian Empire, camels, logistics, Kazakhs

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ДАЛА ЖОРЫҒЫ: 1839 ЖЫЛҒЫ РЕСЕЙ ИМПЕРИЯСЫНЫҢ ХИУА ЖОРЫҒЫНДАҒЫ КІШІ ЖҮЗ ҚАЗАҚТАРЫНЫҢ РӨЛІ

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Аңдатпа. *Kіріспе.* 1839 жылғы Хиуа жорығы патшалық Ресейдің Орталық Азиядағы жаулаудағы ең маңызды кезеңдерінің бірі болып табылады. Зерттеуде Кіші жүз қазақтарының әскери жорыққа қажетті жүк малдарын, атап айтқанда түйелермен жабдықтау мәселесі талдауға алынады. Әскери жорықтың сәтті орындалуы мұқият жоспарлауға, материалдық-техникалық қамтамасыз етуге және жергілікті қазақтармен тығыз қарым-қатынас орнатуға байланысты болды. *Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері* күрделі билік динамикасы, империялық күштер мен жергілікті қазақтар арасындағы қарым-қатынастың қырларын ашып көрсетеді. Мақалада тарихи құжаттарды, тарихи жазбалар мен мұрағат деректерін талдай отырып, қазақ руларынан түйелерді жинау кезіндегі келіссөздер, ынталандырулар мен қарсыласу мәселелері ашып көрсетіледі.

Қазақ қоғамындағы ынтымақтасушылық, қарсыласу мәселелері ашылып, аймақтағы отаршылдықтың кең ауқымды салдарлары түсіндіріледі. *Нәтижелер.* Ресей империясының әскери жорықтарын ұйымдастыруда жергілікті қазақ халқының қолдауының маңыздылығын көрсетеді. Зерттеу тарихи контекстті жан-жақты түсінуді ұсына отырып, империялық державалар мен жергілікті халық арасындағы көп қырлы өзара әрекет қырларын ашады. Зерттеу нәтижелері ресейлік империализмді, аумақтық экспансияның күрделілігін және қазақ халқы туралы зерттелмей келген маргиналды нарративтерді кеңінен түсінуге мүмкіндік береді. *Қорытынды.* 1839 жылғы Хиуа жорығын зерттеу Ресей империясы мен жергілікті қазақ руларының өзара қарым-қатынасын терең түсінуге жол ашады.

Түйін сөздер: Хиуа жорығы, Ресей империясы, түйелер, материалдық-техникалық қамтамасыз ету, қазақтар

Алғыс. «Зерттеу Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитетінің «Ресей империясының қазақ даласы мен Түркістан өлкесіне әскери жорықтарының логистикасы: қазақ қоғамына әсері мен салдары» тақырыбындағы гранттық қаржыландыру жобасын жүзеге асыру аясында орындалды (жеке тіркеу нөмірі: AP19676769)».

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ПОХОД ПО СТЕПИ: РОЛЬ КАЗАХОВ МЛАДШЕГО ЖУЗА В ХИВИНСКОМ ПОХОДЕ РОССИЙСКОЙ ИМПЕРИИ 1839 ГОДА

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Аннотация. *Введение.* Хивинский поход 1839 г. является важнейшим периодом в завоевании царской России в Центральной Азии. В исследовании анализируется вопрос снабжения необходимыми для военного похода вьючными животными, в частности верблюдами казаками Младшего жуза. Успех военного похода был взаимосвязан с тщательным планированием,

материально-техническим обеспечением и установлением тесной связи с местными казахами. *Цель и задачи исследования* подчеркивает сложную динамику власти, разносторонность взаимоотношения между имперскими силами и коренными жителями. Анализируя исторические документы, переписку и архивные записи, статья раскрывает вопросы переговоров, стимулов и проблем, возникшие при сборе верблюдов с казахских родов. Раскрываются вопросы сотрудничества и сопротивления казахского общества, разъясняются обширные последствия колониализма в регионе. *Результаты* показывают значимость поддержки местного казахского народа в военных походах Российской империи. Исследование освещает многогранное взаимодействие между имперскими державами и местным населением, предлагая всестороннее понимание исторического контекста. Результаты исследования способствуют широкому пониманию российского империализма, сложности территориальной экспансии и не изученных маргинальных нарративов о местном казахском народе. *Выводы.* Исследование Хивинского военного похода 1839 года дает возможность глубже изучить взаимосвязь Российской империи и местных казахских родов.

Ключевые слова: Хивинский поход, Российская Империя, верблюды, логистика, казахи

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Introduction

The Khiva campaign of 1839 marked a significant chapter in the history of Tsarist Russia's imperial ambitions and colonial expansion in Central Asia. This military endeavor aimed to assert Russian dominance over the region, particularly targeting the Khiva Khanate. The campaign's primary objective was to subjugate Khiva, disrupt its influence in the region, and secure Russian interests in the Kazakh steppe.

Tsarist Russia's expansion into Central Asia during the 19th century was driven by multiple factors, including geopolitical ambitions, the desire for territorial gains, economic interests, and concerns over border security. The Khiva Khanate, strategically positioned along the lower reaches of the Amudarya River, emerged as a prominent target for Russian expansion due to its lucrative position in the regional trade routes.

The Khiva campaign was not the first attempt by the Russian Empire to bring the Khanate under its influence. The imperial ambitions toward Central Asia date back to the late 18th century, but it was during the 19th century that Russia intensified its efforts to annex these territories. Prior to the 1839 campaign, several military expeditions were launched toward Khiva, but they yielded limited success and were often marred by logistical challenges, hostile terrain, and fierce resistance from the local population.

