

**Against a Common Enemy:
Jungar-Kazakh Political Relations and the Emergence of
Kazakh Khanate (17th –18th Centuries)**

Ortak Düşmana Karşı:
Jungar-Kazak Siyasî İlişkileri ve Kazak Hanlığının Ortaya Çıkışı
(17-18. Yy.)

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Öz

Bir asrı aşkın bir süre Kazak topraklarına akınlar düzenleyen Cungar Hanları'nın Orta Asya politikaları, Amarsana'nın Cungar Hanlığı'nı bağımsızlığa kavuşturmak amacıyla ezeli düşmanı Abılay Han ile müttefik olmasıyla, yön değiştirmiştir. Abılay Han da, Cungar Hanlığı'nın yıkılması durumunda Mançu İmparatorluğu ile aralarında duvarın da yıkılacağını ve kendi ülkesinin de Mançu istilasına uğrayacağını düşünerek, ortak düşmana karşı Amarsana ile birleşmiştir. Hatta gerektiğinde Mançulara karşı Amarsana ile birlikte savaşmıştır. Ancak değişen dengeler, Abılay'ı da politika değişikliğine itmiş ve uzun zamandır desteklediği Amarsana'yı yakalamaya çalışmıştır. Ancak yaklaşan Mançu tehlikesinin olumsuz bir yönü de Kazak Cüzleri'ni Rusya'ya ve Orta Asya'nın Rus işgali altına girmesine zemin hazırlamış olmasıdır.

Sonuç olarak, Cungar Hanlığı'nın yıkılmasından sonra ortaya çıkan otorite boşluğundan yararlanan Kazaklar bir süre sonra Abılay Han idaresinde birliklerini kurarak, siyasî bir güç olarak ortaya çıkmışlardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kazak Hanlığı, Cungar Hanlığı, Abılay Han, Orta Asya

Abstract

Middle Asian politics of Jungarian Khans, who used to set campaigns on the Kazakh lands for more than a century, changed its direction, along with that Amarsana made alliance with Abılay Khan, his ever enemy, in order to carry the

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Jungarian Khanate to liberty. And Abilay Khan, thinking that, in case Jungar Khanate falls, the wall between him and the Manchurian Empire will be removed, and his land would have a Manchurian invasion, too, united with Amarsana against the common enemy. Moreover, he fought Manchus with Amarsana whenever necessary. But changing of the equilibrium, pushed Abilay to a change of politics, too, and he tried to capture Amarsana, whom he had been supporting for a long while. One other negative aspect of the approaching Manchurian treat is that it caused Kazakh Juzes to move to Russia and Middle Asia to be invaded by the Russians.

As a result, Kazakhs, taking the advantage of lack of authority that came along with the fall of Jungarian Khanate, and make their unity under Abilay Khan in a short while, and appear as a political power. In this study, we will try to determine the Inner Asian Politics of the Jungarian Khanate, making an analitic research on the Jungar-Kazakh relations.

Key words: *Kazakh Khanate, JungarKhanatei, Abilay Khan, Central Asia*

Jungar Khanate is the latest Mongolian Khanate that ruled over Western Mongolia, Eastern Kazakhstan and Eastern Turkestan of today and had a prominent place in shaping the Inner Asian politics during 17th and 18th centuries. Within the studies carried out about the Jungar Khanate, while focusing on the relations with the Manchus and Russians, relations with the Kazakhs who are culturally very much close to the Oirads, one of the members that make up the Khanate are not studied in details.

Jungarian Khans, after forming the khanate, forwarded their sights to the Kazakh lands, that are easy to interfere with geografically also, in order to increase the power of the khanate. Hence raids of the nomadics on each other as well as civillian cities used to happen based on an instictive concept at all. Also, Kazakhs of that period, had divided themselves into three juzes, which are the Ulug (Great) Juz used to live in a nomadic way to the south of Lake Balkash; Orta (Medium) Juz central Kazakhstan or to the east of River Irtish; and Kish (Little) Juz on the lands to the west of Kazakhstan.¹ This divided structure attracted the attention of the Jungarina Khans.

