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## **ЖИЗНЬ И ГОСУДАРСТВЕННАЯ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ УАЛИ ХАНА ВО ВТОРОЙ ПОЛОВИНЕ XVIII – НАЧАЛЕ XIX ВЕКОВ: ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ ПРОБЛЕМЫ**

### *Аннотация*

Период правления правопреемника великого Абылай хана является одним из самых продолжительных среди среднеазиатских правителей, при этом о недовольствах ханствования Уали в источниках упоминается до скудости мало. Имеется ряд работ, в которых лишь констатируется факт существования в истории такой личности как Уали хан, и непосредственно временного периода его правления. В настоящее время жизнь и деятельность Уали хана в имеющейся литературе отражена лишь отдельными эпизодами, в совокупности имеет в изобилии так называемые «белые пятна» и в некоторых случаях характерна наличием тенденциозности. Все ныне известные работы о казахском правителе носят эпизодический, фрагментарный характер и в меньшей степени представлены в научных работах.

**Ключевые слова:** история Казахстана, Казахские ханства, Средний жуз, Абылай хан, Уали хан, Российская империя, Цинская империя, историография.

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## **XVIII ҒАСЫРДЫҢ ЕКІНШІ ЖАРТЫСЫ МЕН XIX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ БАСЫНДАҒЫ УӘЛИ ХАННЫҢ ӨМІРІ МЕН МЕМЛЕКЕТТІК ҚЫЗМЕТІ: МӘСЕЛЕНІҢ ТАРИХНАМАСЫ**

### *Аңдатпа*

Ұлы Абылайханның құқықтық мирасқорының билік ету кезеңі бір Орта Азия билеушілерінің ішіндегі ең ұзыны болып табылады, Уәлидің хан билігінің наразылығы дереккөздерде өте аз айтылған. Онда тек қана өмір сүру тарих фактілер көрсетілген бірқатар жұмыстар бар Уәлихан сияқты тұлғаның тарихы және тікелей басқару уақыт кезеңі жазылған. Қазіргі уақытта Уәлиханның өмірі мен қызметі қолда бар әдебиеттер тек жеке эпизодтармен, жиынтықта көрінеді ол «ақ дақтар» деп аталады және кейбір жағдайларда тенденцияның болуымен сипатталады. Барлық бүгінгі күнге белгілі жұмыстар қазақ билеушісінің эпизодтық, фрагменттік сипаты түрінде берілген және ғылыми еңбектерде аз дәрежеде ұсынылған.

**Түйін сөздер:** Қазақстан тарихы, Қазақ хандықтары, Орта жүз, Абылай хан, Уәли хан, Ресей империясы, Цин империясы, тарихнама.

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## **THE LIFE AND STATE ACTIVITIES OF UALI KHAN IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 18<sup>TH</sup> - THE BEGINNING OF 19TH CENTURIES: HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE PROBLEM**

### *Abstract*

The period of reign of the great successor Ablai Khan is one of the longest among the Central Asian rulers, while the discontent of the Uali khanate is mentioned in the sources to scarcity. There are a number of works in which only the fact of the existence in history of such a person as Uali Khan, and the immediate period of his reign, is stated. Currently, the life and work of Uali Khan in the literature reflects only individual episodes, collectively it has an abundance of so-called «white spots» and in some cases are characterized by the presence of tendentiousness. All currently known works about the Kazakh ruler are episodic, fragmentary and to a lesser extent presented in scientific works.

**Key words:** history of Kazakhstan, Kazakh Khanates, Middle Zhuz, Ablai Khan, Uali Khan, Russian Empire, Qing dynasty, historiography.

Kazakhstan is a country in the very center of Eurasia - a country with an ancient distinctive culture and rich, unique traditions. And today in Kazakhstan the past, present and future are surprisingly intertwined. The peculiarities of the national culture determine the psychological appearance, worldview of Kazakhstanis, as in any other human societies. National culture is a multifaceted form of preserving and transmitting «historical memory» mainly due to the fact that culture is based on national history.

