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CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE KAZAKH-DZUNGAR RELATIONS IN THE LATE XVII – MIDDLE XVIII CENTURIES: BASED ON ARCHIVAL SOURCES

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Abstract. Introduction. In the second half of the XVII – early XVIII centuries, the First Oirat-Manchu War proved disastrous for the Dzungar Khanate, suffering a major defeat at the hands of the Qing Empire. In attempt to compensate for their losses, the Dzungar Khanate turned its aggression towards the Kazakh Khanate. After the death of Galdan, the new Dzungar ruler Tsevan Rabdan, sought to maintain good relations with the Qing and Russian Empires, while engaging in battles against the Kazakh Khanates. In 1698, troops led by Oirat chieftain Tsevan Rabdan invaded the territories of the Great Juz, initiating a series of armed conflicts between the Oirats and the Kazakhs. From that time onwards, Dzungar invasions became the main danger threatening the independent existence of the Kazakh Khanate. The history of Kazakh-Dzungar relations has always been an important issue in the study of international relations in Central Asia. The history of their confrontation lasted more than two centuries and this had a great influence on the conduct of their domestic and foreign policies. It also had important consequences for the policies of the Qing and Russian empires in the region. Thus, *Goal* of the study is to examine Kazakh-Dzungar relations in the late XVII to the first half of the XVIII centuries, utilizing archival materials to investigate the activities of various representatives involved in that confrontation. The research was based on archival materials collected from the archives of the Russian Federation and published documents included in various collections. The first group comprised materials from the State Historical Archives of Omsk Region, the Archives of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, and the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts relevant to the specified period. *Results.* During the Kazakh-Dzungar military conflicts, opportunities arose for the emergence of decisive and successful military leaders, laying the foundation for further strengthening their political influence. The prolonged antagonistic relations between the Kazakh Khanate and Dzungaria, the harsh conditions of military confrontations, influenced the consolidation of the Kazakhs and their unity around important political figures. *Conclusion.* Ultimately, Kazakh-Dzungar relations gave rise to such an outstanding Kazakh leader as the future khan – Abylai. The growth of authority and respect among Kazakh leaders

on the steppe was largely due to their active and successful political and military actions in Kazakh-Dzungar relations.

Keywords: Kazakhs, Dzungars, Khong Tayiji, noyons, international relations, Kazakh-Dzungar relations, Kazakh Khanate, Dzungar Khanate, Russian Empire, Qing Empire, Abylai, batyrs, sultans

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XVII ҒАСЫРДЫҢ СОҢЫ – XVIII ҒАСЫРДЫҢ ОРТАСЫНДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚ-ЖОҢҒАР ҚАТЫНАСТАРДЫҢ КЕЙБІР АСПЕКТІЛЕРІ: АРХИВ МАТЕРИАЛДАРЫ НЕГІЗІНДЕ

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Аңдатпа. *Kіріспе.* 17 ғасырдың екінші жартысы – 18 ғасырдың басында бірінші ойрат-манчжур соғысы Жоңғар хандығы үшін сәтсіз болып, Цин империясынан үлкен жеңіліске ұшырауына байланысты Жоңғар хандығы оның шығынын Қазақ хандығына қарумен бет бұру арқылы талпынған болған. Галдан өлгеннен кейін жаңа жоңғар билеушісі Цеван Рабдан қазақ хандықтарына қарсы күресте Цин және Ресей империяларымен жақсы қарым-қатынаста болуға тырысты. 1698 жылы ойрат хунтайжысы Цеван Рабданның түмендері Кіші жүздің көшпелі жерлеріне басып кіріп, ойраттар мен қазақтар арасындағы қарулы қақтығыстар сериясын бастады. Дәл осы кезден бастап жоңғар шапқыншылығы Қазақ хандығының тәуелсіз өмір сүруіне қауіп төндіретін басты қауіпке айнала бастады. Орталық Азиядағы халықаралық қатынастарды зерттеуде қазақ-жоңғар қатынастарының тарихы әрқашан өзекті мәселе болып табылады. Олардың қарсыласу тарихы екі ғасырдан астам уақытқа созылды және бұл олардың ішкі және сыртқы саясаттарын жүргізуге үлкен әсер етті. Бұл Цин және Ресей империяларының осы аймақтағы саясаты үшін де маңызды салдарларға ие болды. Сонымен, *зерттеудің мақсаты* – 17 ғасырдың соңы – 18 ғасырдың бірінші жартысындағы қазақ-жоңғар қатынастарын зерттеу; осы текетіреске қатысушы тараптардың әртүрлі өкілдерінің қызметі туралы ақпаратты зерттеу үшін мұрағат материалдарын тарту. Зерттеудің бастапқы негізі Ресей Федерациясының мұрағаттарында жинақталған мұрағаттық материалдар және әртүрлі жинақтарда жарияланған құжаттар болды. Бірінші топты Омбы облысының мемлекеттік тарихи мұрағаты, Ресей империясының сыртқы саясат мұрағаты, Ресей мемлекеттік көне актілер мұрағаты қорларының белгіленген кезеңге қатысты материалдары құрайды. *Қорытынды.* Қазақ-жоңғар әскери қақтығыстары кезінде шешуші де табысты қолбасшылардың көтерілуіне мүмкіндік туып, олардың саяси ықпалын одан әрі нығайтуға негіз болады. Қазақ хандығы мен Жоңғария

арасындағы ұзаққа созылған қарсыластық қарым-қатынастар, әскери қақтығыстардың қиын жағдайлары қазақтардың топтасуының күшеюіне және олардың маңызды саяси қайраткерлердің айналасына топтасуына әсер етті. *Қорытындылар.* Сайып келгенде, қазақ-жоңғар қарым-қатынасы майдан даласында болашақ хан – Абылай сияқты көрнекті қазақ көсемін дүниеге әкелді. Даладағы қазақ басшыларының беделі мен құрметінің артуына көп жағынан олардың қазақ-жоңғар қарым-қатынасындағы белсенді және табысты саяси және әскери әрекеттері ықпал етті.