This military campaign, while not the initial endeavor by the Russian Empire to extend its influence into the Khanate, epitomized the intensified focus on annexing Central Asian territories during the 19th century. Prior military ventures aimed at Khiva had encountered logistical hindrances, challenging landscapes, and formidable local opposition, yielding limited results. Stumm's assertion (1885) underscored the distinctive nature of the Russian campaign, characterized by arduous marches through arid desert expanses, deviating from the norms of conventional European expeditions. Stumm contended that restricting the depiction of these circumstances solely to tactical and strategic narratives

would be inadequate, given the profound influence of geographical, ethnographical, and meteorological conditions.

Likewise, Trench's observation emphasized the pivotal role of camels, suggesting that the expedition's success relied on amassing and sustaining a sufficient number of healthy camels during desert crossings. The vitality and resilience of these pack animals held paramount importance; their potential failure due to inadequate water or excessive strain posed an imminent threat to mission accomplishment (Trench, 1874: 215).

The year 1839 marked a turning point in Russia's approach to Central Asian conquest. The administration of General-Governor V.A. Perovsky, a prominent military leader with experience in the Caucasus, was tasked with executing the Khiva campaign. Perovsky's appointment brought renewed vigor and careful planning to the Russian efforts. The administration recognized the importance of comprehensive military strategies, strong logistical support, and alliances with local actors to achieve its objectives.

One crucial aspect that sets the 1839 Khiva campaign apart from previous endeavors was the notable involvement of the Junior Zhuz (Kishi Zhuz) Kazakhs in supplying the campaign with baggage animals, particularly camels. The vast and arid Central Asian steppes posed significant challenges for any military expedition, and camels emerged as indispensable assets for transporting troops, equipment, and provisions across the inhospitable terrain. The campaign's success hinged on the effective utilization of these animals to ensure the smooth progress of the Russian forces.

The participation of the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs in the campaign was far from coincidental. The Russian administration actively pursued alliances with indigenous clans and their leaders, leveraging their expertise in handling camels, their familiarity with loading and caring for them, as well as their intimate knowledge of the Steppe region. These strategic partnerships were intentionally cultivated to ensure the acquisition of essential resources and robust support for their military endeavors. In the context of the Khiva campaign, the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs assumed a central role by offering crucial logistical aid, notably through the provision of a significant number of camels.

To grasp the depth of Kazakh involvement and their underlying motivations in support of the Russian campaign, a nuanced exploration of historical records is essential. This research endeavors to fill gaps in existing historiography by conducting a comprehensive analysis of the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs' role in the 1839–1840 Khiva campaign, emphasizing their contribution of pack animals and interactions with fellow local Kazakhs. Through a thorough examination of the intricacies within the Khiva campaign and the intricate dynamics between the Russian Empire and the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs, this study aspires to illuminate the intertwined narratives of imperial forces and indigenous communities in 19th-century Central Asia.

The Khiva campaign of 1839–1840 represents a pivotal moment in the history of Russian imperialism in Central Asia. The expedition's success relied on strategic planning, strong logistical support, and crucial alliances with local actors like the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs. As we delve deeper into this historical episode, we gain a better understanding of the complexities of colonial expansion, the agency of local populations.

Materials and Methods

This study employs a historical research methodology with a post-colonial perspective to investigate the role of the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs in the 1839 Khiva campaign and their contribution of baggage animals, especially camels, to the Russian military expedition. The research aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of historical events by integrating primary and secondary sources, historical documents, scholarly works, and archival records.

This study relies on primary sources from Russian officials and military personnel who participated in the Khiva campaign of 1839. These sources include official reports, correspondence, military records,

and memoirs. Letters, official documents, and reports exchanged between military leaders, such as V.A. Perovsky, and their superiors provide insights into the campaign's planning, logistical arrangements, and interactions with local Kazakhs. The Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSA RK), specifically within the 4th Fund titled "Orenburg Border Commission," preserves critical archival materials. These documents consist of essential correspondences among the Orenburg Governor-General, the head of the Orenburg Border Commission, and leaders of Kazakh clans. Furthermore, this archive offers valuable insights into the engagement of camels from Kazakh communities for the 1839 Khiva expedition, highlighting the logistical aspects and local involvement in this military campaign.

Scholarly works related to the colonial policies of Tsarist Russia in Kazakhstan and Central Asia provide contextual understanding of the Khiva campaign. These secondary sources encompass historical monographs, academic articles, and books focusing on Russian expansion, Central Asian history, and the role of indigenous populations in imperial endeavors.

The analysis is structured around key themes related to the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs' involvement in the Khiva campaign: The study examines the motivations behind Russian efforts to establish alliances with local Kazakh leaders, specifically the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs. Primary and secondary sources are scrutinized to uncover the negotiations, agreements, and diplomatic efforts undertaken by the Russian administration to secure logistical support for the campaign.

Detailed accounts of the logistical challenges faced by the Russian forces in the harsh Kazakh steppe environment are extracted from primary sources. These challenges include the collection and maintenance of camels, supply lines, fortifications, and transportation arrangements. The study dissects how the Russian administration addressed these challenges.

The analysis delves into the vital role of camels as primary transport assets during the campaign. The sources are examined to highlight how camels were utilized for transporting troops, equipment, and provisions, contributing to the success of the military expedition. The significance of camels as a cultural and logistical bridge between Russian forces and local Kazakhs is explored.

The study investigates interactions between the Russian military and the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs, shedding light on the cultural, social, and economic exchanges that occurred during the campaign. Primary sources are scrutinized to ascertain the nature of these interactions, including negotiations, resource sharing, and cultural engagements.

Discussion

The exploration of the logistical and subsistence aspects concerning the Kazakh populace in the context of the Russian Empire's military campaigns remains a relatively underexplored domain within scholarly investigations. The bulk of the available sources has demonstrated inadequacy in delivering the necessary profundity of analysis required to comprehensively evaluate the impact stemming from Russian military logistics and supply mechanisms operating across the vast expanse of the Kazakh steppe during the nineteenth century. Prior scholarly undertakings have primarily focused on the Russian Empire's conquest of the Turkestan region, emphasizing political governance and economic deliberations, while often only tangentially addressing military aspects within a broader tapestry of political narratives.

