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## SOME ASPECTS OF ABLAI KHAN’S RELATIONS WITH THE ALATAU KYRGYZ IN THE 1760S–1780S: BASED ON RUSSIAN ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

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**Abstract.** *Introduction.* After the fall of the Dzungar Khanate, relations between the Kazakhs and the Alatau Kyrgyz, who had previously at times united against Oirat-Kalmyk raids in the 17th–18th centuries, sharply deteriorated. The main cause of the conflict was the struggle for pastures and wintering grounds in Semirechye, which became vacant after the departure of the Dzungars. While in the late 1750s these territories were controlled by the Kazakhs of the Senior Zhuz, by the early 1760s territorial disputes escalated into open military confrontation. *The goal and objective.* The purpose of the study is to examine Abylai’s relations with the Alatau Kyrgyz based on Russian archival materials and to introduce rare and little-studied evidence concerning Abylai’s activities in this region. To achieve this, the research analyzes archival documents, reconstructs the political context, and identifies the features of Kazakh-Kyrgyz interactions during this period. *Results.* The source base consists of documents from the State Historical Archive of the Omsk Region and the State Archive of the Orenburg Region (the United State Archive of the Orenburg Region), as well as published collections of archival materials. Their analysis made it possible to reveal new historical data related to Abylai’s actions in the 1760s–1780s, to clarify the nature of his relations with the Alatau Kyrgyz, and to demonstrate how the policy of the Russian Empire influenced the dynamics of Kazakh-Kyrgyz relations. *Conclusions.* The examined archival materials provide deeper insight into the complexity of the political situation in Semirechye after the fall of the Dzungars, refine our understanding of Abylai’s role as both mediator and military leader, and broaden our knowledge of mechanisms for resolving territorial conflicts between the Kazakhs and the Alatau Kyrgyz amid active involvement of the Russian Empire.

**Keywords:** Abylai, Uali, batyrs, sultans, Khan, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, international relations, Kazakh-Kyrgyz relations, Russian Empire, Qing Empire

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## XVIII ҒАСЫРДЫҢ 60–80-ЖЫЛДАРЫНДАҒЫ АБЫЛАЙДЫҢ АЛАТАУЛЫҚ ҚЫРҒЫЗДАРМЕН ҚАРЫМ-ҚАТЫНАСЫНЫҢ КЕЙБІР АСПЕКТІЛЕРІ: РЕСЕЙ АРХИВТІК ҚҰЖАТТАРЫ НЕГІЗІНДЕ

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**Аңдатпа.** *Kіріспе.* Жоңғар хандығы құлағаннан кейін XVII–XVIII ғасырларда ойрат-қалмақ шапқыншылықтарына қарсы кезең-кезеңімен одақтаса әрекет еткен қазақтар мен алатау қырғыздарының өзара қарым-қатынасы күрт шиеленіске ұшырады. Қақтығыстың негізгі себебі жоңғарлар кеткен соң бос қалған Жетісу өңіріндегі жайылымдар мен қыстаулар үшін талас болды. 1750-жылдардың соңында бұл аумақтар Ұлы жүз қазақтарының бақылауында болғанымен, 1760-жылдардың басында жерге байланысты даулар екі жақтың арасында ашық қарулы қақтығысқа айналды. *Мақсаты мен міндеттері.* Зерттеудің мақсаты – Ресей архивтерінің материалдары негізінде Абылай ханның алатау қырғыздарымен қарым-қатынастарын жан-жақты зерделеу және осы өңірдегі оның қызметіне қатысты сирек, аз зерттелген деректерді ғылыми айналымға енгізу. Осы мақсатқа жету үшін архив құжаттарының мазмұнын талдау, саяси жағдайдың тарихи контекстін анықтау, қазақ–қырғыз өзара байланыстарының ерекшеліктерін айқындау міндеттері қойылады. *Нәтижелер.* Зерттеудің дереккөздік негізін Омбы облысының Мемлекеттік тарихи архиві мен Орынбор облысының Мемлекеттік архивінің (Орынбор облысының Біріккен мемлекеттік архиві) құжаттары, сондай-ақ арнайы басылымдарда жарияланған материалдар құрады. Бұл деректерді талдау 1760–1780-жылдар аралығындағы Абылайдың іс-әрекеттеріне қатысты жаңа тарихи мәліметтерді анықтауға, оның алатау қырғыздарымен қатынастарының сипатын нақтылауға, сондай-ақ қазақ–қырғыз дауларына Ресей империясының ұстанған саясатының ықпалын көрсетуге мүмкіндік берді. *Қорытындылар.* Архив материалдары Жетісу өңірінде Жоңғария құлағаннан кейін қалыптасқан саяси жағдайдың күрделілігін тереңірек түсінуге, Абылайдың мәмілегерлік және әскери көшбасшылық қырларын айқынырақ ашуға мүмкіндік береді. Сонымен қатар, зерттеу қазақтар мен алатау қырғыздары арасындағы аумақтық қақтығыстардың шешілу тетіктерін және бұл үдерістерге Ресей империясының араласуының ауқымды әсерін көрсетеді.