Түйін сөздер: Қазақтар, Жоңғарлар, Хунтайжылар, Ноёндар, халықаралық қатынастар, Қазақ-Жоңғар қатынастары, Қазақ хандығы, Жоңғар хандығы, Ресей империясы, Цин империясы, Абылай, батырлар, сұлтандар

Алғыс. Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігінің бағдарламалық-нысаналы қаржыландыру бағдарламасын іске асыру шеңберінде дайындалған «XV ғасырдың екінші жартысы-XVIII ғасырдың бірінші жартысындағы Қазақ хандығы: этносаяси тарих және сыртқы саясат» (ИРН BR21882223)

Дәйексөз үшін: Бейсембаева А.Р. XVII ғасырдың соңы – XVIII ғасырдың ортасындағы қазақ-жоңғар қатынастардың кейбір аспектілері: архив материалдары негізінде // «Edu.e-history.kz» электрондық ғылыми журналы. 2024. Т. 11. № 1. 52–66 бб. (Ағылш.). DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994_2024_11_1_52-66

НЕКОТОРЫЕ АСПЕКТЫ КАЗАХСКО-ДЖУНГАРСКИХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ В КОНЦЕ XVII – СЕРЕДИНЕ XVIII ВЕКОВ: НА ОСНОВЕ АРХИВНЫХ МАТЕРИАЛОВ

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Аннотация. *Введение.* Во второй половине XVII – начале XVIII веков из-за того, что Первая ойрато-маньчжурская война оказалась провальной для Джунгарского ханства, и оно потерпело большое поражение от цинской империи, джунгарское ханство попыталось возместить свои потери обернувшись с оружием к казахскому ханству. После смерти Галдана новый правитель джунгар Цэван Рабдан старался сохранить хорошие отношения с Цинской и Российской империями, сражаясь против казахских ханств. В 1698 г. тумены ойратского хунтайджи Цэван Рабдана вторглись в кочевья Старшего жуза, что положило начало череде вооруженных столкновений между ойратами и казахами. Именно с этого времени джунгарское вторжение начало превращаться в главную опасность, угрожающую самостоятельному существованию Казахского ханства. История казахско-джунгарских отношений всегда представляло собой актуальную проблему в исследовании международных отношений в Центральной Азии. История их противостояния продолжалась более двух веков и это оказало большое влияние на ведение их внутренней и внешней политики. Так же это имели важные последствия для политики Цинской и Российской империй в данном регионе. Таким образом, *Целью* исследования является изучение казахско-джунгарских отношений в конце XVII – первой половине XVIII веков; привлечение архивных материалов для изучения сведений о деятельности различных представителей

вовлеченных в данное противостояние сторон. Источниковой базой исследования послужили архивные материалы, собранные в фондах архивов Российской Федерации, и опубликованные в составе различных сборников документы. Первую группу составляют материалы фондов Государственного Исторического архива Омской области, Архива внешней политики Российской империи, Российского государственного архива древних актов, касающиеся обозначенного периода. *Результаты.* В ходе казахско-джунгарских военных конфликтов, появляется возможность возвышения решительных и удачливых полководцев, и основание для дальнейшего усиления их политического влияния. Долгие противоборствующие отношения Казахского Ханства и Джунгарии, тяжелые условия военных столкновений, повлияли на усиление консолидации казахов и их сплочения вокруг важных политических фигур. *Выводы.* В конечном итоге казахско-джунгарские отношения – породили на поле брани такого выдающегося казахского лидера как будущего хана – Абылая. Во многом росту авторитета и уважения в степи у казахских предводителей способствовали их активные и удачные политические и военные действия в казахско-джунгарских отношениях.

Ключевые слова: Казахи, джунгары, хунтайджи, нойоны, международные отношения, казахско-джунгарские отношения, Казахское ханство, Джунгарское ханство, Российская империя, Цинская империя, Абылай, батыры, султаны

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Introduction

Kazakh-Dzungar relations of the 17th–18th centuries often changed under the influence of foreign policy and domestic political circumstances, military confrontation and truce between them were caused by various factors of the historical period.

During the second half of the XVII century, the Dzungars, under the leadership of Huntuaji Galdan Boshogtu (from 1678 – khan), expanded their influence over a large part of Central Asia (Martha Avery, 2003: 104). Subsequently, the acceptance of the title of Khan from the Dalai Lama made the Dzungars the leading tribe in the Oirat Confederation. The Dzungar Khanate, organized by the Oirat nomads, on the steppes north of the Tien Shan Mountains (Dzungaria, northern Xinjiang), held that region for about a hundred years. However, in 1754 (in the mid-XVIII century), due to constant internal wars, the Oirats eventually split into political domains, and the imperial army of the Qing dynasty under the command of General Chzhauhuy began a campaign to seize this region from Mongol influence.

In the 1660s, in Khalkha, located north of the Gobi Desert, a bloody civil war broke out, resulting in the emergence of two warring factions in the country. One was supported by the Dzungar Khanate, while the other sided with the Manchu Qing Empire. As a result, in 1688, a war broke out between Dzungaria, led by Khan Galdan Boshogtu and Khalkha, led by Tushetu Khan Chikhun Dorji (Moiseev, 1991: 52). Galdan took measures to consolidate his position in Mongolia and Tibet, where he had been sent in earlier years to become a disciple of the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama. Then, with the permission of the Dalai Lama, having relinquished his spiritual role as a lamaist church servant and vows, he turned against his enemies. Subsequently, after defeating his opponents, he united the Oirats under the leadership of the Dzungar (Moiseev, 1991: 49). In 1678, the Dalai Lama granted him the title «Boshogtu Khan» («legitimate» or «mandated» khan), thereby making Galdan his protector in the Mongolian political world. This title officially sounded as «Galdan Tenzin Boshogtu Khan» and

was considered in Tibet itself and in the Mongolian world dependent on it as a symbol of the sacred nature of the supreme authority of the ruler, conditioned by its highest purpose. In the 1670s, Galdan pursued a policy of strengthening central authority in the nomadic Oirat state.