During the pre-Soviet period, a number of significant literary endeavors sought to elucidate the military endeavors of tsarist Russia within the Kazakh steppes and the Turkestan region. The majority of these works, crafted by Russian colonial officials stationed within the steppe region, some of whom actively participated in specific military exploits, aimed to shed light on these campaigns. M.I. Ivanin (1874) notably enriched the comprehension of these undertakings through his written contributions. Abaza (1902), Makshev (1890), and Potto (1873) offered partial insights into the military actions, albeit to a limited extent. Furthermore, the works authored by Terent'yev (1906), Venyukov (1877) and

Zakharyin (1901) also grazed the periphery of the military campaigns' facets. Collectively, these works furnish valuable glimpses into the strategic organization and execution of military campaigns during this temporal epoch. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that the predominant literature from this era primarily fixated on matters of conquest, Russian military operations, international relations with Eastern nations, economic dynamics, and ethnographic explorations, thereby leaving the intricate nuances of military campaign logistics inadequately examined.

In the Soviet era, specific works dedicated solely to the logistics of military campaigns of Tsarist Russia in the Kazakh steppes and the Turkestan region were scarce. However, some works did touch upon this issue to some extent. P. Galuzo (1929) delved into the colonial policy of Tsarist Russia in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, shedding light on its impact on Kazakh society. V. Shakhmatov (1940) examined resistance from the Kazakhs, exemplified by Eset Kotibaruly's refusal to hand over baggage animals to the Russian army, indicating protests and resistance within the Kazakh society against the military campaigns. E. Bekmakhnov (1957), N.A. Halfin (1960), and B.S. Suleymenov and V.P. Basin (1981) explored aspects of the colonial policy and its repercussions on the local population. However, these works fell short of comprehensively investigating the role of the Kazakhs in the logistical aspects of Russian military campaigns, as this particular facet did not constitute their primary focus.

In the post-Soviet era, Kazakhstan had the opportunity to study its domestic history from a new perspective, leading to the publication of several voluminous works related to the aggressive policy of Tsarist Russia in the Turkestan region. M. Abdirov (2000), A. Makhaeva (2006) and A. Abdualy (2005), explored military operations and colonization methods of the Russian Empire in the region. These works provided a deeper understanding of the directions and steps of the colonial policy, as well as the problems faced during the liberation movement against it. While these works touched on colonization policy in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, they did not extensively research the Kazakhs' involvement in the logistics of Russian military campaigns, leaving a crucial aspect unaddressed.

Turning our gaze to the anglophone scholarly corpus, Becker's work (2004) comes to the fore, presenting a meticulous analysis of the Russian conquest of Bukhara and Khiva in the 1860s and 1870s. Beyond the conquest, this study probes into the evolving dynamics between Russia and these territories up until their political dissolution in 1924. A central thread in the narrative lies in charting Russia's strategic evolution – from a posture of non-intervention to an augmented engagement as trade and settlement activities gained momentum. This detailed exploration brings forth the nuanced shifts within Russian policy, thereby illuminating the intricate interplay between imperial powers and the indigenous entities within the Central Asian landscape.

Brower's work (2012) extends our understanding by delving into the reverberations of Russian rule across half a century within Central Asia. This exploration delves into the multifaceted influence of authoritarian rule, Russian national interests, and the underpinnings of a civic reform agenda, as inspired by Alexander II's policies. It underscores that this reformist drive was aimed at erecting the edifice of a 'modern' empire unified by imperial citizenship and shared secular culture. Brower adroitly draws upon archival resources to shed light on the tenets of Russian colonialism within Turkestan and its intricate entanglement with the subject populations.

Khalid's contribution (2021), framed within a broad historical sweep, embarks on the exploration of Central Asians' interactions with imperial systems and external forces. Anchored in the nineteenth century and inaugurated by the Russian and Chinese imperial conquests, Khalid's work strives to unearth the essence of the region's historical trajectory within the context of these formative encounters. Fundamental to this inquiry is the assertion that the imperial conquests effectively served as a rupture with the past, engendering a profound remolding of Central Asia's developmental trajectory.

Denis Rodin (2022) departs from convention, as prior analyses predominantly concentrate on economic motives and the objective of curbing Khivan attacks on Russian caravans. However, this study strives to establish a connection between Russia and Britain's activities in 1830s and 1840s Central Asia,

aiming to grasp the global circumstances that influenced the campaign's motives. While the literature offers insights into the winter Khiva expedition, it noticeably lacks detailed information about the logistical aspects of the military campaign and, notably, the Kazakhs' role in this endeavor.

The book "1837: Russia's Quiet Revolution" by P.W. Werth (2021), includes a chapter dedicated to the Khiva expedition and provides insights into the 1839 Khivan campaign, as well as shedding light on the involvement of the Kazakhs in the Russian military endeavor. However, the available information is acknowledged to be incomplete, with the study focusing primarily on the key events of the military campaign.

During the early 1840s, Russia and Britain experienced a period of reconciliation. The Straits Convention of 1841 is highlighted, where Russia made significant territorial concessions in the Caucasus in return for British neutrality in the region. It's worth noting that the provided text appears to discuss the difficulties faced during the Khivan expedition, such as the challenges presented by the harsh weather conditions. The passage describes how camels were affected by the snow and how poorly packed loads and harsh conditions led to significant losses among the animals. The term "camel holocaust" is used to vividly depict the scale of the losses. In summary, the provided text touches on the themes of the Khivan campaign, the challenges faced during the military endeavor, and the differing attitudes towards the care of camels between merchant caravans and military operations. The book appears to encourage a more thoughtful and responsible approach to the well-being of the animals involved in such campaigns.

