

KAZAKH KHANATE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE XVIII CENTURY: EXTERNAL RELATIONS, PROCESS, RESULTS AND SIGNIFICANCE

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This research article examines Abylai Khan's role as a historical figure in the Kazakh Khanate's foreign policy from the middle of XVIII century to 1781, as well as his diplomatic relations with the Qin Manchurian Empire of China, the Russian Empire, and, most importantly, good diplomacy connections. All these have been considered from the point of view of historical research in the state archives of Russia and Kazakhstan. The diplomatic relations of the Kazakh Khanate with neighboring countries in the seventeenth century, armed conflicts between the Kazakh Khanate and the Dzungarian Khanate, the heroic deeds of Abylai Khan, Kabanbai Batyr, Bogenbai Batyr, and others during the Qin Empire's invasion of the Kazakh Khanate are documented. On the basis of ancient and current scientific literature in Kazakh and international scientific libraries, the real data have been analyzed and methodically reviewed. From a theoretical and methodological point of view, the work was carried out on historical principles, true objective research, analysis of historical events in chronological order, comparative use of archival data, references to the research of scientific literature. The history of further development of Kazakh people has proved that such a courageous and purposeful service, provided by Abylai Khan in the middle of the XVIII century, transcended the borders of one country and became the most important in the region.

Keywords: diplomacy, army, history, international relations, struggle.

EL KANATO KAZAJO A MEDIADOS DEL SIGLO XVIII: RELACIONES EXTERIORES, PROCESO, RESULTADOS E IMPORTANCIA

Este artículo de investigación examina el papel de Abylai Khan como figura histórica en la política exterior del kanato kazajo desde mediados del siglo XVIII hasta 1781, así como sus relaciones diplomáticas con el Imperio Qin Manchuria de China, el Imperio Ruso y, lo que es más importante, sus buenas conexiones diplomáticas. Todo ello ha sido considerado desde el punto de vista de la investigación histórica en los archivos estatales de Rusia y Kazajstán. Se documentan las relaciones diplomáticas del kanato kazajo con los países vecinos en el siglo XVII, los conflictos armados entre el kanato kazajo y el kanato dzúngaro, las hazañas heroicas de Abylai Khan, Kabanbai Batyr, Bogenbai Batyr y otros durante la invasión del kanato kazajo por el Imperio Qin. Sobre la base de la literatura científica antigua y actual en las bibliotecas científicas kazajas e internacionales, se han analizado y revisado metódicamente los datos reales. Desde el punto de vista teórico y metodológico, el trabajo se llevó a cabo sobre los principios históricos, la verdadera investigación objetiva, el análisis de los acontecimientos históricos en orden cronológico, el uso comparativo de los datos de archivo, las referencias a la investigación de la literatura científica. La historia del desarrollo ulterior del pueblo kazajo ha demostrado que un servicio tan valiente y decidido, prestado por Abylai Khan a mediados del siglo XVIII, trascendió las fronteras de un país y se convirtió en el más importante de la región.

Palabras clave: diplomacia, ejército, historia, relaciones internacionales, lucha

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Introduction

In the history of the Kazakh people, the middle of the XVIII century is marked by unique foreign policy circumstances. In particular, the Kazakh people, led by Abylai Khan, an expert politician, diplomat and commander, who lost integrity for various reasons in the first quarter of the XVIII century, but in the second half of this century was able to reunite the country and masterfully organize struggle against external enemies and began to achieve effective results in regulation and foreign policy. Among them, Western and Russian researchers and settlers, who were among the Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz at that time and got acquainted with the life of the population, noted that the economy of the population was prosperous, livestock was plentiful, trade relations were successful². For

² Nurbay, K.Zh. y Zhuman, G.Zh., «Middle Zhuz in the period of the XVIII – beginning of the XIX century: Political aspect of the problem», *Bylye Gody*, vol. 54, n° 4, 2019 (pp. 1479-1489); Mominova, G.T., Charginova, G.O., Giritlioglu, M. y Kasymova, A.A., «From history of accession of the senior Zhuz to the Russian empire: Prerequisites and reasons», *Bylye Gody*, vol. 53, n°3, 2019 (pp. 1096-1105); Ashinova, K. y Sydykova, B., «Subdivisions of the Kazakh Zhuz: A cultural and historical “identity-perspective”», eds.

example: “Their herds consist of horses, camels, cattle, sheep and goats. These animals form the basis of food, clothing, and life; their number determines the prestige and so on. The simplest, but wealthiest herder had at least 50 or 30 horses, half as many cattle, 100 sheep, a few camels and from 10 to 50 goats. It is known that people in the Middle Horde owned up to 10.000 horses, 300 camels, three to four thousand cattle, 20.000 sheep, and over 1.000 goats”³.

This seems to be a proof of that J.P. Falk, a Swedish naturalist who traveled to Western Siberia in the second half of the XVIII century for research, noted that: “Trade with the Kyrgyz Middle Horde is the same as with the Small Horde in Orenburg. The Kyrgyz mainly bring horses, cattle, and sheep to Petropavlovsk. Such profitable trade began in 1760 and has been widespread ever since”⁴. In the next Russian historical work of the early XIX century by G. Shangin it was written that: “Thirty-five years ago, the khans ruled the Kyrgyz (Kazakhs) individually through fair laws, even though their ancestors were verbal. At that time, everyone was independent and had enough property for their own needs, and was sentenced to death for negligent theft and minor misconduct”⁵. It shows the mutual order and responsibility in the internal relations of the Kazakh steppe during the reign of Abylai Khan.