Struggles between the nomads of the steppe had deep traces in history. One of these deep traces is Jungar-Kazakh wars. In the beginning of the 17th century several Oirad tribes had occupied the southern portions of Kazakhstan. During the Bagatur Huntaiishi's reign many campaigns were set

¹ Peter B. Golden, *Türk Halkları Tarihine Giriş*, Translated by Osman Karatay, Ankara, 2002, p. 336; J. Davis Kimball, "Batı Moğolistan'ın Göçebe Kazakları", Translated by N. Özsoy, *Türkler*, Vol. XX, p. 724.

over the Kazakhs on different dates. Main reasons of these campaigns were based upon the political and economical axis. But the important hit on the Kazakhs were done especially during the rules of Galdan Boshgot Khan and Tseveen Aravdan (Ravdan).

Kazakhs started counter attacks whenever the Jungar Khanate weakens, and imposed heavy strokes over the Jungar Khanate. The Jungar-Kazakh relations was based not only on the battle axis, but also Kazakhs played a real important role during the competitions on the Jungarian throne. It is also valued by all of the Jungarian historitians that the good relations between Ablay Khan and Amarsanaa had such a great importance in terms of the continuation of the Jungarina Khanate.

In this study, we will try to determine the Inner Asian Politics of the Jungarian Khanate, making an analitic research on the Jungar-Kazakh relations.

1. Inner Asian Politics of the Jungarian Khans and Campaigns They Set on the Kazakh Lands

It is no doubt that, among the Mongolian tribes, Oirads and the Jungarian Khanate they built are the ones that had the closest relations with the Kazakhs. The most important reason for this should be the geographically close positions. After taking the stage in history on 1676 under the rule of Galdan Boshgot Khan, Jungarian Khanate set campaigns on the Kazakhs that are distant from having a political unity and Eastern Turkestan which used to be one of the most important economical powers of the time, in order to gain strength and obtain the economical sources that it needed.

1.1. Campaigns During Galdan Boshgot Khan

As mentioned above, Oirads used to raid on Kazakhs even before Galdan Boshgot Khan. But the real stroke was blew on Kazakhs during Galdan Boshgot Khan's era. Jungarian soldiers, firstly, attacked on Yedisu and Southern Kazakhstan and killed Jangir Khan of the Kazakhs. A prominent portion of the lands around the River Seyhun was also occupied by Jungarians during this campaign. They left a number of military forces in the invaded lands and moved back. But in 1684, people in Sayram rebelled against the Jungarian rule, killed the Jungarian Governor in the city, and beaten the Jungarian soldiers in a raid. As a result of this, Jungarians set another campaign on the region, and reoccupied the city Sayram. Sayram was ruined badly during this second campaign.

In 1685 Galdan set campaign on Buhara and Samarkand being himself on the command of the army, and took these two important cities under his rule. Survivors of the battle were forced to move and live in Jungaria and Eastern Turkestan.²

Yesi and Tashkent, cities under the Kazakh rule, used to have prominent positions of that time. Main forces of Tevke Khan of Kazakhs were located in the city Yesi in Turkestan. But the forces in this city became weaker as a result of the dispute within the soldiers, and Galdan occupied this place very easily. And Tashkent (was) surrendered by its own will, so they did not give big harm on this city. In the above mentioned battle, Sultan, son of Tevke Khan was enslaved and sent to the Dalai Lama in Lhasa.³

1.2. Kazakh-Jungar Relations During Tseveen Aravdan's Reign And Occupation of the Kazakh Lands

After being enthroned, Tseveen Aravdan turned his face to west, or in other words to Kazakh lands, for that he was aware of the problems that facing the Manchurian Empire would cause. Jungarians used to pay private attention on Yedisu and Seyhun regions.⁴

Russian politicians had important role on the dispute between the Kazakh-Jungar relations. It was another reason to lead to the west that, Kazakhs used to set campaigns on the Jungarian lands during the struggles between the Jungars and the Manchus, taking advantage of the lack of authority. Tseveen Aravdan, after becoming the Jungarian Khan, set his first campaign on the Kazakh lands in 1689. Entering the Kazakh lands with a great army in the summer of 1698, Tseveen Aravdan turned back to his capital along with the Kazakh soldiers that he enslaved and the Kazakh people that used to live along the rivers Chu and Talas. Believing to have strengthen his authority a good deal after this campaign, Tseveen Aravdan drove his attention to the east once more. In the first place, he planned to take the refugees back, who took shelter of China during Galdan Boshgot Khan's era. Still he did not ignore to settle a power of 30 thousand people on the Kazakh border.