**Түйін сөздер:** Абылай, Уәли, батырлар, сұлтандар, хан, қазақтар, қырғыздар, халықаралық қатынастар, қазақ–қырғыз қатынастары, Ресей империясы, Цин империясы

**Алғыс.** Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігінің «Қазақстан тарихы бойынша иллюстрацияланған биографиялық энциклопедия жазу» атты ПЦФ жобасы аясында дайындалды (тіркеу нөмірі: BR24993173).

**Дәйексөз үшін:** Бейсембаева А.Р. XVIII ғасырдың 60–80-жылдарындағы Абылайдың алатау қырғыздарымен өзара қатынастарының кейбір қырлары: ресей архив құжаттары негізінде // Scientific Journal “Central Asian courier”. 2026. Т. 2. № 1. 46-58 бб. (Ағылш.). DOI: 10.64970/3105-241X\_2026\_2\_1\_46-58

## НЕКОТОРЫЕ АСПЕКТЫ ВАЗИМООТНОШЕНИЙ АБЫЛАЯ С АЛАУТАУСКИМИ КЫРГЫЗАМИ В 60-80 ГОДЫ XVIII ВЕКА: НА ОСНОВЕ РОССИЙСКИХ АРХИВНЫХ ДОКУМЕНТОВ

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**Аннотация.** *Введение.* После падения Джунгарского ханства отношения между казахами и алатаускими кыргызами, которые ранее в XVII–XVIII вв. периодически объединялись против ойрато-калмыкских набегов, заметно обострились. Причиной конфликта стали споры за пастбища и стойбища Семиречья, освободившиеся после ухода джунгар. Если в конце 1750-х годов эти территории находились под контролем казахов Старшего жуза, то уже в начале 1760-х годов территориальные разногласия переросли в открытое вооружённое противостояние. *Цель и задачи исследования.* Целью исследования является изучение взаимоотношений Абылая с алатаускими кыргызами на основе российских архивных материалов и привлечение редких, малоизученных данных о деятельности казахского правителя в данном регионе. Для достижения цели анализируются архивные документы, определяется контекст политических процессов и выявляются особенности казахско-кыргызского взаимодействия в рассматриваемый период. *Результаты.* Источниковую базу составили материалы Государственного исторического архива Омской области и Государственного архива Оренбургской области (Объединённого государственного архива Оренбургской области), а также опубликованные документальные сборники. Их анализ позволил выявить новые исторические сведения о действиях Абылая в 1760–1780-е годы, уточнить характер его отношений с алатаускими кыргызами и показать, как политика Российской империи влияла на динамику казахско-кыргызских контактов. *Выводы.* Изученные архивные данные позволяют глубже понять сложность политической ситуации в Семиречье после падения Джунгарии, уточнить роль Абылая как посредника и военного лидера, а также расширяют представления о механизмах разрешения территориальных конфликтов между казахами и алатаускими кыргызами в условиях активного вмешательства Российской империи. **Ключевые слова:** Абылай, Уали, батыры, султаны, хан, казахи, кыргызы, международные отношения, казахско-кыргызские отношения, Российская империя, Цинская империя

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**Introduction.** In 1758, the Dzungar state ceased to exist. After the disappearance of the Dzungar threat, relations between the two peoples became more complicated. Whereas the presence of a common enemy had previously often united the two related and neighboring peoples, this period was marked by the emergence of constant conflicts. Both the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz began to lay claim to the lands left depopulated after the fall of the Dzungars. A struggle for control over trade in Central Asia also began.

During the 1760s, incidents of livestock seizures from the Semirechye Kazakhs by Kyrgyz detachments became more frequent, as did attacks on Kazakh trading caravans. These circumstances

led to a significant escalation of Kazakh–Kyrgyz relations. In response to the situation, Ablai Khan organized a series of military campaigns deep into territories controlled by Kyrgyz tribes. Qing Chinese officials also played a role, making every effort to further exacerbate the confrontation, which had already caused considerable suffering among the common people on both sides.

**Materials and Methods.** The source base of the study consists of a wide range of archival documents and materials preserved in the collections of the Historical Archive of Omsk Oblast (HAOO) and the State Archive of Orenburg Oblast (Unified State Archive of Orenburg Oblast, GAOO). The main sources used in the research include the following archival fonds and files:

GAOO. Fund No. 3: *“Orenburg Provincial Chancellery, Orenburg, Orenburg Province, March 15, 1744–1782”*. In. No. 1. File No. 176: *“Information on fugitive Russian subjects located in China”*, including materials related to the confirmation of Sultan Ablai of the Kirghiz-Kaisak Middle Horde in the rank of khan;

HAOO. Fund No. 1: Divisional Chancellery of the Commander of the Siberian Division and the Lines of the Military Collegium, Omsk. In. No. 1. File No. 137: *“Report on the inspection from the Omsk Fortress to other settlements up to the city of Semipalatinsk”*, as well as other documents related to construction, trade, and military operations in the region;

Inventory No. 1. File No. 182: Reports and dispatches on attacks by Kyrgyz groups, including information on permitted passage of Kyrgyz, the return of stolen property, and troop mobilization;

Inventory No. 1. File No. 169: Documents concerning the movement of Kyrgyz herds, lists of those killed and captured, and correspondence on various issues related to Kyrgyz conflicts;

Inventory No. 1. File No. 176: Correspondence and reports, including information on territorial delimitation, interrogations of prisoners, and investigations concerning fugitives from the Middle Horde;

Inventory No. 1. File No. 184: Reports and dispatches on preparations by Kyrgyz and Kalmyks for military campaigns, as well as data on horse thefts and threats of attacks;

Inventory No. 1. File No. 190: Documents on unrest among Bashkirs, Kyrgyz, and Kalmyks, their intentions to resettle, and aspirations to separate from Russia;

Inventory No. 1. File No. 212: Correspondence and reports on the release of captives, movement of herds, and other incidents in border regions;

Inventory No. 1. File No. 213: Documents of a confidential nature concerning interactions with Kyrgyz who fled from China and intelligence operations in the steppe.