In the history of Kazakhstan, the XVIII century, when Abylai Khan lived was full of struggles for the Kazakh people. During this period, the Kazakh Khanate fought with Dzungaria, Qin-Manchuria, the Kyrgyz and the Kokand Khanate. In the context of such international relations and the history of national liberation struggles, it is very important to consider this process as an object of study in the historical aspect of the field of historical science⁶.

Materials and Methods

New data from the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan⁷, State Archive of the East Kazakhstan region⁸, Russian State Historical Archive⁹, Historical Archive of the Omsk region¹⁰ have been used to write the research article. In addition, research papers on diplomacy and international relations have been analyzed and referenced. Therefore, from a theoretical and methodological point of

Chabal, P., Alix, Ya. y Baizakova, K., *Evolving regional values and mobilities in global contexts: The emergence of new (Eur)Asian regions and dialogues with Europe* (pp. 263-274), Peter Lang, Bern, 2021.

³ Gottlieb, J., *Description of all peoples living in the Russian state and their everyday rituals, customs, clothes, dwellings, religions and other monuments*, Imperial Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg, 1799.

⁴ Falk, J.P., *Travel notes of academician Falk*, Imperial Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg, 1824.

⁵ Spassky, G. (ed.), *Siberian Bulletin*, Morskaya tipografiya, Saint Petersburg, 1821.

⁶ Abdasadyk, A.A., Isenov, O.I., Taskuzhina, A.B., Shahaman, Z.B., Kulbayeva, M. y Mukhitov, K.S., «Abylai Khan: A historical figure and a folklore character (Case study of legends about the orphanage of the ruler)», *Astra Salvensis*, 2021 (pp. 325-336); Lapin, N.S. y Akanov, K.G., «Diplomatic relations of the Kazakh khanates and the Russian Empire in late Soviet and modern historiography», *Bylye Gody*, vol. 16, n°3, 2021 (pp. 1568-1577).

⁷ Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2021. <http://archive.president.kz/en/>.

⁸ State Archive of the East Kazakhstan region, 2021. <http://e-arhiv.vko.gov.kz/ru/Page/Index/1330>.

⁹ Russian State Historical Archive, 2021. <https://rgia.su/>.

¹⁰ Historical Archive of the Omsk region, 2021. <https://iaoo.ru/>.

view, the work was carried out on historical principles, true objective research, analysis of historical events in chronological order, comparative use of archival data, references to the research of scientific literature. Kazakh scholars, historians and researchers of Kazakh-Dzungarian history R.B. Suleumenov and V.A. Moiseev noted that: “Abylai Khan played an important role in the difficult period of the Kazakh people in the XVIII century. He led the struggle against the Dzungar Khanate in the national liberation struggle, and then against the conquest of the Qin Empire”¹¹.

Russian historian V.V. Bartold in his work “Works on the history and philology of the Turkic and Mongolian people” evaluated from historical point that: “Abylai Khan was the most powerful of the khans of the Middle Horde in the XVIII century (1711-1781)”¹². In other words, it can be seen that these authors wrote that the ruler of the Kazakh Khanate, Abylai Khan, was an international politician and a very prominent figure. American historian M.B. Olcott in his book “The Kazakhs” wrote: “It is impossible to fit the historical personality and actions of Abylai Khan to a certain extent. There were also assessments in the Soviet historiography of an ideological nature. However, one thing is indisputable: he was able to demonstrate the Kazakh actions in the tradition of Kasym, Tauke, became the last independent khan of the Kazakh Khanate”¹³.

Kazakh sinologist and historian K.Sh. Khafizova in her work on the relations of the Kazakh Khanate with the Qin Empire “Kazakh strategy of the Qing Empire” wrote that: “Abylai Khan played a very important role between the Kazakh Khanate and the Qin Empire. He made a peace treaty between the Kazakh Khanate and the Qin Empire. If pay attention to the archival data on his place and activity in history, it can be seen that he was a historical figure with whom he had a significant relationship”¹⁴. That is, if look at the scientific theoretical and methodological literature, it can be seen that Abylai Khan was a politician of international level. Therefore, the results of the study of such a topical issue in the science of history are analyzed in the following section.

Results and Discussion

On the contrary, during this period the foreign relations of the Kazakh Khanate became more tense. As Sh.Sh. Walikhanov noted that: “The dark situation of that time allowed Abylai Khan to show his courage, ingenuity and intelligence”¹⁵. In particular, important work has been done to effectively establish Kazakh-Dzungarian, Kazakh-Chinese and Kazakh-Russian relations and preserve the peace and integrity of the country. Such relations with these countries during this period were realized through peace agreements and victorious military operations. If consider it in detail, until the middle of the XVIII century, especially the Kazakh-Dzungar relations became more tense and there was a people's war for the protection of the land. I. Zavalishin,

¹¹ Suleumenov, R.B. y Moiseev, V.A., *From the history of Kazakhstan in the XVIII century (on the foreign and domestic policy of Abylai)*, Nauka, Almaty, 1988.

¹² Bartold, V.V., *Works on the history and philology of the Turkic and Mongolian people*, Nauka, Moscow, 1968.

¹³ Olcott, M.B., *The Kazakhs*, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 2019.

