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LARISA UTYUSHEVA

HISTORY, CULTURE AND TRADITIONS OF THE KAZAKH PEOPLE

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The author introduces readers to the history and ethnography of the Kazakh people. The initial sections detail the formation of Kazakhstan as a state, providing information about the annexation of the Kazakh zhuzes to Russia and the establishment of the Bukeyev Khanate. Of particular interest are the data on the tribal and clan structure, religious beliefs, as well as the military, trade, and pastoral activities of the Kazakh nomadic society.

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History, Culture and Traditions of the Kazakh People

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The author introduces readers to the history and ethnography of the Kazakh people. The initial sections recount the history of the formation of Kazakhstan as a state, detailing the incorporation of the Kazakh zhuzes into Russia and the establishment of the Bukeyev Khanate. Particular interest is given to information about the clan and tribal structure, religious beliefs, as well as the military, trade, and pastoral activities of the Kazakh nomadic society.

The book contains captivating insights into Kazakh folklore, traditional customs, and family-and-domestic rituals. It is based on the scholarly works of renowned historians, ethnographers, and statesmen from the 18th to 20th centuries. To provide a comprehensive understanding of the culture of this steppe nation, the book includes brief folk concepts, proverbs, and sayings. The clarity and simplicity of the narrative, combined with vivid language, make the book accessible and engaging for a broad readership.

INTRODUCTION

Every individual carefully preserves and remembers all the events of their life journey, since each day lived serves as a warning against future mistakes. Therefore, a person striving for harmonious and free development within society relies on knowledge of their native history and the culture of their people. The spiritual values accumulated over centuries and tested by time act as a guiding beacon, preventing one from getting lost in the fog of deceptive stereotypes, helping to distinguish truth from falsehood, and good from evil. By drawing on the experience of past generations, a person more easily recognizes their place in an era of rapid change, integrates into social connections within society, and becomes more confident, successful, and happy.

The idea of creating this genuine book belongs to Smagul Kurmangaliyevich Muntaev – the head of the Cultural and Ethnographic Center «Altyn-Nur» (Volgograd Region, El'ton), and its realization has been kindly entrusted to the named author. The concept was rooted in the desire to inspire readers' interest in the ancient origins of Kazakh culture and the features of the formation of the social and kinship structure of the Kazakh people. It is well known that today, in the era of globalization, national characteristics are somewhat weakening, ethnocultural boundaries are becoming blurred, and there is a mixing and reevaluation of cultural values. It is often observed that once strong and unshakable family and kinship ties are fading, along with the customs and nationally significant experience of ancestors. Due to various reasons and circumstances, some Russian Kazakhs are little familiar with the history of their native people, their language, and traditions, and have a limited understanding of the most important events from the lives of previous generations.

It is well known that, for example, the vast lands, whose freedom has been defended by Kazakhs since time immemorial, were often sought after by foreign invaders. As a result, the history of the Kazakh people is marked by many harsh and bloody pages. From this nomadic society, relentlessly defending its native steppes from external conquerors, emerged numerous brave and courageous heroes, both men and women. Many folk songs, dastans, and poems were composed about these heroes, who earned widespread national love and respect. Throughout the entire historical development of the Kazakh people, folk creativity, social organization, and family kinship values have inspired interest and admiration among many scholars and art historians worldwide. Clearly, the cultural and historical path of the Kazakh people is multifaceted, unique, and vivid.

Therefore, the purpose of this work is to highlight the most valuable, interesting, and meaningful information regarding the history, traditions, and spiritual development of the Kazakh people. Fully aware of the importance, responsibility, and complexity of this task, we have endeavored to present in this work a comprehensive description of the culture, rituals, and way of life of the steppe nomad at various stages of his historical journey.

For ease of understanding and to maintain the overall coherence of the presentation, the content of the book is organized into three main sections. The first section is dedicated to the ethno-historical origins and formation of the Kazakh nation, discussing the prerequisites that led to the establishment of close ties between Kazakhstan and Russia. The second section focuses on the material organization of the nomads' way of life and economy, including features of the folk practices related to animal husbandry and the formation of the nomads' military militia. Finally, the last section of the work invites the reader to explore the cultural values of the steppe dwellers. It covers topics such as religious beliefs of the nomads, the system of kinship and tribal organization, folk creativity, and family and domestic rituals of the Kazakhs.

The author relied on numerous sources published across different historical periods in the creation of this work. For describing the most prominent aspects of the daily life of the Kazakh nomads, the works of pre-revolutionary scholars such as I. Altynsarin, Ch. Valikhanov, I. Georgi, A. Levshin, P. Pallas, G. Potanin, I. Falk, and others were engaged.

Valuable insights into the historical development of Kazakhstan were provided by the works of distinguished Kazakh researchers, including Zh. Abylhozhin, E. Bekmakhanov, I. Erofeeva, S. Zimanov, Yu. Zuev, S. Klyashtorny, N. Masanov, G. Mukataev, T. Sultanov, and others.

For a comprehensive examination of the cultural and ethnographic heritage of the Kazakh people, the substantial works of G. Belger, U. Dzhanibekov, K. Dzharmagambetov, T. Zhdanko, B. Karmysheva, S. Kenzheakhmetuly, N. Lobacheva, A. Margulan, E. Masanov, L. Popova, B. Sarybayev, and others served as foundational sources.

The features of the historical relationship between Kazakhstan and Russia were clarified through the research findings of remarkable Russian scholars such as V. Viktorina, S. Golunova, P. Karabushchenko, G. Kosach, E. Larina, Yu. Lysenko, V. Moiseev, O. Naumova, R. Pochekaev, V. Semenov, Zh. Syzdykova, A. Syzranov, G. Tashpekova, G. Urastaeva, D. Frizen, and many others.

To preserve the stylistic consistency of the narration, the author maintained the original spelling and punctuation of the primary sources, including proper names and geographic locations, within their respective temporal and spatial boundaries.

How successfully the author has achieved this goal is for the reader to judge. However, we sincerely hope that everyone who reads this book will find something valuable and interesting, enriching their understanding of the nomadic way of life.

The present book does not claim to be a comprehensive or exclusive collection of materials on the history and culture of the Kazakh people. We would be grateful to any reader interested in this work for their fair and constructive criticism, which will serve as an additional motivation for us and our future endeavors.

The author considers it a pleasant duty to express his gratitude to reviewer Viktor Mikhailovich Viktorin for his support of the idea, detailed analysis of the work, valuable comments, and positive assessment of this work. Additionally, the author is infinitely thankful to the director of the Russian Ethnographic Museum, Vladimir Moiseevich Grusman, for providing the material and valuable recommendations during the preparation of this work. Special thanks are also extended to the museum staff, particularly Deputy Director for Records and Preservation Natalia Nikolaevna Prokopyeva, and Head of the Department of Ethnography of the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Kazakhstan Larisa Fedorovna Popova, as well as to Smagul Kurmangaliyevich Muntaev, director of the «Altyn-Nur» Cultural Center, to the project leader of «Heirs of the Steppe,» photographer and journalist Anton Agarkov, and to the associate professors of the Department of Journalism and Media Communications at Volgograd State University, Tatyana Anatolyevna Perezhogina and Svetlana Anatolyevna Chubay, for their assistance in editing the manuscript.

HISTORY OF THE KAZAKH PEOPLE

The origin of the ethnonym «Kazakh»

Each clan, tribe, and nation has its own names – ethnonyms, – which serve as identifiers. Ethnonyms are the names of nations, peoples, nationalities, tribes, tribal unions, clans, etc. Usually, in the names of peoples, there are patterns related to their way of life and economic activities (Nikonov, 1970). In scholarly literature, numerous perspectives exist explaining the origin of the ethnonym *«kazakh»*. However, this issue remains a subject of ongoing debate, as each source relies on the available data as its argument. Therefore, it is currently impossible to definitively determine the truth.

Thus, A. Shakhmatov and V. Ushkov suggested that a Kazak was a warrior and militia member of Turkic-speaking tribes of southern Kazakhstan, while N. Michurin expressed the opinion that» *a Cossack*» is a transformed Chinese word «*kasak*,» meaning «large estate».

N. Karamzin and A. Vambery, in their works, mention that the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (mid-10th century) refers to the country of *Kazakhia*. Further research has shown that the correct inscription is «*Kasakhia*,» and that it refers to the *Kasogs*, not the Kazakhs. The *Kasogs* were a tribal confederation of Abkhaz-Adyghe origin, who lived in the North Caucasus and on the Kuban River, speaking one of the indigenous Caucasian languages. Thus, the connection between the ethnonym «Kazakh» and the names *Kasog* and *Kasakhia* is based solely on phonetic similarity and is purely declarative in nature.

The origin of the word «*Kazakh*» is associated by many scholars with the meaning of the word «*Cossack*», which has Turkic-Kipchak roots. The original significance of the ethnonym *Cossack* was social status, social position in society, the state. The word *Cossack* was understood as «homeless», «homeless», «wanderer», «exile». *A Cossack* was a person who, by the will of fate, was forced to separate from his clan-tribe, having lost his cattle and nomad camps, and therefore was doomed to wander. This status, as historical sources testify, was temporary. There were many people who led such a way of life. This was due not only to the complexity of the situation or good will, but also to the fact that this way of life was associated with numerous difficulties of survival alone in the wild. A Cossack person put himself in extreme conditions of wandering in forests, mountains or deserts. Since this status was temporary, anyone could become a Cossack, regardless of their nationality and social status. Cossackization knew no ethnic or state boundaries and was to some extent a prestigious phenomenon, as it tempered the spirit, made a person courageous, independent and self-sufficient. In this regard, the word Cossack acquired its secondary, arbitrary meaning: it is no longer a wanderer and homeless, but a free, daring, courageous person seeking freedom in military conquests and thereby deserving honor and respect among the steppe nomads.

Thus, the word *Cossack* was used to describe any free man, wanderer, adventurer. In the Middle Ages, the name *Cossack*, having no relation to any nationality or ethnic group, was truly international. In Russia, princes hired Polovtsians for their military fortifications, who were also called *Cossacks*. Some researchers believe that the Polovtsians originated from the western hordes of Kipchaks, among whom fair-haired Europeans predominated. For their straw-colored hair, they were given the name «Polovtsy,» by the Russians (Sopov, 2006).

Often, the Cossacks in Russia referred to people without specific occupations and permanent residences, free people, as well as hired laborers regardless of their ethnic background. In the 17th century, *free people from the outskirts of the Russian state were called Cossacks*, who were recruited into the tsar's service to protect the country's borders. However, evidence has been preserved that

there were many isolated cases when Russian and Little Russian Cossacks attacked the southwestern border districts of Russia for hire, for example, of Polish feudal lords (Blagova, 1970).

As historian V. M. Viktorin notes, the Cossack class of the Russian state in the 17th-18th centuries included nomadic Turkic and Mongol-speaking tribes, so it included representatives of different religions and beliefs: Orthodox, Muslims, Buddhists, etc. (Viktorin, 2008b). The Cossacks became a stronghold of the tsarist autocracy only at the end of the 18th century. Until the middle of this century, almost 50% of the Ural Cossacks were of Turkic origin. At that time, they did not yet constitute a Russian military estate, but were a bandit free community that effectively obeyed no one (Domnin, 2011).

Therefore, it is quite understandable not just the similarity, but also the connection between the concepts of *Cossacks* and *Kazakhs*. The word *Cossack* also served to designate a group, a part of nomads who separated from the state to which they previously belonged and were in a state of war with it. Such a collective was represented by the nomads of Abulkhair Khan's state. The descendants of Urus Khan, Girey (Kirey, Kerey) and Janibek, rebelled against Abulkhair and severed their ties with him in 1459 (Klyashtorny, S.G. & Sultanov, T.I., 1992). This group of people from the Uzbek ulus roamed the steppes *of Semirechye* for some time and came to be known as the *Uzbek-Cossacks*.

Semirechye – in Kazakh Zhetysu (Kazakh: Жетісу) – is a geographical region in Central Asia, located between lakes Balkhash in the north, Sasykol and Alakol in the northeast, the Dzungarian and Alatau ridges in the southeast, and the Northern Tien Shan ridges in the south. The seven rivers that gave the area its name are defined differently by researchers. Usually, the combination of seven rivers is made up of the following ten names: Aksu, Alguz, Baskan, Biyen, Ili, Karatal, Koksu, Kyzyl-Agach, Lepsa, Sarkan. According to G.N. Potanin, for the Kazakhs this area is associated with the idea of a blessed country through which seven rivers flow. Currently, the geographical region of Semirechye (in the pre-revolutionary period – Semirechensk region) includes the southeastern part of Kazakhstan and northern Kyrgyzstan.

Thus, the Uzbek origin of the Cossacks of Girey and Janibek is undeniable: they were formed from the fugitives of the Uzbek Ulus, which was reflected in their original name *Uzbek-Cossacks*. These tribes began to call themselves free people – *Cossack (kazaktar)*, in Russian – *Kazakhs.* This fact became an important event in the formation of the ethnonym *Kazakh*, that is, not in the formation of the people themselves, but in determining its modern name. In other words, the migration of Janibek and Girey in 1459 did not determine the emergence of the Kazakh ethnicity, but only accelerated a process that had already begun.

The final stage of the formation of the Kazakh ethnic group is the process of distinguishing and isolating a specific group of tribes from a conglomerate of clans and emerging nationalities that were at various stages of development. This was the population of Eastern *Desht-i-Kipchak* by the beginning of the second half of the 15th century: the state of Abulkhair Khan, the Nogai Horde and other political entities (Desht-i-Kipchak is a historical region of Eurasia, representing the Great Steppe from the mouth of the Danube to the lower reaches of the Syr Darya and Lake Balkhash. In the 16th-18th centuries, the term «D.-i-K». was used in Central Asian historiography to name the lands of eastern Kipchak (modern Kazakhstan)). Among this multi-tribal population, known to neighbors under the common collective name of Uzbeks, the process of consolidation of several nationalities was already underway, including the one that later became known as Kazakh.

As historians note, the migration of Janibek and Girey in 1459 was not the beginning or the crown of the formation of the Kazakh ethnos. However, it was a pivotal moment in this multifaceted process. In 1459, a historical meeting took place between the emerging nationality and its future name. From that moment on, the history of the people, followers of the descendants of Urus Khan, and the history of the word *Cossack merged into an inseparable unity*.

After the death of Abulkhair Khan, a dynastic change occurred in the Uzbek ulus, with another branch of the Chingisids (Chingisids (Genghisids) are direct (genetic) descendants of Genghis Khan.

