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KHAN UALI AND THE DECLINE OF KHANATE AUTHORITY IN THE EARLY XIX CENTURY

Akmaral R. Beisembayeva¹

¹The Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology, Almaty, Kazakhstan
Researcher

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3599-9091>. E-mail: read_and_read@mail.ru

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Abstract. *The objective of the study is to identify the key factors that contributed to the weakening of the khanate in the early XIX century, through an analysis of the political activities of khan Uali and the external pressures exerted by the Russian and Qing Empires. The research draws upon an extensive corpus of archival and narrative sources, including materials from the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (TsGA RK) and the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire (AVPRI), as well as Kazakh-language and translated Chinese written records. Findings and scholarly contribution:* khan Uali is examined as a political figure who sought to preserve the traditional institution of khanate power under conditions of increasing colonial expansion. Within the framework of his multivector foreign policy, efforts were made to balance the interests of the two empires, to transmit his diplomatic legacy to his successor, and to secure external recognition – notably, through the conferral of the title of gun upon his son by the Qing emperor. Nevertheless, the consistent policy of the Russian Empire aimed at undermining the khan's authority – including the introduction of co-rulership, the organization of military expeditions, and the deliberate discrediting of Uali – culminated in the enactment of the Statute on the Siberian Kyrgyz in 1822, which marked the formal abolition of the khanate institution in the Middle Zhuz. The study underscores that the dissolution of khanate authority was not a natural outcome, but rather the result of a deliberate and systematic colonial strategy.

Keywords: Kazakh khanates, Middle Zhuz, diplomacy, khan Uali, Russian Empire, Qing Empire, international relations, Khanate authority, politics.

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XIX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ БАСЫНДАҒЫ ХАНДЫҚ БИЛІКТІҢ ӘЛСІРЕУІ ЖӘНЕ УӘЛИ ХАН

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<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3599-9091>. E-mail: read_and_read@mail.ru

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Аңдатпа. Бұл зерттеудің мақсаты – XIX ғасырдың басында хандық биліктің әлсіреуіне әсер еткен негізгі факторларды анықтау. Ол үшін хан Уәлидің саяси қызметі мен Ресей және Цин империялары тарапынан жасалған сыртқы қысым жан-жақты талданады. Зерттеу барысында Қазақстан Республикасының Орталық мемлекеттік архиві (ҚРОМА) мен Ресей империясының Сыртқы саясат архиві (АВПРИ) қорларындағы материалдар, сондай-ақ қазақ тілді және қытай тілінен аударылған жазба деректер кең көлемде пайдаланылды. *Нәтижелері мен ғылыми жаңалығы:* Хан Уәли отарлық кеңею үдерісі күшейген тарихи жағдайда дәстүрлі хандық институтты сақтап қалуға ұмтылған саяси қайраткер ретінде қарастырылады. Оның көпвекторлы саясаты аясында екі империя арасындағы мүдделер тепе-теңдігін сақтау, дипломатиялық дәстүрді мұрагеріне табыстау, көрші елдердің алдында өз абыройын танытуға қол жеткізу бағытында нақты әрекеттер жасалды. Атап айтқанда, Қытай императоры тарапынан Уәли ханның ұлына гуң (ханзада) атағы берілуі – соның айғағы. Алайда Ресей империясының хан билігін шектеуге бағытталған жүйелі саясаты – қос хандық енгізу, әскери экспедициялар ұйымдастыру, билеушіні беделсіздендіру сияқты әрекеттер арқылы – 1822 жылы «Сібір қырғыздары туралы Жарғының» қабылдануына алып келді. Бұл құжат Орта жүздегі хандық биліктің ресми жойылғанын білдірді. Зерттеу нәтижесінде хандық институттың жойылуы табиғи тарихи процес емес, империялық орталық тарапынан саналы түрде жүргізілген отарлық стратегияның салдары болғаны анықталады.

Түйін сөздер: Қазақ хандықтары, Орта жүз, дипломатия, Уәли хан, Ресей империясы, Цин империясы, халықаралық қатынастар, хандық билік, саясат.

Алғыс. Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының «Абылай, Уәли және Бөкей хандарының мемлекеттік қызметінің зерттелмеген кезеңдері (сирек мұрағаттық және фольклорлық деректер негізінде)» тақырыбындағы бағдарламалық-мақсатты қаржыландыру жобасын жүзеге асыру аясында орындалды (жеке тіркеу нөмірі: АР19680406).