¹⁴ Khafizova, K.Sh., *Kazakh strategy of the Qing Empire*, Taimas, Almaty, 2008.

¹⁵ Walikhanov, Sh.Sh., *A collection of multi-volume works*, Almanakh, Almaty, 2010.

who was sufficiently engaged in this issue in the first half of the XIX century, spoke about the mass resistance of the Kazakh people to the invaders and their heroic deeds: “Their attacks were very fast and they fight their enemies with shouts and slogans”¹⁶. Recent events have shown that after the death of Dzungarian khan Galdan Tseren, a power struggle broke out within the country, and the Chinese state's desire to take over the khanate became clear. If this plan of the Qin Empire came true, it became clear that many historical Kazakh lands, which were temporarily under the control of the Dzungars, would pass to China.

Abylai Khan wisely began to take deliberate steps to resolve this situation in the interests of the people. Among them, the joint actions of Abylai Khan with Amirsana, a courageous military commander of the Dzungars at that time, a real contender for the throne of Dzungaria in the second half of the 50s of the XVIII century, were important in ensuring the unity of the Kazakh land, preventing bloodshed and resisting Chinese aggression in any way. As for the development of the events that preceded it, which led to these historic movements and decisions on the fate of the country in that period “Davatsi, who had been supported by Abylai Khan, lost the battle, took his nephews Amirsana and Bainjur and fled to the Kazakhs in the spring of 1751, where they were received by Kozhabergen Batyr, the ruler of the prisons. Dzungarian ruler Lama Dorje demanded the return of his political rivals. In the summer of 1752, the Horde convened a gathering of batyrs and rubas of the Middle and Great Zhuz, where Abylai Khan and most of the batyrs supported Davatsi. Angered by the Kazakhs' refusal to extradite Davati Noyan, along with Amirsana, the Dzungarian ruler Lama Dorje sent an army to the Middle Zhuz, led by Sain-Bolek and Shadyr”¹⁷. According to historical sources, “Lama Dalaja Davatsi and Amirsana, with the support of the Kazakhs (Abylai Khan), decided to avoid this warrior among the people in order to prevent them from becoming a powerful force with their help. He immediately sent a select force of 60.000 men to capture the rebels, either alive or dead”¹⁸.

However, further historical events showed that Lama Dorje did not achieve his goal. Nevertheless, “In the summer of 1753, Dzungar troops invaded the Kazakh steppes again, but Davatsi's daring campaign in September 1753 into the depths of Dzungaria led to the assassination of Lama Dorje. Davatsi was declared a new ally, but peace in the steppes did not last long. Davatsi could not hold on to power. His former ally and relative, Amirsana, who was supported by the Kazakhs, opposed him. The escalation of the situation was skillfully exploited by the Qing Empire, which pursued an active policy of aggression in Central Asia. By the mid of the XVIII century, Qing troops were stationed on the border of Dzungaria and preparing to invade. The weakening of Davatsi and the victories of Amirsana and her Kazakh allies hastened the resolution of the problem. In February 1755, the Chinese emperor Qian-Lun

¹⁶ Zavalishin, I., *Description of Western Siberia*, Publication of the Society for the Distribution of Useful Books, Moscow, 1862.

¹⁷ Asylbekov, M.Kh., Kozybaev, M. y Abylkhozhin, Zh.B. (eds.), *History of Kazakhstan (from ancient times to the present)*, Atamura, Almaty, 2010.

¹⁸ Spassky, G. (ed.), *op. cit.*

ordered an attack. The official proof of the invasion was Amirsana's request to the Qing government for assistance in the fierce struggle. In the spring, Chinese troops, together with Amirsana's troops, entered Dzungaria and easily defeated Davaci. However, subsequent events showed that the goals of the Amirsana and Qing Empires were completely opposite"¹⁹. According to Chinese sources, "Amirsana was cruel and unstable. In order to conquer the Ili, he led the Chinese army and with their help wanted to become the khan of Dzungaria. The beginning was quite favorable for him, but Amirsana, seeing that the Beijing Palace had a different important plan and things were not going as planned, decided to revolt. The attack was captured and Amirsana defeated them severely"²⁰.

According to historical documents of the time: "Amirsana, rejoicing in Davaci's misfortune, aspired to become the ruler of Dzungaria. He waited for the Chinese troops to return. The emperor's commanders, Bandi and Ojunan, were unable to find food for the large army in the wild and untreated, and had to send them to Turfan and Hami, where there were additional shops. A part of their chosen army remained in the Mirzin region to prepare appropriate decrees for the administration of the newly conquered lands. During this period, Amirsana began to implement the plan. He secretly gathered the lamas, princes and zaisans who did not like the Chinese arrogance and their new instructions, and offered them ways to break free, saying that he was ready to risk his life to secure their freedom if they unanimously helped him and gave Dzungaria full control. The terms and trust were accepted with gratitude and confirmed by an oath. Amirsana waved the flag of the Supreme Commander. Seeing this, everyone's desire for freedom increased, and everyone took up arms and unanimously asked Amirsana to start a campaign against China. With a small army, they were sent to Mirjin, where Bandi and Ojunan were located, and they were suddenly attacked and killed. Then he came to the end of the Chinese army, which was not rushing to China, chased it and completely destroyed it. Undeterred, he reached Hami, plundered Hami's country, and returned to the Ili River to celebrate his victory"²¹.