Among the anglophone scholars' community, A. Morrison (2014a) occupies a notable place due to his insightful investigation of the historical confluence that juxtaposes the British invasion of Afghanistan in 1838 with the Russian winter campaign in Khiva in 1839. Morrison's scrutiny of the military endeavors undertaken by the Russian Empire, along with the consequential decision of the Orenburg general-governor to furnish it with camels, casts illumination on the critical role of logistics in military expeditions. Morrison was the trailblazer in addressing the intricacies of logistical support for Russian military campaigns, thereby accentuating the repercussions of logistical challenges on ensuing military operations. His work stands as a pivotal contribution to comprehending the pivotal significance of logistics in military campaigns, emphatically emphasizing the necessity for further exploration of this facet within the framework of the Russian Empire's military undertakings in the Kazakh steppes and the Turkestan region.

Morrison's another work (2014b), "Camels and Colonial Armies: The Logistics of Warfare in Central Asia in the Early 19th Century," is particularly relevant. This article explores the pivotal role of camels in supporting European colonial armies during the 19th century. Focusing on specific instances like the Russian winter expedition to Khiva and the march of the Army of the Indus into Afghanistan in 1839, Morrison investigates how despite technological advancements, colonial armies were reliant on baggage animals for movement. The article illuminates the logistical constraints imposed by camel transport and its implications on military campaigns in Central Asia.

Despite these works, a specific study addressing campaign logistics and the Kazakh perspective is lacking. This literature review exposes a significant research gap, prompting a closer examination of the logistics and food supply arrangements during Russian military campaigns in the Kazakh steppes. By analyzing these logistics challenges and considering the responses of the Kazakh society, this study aims to provide a more comprehensive understanding of historical military campaigns and their implications within the broader context of the Russian Empire's expansion in the region.

Results

The mid-19th century witnessed a pivotal juncture in the trajectory of the Russian Empire, marked by its resolute territorial ambitions within the Kazakh steppes and the Turkestan region. Distinguished for its advanced military technology and strategic acumen, the Tsarist Russian army orchestrated

noteworthy territorial expansions across the Kazakh steppes, thereby consolidating its influence within the southern expanse. While these military endeavors prominently showcased strategic planning, tactical maneuvers, intensive training, and sophisticated weaponry, an understated yet pivotal facet contributing to the success of the Russian Empire's ventures in Central Asia was the scrupulous management of logistics and supply. Indeed, meticulous preparations and unwavering attention to outfitting the armed forces for their demanding and extensive journeys across the sprawling Kazakh steppe emerged as pivotal determinants underpinning the favorable outcomes of these military campaigns.

Illustrating meticulous military strategizing within this paradigm is the winter Khiva campaign of 1839. Drawing on Russian historical sources, the impetus behind the Khiva campaign was two-fold: the emancipation of Russian captives held in Khiva and the unobstructed facilitation of the lucrative caravan trade (Ivanin, 1874: 225).

Delving deeper into the underlying motivations that propelled the winter Khiva campaign, insights gleaned from historical records of the colonial era illuminate the sustained backing provided by the Khiva government to maritime raiders. These raiders, operating systematically, targeted the peaceful Russian fishermen navigating the Caspian Sea and exploited trade caravans, thereby further inflaming the already tense circumstances. It is of particular note that in 1833, the individual in charge of Khiva's customs administration conveyed a directive to merchants hailing from both Russian and Bukhara. This directive explicitly outlined that any caravan choosing to bypass Khiva's established route would inevitably expose itself to the risk of plundering. Within the confines of Khiva itself, merchants contended with capricious surges in duties and taxes, culminating in an artificial inflation of the assessed values of goods, surpassing their true worth (Materialy, 1910: 22–23).

Notably, the Khiva authorities responded with concern upon observing the construction of fortifications such as Emba and Akbulak as envisioned by the colonial administration for their impending spring advancement in 1839. Interestingly, even before the campaign's formal inception, Khiva Khan astutely dispatched an embassy to the Russian Tsar, releasing 80 Russian prisoners as a gesture of goodwill, possibly influenced by Khiva Khan's awareness of Russia's intentions. (Terent'yev, 1906: 144)

On the contrary, the Russian government held lofty ambitions that extended beyond merely liberating Russian prisoners in Khiva and ensuring unobstructed trade routes for their caravans. They also sought to replace the Khiva Khan with a dependable Kazakh sultan (Dahl, 1867: 402). On September 30, V.A. Perovsky submitted a note to K.V. Nesselrode, discussing "political considerations concerning the upcoming occupation of Khiva". Within this note, he elaborated on the concept of deposing the ruler of Khiva, Allakuli Khan, and introducing a new khan who would align with Russia's interests. The suggestion of Inakh, the younger brother of Allakuli Khan, was put forth as a potential candidate (Rodin, 2022: 48). Additionally, as highlighted by Zakhariyn, the appointment of Baymuhamed Aishuakov, the reigning sultan of the western Junior Zhuz, to oversee Khiva was a calculated move aimed at motivating Kazakh involvement in the campaign (Zakhariyn, 1898: 9).

This context serves as a backdrop to the subsequent events. For instance, against this backdrop, Orenburg's General-Governor, Vasily Perovsky, submitted an official petition in February, advocating for a military expedition to Khiva. This proposition underwent meticulous scrutiny within a dedicated committee comprising eminent figures such as Vice-Chancellor Graf Nesselrode, Minister of War Graf Chernyshev (Materialy, 1910: 22–23).

The preparation for the Khiva campaign involved extensive reconnaissance in the Kazakh steppe conducted by the administration of Orenburg. Due to Khiva Khanate's distant location from the Russian border, careful consideration of the routes to be taken was paramount. Two potential routes were under consideration: one along the western side of the Aral Sea, and the other involving the crossing of the Syrdarya and Amudarya rivers on the eastern side of the sea. Initially, the eastern route seemed more promising, as it also entailed the construction of military forts in the lower reaches of the Syrdaria.