Only they and their descendants inherited the highest power in the state and bore the family title of Chingisids), taking power. This shift did not lead to significant changes in the economic or social life of the nomadic Uzbeks but contributed to the alteration of the state's self-designation and the emergence of the word «Kazak» as an ethnonym. The descendants of Urus Khan, who led the Kazakh Uzbeks and later became the leaders of part of the Uzbeks of the Uzbek ulus, generated a distinct form of competition with the descendants of Shiban, who were eventually displaced from power. Subsequently, tribes inhabiting the Uzbek ulus began to divide into Uzbeks (Shibanids), Kazaks (Kazakhs), and Mangyts (Nogais). Thus, the unchallenged dominance of the term «Uzbeks» came to an end.

In the 16th century, events occurred that led to significant ethnopolitical and economic changes in the history of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Muhammad Sheibani (the leader of the Shibanids) emerged from the steppes of Desht-i-Kipchak and, taking advantage of the political fragmentation of the country, captured Bukhara in 1500, and in May 1501 subjugated Samarkand. The Shibanids continued to capture more and more small possessions of the Timurids, taking advantage of their fragmentation. Soon (1507) the power of the Timurids in Central Asia finally fell.

After the decline of the Timurid empire, a new dynasty – the Shibanids – ascended to power over a large territory in Central Asia. The Shibanids descended from Shiban, a grandson of Genghis Khan. The conquest of the Timurid state by Uzbek tribes became a significant event in the history of the ethnonym «Kazak». Subsequently, the departure of the Shibanids and many people from the territory of the modern Kazakh steppes led to differences in daily life, customs, and cultural practices between the Uzbeks of Central Asia and the Uzbek-Kazakhs (Kazakhs) of Desht-i-Kipchak.

This division largely became a key factor and played a decisive role in the final formation of the Kazakh ethnicity. The steppes of the eastern Desht-i-Kipchak were divided among the emerging peoples. The tribes that followed the Shibanids came to be called Uzbeks, while the other nomadic groups, united under the authority of another branch of the Chingisids, retained the name Kazakhs (Kazakhs), and their land was called Kazakstan (Kazakhstan). Since that time, the native inhabitants of this vast country have identified themselves exclusively as *Kazakhs (қазақ).*

Thus, all the processes driven by Janibek and Girey's migrating movements, the crisis of Ablukhair Khan's khanate, Muhammad Shaybani Khan's conquests of Maverannahr (Maverannahr is a historical region in Central Asia that received its name during the Arab conquest (7th—8th centuries). Currently, the territory of Maverannahr includes most of Uzbekistan, western Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, eastern Turkmenistan, and southern regions of Kazakhstan), the departure of part of the Mughals and Uzbeks from the territories of Southern, Southeastern, and Western Kazakhstan, as well as other political events, in one way or another, stimulated the formation of a collective self-awareness among the Kazakhs.

Substantively, all those who remained on the territory of Kazakhstan were Kazakhs. Kazakhs were all those who remained «faithful to the legacy of their ancestors» and did not adopt a sedentary lifestyle. Kazakhs were all those who left the state to «live as Cossacks» and rejected state control. Kazakhs were all those who were fully aware of their difference from the settled inhabitants and agriculturalists. Kazakhs were all those who predominantly ate meat and drank kumys, led a nomadic way of life, and did not engage in farming (Masanov, N.E., Abylkhozhin, Zh. B. & Erofeeva, I.V., 2007).

Meanwhile, in Imperial Russia, Kazakhs were called by various names such as *Kaisaks, Kyrgyz, Kyrgyztses, Kaisak-Kyrgyz, Kyrgyz-Kaisaks, Cossack-Kyrgyz and Kyrgyz-Kazaks*, among others. These terms appeared in Russian-language literature from the 18th century until the 1930s and were used to prevent confusion between the name «Kazakh» and Russian Cossacks. According to researchers studying this issue, the replacement of the ethnonym «Kazakh» with other terms resulted from an effort to distinguish this ethnicity in official documents from the Russian Cossack communities of neighboring Siberian regions. The incorrect use of the ethnonyms *«Kazakh» and «Kyrgyz» before*

the revolution was also linked to errors made by authors and officials, but definitely not due to the absence of the self-designation «Kazakh» (or «Kazak») used by the people themselves. This name had existed since the 15th century and was already used in Russian documents in the 16th and 17th centuries. Until the 20th century, in many official documents, written sources and literature, instead of the name «Kazakh», «Kirghiz», «Kirghiz», «Kirghiz», «Kaisak-Kirghiz», «Kirghiz-Kaisaks», «Kazak-Kirghiz», «Kirghiz-Kazakhs», etc. were often used.

As early as the 1830s, the scholar A. Levshin argued that the terms Kyrgyz-Kaisaks were foreign names that neither the people themselves nor their neighbors – except the Russians – used to refer to them. «The name *Cossack* (*Kazakh, author's note)* has belonged to the Kyrgyz-Kaisak hordes since the beginning of their existence: this is precisely how they call themselves,» the scholar wrote, adding that «they themselves are surprised when they hear that other peoples are also called *Cossacks*».

The word «Kazakh» first appears in Russian written sources in 1822, and in dictionaries in 1865 (Klyashtorny, S.G. & Sultanov, T.I., 1992). Initially, the ethnonym was fixed in the form *«Cossack» (kazak)* in 1925 in Soviet Russia – following the renaming of the Kirghiz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic to the Kazak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic – and in the form *«Kazakh»* after the transformation of the Kazak ASSR into the Kazakh SSR in 1936.

Thus, as noted by historians and Orientalists, the 16th century marks an important milestone in the history of the states of the Asian world. During this period, the Bukhara, Khiva, and Yarkend Khanates emerged in Central Asia. It was precisely at the turn of the 15th to 16th centuries that the Kazakh Khanate was formed and consolidated in the former Uzbek ulus. New ethnic groups appeared on the historical stage of Central Asia at this time: Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, and Karakalpaks. From this moment on, it is appropriate to speak not of tribes and tribal unions, but of a new ethnic and ethno-political identity, which became a defining characteristic of the Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia in general, and of the Kazakh people in particular, from the early 16th century onward (Syzdykova, 2012).

Numerous ancient legends and traditions circulating among the people speak of the possible origins of the Kazakhs. Although some of these accounts are contradictory, they generally tell the story of wanderers who, for various reasons, were forced to leave their native tribes and migrate to foreign lands where they eventually settled. After some time, a people – the Kazakhs – emerged in these territories.

Here is one such legend. Once, an enormous horde was passing through the arid Kyrgyz steppe. The march was grueling; all the warriors suffered from hunger, thirst, and exhaustion, and many grew weak. Among them was a commander named Kolcha-Kadyr, who was dearly loved and respected by all the warriors. He became so weakened that he could no longer move forward. Everyone felt sorrow for him, but they could do nothing to help and decided to leave him alone in the steppe, in the hands of fate. The army continued its march, while Kolcha remained behind. The day was unbearably hot. Kolcha endured agony, and summoning his last strength, he knelt and began to begs the sky for a swift release from his suffering – death. Suddenly, the heavens parted, and a white goose – called a «kaz-ak» – descended to him. It comforted him, flew off to fetch water; soon, Kolcha-Kadyr forgot his pain. In the form of the goose, a benevolent peri (a guardian spirit of animals) appeared. From the goose, she transformed into a beautiful woman and stayed to live with Kolcha. From the union of Kolcha and this good peri, humans were born. Their descendants, in memory of the extraordinary appearance of the savior and progenitor, became known as *Kazak (Cossacks)* (Sushko, 2009).

Many legends have been told by the Kazakh people about their origins, suggesting that the Kazakh nation was formed from individual tribes – fragments of Genghis Khan's empire. One such legend states: «Across the sea from Genghis Khan came three men; they were searching for their horses and got lost. The eldest was named Argyn, the middle – Alshym, and the youngest – Naiman. From them, the Kyrgyz arose». Scholars believe that this legend cannot be considered a reliable

account of the true origin of the Kazakh nation. However, they acknowledge a possible connection to tribes from Mongolia. For example, the reference to the sea in the legend might denote Lake Baikal, near which Mongolia was located. The moment of the arrival of the three lost brothers – Argyn, Alshym, and Naiman – could align chronologically with the period of Mongol conquests, which displaced peoples from their previous settled lands and caused them to become lost in foreign, unfamiliar territories.

There is also an ancient legend that not only tells about the origin of the Kazakhs, but also reveals the reasons for the emergence of the three zhuzes (Zhuz is a historically formed association of Kazakhs. In total, three zhuzes were formed: the Great Zhuz, the Middle Zhuz, and the Little Zhuz. In some historical sources it is referred to as *zhuz* or *dzhuz*). «Long ago, a khan had an unusual son; he was striped (ala). The khan was ashamed to have such a son, and he ordered to take him far away to the steppe. The child was found by some poor old woman who collected tezek (dung), and she began to raise him. While the child was growing up, thanks to his holiness, the old woman became rich. Having become a young man, the foundling was distinguished by his beauty and dexterity, horsemanship, strength and special intelligence. Soon the rumor about him reached his father, the khan. Then the khan wanted to return his son to his home and sent a hundred men for him. When the messengers saw the young man, they were so amazed by his virtues that they did not want to return home and stayed with him. A year later, the khan sent another hundred men, who did the same as the first. Finally, the khan sent a third hundred. And these did not return. Three hundred men (led by Yunus, Bulat and Alchin) raised the young man as khan (that is, they sat him on felt and lifted him into the air as a sign of his election as khan) and nicknamed him Alasha-khan from the word *ala*, that is, striped. Alasha-khan placed these people across the steppe; their descendants formed the three hundreds (dzhuz) of the Cossack people. Hence the uran (clan cry) of all Cossacks is Alash, short for Alash. The Kazakhs have a saying: *«Cossack Cossack bolgannan, Alasha khan bolgannan, munday kylak bolgan tes alashtyn balasy»* – «Since the Kazakhs became Kazakhs and Alasha became a khan, the descendants of Alasha have not acted like this».

Narrating the proclamation of Alash as a khan, this legend cites the following remarkable words of the three main leaders: Yunus, Bulat and Alchin: «We united from different places and became a people, and our rallying cry was „Alash!“» … From here the Kazakhs received the division into three hundreds: Ulu- zhuz, Orta-zhuz and Kshi-zhuz (Senior, Middle and Younger) and received the name Kazakh (Chuloshnikov, 1924).

Some legends of the Senior zhuz, as recounted by Ch. Valikhanov, bear traces of Turkmen influence. One such legend states that the Kazakhs descended from the Nogais who got lost in the Ishim steppes. Others tell that their ancestors had no tribe or clan, wandered for a long time across the steppe, until they kidnapped wives from a certain pagan people called the *Chegen*. However, since the Nogais were Muslims and their wives were non-believers, the Kazakh people, resulting from their mixing, inherited a religion that is a blend of two elements – Islam and shamanism (Valikhanov, 1961).

Based on the above, it can be concluded that the emergence of the ethnonym «Kazakh» has a long history closely connected with the nomadic movements of tribes led by Janibek and Girey, who migrated beyond their homeland to settle elsewhere. The events of this separation – when part of the people was forced to leave their native lands and go into foreign countries – are reflected in many legends and stories that form an integral part of the cultural heritage of the Kazakh ethnic group.

Origin and formation of the Kazakh people

The first written records of early Kazakh history are found in the works of ancient authors (Herodotus, Strabo, etc.) and Chinese sources («Hou Han Shu», «Shi Ji», «Qian Han Shu», etc.). Valuable observations about the life of the Kazakh people in the 11th to 16th centuries are contained in the works of Eastern authors such as Mahmud of Kashgar, Maxidi, Juvayni («The History of the Conqueror of the World»), Nizam al-Din Shami («The Book of Victories»), Muhammad Haidar («Tarikhi Rashidi»), and Ruzbikhan («Mihman Nameh and Bukhara»), among others.

References to the Kazakhs can be found in Russian chronicles and other works of the 17th century («Short Siberian Chronicle», Stroganov and Esipov Chronicles, in the «Book of Great Drawing» and others) (Zhukov, 1965). Systematic study of the history of Kazakhstan began with its annexation to Russia. Since the Kazakhs did not have developed traditions of written information transmission, in the 16th to the first half of the 19th century, almost all historiography of Kazakhstan was represented by written works of people not belonging to the Kazakh ethnic group. The authors of such works were mainly Russian border officials and diplomats, as well as Muslim court chroniclers from neighboring Central Asian khanates (Masanov, N.E., Abylkhozhin, Zh. B. & Erofeeva, I.V., 2007).

The first historical references of Russian scientists about the Kazakhs were presented in the form of travel notes, diaries and travel reports (P. Pallas, I. Falk, I. Georgi). More profound and detailed studies on the history of the Kazakhs are given by the scientific works of I. Kirilov, P. Rychkov, A. Levshin, L. Meyer, M. Krasovsky and others. However, these works had many shortcomings and inaccuracies. Nevertheless, they represented a significant milestone in the quest to understand the history of the formation of the Kazakh ethnic group.

Representatives of the Russian administration operated on the principle that to govern a given territory effectively, one must have comprehensive knowledge of it. Scientific efforts to describe the Steppe region were also aimed at providing practical assistance to the Asian population – supporting the development of animal husbandry, fairs, the establishment of forests in the steppes, artesian wells, communication routes, and so forth (Tugay, 2012).

In the mid-19th century, the first Kazakh scholar, historian, orientalist, ethnographer, and traveler Chokan Valikhanov (1835—1865) began his activities, creating a number of works on the history and ethnography of the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, and Uyghurs. The prominent Kazakh enlightener Ibrahim Altynsarin (1841—1889) also engaged in the history and ethnography of the Kazakhs; he was the first Kazakh teacher and public figure, and the creator of the Kazakh alphabet (Kolcherin, 2010). However, before the October Revolution, historical science in Kazakhstan mainly focused on accumulating materials. It was only under Soviet rule that it experienced significant development.

Many scholars tend to assume that the ethnic history of the Kazakh people initially formed as a synthesis of two groups of ancient populations. One of them, which formed to the west of the Volga in the 3rd to 2nd millennium BC (later AD), became the predominant population of Kazakhstan and the Volga region. The initial period of its ethnic history is associated with the formation of Indo-European languages and the Caucasoid racial type. The other group of tribes had Central Asian origins; within them, Turkic languages and the Mongoloid racial type predominated. The history of interaction and fusion between both groups of the population over two to three thousand years is the process through which ethnic consolidation took place, and the proto-Kazakh and related ethnic communities were formed. It was from within their midst in the second millennium AD that the Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Karakalpak, Uzbek, and other peoples emerged (Klyashtorny, S.G. & Sultanov, T.I., 1992).

