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**ANALYSIS OF THE KAZAKH-DZUNGAR RELATIONS, BASED ON CKOKAN  
VALIKHANOV'S «HISTORICAL LEGENDS ABOUT THE BATYRS OF THE 18TH  
CENTURY»**

**Valeeva Zhuldyz**

2nd year student of the specialty «History» of the Eurasian National University after L.N. Gumilyov  
Astana, Kazakhstan  
Scientific Supervisor: S.K. Kabylytayeva

It is hardly possible to overestimate an impact Chokan Valikhanov made on the developing history of Kazakh nation as a science. He lived in a critical times for his fellow countrymen. Due to his social status and education, he was able to reflect the past, present and future in his scientific works. «Historical legends about the batyrs of the 18th century», one of the early works of Chokan Valikhanov, was written no later than 1857. There are 14 legends attributed to the XVIII century collected in this work. In all the legends, the main characters are batyrs, warriors of the steppe. There is a set of historical circumstances that led to the active discourse upon *batyrs* during this particular period. In the 1635, near to the east territory of the Kazakh Khanate, a strong and aggressive Dzungar Khanate was formed from several oirat tribes. In the Kazakh legends, the population of this union are called *Kalmyks*, *Dzungars*, and *Torgouts*. In 1758, the Oirat Union fell under the oppression of Chinese empire, led by the Qing dynasty, which can also be defined as a genocide. In his work «Kirghiz» he writes: «Their rapid disappearance, the fall of Dzungaria itself serves as a striking example of sudden extinction (of Siberian Kyrgyzs). Still strong under Galdan-Ceren, who died in 1745, at the age of 25 (Oirats) fall completely, and the ancient name of the Oirats disappears not only from history, but also from the memory of neighbors, and their remained population, like the most insignificant barbarians, graze the Manchurian cattle, split in different parts of their vast lands. In one year (1763), up to a million people died (Description of Dzungaria and East Turkestan) and there was not one tent in the best sandals area from Tamirtunor (Issyk-Kul) to Tarbagatay».

The fact of the «extinction» of up to a million Oirats during one year, remained almost unnoticed in written sources and scientific works. L.N. Gumiliov writes: «... The defeat of the Uyghurs by the Kyrgyz in 841-846 or the total extermination of the Kalmyks by the Manchu emperor Qian Long in 1756-1758, remained out of sight of historians ... The official Chinese story was limited to a simple reference: “More than a million Oirats were killed.” A grand event drowned out in bureaucracy...». The Dzungar tragedy was directly related to the history of the Kazakh people. Up until 1758, the Dzungars were the main actors of all external relations of the Kazakh Khanate, and their political actions in the region also affected all spheres of internal activities. They are mentioned in 9 of the 14 legends in Valikhanov’s work. The main merit and duty of the Kazakh batyr in the 18th century was the armed struggle against the Kalmyks. In this regard, it becomes clear why in 11 from 14 stories Khan Ablai is mentioned or is playing a main «role». In the national memory, the name of Ablai Khan is directly connected to the Kazakh-Dzungar wars, and the main military and diplomatic victories the Khanate had over this period. It is also worth mentioning that in the historical memory of the Kazakhs, the Kalmyks are often represented as worthy enemies. For example, in the 14th legend: «Galdan asked Ablai when he was in captivity: “Which rulers are higher than others?” - “Condaker, Russian white king, Izhen-Khan, Galdan, after: myself ” - “Me, me!” said Galdan. “You rule a small population, but you deserve a larger population”, said Ablai».

Relations between the Kazakh and Dzungarian khanates, Kazakhs and Kalmyks can be described as tragic relations. Kazakhs and Kalmyks are both nomads: they have adjacent nomads, a similar economic pattern (nomadic), a similar culture (nomadic), the languages of both nations contain many words borrowed from each other. One interesting detail can be found if we carefully analyze the legends: notably, there are no references to translators, therefore, it can be concluded that Kazakhs and Kalmyks were able to understand languages of each other and could communicate without any additional help. Most likely, it can be stated that in the 17th and 18th centuries, Kazakhs and Kalmyks were something close to bilingual. To put it into other words, the Kalmyk (or Mongolian) language was commonly used or generally understood among the Kazakhs, and, conversely, among the Kalmyks, the Kazakh (Turkic) language was understood. Up to the 18th century, one could confidently talk about the Turkic-Mongolian unity, despite the fact that in the 18th century, the Kazakhs were commonly perceived as Muslims (though most of them still