Amirsana's bold and courageous actions drew the Qing Empire's attention to her. It was decided to punish and destroy the Dzungarian people. It is from this period that Amirsana's power can be considered to have restored the Dzungarian state against the dominant Chinese Empire and to have waged a war of liberation for its independence. From that time Amirsana became the leader of the liberation movement. Abylai Khan's help to Amirsana, who was defeated by the enemy at that time and sought refuge in him, should be considered as a good deed for the helpless people. According to the following historical sources: "He (Emperor Qian-Lun of China) promised not to stop the evil Amirsana, but to avenge the massacre of thousands of his troops. By his decree, two large detachments were organized and sent to Dzungaria in a hurry to either win or die there. Amirsana did not want to take part in the direct battle, but instead wanted to weaken the Chinese army with

¹⁹ Zavalishin, I., *Description of Western Siberia*, Publication of the Society for the Distribution of Useful Books, Moscow, 1862.

²⁰ Spassky, G. (ed.), *op. cit.*

²¹ *Idem.*

relentless attacks. Despite this, the Chinese commanders separated the Dzungar group and forced their leader to flee”²². Thus, Abylai Khan again helped him in this struggle. Abylai Khan's bold move alarmed “the Qing authorities, who immediately sent a number of embassies to the Middle Zhuz, demanding an immediate end to support for the rebels. Abylai Khan constantly assured the ambassadors of his loyalty to the Qing Empire, but did not stop helping the Dzungars. As a wise politician, he understood that Dzungaria would play an intermediate role in protecting the Kazakh settlements from Chinese expansion”²³.

In other words, Abylai Khan, who saw the brutal policy of the Chinese Empire with Dzungaria at that time, and predicted that the Qing Empire would not only invade Dzungaria, but also the Kazakh lands by force of arms, sought help to resist the Chinese aggression at such a critical time. It is known that this was the reason for the effective agreements with the Russian Empire at that time. In addition, Abylai Khan, a visionary politician, planned to provide active military assistance to Amirsana, a prominent Dzungar leader and aspirant to the country's supreme power, when threatened by China. It is clear that one of the real and courageous actions of the Kazakh ruler at that time was to reach an agreement, at least temporarily, with Amirsana, who still had no weapons and wanted to take his land from China. It became clear to Abylai Khan that the dzungars, whose integrity was violated and disintegrated, did not pose a serious threat to the people at the same time, who for centuries created a large military-influential state in Central Asia and turned it into hotbeds of war, but suffered great defeats from the joint forces of the Kazakhs and the Chinese troops.

From this point of view, the Chinese data on the occurrence of this purposeful relationship between Abylai Khan and Amirsana in the 50s of the XVIII century give the following information: “This is how the rebel went to Abylai Khan and hid. The military leaders said they wanted Amirsana to be captured and handed over to the Chinese government, but Abylai Khan not only resisted, sent Koji Borke and his troops to Amirsana, where they headed for Nula; He himself marched west with a thousand cavalry, joined his assistant at the foot of the Kaokazalak Mountains, and prepared to wait for our (Chinese) troops”²⁴. Zh. Kasymbayev gives the following information about Abylai Khan's decision in connection with the escalation of the Kazakh-Dzungar and Kazakh-Chinese events: “Decide for yourself, – urges to compromise. Abylai Khan tried to help the Oirat warrior”²⁵. Russian scientist I. Zlatkin stated that “Amirsana called Abylai Khan for help in the fight against the Qing army. Abylai Khan agreed to help and came to Dzungaria with 10.000 troops. Knowing that the great Manchu army was approaching, Amirsana left Dzungaria and fled to the Middle Zhuz to Abylai Khan and found refuge there again”²⁶. Thus, Amirsana went to the Kazakh Khanate of Abylai Khan and survived²⁷.

²² *Idem.*

²³ Asylbekov, M.Kh., Kozybaev, M. y Abylkhodzhin, Zh.B., *op. cit.*

²⁴ Asfendiyarov, S.D. y Kunte, P.A. (eds.), *The past of Kazakhstan in sources and materials*, Kazakhstan, Almaty, 1997.

²⁵ Kasymbayev, Zh., *Abylai Khan. History, personality, time*, Aruna, Almaty, 2003.

²⁶ Zlatkin, I., *History of the Dzungar Khanate (1635-1758)*, Nauka, Moscow, 1983.

²⁷ Mamyryly, K., *The struggle of the Kazakh people against the Dzungar invaders*, Nauka, Almaty, 2000.

Such relations between the Kazakhs and the Dzungars, which arose in connection with the Amirsana, were considered by the Qing Empire as a favorable period for the realization of their ultimate goal. That is why his goal at that time was to take revenge for the betrayal of Amirsana and the destruction of the Chinese army in the Ili valley led to its complete destruction. The Manchus massacred the vast majority of the country's indigenous Oirats. Commanders Zhao Hoi and Fu De completely destroyed the Oirats in their path. He ruthlessly slaughtered everyone, children, women and the elder people. More than a million people were killed. The extreme cruelty of the Chinese forced the Oirats to seek refuge among the Kazakhs²⁸. As a result of a brutal campaign by the Chinese Empire, Dzungaria ceased to exist. From this period, the Dzungars fully joined the Chinese Empire. A commander-in-chief was appointed to rule the country, and troops were stationed in various places. The demands of the rulers of China to Abylai Khan showed that the Kazakhs were warned by the destruction of an entire nation by such a catastrophic invasion. "The fall of the Dzungar state changed the political situation in the region. The Middle and Great Zhuz of the Kazakhs were confronted with a huge aggressive Qing Empire, which also made plans for aggression against Kazakhstan. In the spring of 1756, Abylai Khan was sent a letter demanding the extradition of Amirsana. Think hard about what will happen to you in the future, and then you will regret it, but it will be too late. The emperor threatened the Kazakhs. However, Abylai Khan decided to stand up to the Chinese"²⁹.