These documents constitute valuable sources that make it possible to examine in detail the relations between Ablai Khan and the Alatau Kyrgyz in the 1760s–1780s. Their analysis has revealed little-studied historical data, contributing to a deeper understanding of the political and military activities of the Kazakh ruler Ablai in the region under consideration.

The methodological framework of the study is based on the principles of scientific historical analysis objectivity, historicism, systematicity, and concreteness as well as on a value-oriented approach applied in contemporary historical scholarship. These principles ensure a comprehensive and objective examination of historical events, taking into account the full range of factors influencing the activities of historical figures and their environment, and allow events to be considered in the interconnection of all their structural elements.

This study employs a deductive method that views the history of the Kazakh Khanate as part of world history, emphasizing its connections with the histories of other peoples and states. The application of a deductive approach and cause-and-effect analysis enabled the author to reconstruct a holistic picture of events and to recreate the historical reality in which Ablai Khan operated, particularly in the context of his relations with the Alatau Kyrgyz in the 1760s–1780s.

**Discussion.** The historiography of the issue concerning the relations between Khan Ablai and the Kyrgyz in the second half of the eighteenth century particularly his military campaigns and diplomatic contacts - is presented in a number of scholarly works and studies. The fundamental encyclopedic publication *“Kyrgyzstan. Uluttuk Encyclopedia”* (Asanov, 2006) examines in detail the

issues of territorial disputes and conflicts between the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz following the collapse of the Dzungar Khanate. Volume IX of the encyclopedia contains data on Kazakh–Kyrgyz relations in the 1760s–1780s.

The three-volume edition “History of Kyrgyzstan: From Ancient Times to the Present Day” (Dzhumanaliev, 2016), edited by A. Dzhumanaliev, devotes special attention to the relations of the Kyrgyz with neighboring peoples. Volume II analyzes Kazakh–Kyrgyz conflicts of the eighteenth century, including Ablai Khan’s campaigns into the Alatau region. The authors emphasize the political context and the causes of the escalation of relations, particularly those connected with claims to land and resources.

The monograph by K. K. Abuev, “Ablai Khan: Contemporaries and Successors” (Abuev, 2013), provides a detailed examination of the military strategies and political activities of Khan Ablai. The work contains data concerning the relations between the Kazakhs and the Alatau Kyrgyz. The author cites archival documents that shed light on the causes and course of military clashes during Ablai Khan’s reign, analyzes the influence of external powers, and draws conclusions about the consequences of these conflicts for the Kazakh Khanate.

In the study “Relations of the Kyrgyz People with Russia and Neighboring Peoples in the Eighteenth Century” by D. B. Saparaliev (1995), various aspects of Kyrgyz interaction with Russia and neighboring peoples, including the Kazakhs, are examined. The author explores the influence of the Russian and Qing empires on Kazakh–Kyrgyz relations and highlights the role of diplomacy in resolving conflicts.

In the book “The Kyrgyz in Chinese Written Sources” (Asanov, 2004), T. Asanov analyzes Chinese sources related to the history of the Kyrgyz, including their interactions with the Kazakhs. This study is important for identifying and analyzing external factors that influenced the nature of Kazakh–Kyrgyz relations in the eighteenth century and complements data from Russian archival sources. In the articles “Kyrgyz–Kazakh Relations and Border Issues in the 18th–19th Centuries” (Asanov, 2003, 2006), T. Asanov examines territorial disputes between the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz, as well as the role of Khan Ablai in these conflicts. His research pays particular attention to Ablai’s policies aimed at establishing control over border regions, as well as the diplomatic efforts that accompanied military actions.

The works reviewed reflect various aspects of Kazakh–Kyrgyz relations in the eighteenth century and cover issues of military conflicts, territorial disputes, diplomacy, and external influence. The incorporation of archival documents and interdisciplinary approaches in modern research has made it possible to create a more comprehensive picture of Ablai Khan’s relations with the Alatau Kyrgyz. These studies provide a foundation for further analysis and interpretation of the political activity of the Kazakh khan in the broader context of interaction with the Kyrgyz and other neighboring peoples.

**Results.** The deterioration of Kazakh–Kyrgyz relations led to serious clashes between the two sides in 1759, 1764, 1765, 1766, and 1768. In particular, settlements in the lower reaches of the Ili, Chu, and Talas rivers became objects of dispute (Asanov, 2006: 53). In 1760, Kyrgyz groups attacked the nomadic tribes of the Dulat and Konyrat clans, who lived along the banks of the Ili River as far as the Chu and Talas rivers, as well as in the middle reaches of the Syr Darya. Ablai assembled significant forces and launched a retaliatory campaign in August of the same year. The sultans of the Kazakh Middle Zhuz invaded Kyrgyz territories and seized a large amount of booty (Dzhumanaliev, 2016: 200).