The accession of the Kazakh khanates to the Russian Empire remains a controversial issue. It is worth noting that, based on historical realities, anthropogenic and climatic-geographical factors, one can come to the conclusion about the complexity of the initial mutual understanding in the dialogue of representatives of different civilizations that had significant cultural differences. The historical materials known to date, which give an idea of the past events, do not give answers to all the available questions, but approximately restore the history of the «accession». Historical sources show that the initial message for turning to the empire in a difficult geopolitical situation was the conclusion of a kind of military alliance with the northern neighbor. Seen as a temporary political maneuver, the relationship brought neither peace nor security.

First, a whole layer of cultural differences in the cause-and-effect relationships of military assistance and the incentives of both sides played a role. Secondly, a certain confusion was introduced by anthropological factors, the personal ambitions of individual government officials. Thirdly, the process of accession was intensified by the political ambitions of the Russian Empire. Later this led to disappointing consequences, the elimination of the traditional institution of the khan's power. Nevertheless, following the priorities of the «Great Game», the Russian Empire gradually unfolded its expansionist policy in the direction that had opened up, taking advantage of the small gap that had appeared. The interest of tsarism was due to many reasons, but mainly by the fact that there was a possibility of competition from European countries, while the empire's own economy was undergoing a crisis of the serf industry.

The Kazakhs, for their part, promised to protect the territories bordering the Russian Empire, to provide a safer passage for trade caravans to the oases of Central Asia. The steppe nobility was more interested in a reliable military alliance. For Kazakh leaders, these agreements were purely formal, implying a free, voluntary form of patronage, which could be canceled unilaterally when it became appropriate. In return, they hoped for support against their enemies, both external and in some cases internal, mutually beneficial trade relations and grazing benefits along the Russian border. The tsarist government took these agreements more seriously and assumed that the Kazakhs themselves would voluntarily become Russian subjects; but in reality the Russian Empire had no real influence on the territory of the Kazakhs. This situation, to one degree or another, remained until tsarism established a clear military command over the steppe in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Despite the difficult foreign policy situation and the presence of internal disagreements in the Kazakh lands, at this stage of relations, the Russian Empire did not have the opportunity to open the «gates to Asia» on its own terms. The indisputable authority of Ablai, deserved by his personal valor and heroism in fierce combat battles, maintained a high reputation and an undeniable right to a dominant position in society. Ablai set the tone for relations between the Kazakh khanates, the Russian and Qing empires. As a way out for the Russian Empire, the use of political intrigue and flirting with representatives of militant state formations remained, being the most interested of the parties. The successor to the great collector of the Kazakh lands, continued the policy of Ablai Khan, and, thanks to the foundation built by his father, he held back Russian colonial ambitions for more than a long forty-year period.

The political moves of the Russian Empire were aimed at discrediting the representatives of the elite of the Kazakh khanates, who, despite the difficult martial law, did not intend to erect imperial power on a pedestal. The Russian Empire consistently strengthened its presence in the steppe region by erecting lines of fortresses under the plausible pretext of protecting civilians from the raids of the Oirats troops. A similar explanation of the reasons for the construction of such outposts was given for Dzungaria. Thus, in a relatively short period of time, all fortified posts under construction formed a broad foothold for Russian policy in the region. Preventive measures brought tsarism to a greater extent towards the end of the 18th century. The political intrigues of the empire revolved around the sultans with enormous powers in Kazakh society.

A whole epoch in the history of Kazakhstan is associated with the name of Uali Khan, the successor of Ablai Khan. The materials now known, to some extent giving an idea of the historical period of the 18th century, do not completely shed light on the problem of the role of his personality in history. However, according to these data, it is possible to reconstruct, at least approximately, the history of the life and activities of Uali Khan, who is the last ruler of the Middle Zhuz, officially recognized at the international level by both empires - Russian Empire and Qing dynasty.

Uali Khan as a prominent historical figure is of great interest for national science. The years of life of the ruler of the Middle Zhuz are not exactly known. According to one version, according to the installed tombstone in Kokshetau at the place of the khan's burial, he lived from 1738 to 1820 (Figure 1). Another option is suggested by some Russian and Chinese sources as 1741-1821. The period of reign of the great successor Ablai Khan is one of the longest among the Central Asian rulers, while the discontent of the Uali khanate is mentioned in the sources to scarcity. The history of wars counts thousands of years and often in world history information about periods of relative «calm» is less often preserved, yet everything is learned in comparison. Unexpectedly, however, there are a number of works in which only the fact of the existence in history of such a person as Uali Khan and the immediate period of his reign is stated. Unfortunately, at present, the life and work of Uali Khan in the available scientific literature is reflected only in isolated episodes, in the aggregate it has an abundance of so-called «blank spots» and in some cases is characterized by bias. All currently known works about the Kazakh ruler are episodic, fragmentary and to a lesser extent presented in scientific works. In this regard, the search for information in historical sources and a thorough study of this historical personality is not a trivial task.