The ancient roots of the material culture and anthropological type of the Kazakhs can be archaeologically traced back to the tribes of the Bronze Age (from the mid-2nd millennium BC to the

9th-8th centuries BC), who inhabited the territory of present-day Kazakhstan. This period is referred to as the Andronovo culture. The tribes of that time engaged in pastoral animal husbandry, hoe-based agriculture, hunting, and fishing. These groups were also familiar with bronze metallurgy; they produced axes, knives, daggers, chisels, and arrowheads.

In the later stages of the Bronze Age, the process of the emergence of pastoral tribes began. By the middle of the 1st millennium BC, most of the steppe alliances had transitioned to nomadic pastoralism, which defined the economic activities of the Kazakhs for millennia. These tribes, who inhabited what is now Kazakhstan, were referred to as "Asian Scythians' by the Greek historian and traveler Strabo (c. 64—63BC- c. 23—24AD). In ancient cuneiform texts, they are collectively called the *Saka.* The Saka tribes engaged in nomadic pastoralism and irrigated agriculture, and had trade and cultural ties with neighboring tribes and peoples. The leadership of the Saka tribal confederation was held by chiefs chosen at general councils. They distinguished themselves from the majority of their fellow tribesmen by their social and property status (Agapov, P. & Kadyrbaev, M., 1979).

The Saka were subordinated to the tribal unions of *the Alans*, *Kangju* and *the Wusuns* in the 3rd-2nd centuries BC. The Kangju lived in the areas of Karatau and the middle course of the Syr Darya. The Alans in the first centuries AD were located to the west of the Aral Sea, and also influenced the ethnogenesis of the Kazakhs.

In Semirechye, the Wusuns migrated under pressure from the steppe people of the Syunnu, overcoming the Sayan-Altaic highlands and the Irtysh River below Lake Zaysan. The Wusuns occupied a vast territory in Semirechye, stretching from the Chu River to the Tian Shan Mountains, and from Lake Balkhash to Lake Issyk-Kul. The Wusun tribal confederation existed from the 2nd century BC until the 4th century AD, more precisely until its incorporation into the Turkic Khaganate. According to Chinese sources, the population of this entity numbered 120,000 yurts (families), totaling 630,000 souls, with a military force of up to 183,000 soldiers. The Wusun tribes maintained close economic, political, and cultural ties with China, Mawarannahr, and the Volga region. The Great Silk Road passed through Wusun lands. Among the Kazakhs of the Senior Zhuz, the Kyrgyz of the Issyk-Kul basin, and some Uzbeks, clan ethnonyms such as «Sary-Uysun,» «Uyshun,» and others have been preserved, indicating the possible participation of the Wusuns in the ethnogenesis of these peoples (Semenov, 2010).

In the mid-6th century AD, part of the modern territory of Kazakhstan was included in the Turkic Khaganate. However, by the end of the 6th century, the western part broke away from it, and the Western Turkic Khaganate was formed in Semirechye. At the same time, tribes that came from the East (*Turgesh*, *Tele*, *Karluk*, etc.) settled on the territory of Kazakhstan. In the 7th century AD, two principalities were formed in Semirechye: Dulu (to the east of the Chu River) and Nushebi (to the west of the Chu River), which were politically dependent on the Eastern Turkic Khaganate until the beginning of the 8th century AD.

Subsequently, various short-lived confederations emerged in different regions of Kazakhstan, comprising local nomadic groups as well as some sedentary Turkic-speaking tribes. Thus, throughout the 8th century, the Turgesh Khaganate existed in Semirechye, which was later succeeded by the Karluk Khaganate, lasting until the mid-10th century.

However, as early as the 9th to 10th centuries, confederations of the Oghuz were established, and by the end of the 10th century, the Karakhanid state emerged. Between the 8th and 11th centuries, confederations of the *Kimaks* and Kipchaks also appeared. The territory of the Oghuz served as a transit route for trade caravans traveling to Mawarannahr, Iran, China, the Caucasus, and the Volga region. The Oghuz Khaganate maintained relations with Rus'. The Kimaks and Kipchaks occupied vast steppe territories of present-day Kazakhstan, known as the *Eastern Desht-i-Kipchak*.

The rise of the Karakhanid state in the 10th to 12th centuries contributed to the ethnic consolidation of the local tribes. However, this state proved unstable, as internecine conflicts among various feudal factions intensified.

In the early 12th century, the territory of Kazakhstan was subjected to invasions by the *Khitans (Karakhitai*), which led to the final disintegration of the Karakhanid state (The Karakhanid state was a medieval state in Central Asia. After the defeat of the Uyghur Khaganate in 840, a descendant of the noble Edgish clan, which was part of the Chigil tribe, the Karluk yabgu and ruler of Isfidzhab Bilge-Kul, who had the nickname «Kara» («Black»), openly declared his rights to supreme power and adopted the title of «khan». It is possible that the Karakhanid clan originated from this moment. The names accepted in literature (Karakhanids, less often ileks) are conventional and were constructed by historians of the 19th century from two common titles: kara-kagan and ilek). Having penetrated the region of Semirechye in the 1130s, the Khitans established the Karakitai state in Central Asia, encompassing Semirechye and Southern Kazakhstan. Subsequently, the Karakitai intermingled with the indigenous Turkic-speaking population. Their rule was also precarious and persisted until the Mongol invasions.

Following a brief period of Karakitai dominance, Kazakhstan was subdued by the Mongols and incorporated into the Golden Horde. These events occurred between 1219 and 1221, resulting in the division of the territory of the Kazakh state among Genghis Khan's sons.

After the disintegration of the Golden Horde, the territory of modern Kazakhstan was part of the White Horde (Ak-Orda) and Moghulistan. In the early 15th century, the White Horde fragmented into several principalities, among which the largest were the Nogai Horde and the Uzbek Khanate (Uzbek ulus). The territory of the Nogai Horde covered the area between the Yaik (Ural) and Volga rivers (The Yaik River (Kazakh: Zhaiyk) after the peasant uprising led by E. Pugachev was renamed Ural by decree of Catherine II), while the Uzbek Khanate extended from the Aral Sea to the Yaik River in the west, Tobol in the north, and Irtysh in the east. Ethnically, the populations of both khanates were nearly identical. They were Turkic-speaking tribes (Kipchaks, Argyns, Karluks, Kanglys, Naimans, etc.) and parts of Mongolic-speaking groups, mixed with the local population.

The consolidation of the Kazakh nationality was facilitated by the migration caused by internal conflicts in the Uzbek khanate, which from the mid-15th century led a significant part of all tribes from the Southeast to the territories of Moghulistan. The tribes that left the Abulkhair khanate to the west of Moghulistan were led by Janibek and Girey, which contributed to the unification of tribes into the Kazakh Khanate. Semirechye, reviving after Mongol domination, became the center of the Kazakh tribes. At the same time, Uzbek tribes led by Sheibani Khan left Desht-i-Kipchak for the agricultural regions of Central Asia. The formation of the Kazakh Khanate marked the completion of the formation of the Kazakh nationality, the main components of which were the local tribes that existed in the territory of Kazakhstan.

Initially, the population of this region was referred to as *Uzbeks, Kazakhs*, and often *Uzbek-Kazakhs.* The term *Kazakh began to be applied to the entire population of the steppes that had previously been part of the Uzbek Khanate from the 1930s of the 16th century onward, and to the areas located to the east of it. In the mid-16th century, the ethnic composition of the Kazakhs was supplemented by tribes that had migrated from beyond the Ural Mountains after the collapse of the Nogai Khanate, and by clan groups from Siberia and Eastern Semirechye.*

The newly formed Kazakh Khanate was strengthened under Khan Kasym (1455—1523), the son of one of the founders of the Kazakh Khanate, Janibek. Under Kasym's leadership, the Khanate expanded, strengthened its position, and established control over vast territories of Eastern Desht-i-Kipchak. Following the disintegration of the Nogai Horde, and later the Moghulistan and Siberian Khanates, Kazakh clans that had previously been part of these states united with the core population of their people. During this period, reports of the growing influence of the Kazakh Khanate reached the Russian monarchs, and chronicles of the time began to mention the Kazakhs under the names Kaisaks or Kyrgyz-Kaisaks. Under the reign of Grand Prince Vasily III, the Grand Duchy of Moscow established diplomatic relations with the Kazakh Khanate (Klyashtorny, S.G. & Sultanov, T.I., 1992).

In the struggle against the Golden Horde, Ivan III repeatedly sought the support of the Kazakh Khans (Bekmakhanov, 1957).

After the death of Kasym Khan, his son Mamash ascended to the throne, but he soon perished in battle, suffocated by the weight of his armor. Following Mamash's death, internecine strife and internal discord escalated within the Kazakh Khanate. In 1523—1524, Tahir Sultan was proclaimed khan. The domestic and foreign policies he pursued proved disastrous for the Khanate and for Tahir himself. Rejected by his own people, he retreated to the Kyrgyz, where he died in impoverished conditions around 1531—1532. The rise of the Kazakh Khanate at the beginning of the 16th century was thus followed by years of hardship and turmoil.

Among the Kazakh sultans of those years who held the title of khan approximately at the same time, researchers point to Ahmad Khan and Tugum Khan. Tugum Khan was the son of Jadik Sultan, and Jadik himself was the fourth son of Janibek Khan, one of the founders of the Kazakh Khanate. Historians suggest that Tugum Khan died around 1537—38 in the Chagat region. Along with him fell 37 Kazakh sultans – all descendants of Tugum Khan (Klyashtorny, S.G. & Sultanov, T.I., 1992).

After the death of Tugum Khan, Khak-Nazar (Ak-nazar), the son of Kasym, ascended to the throne of the Kazakh Khanate. Under his rule, the power of the Kazakh people was restored. As researchers note, in the 1550s, the Kazakh Khanate experienced a revival in domestic and foreign policy under the leadership of Khak-Nazar, whose reign lasted more than 30 years. During this period, the borders of the Russian state approached, having conquered the Kazan, Astrakhan and Siberian khanates.

During the period from 1580 to 1582, the head of the Kazakh Khanate was Shigay, the son of Jadik Sultan. Shigay's son, Taukhel (his year of birth is unknown; he died in 1598), in 1586 seized cities in Turkestan. Kazakh Khan Tauekel was one of the first Kazakh khans to initiate negotiations with Russia. Seeking to recover his nephew Uraz-Muhammad, who had been taken hostage (*Amanat is something given for safekeeping, both immaterial (language, culture) and material (things, real estate). Khans could present their sons as amanats*) by the Russians, Taukhel sent envoys to Moscow in 1594 (Brockhaus, 1895). As part of this visit, the Kazakhs aimed to establish diplomatic relations with Russia with the goal of forming a military alliance. Additionally, their mission included conveying to Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich a number of interesting details about the state of the Kazakh Khanate under Taukhel's rule.

In the period from 1598 to 1628, Ishim, the son of Shigay, an accomplished diplomat, ruled the Kazakh Khanate. In 1598, he made peace with Bukhara and ended a long struggle for territories. Now the Kazakhs have the Turkestan cities: Tashkent (for 200 years) and Fergana (Fergana is a city located in the southern part of the Fergana Valley. Modern Uzbekistan). At the same time, Khan Ishim renounced Samarkand and Bukhara.

After the death of Khan Ishim, internal conflicts resumed within the Kazakh Khanate. Ultimately, Ishim's son, Zhangir (1635—1652), was proclaimed khan. During his reign, the internal stability of the Kazakh steppe was highly unstable. The southern cities experienced decline. The khanate fragmented, feudal strife intensified, and Dzungar raids began (Mukhidinova, 2015).

A clear representation of the genealogical connections of the Kazakh khans is presented in Ch. Valikhanov's work «Genealogical Tree of the Kaisak Khans and Sultans» (Valikhanov, 1964).

Thus, the developmental period of the Kazakh Khanate, beginning with the separation of Janibek and Girey and extending up to the 17th century, was marked by a gradual political strengthening and territorial expansion. The consolidation of the Kazakh state's power and its rulers at this stage facilitated its entry into diplomatic relations with other countries. Information about the Kazakh Khanate had already reached the Moscow state, and their rulers established political ties. However, emerging internal conflicts and civil strife hindered the further strengthening of Kazakhstan's external position.

Kazakhstan in the 17th – 19th centuries and its annexation to the Russian Empire

Since the time when the Kazakh Khanate controlled Tashkent and Turkestan (in the 12th century – Yassy), the khans resided in Tashkent until 1723. This period marks the second era of the Kazakh state's power. By this time, historians believe, the Kazakh tribes had already been united into three zhuzes: the Senior Zhuz (in Semirechye), the Middle Zhuz (in the Syr Darya region, as well as Northern, Eastern, and Central Kazakhstan), and the Junior Zhuz (in Western Kazakhstan) (Semenov, 1865). In the 17th century, these zhuzes formed independent khanates.

The Senior Zhuz, located to the east of the Middle Zhuz to the Alatau Mountains, was formed by the Jalayir, Dulat, Alban, and other tribes. The Middle Zhuz was made up of the Naiman, Kerei, Argyn, Kipchak, Konrat, and Uak tribes. The Junior Zhuz, stretching west from the Middle Zhuz to the Ural Mountains, included the generations of the Alimuly, Baiuly, and Jetiru (Brockhaus, 1895).

Overall, the power of the Kazakh khans grew until the end of the 17th century, largely thanks to Khan Tauke (c. 1652—1718), the son of Zhangir. The reign of Khan Tauke is called the «Golden Age,» a period when destructive feudal conflicts ceased. It was an era of relative legal supremacy, economic development, and flourishing trade. Khan Tauke was the last khan of Kazakhstan as a unified and independent state. He was a strong ruler whose authority extended over all three zhuzes, reconciling them with one another. After Tauke Khan's death, the zhuzes transformed into independent khanates, which, however, did not have distinct names. Each khan referred to himself as the Khan of the *Ulu Zhuz* (Senior *Zhuz*), the Khan of the *Orta Zhuz* (Middle *Zhuz*), or the Khan of the *Kishi Zhuz* (Junior *Zhuz*). This period marks the end of the history of the Kazakh Khanate and the beginning of the history of the Kazakh khanates.