On April 10, 1760, Lieutenant I. Urakov and interpreter Ya. Gulyaev, who arrived on behalf of Sultan Ablai, informed the Orenburg Provincial Chancellery of the intention of Kazakh Khan Abulmambet and Sultan Ablai to wage war against the Kyrgyz, who were obstructing Kazakh trade with Central Asia and Kashgaria. Their report stated: “Ablai announced that he intended to go to Turkestan this spring, since from Kashgar and Yarkand Aikhoja and Kunikhoja have written to him, the sultan, that due to attacks by the Chinese army the inhabitants of these cities are experiencing great hardships, and that under strong military pressure these inhabitants have begun to leave their

cities and seek refuge elsewhere. Moreover, people on this side of the cities of Yarkand and Kashgaria, in the Kyrgyz mountains, are blocking the trade route to Tashkent, Turkestan, Bukhara, and other cities. Therefore, in order to clear this route and pacify the Kyrgyz, they are calling upon Ablai and Khan Abulmambet to come to their aid with troops" (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 88. Folio 662).

In response, in 1764 the Kyrgyz rulers attacked the nomadic camps of the Senior and Junior Zhuzes three times in the Ili River valley. The Kyrgyz organized a campaign against the Zhetysu Kazakhs, devastating the auls of the Naiman clan. In the summer of 1765, a 30,000-strong army under the command of Ablai successfully attacked the Kyrgyz. He invaded Kyrgyz lands, crossing the difficult Sarybel pass, where his advance was blocked by detachments led by elders Yesengul and Yersadyr, as well as the renowned batyr Ateke-Zhyryk. In the ensuing battle, Ablai defeated the Kyrgyz and compelled their leaders to conclude peace. This campaign is celebrated in the well-known "*Song of Ablai*," recorded by Ch.Ch. Valikhanov (Valikhanov, 1984: 265–272).

On September 21, 1765, Sultan Ablai wrote to the commander of the Siberian Corps, Lieutenant General I.I. Springer, describing the campaign against the Kyrgyz and outlining its causes. In particular, Ablai wrote: "Furthermore, I report that this summer I intend to go on a campaign against the Kyrgyz from my uluses and to see how well my Kazakhs live. For those Kyrgyz have inflicted many offenses upon our people and do not allow any traders to come to us. Our people complain of this, saying that they are greatly oppressed. Therefore, we have firmly decided to proceed" (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 137. Folios 103–103 verso).

In Ablai's activities aimed at unifying the Kazakh lands, including military campaigns against the southern territories of the Kazakh Khanate and against Kokand, Sultan Uali Ablai's eldest son played an active role. From an early age, Uali participated in Ablai's military and foreign policy activities and governed the Atygai clan of the Argyn tribe of the Middle Zhuz (Erofeeva, 2014: 287). The sultan held a high military status, being one of the few elite warriors to bear the title of *bahadur*, a fact documented in eighteenth-century historical sources (Epistolary Heritage, 2014: 366). Among the earliest documented references to Sultan Uali are records of his participation in organizing military campaigns against Tashkent (Khafizova, 2019: 143).

In the summer of 1766, Sultan Uali arrived in the Middle Zhuz from the Tashkent region to gather military reinforcements. The rich booty delivered to the headquarters demonstrated Uali Bahadur's successes to the sultans and elders, resulting in the allocation of additional requested detachments to continue the campaign in the southern territories. The military expedition assembled with Uali's assistance accelerated the establishment of control over Tashkent. During the same period, Uali also led a successful military campaign against Kyrgyz tribes that were under significant influence of Kokand (Suleimenov, 1988: 110–112).

Despite the victories achieved by the Kazakh forces, it was not possible to fully resolve the conflict in the 1760s. This was due to the complex foreign policy situation of the Kazakh Khanate and the continuing threat of invasion from the Qing Empire. By the end of the 1760s, Sultan Ablai had managed to strengthen supreme authority over most of the Kazakh Khanate. In 1770, he undertook another military campaign into Kyrgyz lands. After crossing the Shatu Pass in the valleys of the Kyzylsu and Shamsi rivers, the Kazakh army inflicted a significant defeat on the Kyrgyz militia. A large number of captives were taken to Central Kazakhstan and settled there as personal vassals *tolenguts* of Ablai (History of Kazakhstan, 2000: 253).

Ablai was consistently supported by the large family of Sultan Sultanmamet, his elder brother, who nomadized in the Middle Irtysh region and ruled the Kipchak ulus. At that time, Sultan Iman was eighteen years old. Thus, on November 8, 1765, according to a report by the commandant of the Ust-Kamenogorsk Fortress, Major General A. M. Kheraskov, to the commander of the Siberian Corps, Lieutenant General I. I. Springer, it is evident that Sultan Iman, together with his elder brother, was prepared to join Sultan Ablai in a campaign against the Alatau Kyrgyz, who, even before the campaign began, were expecting assistance from the Qing Empire (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 137. Folios 293–293 verso).