Figure 1 – gravestone of Uali Khan (The monument is located at coordinates 53°17'8»N 69°39'51»E in the Zerendinsky district, southeast of the village of Kazakhstan)

The available historical literature can be conditionally combined into four groups, structured by the method and level of organization and presentation of the material, as well as by chronological sequence. The first group includes oral historical sources, the second group includes the research of the authors of the pre-revolutionary period, the third group combines the studies of the Newest time and the fourth group includes updated materials and research of the independent period of the history of Kazakhstan.

Significant materials on the history of Kazakhs at the beginning of the New Time were left by the outstanding scientist-educator of the Kazakh people, grandson of Khan Uali - Ch.Ch. Valikhanov. He made a significant contribution to the preservation of national history by writing down many oral traditions. The scientist recorded many valuable oral historical sources on the history of the 18th century [1]. In his writings, the genealogical trees of the Kazakh khans and sultans were found, which most accurately represent the dynastic ties of the rulers of the Great Steppe [2]. The fragmentary character of mentioning information directly related to Uali Khan is also found in the works of the ethnographer and public figure G.N. Potanin [3], who was a friend of the famous grandson of the khan. Thanks to this, there are records of the memories of G.N. Potanin about conversations with the famous son of the Kazakh people, about the family and surname of Ch.Ch. Valikhanov.

Kazakh genealogical trees have survived to this day, presented in Kazakh oral folk works, thanks to the efforts of collectors of the oral form of history, including Kurbangali Khalidi [4], Sh.Kudaiberdyuly [5], M.Zh.Kopeyuly [6], and for modern science they are important sources in the study of national history. The legends, elaborating the historical theme in a voluminous manner in the folk interpretation, reveal the peculiarities and specifics of the historical period in which the son of the great Ablai, Khan Uali, lived.

Of particular interest to researchers is the work of Khalid Kurbangali «Tauarikh Hamsa» in 1910, translated from the Chagatai language [4]. In his work there are rare references to the ruler Uali Khan, factual in nature. 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 [7], I. Georgi [8], I. Falk [9], G.I. Spaski [10], P.S. Pallas [11] and others. These

researchers recorded direct eyewitness accounts of the historical events of the studied period, as they were directly aware of the economy, culture and everyday life of the local population of the studied territory through personal observations.

It should certainly be noted that the works of previous times are rather biased, and the personalities of the authors have the «imprint of their time». In the vast majority of similar works by pre-revolutionary researchers - descriptions, assumptions and historical information are selected and presented in such a way as to serve to exalt the culture of their civilization, a model of social and economic development. Moreover, the works are accompanied by irrational components (author A.R.-stereotypes) in which the line between normative and descriptive judgments of the authors is blurred even more. In this regard, it is necessary to apply the comparative method for the reconstruction and objective interpretation of historical processes.

In the book of one of a number of researchers of the territory of the Middle Zhuz, captain I.G. Andreev under the title «Description of the average horde of Kirghiz-Kaisaks» published in 1785, geographical data on the territory and boundaries of the nomadic tribes of the Middle Zhuz are given. The captain was also personally familiar with the daily life of the local population. In the first two chapters, the author described the history, customs and traditions of the steppe inhabitants, the book contains sketches of images of unique for each genus «tamgas» (signs), made by the author, Ivan Grigorievich also left information about the migration of a part of Kazakhs to the right bank of the Irtysh in winter and much more [12].

Special 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 [13]. The colonel's notes reflect the original culture, economy and way of life of the Kazakhs, he gives information about the sultans and rulers, the approximate population and trade relations in the Middle Horde. Semyon Bogdanovich had access to some information about the current state of ties between representatives of the ruling elite of the Middle Zhuz with the Qing dynasty in the 19th century before the liquidation of the traditional khan's power in the zhuz.