As historian N. Masanov notes, it was impossible to unite all the zhuzes in the Steppe into a single state, as the Kazakh nomadic society was too dispersed, with a population density of no more than 1—2 people per square kilometer. There were neither cities nor permanent centers of executive power. The nomadic way of life implied a minimal level of political centralization, with centrifugal tendencies predominating (Masanov, 2006).

An important achievement of Khan Tauke was the compilation of the code of laws «Zhety Zhargy» (The Seven Charters or Tauke Khan's Code), which defined the key principles of law and order in Kazakh society, based on the ancient customs of the nomads (Nomads are nomadic tribes, nomadic peoples). The approximate period of its creation dates back to the 1670s.

By the 1670s, the Kazakhs had lost a significant portion of their nomadic territories in the Semirechye region and the northeastern part of the country, largely as a result of the expansion of Dzungar feudal lords into the Kazakh steppes. This incited unrest and sparked conflicts among the Kazakhs themselves over pasturelands. These developments necessitated the implementation of essential regulatory measures aimed at stabilizing the social order, as well as the mobilization of all available forces to ensure a unified defense against a formidable external enemy – the Dzungars (Dzungars (Oirats) are Western Mongolian tribes (Torgouts, Khoshouts, Derbets and Dzungars). The neighboring Turks called them Kalmyks. In the first half of the 17th century, these tribes formed a strong union – the Dzungar (Oirat) state. The Oirats, as part of the Mongolian super-ethnos, had the same traditions of nomadic statehood that Genghis Khan laid down for all Mongols), – against whom war had become inevitable (Klyashtorny, S.G. & Sultanov, T.I., 1992). One of these measures was the Code of Khan Tauke.

According to Kazakh legends, to compile it, Khan Tauke convened a council of three biys, which included Tole-biy from the Senior Zhuz, Kazybek-biy from the Middle Zhuz, and Aitekebiy from the Junior Zhuz (Outstanding biys-judges Tolebiy, Kazybek-biy and Aitekebiy. They are depicted in close-up, with a proud posture, sitting in an oriental manner on a small elevation. One

of them put his hand to his heart, another holds a half-bent right hand, open in front of himself, the third holds scrolls of letters. This monument symbolizes reason, wisdom, and also respect for the origins of Kazakh justice and its outstanding bearers). About these three outstanding steppe men, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, academician N.A. Nazarbayev, said: «Much can be said about the glorious lives of these three great biys, about their deeds in the name of honor, dignity, and utmost devotion to the cause of the people, about their natural leadership talent, oratorical gift, and impeccable justice» (Zimanov, 2003).

Khan Tauke, after discussing the frequent conflicts among the Kazakhs with the three biys, drafted and enacted certain legal provisions. The Tauke Code stipulated responsibilities for crimes against persons, property offenses, and violations in the realm of family and marital relations, including ten types of punishments. It also mandated that every autumn, Kazakh elders gather for a one-month council to deliberate on public and state affairs. To govern the zhuzs, Khan Tauke persuaded the biys to select special leaders.

The internecine wars that began during the old age of Tauke were exploited by the neighbors of the Kazakhs. This further exacerbated the foreign policy situation of the KazakhKhanate: from the west, raids were carried out by the Volga Kalmyks and Yaik Cossacks, from the north – by the Siberian Cossacks, across the Yaik – by the Bashkirs, from the south – by the Bukharans and Khivans, but the main danger came from the east, from the Dzungar Khanate.

In the history of the Kazakhs, almost the entire 17th century and the first half of the 18th century were spent in the struggle against the Oirat. The Dzungar War was a pivotal event for the Kazakhs and a period of greatest national consolidation. Under the growing external threat, Khan Tauke showed interest in establishing more trusting economic and political relations with the Russian state. Thus, during his reign, Kazakh ambassadors were sent to the city of Tobolsk to establish trade relations with Russian merchants.

The complexity of the foreign policy situation of the Kazakh tribes and the real threat from neighboring opponents prompted Khans Kaip (the khan elected after the death of Tauke) and the Khan of the Junior Zhuz Abulkhair (1680—1748) in 1717 to appeal to Peter I with a request for acceptance of Russian subjects. However, this appeal yielded no results. According to one historical interpretation, Peter I, preoccupied with the war against Sweden and aware of internal unrest among the Kazakh clans, chose not to involve himself in the politics of the Kazakh Khanate (Brockhaus, 1895).

Meanwhile, during that difficult period, Russia's intervention in the affairs of the Kazakh khanates was considered objectively inevitable. Wild nomadic tribes near the border periodically raided the weak neighboring settlements of Russia. Moreover, Peter the Great himself paid attention to the Kazakh state, as trade caravans passed through it, and the Russian emperor saw Kazakhstan as a gateway to Asian countries: «If that (*the Kazakh, author's note)* horde does not wish to become subject to us, then I will try, despite the great expenses, to spend at least up to a million, but only in order to ensure that they are obligated to be under the protection of the Russian Empire with just one document… for that Kyrghyz-Kaisak horde… is indeed the key and gate to all Asian countries and lands; and for that reason, this horde needs to be under Russian protection, so that through them we can have communication in all countries and adopt measures beneficial to the Russian side (Bekmakhanov, 1957)».

At the beginning of the 18th century, Dzungar aggression intensified, and the struggle against them grew fiercer as the Oirats targeted the most sacred region for the Kazakhs – the Syr Darya region. This area contained the winter pastures of the three zhuzs and served as the spiritual and political capital of the Kazakhs – Turkestan (Domnin, 2011). In the period 1723 1727there were the most devastating invasions, imprinted in the people's memory of the Kazakhs as *Aktaban shubyryndy* – "Years of Great Calamity", when the capital cities of Turkestan, Tashkentand Sairam were captured by the Dzungars. The ruined groups of Kazakhs of the Senior Zhuz and a small part

of the Middle Zhuz migrated to the region of Khujandand Samarkand. Kazakhs of the Junior Zhuz fled to Khiva and Bukhara. Some Kazakh clans migrated to the desert regions of Kyzylkumand Karakum. During the Years of Great Calamity, the Kazakhs lost the rich pastures of Semirechye, traditional migration routes were disrupted, trade and artisanal centers declined, and livestock numbers sharply decreased. This tragedy was reflected in the song" *Elim – ai"* ("My People"), which expresses the profound sorrow of the Kazakh nation. The weakening of the Kazakhs was exploited by other neighbors – the Volga Kalmyks, Cis-Ural Cossacks, Bashkirs, the Beks of Kokand, and, the Khans of Bukhara and Khiva – further worsening the situation.

One of the reasons that prompted the western Mongolian feudal lords to territorial conquests was the manifestation of a pasture crisis. The lack of land in the Oirat uluses was associated with population growth and a constant increase in livestock numbers. The Dzungars had an increasing need for light industrial goods, metallurgical products, and weapons, and they sought possible access to trade routes and markets (Umetbaev, 2008).

And as early as 1730, the Khan of the Junior Zhuz, Abulkhair, sent a petition to Empress Anna Ioannovna in St. Petersburg requesting acceptance of Russian citizenship. In response, the Russian government promptly dispatched its officials.

Some sources indicate that the Kazakh population received the news of the arrival of Russian officials with surprise, especially regarding their demand for an oath of allegiance to the Russian Tsar. This fact caused unrest among the Kazakhs (Brockhaus, 1895). Nevertheless, on October 10, 1731, Khan Abulkhair, along with several sultans and a small group of prominent biys and batyrs, took the oath of allegiance to the Russian Empire. This event took place in the interfluve of the Irgiz and Tobol rivers, in the Maytube tract. Abulkhair was the first to swear the oath, followed by his associates. As a token of loyalty to the Tsar's throne, Abulkhair pledged to send hostages from among his sons to Russia. Together with Abulkhair, Khan Semeke (Sameke, Shemyak) of the Middle Zhuz and the northern clans of the Middle Zhuz also accepted Russian citizenship.

It should be noted that, in the context of that time, allegiance in Central Asia and the Caucasus was often viewed as a tactical measure. The oath of loyalty could be used to forge a military alliance (in this case, against the Dzungars) or to strengthen the internal position of a ruler who recognized the supreme authority of a powerful emperor (Golunov, 2005). The final incorporation of the main part of Kazakhstan – particularly the Middle and Senior Zhuzes – into Russia occurred later, in the first half of the 19th century.

Initially, after accepting the allegiance, Russia did not exert serious influence on the internal affairs of the Kazakh Khanate. Abulkhair, swearing loyalty to Russia, promised to guard the Russian borders and not to disturb the border Russian population, to pay *yasak (Yasak (Mongolian zasag «power»; Tatar yasak – tax in kind, Bashkir yahaҡ «tax, tax») – in Russia from the 15th to the beginning of the 20th centuries, a tax in kind from the peoples of Siberia and the North, mainly in furs)* in the form of animal skins, to protect merchant caravans during their journey through the steppe, and, if necessary, to send his troops for their safety (Brockhaus, 1895).

In return, Khan Abulkhair asked for the establishment of eternal khanly dignity for his lineage, to be passed down through inheritance, and for the construction of a fortress to protect his borders. These conditions were met by Russia: a fortress was built at the mouth of the River Or to protect against the Dzungars (the modern city of Orsk in the Orenburg region, founded in 1735). For the next century, khans were elected only from Abulkhair's lineage in the Junior Zhuz, even in cases where it contradicted the will of the steppe people. This circumstance was one of the reasons explaining the impossibility for Russia, despite all efforts, to subjugate the Steppe, which the Russian government nominally controlled for over a hundred years, as if acknowledging that the power of the khan was based not on its decision but on the right of primogeniture. The khans, lacking strong influence over their population, became more dependent on various clans.

Some sources assert that Abulkhair repeatedly took an oath of loyalty to Russia, which was linked to his violations of certain obligations to the tsarist administration. For instance, it was Abulkhair who, in December 1737, became the chief organizer of an invasion by more than 20,000 Kazakh troops into the then defenseless Kalmyk pastures, subjecting them to brutal plunder and destruction. More than two thousand people were captured as prisoners. At that time, as is known, the Russo-Turkish war was underway, and the Kalmyk army was on a campaign against the Turkish allies, the Kuban Cossacks, with whom the Kazakhs maintained secret ties. Essentially, Abulkhair was striking a blow to Russia's back. Such events raised doubts among Russian officials about Abulkhair's loyalty to his oath.

Despite his contradictory and ambiguous actions, as historian I. Yerofeeva notes, Khan Abulkhair possessed a unique intellectual gift, strong will, and grand strategic vision. Considering the significant achievements, he attained in both domestic and foreign policy, Abulkhair undoubtedly ranks among the most outstanding Kazakh rulers (Moiseev, 2000).

Abulkhair emerges as the main figure in the struggle against the Dzungars during the war of 1723—1730. He was the architect of Kazakhstan's multivector foreign policy, which he pursued in the 1740s toward both Russia and the Dzungars. Facing resistance to his policy from the Orenburg governor I.I. Neplyuev, Abulkhair began sending embassies to various countries to seek citizenship. It is known, for example, that alongside Russian citizenship, he intended to accept Turkish citizenship as well, and to strengthen political ties by marrying his daughter to the Dzungar Khan, thereby establishing a political alliance (Domnin, 2011).

Khan Abulkhair was killed in 1748 as a result of a conspiracy organized by the Kazakh nobility led by Sultan Barak. Following Abulkhair's death, the Russian government decided to appoint his son Nuraly as the Khan of the Junior Zhuz, which contradicted the established laws of the Steppe. The election of the new Khan violated the centuries-old Chingisids tradition and involved only a limited number of participants. According to Kazakh customs, the khan's dignity was supposed to pass to one of the deceased's brothers rather than to his sons. By a decree of Empress Elizabeth in 1749, Nuraly was confirmed as Khan and later swore allegiance to her. Thus, Nuraly became the first Kazakh Khan to effectively receive power from the Russian government. Strong opposition to his authority existed even within the Junior Zhuz, where Batyr Sultan, who possessed no less authority and influence than Abulkhair, claimed the khanate.

According to historian A. Ryazanov, Nuraly Khan had many enemies within the Horde and was unable to pursue an independent policy like his ancestors. He constantly feared losing his power and therefore sought support from the Russian government. The Tsarist administration supported Nuraly but demanded certain courses of action that often did not align with the interests of the nomads. By yielding to the government and implementing Russian policies, Khan Nuraly became essentially an official dependent on the treasury. The Khan developed a sense of irresponsibility typical of the Tsarist voivodes and began to abuse his authority. The scholar adds: «He was selfish and unjust; he oppressed and plundered the Kyrgyz clans hostile to his power and thus aroused hatred within the Horde. Living away from the Horde near the Russian borders, Nuraly lost all influence over the internal affairs of the Horde by the end of his long life» (Taimasov, 2009).

The incorporation of the Senior and Middle Zhuzes into Russia extended over many years. However, the integration of Kazakhstan into the Russian Empire was primarily achieved through diplomatic means, although military methods were also employed (Syzdykova, 2012).

Soon, in 1738, Khan Semeke died in the Middle Zhuz. According to steppe custom, the khan's title was inherited by Kuchuk Khan's son, Abulmambet Sultan, while the military leadership passed to the influential Sultan Abylai. Shortly thereafter, in 1740, Abulmambet Khan and Abylai arrived in Orenburg and concluded a treaty establishing the Russian Empire's protectorate over the Middle Zhuz (Nurbaev, 2007b). The final voluntary accession of the Middle Zhuz's population to Russia occurred only in the mid-19th century (Bekmakhanov, 1957).

After the death of Abulmambet (presumably in 1769 or 1771), Abylai was elected khan of the Middle Zhuz (Shalgimbekov, 2014). Under his rule were the vast majority of the Middle Zhuz tribes, except for the Kipchak clans and part of the Naiman, as well as most of the Senior Zhuz clans (Domnin, 2011). Abylai's efforts to strengthen the southern borders of the country contributed to the consolidation of his authority in the Senior Zhuz.

Before the Qing Empire's conquest of Dzungaria in 1758 (Umetbaev, 2008), Abylai maintained his independence by skillfully exploiting the conflict between the Oirats and China. After the conquest, he acknowledged the Chinese emperor as his sovereign. Upon the accession of Catherine II to the throne, Abylai swore allegiance to the Empress, while simultaneously remaining a subject of China. Following Abylai's death (circa 1780—1781), a political crisis erupted in the territories of the Middle and Senior Zhuzes, leading to the disintegration of the Kazakh Khanate's political system and the loss of its independence. Prior to its incorporation into Russia, the territory of the Senior Zhuz was divided into separate patrimonial clans headed by sultans – descendants of Khan Abylai. The existence of fragmented holdings and frequent internal conflicts within the Senior Zhuz resulted in the devastation of the Kazakh population.