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ХАН УАЛИ И ОСЛАБЛЕНИЕ ХАНСКОЙ ВЛАСТИ В НАЧАЛЕ XIX ВЕКА

Ақмарал Рашидқызы Бейсембаева¹

¹Институт истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова, г. Алматы, Республика Казахстан

Научный сотрудник

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3599-9091>. E-mail: read_and_read@mail.ru

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Аннотация. Целью исследования является выявление ключевых факторов, обусловивших ослабление ханской власти в начале XIX века посредством анализа политической деятельности хана Уали и внешнего давления со стороны Российской и Цинской империй. В исследовании использован широкий корпус архивных и нарративных источников, включая материалы из фондов Центрального

государственного архива Республики Казахстан (ЦГА РК) и Архива внешней политики Российской империи (АВПРИ), а также казахоязычные и переведённые китайские письменные свидетельства. *Результаты и научная новизна:* хан Уали рассматривается как политический деятель, стремившийся к сохранению традиционного института ханской власти в условиях усиливающейся колониальной экспансии. В рамках реализуемой им многовекторной политики предпринимались усилия по балансированию интересов двух империй, передаче преемнику дипломатического курса, а также получению внешнего признания – в частности, титула гуна, присвоенного китайским императором его сыну. Тем не менее, последовательная политика Российской империи, направленная на подрыв ханской власти, включая внедрение соправителя ханства, организацию военных экспедиций и дискредитацию правителя, завершилась введением «Устава о сибирских киргизах» в 1822 году, что ознаменовало официальную ликвидацию ханской власти в Среднем жузе. Исследование подчеркивает, что устранение ханского института не было естественным результатом, а представляло собой итог целенаправленной планомерной колониальной стратегии.

Ключевые слова: Казахские ханства, Средний жуз, дипломатия, Уали хан, Российская империя, Цинская империя, международные отношения, ханская власть, политика.

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Introduction. In the early XIX century, khan Uali, who ruled over the Middle Zhuz and part of the Senior Zhuz, operated under constant pressure from two major powers: the Russian and Qing Empires. He governed Kazakh clans that actively engaged in trade with Russian frontier fortresses. Despite formally being a subject of the Russian Empire, khan Uali adhered to the political course of Ablai khan by pursuing a multivector foreign policy and maintaining diplomatic relations with the Qing Empire, which paid considerable attention to Kazakh rulers by granting land and conferring titles.

However, with the growing presence of the Russian Empire in Central Asia, a deliberate policy was launched to divide and weaken Kazakh leadership in order to neutralize any potential resistance to Russian expansion. In the political struggle, the Russian Empire employed both external pressure and internal opposition to khan Uali, which led to a gradual weakening of his authority and an intensification of internal conflicts. Khan Uali made considerable efforts to preserve the established dual-subordination framework and to uphold the traditional institution of khanate rule. Nevertheless, the Russian policy aimed at dismantling the khanate institution acquired a decisive and irreversible character only after his death in 1821.

Historiography and Sources. The works of M.Zh. Kopeyuly, N. Mukhametkanuly, and A. Makhaeva emphasize khan Uali's efforts to establish diplomatic ties with the Qing Empire, as well as his resistance to Russian colonization [Mukhametkanuly, 1994; Makhaeva, 2007]. These studies also address the complex relations with the Russian Empire, including colonial expansion and political manipulation aimed at weakening the khanate authority-topics explored in detail by scholars such as S. Zimanov and K.T. Bekimova [Zimanov, 1982; Bekimova, 2010]. Certain details regarding the death of khan Uali and its consequences within the context of the abolition of khanate rule in the Middle Zhuz are discussed in the works of Russian and Kazakhstani historians, including I.V. Yerofeyeva and F.N. Kireyev [Yerofeyeva, 1997; Kazakh-Russian Relations, 1964], among others.

Methods and Methodology. The study of khan Uali's political course in the early XIX century employs historical-analytical and comparative-historical approaches, as well as analysis of archival sources. Based on documents such as khan Uali's letters and reports from Russian diplomats, the dynamics of foreign relations between the Kazakhs, the Russian Empire, and the Qing Empire are examined. The comparative method enables the identification of shifts in the political landscape of Kazakhstan and the influence of external factors, including Russian colonial expansion and internal contradictions among Kazakh leaders.