Galdan Boshogtu Khan did not restrain his ambitions and aimed to seize the best pastures, even on Kazakh lands, which led to a sharp deterioration in Kazakh-Dzungar relations. The vast expanses of Kazakh nomadic lands between the basins of the Irtysh, Ishim, Tobol Rivers on one side, and the Syr Darya, Sarysu, Turgai, Talas, Chu Rivers on the other, were subjected to devastating raids from the Dzungar Khanate (Suleimenov, 1981: 30). The military campaigns of Boshogtu Khan significantly worsened the economic situation of the Kazakh zhuzes. Boshogtu Khan began political expansion into Eastern Turkestan and raided the Kazakhs while maintaining good relations with the Russian Empire. As a result of the military campaigns conducted by the ruler of the Oirats in the Syr Darya steppes and the neighboring Fergana, his troops captured and ravaged 11 cities subordinate to Kazakh khans and sultans. These cities included Turkistan, Sayram, Mankent, Kharasman, Chimbent, Tekke, Jan-Kurgan (Baban Yelgen), Karamurt, Otrar, Tashkent, and Chinaz (Epistolary Heritage, 2014: 397).

Meanwhile, the ruler of Dzungaria aimed to unite all of Mongolia under his authority to resist Qing forces. However, the majority of Khalkha khans opposed the consolidation and centralization of power under Galdan Boshogtu. When they found themselves on the losing side of the confrontation, unwilling to submit to Oirat khans, the Khalkha turned to the Qing emperor and entered into Manchu suzerainty (Epistolary Heritage, 2014: 111).

Galdan aimed to unify all Mongolian lands under his rule and prevent Mongolia from joining the Qing Empire. In 1688, Boshogtu Khan invaded Khalkha with a 30,000-strong army, defeating local princes and clashing with the Qing Empire. Defending the independence of Mongolian states from the Manchu dynasty, he waged military campaigns against Emperor Kangxi from 1690 onwards. In the course of fierce battles with Qing forces, Galdan suffered defeat in 1696 in this struggle and, after a brief illness, passed away on May 3, 1697, in the area of Achamutai, in the territory of Western Mongolia (Epistolary Heritage, 2014: 398).

After suffering a heavy defeat in the war with the Qing Empire (1690–1697), the Dzungars attempted to compensate for their losses by conquering Kazakh khanates and Central Asia. Following Galdan's death, the new Dzungar ruler, Tsewang Rabtan, sought to maintain good relations with the Qing and Russian Empires while fighting against Kazakh khanates. In 1698, Tumen units of the Oirat leader Tsewang Rabtan invaded the territories of the Elder zhuz, marking the beginning of a series of armed conflicts between the Oirats and the Kazakhs. It was from this time that Dzungar invasion began to pose the main threat to the independent existence of Kazakh khanates.

Materials and Methods of Research

The research was based on archival materials collected from the archives of the Russian Federation and published documents included in various collections. The first group comprised materials from the State Historical Archives of Omsk Region, the Archives of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, and the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts relevant to the specified period.

Archival materials from the Archives of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire (AVPRI) were sourced from Funds 122 «Kirghiz-Kaisak Affairs» and 113 «Zyungor Affairs» Additionally, the following materials from the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA) were utilized: Fund 248 «Senate and its institutions» (consolidated funds), St. Petersburg, Moscow, Inventory 17, Book 1164, «Reports of secret advisor Kirillov on the prosperous state of the Orenburg province and the oath-taking of the Horde khans for loyalty»; Inventory 113, File 1607, «About Dzungarian, Kirghiz-Kaisak, and Mungal appeals», and others.

The article presented information from documents in the following funds of the State Archive of Omsk Oblast (GIAOO): Fund 1, «Military-Campaign Chancellery of the Commander-in-Chief of the

Siberian Corps of the Military Collegium (renamed in 1797: Divisional Chancellery of the Commander of the Troops of the Siberian Division and Lines of the Military Collegium), Omsk (1744–1800). Inventory 1, Journal of outgoing orders, instructions, reports on Siberian affairs, journals of received memoranda and reports about those willing to settle in newly designed lines of fortresses, et al.; File 4, «About sending retired Cossacks for reconnaissance to Zengor districts and other correspondence»; File 7, «About daily travels and strong precautions against Kalmyks, Kirghiz-Kaisaks, and other hordes. About the death of Zengor landowner Goldan Chirin and his heir», and others. About the death of the Zengor owner Goldan Chirin and his heir and other correspondence; File 8. Journal of secret outgoing reports, reports, orders, and memoranda; File 10 Decree from the State Collegium of Foreign Affairs to the Siberian Governor about sending back from Moscow envoys of the Kalmyk Zengor owner.

The second group of sources includes published documents. These are collections of documents and materials: «History of Kazakhstan in Russian Sources from the XVI to the XX Centuries»; «Epistolary Heritage of the Kazakh Ruling Elite, 1675–1821. Collection of Historical Documents. In 2 Volumes. Volume 1: Letters of Kazakh Rulers, 1675–1780».

The methodological basis of the work is formed by such fundamental principles of scientific-historical knowledge as objectivity, historicism, systems approach, and principle of specificity, as well as the value-based approach applied in historical research. They presuppose a comprehensive, objective consideration of various historical events, taking into account the whole spectrum of factors influencing the activities of historical figures and their environment, and considering historical events in the interrelation of all elements.

Discussion

Of particular interest to researchers is the work of Khalid Kurbandali «Tauarikh Khamsa» of 1910, translated from the Chagatai language (Kurbangali, 1992: 304). The author, relying on Chinese, Arab, Persian and Turkish historical sources, described the history of the Kazakh, Tatar, Mongolian and Chinese peoples.

Among the Russian representatives, one of the first explorers of the territory of the Kazakh khanates were P.I. Rychkov (Rychkov, 1772: 104), and I.G. Georgi (Georgi, 1799: 146), I. Falk (Falk, 1824: 560), G.I. Spasky (Spassky, 1820: 51–58), P.S. Pallas (Pallas, 1786: 476) and others. These researchers recorded direct eyewitness accounts of the historical events of the period under study, and they were also directly aware of the economy, culture and everyday life of the local population of the study area through personal observations.