According to historical records, a new embassy was sent to Abylai Khan after the Qing military leadership learned of Amirsana's whereabouts, "Demanding the surrender of the Amirsana and the opening of a war if this did not happen. After strong opposition, the Qing government ordered the armies to move to Kazakhstan in two groups, north and south. Abylai Khan gathered troops from the Kazakh army and the people of Amirsana and rebelled against the Qin army"³⁰. As a result, "in the summer of 1756, the territory of Kazakhstan was invaded by the Qing army, which was divided into two large groups. The army in the north was led by General Hadaha of Manchuria, and in the west by General Dardana. The first conflict between the Kazakhs and the Chinese took place in May 1756 in the Chagan Oba district"³¹. It is known that the war will last a long time, with heavy losses on both sides. The Kalmyk comrade, led by Amirsana, will fight alongside the Kazakhs. "Determined not to give up their homeland, Kazakh troops of 10.000 men struck several heavy blows in the valleys of the Kalmyk Tolagai and Ayagoz rivers"³². Fearing the persistent resistance of the Kazakh troops led by Abylai Khan and his longevity, the Qing Empire tried to persuade the Kazakh Khanate to agree to its demands. In this context, according to

²⁸ Basin, V.Ya., *Russia and Kazakh khanates in the XVI-XVIII centuries*, Nauka, Almaty, 1971.

²⁹ Asylbekov, M.Kh., Kozybaev, M. y Abylkhozhin, Zh.B., *op. cit.*

³⁰ Suleumenov, R.B. y Moiseev, V.A., *op. cit.*

³¹ Asylbekov, M.Kh., Kozybaev, M. y Abylkhozhin, Zh.B., *op. cit.*

³² Magauin, M., *Alphabet of Kazakh history*, Kazakhstan, Almaty, 1995.

A.I. Levshin: “In 1756 the Chinese ambassador came to him”³³. However, the Chinese leadership did not receive the necessary response from Abylai Khan.

At the end of 1756, hostilities broke out again in Dzungaria. Kazakh troops appeared in the Upper Irtysh and Ayagoz, and Amirsana again led the Dzungar movement against China. However, the outcome of the struggle was clear. During the spring, the Qing forces defeated the scattered groups of insurgents and in the summer of 1757 entered the Kazakh lands through the Tarbagatai Mountains³⁴. According to Chinese sources, Amirsana, who suffered the last blow from the Chinese punitive troops sent to her and was forced to seek help, went to Abylai Khan this time as well: Amirsana again fled to the Kazakhs³⁵. Despite the fact that the fate of the people of the situation is decisive, in the valley of the river Ayagoz Abylai Khan made an agreement with Amirsana and decided not to extradite him to China. This agreement was signed in 1757 by the “Treaty of May”, which has been passed down from generation to generation of people. While Abylai Khan was fighting against Kalmyks, the defeated Kalmyks left Kulja with a large army on behalf of Ezhn Khan. Abylai Khan also made a deal with more than a thousand hands on the muddy water. A blue stallion and a black ram were slaughtered. This place was called “May water”³⁶.

According to S. Lipovtsov: “Amirsana regained her strength and made an agreement with the Kazakhs to help her”³⁷. That is, the uprising in Dzungaria and the active support of Amirsana by Abylai, as well as other Kazakh heroes, thwarted the plans of the Qing Empire. Abylai Khan's hopes to put his own man on the throne of Dzungaria, or even to use Amirsana in the struggle for the return of the ancient Kazakh lands previously occupied by the Dzungars, forced him to actively support Amirsana. Historical events also show that one of Abylai Khan's main goals was to demonstrate the strength of the Kazakh hand led by brave heroes and the combined forces of the Dzungar insurgent group, which came to them at a critical time to help the common enemy in the face of imminent war with China. The following historical document states that Abylai Khan always supported Amirsana: “Conqueror of the West” Jiang Jun Dardana informed: “Prisoners said that since Amirsana set foot on Kazakh land, the old aksakals of our zhuz have obeyed the shurshit and reached the bottom of the four oirats. Now he has betrayed us and fled to our land, which brings us misery. If we don't catch him and return him, we will never be able to live in peace”. However, Abylai Khan said: “Amirsana is like a sparrow that escapes death and protects it. It was a challenge to capture him and hand him over, he agreed with Amirsana and ordered him to gather troops from the Kazakh tribes”³⁸.

³³ Levshin, A.I., *Description of the Kyrgyz-Cossack or Kyrgyz-Kaysats hordes and steppes*, AST, Moscow, 2016.

³⁴ Asylbekov, M.Kh., Kozybaev, M. y Abylkhozhin, Zh.B., *op. cit.*

³⁵ Asfendiyarov, S.D. y Kunte, P.A. (eds.), *The past of Kazakhstan in sources and materials*, Kazakhstan, Almaty, 1997.