The main regions of Semirechye and Southern Kazakhstan remained outside the influence of the Russian Empire until the second half of the 19th century. Consequently, by the early 19th century, a significant portion of the Senior Zhuz fell under the control of Kokand ruler Alim Khan. Due to its territorial and political fragmentation, the Senior Zhuz was powerless to organize resistance against the khans of Kokand and feudal China. Devastating wars and severe oppression by the Kokand beks – who compelled the Kazakhs to pay *the zyaket* (*or the zakat* – a tax levied on Muslims) – were among the principal reasons for the voluntary accession of the Senior Zhuz population to Russia. Thus, in 1818, the Senior Zhuz petitioned to be accepted as subjects of the Russian Empire. The imperial government considered the request of the Kazakh clans of the Senior Zhuz on January 18, 1819, and officially proclaimed the Kazakhs of this Zhuz as voluntary subjects of Russia. The first to accept Russian subjecthood were the Wusun, Zhalayir, and their branches, followed by the Abdan, Suvan, Shapyrashty, Ysty, Oshakty, Kangly, and other clans (Bekmakhanov, 1957).

At that time, for the countries of Central Asia, including Kazakhstan, the potential threat posed by China was incomparable to the threat from Dzungaria. The Manchu-Chinese forces, having crushed the Dzungar state, carried out a massive massacre, physically exterminating the majority of the Oirats. This event profoundly shocked the peoples of Central Asia, turning their eyes towards Russia as a natural ally. Moreover, the Russian Empire effectively demonstrated its power in the region when, under the threat of military intervention, it compelled Iran – which had seized parts of Central Asia in the first half of the 18th century – to abandon its plans to invade the Kazakh steppes. The threat of Kazakhstan and Central Asia being absorbed by China was very real and could only be countered by Russia's strength. Based on the theory of the «lesser evil,» subjugation to the Russian Empire under those historical conditions was preferable, as Russia was, at that time, a more advanced power compared to China. Ultimately, in the 18th century, Kazakhstan's incorporation into Russia was historically inevitable and was only a matter of time (Syzdykova, 2012).

In that historical era, the key events in the development of Kazakhstan were not limited solely to the issue of joining the Russian Empire. A tragic chapter in Kazakh history was marked by the bloody battle with the Volga Kalmyks in 1771, which brought great suffering to both peoples. The Volga Kalmyks were part of the Western Mongols – Oirats – who migrated to the banks of the Volga in the early 17th century. The increasing policies of Tsarism restricted the rights of the Kalmyk population. There was a pronounced shortage of pasture lands. Each year, the Kalmyks were required to send combat detachments to the Russian army, many of whom perished in Russia's numerous wars. Additionally, part of the Kalmyk population was subjected to Christianization policies.

After the defeat of the Dzungarian state by China, the Volga Kalmyks attempted to return to their historical homeland. In January 1771, the Kalmyks, presumably numbering more than

100 thousand people, attempted to migrate to Chinese territory (Vishnyakova, n.d.). Those Kalmyks who were unable to move to the left bank due to thin ice following an early thaw remained on the right bank of the Volga. The route of the Kalmyk nomads passed through the territory of Kazakhstan. The actions of the Kalmyk settlers were not part of the plans of the tsarist regime, since they caused losses of subjects, and also served as an undesirable example for other peoples of the region. Therefore, the Russian authorities decided to return them. The Yaik and Orenburg Cossacks refused the Russian government's offer to persecute the Kalmyks. Then the Orenburg governor decided to turn to the Kazakhs. Knowing about the traditional Kazakh-Kalmyk conflicts, Russian officials informed the Kazakhs about the approach of the Kalmyks (Mukataev, 2001). The Kazakhs were given the right to fight the Kalmyks on behalf of the Russian government, and they were also given the opportunity to keep all the spoils for themselves, provided that the Kalmyks returned to their former nomadic camps. The Kazakhs took advantage of the offer, hoping to retaliate against the Kalmyks for their raids during the Great Calamity, when the Kazakhs were forced to cede their lands under pressure from the Oirats. All three zhuzes took part in the battles with the Kalmyks.

Major battles between the Kazakhs and the Kalmyks took place on the banks of the Emba River and along the shores of Lake Balkhash. The Kalmyks made an attempt to halt on the banks of the Moiynty River, where they were surrounded by the Kazakh militia led by Abylai. The final blow to the Kalmyks was dealt by the Kyrgyz. This event in the history of the Kazakhs is known as «Shandy Zhorik' («Dusty Campaign'). At that time, only a small part of the resettled Kalmyks made it to Dzhungaria, losing almost all their possessions. This war brought much hardship, grief, and suffering to both peoples.

In general, the history of Kazakh-Dzungar confrontation developed with varying success for both sides and was sometimes replaced by peaceful coexistence. Continuous wars between the Dzungar Khanate and the Qing Empire, dynastic disputes, frequent epidemics, and natural disasters within the Oirat uluses compelled Dzungar rulers to pause their military campaigns and conclude truces with the Kazakhs. Similar situations often arose within the Kazakh Khanate as well. In practice, this was manifested through exchanges of embassies, gifts, and services; the expansion of mutual barter trade; and support by leaders of both peoples in internal conflicts. Occasionally, the Dzungars provided political asylum to disgraced Kazakh khans and sultans. Relations and contacts between the two nations were sometimes marked by Kazakh-Dzungar intermarriages among young people and the practice of adoption, where heads of Oirat and Kazakh families would adopt young children of the opposite sex from each other (Masanov, N.E., Abylkhozhin, Zh. B. & Erofeeva, I.V., 2007).

When the Pugachev Rebellion began (1773—1775), many Kazakhs under Russian rule became actively involved in the uprising. After part of the Kazakh population of the Junior and Middle Zhuzes accepted Russian allegiance, tensions in the border regions adjacent to Russia significantly intensified. The root of the Kazakh-Russian conflicts was primarily related to land issues.

Firstly, the steppe dwellers lacked pastureland for grazing. After the Kazakhs accepted Russian allegiance, the Tsarist administration immediately imposed restrictions on their nomadic movement within their territories and near the border line.

Secondly, following the events of 1771, Kazakhs of the Junior Zhuz claimed the former Kalmyk pastures, but Russian authorities refused their resettlement on these lands.

Thirdly, the Kazakh population was unwilling to accept the construction of military fortifications on their lands, which also significantly disrupted traditional nomadic routes.

Fourthly, during 1752—1755, Russia captured the Novoishimsky territories, formerly inhabited by Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz, where they used to roam.

As noted by specialists, the core of the emerging contradictions between the Kazakh and Russian sides lay in differing interpretations of allegiance. Through their oaths of loyalty, steppe rulers hoped to secure military support from Russia to maintain internal order and defend against external invasions, in exchange for ensuring the safety of trade caravans and Russian border settlements.

In autocratic Russia, a strict hierarchy of power was maintained, where governance required the subordination of all lower levels. When these two principles came into conflict, popular uprising movements and liberation struggles ensued (Domnin, 2011).

Considering these circumstances, E. Pugachev promised the Kazakhs land, water, forests, weapons, lead, clothing, and assured them that he would not interfere with their way of life and religious beliefs. In return, he sought their military support to «restore» him to the status of Russian Tsar. In 1773, Pugachev clandestinely visited the nomads of the Junior Zhuz. He showed keen interest in the condition of the steppe dwellers; fluently speaking Kazakh, he often conversed with influential local elders, hoping to secure their support ahead of assistance from the Yaik Cossacks.

Many Kazakh clans, especially those from regions bordering Russia, expressed their willingness to support E. Pugachyov's uprising. Khan Nuraly himself arrived at the Yaik fort with a detachment of 1,000 men. He sent a letter to E. Pugachyov affirming his readiness to serve him, but subsequently adopted a neutral stance, formally promising assistance both to Pugachyov and the tsarist forces. Later, Nuraly was forced to move away from the areas engulfed by the rebellion. Due to these ambiguous actions, the khan's position weakened even further both within the Steppe and in the eyes of the Russian authorities.

Empress Catherine II, doubting the strength of Khan Nuraly, issued a decree in 1782 to establish in Orenburg the «Special Administration for the Kyrgyz-Kaisaks of the Little Horde,» known as the «Border Expedition». She abolished the previous ban on the transit of livestock into Russia during the winter months. The border officials were instructed to enforce strict justice, and substantial funds were allocated for the construction of mosques, schools, and caravanserais. Meanwhile, raids by Kazakhs continued, and in some cases, military forces had to be deployed to restore order.

Later, in 1784, the administration of the Orenburg region was headed by Baron Igelstrom. He sent a special message not only to the khans but also to all the Kazakh nomads, proposing to cease raiding border Russian settlements and to live in peace. The Kazakh population, perceiving signs of the decline of khan's authority in this message, organized a popular assembly to discuss their response to Igelstrom. The leader of this gathering was Srym-Batyr, a representative of the people. Recognizing Srym-Batyr's influence over the Kazakhs, Igelstrom entered into negotiations with him and easily persuaded the assembly to swear allegiance to Russia and promise to live in harmony.

Following these events, the number of Russian captives in the Kazakh steppes sharply decreased. In the Junior Zhuz, five judicial districts were established, with appointments for the chairman and his deputies who received salaries. Kazakhs were permitted to settle in sedentary villages, for which they were granted one-time aid from the state treasury. They were also allowed to move into Russian territory and receive land there for settlement. An order was issued to draft a special legislation for governing the Kazakhs, based on their folk traditions and customs, and in 1789, a staff of Kyrgyz schools was approved.

After the death of Nural Khan in 1790, his son Irali became his successor, despite the will of the people. Protests against Irali's rule continued among the Kazakhs. When Irali died in 1794, the population of the Junior Zhuz wished to see Abulgazi, son of Khan Kaip, as their khan. However, the Orenburg governor chose Nuraly's eldest son, Ishim, which also caused discontent in the Steppe. The Russian government took measures to strengthen Ishim's authority within Kazakh society, but these attempts were unsuccessful. In 1797, Ishim was killed by Srym Batyr, after which Igelstrom forced the people's assembly to elect Abulkhair's already elderly son, Aichuvak, as khan.

At that time, the rights of tribes to land in the Kazakh steppes had become so entangled that it was no longer possible to identify the true landowners. Internal unrest caused by the nomadic conflicts led to desperate enmity. As a result, one group of Kazakhs, who had been roaming near the Urals, migrated eastward; another moved south toward the Caspian Sea; and a third group headed to the lower reaches of the Syr Darya River, proclaiming Abulgazi as their khan.

Taking advantage of these unrests, the chairman of the khan's council, Sultan Bukey, persuaded part of the people – up to 7,000 kibitkas (nomadic households) – to migrate with him beyond the Ural River, to lands vacated by the Kalmyks who fled in 1771. In 1801, Bukey obtained the approval of Emperor Paul I for permanent nomadic settlement in these lands, thereby laying the foundation for the formation of the so-called Inner Horde, or Bukeyev Khanate.

However, in the Trans-Ural lands, where the Kazakhs continued to roam, unrest and disturbances persisted: the Russian government repeatedly appointed successors of Abulkhair as khans. This provoked discontent not only among ordinary steppe dwellers but also within the ranks of the khan aristocracy, particularly among the heirs of Nuraly. The Kazakhs continued to conduct raids on border settlements, with instances of cattle theft from the Ural Cossacks – especially horses – and the kidnapping of women (Shangina, 2012). Despite measures taken to curb these acts, Russia's influence among the Kazakh people remained weak.

Gradually, with the development of trade and economic relations, by the early 19th century, friendly and cooperative ties began to be established between the Kazakh and Russian populations of the border regions. The previous reciprocal raids diminished significantly. Trade at border fairs became more active. Among Kazakhs and Russians, the practice of *Tamyrstvo* (fraternity or brotherhood) spread widely, fostering closer social bonds.

By the 1820s, the institution of the khanate had lost its role as the supreme authority capable of governing the internal affairs of the Zhuzes. The Tsarist administration abolished the khanate and began independently reforming the governance system with the aim of transforming this region into a colony of the Russian Empire. Meanwhile, there were no unified approaches to the organization of administration in the Orenburg and West Siberian regions.

According to the ideas of M.M. Speransky, in 1822 the «Charter of the Siberian Kyrgyz» was issued, which was gradually implemented only for the population of the Middle Zhuz and a small part of the Senior Zhuz, transferred under the jurisdiction of the West Siberian General-Governor. The khanate authority in the Middle Horde was abolished, and all internal governance was directly entrusted to Kazakh communities. The main units of administration were volosts, managed by their own sultans. These volosts were grouped into two districts: the Karkaralinsky and Kokchektaevsky districts. At their head were appointed orders, composed of elected senior sultans, three Russian commissioners, and two Kazakh representatives. Within the steppe itself, Cossack settlements were established. The right to administer justice and impose punishments was retained by biys – honorable judges among the Kazakhs. Typically, biys were not appointed but elected by the people themselves, who regarded them as authoritative, just, honest, and eloquent orators.

The new administrative arrangement affected part of the Orenburg Kazakhs of the Junior Zhuz in 1824, leading to the abolition of the khanate. The steppe was divided into three sections, each governed by senior sultans. These sultans were granted unlimited authority, and each was accompanied by a Cossack detachment. The Russian civil authorities were concentrated in the Orenburg Border Commission, which oversaw the Orenburg Kazakhs. In territorial terms, the new system, dictated by the Russian government, completely disregarded the traditional tribal division of land, causing discontent among the Kazakhs.

The expansion of Russian borders into the steppes did not cease at this point. Between 1824 and 1838, Russian frontier military posts extended to the Altai and Aktau, reaching the border with *the Hunger Steppe (The Hungry Steppe (Kazakh: Myrzashol) is a clayey-saline desert in Central Asia. It is located on the left bank of the Syr Darya, where the river exits the Fergana Valley)*. Russian settlements such as Kokchetav, Karkaraly, Ayaguz, Bayan-aul, and Akmol formed within the Kazakh steppes. The population of the Senior Zhuz frequently faced invasions from Central Asian states, particularly Kokand and Khiva. The Kazakhs of this region were particularly interested in duty-free trade with Russia. Furthermore, England began to show interest in the southern borders of Kazakhstan, pursuing its goal of conquest in Central Asia during this period (Bekmakhanov, 1957). In the Senior Zhuz,

as well as in the Middle Zhuz, Cossack settlements were established. These settlements maintained Russian authority and supplied grain to the troops. To govern the occupied territory, the Altai District was formed.