Information about battles between Ablai and the Kyrgyz in November 1765 was also reported on December 5, 1765, in a dispatch by the commander of the Yamysh Fortress, Lieutenant Colonel von Traubenberg, addressed to the commander of the Siberian Corps, Lieutenant General I. I. Springer: "Ablai-sultan more than a month ago went to war against the wild Kyrgyz with twenty thousand men" (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 137. Folios 387–387 verso).

By the late 1760s, Kazakh–Kyrgyz relations had once again deteriorated. In the border regions, the seizure of livestock between nomadic groups occurred quite frequently and, as a rule, did not entail serious consequences. However, cases involving the devastation of auls, killings, and the abduction of people led to armed clashes and human casualties. Kyrgyz feudal elites were often the initiators of such conflicts. Thus, according to reports by Kungur Yusupov, Takai Kaipov, and Isergen Ilkebaev, who had returned from a journey to the Middle Zhuz, a dispatch sent to Orenburg on July 8, 1768, stated that Kyrgyz raiders had devastated several Kazakh auls nomadizing in the Syr Darya region and driven off approximately five thousand head of livestock (Abuev, 2013: 182).

By the 1770s, the situation in Central Asia remained unstable. The Kazakhs nomadized in the area of the city of Andijan, located between Kokand and Tashkent. The so-called "wild mountain" Kyrgyz frequently waged wars or carried out constant mutual raids with the Kazakhs and Kalmyks (Valikhanov, 1985: 76). Under the leadership of Ablai and his sons, the Kazakhs actively reclaimed and expanded their territories, strengthening their positions in the region. Kyrgyz tribes neighboring the Kazakhs likewise sought to occupy new pasturelands. Under these conditions, conflicts between the two peoples were inevitable and periodically escalated into armed confrontations.

In 1770, Khan Ablai launched an attack on Kyrgyz nomadic camps, which resulted in a battle known as the "Jailoo Massacre" (Valikhanov, 1985: 77). The battle took place in the Chu River valley, at the confluence of the Aksu and Kyz-Tugan rivers. Ablai's detachments attacked the auls of the Kyrgyz Solto and Sayak clans, inflicting significant damage. After the destruction of these auls, the Kazakh detachments, while retreating, encountered a large Kyrgyz militia force. In the ensuing battle, the Kazakhs emerged victorious.

In the same year, Ablai acted against Kyrgyz manaps who had been raiding the Uysun and Konyrat nomadic camps in Semirechye and Turkestan and defeated them. A report by Major General S. K. Stanislavsky to the commander of the Siberian Corps, Lieutenant General I. I. Springer, dated December 31, 1770, concerning Sultan Ablai's campaign clearly indicates that one of the key reasons for the campaign against the Kyrgyz was that they were obstructing his subjects' trade with Tashkent, which in earlier times had been one of the principal cities of the Kazakhs (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 169. Folios 1–1 verso).

In December 1770, Ablai set out on a campaign against the Kyrgyz with a cavalry force reportedly numbering twenty thousand men. Representatives of the Russian Empire attempted to verify this information through Kazakhs who arrived for *satovka* (temporary stays or trade), seeking to determine whether this figure was accurate (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 169. Folios 1–1 verso). During careful inquiries, it was established that the commander of the Semipalatinsk Fortress of the Vologda Dragoon Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Bilov, clarified certain details of this campaign through a Kazakh who had arrived at the fortress on personal business. According to the report, the reasons for the campaign included the Kyrgyz obstruction of Kazakh trade with Tashkent, frequent attempts at нападения (raids), and killings. The actual size of the force was estimated to be approximately ten thousand men. This major campaign was preceded by a reconnaissance expedition undertaken by one of Ablai's sons into Kyrgyz territory with two thousand warriors, while Ablai himself was gathering troops from various regions (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 169. Folios 1–1 verso).

However, despite Ablai's victory, Kyrgyz manaps resumed attacks on trading caravans and Kazakh auls after some time. Information about battles between Ablai and the Kyrgyz was conveyed in a letter from Kulsary-batyr to the commander of the Siberian Corps, Lieutenant General I. I. Springer, dated January 16, 1771. At that time, Ablai reportedly had a force of twenty thousand men, while he left his eldest son, Sultan Uali, in his place (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 169. Folios 26–26 verso).

Two years later, Ablai organized another campaign against the Kyrgyz. This is evidenced by a letter from the commander of the Petropavlovsk Fortress, Major General S. Stanislavsky, to the commander of the Siberian Corps, Lieutenant General I. A. Decolong, dated November 16, 1772, which reported on Ablai's preparations for a military expedition against the Kyrgyz (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 176. Folio 311). Ablai departed to consult with Sultan Sultanmamet regarding the campaign, while instructing two of his sons to lead the expedition against the Kyrgyz. At the same time, this period reveals a strengthening of separatist tendencies among the Atygai batyrs, a group traditionally regarded as Ablai's patrimony. In particular, the batyrs Kulebaka and Segiz refused to participate in the campaign. It can be assumed that by this time these batyrs had become significantly dependent on the Russian Empire, receiving annual stipends and enjoying the right to migrate to the interior territories of the Empire during the winter season.