Findings. In the early XIX century, khan Uali migrated along the Esil River, near the Kokshetau Mountains, in the regions of Ushkundyk, Ushbuldik, and Kylshykty, together with subgroups of the Argyn clan, including the Altai-Tarakty and Kulshan branches. The Kazakh clans under his authority conducted active trade with Russian frontier fortresses in Omsk, Petropavlovsk, and other border towns. Nevertheless, wary of Russian policy, khan Uali sought to maintain a degree of independence from the Russian Empire. During that period, the Kazakhs of the Senior and Middle Zhuzes actively developed trade relations with the Qing Empire in the regions of Urumchi, Ili, and Tarbagatai, sending envoys every two years to resolve mutual affairs. The Qing emperor, in turn, sought to attract Kazakh rulers by demonstrating special respect and conferring various titles and honors upon them.

The Kazakhs used these diplomatic relations to reclaim and utilize their ancestral lands in the east. In 1803, khan Uali sent his son Bakyr (according to other sources, Begaly) to the Chinese emperor with a request to expand access to pastures in the eastern regions. As a result of negotiations, in 1805 the Qing emperor issued a decree granting the Kazakhs several dozen kilometers of land within the border for wintering and spring grazing.

In 1806, khan Uali planned to send his brother, sultan Kambar, to the Qing Empire. Upon learning of that, Qing officials concluded: «The Kazakh taiji Kambar and others intend to come under the pretext of expressing goodwill, but in fact they aim to present their demands. Their visit is not sincere». Despite the skepticism, Qing authorities continued efforts to increase the number of contenders for the khanate among the Kazakhs and to attract them to their side. In 1809, following the death of Bolat Abilmambetuly – khan of the Middle Zhuz, who governed the Argyn and Konyrat clans and resided in Turkestan – his position was taken by his son, Togym sultan. In the same year, Togym's diplomatic mission to China, led by his son Altynsary, was joined by 16 individuals, including khan Uali's brother, Sultan Dosaly [Mukhametkanuly, 1994, p. 99-100].

During that period, Qing foreign policy also began to weaken. The Qing authorities paid little attention to the growing strength of the Kokand Khanate, whose forces started attacking clans of the Senior Zhuz. Taking advantage of that, in 1807 the ruler of Kokand, Alimbek, led a 12,000-strong army to seize the outskirts of Tashkent, and soon afterward captured the city itself. From that point onward, the struggle for control over Tashkent intensified among Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Uzbek rulers. During that time, Uali's brother Adil, who had previously relocated to Qing territory with ten thousand families, returned to the south in 1814, initiating a new phase of Kazakh-Kokand negotiations [Makhaeva, 2007, p. 66-67].

In that context, the Russian Empire emerged as the dominant actor in the East. It began actively implementing a strategy of division and internal rivalry among local rulers and influential figures – similar to the methods previously used in the Junior Zhuz – in order to undermine the authority of khan Uali, who was seen as the main obstacle to the colonization of the Middle Zhuz. The Russian Tsar instructed general G.I. Glazenap, commander of the Siberian Lines, to support factions opposed to khan Uali and to consistently obstruct all of his initiatives. Khan Uali was fully aware of that manipulative policy. In a letter written in 1809, he requested the cessation of Russian military incursions into the Kazakh steppes, the pressure exerted on the Kazakhs, and the seizure of fertile lands. He warned that grass collectors, fishermen, and merchants crossing through the Middle Zhuz would be taxed, and if that demand was ignored, their activities would be halted.

That fact led to a demonstration of Russian military force. On April 29, captain Chasovshchikov, followed by cornet Bezyazykov on May 4 and major Morozov on May 6, launched attacks on the territories controlled by khan Uali and sultan Gabbas [TsGA RK. F. 4. Op. 1. D. 154. L. 59]. On May 12, nine individuals were captured, including khan Uali's advisors and members of the Karauyl tribe. However, both Uali and Gabbas managed to relocate in time. Refusing to abandon his course of action, on May 20, khan Uali sent a letter to the karakesek clans, ordering them not to allow trade caravans to pass [TsGA RK. F. 4. Op. 1. D. 154. L. 136]. When the Kazakhs refused to follow his directive, fearing reprisals from Russian troops, the khan resorted to executing his orders with the help of his personal guards. Nevertheless, the resistance from the Atigai and Karauyl clans, who had supported the khan, was eventually suppressed by Russian and Cossack forces.