In the book of one of a number of researchers of the territory of the Middle Zhuz, Captain I.G. Andreev, entitled «Description of the Middle Horde of the Kyrgyz-Kaysaks», published in 1785, geographical data on the territory and borders of the nomadic clans of the Middle Zhuz are given. The captain was also personally well acquainted with the daily life of the local population. In the first two chapters, the author described the history, customs and traditions of the steppe people, the book contains sketches made by the author of images of «tamgas» (signs) unique for each clan, Ivan Grigorievich also left information about the migration of part of the Kazakhs to the right bank of the Irtysh in difficult years and much more (Andreev, 1998: 280).

Particular attention should be paid to the main work of S.B. Bronevsky «Notes of Major General Bronevsky about the Kirghiz-Kaisaks of the Middle Horde» published in 1829–1830 (Bronevsky, 2007: 165). The colonel's notes reflect the original culture, economy and way of life of the Kazakhs; he provides information about the sultans and rulers, the approximate population and trade relations in the Middle Horde, the territory of which was attacked by the Dzungars most often.

The works of M.Zh. Kopeev, Sh. Kudaiberdiev, M. Tynyshpaev, M. Dulatov, A. Bukeikhanov made a great contribution to the study of Kazakh-Dzungarian relations. Studies of the Kazakh-Dzungar

wars, the reasons why attacks on Kazakh lands began in 1723–1726, studies of the political and economic situation were carried out in the monographs of I.Ya. Zlatkin, N.G. Apollova, V.Ya. Basin, V.A. Moiseev.

Of significant interest are the archival materials used in the research of Ramazan Bimashuly Suleimenov and Vladimir Anisimovich Moiseev – «From the history of Kazakhstan in the 18th century» (Suleimenov, 1988: 144); Sanjar Jafaruly Asfendiyarov and Pavel Arminovich Kunte – «The Past of Kazakhstan in Sources and Materials» (Asfendiyarov, Kunte, 1997: 381).

Results

Tsevan Rabdan (1697–1727) was the nephew of the Dzungar leader Galdan Boshogtu, whose forces were joined by the troops of Prince Sanjip (Epistolary Heritage, 2014, 397). The departure to Dzungaria in 1701 of significant masses of Volga Kalmyks – about 15 thousand families under the leadership of the noyon Sanjip, who quarreled with his father, Khan Ayuka, significantly strengthened Dzungaria, allowing its ruler to carry out military actions simultaneously in Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and Eastern Turkestan. However, relations with Emperor Kangxi soured in the early XVIII century due to territorial disputes and the reluctance of the Dzungars to lower themselves to the dependent status of other Mongols within the empire, as indicated by the Qing emperor. In one of his conversations with his diplomatic affairs official Bao Zhu, Emperor Kangxi noted that «by the right of arms and his subjects, after the destruction of Galdan, they should have belonged to me. But I, out of leniency towards Tsevan Rabdan, allowed him to take over all of Galdan's subjects to strengthen him against the enemies of the Khans» (Moiseev, 1991, 59).

The active foreign policy of the Dzungar khans, their conquest of Eastern Turkestan, and the forced imposition of yasak on several tribes of Southern Siberia contributed to the economic strengthening of the Oirat state. At the same time, nearly continuous expansion and constant military pressure from the Manchu dynasty of the Qing Empire led to the strengthening of central khanate authority. The rulers of Dzungaria had the right to almost unlimited disposal of human resources and material means of the state (Suleimenov, 1988, 17). Episodic invasions by the Dzungars into the territory of the Kazakh khanates in the late XVII century began to occur almost annually. These conquests significantly complicated the economic situation of the Kazakh juzes and led to the disruption of their trade relations with neighboring sedentary peoples of Central Asia.

The danger of Dzungar expansion into the Kazakh khanates temporarily reconciled the Kazakh rulers, forcing them to jointly seek ways and means of defense against the enemy. In 1709–1711, the Dzungars carried out another major invasion into the Kazakh steppes. During the Oirat advance in 1710, a congress of representatives of the nobility of all three Kazakh juzes was held in the Karakums, where the batyr of the Middle juz, Bogembay, was elected as the leader of the all-Kazakh militia, and a general plan of resistance to the enemy was outlined. This consolidation of Kazakh forces in the subsequent period dealt the Oirats a series of strong counterattacks (AFPRE. F. ZD. 1731. I. 113/1. C. 2. Pp. 113 rev.-114). The envoy of the Qing Emperor to Tsevan Rabdan, Bao Zhu (Khafizova, 1995: 77), who was in Dzungaria in 1716, wrote about the major defeats of the Oirats in 1713–1714 and their return to Dzungaria with great damage. In 1716, the Kazakh militia set out on a campaign against the Dzungars but it was unsuccessful. Taking advantage of the disagreements among the Kazakh rulers and military leaders Kaip and Abulkhair, the Oirats carried out another series of invasions into the territories of the Elder and Middle juzes in 1717.

At this time, the Qing Empire was ruled by a dynasty founded by Manchu rulers. Essentially, due to the peculiarities of the mentality based on Confucian teachings, the Qing Empire followed its complex system of relations with neighboring peoples, known as «khanate cultural influence» (Kurmanalina, 2022: 75). The political propaganda of the Manchus regarding the Dzungar Khanate aimed to create an image and reputation of the dynasty as successors to the Mongol rulers, without

resorting to the principle of Chinggisid legitimacy. The death of Emperor Aisin Gioro Xuanye, who ruled under the motto of Kangxi in 1723, temporarily postponed the threat of imminent Qing Empire aggression against the Dzungars. This delay allowed the Dzungars to launch devastating raids into Central Asia.