The introduction of the new system of governance in Kazakhstan led to a major national liberation movement from 1837 to 1847, led by Kenesary Kasymov. This uprising was directed against the Russian colonization of Kazakh lands, as well as against certain Kazakh feudal lords who supported the tsarist administration. Through his actions, Kenesary Kasymov sought to establish an independent Kazakh statehood. However, given the huge disparity in power between the Kazakhs and the Russian Empire, the uprising was doomed to fail. During a battle with the Kyrgyz in 1847, Kenesary was captured and killed (Abdildabekova, 2009).

Deprived of lands traditionally used for summer, and sometimes winter, pastures, the Kazakhs found themselves in a difficult position. The seizure of land disrupted traditional nomadic routes, led to the mixing of different clans within limited territories, formalized pastures as clan property, and established dependencies among clans. The ecological situation worsened, as the same lands had to be used for both summer and winter grazing.

The situation was especially difficult for Kazakhs who roamed in close proximity to the fortified lines or found themselves between them as frontier territories advanced southward. The Cossacks often regarded all land near the borders as their own property. They prohibited nomads from using these lands, depriving them of the opportunity to harvest hay for the winter. Such a situation developed, in particular, between the Old and New Lines in the Orenburg Governorate. For instance, in the 1830s, the authorities generally banned Kazakhs from pasture nomadism in this area. Protest actions – such as petitioning, livestock theft from colonists, open attacks, and anti-Russian demonstrations – rarely led to success for the nomads.

Grazing livestock near the lines was sometimes permitted on the condition that the Kazakhs sent hostages (amanats) from among the local nobility to the regional authorities. Unauthorized crossings of the line were severely punished. For example, in 1823, for «secretly crossing the border and intending to commit theft,» M. Khudainazarov, a Kazakh of the Junior Zhuz, was sentenced to 30 lashes and exile to the Irkutsk Governorate, while his tribesman D. Aituvarov received 20 lashes and was conscripted to serve in the Arkhangelsk garrison (Golunov, 2005).

The emerging unrest and resistance prompted the establishment of garrison points and fortifications in the Kazakh steppes, where free barter trade was conducted without customs duties. Further expansion of Russian borders and the construction of additional forts continued upstream along the Syr Darya River and toward Ak-Mechet, which was renamed Fort Perovsky in 1853 (Brockhaus, 1895). The seizure of the southern Turkestan strip in 1864, situated between the Verniy (future Almaty) fortification and Fort Perovsky, finally enclosed all Kazakh lands within a permanent border. Thus, by the 1860s, the incorporation of Kazakh territories into Russia was completed.

The Russian government maintained the existing Kazakh administration, headed by a patriarch and including the biys' court, while reserving only general oversight over authorities and the populace. As Tsarist authority strengthened in the Steppe, Kazakhs gradually were removed from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia. In 1836, the administration of the Bukeyev Khanate was transferred to the Ministry of State Property. By 1854, the greater part of the Middle Zhuz became part of the Siberian Kazakh region and was subordinate to unified state governance. Management of the Junior Zhuz was transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which was renamed the «Orenburg Kyrgyz Province». Later, Kazakhs roaming within the Syr Darya line and those of the Senior Zhuz, whose lands comprised the Alatau District, were also excluded from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1868, Kazakh steppes under both the Orenburg and Siberian administrations were divided into four districts: Ural and Turgay in the Orenburg Governor-Generalship, and Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk in Western Siberia.

The provinces were divided into districts. Each district was administered by a district chief, who had two assistants and a chancery. The districts themselves were divided into volosts (rural townships), and the volosts into auls (villages). The size of a volost was determined to be between 1,000 and 2,000 kibitkas (portable dwellings). Auls consisted of 100 to 200 kibitkas and were governed by aul elders. The volost and aul administrators were appointed by special electors from among the local population. Nomads were granted the right to adjudicate according to their own traditions, except in cases of political crimes and breaches of public order. Judges, called biys, were elected by the people for a term of three years.

Many sultans and biys were left without official positions, which led them to resist the new system of administration. Tsarist policy was partly aimed at the Russification of the Kazakh people, hindering the development of national consciousness. The sultans were granted the right to call themselves the «White Bone,» meaning descendants of Genghis Khan, which exempted them from taxes. However, beginning in 1889, all sultans were required to pay the kibitka tax, which amounted to 3 rubles (Brockhaus, 1895).

The bai (Bai (Kazakh) is a large landowner or cattle owner in Central Asia, Kazakhstan) and the poor paid the same. All land was declared state property. The introduced reforms sparked uprisings in the Ural and Turgay provinces, as well as in Mangyshlak. Meanwhile, the local Kazakh elite, relying on the popular masses, sought to restore the khan's authority in the Junior Zhuz. However, these uprisings did not gain wide support and were suppressed.

Since the early 1860s, school education began to be actively introduced in the territory of Kazakhstan. With the participation of I. Altynsarin, seven primary schools for Kazakh children were opened in the Steppe region, along with four two-class schools and a teachers' training school offering instruction in both Kazakh and Russian. These schools were established at fortifications constructed in the Steppe (Kosach, 2003). The development of the Kazakh alphabet based on Cyrillic allowed for its practical use in communication with the Kazakhs, since previously documents had been translated for them from Russian into Tatar using the Arabic script.

In December 1894, the first qualified Kazakh doctor entered medical service in the Steppe – Amre Aytbakin, a graduate of the medical faculty of the Imperial Tomsk University. After passing exams before the medical examination board at Tomsk University, Aytbakin was awarded the degree of physician on October 19, 1894. Soon, Aytbakin became widely and deservedly known as a healer and wise man of the Steppe. Information about him spread from Bayan-Aul to Karkaralinsk, then to Semipalatinsk, Irkutsk, Tomsk, and ultimately reached Moscow. According to accounts from individuals who observed his methods in Karkaralinsk and heeded local rumors

about *«their»* doctor, A. Aytbakyn held immense authority and influence among the Kazakhs in his district. Daily, hundreds of mounted Kazakhs could be seen gathering near his residence, coming from various parts of the district for advice not only concerning their ailments but also on general «matters, disputes, family issues, and others». The local population approached the new doctor with enthusiasm, which, aside from Aytbakyn's personal qualities, was facilitated by his ability to communicate with patients in their native language without the aid of a translator. Kazakhs visited the previous Russian doctors much less frequently, partly due to an unclear fear and partly because of their lack of proficiency in Russian (Fominykh, S.F., Kuzmin, A.N. & Nekrylov, S.A., 2011).

Before the October Revolution, Kazakhstan remained a marketplace for goods and a source of raw materials for Russian industry. In the early 20th century, workers' strikes erupted across Kazakhstan, and Marxist circles began to develop. Simultaneously, disturbances took place in the Turgay, Semipalatinsk, and Ural regions. At the same time, the Tsarist government initiated a process of resettling Russian peasants into Kazakhstan, whose numbers in the Steppe Region began to increase especially after the abolition of serfdom in Russia (Friesen, 2012). This situation immediately impacted the local population, primarily through the reduction of traditional nomadic lifestyles.

Conversely, the growth in the rural population contributed to the strengthening of sedentary agricultural culture in northern Kazakhstan and significantly influenced the traditional economy of the Kazakhs. Under the conditions of land dispossession, the local population was forced to adapt and alter their customary forms of livelihood and way of life (Andreev, I.A., & Andrianov, B.V., 1982). The Kazakh ethnos demonstrated a high level of adaptability, tolerance, and peacefulness. According to contemporary observers, this process was less painful for the Kazakhs than might have been expected. Peoples of different origins have always been able to find a common language. Journalist A. Tregubov, an eyewitness who visited Akmolinsk Oblast, described the relations between Russians and local Kazakhs as follows: «The settlers live very amicably with the Kyrgyz (*Kazakhs, the author's note*). I did not hear any complaints from the settlers about the Kyrgyz. Cases of partial «tamyr' (brotherhood) between settlers and Kyrgyz serve as the best evidence of the possibility of good coexistence between Kyrgyz and Russians. The Kyrgyz are hospitable, but it is necessary to respect their traditions». Incidents that did occur were most often the result of thoughtless actions by bureaucratic officials who were unwilling to consider the interests of the newcomers and the local Kazakh population (e-History.kz, n.d.).

Land previously used by nomads for industrial purposes – such as salt extraction, mining of non-ferrous metals, and other minerals (Golunov, 2005) – was also confiscated. By the 1870s, the process of sedentarization had spread across a broad area of northern and eastern Kazakhstan. Populations in the desert and semi-desert steppes of central and western Kazakhstan remained outside this process, continuing extensive nomadic migrations. In Semirechye and the Syr Darya region – areas that were incorporated into Russia at a later time and characterized by a milder climate – the process of sedentarization began only at the very end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, progressing quite rapidly. Subsequently, in the 20th century, permanent settlements appeared along the Ili River and on Lake Balkhash (Zhdanko, 1961).

Interactions between representatives of the two ethnic groups were characterized by mutual borrowing of achievements in material and spiritual culture. Due to a shortage of women along the Siberian lines, mixed Russian-Kazakh marriages became common. Researchers and travelers noted the bilinguism (proficiency in two languages) among Siberian line Cossacks and their excellent knowledge of Kazakh customs. As N. M. Yadrintsev observed in this regard: «On the frontier and along the line, the Cossacks almost completely lost their language and now speak Kyrgyz (Kazakh *(author's note)*) exclusively. Having frequent interactions with Kyrgyz (Kazakh), they even began to use this language in their domestic life. In the stanitsas, it is often evident that a Cossack girl, a daughter of a Cossack officer, issues her commands in Kyrgyz, and here Kyrgyz replaces French as the language of communication. In Omsk, we were shown a Cossack officer from the steppe who was unable to explain the content of a matter in Russian and, forgetting himself, began to communicate it in Kyrgyz – completely unaware that his listener did not understand» (Lysenko, 2008).

During the years of the First World War, mass requisitions of agricultural products and livestock, increases in taxes and levies, and the conscription of the Kazakh population (in 1916) for rear-area labor sparked a series of strikes and popular unrest. Individual protests escalated into a national liberation uprising that spread across the entire territory of Kazakhstan. The uprising was especially prolonged in the Turgay region, where the rebel forces were led by the Batyr Amangeldy Imanov.

In conclusion of this section, it should be emphasized that Kazakhstan's integration into the Russian Empire unfolded gradually over the course of two centuries. This process was predominantly facilitated through diplomatic means, though military force was occasionally employed. In certain instances, the policies of the Tsarist government provoked dissatisfaction and determined resistance among the Kazakh population. Nevertheless, throughout this period, political, economic, and cultural ties between the two neighboring peoples were strengthened, which positively influenced the development of both states.

The Junior Zhuz as part of Russia and the formation of the Bukeyev Khanate

The Junior Zhuz covered an area of approximately 850,000 square versts (a verst = 1066.8 meters) – from the Ural Mountains and Tobol River to the lower reaches of the Syr Darya. To the south, it bordered the Khiva and Kokand khanates, as well as separate Turkmen and Karakalpak territories. To the north, it adjoined the lands of the Astrakhan, Saratov, and Orenburg governorates, separated by a fortified buffer zone. To the west, the Caspian Sea lay along the boundary of the Junior Zhuz, while to the east stretched the lands of the Middle and Senior Zhuzes. By the beginning of the 19th century, the population of the Junior Zhuz numbered over half a million people, or approximately 100,000 yurts. The population was divided into three major confederations – baiuly, alimuly and jetiru – each comprising several clans.

The Junior Zhuz was the first among the Kazakh khanates to accept Russian citizenship in the 1730s. At the beginning of the 19th century, no more than one-third of the Junior Zhuz's territory was incorporated into the Russian Empire. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the population of the Junior Zhuz experienced one of the most difficult periods in its history. The causes of this turmoil included the decline of the khan's authority in the steppe, increased fragmentation within the Zhuz itself, and a prolonged popular uprising led by Srym Batyr (1783—1797) aimed against the policies of the tsarist administration.

In 1782, the Russian government permitted Kazakhs to drive their livestock across the Ural River to the right bank during winter, provided they rented land. However, the Ural Cossacks exploited this decree to their advantage and banned land leasing to Kazakhs. Crossing the frontier fortifications into the interior was only allowed if Kazakhs left hostages (amanats). During the winter of 1782—1783, Ural Cossacks unlawfully seized over 4,000 horses from Kazakhs. Additionally, that winter was exceptionally severe, leading to a drought and mass mortality of livestock – dzhut (Dzhut is a mass death of livestock caused by icing of pastures). Over 10,000 horses and large cattle perished among the nomads. This situation fueled protest movements within the Junior Zhuz, which eventually escalated into a liberation uprising led by Srym Batyr. Incensed nomads began conducting raids on the Ural line, capturing soldiers and stealing livestock. In response, punitive Cossack detachments were dispatched, facing fierce resistance from the Kazakhs.

The Tsarist administration understood that, given the difficult situation of the nomadic people, it would be challenging to bring the Steppe under its control. In this context, Russia pursued two main strategies: strengthening alliances with the Kazakh khans and intensifying military pressure on the Kazakhs. Russian military presence in the territory of the Junior Zhuz manifested itself through the construction of fortified lines, which was sometimes accompanied by armed detachments attacking auls. Line Cossacks and soldiers frequently took part not only in sanctioned punitive operations but also in unauthorized raiding and plundering. For example, as a repressive measure against Kazakhs suspected of attacking the line or caravans, Russian forces would seize Kazakhs arriving at the line and impose the so-called «border baranta» (Baranta or barymta is a cattle theft among the Turkic nomadic peoples as a way of taking revenge for an insult or compensating for damage caused). Thus, baranta turned into one of the forms of colonial robbery (Taimasov, 2009).

In one of Srym's reports to Empress Catherine II in 1790, it was stated that the Ataman of the Ural Fort, Darykov, with a large detachment, «suddenly attacked your innocent subjects, the Kyrgyz-Kazakhs, destroyed 225 yurts, seized all their property, killed 140 people, took 57 prisoners, and carried off countless horses, camels, cattle, and sheep». Such raids were frequently carried out by Russian officers for the purpose of enrichment. These events prompted Catherine II to issue a special decree in 1784 prohibiting «arbitrary acts against the Kyrgyz» by the Cossack troops and declaring «the harshest punishment for the gravest crime – any behavior that causes disturbances

to the peace of her subjects». The Empress demanded that Russian governors and officials treat the Kazakh people gently and ordered them not to spare funds on gifts to khans and sultans. She advised the Orenburg military governor: «This wild and reckless people may be won over not so much by strictness, but through kindness and lenient treatment».