During that period, the Russian border administration actively advanced its reconnaissance operations. In 1815, lieutenant colonel Feofilatyev dispatched an expedition from the Ust-Uysk fortress to the upper reaches of the Tobol River, consisting of 1,617 men, including 330 Cossacks, over 1,080 Bashkirs, and 100 infantrymen supported by two cannons [Ternovy, 2021]. In 1816, 200 Cossacks were dispatched from the Irtysh Line under the command of I. Shangin, and another 150 Cossacks departed from the

Presnogorsk fortress under the leadership of F. Nabokov (Bulletin, 1816: 116]. At that time, G.I. Glazenap implemented a plan to appoint a second khan on behalf of the Russian Empire. The tsar's choice fell on Bokey, the son of the renowned Sultan Barak. According to tradition, in 1749, sultan Bokey was sent by his father from Turkestan to Northern Kazakhstan to govern the Karakesek clans. As noted by Akhmet Baitursynov, in 1748, the bi of the Karakesek clan, Shor, requested that Barak send him his 14-year-old son Bokey in order to make him khan [Torekululy, 1995 p. 189]. In 1816, the Russian tsar appointed Bokey Barakuly as khan over the territory inhabited by the Nayman clan, and in 1817, he was officially confirmed as the khan of the Middle Zhuz by a special imperial charter. The charter was presented in June 1817 at Lake Zhailyma, located 180 kilometers from the Koryakovsky outpost [Erofeeva, 1997: 89, 132-133]. Thus, the Russian tsar effectively divided the traditional khanate administration in the Middle Zhuz by appointing khan Uali's relatives as khans in order to limit his legitimate authority. The imperial charter explicitly stated that «Khan Uali retained nine volosts, whereas Bokey Barakuly was appointed khan over thirteen volosts» [TsGA RK. F. 338. Op. 1. D. 407. L. 5]. This was tantamount to the open displacement of khan Uali. G.I. Glazenap became the chief supporter of khan Bokey along the Siberian Line. Following the plans of imperial policymakers, the Russian general thus removed the descendants of Ablai khan from power. This provoked a certain degree of internal resistance. For example, popular memory preserved the account of a battle on the Nura River between the Argyn bi Shon and khan Bokey. The poet Zhanak wrote about this: «Bokey began intrigues and sowed discord among the people. The Karakesek are preparing to wage war against their brothers» [Makhaeva, 2007, p. 93].

Shortly thereafter, in 1819, khan Bokey passed away, and in 1820, khan Uali died after ruling the Middle Zhuz for forty years. Russian sources indicate that khan Uali died in August 1819 [Kireev, 1964: 182]. However, the inscription on a recently discovered gravestone indicates the year 1820, which appears to definitively clarify the question of the exact date of his death [Ualikhanov, 2010: 120]. Nevertheless, the researcher K.T. Bekimova, after comparing the works of various authors who reference the year of the khan's death, concludes that khan Uali likely died in December 1820 or January 1821. In this regard, she emphasizes the importance of considering the data provided by the prominent Kazakh historian M.Zh. Kopeyuly regarding khan Uali [Bekimova, 2010: 22]. Indeed, a document bearing khan Uali's seal, dated February 1821, was discovered in the Omsk Historical Archive – a letter from khan Uali addressed to lieutenant general P.M. Kaptsevich, commander of the Separate Siberian Corps [IAOO. F. 6. Op. 1. D. 49. L. 41]. It is hoped that in the future, this issue will be further examined through archival research.

