

**THE LAST KHAN OF THE MIDDLE ZHUZ**  
**Beisembayeva A.R. (Republic of Kazakhstan)**  
**Email: Beisembayeva559@scientifictext.ru**

*Beisembayeva Akmaral Rashidkyzy - Doctoral Candidate,  
DEPARTMENT OF EURASIAN STUDIES,  
L.N.GUMILYOV EURASIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY,  
NUR-SULTAN, REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN*

**Abstract:** *the currently available literature reflects certain episodes of political activity of Uali Khan. But these works are episodic and small small mentions. There are no complete studies of the life and state activities of Uali Khan. This problem is poorly understood and requires further research. The question remains whether the abolition of the traditional Khan's power was the result of only current opinion, personal weakness and incompetence of the last Khan of the Middle Zhuz or it was a "natural" process in a changing historical reality. In this article, we presented some archival materials about how Uali Sultan was elected Khan of the Middle Zhuz, as well as his policy. We raised the reasons why Uali Khan was the last ruler of the Middle Zhuz.*

**Keywords:** *Kazakhs, Kazakh Khanates, zhuzes, Middle Zhuz, traditional steppe law, domestic policy, foreign policy, diplomacy.*

**ПОСЛЕДНИЙ ХАН СРЕДНЕГО ЖУЗА**  
**Бейсембаева А.Р. (Республика Казахстан)**

*Бейсембаева Акмарал Рашидкызы - PhD докторант,  
кафедра евразийских исследований,  
Евразийский национальный университет им. Л.Н. Гумилева, г. Нур-Султан, Республика Казахстан*

**Аннотация:** *в имеющейся на сегодняшний день литературе отражены отдельные эпизоды политической деятельности Уали хана. Но эти работы носят эпизодический характер и нечасто упоминаются. Полные исследования жизни и государственной деятельности Уали хана отсутствуют. Данная проблема мало изучена и требует дальнейших исследований. Дискуссионным продолжает оставаться вопрос, была ли отмена традиционной ханской власти результатом только лишь бытующего в наши дни мнения, личной слабости и некомпетентности последнего хана Среднего Жуза, или же это было «естественным» процессом, в менявшейся исторической действительности. В данной статье мы представили некоторые архивные материалы об избрании Уали султана ханом Среднего жуза, проводимой им политике. Затронули причины, почему Уали хан был последним правителем Среднего жуза.*

**Ключевые слова:** *казахи, Казахские ханства, жузы, Средний жуз, традиционное степное право, внутренняя политика, внешняя политика, дипломатия.*

Uali Khan is a well-known, but underestimated historical figure among the statesmen of Kazakhstan of the XVIII-XIX centuries. Uali Khan, skillfully continuing the policy of maneuvering his father, Ablai Khan, between the Russian and Qing empires, was able to maintain the independence of the Kazakhs for a long time.

The whole epoch of the history of Kazakhstan is connected with the name of Uali Khan, the successor of Ablai Khan. He became the last Khan of the Middle Zhuz recognized by both the Russian and Chinese empires. Uali Khan is of great interest as a historical person.

Uali is the eldest son of Ablai Khan and Saiman Khanum, the second wife of Karakalpak by descent. From an early age he was raised on the strong example of his father. Uali grew up surrounded by large family, faithful companions of his father. His time and the socio-political conditions in which Uali Sultan lived laid their mark on him.

According to materials from the State Archive of Astana, the clerk Yaguda Usmanov who was under Ablai Khan on January 27, 1781 "From the tale of the clerk Mishar Yaguda Usmanov about the relationship between Ablai Khan and the Kyrgyz" noted that the sultans Uali and Chingiz, as well as the Dat-Batyr for the ruler are "first favorites and faithful advisers in all matters" [1, p. 12].

Yaguda Usmanov characterized Uali Sultan as a reasonable, diligent, and benevolent person who had many good qualities. He had the honor and respect of the entire population of the Middle Zhuz. And one more characteristic example from this letter: Uali Sultan "is honored by the whole horde and in the case of Ablai's death they are punished for the Khanate" [2, p. 13].

Note that "Zhuz" is a historically established, special form of the union of the Kazakhs. Three "zhuzes" are distinguished: Senior, Middle and Junior. The territory occupied by three zhuzes covered practically the entire

territory of the modern Republic of Kazakhstan (occupying the 9th place in the world by territory), and a small part of the neighboring states. These vast spaces were ruled by the rulers of the called - Khans.

The lands of the Middle and Senior Zhuzes were divided between the sons of Ablai Khan. Uali Sultan inherited the Khan's title and authority over the Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz under the will of his father. Family support and the indisputable authority of Ablai Khan played a decisive role in the election of thousands of representatives of various Kazakh clans by the Khan - Uali Sultan.