It is important to note that some fragments and episodes about the ruler of the Middle Zhuz Uali Khan are mentioned in the famous work of A.I. Levshin «Description of the Kyrgyz-Cossack, or Kyrgyz-Kaysak, hordes and steppes» published in 1832 [14]. This work is one of the first comprehensive studies of the history and ethnography of the Kazakh steppe, it covers in detail the Kazakh-Russian relations. Aleksey Iraklievich described the circumstances that determined a certain course of historical events known today, being a contemporary and a participant in many of them. A.I. Levshin describes in detail the ceremony of recognition of the Uali Khan's title by the Russian Empire.

The data of M. Krasovsky [15] in «Materials for geography and statistics of Russia, collected by officers of the General Staff. The Siberian Kirghiz Region», which are based on archival materials and contain statistical data on the population of the steppe space, a comprehensive description of the economy and culture, a detailed examination of the history of the studied territory.

Thus, the works of researchers of the pre-revolutionary period contain empirical observations, which must be assessed with all objectivity, abstracting from ideologemes. Studies of the New and the beginning of Modern times had a biased direction of coverage of events and an underestimation of the real level of development of nomadic society. However, they are among the main historical sources along with archival materials.

The famous scientist E. Bekmakhanov also brought out the name of Uali Khan, defining his place in the historical past of Kazakhstan, along with other famous historical figures of the bygone complex and contradictory era. Ermukhan Bekmakhanuly in his article «The main issues of periodization of the history of Kazakhstan» the historical period, the chronological framework of which was determined by the second half of the 18th - the first half of the 19th centuries, associated with the names of the khans Uali, Nuraly and Kenesary Kasymuly [16].

Some separately taken aspects related to the process of the election of Uali Khan of the Middle Zhuz and the traditionally accompanied rite of confirmation are mentioned in the collection of documents and materials compiled by F.N. Kireev, V.Ya.Basin, K.Zh. Zhenisbaev, V.S. Musabayeva [17].

Some information concerning the activities of the investigated historical personality is available in the works of Begezhan Suleimenuly Suleimenov, Marianna Yakovlevna Basina «Kazakhstan as part of Russia in the 18th - early 20th centuries» [18]. Of considerable 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.» [19]; Sanjar Jafarula Asfendiyarov and Pavel Arminovich Kunte - «The past of Kazakhstan in sources and materials» [20].

With the acquisition of independence, a rethinking of the historical past is taking place, according to the developed in 1995 by the Institute of History and Ethnology. Ch.Ch. Valikhanov's concept of the formation of historical consciousness in the Republic of Kazakhstan. In historical science, «methodologically rearmed», they begin to solve problematic issues and fill the «white spots» with quality content, a slight shift appears to the study of the historical personality of Khan Uali.

Some versions of the historical past could be both misinterpreted and artificially constructed, which introduces a fair amount of skepticism into the prevailing modern ideas and requires revision.

In the review «Kazakh khans and khan dynasties in the 18th - mid-19th centuries» by I.V. Erofeeva [21] the name of Uali Khan and the question of determining the time of his life are mentioned. In this analytical review, the author addresses the definition of the historical sequence and change of Kazakh rulers, a kind of a certain type of continuity.

Description of the period of the reign of the Khan of the Middle Zhuz is found in the third volume of the fundamental five-volume work «History of Kazakhstan (from ancient times to the present day)» [22]. This fundamental work of scientists-historians of Kazakhstan currently contains one of the most voluminous sources in terms of coverage of sources during the reign of Uali Khan by the Middle Zhuz.

The study of the personality of Uali Khan occupies a certain place in the studies of Kadirzhan Kabidenuly Abuev. In the work of professor «Khan Ablai and his time» a separate section is devoted to the son of Ablai [23].

Some valuable information about the relationship of Uali Khan with the central and regional authorities of the Qing Empire was published in the works of the orientalist Klara Shaisultanovna Khafizova [24]. These studies have valuable sources about the Khan of the Middle Zhuz translated from the Chinese language, revealing some very important aspects of the ruler's active diplomatic policy.

Through the efforts of historians of the modern period, some new sources from the funds of the central and local archives of both Kazakhstan and Russia were introduced into scientific circulation. For researchers of the history of Kazakhstan in the modern era, an important source of new materials is the monograph of Professor ZE Kabuldinov «Sultanmamet: statesman, diplomat and batyr» [25]. In this work, rare materials from the archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation are used, written sources and samples of oral folk art are used.