Alongside the measures taken to safeguard the peace of the Kazakhs, the Russian administration endeavored, first, to win over the sultans as agents of its authority in the steppe; and second, to weaken the power of the khans and render them dependent on Russian governance.

At the same time, the struggle intensified between the tribal elders and Khan Nuraly, who demonstrated his inability to suppress the popular uprising. The rebels demanded the removal of the unpopular steppe ruler from power. Having thoroughly discredited himself in the eyes of both the Kazakhs and the Tsarist authorities, Nuraly was expelled from the Junior Zhuz in 1786. Under the protection of the Tsarist government, he took refuge for a time in the Kalmyk fortress. Later exiled to Ufa, Khan Nuraly died there.

During the years of the people's war, the actions of the khan's and tsar's punitive detachments, as well as natural disasters – the dzhuts (1795—1796 and 1800—1801) – caused the impoverishment of the Kazakh population. Count Ya. Yu. Pototsky, having become acquainted with the life of the Kazakhs, wrote: «Their yurts or kibitkas, which should have consisted of good and thick felt, are covered only with woolen rags and scraps. The Kyrgyz themselves are covered in rags» (Zimanov, 1982).

During this period, the situation of the Kazakhs of the Junior Zhuz was further aggravated, as previously explained, by internal feuds. These conflicts resulted in the spread of baranta, the consequences of which were on a scale comparable to other calamities. Baranta spread especially actively following the liberation movements led by Srym Batyr. Regarding this, A.I. Levshin writes: «There is nothing more terrible than the revenge of the Kyrgyz-Kaisaks and its consequences… This evil consists of the continuous driving away of each other's cattle and the internecine fights arising from it». The researcher further adds: «Of all three Cossack hordes, it was the Junior that suffered the most from baranta» (Mukataev, 2001).

Previously, baranta was carried out by the decision of a senior elder or biy – that is, when the guilty party refused to satisfy the claimant's demand. However, now any offended, robbed, or dissatisfied person acted on their own initiative: gathering people, coming to the enemy's aul, attacking his dwelling, and driving away his herds. In response, the offended party would gather defenders and act in the same way. It often happened that baranta was «collected» not from the property of the offender himself, but from the population of the aul where he lived, without distinguishing between the innocent and the guilty. This led to a vicious cycle of repeated events; an increasing number of participants were drawn into the irreconcilable conflict. Herds and flocks were decimated, and the number of livestock in the steppes began to decline sharply, since animals were not spared during the raids. During rapid drives, many animals died or fell ill, often infecting healthy ones. Furthermore, livestock obtained through baranta was quickly disposed of, leading to thoughtless slaughter. «The flame of revenge is fanned, and whole thousands of people groan from the evil arbitrarily introduced and willingly sustained,» commented A.I. Levshin on the scale of baranta (Mukataev, 2001).

Baranta in the Junior Zhuz sharply intensified in the early 19th century, reaching such a critical point that in 1813, 1814, and 1815, many mothers and fathers deprived of sustenance came to the Russian borders and sold their children, finding no other means to save them. According to A.I. Levshin's estimates, in 1815 alone, around 200 Kazakh children were sold within one month in the Guryev region. Boys were sold for 3 to 4 rubles each, while girls were exchanged for 2 to 3 kulas of rye flour. As the Kazakh population increasingly fell into dire poverty by the beginning of the 19th century, they were forced to sell their children into captivity not only to the Russians but also to the Khivans.

The deplorable condition of the Kazakhs living near the Russian borders prompted Emperor Alexander I to issue a decree for their resettlement within the Russian Empire. Under this decree, they were granted plots of land and a ten-year grace period exempting them from various taxes and military service. Additionally, the Emperor appealed to free Russian subjects to purchase Kazakh children, but with the condition that these children would be granted freedom upon reaching the age of 25 (Mukataev, 2001).

Historical sources note that at the time when unrest and internecine conflicts were unfolding in the Junior Zhuz, the commander of the Astrakhan Cossack regiment, Popov, acting with the consent of the Astrakhan military governor K.F. Knorring, began proposing to Khan Bukey that he and his followers permanently relocate to the vacant lands between the Ural and Volga rivers, left deserted by the Volga Kalmyks. Khan Bukey (son of Khan Nuraly and grandson of Abulkhair, the first Kazakh khan to recognize Russian suzerainty) (Pochekaev, 2014) agreed, and, having secured the support of the popular leader Srym Batyr, persuaded the masses to migrate. He sent a letter to the Astrakhan governor expressing his desire to relocate. This letter was forwarded for consideration to Emperor Paul I. On March 11, 1801, Tsar Paul I issued a decree "…permitting them to migrate wherever they wish…,» and as a sign of his favor, awarded Khan Bukey a Gold Medal bearing his portrait, to be worn on a black ribbon around the neck (Mamaev, N.R., Muldasheva, R.A., & Gridnev, A.A., 2001). On the night of March 12, Paul I was assassinated by conspirators.

In the literature of historical science, various versions exist explaining the motives behind Khan Bukey's migration, as well as the factors contributing to the formation of the Bukeyev Khanate (Inner Horde). The establishment of the Inner Horde was driven by political tensions observed within the Junior Zhuz, as well as the difficult conditions faced by the population of this region – ravaged by the baranta, khan inter-tribal conflicts, popular uprisings, and emerging disputes over pasture shortages. In his migration, Khan Bukey saw an opportunity to achieve stability and to protect himself from raids by Central Asian rulers, with the direct support of the Russian authorities. Moreover, it is possible that Khan Bukey, having migrated with his subjects, sought to attain khan dignity, since within the Junior Zhuz he was only a member of the Khan's council. Proponents of the third viewpoint tend to believe that the formation of the Inner Horde from the Junior Zhuz was solely a product of the policies pursued by the Russian Empire.

For example, Major General I.I. Popov, commenting on Khan Bukey's official request for land allocation in the Astrakhan Governorate, assessed the prospects of the migration of part of the Kazakhs from the Junior Zhuz as follows: «The expected benefit from them is that when they remain with such a large number of livestock as they had before, this livestock will be within Russia and will no longer be used by the Khivans and Bukharans as was done before; moreover, this people, once Russified, will remain on exactly the same basis as the other Asian peoples in the Astrakhan Governorate – the nomadic Kalmyks and Turkmen Tatars» (Mukataev, 2001).

Regardless of the motives behind it, this migration – of great historical significance both for Kazakhstan and Russia – took place. Initially, around five thousand families crossed to the right bank of the Ural; subsequently, the population of this territory began to increase due to an influx of people from beyond the Ural. By 1803, there were already about 7,500 yurts in this area. By 1845, according to various sources, the Bukeyev Khanate included between 30,000 and 52,000 yurts. The early settlers and many of those who arrived later mostly possessed very little livestock; instead of yurts, they lived in tents (*kurke*), representing families that were poor or extremely impoverished. However, only a few of them were truly loyal to the Russian authorities and supporters of khan's power. The migrants largely consisted of direct participants in Srym-Batyr's uprising. The settlement movement was led by the Baibakty clan, which had been the core of the popular uprising in the Junior Zhuz. Many researchers believe that the influence of Srym-Batyr played a decisive role in the migration of part of the Junior Zhuz population to the right bank of the Ural. Hoping to obtain pastures and improve

their economic situation, Kazakhs were forced to leave their native steppes and relatives behind – many of whom did not wish to migrate. The Bukeyev Khanate was formed from the following clans:

– generation of Baiuly, including 11 clans: Bersh (Berche), Baibakty, Alycha, Sherkesh, Issen-Temir, Kyzyl -Kurt, Tomin, Jaban, Aday, Maskara and Tazlar;

– a small portion of the Kita clan from the Alimuly generation;

– three small clans: Tabyna, Tama, Kerderi, as well as the generation of Jetiru (Jetiurug or Semirodtsy);

– Tyulenguts, among whom there were representatives of North Caucasian and Kalmyk origin (Tyulenguts served as courtiers and officials of khans and sultans) (Viktorin, 2004);

– several dozen yurts of the Khoja clan, which, according to tradition, descends from revered Muslim saints;

– several families of Nogais who had previously allied themselves with Khan Abulkhair (Mukataev, 2001).

Initially, the Bukey Steppe was administratively subordinate to the Orenburg Border Commission. By decree of Emperor Alexander I in 1812, Sultan Bukey was elevated to the rank of khan. However, in practice, the role of the khan was reduced to performing the functions of an official acting under the orders of the border administration (Karabushchenko, 2011).

The borders of the Bukeyev Khanate were as follows: to the north – the Samara Governorate; to the east – the Ural Region; to the south – the Caspian Sea; and to the west – the Yenotaevsky District of the Astrakhan Governorate (Safullin, 2012). Along the northern and northeastern boundaries of the khanate flowed two rivers – the Bolshoy and Maly Uzen (modern Saratov Region), whose banks were abundant with haymaking pastures and served as winter refuges for livestock against snowstorms and cold weather. It became permissible for Kazakhs to move to wintering grounds near the sea and other reed-covered areas, which provided natural shelter for their livestock during harsh winter frosts. In the central part of the khanate stretched a vast sandy massif known as Narynkum (Naryn Sands). This terrain was either entirely sandy, supporting sparse, low-grade pasture that withered in drought, or was filled with extensive salt- and clay-rich soils. This area was hardly suitable for any form of agriculture; only the low and sparse wormwood grew there, which livestock could only consume in winter, when the bitterness was alleviated by the cold and the dried plants.

The proximity of the Russian settlements in the Astrakhan, Saratov, and Orenburg provinces facilitated close contacts between the Kazakhs and their inhabitants. This contributed to the rapid development of the Bukeyev Khanate. Positive changes in the economy, worldview, culture, and customs of the Kazakh population in this region were partly influenced by Russia.

The most active development of a sedentary lifestyle among the Kazakhs occurred during the reign of Khan Jangir (Zhangir), the son of Bukey, who ascended to the throne in 1824. After Bukey's death in 1815, the interim ruler of the khanate until Jangir reached majority was Bukey's brother, Sultan Shigay (Sygay) Nuraliev (Mukataev, 2001).

Jangir's period of rule was relatively lengthy and marked by constructive reforms in several aspects of the Bukeyev khanate's society. He was the first to move from a yurt into a house, which was built for him by the government. The house was constructed at the northeastern tip of the Nary Sands, in the Zhaskus (Dzhuskus) area. Thus, Jangir laid the foundation for a sedentary life among the Kazakhs. Gradually, his relatives and close associates began building their own homes nearby. Since the khan distributed land for free to those wishing to settle there, many merchants and traders eagerly took advantage of this opportunity. In less than twenty years, a beautiful village was formed here, which served as the khan's residence, called the Khan's Headquarters or simply Headquarters. The settlement was located on what is now the territory of the Urda district center in western Kazakhstan. The construction of Headquarters was largely driven by the needs of cultural and trade exchange with Russia (Golunov, 2005). Its well-planned layout allowed for the differentiation of streets and districts within the village.

The economic activities of the Bukeyev Khanate greatly benefited from the trade policies of the Russian imperial government. Kazakhs from the deep steppes supplied large herds of cattle, horses, camels, sheep, hides, and wool. These goods were exchanged for industrial products and foodstuffs. The Khan's Compound was one of the key trading centers, where crowded, multilingual fairs took place. Large herds of fat-tailed sheep (Fat-tailed sheep are a meat-fat type sheep of semi-coarse-wool and coarse-wool breeds. They have a fat tail on their sacrum – fatty deposits, the reserves of which provide the animal with endurance. This breed of sheep is widespread in the southern regions of Russia, Kazakhstan, Iran, North Africa and Afghanistan) purchased from the Kazakhs were driven to Astrakhan, Samara, and Kamyshin. The mutton fat was well-suited for the production of soap, candles, and leather processing. Russian peasants preferred to buy Kazakh horses for agricultural work. The development of trade in the Bukeyev Khanate gradually began attracting merchants from various regions of Russia. For example, in 1845, traders and manufacturers from the provinces of Saratov, Voronezh, Penza, Tambov, Moscow, Astrakhan, Nizhny Novgorod, Ryazan, Simbirsk, Kazan, Vyatka, Yaroslavl, and Chernigov were registered at the fair in the Khan's Compound.

It is known that livestock and livestock products from the Kazakhs were completely sold out at the fair in the Khan's Settlement, while foreign industrial goods were sold at a rate of 60—70%, and bread at 100%. However, by the 1840s, barter trade (exchange of goods), which had not been equivalent in market terms for the nomads, began to give way to commodity-money transactions in the khanate. Gradually, the Bukey Kazakhs learned to accumulate money, as it was more advantageous to pay taxes in cash than with livestock. Additionally, the Kazakhs often traveled to neighboring Russian provinces for goods, where it was more convenient to pay with money than with livestock that had been herded with difficulty.

The time spent at the fair was an exciting event for the Kazakhs. Taverns opened at the fair, and musicians and singers came to perform, while lively horse races were organized. Wooden harmonicas made near Tula were particularly popular among the Kazakhs; the Bukeyevtsy loved to play them. The Kazakhs often performed the song «Van'ka fell in love with Tan'ka» on these harmonicas (Gaisin, 1984). Alcoholic beverages were secretly brought to the fair, although, according to the law, the import of such products into the khanate was strictly prohibited.

Gradually, the Khan's Compound began transforming into a merchant settlement: the majority of its inhabitants were traders and merchants. Over time, the Kazakhs themselves began developing commerce – speculators and traders (*alyp-satar*, *saudager*) – who later became merchants of the second and first guilds. Most often, they acted as intermediaries, purchasing goods secondhand from Astrakhan, Saratov, and Uralsk, and then reselling them among nomadic yurts. Some Kazakhs bought livestock locally and drove it to fairs in other provinces. For example, camels driven to Orenburg yielded one and a half times more profit than selling them locally. The Bukeyev Khanate did not bear any direct obligation to the Russian authorities; this was compensated by the transformation of the khan's domain into a raw material base and a market for Russian goods (Zimanov, 1982). Many small middlemen, over a short period, turned into large merchants with substantial capital. The famous and relatively wealthy Kazakh merchant Karaul-Khodzha Babadzhanov, who was close to the Khan's household, signed an agreement in 1817 with Princess Bagration to establish a «joint capital for trade in bread and livestock». Under this arrangement, the princess received an income of 15,607 rubles in 1818 from her 11,697-ruble contribution. However, among Kazakhs, such large-scale entrepreneurs were quite rare.