According to the materials of the special investigation of the Orenburg Province Chancellery and the Generals of the Siberian border lines about the circumstances of the stay and death of Middle Zhuz and part of the Senior Zhuz Ablai Khan in the area of Turkestan, Uali's brother Chingis Sultan "prohibits the Kyrgyz people to announce to the Russian people before the future meeting in summer time" [3, p. 143]. Perhaps this was undertaken to prevent the Russian Empire from interfering in the process of the legitimate, according to ancient traditions, election of the Khan. After an attempt in 1778 to hold a rally according to a recognized Khan of all three zhuz - Ablai Khan of the Middle Zhuz, the relations with the Russian border administration continued to be cold.

In July 1781, the Qing Emperor Qianlong sent a letter to the Khan of the Middle Zhuz, Uali, with condolences on the death of his father, Ablai Khan. Uali Khan, came earlier to the capital of the Qing Empire in the composition of the diplomatic missions, which sent his father. An example of this document is quite characteristic: "You came earlier to the capital, you were presented to us at an audience and you have signs of our goodwill. In addition, you are the eldest son of your father, we know very well that you have all the data for managing your people" [4, p. 31]. The Qing Empire recognized the legitimate ruler of the Middle Zhuz.

In December 1781, in the aul of the Khanbaba-Sultan, the ceremonial part of the election of the Khan, worked out over the centuries, was held. Under the sultans and biyah, the Uali sultan was proclaimed Khan and raised on a white carpet. The embassy from the Qing Empire with rich gifts arrived at the official ceremony.

The Russian Empire collected data on what political changes were taking place in the Kazakh Khanates. According to the materials, representatives of the tsarist administration were concerned about the rumors and were looking for reliable information. It is known from the reports of the major-general N. G. Ogarev, to the lieutenant-general I. V. Jacobi, the governor-general of the Ufa and Simbirsk provinces, on the election of Uali-Sultan to Khan of the Middle Zhuz: "That indeed he, Uali Sultan, was appointed to the Khan dignity by the sultans and foremen who had gathered at those funerals, according to the agreement of all their people; but I have no information about him" [5, p. 16]. N.G. Ogarev addressed elder Kulebak-batyr in order to confirm the rumors "in everything faithful and superbly diligent to the Russian side", and corresponded with Urus-Sultan, who was present at the commemoration of Abylay Khan [5, p. 16].

The Bashkir foreman Kazakkul Kazanbaev from the Troitsk fortress was also sent to the Middle Zhuz. His "announcements" testify to the Orenburg province office: "The eldest son of Ablai - Uali Sultan was chosen by all the Kirghis-Kaisach people of the Middle Horde, all the Kirghis have great affection for Uali Sultan as a result of excellent qualities and good behavior, and they always want to be under his command" [6, p. 151].

The imperial administration did not miss a chance to increase the influence deep into the border lines. Some points are known about the correspondence with Uali Sultan from the message of Major General N. G. Ogarev to Major General Prince M. A. Khvabulov: "so now and forever I remain forever to you, without fail, my friendship and about all in your favor, what is necessary and what your need to consist of will not leave you, and I always ask you to write about it to me" [6, p. 148]. At the same time N.G. Ogarev notes that "sometimes he wouldn't give him refusal to refuse him" and asks for instructions from the State Board of Foreign Affairs. [6, p. 149].

Uali Khan went to the Petropavlovsk region in early 1782 [7, p. 273]. The Russian administration officially recognized the Ablai's son Khan of the Middle Zhuz. The fact that Uali Khan achieved recognition of his power in both empires at the beginning of his official rule was demonstrated by his desire to continue his father's multi-vector policy of maneuvering.

The policy of the administration of the Russian Empire was further strengthened and characterized by the complete discreditation of Chingizids and the institution of the Khan power. In turn, it is still worth noting that the traditional way has outlived itself and became a relic of the past. At the end of the 18th century, the Russian Empire is greatly enhanced. The empire was established both in Western Europe and on the Black Sea. The Russian Empire has become a contender for the leading role among all the peoples of Eurasia.

Uali Khan's domestic policy was complicated by the pro-Russian sentiments of a part of the sultans and foremen roaming near the border line. Sultans and foremen often appealed to the royal administration, complaining about the arbitrariness and oppression of the Khan. This is one of the features of Kazakh customary law, the barymta, which allowed the Kazakh, dissatisfied with injustice, to steal cattle from his opponent and keep this cattle as a pledge until a fair decision of the case is reached. It was a worthy and even valiant act in the eyes of the Kazakhs. However, the barymta was qualified by the legislation of the Russian Empire as a particularly grave crime, along with robbery and high treason. The result was most often the relocation of part of the border Kazakhs into Russian possessions. So, in 1789, Sultan Togim, the son of Sultan Bolat with the