In 1718, Tsevan Rabdan launched a campaign against the Khoshut Mongols in Tibet. Such a turn of events led Emperor Kangxi to direct military confrontation with the Dzungars in Tibet. The first Qing expeditionary army suffered a devastating defeat against the Dzungars in 1718, but subsequent military actions proved successful, and in 1724, Tibet was liberated from the Dzungars. Tibet was now fully under the control of the Qing Empire. During the expedition to expel the Dzungars from Tibet, forces of the Qing Emperor also attacked and captured the Turkestan cities of Barkul, Hami, and Turpan, with the latter being of particular importance as it allowed Kangxi to initiate anti-Dzungar negotiations with the Kazakhs.

After the start of the Second Oirat-Qing War in the years 1717–1722, the pressure of the Dzungars on the Kazakhs weakened. Taking advantage of that, the Kazakhs struck back. I. D. Cheredov, Russian ambassador in Dzungaria, noted that in 1720, «the Cossack horde attacked and captured thousands of its [Dzungar] people» (AFPRE. F. ZD. 1731. I. 113/1. C. 2. P. 135 rev.). Thus, for over two decades, armed conflicts periodically flared up between the Kazakh khanates and Dzungaria, bringing no decisive success to either side. Finally, after making peace with the Qing Empire, in early spring 1723, the Oirats unleashed their full force on Kazakh lands and Central Asia. The population of the nomadic regions, busy preparing to move from winter pastures to summer grazing grounds, was caught off guard. Sweeping away scattered and few Kazakh detachments in their path, the Dzungar troops quickly advanced into the steppe, leaving piles of dead bodies, ashes of burnt villages, and driving tens of thousands of captives and caravans of plundered wealth back to Dzungaria (Moiseev, 1991: 70). One after another, after fierce battles, Central Asian and Kazakh cities fell into the hands of the Oirats – Tashkent, Sayram, Turkestan, and others (Suleimenov, 1988: 21). Abandoning their cattle and property, the Kazakhs fled to Central Asia. The years 1723–1725 remained in the memory of the Kazakh people as the «Aktaban shubryndy» years of great calamity: «The mass exodus of people on foot to the point that their heels turned white, i.e., their heels were worn out» (Moiseev, 1991: 74). The migrations to Central Asia and other places led to devastation and death. Herds dwindled daily, barter trade ceased – coins disappeared from the market, natural exchange revived, poverty became widespread, and the number of deaths from hunger increased.

The fate of the peoples of Central Asia could have been even more tragic if there had not been forces in the Kazakh steppe capable of stopping the Dzungar invasion. The task of saving the country was taken on by the people themselves, – Bogenbay, Kabanbay, Taylak, Sauryk, Zhanibek, Malaisary, Utegen, and many others, who produced outstanding organizers and leaders from their midst. Abilmansur also rose to defend them from within their own ranks.

His grandfather and father were rulers of Tashkent but the city was captured by the Dzungars. According to contemporaries, there were joint actions by the Kazakhs and the residents of Tashkent against the Oirats, however, the Kazakhs suffered a severe defeat. Abylai spent his childhood and partly his youth in exile, losing his father at the age of 13, who was killed by dynastic rivals in an internal conflict in the southern region (Valikhanov, 1985: 111).

Abylai moved to the city of Turkestan under the rule of Khan Abulmambet. As known, Tashkent was captured by the Oirats in 1725, when Abilmansur, born in 1711, turned 14. According to some information, before arriving in Turkestan, first he visited Central Asia along with his surviving tribesmen. From 1725 to 1738, Abylai was under the patronage of the junior Khan of the Kazakhs, Sameke (1724–1738), and was in the inner circle of Sultan Abulmambet, who provided him with protection and personal support (Epistolary Legacy, 2014: 274). In 1726, at the age of 15, he actively participated as part of the Kazakh militia of the Middle Horde under the leadership of Khan Sameke and Sultan

Abulmambet in the nationwide liberation struggle against the Dzungars and for the next four years proved himself to be a brave and skilled warrior capable of making unconventional tactical decisions: «Participating in all raids initially as an ordinary warrior, he showed feats of extraordinary courage and cunning. His useful advice and strategic considerations solidified his reputation as a wise man» (Valikhanov, 1985, vol. 4, p. 112). During this period, Abylai noticeably stood out from the array of other young Kazakh sultans and received from the Kazakhs for his courage and military exploits the honorary title of bahadur.

Thanks to the fame and support of Sultan Abulmambet, Abylai was recognized at the turn of the 1720s and 1730s as the ruler of the powerful Atygay clan within the Argyns, where in 1731, 1000 adult males were under his authority (AFPRE. F. 122. C. 1. Pp. 141–143 rev.). Throughout the 1730s and 1740s, the astute and determined sultan gradually gained strength in the Middle Horde: by 1736, 10, 500 families were under his patronage (RSAAA. F. 248. I. 17. C. 1164. P. 20), by 1740, about 20,000 families (Atygai and partly Karakesek Argyns, some Kypshaks), and by 1749, all seven Argyn clans, as well as Kerei, Uaki, and some Kypshaks (AFPRE. F. 122. I. 1749. C. 4. Pp. 206–233 rev.). Until 1744, Abylai effectively, and from then until the mid-1760s, formally served as the junior partner to Khan Abulmambet in managing many tribal and clan groups of the Middle Horde, predominantly residing in the north and northeast of the region, as governors appointed by the Dzungar khuntaidzhi were in charge in the Tashkent and Turkestan regions from 1735 to 1751.

Following this, in 1727, Ceven Rabdan, who sought to strengthen the central authority and economy of the khanate, died, and he was succeeded by his son Galdan Tseren. In the 1720s, relations between Emperor Yuncheng and the Dzungars, although still hostile, were less heated. However, in the 1730s, Galdan Tseren, who spent his early years in power restructuring the Dzungar Khanate, attacked the Khalkha Mongols. The Qing Empire intervened militarily to protect its Eastern Mongolian subjects and, especially, to maintain its hegemony in the region, repeatedly defeating the Dzungars in armed conflicts. Eventually, in 1739, a peace treaty was signed, establishing the border between the two states, under which the Dzungars suffered extensive territorial losses, including the loss of Tuva. However, official trade was resumed, and the Dzungars were allowed to send trade delegations to the Qing Empire once every three years. This treaty remained in effect until the 1750s. After the signing of the peace treaty, devastating raids by Dzungar troops followed on the lands of the Middle Horde Kazakhs in 1739–1742 (Yerofeeva, 2005: 429).