The Siberian administration of the Russian Empire conducted additional intelligence activities to clarify the true objectives of Ablai's campaign against the Kyrgyz. Apparently, this involved cross-checking information from multiple informants to verify earlier reports. In this instance, Ablai Khan's cousin, Sultan Sultanmamet of the Kipchak ulus, was questioned. In his letter to the commander of the Siberian Corps, Lieutenant General I.A. Decolong, dated November 29, 1772, Sultan Sultanmamet reported preparations for war against the "wild mountain Kyrgyz":

"I hereby have the honor to inform you that on November 13 of this year Ablai Khan arrived to me with two of his sons, and with him fifty Kyrgyz men, for certain negotiations with me... Our intention with Ablai is to go to war against the wild Kyrgyz. And when we set out, I will not fail to inform Your Excellency of that campaign" (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 176. Folio 369 verso).

In another letter dated December 8, 1772, Sultan Sultanmamet informed Lieutenant General I. A. Decolong of the forthcoming joint campaign against the Kyrgyz together with Ablai Khan:

"Ablai-sultan, having stayed with me, safely departed to his nomadic camps, of which you are hereby informed. And we concluded an agreement that we shall set out in the spring: he with his two sons, and I in general with eight thousand of our subordinate Kyrgyz, to wage war against the wild Kyrgyz" (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 176. Folios 397–398).

Sultan Sultanmamet reported that the campaign would take place in the spring of 1773 and that he would set out with a force of eight thousand men together with his two sons. It is evident that the sultan openly disclosed his intentions, fully aware that this information would inevitably become known to the Russian authorities. Moreover, the Russian side did not strongly oppose the Kazakh campaigns against the Kyrgyz, who were located far from Russian borders. On the contrary, such campaigns helped draw away Kazakh forces that might otherwise pose a potential threat to the Russian Empire.

In a letter dated August 23, 1773, Urus-sultan, elder of the Basentiin volost, informed the commander of the Siberian Corps, Lieutenant General I.A. Decolong, of the war with the Kyrgyz, during which the Kazakhs captured approximately six hundred Kyrgyz prisoners. Ablai's detachments participated in these battles under the command of his two sons. Ablai himself ordered all elders with their subordinate Kazakhs to advance to the Bajanaul tract in order to convene a council (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 182. Folios 147–150 verso).

Soon afterward, on September 3, 1773, Sergeant Abdulov, who was with Kulsary-batyr, wrote a letter to the commander of the Petropavlovsk Fortress, Major General S. K. Stanislavsky, reporting that most likely all Kazakhs who had arrived for the council were planning to set out on a military campaign against the Kyrgyz (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 182. Folios 174–174 verso).

The Atygai batyr Kulsary secretly informed the commander of the Siberian Corps, Lieutenant General I. A. Decolong, in a letter dated December 26, 1773, that Ablai had ordered him to prepare for a campaign against the Kyrgyz. This information was transmitted through the Cossack Yegor Bedrin. Notably, as a sign of special trust, Kulebaka-batyr received a pistol from the authorities of Western Siberia of the Russian Empire an action that had previously been strictly prohibited. Apparently, the regional authorities decided to make an exception for their secret informant, who to some extent was betraying his own khan (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 184. Folios 31–32 verso).

Demonstrating his usefulness and loyalty to the Russian crown, Kulsary disclosed confidential information concerning Khan Ablai, who was preparing to launch a campaign against the neighboring Alatau Kyrgyz. All Kazakhs were ordered in advance to purchase gunpowder and lead and to prepare good horses, bows with arrows, and spears for the campaign (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 184. Folios 38–41 verso).

Indeed, Ablai's campaign against the Kyrgyz did take place, as reported by a number of Kazakh informants and intelligence sources. Thus, on January 9, 1774, in his report, the commander of the Semipalatinsk Fortress, Colonel I. T. Titov, informed the commander of the Siberian Corps, Major General A. D. Skalon, about a campaign by Khan Ablai and his relative Abulfeis-sultan against the Kyrgyz with a force numbering sixty thousand warriors an enormous number for that time. This information reached him through the commandant of the Shulbinsk outpost, Captain Ushakov, who in turn received it from the elder of the Kirei volost, Umir-batyr. According to these reports, the army was located at a distance of ten days' horseback travel from the Chinese border (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 190. Folio 69).

As can be seen from this report, Khan Ablai united his forces with an influential sultan of the Middle Zhuz, Sultan Abulfeis, who commanded numerous Naiman clans. Chinese records also confirm that Ablai Khan attacked Kyrgyz territory in 1774 (Asanov, 2006: 54).

Evidence that the campaign of Ablai and Abulfeis indeed took place and was followed by a truce is provided by a letter dated March 26, 1774, from Urus-sultan, the elder of the Basentiin volost and the eldest son of Sultan Sultanmamet, addressed to the commander of the Siberian Corps, Major General A. D. Skalon. The letter suggested that a truce may have been concluded between the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz. Notably, this message was delivered through the same Cossack Yegor Bedrin, who at that time served as an intermediary between Kazakh elders and the highest authorities of Western Siberia (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 190. Folio 363).

Having failed to receive a response and satisfaction of his requests, Sultan Urus later intensified his appeals by providing additional information about the Kazakh campaign against the Kyrgyz. This is evidenced by his letter dated June 1, 1774, to the commander of the Siberian Corps, Major General A. D. Skalon, in which he stated that Khan Ablai was at war with the Kyrgyz and had obtained a considerable amount of booty and prisoners (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 190. Folio 614).