In recent years, a number of collections have been published that have published archival documents in one way or another related to Khan Uali. Of particular interest from these works is the collection of archival materials and documents «From the history of Kazakh-Russian relations. XVIII century» compiled by V.A. Sirik [26]. This collection contains archival documents on the history of Kazakh-Russian relations in the period from 1745 to 1778, materials on the diplomatic relations of the Kazakh Khanate with neighboring countries, as well as sources characterizing various aspects of the political and socio-economic life of the Kazakh steppe.

Foreign studies of the history of the Kazakh khanates of the 18th - 19th centuries can be distinguished as a separate group.

American historian Paul W. Werth is a professor at the University of Nevada, in the relations between the Russian Empire and the annexed territories of the Kazakh Khanates, he definitely notes the opposition of the parties [27]. Studying these processes, in particular the process of the annexation of Kazakh lands, Werth classified two paradigms of counteraction to imperial power - «open resistance» and «peaceful resistance». In his reasoning, the researcher suggested paying closer attention to the direct subversion of passive opposition («subversion»), as opposed to the dominant descriptions - the history of uprisings, manifestations, first of all, of explicit «open» riots.

From the point of view of the American historian, open actions against the strengthening of the power of the Russian Empire on the territory of the Kazakh khanates were actively undertaken at an early stage in the process of annexing lands. During the reign of Ablai Khan's successor, «subversive activity» was a characteristic feature of everyday life «even during periods of seeming prosperity» and significantly complicated the exercise of royal power.

In an overview of the economic history of Central Asia and the Silk Road, Austrian researcher Stefan Barizets analyzed a large number of sources and materials [28]. The book assesses the causes and consequences of the economic booms and busts of Central Asia, which was dominated by nomads. The author explains in his study how the economic downturn led to the colonization of the region by the Qing and Russian empires in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Another well-known American historian, professor of the University of Wisconsin at Madison, Virginia Martin, in her research presents micro-historical analysis in the study of the history of Central Asia. Applying this direction in historical science, the professor shows the rapid decrease in the living

space of freedom-loving nomads by the new administrative and legal norms introduced by the Russian Empire. The historian discovers several macro-historical directions in the history of Kazakhstan and Russia. The main part of this analysis is aimed at studying the Kazakh nomadic political culture in the period after the annexation and liquidation of the khan's power in the Middle Horde. The author comes to the conclusion in his studies that most of the representatives of the ruling elite of the Middle Horde tried to adapt to the Russian presence on their lands - to use the administrative norms of the empire in such a way that, as they believed, they would protect and preserve their lands, livestock, which were the main source of wealth. And this later formed a new political culture [29].

In the same way, the period under review is reflected in the works of such researchers as Onuma Takahiro, Noda Jin, Thomas O. Lewold, Martha B. Alcott, Ian W. Campbell, Nathan Light and many others. The studies provide a large number of historical sources, scientists offer a comparison of the facts cited and a comparison of input data and historical reality. Nevertheless, foreign studies of the history of Kazakhstan equally require critical reflection and an objective assessment of interpretations.

During the period of independence, a whole range of problems related to national history in the context of modern trends, biographical coverage of the life of prominent statesmen, including the personality of the ruler of the Middle Zhuz, Uali Khan, was subjected to scientific development. Some scholars are attempting to rethink a number of aspects of this problem. Long and painstaking work continues on controversial and insufficiently grounded outdated concepts. First, the historical science of Kazakhstan is moving towards the development of a new general concept of national history in conjunction with world history. Secondly, at the highest level, attention is paid to search and research work - to identify and gain access to historical materials available abroad, to classify and systematize historical sources with subsequent introduction into scientific circulation. Thirdly, many factors, including a gradual breakaway from the Eurocentric point of view, allow unclouded consciousness to look into the depths of the centuries and, finally, see the uniqueness and self-sufficiency of civilization (like any other civilization on the planet) and its place in global history. It is by examining historical processes from different points of view that it is possible to ensure the objectivity and reliability of historical knowledge. The history of Kazakhstan is viewed as a part of world history, and through this connection, self-comprehension of the nation is carried out.

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