By the early 1740s, the primary focus of the Dzungar Khanate's foreign policy was its relations with the Russian Empire, Kazakh khanates, and states of Central Asia. Following the annexation of Khalkha by the Qing Empire, the evident lack of strength of the Dzungar Khanate to unify the Mongolian world became apparent, as well as its complete ineffectiveness in resisting the advance of the Qing Empire in Central Asia. Therefore, during this period, the direction of Dzungar military-political activity definitively shifted westward, towards the Kazakh steppes.

In the autumn of 1740, a new invasion of Dzungar troops into the Kazakh steppes began, and Abylai actively participated in repelling the enemy's onslaught. Despite the complex relations between the Dzungar and Kazakh Khanates, the issue of prisoners, often captured by both sides, was resolved fairly humanely. A.I. Tevkelev emphasized that «if Kyrgyz-Kaisaks are taken as prisoners by the Kontayshi troops, after that battle, the Kyrgyz-Kaisaks are allowed to bring their prisoners in exchange for one Kaisak for one Kalmyk from the Volga Kalmyks, for money or goods, at no price does he give them away, except for those brought in exchange for one Kaisak, one Kalmyk... and they watch this closely, and the Kaisaks willingly go to the Kontayshi for exchange of their prisoners» (AFPRE. F. ZD. 1731–1733. I. 113/1. C. 3. P. 104).

During these events, Sultan Abylai fell into the hands of the Dzungars: «Abylai indeed endured many trials and struggles until his significance grew to the point where the Kirghiz considered him a spirited leader (arvakh), sent to accomplish great deeds. He was captured twice, once by the wild Kyrgyz

(Buruts), and the other time by Galdan Tseren» (Valikhanov, 1985, vol. 4, 113). In the spring of 1741, during the Kazakh-Dzungar war, the Sultan killed a prominent Dzungar leader Charchu (Charish, Sharysh) in one of the initial battles, who was part of the closest circle of Khan Galdan Tseren. At the end of February to the beginning of March of the same year, he was captured by the Oirats in the vicinity of Lake Shilegen and the Shiderty River, in the northeast of the Kazakh nomadic lands (Yerofeeva, Zhanaev, 2007a: 515).

According to information collected by the Bashkir Akkush Kusebayev and conveyed to the Russians, there were several demands for the release of Abylai from the Dzungar captivity. Envoys returned from Galdan Tseren accompanied by three Dzungar Kalmyks, demanding to send 10 hostages from the Kazakh nobility, along with all their attendants and herds. Upon fulfilling this condition and handing over the former agitator Karasakal's son Sunoy batyr, who was in Bashkiria, Galdan Tseren promised not to wage war against the Kazakhs. Otherwise, it could have happened that the Dzungar troops could stop retreating at the Tagashe River, where about a thousand people, led by Saryn Manzi, who captured a considerable number of people, remained in captivity (AFPRE. F. 122. I. 1742, C. 4, Pp. 50–54 rev.). In response to the demands, the biy and batyr from the Basentiin clan of the Argyll Malaisar tribe stated, «They do not demand hostages from all our clans even to Russia and you want to be greater than the Great Russian State» (Moiseyev, 1991: 126).

Moreover, among these 10 hostages, the Dzungars demanded to send one son each from the children of Sultan Barak and Batyr Zhanybek. Zhanybek Batyr of the Middle Horde, renowned for his battles against the Oirats, was one of the most prominent opponents of closer ties with Dzungaria in the steppe. Sultan Barak wielded significant influence in the steppe, had not sworn allegiance to the Russian Empire, and regularly declined invitations to visit Russian fortresses, yet he also refrained from approaching closer to the Dzungars (Moiseyev, 1991: 135). In response to the envoys' words about building fortresses starting from the Ural River and occupying Russian pastures, Barak stated that the construction of fortresses and the establishment of trade centers in them would only benefit the Kazakhs. Galdan Tseren had to temporarily withdraw these demands.

In an effort to prevent the strengthening of ties between Russia and the Kazakh Khanates, Galdan Tseren began to employ a more flexible approach towards the rulers of the Junior and Middle Hordes. In late 1741, he sent a new embassy to the camp of Khan Abulkhair with a proposal to arrange a marriage between the children of Galdan Tseren and the daughter of Abulkhair (RSAAA. F. Governing Senate. I. 113. 1740–1746. C. 12/143. P. 1025). To compel the Kazakhs to comply with demands regarding tribute payments and hostages, the Khuntaiji decided to exploit the issue of the exchange of prisoners, particularly Sultan Abylai. According to Kazakhs who visited Dzungaria, upon the arrival of Kazakh envoys, Galdan Tseren ordered Abylai's hands and feet to be bound, and he remained in this state throughout Batyr Akchur's stay as a guest of the Khuntaiji. Upon Akchur's departure, Galdan Tseren immediately ordered Abylai to be released from his bonds, and even allowed his brother to return to the Kazakh steppes (AFPRE. F. KKD. 1742. I. 122/1. C. 2. P. 17).

A Russian diplomatic mission led by Major K. Miller was also dispatched to Dzungaria in the autumn of 1742 from Orsk to Galdan Tseren. The sending of K. Miller's embassy to Dzungaria, besides negotiations for the release of a Russian subject - Sultan Abylai, aimed to study the political situation and sought to reach an agreement with Galdan Tseren on Russo-Oirat relations. The government of the Russian Empire played a certain role in the liberation of Abylai from Dzungar captivity. Extremely concerned about the Dzungars' proposal of subjection and the demand for influential political hostages, the government and the Orenburg administration took a series of measures to prevent the strengthening of Dzungaria's influence, including the return of Sultan Abylai from captivity (Suleimenov, 1988: 39). Later, Sergeant Alexander Podzorov, sent from Tobolsk to Dzungaria, reported that Abylai lived under the guard of Zaysan of the Kharachinsky district Ceguk (AFPRE. F. ZD. 1743. I. 113/1. C 2. Pp. 39–40). One of his sons and 20 Kazakhs were also with

him in Dzungaria. The guards did not allow communication with Abylai.