As can be seen, the war did indeed take place, and Ablai captured a large number of prisoners. The campaign was largely successful. However, Sultan Urus transmitted information that was not entirely accurate or verified. This becomes evident from a letter dated June 1, 1774, written by a certain A. Apsalimov, who served as a mullah in the entourage of Sultan Sultanmamet, addressed to the commander of the Siberian Corps, Major General A. D. Skalon. In this letter, the informant Apsalimov secretly reported the true state of affairs: during the war with the Kyrgyz, the renowned Barak-batyr was killed, and his detachment was destroyed. Barak, having assembled a force of six thousand men, went on campaign and perished along with most of his troops; only forty men returned to their nomadic camps. This fact indicates that in that particular battle the Kazakhs suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Kyrgyz. The Kyrgyz captured many elders loyal to Khan Ablai, which compelled Ablai to decide not to return to his uluses that year and to continue the war in order to recover the captured elders (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 190. Folio 618).

The mullah serving Sultan Sultanmamet requested that his identity not be disclosed, as he faced certain death for revealing internal information (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 190. Folio 619 verso). Undoubtedly, this information can be considered trustworthy, since the mullah, under threat of death, provided the leadership of Western Siberia with more accurate information than Sultan Urus, who had openly misled the regional authorities. At the same time, this case demonstrates that mullahs and interpreters from among Tatars and Bukharans attached to the sultans were engaged in open intelligence and espionage activities, thereby weakening the position of Khan Ablai and the Kazakh elite.

Meanwhile, the highest authorities in Siberia received reports indicating that some of Ablai's followers, while he was engaged in the campaign against the Kyrgyz, intended to attack the Russian side. This is evidenced by a report dated June 10, 1774, from the commander of the Petropavlovsk

Fortress, Brigadier S. V. Sumorokov, to the commander of the Siberian Corps, Major General A. D. Skalon, concerning the migration of a large number of Kirghiz-Kaisaks toward the Turgai River during Ablai Khan's absence, with the intention of attacking Russia in the summer and autumn (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 190. Folio 671).

As shown by these sources, a significant portion of the Kazakhs subordinate to Ablai intended to attack the Russians while Ablai was on Kyrgyz territory. At the same time, a number of elders and batyrs remained loyal to Russia, including Sultan Uali, elder Kulsary-batyr, Baizhigit-murza, Sargadak-batyr, and Baituk Yuldubaev.

At the same time, on June 9, 1774, Sultan Uali reported to the Petropavlovsk Fortress about a victory achieved by Ablai Khan's forces over the Kyrgyz: "Recently I received news from my father that he defeated up to eight thousand of his enemies, many of whom he took captive. He has also sent troops to pursue the remaining enemy." As can be seen from this brief message by Sultan Uali, eight thousand Kyrgyz were defeated, many were taken prisoner, and a pursuit was organized against the remaining forces.

In the war with the Kyrgyz, Russia adopted a policy aimed at preventing the strengthening of the Kazakhs in their military confrontation with the Kyrgyz. To this end, it strictly prohibited Russians from selling gunpowder, lead, and saltpeter to the Kazakhs. This is evident from a report dated January 9, 1778, by the commander of the Petropavlovsk Fortress, Brigadier S. V. Sumorokov, to the commander of the Separate Siberian Corps, Major General N. G. Ogarev, which noted attempts at the clandestine purchase of ammunition from Russians and even from Tashkent merchants. In response, orders were issued categorically forbidding the sale of ammunition and mandating thorough inspections of all persons leaving Russian territory (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 212. Folios 26–26 verso).

During the Kazakh military campaigns against the Kyrgyz, Ablai repeatedly sent unrealistic requests to Russia for the dispatch of Russian military units. This is evident from Ablai Khan's letter of July 24, 1778, addressed to the commander of the Petropavlovsk Fortress, Brigadier S.V. Sumorokov, in which he emphasized the need to send Russian troops to intimidate the so-called "wild mountain Kyrgyz." Ablai asked Major General Nikolai Gavrilovich Ogarev to dispatch a military detachment of one hundred men, fully armed and equipped, with provisions and fodder sufficient for one month. Ablai intended to use this small Russian unit primarily as a means of psychological intimidation.

At the same time, Ablai did not conceal the fact that earlier he had requested a much larger force up to one thousand men for the war against the Kyrgyz and that he had already significantly reduced his demands for reinforcement (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 213. Folios 94–94 verso). It is not difficult to assume, however, that Russia had no intention of assisting the Kazakh side, particularly Khan Ablai. Although the khan made repeated and ultimately futile attempts to achieve his goal assuring the Russian authorities that a Russian officer, Captain Dudin, and the goods of the merchant Shikhov were allegedly being held captive by the Kyrgyz-Russia ultimately refused to provide military assistance.

Throughout nearly the entire period during which the Kazakhs remained within the orbit of Russian imperial policy, there is no documented case of Russia allocating military detachments to support the Kazakhs. This is confirmed by a letter from the Orenburg governor I.A. Reinsdorp dated August 13, 1778, addressed to Khan Ablai, in which he instructed Ablai to secure the release of Captain Dudin independently, without the involvement of Russian troops, noting that such an action would be favorably regarded at the imperial court in Saint Petersburg (HAOO. Fund 1. In. 1. File 213. Folio 167 verso).