subordinate auls of the Senior Zhuz, applied to Ust-Kamenogorsk fortress for protection, and received land on the Irtysh for settlement. Nevertheless, the Russian ambassador of the Telyatnikov met him near Turkestan already in 1796. [8, p. 246-247.]. Two more sultans and 19 foremen addressed in January 1795 with a request to take their nomads under the direct control of Russia. Sultans Bokei and Kudaimenda were favored by the empire. The Russian Empire successfully pursued an assimilation policy. Complaints of sultans and family governors on Uali Khan, addressed to the frontier administration, were used as a convenient excuse to include the territory of Northern and Eastern Kazakhstan in the empire. Moreover, the government recommended encouraging such appeals and requests to bribe the family leaders with awards, gifts and orders. It was planned to introduce the Kazakhs to arable farming, haymaking and, as a result, to sedentary life. This made it possible to better control them, and bring the steppe population closer to the inhabitants of the inner provinces. Uali loses control of South Kazakhstan in the early 1790s. His power is preserved only in that part of Zhetysu, where his brothers Sultan Suyuk and Adil ruled [6]. The war with the Kyrgyz in 1785 was an unsuccessful foreign policy action of the khan in this region.

Attacks and theft of livestock between Kazakhs and Kyrgyz increased. This became a frequent occurrence especially after the death of Abylai Khan. This forced Uali Khan to send an army against the Kyrgyz. The army was led by his brothers Shyngys and Kasym. Kasym was captured during a reconnaissance operation. He was released after negotiations. However, the war did not stop. Sultan Tyz and foreman Berdykozha attacked the Kyrgyz with separate detachments. Tyz was also defeated and captured. Only Berdykozha managed to crush the Kyrgyz in 1786 [7, p. 273]. In 1788 he was captured and executed. Despite the fact that the brothers and sons of the ruler made a successful attack on the Kyrgyz nomads, the conflict did not end and the raids continued.

Uali Khan's relations with the Qing Empire were more stable. In 1785, he refused to participate in the planned Chinese war against Russia. Despite this, there was a constant exchange of embassies. Representatives of Uali Khan participated in the celebrations in Beijing in honor of the 80th anniversary of the emperor in 1789. Representatives of Uali Khan were Bops and Sultan Adil. Emperor Jiaqing officially recognized Sultan Gabbas as a successor to Uali at the request of the Khan in 1800.

Uali Khan tried with the help of the Qing Empire to change the system of elections of the rulers of the Kazakhs. He wanted to establish hereditary power instead of elective power. He saw this as a necessity. The reason was the strengthening of the central government. Sultans pursued their goals, were included in the politics of intrigue and lobbying their own interests. Obviously, this was due to the well-founded fears of the election of a successor of the Russian Empire. However, this idea of his never became a reality. The heir to the khan, Gabbas, died during the lifetime of Uali, his other sons were either young or did not have the necessary authority.

The weakening of Khan's power led to devastating consequences. On the territory of Central Kazakhstan, was chosen Bokey by the ruler in 1816. The Russian government officially recognized him. Thus, the Russian government tried to reduce the influence of Uali Khan on the Middle Zhuz. Two more Khans appeared around 1817 in North-West Kazakhstan. The influential sultan Zhantore, a descendant of Khan Kaip, was proclaimed khan of the Kypchak clans from the Tobol and Ayat valleys by Khan. Zhumazhan, the son of Sultan Kudaimende, was proclaimed Khan by the Argyn communities of Turgai, Tobol and Ubagan.

Shyngys was also elected after the death of Khan Bokei in 1819. However, his power extended only to the upper reaches of the Nura and the environs of the Karkaraly and Kent mountains. Thus, in the first quarter of the 19th century, besides Uali, there were three more Khans in the Middle Zhuz. It was an attempt to completely discredit the traditional Khan's power. This internal political situation absolutely suited the royal administration. Uali died in 1821. His son Sultan Gubaidulla was the official successor. In 1823, the Qing Empire recognized him as a Khan title [3, p. 39]. He was arrested by the royal authorities while trying to meet with Chinese envoys to commit the confirmation ceremony to the khans [6, p. 413]. Thus, Uali Khan was the last ruler of the Middle Zhuz elected by traditional Kazakh law and recognized by the empires.

The general weakening of the Kazakh Khanate was the main outcome of the reign of Uali Khan and his political rivals. The influence of the Sultans grew in the field, due to the transition to a specific control system. The fragmentation of the central government led to an increase in centrifugal tendencies, and the actual disintegration of the state in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The Russian authorities were looking for support and sought to establish active contacts with many sultans and foremen who led the clans who roamed near the Russian border line, bypassing Uali Khan. The tribunals swore allegiance to Russia in exchange for orders, gifts and promises to support and strengthen their personal power. It was this situation that allowed Russia in the 20s of the 19th century to try to eliminate the Khan's power in the Middle East and carry out administrative reforms to incorporate the scattered territories of the Kazakh Khanates into the Russian Empire.

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