³⁶ Asylbekov, M.Kh., Kozybaev, M. y Abylkhozhin, Zh.B., *op. cit.*

³⁷ Suleumenov, R.B. y Moiseev, V.A., *op. cit.*

³⁸ Khafizova, K.Sh., (ed.), *Qing Empire and Kazakh Khanates*, Nauka, Almaty, 1989.

It is known that Abylai Khan, a politician who supported Amirsana, who still had a reputation among the Dzungars, wanted to use her as a bulwark against China. At the same time, Abylai Khan planned to visit the historical sites of the Kazakhs, who left China under the influence of China, at any time fulfilling the demand of China to extradite Amirsana. “Over time, the situation changed, and the Chinese military leaders were constantly attacked by the enemy and were forced to attack from the Dzungarian lands. This is how the campaign ended in failure”. In other words, the historical data of that period show that the combined hands of Amirsana and Abylai Khan successfully attacked the dominant Chinese army. “However, the Chinese army chief Fu De followed with a large cavalry force and warned Abylai Khan and the sultans that anyone who took refuge in the traitorous Amirsana would become an enemy of the empire and would be punished with weapons like Dzungaria”. In this regard, “the Chinese-Qin detachment, knowing that Amirsana was hiding in the region of the migration of Abylai Khan, went to the Middle Zhuz”³⁹. At the same time, paying attention to Abylai Khan’s relations with Russia, the Chinese government wanted to maintain peace with Russia. Therefore, “at the end of 1756, a letter was sent from Beijing to St. Petersburg informing that Amirsana was a traitor who had fled to the Kazakhs, and that the latter (the Kazakhs) had been sent an army demanding the extradition of her and her supporters”⁴⁰.

As further historical events showed that “The last battle of the Kazakhs with the Chinese took place in Ayagoz district. By August, the Chinese had reached the Irtys in the area of the Semipalatinsk fortress. Kazakh rulers began to realize that the struggle for the restoration of Dzungaria had no prospects. Abylai Khan, Abylpeiz Sultan and Kozhabergen Batyr negotiated with the Chinese and admitted their defeat, and Kazakhstan's further relations with China depended on two main issues. The first and most important was the land issue. The Kazakhs sought to reclaim pastures, especially the rich lands of the Irtys and Ili valleys and Tarbagatai. And the cinders were scattered all over the place that had previously belonged to Dzungaria”⁴¹. During the meeting with the Kazakh ambassadors, the Chinese administration sent a letter to Abylai Khan, in which they wrote: “Abylai Khan, you are a foreign country located far away. If we treat you like a Mongol, you will be under pressure. So keep up the good work. If you send an apostle to greet the king, you will have mercy on him”. As for the words of your ambassador: “Tarbagatai was our ancient pasture, and the king gave it to us, these lands have just been calmed down. The region is still in turmoil. The king, in fact, was going to cut the land for you, but you did not earn us, you became a nation. Therefore, it is against the order of the state to give these lands to you as a gift. If, as I said before, you capture Amirsana and bring her back, then those lands can be blessed”⁴².

According to historical data and archival documents, all the relations between the Kazakh people and the Qing Empire during this period were connected with the extradition of Abylai Khan Amirsana to China. It was determined that the Chinese

³⁹ Spassky, G., *op. cit.*

⁴⁰ Zlatkin, I., *op. cit.*

⁴¹ Asylbekov, M.Kh., Kozybaev, M. y Abylkhodzhin, Zh.B., *op. cit.*

⁴² Taishybay, Z.S., *Abylai Khan. Collection of documents and materials related to his life and work*, Astana, Petropavlovsk, 2005.

government attaches great importance to this requirement, and if the Kazakh Khanate does not meet specific requirements, military force will be used. In particular, on September 1, 1757, the Qing emperor said to the Abylai Khan: “You are now loyal to the culture of our country. But you should understand that all the lands occupied by the Dzungars are ours. And you have to protect the soil of your country. Do not encroach on our possessions”⁴³. This meant that the historical sites of the Middle Zhuz tribes of the Kazakhs, occupied during the Dzungar Khanate – Altai, Tarbagatai, Lake Zaisan, the Black Irtysh – went to China. That is, there was a threat of disintegration of the Kazakh land, the disintegration of the people. As for Amirsana's subsequent failures “At first Davaci's ally and friend, then turned to his enemy, first he sold his people and sided with the Qing Empire, and for the next two years he waged a war of liberation against the invaders, the banner of this liberation struggle. he ended his short but restless life (he lived only 35 years)”. In particular “Amirsana and her relatives fled first to the Kazakhs and then to Siberia, and in July of that year appeared in Tobolsk. Amirsana died of smallpox in Tobolsk” Abylai Khan⁴⁴.