practiced Tengrism), and most of Mongols as Buddhists. The aggressive foreign policy and ingenious diplomacy of Chinese empire led to the clash of two nomadic states - the Kazakh and Dzungarian Khanates. This led to the fact that the very existence of the Kazakh Khanate could be questioned. The Oirat Union ceased to exist in 1758, becoming part of China. These statements are confirmed in another work by Chokan Valikhanov «Shun-batyr (adventurer of the 18th century)» written no later than 1860. He recognized the fact that in the Kazakh steppe «dissatisfied and offended from all parts of the world, from Tatar Siberia, from Kokand, Dzungaria and from the lower reaches of the Volga» are hiding. He defines those who are dissatisfied and offended as Central Asian *refugie* (refugees), using the French word with the meaning of a fugitive hiding from persecution. The escapers were not only the common people, but also the aristocrats. As an example of the latter, there are the Turkestan prince Ablai Khan, the two Dzungar princes Debachi and Amirsana. Ablai, having fled to the steppe, became the Khan of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs. Debachi and Amirsana gained possession of the Kazakh generation of Naimans. Aristocrats were accepted hospitably and always maintained their high position here. One of the most famous *refugies* was Karasakal, who in 1740 led the uprising of the Bashkir people, after defeating whom he fled to the Kazakh steppe. Here he pretended to be Shuna, the brother of the then Dzungarian Kontaishi Galden-Ceren. Shuna was a contender for the Dzungar throne and was loved by the general public. The Dzungars, if he had led them, could have rebelled against the collusion of Galden Ceren. Karasakal himself was dangerous for the Russian authorities, as he could cause unrest among the Bashkirs. In the Kazakh steppe, he found shelter with Batyr Kabanbay of the Kara-Kerey clan, he was granted a small clan of Naimans to rule, Karasakal took the name of Karakhan. By pretending to be Shun, he became dangerous for the Dzungarian rulers. According to sergeant Kamovshchikov, whose testimony of 1748 is cited by Valikhanov, the Dzungar noyons (princes) Debach and Emakum would support Shun in the fight for the throne. Shuna enjoyed great influence in the Oirat Union. In the steppe legends, the question was not resolved whether Shun was real or it was an impostor, although in these legends only the image of Shuna was preserved, and the name Karasakal was eventually lost.

The legends about Shuna-batyr are found throughout the steppe, and among Kalmyks of Altai, and among Kazakhs, and among the Volga Kalmyks. This is another argument in favor of the cultural unity of the Kazakhs and Kalmyks in the XVII – XVIII centuries. Only through very close contacts and mutual influence can the hero of the legends of one population become a hero of another, especially since, according to historians of the 17th and 18th centuries, the Kalmyks and Kazakhs did not only fight against each other. Valikhanov cites a legend about Shuna borrowed from Altai Kalmyks and published in Tomsk Provincial Newspaper for 1858 No 29 Verbitsky in the article «Folk Legends of Kuznetsk Telecommunications». The plot is «Shuna-batyr». Tradition is permeated with sympathy for Shuna.

Valikhanov refers to the document he has of the XVIII century, in which «the almost identical story of the same Shuny is told». The deceased Dzungar Kontaishi impersonates Bashkir Karasakal. In the Kazakh steppe, Karasakal is impersonating Shuna, which, according to Valikhanov, speaks in favor of the fact that Shuna's personality was very popular among the Kazakhs at that time. Before that, Karasakal was in Bashkiria, where he presented himself as a Kuban under the name of Sultan Giray. He raised a riot there, failed, and fled to the Kazakh steppe, where he became known as Shuna, brother of Galden-Ceren. Kazakh foremen believed him and gave control over two thousand people from the Naiman clan. Two thousand people means only the number of fit men for war, this number does not include their wives and children. This is the inherent method of calculating the people, which existed long before Chingis Khan. Nomads come to the feudal service with the house, i.e. with the family and all his household (livestock, etc.). This fact is another proof of the fact that Shuna enjoyed recognition among the Kazakhs. Referring to the opinions of Tyukan (a Bashkir who knew Karasakal) and Bargai (Shuna's sibling by his mother), Valikhanov believes that Karasakal-Shuna is an impostor. With the existing political instability in the Dzhungar khanate, Galden-Ceren frightened the samballer, as evidenced by the fact that Galden-Ceren inclined the Kazakh sultan Barak to extradite Karasakal to him. An impostor found

out about this went under the protection of the famous Kazybek-biy and Kabanbai batyr. Karasakal's self-proclamation speaks in favor of the fact that, according to legends of the Volga Kalmyks, Shuna died at the mouth of the Kuma River in the North Caucasus. On the death of Karasakal, Valikhanov found another kind of information in the archives. According to Kazakh Akbay Sundukov, Bashkir Karasakal died two months before Akbay Sundukov was captured by Kazakhs from Grachevskaya stanitsa.

Based on these data, Valikhanov claims that Karasakal and Shuna are two different people. Shuna is a Kalmyk sage and batyr, about which the Kazakhs still have legends. Karasakal is a Bashkir who led one of the revolts of his people against the Russian Empire, in the Kazakh steppe posing as Shuna-batyr. To conclude, it is important to mention that the information we have thanks to Chokan Valikhanov's work on the topic of batyrs and legends of the steppe, helps us to understand that the relationship between Kazakh and Dzungar Khanate were far more complicated than it might be seen from the first sight.

#### **Literature**

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