The development of trade in the steppe also led to a reverse process – an increase in indebtedness, as people borrowed goods with deferred payments or commissions. The penetration of commercial capital into the territory of the Inner Horde was accompanied by the growth of usury. When fairs were not held, it was difficult for the population to obtain money, so loans were extended at high interest rates. These financial operations primarily harmed honest and trusting residents. Often,

livestock were seized in an unbalanced manner to settle debts, and some borrowers were forced to work as laborers for their creditors.

In addition to livestock farming, the Kazakhs engaged in salt production. They extracted and transported salt from Lake Baskunchak and supplied it by cart to Saratov. The work took place from June 1 to October 1, and payment was made based on the quantity of salt produced. Workers were hired at the lake through contractors who were also Kazakhs. At the beginning of the season, the Kazakhs would migrate to the lake with their families and livestock.

Alongside the emergence of settled and semi-settled communities, the practices of seasonal migration and hired labor began to spread among the inhabitants of towns and villages, as well as to fishing, factory, and mine operations in neighboring Russian provinces. Seasonal workers operated along the Volga River and its tributaries, as well as along the coast of the Caspian Sea. Several seasonal camps and groups, known as uchugs (Uchugs are solid river partitions constructed to hold and catch fish moving upstream. These barriers were made from a series of stakes driven across the current of the river, with intermediate links formed from wooden poles driven into the riverbed) and vatagas (Vatags are fishing sites along the Volga and the Caspian Sea, locations of stationary netting operations, as well as fishing cooperatives organized for this purpose) were located along the Caspian coast from the Volga to the Ural: Ivanchug, Uvary, Chagan, Kamyzyak, Bogatinskaya, Porokhovinskaya, Kokarevskaya, Kosoleinskaya, Kamchatskaya (Novinskaya), Vakhrameeva, Baksaevskaya. According to data from the Astrakhan Fisheries Directorate, Kazakhs leased coastline plots for vatagas and purchased tickets for sea fishing.

The people of the horde frequently traveled on their camels to cut hay or to plow fields in the Krasnoyarsk and Tsarevsky districts. Kazakhs also adopted the transport-based craft: in winter, they journeyed from the Kalmyk, Torgun, and Naryn regions in carts driven by camels to Astrakhan, fishing along the way and transporting the fish to Tsaritsyn. Wheat was delivered to the village of Balakovo, and from there, supplies were sent to the villages of the Novokuznetsk district – timber was carried there, and cargoes from Kazanka were transported to Novouzensk, Saratov, or Guryev.

Craftsmanship among the Kazakhs developed slowly; the constant demand for livestock products did not create a necessity for them to actively engage in other types of activities. Meanwhile, domestic crafts and trades began to occupy a certain place in the economic life of the Kazakh population

The production of various wooden and metal products and household items was considered an important source of livelihood in sedentary conditions. The number of craftsmen in the Bukeyev Khanate increased in the 19th century, and some enterprising Kazakhs engaged in the purchase and resale of handicrafts. The most common craftsmen in the khanate were brickmakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, silversmiths, weavers, shoemakers, and saddlers. The latter sold a large quantity of harnesses and belts, which were eagerly purchased by the Russian population (Astrakhan-musei, n.d.).

A new phenomenon in the economic sphere of the Bukeyev Khanate was the construction of dams and artesian wells for land irrigation, for which Russian specialists were invited. The first experiments in dam construction were carried out on the Torgun River (modern Volgograd region) in the 1830s, when the Khan's Summer Residence, called Torgun-Kala, was founded. It was located to the northwest of the Khan's Residence, 110 versts from Kamyshin and 180 from Saratov. There stood the khan's two-story house with twelve rooms, which had a garden with a moat, planted with cherry trees, and a bathhouse. Near the garden there were melon patches for sowing cucumbers, and it was also planned to grow watermelons and melons there. To create artesian wells, which Jangir intended to use during summer droughts, the Ministry of State Property ordered the necessary equipment from Paris at his request, and a specialist – Neshel, a candidate from the University of Dorpat – was invited to organize the work.

Gradually, the Kazakhs began to engage in agriculture, although their methods of production and tools were very primitive. Some sultans hired Russian peasants to carry out agricultural work. There was a prevailing belief that the Russian government disapproved of the Kazakhs practicing agriculture, as it could disrupt trade relations and eliminate the opportunity to sell grain in the Steppe.

The lack of opportunity to migrate year-round due to sparse vegetation, along with the unresolved issue of limited pasture space, forced the Kazakhs to adopt skills for a semi-sedentary lifestyle. They began to build permanent dwellings, prepare supplies for their livestock for the winter, and engage in haymaking. However, the Kazakhs' views on housing construction changed dramatically. Previously, a sedentary lifestyle was considered a sign of poverty in Kazakh society (*zhatak*, literally meaning «lying down,» referring to semi-sedentary individuals) for those who did not own livestock, which eliminated the need to migrate. Now, building a house was seen as a symbol of prosperity. The houses were made of clay or logs, and earthen dwellings were constructed. By the 1860s, two-thirds of the Bukey population had permanent homes with outbuildings (Zhdanko, 1961). Timber and other building materials were transported to the khanate from the banks of the Volga River, as well as from the Novozenk, Nikolayev, Kamyshin, Chernoyarsk, Tsaritsyn, and Astrakhan districts, which were part of the Saratov and Astrakhan provinces (Zimanov, 1982).

Kazakh dugouts were scattered across the steppe, either alone or grouped together, but in both cases the settlement was called an *aul*. Often, an *aul* consisted of two, three, four, or even eight dwellings. The sparse vegetation of the land prevented a dense settlement pattern. These dugouts were built from unburned clay bricks, made using local clay. Salt, sand, and grass were mixed into the clay; the addition of grass caused the bricks to have a «fuzzy» appearance. The floor of the dugout was usually covered with clay, which was pressed and smoothed. The roof was constructed from reeds or rushes mixed with clay, or from wooden planks. Externally, the dugout appeared as if molded from clay rather than built from bricks. The interior walls were also plastered with clay, creating a fully earthen enclosure. Occasionally, homes with a partition (made from wood, reeds, or felt) dividing the dwelling into two parts – male and female – were found. P. Medvedsky, describing the economic life of the Kazakhs of the Bukeyev Khanate, wrote: «However, such a partition is not an essential feature, because Kyrgyz (Kazakh) women do not lead secluded lives and do not hide from men. On the contrary, they always take the most active part in men's conversations; they also receive and entertain passing strangers or guests. Women's seclusion is unthinkable in a nomadic society». (Mukataev, 2001).

The stove held an important place in the winter dwelling of the steppe Kazakhs, being heated from morning until night. A cauldron was placed in the stove, where food was cooked, laundry was washed, and household items were cleaned. In winter, the entire family typically gathered around the stove, as closely as possible, since the temperature in the room rarely reached nine degrees Celsius. Wealthy Kazakhs lived differently: their homes were cozy, with wooden floors that were carefully cleaned, and the beds were covered with carpets and pillows. These houses had fresh air and moderate temperatures.

To encourage the Kazakhs to transition to a sedentary lifestyle, Jangir allocated land for the construction of houses and outbuildings free of charge. The rapid adaptation of the Kazakhs to sedentary and semi-sedentary ways of life is also linked to the mass death of livestock during the harsh and prolonged blizzards in the winter months of 1827—1828. Due to starvation – a devastating drought – up to 111,000 horses, 45,000 head of cattle, 6,000 camels, and 220,000 sheep perished in the khanate. Other reports indicate that in that year, two-thirds of the total livestock population in the Bukeyev Khanate was lost. The colossal damage suffered by herders during these years forced them to seek ways of self-preservation. From that point on, the Kazakhs rapidly began to create the most primitive shelters for their livestock and winter dwellings.

The main wealth of the Kazakhs of the Bukeyev Horde was always livestock, but by the mid-19th century, animal husbandry had declined. One of the reasons for the decline in the

population's well-being in the khanate, as noted by some historians, was the incorrect distribution of lands by Khan Jangir among the clans, in which the main part of the best lands was concentrated in the hands of the large and middle nobility. The initial trust from the Russian government and the policy of control over the Bukeyev Khanate gradually gave way to principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of the horde. Jangir took advantage of his relatively independent position, which led to arbitrary land distribution in the horde and the establishment of levies. As a result, many Kazakhs lost their pasture plots and were forced to rent lands for nomadism from their neighbors – the Kalmyks or large landowners, for example, the princes Yusupov, Bezborodko, and others. Some, due to the lack of lands, fell into dependence on the nobility and were forced to pay tribute. And some Kazakhs altogether left the territory of the khanate and tried to return again to the Trans-Urals steppes.

Many historians have regarded the land relations established within the Bukeyev Khanate as an anomaly in the nomadic Kazakh society. For instance, researcher S. E. Tolybekov affirms: «The entire history of the Kazakh nomadic khanate does not recognize any estate-based or monopolistic landownership by the khan and sultans; we are not aware of a single case where a nomadic herder was attached to the land, i.e., serfdom» (Tolybekov, 1971). For example, Karaul-Khodzha Babadzhanov, who, by decision of the khan, became a land magnate, forced nomads to mow hay for him as payment for the lands granted. Additionally, Karaul-Khodzha introduced monetary levies on each yurt and a natural tax in the form of fillet and sausages.

The intensification of land disputes became a factor in the disintegration of internal ties within Kazakh communities. As ordinary herders grew poorer due to the shortage of pastures, more within the kinship groups became *kreme* (outsiders). The weaker the kinship bonds among the nomads, the more freely they abandoned their relatives in search of more favorable living conditions. Driven to despair, people could no longer tolerate the existing situation and arose in fierce resistance. By the mid-1830s, the uprisings of the dependent population *(sharua)*, caught under the yoke of local feudal lords, escalated into an organized rebellion led by Isatai Taimanov. The batyr appealed to the khan, requesting an end to the lawlessness of the Sultans. However, Jangir's reaction to this plea was to appeal to the Russian authorities for military reinforcements. The people's outrage turned into armed resistance. «It required extraordinary courage and influence over the masses,» wrote A. F. Ryzanov, «to lead almost unarmed people against well-armed Russian troops, under the command of officers wielding artillery, which inspired a mystical terror among the half-wild horde members. We know of the feats of Srym, Karatay, Kenisary, but we have never encountered such a display of willpower, such a passionate thirst for victory, and such sacrifice – what Isatai batyr manifested!» (Mukataev, 2001).

Due to the threat of destruction from military fortifications, the rebels led by Isatai managed to break through and retreat back into the Trans-Ural steppe near the Yamankhalin fort on the night of December 14, 1837 (Zimanov, 1982). Later, they returned again across the line, and shortly thereafter, Isatai himself was killed in a confrontation with Russian troops. The remaining seven rebels were brought to trial, and by court decision, they were sentenced to be whipped through the gauntlet (The gauntlet is a long, flexible and thick rod made of willow (willow bush) used for corporal punishment in the 17th—19th centuries. The gauntlets were first soaked in salt water) – running between two ranks of 500 men in two consecutive rounds of punishment. Afterward, they were exiled for eight years of forced labor in Riga; those who remained fit for service after this period were transferred into the ranks of soldiers.

Remaining concerned and not indifferent to the bloody events that had occurred, the military governor of Orenburg, V.A. Perovsky, wrote to Jangir: «These people would never have dared to take action that would lead to such consequences without cause or reason. I have learned that not only the followers of Isatai, but also the majority of the Kyrgyz, have been driven to the extreme by the self-rule of the sultans, biys, and elders you employ to manage the horde. «Over time, Jangir realized the mistakes he had made in reforming land relations and assessed the scale of their consequences.

He had plans to address the land issue in the khanate, but his untimely death prevented him from realizing his intentions.

Jangir sought to strengthen his position within Kazakh society by rewarding loyal associates, granting them the best lands, conferring titles, offering gifts, and providing privileges. To manage Kazakh communities, Jangir prepared religious figures who partly served as agents of his policies, including in the realm of education. Documents mention that before Jangir was elevated to the status of khan, most Kazakhs – except for a few sultans and khojas – had a limited understanding of Islamic religious beliefs; at that time, the number of mullahs across the entire khanate did not exceed fifteen (Zimanov, 1982).

To bring his fellow tribesmen closer to religion, the khan resorted to various, sometimes unconventional, measures. For example, the khan considered complex disputed cases in a specially arranged mosque, where he preliminarily conducted a worship service for the parties. About the population of the Bukeyev Khanate, the military official L.L. Meyer wrote that «they pray willingly, but have a decisive aversion to visiting mosques». There were cases when during the fair in the Khan's Headquarters, a detachment of Cossacks from the khan's personal escort suddenly appeared, who drove the crowd into the mosque with whips and lashes to perform prayers. L.L. Meyer, who observed the Kazakhs, believed that «the reason for this is purely physical: the stuffy air of the mosque is especially sensitive and unpleasant for the inhabitants of the free steppes and makes the communal prayer a perfect punishment» (Mukataev, 2001). By the beginning of the 1840s, individual aul collectives already had their own spiritual mentor. Tatar mullahs invited by Jangir taught the faith to worthy Kazakhs, who, after successfully passing an exam, became mullahs by the khan's order. The Islamization of Kazakh society was facilitated by the Orenburg Mufti, whose daughter (Fatima) Jangir married.

For his active implementation of Islamic institutions in the khanate, Jangir was honored with numerous commendations from the Muslim clergy of the Russian Empire. However, after Jangir's own death, the reforms he had initiated in the spiritual and religious life of the Bukeyev people drew criticism from the tsarist administration. Jangir's actions were now seen as an obstruction to the transformations being carried out by the Russian administration in the horde, which contributed to the growth of anti-Christian and anti-Russian sentiments among his subjects (Pochekaev, 2014).

In the absence of control from the Russian government, among the khan's levies approved by Jangir, the *zakat* was the foremost. This tax, grounded in Islamic religious principles and practiced in many Muslim countries, was initially levied in kind, deriving from a fixed quota of one-twentieth of the livestock according to a strictly established distribution scheme:

1) for 5 camels – 1 head of sheep; for 10 camels – 2 sheep; for 15 camels – 3 sheep; for 20 camels – 4 sheep; for 25 camels – a taylak (a two-year-old camel); for 36 camels – one three-year-old camel; for 46 camels – one four-year-old camel; for 61 camels – one five-year-old camel.

Конец ознакомительного фрагмента.

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