Overall, khan Uali, who bore the hopes of his people during difficult and turbulent times, emerged as a principal opponent of Russian colonization. As stated in the genealogical records of Ablai Khan, his descendants fiercely resisted both Russia and China, like lions. Historical evidence demonstrates that the assessment of khan Uali by G.N. Potanin – as «a man lacking the administrative abilities of Ablai Khan» – was one-sided [Ualikhanov, 2010: 341]. His nearly forty-year rule was marked by profound transformations within Kazakh society and the intensification of open Russian colonization. The strategies previously tested in the Junior Zhuz – such as the fragmentation of governance, the use of military force, the promotion of pro-Russian factions among the Kazakhs, and the consistent support of these groups – were fully implemented in the Middle Zhuz as well. Uali also followed Ablai khan's multivector foreign policy approach. However, the times had changed. Russia, having subdued the Kazakhs, had already established ties with the Kyrgyz as early as 1785. Under the pretext of developing trade in the southern regions, caravans were dispatched one after another. Titles, honors, and lavish gifts paved the way for colonization. As Russian influence grew, the Kokand Khanate also began exerting pressure on the Kazakhs. In such circumstances, some local rulers started to rely on Russia. The Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, along with its Tatar mullahs and trained interpreters, actively engaged in ideological and religious propaganda in the south. For example, the Tatar merchant S. Kurbanbakeyev, who visited Suyuk Abylaiuly, a sultan of the Jalayir clan, promoted the power of Russia and its supposed benevolence [Makhaeva, 2007: 93]. A farsighted policy led to the establishment of individual ties between various sultans and the Russian Empire. This development had a negative impact on the unity of the khanate administration, which had long served as the foundation of state governance. Nevertheless, khan Uali did not abandon his course. Until the end of his life, he raised his sons in the spirit of maintaining balanced and equal relations with both Russia and China. His eldest son, Gabbas (also referred to in some sources as Abas), was familiar with the political elites of both empires. As early as 1800, the Qing emperor recognized him as Uali's heir and granted him the title of gung (prince). In 1809, sultan Kerei Gabbasuly also had an audience with the Chinese emperor [Ezhenkhanuly, 2005: 51].

The young sultans were educated in the languages of neighboring peoples. Immediately after khan Uali's death, Russian officials concluded that his son and family were dissatisfied with the imperial authorities [Kireev, 1964: 182]. Khan Uali's second son, Gubaydulla (also referred to in some sources as Abaydulla), likewise sought to continue his father's political course. His efforts to preserve the traditional system of governance strained relations with the Russian Empire. In an attempt to strengthen his position, sultan Gubaydulla entered into negotiations with the Qing Empire, aiming to obtain official recognition of his Khanate status. The tsarist administration grew increasingly concerned about the influence and growing popularity of Uali's heir. In order to prevent his meeting with Qing envoys and the formal confirmation of his title, the Russian authorities exiled Gubaydulla to the town of Berezov in the Tobolsk Governorate [History of Kazakhstan, 2000: 328]. Under the command of sotnik Karbyshev, Gubaydulla was captured by military forces, taken out of the country, and exiled. In effect, this marked the practical termination of khanate governance in the Middle Zhuz by the Russian Empire.

In 1801, following a series of continuous annexations, Russian authorities granted permission to the majority of the Junior Zhuz to migrate to the "inner lands" and occupy pastures between the Volga and Ural rivers. This led to the formation of the Inner Horde (also known as the Bukey Horde). During the first half of the XIX century, a significant number of Kazakhs living within the Russian fortified lines came under direct control of the Russian colonial administration. As a rule, the local population frequently found itself in conflict with Russian peasants, Cossacks, and Bashkirs due to the shortage of vital pasture lands. The largest group of Kazakhs residing within these fortified lines on annexed «inner» territories consisted of the population of the Inner Horde. The tsarist policy toward the Bukey Khanate was characterized by a paternalistic approach, deliberately highlighting some apparent benefits of interaction with Russian authorities. Subsequently, a personal decree was issued by the tsar to the Orenburg governor, G.S. Volkonsky, titled «On the Migration of Steppe Kirgiz to the Inner Side of the Ural and the Subordination of the Kirgiz-Kaisak Minor Horde of sultan Bukey and His People to the Orenburg Border Commission» [PSZRI, 1830a: 435]. In 1808, during a famine caused by a shortage of pasturelands, approximately 20,000 Kazakhs were resettled into the territory of the Bashkir cantons [Zapiski, 1830: 514]. The emperor issued a decree granting land plots to the Kazakhs, providing them with financial assistance for agricultural development, and exempting them from taxes for a period of ten years. Maintaining connections between such separated groups was strictly prohibited. The tsarist regime aimed to cultivate loyalty among segments of the local population in order to facilitate the implementation of its own policies.