In mid-October 1743, the first representatives of Sultan Abylai, Yulbars Sultan, along with three ordinary Kazakhs, arrived in Korkinu Sloboda and handed over letters from Abylai to the representatives of the Tsarist government addressed to the Siberian Governor. The Sultan reported that he, along with all his companions, safely returned from the Dzungar territory on September 5. In this letter, Abylai expressed his desire to contribute to peaceful interaction with the Russian people and requested permission for trade in Orenburg for his people (Suleimenov, 1988: 32). Abylai's envoys were promptly escorted to Tobolsk. In the Siberian provincial chancellery, they recounted the internal situation of the Middle and Junior Juzes, the conditions under which Abylai was released from Dzungar captivity. The Tsarist government, unable to significantly influence the nature of Kazakh-Dzungar relations, was forced to officially consider the frequent contacts of Abulmambet, Barak, Khan Kuchuk, and other influential figures with the Dzungar Khan.

Until the spring of 1743, Abylai remained in Dzungar captivity. For about two and a half years, he was held in Dzungar captivity, initially in the camp of Galdan Tseren, and then among the nomads of the Davachi noyon, where he met the Hoyot noyon Amursana (1722–1755). In March 1743, after the arrival of hostages from Abulmambet, Barak, and other Kazakh leaders, Abylai, his son, and several other prominent captives were released (Moiseyev, 1991: 127). This was reported to the Collegium of Foreign Affairs by I. I. Neplyue, the head of the Orenburg Commission. Abylai stayed in the Dzungar ruler until early April and in the territory of Dzungar until September 1743: «I, Abylai-Magamet-Batyr-sultan, left the Kalmyk lands and arrived at our horde on the 5th day of September» (AFPRE. F. 122. I. 1. 1743. C. 8. Pp. 11–12).

Thus, by the end of September of the same year, Abylai returned to his nomadic camp on the Ishim River. During his time in Dzungar captivity, he learned colloquial Oirat language and Oirat script («todo bichig», or «clear script»). Abylai's personal bravery, statesmanship, and strong sense of dignity as a young Kazakh Chingizid made a profound impression on the Dzungar ruler. Therefore, it was with him, rather than with Khan Abulmambet and Sultan Barak, that he negotiated a peace treaty before his return from Urga to his nomadic camp. However, upon returning home, Abylai was compelled to send one of his sons as a hostage to Galdan Tseren (Suleimenov, 1988: 37–38).

The total number of hostages in Galdan Tseren's camp was 35 individuals (Suleimenov, 1988: 38). In the spring of 1744, replacing Abulmambet's son Abulfeiz, the son of Sultan Barak, Shigai arrived, accompanied by representatives from Khan Abulkhair «sent for service» (AFPRE. F. 122. I. 1. 1743. C. 8. Pp. 11 rev.-12). As a symbolic tribute, Kazakh khans and sultans sent hundajs with dogs and eagles (HAOR. F. Military campaign chancellery. I. 1. C. 4. P. 48). The stay of the hostages in Dzungaria was brief. Galdan Tseren released the captives, demonstrating the extent of his protection and the level of moderation and privileges he could offer to the Kazakhs in exchange for their alignment without sending troops (AFPRE. F. 1742–1744. I. 113/1. C. 3. P. 14).

After Abylai's return from Dzungarian captivity and his peace agreement with the Oirat leader, neighborly relations between the Kazakh sultan and the Oirat ruling house persisted until the early 1750s when fierce internal wars erupted in Dzungaria, and the Kazakhs became active participants in these events (Suleimenov, 1988: 40). Instead of himself, Abylai was obliged to send his sons to Dzungaria, where Galdan Tseren provided them with very favorable conditions. Junior Lieutenant Savva Sobolev, who traveled to Dzungaria, reported upon his return in 1745 to the commander of the Siberian Line troops, General G. H. Kinderman, that the children of Abylai and Sultan Barak came to Dzungaria for 1–2 months with light yurts, played with Galdan Tseren's children, and received all his favors (RSAAA. F. 1st Department of the Senate. 1745. I. 113. C. 1607. P. 41). And soon even Abulkhair, the khan of the Younger Horde, sent his son to Dzungaria. Seeking to slow down the process of Kazakhstan's annexation to Russia, Galdan Tseren portrayed himself as a «humane» ruler who, unlike the Russian emperors, would not restrict their freedom. These details were confirmed by K. Miller, who traveled to

Dzungaria as an envoy (Moiseev, 1991: 128). To prevent the danger of Dzungarian invasions from recurring, Khan Abulmambet and Sultan Barak began sending their sons as hostages to Dzungaria, along with various gifts to Dzungarian Khan Galdan Tseren (Yerofeeva, 2005: 429).