This was the result of Abylai Khan's long-term joint efforts with Amirsana to protect the Kazakh lands from the Qin Empire's targeted campaigns, which eventually led to such a series of military and political events. After the above events, Abylai Khan immediately launched a successful campaign against the Dzungars, who had brought so much suffering to the country in the previous century. According to historical documents: “In 1757, the Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz, led by Abylai Khan and the hero Koshkarbai, invaded Altai and took away a large number of captives Tolengits (Tolengit – Altai Kalmyks)”⁴⁵. This information showed Abylai Khan's uncompromising attitude towards the ultimate plan – a complete victory over external enemies – by taking individual steps to achieve a certain goal. The success of the campaign also demonstrated the strength of its military power to the Chinese Empire. That is why Bogdykhan (Chinese emperor) wanted to give the “Dzungarian lands” to the Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz in order to feel the military power of Abylai Khan and not to take him out of his influence⁴⁶. The following Russian facts gave concrete examples of Abylai Khan's skillful and far-sighted diplomatic policy with his predecessors in defending the historical Kazakh land and preserving the unity of the country, and his real prestige between China and Russia.

It was informed: “After defeating the Dzungars, the Chinese continued to the west, to the Middle Horde of the Kyrgyz-Kaisaks, but the far-sighted Abylai Khan confronted the victors and acknowledged his surrender to Bogdykhan. From that time on, the Chinese took possession of Abylai Khan's lands, and on behalf of Qian-Lun immediately sent him a credentials and a calendar, or conditions of subordination to China, which he was promoted to the rank of prince. In 1758, the Kyrgyz-Kaisaks of

⁴³ Asylbekov, M.Kh., Kozybaev, M. y Abylkhodzhin, Zh.B., *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ Beketov, A.N. (ed.), *Notes of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society*, Imperial Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg, 1861.

⁴⁵ Nikitin, V.P. (ed.), *Memorable book of the Semipalatinsk region*, Semipalatinsk Regional Statistical Committee, Semipalatinsk, 1902.

⁴⁶ Basin, V.Ya., *op. cit.*

the Middle Horde moved closer to the Irtysh River and settled in the liberated Dzungar lands: Abylai Khan settled the Shar-Kurban River and Kylshyk, and Abilfaiz settled in the Chagyly region and the Chagan River valley. In the same year, the Chinese conquered East Turkestan and built the city of Kulja in the Ili region, and in 1761 the city of Shaueshek, founded in 1761 in the son of Amirsana (1754), was moved to the valley of the river Emil⁴⁷. In this situation, as a result of repeated embassy agreements with the rulers of the Qin Empire, the much-needed relations with China, including the land issue, were resolved in a mutually beneficial way for the Kazakhs through bilateral agreements. “For example, the Kazakh embassies in 1757 recognized their rights to Tarbagatai, in 1759 to the lands upstream of the Irtysh, in 1760 to the upper reaches of the Ili. The Chinese agreed and returned the lands legally owned by the Kazakhs for promising to assist in the fight against the Dzungar rebels⁴⁸. As a result of such a wise and courageous policy, Abylai Khan's name became a motto. “The deep respect for his name among the Chinese was so deep that even after the death of Abylai Khan, he sent gifts to some of his descendants⁴⁹.”

As a result of such far-sighted actions, in the second half of the XVIII century, the name and activity of Abylai Khan went beyond the Kazakh people, and he became an influential statesman in Central Asia. The Russian and Qin Empires, which aspired to individual dominance in the region, always aimed to attract him to their side, thereby exercising power in the Kazakh steppes. Abylai Khan, who understood this situation correctly, established a special relationship with each of them in the interests of his country and always achieved his goals. Abylai Khan's far-sighted role in preserving the Kazakh Khanate as much as possible and ensuring the integrity of its people can be clearly seen in the official Russian data of the time. For example, in the work of the famous Russian historian of the early XIX century G. Spassky it was written that: “Abylai Khan in 1779 was recognized by Russia as a real khan of the Middle Horde. Therefore, an interpreter and an official with 40 military teams were sent to St. Peter's Fortress to hand over the medals to him. However, Abylai Khan refused to visit St. Peter's Fortress because he had previously received support from the Kyrgyz and was elected khan and confirmed as a khan by a representative of the Chinese court⁵⁰. He shows courage and determination to pursue his own interests.

“Abylai Khan received special privileges by the decision of the Chinese palace. Prior to his election as Abylai Khan, he sent his relative to Russia, through which he received a diploma and power of attorney from Vice-Chancellor Vorontsov, with whom he was appointed by the Board of Foreign Affairs and was paid 300 rubles a year. In addition, a wooden house was built on Mount Engistau near the Ishim River”. In addition, “The Decree of the Board of Foreign Affairs of August 16, 1771 allowed the Kyrgyz to be released into the interior of the system in accordance with the requirement that the herds be located away from settlements and highways⁵¹. Describing the Russian-Kazakh relations in the Middle Zhuz M. Arapov, a translator

⁴⁷ Nikitin, V.P. (ed.), *op. cit.*

⁴⁸ Asylbekov, M.Kh., Kozybaev, M. y Abylkhozhin, Zh.B., *op. cit.*

⁴⁹ Yanushkevich, A., *Diaries and letters from a trip to the Kazakh steppes*, Altyn kitap, Astana, 2007.

⁵⁰ Spassky, G., *op. cit.*

⁵¹ Russian State Historical Archive, *op. cit.*

who returned to Orenburg, wrote a letter to the Governor-General demanding the return of Abylai Khan's Siberian Provincial Office. handed over. M. Arapov went on to say that today Abylai Khan and the whole Middle Zhuz were happy to capture many thousands of Dzungar-Kalmyks, and according to those present, they were engaged in Dzungar affairs. M. Arapov also told the Secret Adviser I. Neplyuyev: "The number of troops in the forts and redoubts is small, not to mention the 5.000 peasants registered at the Kuznetsk factories"⁵². From this it was Abylai Khan's courageous actions in the Kazakh-Russian-Dzungarian-Chinese relations will be revealed in the official statement.