By the 1820s, the Russian Empire had prepared the groundwork for the elimination of the khanate institution. The imperial government had already formulated substantial justifications and laid the necessary foundations through a series of administrative and political initiatives. Measures were taken to intensify the discrediting of Kazakh khans in the eyes of the steppe population. The appointment of incapable and unpopular individuals as khans by the tsarist authorities seriously undermined the traditional institution of leadership, eroding public respect and trust toward Kazakh rulers. Many began to perceive them as mere puppets of the Russian Empire, equating them with imperial officials. Moreover, several influential political figures among the nomadic elite were already of advanced age and thus did not pose a prolonged or serious threat to the empire.

The tsarist regime pursued a far-reaching strategy by promoting weak leaders while sidelining strong and legitimate ones. For example, bypassing the traditional steppe customs of khan election, the Russian administration unilaterally appointed its own khans. In the Junior Zhuz, khan Bokey was appointed in 1812 to rule the right bank of the Yaik (Ural) River [Zimanov, 1982: 29]. In the Middle Zhuz, a second khan, Bokey, was appointed in 1815 while the legitimate ruler, khan Uali, was still in power. The tsarist government's selection of khans who lacked authority and respect among the population created a negative image of these rulers, which in turn fostered unfavorable attitudes toward them. Taken together, these factors gradually weakened the khanate system. Moreover, this policy also contributed to divisions within both the Middle and Junior Zhuzes, which ultimately benefited the empire.

By this time, the international position of the Russian Empire had shifted due to the Napoleonic Wars of 1805–1815. The subsequent prolonged period of relative peace allowed the tsarist regime to devote greater attention to international relations in the Central Asian region. In addition to the region's advantageous geopolitical location, the empire sought to secure rights to exploit the abundant natural and agricultural resources of Kazakh lands. The Middle Zhuz occupied a strategically significant region through which traditional caravan trade routes passed. After the Napoleonic Wars, many states introduced new administrative methods to adapt to changing conditions [Esdaile, 2007: 11-12]. The high degree of autonomy

of the steppe territories, their significant remoteness, and the central importance of the military factor in the Russian Empire's Central Asian policy necessitated the establishment of specialized governmental institutions.

In 1819, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs created a structural division known as the Asiatic Department, along with an interdepartmental body called the Asiatic Committee, to manage relations with the Kazakhs, Khivans, and Bukharans [Russia, 2004: 17-18]. Requests were repeatedly sent from Orenburg to Saint Petersburg for the deployment of military detachments to the Kazakh steppes [AVPRI. F. 161. SPb. Gl. arh. 1-1. Op. 781. D. 488. L. 2-3]. However, permission was not granted out of concern that it would undermine the safety of trade with Russian merchants and erode the trust of Central Asian rulers in the policies of the Russian Empire. New administrative methods were deemed necessary to establish a modern bureaucracy. The committee's responsibilities extended to managing relations with the Kazakh Zhuzes, Bukhara, Khiva, China, and Persia. Among its initiatives was the introduction of new trade regulations. The most extensive and significant undertaking by the committee on behalf of the Russian Empire was the implementation of reforms aimed at eliminating khanate authority in the Junior and Middle Zhuzes.

The Russian colonial administration incorporated the Middle Zhuz into the Omsk Oblast. As a result, the Middle Zhuz became subject to the provisions of the Statute on Non-Russians, which was approved on July 22, 1822 [PSZRI, 1830: 394]. The Statute for governing Siberian peoples was drafted under the guidance of former Siberian Governor-general M.M. Speransky, who in July 1821 was appointed by Russian Emperor Alexander I to the Asiatic Committee.

According to the subsequent Statute on the Siberian Kirgiz, issued by Alexander I on July 22, 1822, the administrative-territorial structure of Northern Kazakhstan was organized into auls, volosts, and okrugs. Each okrug was composed of 15 to 20 volosts; each volost consisted of 10 to 12 auls, and auls were formed from the smallest unit in the new administrative-territorial hierarchy – kubitkas, numbering 50 to 70. The newly introduced administrative system abolished the institution of supreme khanate authority. Instead, senior sultans, selected from the nomadic elite and descendants of Genghis Khan, were appointed to oversee the administration [PSZRI, 1830: 417]. The newly introduced administrative system eliminated the institution of supreme khanate authority. From that point forward, only senior sultans were elected from among the nomadic elite, who were descendants of Genghis Khan [Zapiski, 1830: 413]. Under the statute, senior sultans administered the okrugs, sultans governed the volosts, and elders managed the auls.