Understanding the internal political situation in the Kazakh Khanates allowed Galdan Tseren to confidently propose to Abulkhair, Barak and Abylai the transfer of the city of Turkestan under their authority. In 1744, the residents of Turkestan themselves appealed to the Khan of the Middle Horde with a request to come under his rule. Galdan Tseren agreed to this but the Oirat vassal in Turkestan, Sultan Seit, opposed it, categorically refusing to share power with him (HAOR. F. Military Campaign Chancellery. I. 1. C. 4. P. 3). Abulmambet was forced to send envoys to Galdan Tseren again (HAOR. F. 1. I. 1. C. 4. P. 232 rev.). According to R. Urazin, who visited the nomadic camps of the Middle Horde in the summer of 1745, the Dzungarian Khan promised Turkestan and Barak in exchange for accepting the suzerainty of the Dzungarian Khanate. However, Sultan Seit remained the ruler of Turkestan (HAOR. F. 1. I. 1. C. 4. P. 232 rev.). Galdan Tseren gave his daughter in marriage to Abylai, promised to grant him «several estates» in Tashkent, bestowed the title of tarkhan upon Malai-Sary and sent rich gifts to Abulmambet and Barak (Suleimenov, 1988: 38). Following Abulmambet's move in late 1743 to settle permanently in the city of Turkestan (Yerofeeva, Zhanaev, 2007b: 130) and his factual withdrawal from steppe affairs, Abylai became close to the senior Khan of the Kazakhs, Abulkhair, and his family, especially Sultan Eraly (1722–1794), from 1744 to 1748. In August 1748, when Abylai and Eraly were on a military campaign against the «upper» Karakalpaks, they learned of Barak's murder of Abulkhair. Then Barak sent his men to Abylai to deal with the son of the slain Khan, the outraged Sultan, upon hearing about it, escorted Eraly from his detachment to the nomadic camps of the Khan's family, thus saving his life. Eight months later, after these events, Abylai arrived at the camp of Khan Bopai, where he strongly condemned the murder by the Sultan of the Middle Horde, the supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, Abulkhair, and the subsequent behavior of Barak, promising the sons of the former senior Khan personal assistance in carrying out the plan of blood revenge against the head of the Naimans and indicated to them the exact whereabouts of Abulkhair's killer. Following this, he sent an official message to the Orenburg governor I.I. Nepluev, in which he expressed his negative attitude toward Barak's actions in sharp terms and declared his intention to assist the sons of the slain Khan in avenging the violent death of their father: «And we are almost daily ashamed of such his actions, and, agreeing unanimously, we intend to avenge the death of our Khan. And when the Khan's children go to avenge the death of their father, we will help him as much as we can, and we will kill him, Barak-sultan. He, Barak, has now fled from his homeland, but we will never deviate from the path shown to us by Abulkhair-khan» (AFPRE. F. 122. 1749. I. 1. C. 4. P. 59). Barak's murder of Abulkhair not only did not bring him closer to the throne but also led to the departure of many of his previously supportive tribes and their flight to the borders of Dzungaria.

Furthermore, Abylai calmly embarked on nomadic journeys with his uluses to the lands belonging to the Dzungar Khanate. Passing through Char-Gurban, a left tributary of the Irtysh, Abylai would visit the Khong Tayiji for barter trade. The Uriankhais informed the Russian authorities that they mainly traded in bread and other goods, while Galdan Tseren sent wheat and flour to the Kazakhs (Moiseev, 1991: 136). Continuing beyond Char-Gurban towards the Chinese side, they would sell cattle to the Chinese, «who buy them at a high price along the way» (HAOR. F. Military Campaign Chancellery. I. 1. C. 10. Pp. 236-241). The Kazakhs of the Middle Horde, arriving in early March 1745 for trade in the Semipalatinsk fortress, reported that their owners were near Bukhara, and now, after Abylai's return from Dzungaria and peace agreement with Galdan Tseren, both short and long journeys proceeded peacefully. Lieutenant F. Ablyazov, who traveled to Dzungaria in early 1745, reported that Char-Gurbanu served as the border of Dzungar possessions (HAOR. F. Military Campaign Chancellery. I. 1. C. 8. P. 8.). They and Sultan Barak set up about 2000 yurts not far from the location

of the Dzungar outposts (HAOR. F. Military Campaign Chancellery. I. 1. C. 7. P. 1969 rev.). It was known from the report of Dragoon M. Davydov to the Kuznetsk voivodeship chancellery about the situation in the Altai Mountains and Dzungaria, that «from our side along the Irtysh above the Ust-Kamenogorsk fortress, fifty people are posted on guard, half from the Zengor and Abylai-sultan troops» (HAOR. F. Military Campaign Chancellery. I. 1. C. 10. P. 240).

During 1743–1752, Abylai continued to maintain diplomatic contacts with the ruling Dzungar house and the Russian border authorities in Orenburg and Siberia. The practice of handing over amanats – after the Russian Empire recognized such a tradition and its effectiveness in restraining the Kazakhs – they also adopted this custom afterward – demanding amanats in all significantly important matters.

Conclusion

The course and nature of political relations between the Dzungar and Kazakh khanates was determined by many foreign and domestic political factors. Their relationship influenced the policies of the Russian and Qing empires in this region. The study of Kazakh-Dzungar relations is necessary to understand the history of Central Asia in XVII–XVIII centuries. In this regard, the main attention in the article was paid to such issues as the circumstances and time of the establishment of early connections between the Oirats and the Kazakhs, the course and results of military operations, the struggle of the Kazakh people against the aggression of the Dzungars, attention was also paid to the internal political situation and the promotion of political leaders of that time.

Without an in-depth study of the relationship between the Kazakh and Dzungar Khanates, it is impossible to reconstruct not only the history of their foreign policy relations, their place and role in the system of international relations in Central Asia, this also affects the study of the internal politics of the steppe elite in these Khanates.

Sultan Abylai maintained close ties with the Dzungar hundagis after his return from captivity. During his time in Dzungaria, he learned conversational Oirat language and script, familiarized himself with the political structure of the Oirat nomadic state, and established friendly relations with Galdan Tseren and his relatives. The relationship between Abylai and the Oirat court persisted even after Galdan Tseren's death, until the early 1750s, when fierce wars broke out in Dzungaria and the Kazakhs became active participants in these events. Abylai emerged as a key figure in the political life of the Kazakhs, addressing crucial issues of war and peace with the Dzungars. He directed all his energy towards strengthening supreme authority and pulling the Kazakh Khanate out of a prolonged political crisis. The consolidation of Kazakh clans around Abylai was greatly facilitated by his active and successful political and military actions in Kazakh-Dzungar relations.

Sources

AFPRE — The Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire
HAOR — The Historical Archive of the Omsk Region
RSAAA — The Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts

Источники

АВПРИ — Архив внешней политики Российской империи
ИА ОО — Исторический архив Омской области
РГАДА — Российский государственный архив древних актов

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