Furthermore, preparations for river crossings, including the deployment of ships, were integral to the campaign project. However, the final decision by Perovsky, favored the western route along the Aral Sea. Colonel of the General Staff Berg proposed the construction of temporary fortresses in Donyztau near Usturt, providing the army caravan with a necessary place for rest during the campaign (Ivanin, 1874: 34). Consequently, crossing the western side of the Aral Sea became the preferred route to reach Khiva.

Until the very beginning of the march of the troops from Orenburg, the campaign to Khiva was kept secret. Officially, the detachment was described as accompanying a scientific expedition to the Aral Sea (Dobrosmyslov, 1902: 321). Worth noting is the fact that discussions about an actual scientific expedition involving scientists from the Academy of Sciences were held within the highest circles of the Russian Empire's government, but the proposed departure to the shores of the Aral Sea did not materialize after all (Feklova, 2014: 395).

Morrison notes that the Khiva campaign of 1839 was a relatively modest military expedition, comprising about 5000 troops comparing to the Britain's campaign against Afghans (Morrison, 2020: 510). Perovsky believed that 3000 soldiers would be sufficient to directly engage in military operations and capture the city of Khiva, with the remaining two thousand troops assigned to safeguard the caravan and the warehouses in the fortresses along the way (Ivanin, 1874: 53). However, the administration of Orenburg expressed concerns about the harsh winter weather and the vast distances of the Kazakh steppe compared to the organizational aspects of the journey. The success of the expedition was not solely dependent on the military prowess of Russia but also on the level of logistical organization. Perovsky anticipated from the outset that weather conditions would significantly impact the campaign. In his report to the Russian Tsar, he emphasized that the success of the military campaign against Khiva khanate rested on accurate assessments and decisions regarding the ways and means of providing soldiers and horses with necessary supplies (Serebrennikov, 1912: 56).

The logistical aspect of military campaigns was crucial for their success, and the Khiva campaign of 1839 was no exception. One of the critical logistical challenges was the collection of baggage animals, particularly camels, to support the Russian army during their arduous journey across the Kazakh steppe. The involvement of local Kazakhs in providing the necessary food and livestock was integral to the campaign's preparations, as the geographical and climatic features of the region demanded their expertise.

Camels, adapted to the Kazakh steppe, played a vital role in supporting the Russian army during their military campaigns. Almost all war-related items were transported on camels, highlighting their importance as a primary mode of transportation. The only exceptions were items such as pontoons, sledges, carts, heavy cannons, and marching churches. Even soldiers were transported on camels in pairs to maintain the strength of the army (Ivanin, 1874: 71). In this case, the success of the Khiva campaign was intricately linked to the utilization of a vast military caravan, with camels playing a pivotal role in transporting essential supplies for the troops. The expedition relied heavily on these hardy animals, with over 10,000 camels being enlisted for this purpose. This achievement stood as a remarkable feat within the context of the steppe region, a point emphasized by the observations of A. Morrison (Morrison, 2020: 96). These camels bore the burden of critical provisions, ranging from sustenance like food and ammunition to essential fodder, ensuring the well-being and nourishment of the troops who embarked on lengthy journeys.

This strategic reliance on camels as a transportation mode extended beyond the Khiva campaign. For instance, the perspective of Alexei Kuropatkin, a colonial official who participated in the Akhal-Teke expedition of 1880–1881, brought further clarity to this approach. Kuropatkin highlighted the inadequacy of conventional horse-mounted wheeled conveyances within the complex operational landscape of the steppe's armed conflict theater. The necessity of frequently provisioning each horse for sustenance resulted in a significant decline in their performance over prolonged distances. Consequently, a well-considered resolution emerged—to exclusively employ camel-based transportation

to meet all logistical needs (Kuropatkin, 1899: 110–111).

Initially, the proposal encompassed the procurement of camels from Kazakh communities at the cost of 150 rubles, alongside the separate hiring of Kazakh camel drivers. However, subsequent deliberations led to the realization that a more economically viable approach would involve the joint hiring of camels and their proficient handlers from the Kazakh communities. This strategic choice stemmed from the drivers' intimate familiarity with the camels' behaviors, thus mitigating the risks of losses during the extensive journey (Serebrennikov, 1912: 248).

The integral significance of baggage animals within military undertakings was intrinsically intertwined with the contributions of the local Kazakh aristocracy. The allegiance exhibited by the Junior Zhuz sultans towards the colonial administration played an indispensable role in procuring pack animals from Kazakh clans and furnishing invaluable insights concerning the intricate routes and potential hazards of the expansive steppe landscape. This collaboration was initiated in August 1838 and sustained for approximately eighteen months, during which Major-General G. F. Gens, heading the Orenburg border commission, oversaw the meticulous process of assembling camels from local Kazakh communities (Ivanin, 1874: 83).

Noteworthy directives were dispatched to the Kazakh sultans of the Junior Zhuz, entrusting them with the task of amassing stipulated quotas of camels from their respective clans, destined for swift transport to Orenburg (Ivanin, 1874: 83). For instance, Sultan B. Aichuvakov, governing the western part of the Junior Horde, assumed an active role under the guidance of the colonial administration. He spearheaded the endeavor to mobilize pack animals from various Kazakh clans, rendering invaluable support and insights into the effective engagement of reticent Kazakh participants. Sultan Baymuhamed Aishuakov, adding to his pivotal responsibilities, made a substantial contribution by directly participating in the Russian campaign. Leading a contingent of 250 Kazakh troops, their activities primarily revolved around crucial functions such as reconnaissance, search operations, and facilitating seamless communications across the extensive stretch of the steppe terrain (Dobrosmyslov, 1902: 329).