In Ablai's campaign against the Kyrgyz, a number of elders and batyrs, including those from his own Atygai volost, did not support him. Moreover, information about Ablai's actions was systematically transmitted to the Russian side. For example, in recognition of his loyalty to the Empire, Ogarev proposed granting Kuberyak-batyr an annual salary of one hundred rubles (SOAR F. 3. In. 1. F. 176. F. 320).

Apparently, the weakening of Khan Ablai during the Kyrgyz campaigns was also due to the disloyalty of certain influential batyrs from his own Atygai clan, which was traditionally considered his patrimonial ulus and to which he had been assigned at the early stage of his ascent to the khan's throne.

Evidence of a military conflict between Ablai and the Kyrgyz in the summer of 1780 is also found in a letter from the commander of the Siberian Corps, N.G. Ogarev, to the Orenburg governor I. A. Reinsdorp. In this letter, Ogarev reported based on multiple sources the most reliable information regarding the outbreak of another war (SOAR. F. 3. In. 1. F. 176. F. 361).

In correspondence addressed to the Russian administration, Sultan Sultanmamet highlighted the military exploits of his son Seit in the war against the Kyrgyz and requested that he be appointed as his successor after his death. In the same letter, Sultanmamet reported on the military booty obtained by Khan Ablai in another campaign against the Kyrgyz, as well as on Ablai's place of residence during the final year of his life. Khan Ablai was in good health, although his son, Sultan Chingis, was ill. As hostages (*amanats*), Ablai received nine Kyrgyz families along with their yurts to ensure that they would refrain from future attacks on the Kazakhs. The khan resided near Turkestan, by Mount Etikant, where he built a house and engaged in agriculture, while Sultan Uali remained in his former position in the northern regions of the Kazakh Khanate.

Almost until his death in the summer of 1780, Ablai continued to send envoys to the Kyrgyz. This is evidenced by a report from Ablai Khan's scribe, the Meshcheryak Yaguda Usmanov, sent to the Troitsk Fortress on November 22, 1780: "Ablai Khan has no intentions toward China and wishes, in the coming spring, after receiving hostages from respected Kyrgyz leaders, to return to his uluses" (SOAR. Fund 3. In. 1. File 176. Folios 372–373).

Thus, after concluding the war with the Kyrgyz, Ablai returned to the Turkestan region, near the Kyrgyz border, from where he continued to carry out raids against them. He captured children from several noble Kyrgyz families and distributed them among the sons of various sultans. The conditions of their captivity were relatively honorable (SOAR. Fund 3. In. 1. File 176. Folio 385).

Based on testimonies from prominent Kazakhs, Russian officials gave a high assessment of the combat qualities of Kyrgyz warriors: "Chingis-sultan and the elder Dat-batyr stated that this people the Kyrgyz share the same Muhammadan faith as they do and are very numerous, and in warfare and in all actions against the Kirghiz-Kaisak Horde they are sharper and more agile" (SOAR. Fund 3. In. 1. File 176. Folio 388 verso).

Analyzing all the information received from the steppe, the Russian Empire sought to understand how Ablai had managed to subdue the Kyrgyz. First, he launched an unexpected offensive, during which he captured the children of influential Kyrgyz biys and took them as hostages. Second, he was always accompanied by a well-armed and fully equipped Russian soldier named Yakov, whose presence created the impression that Russian troops were part of his forces. Third, a Chinese border detachment of five hundred men was stationed near the Kyrgyz frontier, which Ablai presented at least rhetorically as his allies, thereby confusing and demoralizing his opponents (SOAR. Fund 3. In. 1. File 176. Folio 388 verso).

**Conclusion.** The Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz were among the closest peoples of Central Asia in ethnocultural terms, united by a shared historical destiny, linguistic and cultural affinity, and similar ways of life. For centuries, they jointly resisted external conquerors and maintained friendly relations. In the early eighteenth century, the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz allied to repel Dzungar expansion and undertook joint campaigns to reclaim lost nomadic pastures along the borders with Dzungaria.

At the same time, in the 1760s–1770s, Khan Ablai conducted several military campaigns against the Kyrgyz, which in a number of scholarly works have been interpreted as conquests. However, archival materials do not support such an assessment. After achieving victories over Kyrgyz manaps, Ablai did not annex their territories or install governors; instead, he sought to establish peace, secure recognition of borders, and ensure the return of captives and stolen livestock. As for the cities along the Syr Darya, they had been returned to the Kazakh Khanate by Ablai even before his election as khan.

Demonstrating political foresight, Ablai carefully considered the potential negative consequences of confrontation with neighboring peoples and attached particular importance to the preservation and development of trade and economic ties. He consistently ensured the security of trading caravans passing through the Kazakh steppe, strictly punishing his subjects for livestock theft and other harmful actions. At the same time, Ablai responded decisively to instances of injustice and offenses inflicted upon the Kazakhs by neighboring groups.

Thus, the relations between Ablai and the Alatau Kyrgyz in the 1760s–1780s constituted a complex and multifaceted process in which military actions were combined with diplomatic efforts aimed at achieving stability and establishing clearly defined territorial boundaries.

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ИАОО – Государственный исторический архив Омской области

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SOAR — State Archive of the Orenburg Region

HAOO — State Historical Archive of the Omsk Region

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