Here is what he said: "During the most difficult period for the people in the middle of the XVIII century, Abylai Khan showed not only a skilful command, but also an example of great diplomatic ability. Having an active embassy and trade relations with Beijing, Abylai Khan was able to renounce joint or parallel obligations not only against Russia but also against China during this period"⁵³. For example, after the defeat of the Dzungars, the Qin Empire began to openly declare the annexation of the former Kazakh lands of the khanate, which were temporarily occupied by the Kazakhs. In particular, Amirsana, who witnessed the death of Amirsana, who had revolted against the Chinese, recalled that Abylai Khan had always helped her. The Horde began to declare its desire to take possession of the Kyrgyz lands and the right to rule over them⁵⁴. This was a clear demonstration of China's aggressive policy towards Kazakhstan during this period. However, it is known that Abylai Khan's close relations with Russia at that time, as a result of which the Russian Empire disagreed with this declared demand, did not carry out the plan of the Qin Empire. According to well-known Russian historian of the late XIX century B.G. Gerasimov it was written: "Abylai Khan, the khan of the Middle Zhuz, is a special person. He pursued a far-sighted policy with its neighbors Russia, China and Dzungaria. Abylai Khan acted independently in his work, and all his goals were to ensure the political independence of the Kyrgyz people. Abylai Khan is undoubtedly a great statesman and politician, a great politician. Abylai Khan gained great prestige in the Kazakh steppes"⁵⁵.

In short, the Kazakh scientist of the XIX century, a descendant of Abylai Khan Sh.Sh. Walikhanov said: "The XVIII century was the century of Kazakh chivalry"⁵⁶. Abylai Khan's genius and great personality are the pride of all his descendants. N. Nazarbayev wrote in "The unity of the will of the people" that: "The heroic deeds of Abylai Khan, who knelt down with his heroes and showed great examples of heroism, and became a source of inspiration for the people, became one of the golden pillars of the revival of the Kazakh spirit in ancient times"⁵⁷. At the same time, through such thoughtful actions, he fully showed himself on the stage of Central Asian history as a talented head of state, a far-sighted politician at the international level, an expert diplomat, a courageous and well-organized commander. Abylai Khan wisely

⁵² Historical Archive of the Omsk region, *op. cit.*

⁵³ Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, *op. cit.*

⁵⁴ Babkov, I.F., *Memories of my service in Western Siberia in 1859-1875*, Tipografiya V.F. Kirshbauma, Saint Petersburg, 1912.

⁵⁵ State Archive of the East Kazakhstan region, *op. cit.*

⁵⁶ Walikhanov, Sh.Sh., *op. cit.*

⁵⁷ Nazarbayev, N. *In the flow of history*. Almaty: Atamura, Almaty, 1999.

identified the tensions in the middle of the XVIII century as the main threat to his country in international relations, as a result of the gathering of Kazakh heroes against the fiercest enemy, as well as the necessary interaction with Amirsana:

1. It became clear to the Qing Empire that if organized and united, the nomads would multiply, prolong the war, and cause significant damage, so the Qing army was forced to stop the attack and return the occupied territories, and all further relations with the Kazakhs began to be resolved through embassies.

2. The aristocracy, heroes and the whole Kazakh society understood that the Dzungars of this period, especially the independence of the country created by the Chinese Empire, were united by the power to repel the threat to the well-being of the people. After these events, the consolidation of the Kazakh community around Abylai Khan began to intensify.

3. Abylai Khan's heroes, as well as Amirsana's help and repeated resistance to the Qing forces, determined the strength of the Kazakh Khanate in the country and neighboring peoples, and even enemies, Abylai Khan's position as a recognized statesman, a talented and brave military commander.

4. Historical data show that every initiative and action of Abylai Khan to preserve the security and integrity of the native people was supported by all the people and encouraged them to heroic deeds. As a result, the unity and integrity of the Kazakh people in this critical period was maximized.

5. His prestige grew among the rulers of the two empires surrounding the Kazakh people. Both sides (Russia and China) have taken all possible measures to attract him to their side. In general, Abylai Khan's demands were met and they were constantly taken into account.

6. As a result, before the death of Abylai Khan, the unity of people, the integrity of the land, as well as the system of steppe power were preserved in the Kazakh land between the two empires.

Conclusions

Authors believe that the following recommendations can be made, noting that at present the planned work is being done to promote the history of nation in the country and in the other countries. Continue to pay maximum attention to the systematic publication in Kazakh scientific journals and scientific journals of the other countries of the most vivid and heroic periods of the history of Kazakhstan, covering several thousand years from antiquity to the present day, with the help of accurate historical data. Including regular attention to the systematic publication of the names and deeds of historical figures who have served immeasurably for the freedom and free development and future of country at the global level.

Active participation in obtaining their historical assessment at the international level through specific scientific activities. Make proposals for the publication of the life and work of Abylai Khan among such people, along with historical works, in the form of documentaries, feature TV series in the Kazakh and foreign languages in the context of modern requirements. Authors believe that the implementation of these measures will contribute to the formation of a strong sense of patriotism in the minds of young generation, the emergence of respect and interest in the country's past at

the international level and the transformation of the country's history into an integral part of world history.

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