The process of amassing camels for the Khiva campaign unfolded as a formidable endeavor, owing to the reluctance displayed by certain Kazakh clans in contributing camels suitable for the demanding expedition. Terent'yev's account illuminates this aspect, asserting that the Kazakhs deliberately presented subpar camels to the Russians. This tactic resulted in numerous camels returning in compromised states, with even the deceased camels being undervalued by the Russian authorities (Terent'yev, 1906: 273–274). This resistance from the Kazakh clans emerged as a formidable impediment to the logistical intricacies of the campaign, underscored by their evident disinclination to fulfill the requisite camel provision.

Particular Kazakh clans, notably the Bayuly, exhibited discontent and evinced reluctance to meet the stipulated quota of camels essential for the Russian campaign. In response, the Orenburg administration adopted a punitive stance, assigning Colonel Zhemchuzhnikov the responsibility of disciplining the Bayuly clan. The Russian military detachment actively pursued the Bayuly Kazakhs, confiscating their camels, and driving the animals through the challenging Mughalzhar mountain range, ultimately restoring them to their original pastures (Ivanin, 1874: 29).

Within the context of his work, Dobrosmyslov offers substantive insights into the issue of Kazakh reluctance concerning the contribution of camels for the Russian campaign. This hesitation compelled the head of the border commission, G.F. Gens, to undertake two separate expeditions into the steppe in an effort to exert pressure on the Kazakh communities for their participation. Furthermore, Dobrosmyslov documents Sultan B. Aichuvakov's remarkable enthusiasm in facilitating the camel collection, while Sultan Shotai Bakhtygereev, overseeing the eastern sector of the Junior Zhuz, seized the opportunity to engage in opportunistic practices, requisitioning camels from those who abstained from offering bribes while sparing those who complied. Despite these extensive endeavors, the Kazakh communities in proximity to Khiva maintained their resolute refusal to furnish any camels

for the campaign (Dobrosmyslov, 1902: 331).

To encourage cooperation and participation from the Kazakh communities, the administration utilized various incentives. Active participation in collecting camels for the military campaigns led to awards such as gold and silver medals for the Kazakh sultans.

In tackling the intricate challenge of procuring camels from diverse Kazakh clans, the Orenburg administration adopted a multifaceted approach. Central to this approach was the engagement of prominent leaders within the Kazakh clans. Through this engagement, incentive measures were extended to these leaders in relation to the livestock sourced from the Kazakh population under their jurisdiction. Of significant note were the coveted gold and silver medals, bestowed upon Kazakh sultans who demonstrated an active involvement in the acquisition of camels for military campaigns. Illustratively, Zhangir, the khan of the Bokei Horde under the suzerainty of the Russian Empire, motivated by such incentives, willingly dispatched a contingent of 1,000 camels to Orenburg for deployment in the military campaign (Ivanin, 1874: 85).

Moreover, the strategy extended beyond material rewards. The administration strategically recognized the value of clemency as a potent tool to motivate Kazakh participation and subdue resistance. Noteworthy contributions from diverse Kazakh clans were met with promises of pardons for past transgressions, tactically designed to encourage voluntary engagement and mitigate any reluctance. This is exemplified in the endeavors of Cornet Aitov from the Orenburg Border Commission. He adeptly persuaded the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs by conveying that proactive involvement in camel collection could potentially absolve their clans from impending legal proceedings for previous wrongdoings. Additionally, an array of awards and incentives were introduced to further bolster Kazakh enthusiasm for active contributions to the camel collection initiative (Ivanin, 1874: 85).

The weightiness of accruing a substantial camel count from the Kazakh clans is underscored by the special recognition bestowed upon pivotal individuals and clans. This recognition manifested in the conferral of gold and silver medals upon eighteen distinguished Kazakhs who played instrumental roles in the ambitious camel collection venture. Moreover, a notable 131 individuals were acknowledged as significant contributors (CSA RK. F. 4. Op. 1. D. 2167. l. 19). Morrison's analysis affirms the paramount importance of the local inhabitants' livestock and indigenous knowledge to the Russian forces. Notably, the significant efforts of the Kazakh sultans, who upheld allegiance to Russia, were crucial. Their contributions were indispensable in facilitating the Khiva expedition, rendering its departure from Orenburg feasible (Morisson, 2014b: 453).

In an attempt to determine the exact number of camels and Kazakhs participating in the Khiva campaign, valuable information can be obtained from the campaign records of Russian officers. The campaign took place from November 14 to 17, 1839, with four military columns setting out for the expedition (Zakharyin, 1901: 23). Particularly, Ivanin provides information into the composition of each column, with Kazakhs being separated among them. The first column comprised 2 companies of battalion No. 2, a hundred Orenburg Cossacks, 2 cannons, 360 Kazakhs, and 1800 camels. The second column consisted of 2 companies of battalion No. 5, 50 Ukrainian Cossacks, 50 Bashkir soldiers, 2 cannons, 400 Kazakhs, and 2,000 camels. The third column included battalion No. 4, a division of Orenburg Cossacks, a hundred Ural Cossacks, 2 cannons, 6 mortars, a mobile church, a hospital, a detachment headquarters, 700 Kazakhs, and 3,600 camels. The fourth column was composed of 2 companies of battalion No. 5, a hundred Bashkirs, 2 cannons, 360 Kazakhs, and 1800 camels (Ivanin, 1874: 92). In addition to these columns, on November 16, a caravan consisting of 2 detachments of the Ural Cossack army and 1,800 camels traveled directly to the Emba fortress from the lower Ural line. While Ivanin indicates that there were 1820 Kazakhs in the caravan, he also mentions that the total number of Kazakhs in the caravan was 2090 (Ivanin, 1874: 208). Discrepancies regarding the number of camels appear in different Russian sources. Terent'yev mentions that 10,400 camels left Orenburg as part of a detachment (Terent'yev, 1906: 183–184). while Zakharyin suggests that there were 12,450 camels

(Zakharyin, 1901: 22). Dahl's letter, on the other hand, indicates 12,000 camels (Dahl, 1867: 404). However, Ivanin offers detailed information on the camels collected from various Kazakh clans in his book "Khiva Campaign." For instance, 1639 camels were collected from the Shekti clan, 1000 from the Jahalbayli clan, 844 from the Kypchak clan, 3002 from the Zhappas clan, 559 from the Kete clan, 2986 from Zhetiru, and 36 from the Karakesek clan. Additionally, 150 camels were allocated for Colonel Geke's detachment, and Khan of the Bokei Horde, Jangir, alone sent 1000 camels to Orenburg. Taking into account camels collected by other village heads, a total of 11,968 camels were ready to leave the Kazakh steppe for Khiva (Ivanin, 1874: 223).