Until the middle of the XIX century, Russian expansion was predominantly pragmatic rather than ideological, driven largely by commercial, military, and strategic concerns. The empire's growing population naturally created issues related to expanding living space, securing food supplies, energy, and other resources. It became clear that global resources were finite: states with colonial empires enjoyed more stable and advantageous positions. Metropolises significantly increased profits by sourcing raw materials and cheap labor from their colonies. Rising demand led to intensified exploitation to secure the necessary resources. The demographic challenge highlighted the need to acquire additional territories.

Russian bureaucratic authorities focused primarily on ethnic and cultural distinctions when addressing administrative and financial issues. Loyalty and religious affiliation seemed to outweigh ethnic identity. In the XIX century, the ideological tone of Russian colonial expansion shifted as the government developed sharper imperialist goals. The construction of empires by European rivals and the emergence of new forms of nationalism provided ideological justification for Russian expansion. Under Nicholas I, imperial leaders and officials became more attentive to national and ethnic differences.

In the 1822 Statute on the Siberian Kirgiz, Mikhail Speransky established a precedent for categorizing the indigenous population of Central Asia under a unified term within the imperial register – “inorodtsy” (non-Russians) [AVPRI. F. 161. SPb. Gl. arh. 1-1. Op. 781. D. 490. L. 16-21]. The tsarist government actively pursued a policy of “Russification” in non-Russian regions, particularly in Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, and the Baltic States. In these areas, linguistic differences were minimal, but perhaps for that very reason, they were perceived as a significant threat to imperial cohesion.

In regions like Central Asia, where differences were much more pronounced, imperial authorities employed colonial intervention. Central Asian territories were regarded as conquered colonies with distinct indigenous traditions. These shifts in imperial relations had a profound impact on many aspects of historical processes. Borders constantly shifted, and the tsarist regime aimed to transform the vast Kazakh steppes into the frontier of the Russian Empire.

Conclusion. In conclusion, a combination of numerous factors weakened the authority of once-influential and respected Kazakh rulers. The existence of a strong khanate institution prevented the Russian Empire from pursuing political and economic expansion as rapidly as it had intended. Consequently, after the deaths of khan Bokey and, soon thereafter, khan Uali, the imperial government entered the active phase of abolishing the khanate system. Alexander I approved the Statute on the Siberian Kirgiz.

The last legitimate ruler of the Middle Zhuz was khan Uali. Under the new statute, his eldest son, sultan Gubaidulla, was elected senior sultan of the Kokshetau External District. However, despite repeated attempts to attain «khanate dignity», he was resolutely denied the title [Zapiski, 1830: 75].

Despite khan Uali's efforts to maintain and reinforce amicable relations with the empires, as well as the measures taken to secure and transfer khanate authority to his successor – including the title of gung bestowed by the Qing Empire – his death removed the final constraints against abolishing the khanate institution in the Middle Zhuz. The Statute on the Siberian Kirgiz thus revealed the expansionist nature of Russian policy in this strategically important region. The primary motivation was the creation of a colonial empire, a drive that persisted into the subsequent historical period, including the world wars. All these events were interconnected, as the tsarist regime sought access to the rich resources of Kazakh lands. The Russian Empire carried out the liquidation of khanate authority by coercive methods, disregarding resistance from local populations. However, the imperial government was never fully able to control the transformative processes among the local population that it had previously encouraged, nor could it unilaterally dictate the terms of assimilation and subjugation.

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TsGA RK – Tsentral'nyy Gosudarstvennyy Arkhiv Respubliki Kazakhstan [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan]
IAOO – Istoricheskij arkhiv Omskoj oblasti [Historical Archive of the Omsk Region]

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«Отан тарихы» журналының редакциясы

Сайтқа сілтеме: <https://otan.history.iie.kz>

Тел.: +7 (727) 272-46-54.

E-mail: otanhistory@gmail.com.

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