Amidst these challenges, Ivanin's later memoirs provide a notable insight into the potential risks of rebellion or desertion among Kazakh camel drivers participating in the Khiva campaign. A pivotal juncture in this narrative occurs as the advancing caravan reaches the Ak Bulak fortress, transitioning from the Emba fortress. It's at this moment that the Kazakh contingent voices their discontent, flatly refusing to continue alongside the Russian forces. An astounding number—exceeding 300 Kazakhs—demand the opportunity to return to their respective villages, accompanied by their camels. Remarkably, this request surfaces despite the harsh climatic conditions and the considerable snowfall. In a bid to quell this dissent, Russian troops encircle the objectors and wield the threat of gunfire to suppress any potential disobedience. This already tense standoff takes a further somber turn as some of the Kazakhs demonstrate a readiness to sacrifice their lives, fiercely opposing any continuation of the march. Their argument pivots on the inadequacy of the caravans to withstand travel within such frigid surroundings (Ivanin, 1874: 125–126).

Ivanin's meticulously detailed narratives, enriched by the insightful correspondence of Dahl, meticulously chronicle a grim episode where two insurgents among the ranks of Kazakh drivers met their demise through fatal gunshot wounds on the battlefield (Dahl, 1867: 431). This somber account finds further resonance in the records of Zakharyin and Dobrosmyslov, who meticulously document a more harrowing count of three Kazakh individuals becoming subjects of gunfire (Zakharyin, 1901: 63) (Dobrosmyslov, 1902: 332). V. Dal vividly depicts the execution process, narrating that "200 Kazakhs were enveloped by Russian troops; the agitators were isolated, disrobed, blindfolded, and subjected to gunfire." This stringent response effectively suppressed the dissent (Dahl, 1867: 431).

Ivanin ascribes the fractures and disharmony within the Kazakh community to the sway of Khiva's propaganda. He condemns this influence for propagating what he labels as "unbridled Muslim fanaticism" (Ivanin, 1874: 126). Dobrosmyslov introduces a perspective, attributing the unrest among the Kazakhs to the propagation of rumors by Khiva's emissaries. These rumors insinuate that the well-armed Khiva detachment, bolstered by numerous warriors, harbors intentions to directly confront the Russians with an arsenal of 100 guns. These rumors add a layer of complexity to the already tense situation, further escalating the simmering tensions between the Kazakhs and the Khiva Khanate (Dobrosmyslov, 1902: 332).

Despite acknowledging the indispensable role played by the Kazakh drivers, Ivanin's subsequent writings reveal skepticism about their loyalty and reliability. He expresses concerns about their intimate knowledge of camels, proficiency in handling the animals, and familiarity with the steppe terrain. These apprehensions prompt him to question the trustworthiness of the Kazakhs, especially in the face of hostile attacks, necessitating precautionary measures to prevent potential desertion or collaboration with adversarial Kazakh and Khivans. This deep-rooted distrust of the Kazakhs, perceived as "savages" and "Muslim fanatics," proves to have severe repercussions during the crisis that arose in January 1840.

Indeed, Ivanin's concerns find historical support, given the close associations between the Kazakhs of the Junior Zhuz and the Khiva Khanate. An unidentified author within a Russian imperial periodical has underscored persistent and close-knit affiliations between the Kazakh and Khivan populations. This observation further suggests their involvement in apprehending Russian individuals and subsequently engaging in the practice of trading captives to Khiva (Turkestan'skiy sbornik, 1877: 117–131).

The challenges posed by the harsh winters and demanding natural environment of the steppe loomed large in the struggles of the Khiva campaign. This endeavor was heavily reliant on camels and drew on the expertise of Kazakh guides and camel drivers for efficient management. Dahl's account casts light on the initial two weeks of the campaign, which proved particularly trying. During this period, nearly a fifth of the camels succumbed to illness, rendering them unusable. Among the 10,400 camels that had embarked on the journey, a mere 8,000 remained fit for service (Dahl, 1867: 411).

These difficulties were emblematic of a broader array of challenges that beset the Khiva campaign, ultimately contributing to its ultimate downfall. Unfavorable weather conditions, persistent assaults by the Khiva army, and the outbreak of debilitating diseases like frostbite, scurvy, and dysentery further compounded the campaign's woes as the marching troops traversed the terrain. As the expedition advanced to the Shoshkakol fortress from Emba, the stark reality became evident: progression was untenable. It was on February 1, 1840, that Perovsky made the decision to retreat to Orenburg. Yet, the return journey was marred by the immense suffering of the camels. Perovsky poignantly conveyed the dire straits, noting that the total count of camels in the entire detachment had dwindled to a mere 2,000 (Trudy Orenburgskoi, 1911: 160). Zakharyin corroborated this grim situation, indicating that only a thousand camels survived out of the initial 10,400 (Zakharyin, 1901: 96). Dahl's correspondence underscored the gravity of the circumstances, underscoring the troops' reliance on the horses of the Cossack troops (Dahl, 1867: 367).

In November 1839, Perovsky engaged in correspondence with General G. Gens, representing the Orenburg Border Commission. Perovsky underscored the imperative for an additional 2,000 camels to facilitate the detachment's efficient transportation. In response, General Major Gens mandated the reclassification of border commission officials—formerly provincial secretaries—into cornets, aligned with Perovsky's request. These newly-designated cornets were assigned the task of assembling camels and camel drivers from Guryev town along the Caspian Sea coast's Nizhneuralsk line. Payment would be settled upon the camels' arrival at the detachment's Chushka-Kul location on the Emba River.

Aitov undertook this mission, initially encountering Kazakh reluctance due to camels collected during the summer. Despite consistent efforts, approximately 560 camels and 90 Kazakh camel drivers were ultimately assembled. By the fifth day of travel, Kazakh discontent became evident, prompted by concerns of inadequate compensation. Doubts about Aitov's commitment to promises led to heightened skepticism. By the eighth day of the journey, tensions escalated, with a Kazakh informant informing Aitov of collective negative sentiments among Kazakhs and perceived threats. Subsequently, Cornet Aitov was kidnapped and transported to Khiva (Trudy Orenburgskoi, 1911: 234).

To address the camel shortage, Perovsky instructed sultan Baymuhamed Aishuakov and F. Bizyanov to requisition camels from local Kazakh villages. Consequently, Cossack troops targeted Kazakh clans' auls, confiscating camels. For instance, Bizyanov's unit ambushed and killed 450 Kazakhs from the Adai clan, seizing their cattle (Terent'yev, 1906: 194).

The survivors of the Khiva campaign finally reached Orenburg in early July 1840. However, the campaign took a heavy toll, and the exact number of Russian soldiers and officers who perished varied in different accounts. According to Ivanin, 1054 soldiers were buried in the field, with more than 600 of them falling ill with scurvy, and many being disabled due to frostbite (Ivanin, 1874: 155). Zakharyin suggested that less than two thousand out of the five thousand soldiers who participated in the campaign returned to Orenburg (Zakharyin, 1901: 130). However, there was no comprehensive reporting on the number of Kazakhs who died during the expedition, as Dobrosmyslov noted in his book, emphasizing that the mortality of the Kazakhs, who numbered around 2000 in the detachment, was not adequately documented (Dobrosmyslov, 1902: 340).

Furthermore, the compelled acquisition of camels for the campaign had negative consequences on the traditional economy of the Kazakhs. The loss of livestock for several years among the Kazakhs was not adequately compensated by the killing of camels during the campaign. This disruption in their

traditional economic activities became evident when, in 1845, the Orenburg Governor-General Obruchev instructed the Orenburg Border Commission to supply 1,000 camels to newly built fortresses along the Yrgyz and Torgai rivers, indicating the scarcity of camels in Kazakh auls (CSA RK. F. 4. Op. 17. D. 2344. l. 1). The Khiva campaign's focus on its conquering objectives had significant implications for the livelihoods of the Kazakh communities, further underscoring the complex and far-reaching impacts of military campaigns on local populations and economies.

The Khiva campaign of 1839 was marked by significant challenges in collecting camels from the Kazakh clans to support the Russian army's logistics. The reluctance of the Kazakhs in providing suitable camels, coupled with harsh winter conditions and resistance from some of the Kazakh camel drivers during the expedition, hindered the campaign's progress. The eventual return to Orenburg was fraught with difficulties, with a large number of camels lost during the campaign.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the research on the Khiva campaign of 1839–1840 and the participation of the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs in supplying baggage animals, particularly camels, has provided valuable insights into the complexities of Russian imperialism in Central Asia. The findings of this study have shed light on the crucial role of logistics and local support in the success of military campaigns during the 19th-century colonial era.

The Khiva campaign represented a significant chapter in Tsarist Russia's efforts to expand its imperial dominion in Central Asia. The administration of Governor-General V.A. Perovsky brought renewed vigor and strategic planning to the Russian military efforts, recognizing the importance of comprehensive military strategies, strong logistical support, and alliances with local actors. The involvement of the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs in supplying camels was not a mere coincidence; rather, it was a deliberate effort by the Russian administration to secure the necessary resources for the military expedition.

The collection of over 10,000 camels from the Kazakh communities was a remarkable logistical feat, enabling the Russian army to traverse the vast and challenging Kazakh steppe and reach Khiva. The participation of local Kazakhs in providing essential supplies showcased the importance of their expertise in navigating the region's geographical and climatic challenges. Despite encountering resistance from some Kazakh clans, the administration's use of incentives and occasional measures of coercion successfully ensured the fulfillment of the necessary camel quota.

The research has underscored the interconnected histories of imperial powers and local populations in Central Asia. The success of the Khiva campaign hinged not only on military might but also on the cooperation and support of the Kazakh communities. By analyzing the campaign through a post-colonial lens, the study has highlighted the power dynamics and cultural implications of colonialism evident in the military expedition.

Furthermore, the research has addressed the gaps in existing historiography regarding the logistics and participation of local populations in the Russian military campaigns. While prior studies have focused on aspects such as colonial policies and territorial gains, the present research has delved into the crucial role of logistics and the agency of the Junior Zhuz Kazakhs in supporting the campaign.

Overall, the findings of this research provide a more comprehensive understanding of the historical events surrounding the Khiva campaign and its implications in the context of Russian imperialism in Central Asia. The study's insights into the complexities of colonial expansion and its impact on local populations enrich our comprehension of the historical dynamics in the region during the 19th century.

As we continue to explore historical episodes with a critical perspective, further research on the logistics of military campaigns and the involvement of local populations promises to unearth previously overlooked aspects of the past. By recognizing the significance of logistics and local support, we gain a deeper appreciation of the challenges and complexities faced by imperial powers in their pursuit of

territorial expansion and dominance. Moreover, acknowledging the agency and contributions of local communities fosters a more inclusive understanding of historical events, ensuring that marginalized narratives are given due recognition. The Khiva campaign of 1839–1840 serves as a poignant reminder of the interconnected histories of empires and local populations, urging us to approach the study of history with a multifaceted and critical perspective.

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