Tevke Khan of the Kazakhs gathered all of the Kazakh Lords in a kurultai (assembly) in 1710, against the Jungarian threat. As the Jungarian forces, being informed about this kurultai, set another attack onto the Kazakh

² Ch. Dalay, *Oyrad Mongoliin Tuuh*, p. 146.

³ S. Tsolmon, *Galdan Boshgot Haan Nigeem Uls Töriin Uil Ajilgaa (1644-1697)*, p. 72.

⁴ M. H. Asylbekov, J. K. Kasymbayev, et al, *Kazakstan Tarihi*, Vol. III, p. 105.

lands, decision of war became compulsory for the kurultai. In this Kurultai, Bökenbay Batır was selected as the head commander of the Kazakh Army.⁵ Kazakh Army, under the command of Bökenbay, had successful fights against Jungars during 1710-1711, and in 1712 came back with lots of slaves and loots after setting campaigns to the Jungarian lands. Jungarians managed to treat Kazakhs once more in 1714, taking support forces from the center.

Kazakh Army of 30 thousand people under the command of Kayıp Khan and Ebu'l Hayr Khan encountered the Jungarian Army along the Ayagöz River in 1717, and Jungars were the winner of this battle. Ebu'l Hayr, Kayıp Khan and tribal lords could save their lives running away. Jungarian Army occupied the Southern Kazakhstan, overcoming Kazakhs several times along the Arıs, Bögen and Şayan Rivers in 1718. By then, there was an important event in the Kazakh lands as well. To the end of 1718 Kayıp Khan passed away, Ebu'l Hayr Khan dismissed, and Bolad, son of Es-Tevken was proclaimed as the Kazakh Sultan. But still, the competition between Kazakh lords continued, and this broke the power of Kazakhs a good deal.

Tseven Aravdan did not pass up this opportunity to evaluate all of these negative conditions among the Kazakhs. Jungarians state kept going better, and the Khanate did not only develop in terms of both economical and political facts, but also took important steps in field of military. Jungarians used to make weapon to trade, as well as they used to produce weapons in their own land, too. Jungarians, for first, took weapon producing training technically, by a Russian slave named Zelenovski, who used to be a real master in terms of producing weapons.

It is important to mention another development that took place in the same field. Tseven Aravdan, sent an army against the Russian military forces that proceeded to the region of Irtysh in 1717, and Russians were defeated by a sudden raid and many of them were enslaved. The most valuable among these slaves was, no doubt, Swedish officer Renat. Renat lived in Jungaria for almost fourteen years after 1717, and taught the production of weapons with springs to the Jungarians, which used to be a kind of revolution of that time.⁶ The importance of the power these new weaponry added to the Jungarian Army is huge. And they used this power against Kazakhs, who still used to fight in that period with the inevitable weapons of arrow, bow and sword of the nomads.

⁵ M. Magavin, *Kazak Tarihinin Elippsi*, pp. 90-91.

⁶ M. Magavin, *Kazak Tarihinin Elippsi*, pp. 91-95.

In 1722, Manchu Emperor K'ang-hsi died and his son Yun Zhen set to his throne. Yun Zhen made a peace treaty with the Jungarian Khanate, in order to renew his tired army, and Tseveen Arandan taking a deep breathe with this treaty, turned his eyes to the Kazakh lands once more.⁷ Hence, politics that Tseveen Aravdan employed against the Russian and especially Manchurian threats had been succesful. Now it was necessary to give an end to the Kazakh raids.

In the spring of 1723, Tseveen Aravdan send a Jungarian army of a hundred thousand people according to the Kazakh sources, on the Kazakh lands under the command of his son Luvsansono. Jungarian Army attacked on the Chu and Talas regions first, and that proceeded to the inner parts of Kazakhstan. Kazakhs were caught unprepared, for they did not expect such a raid.

Along with that, Kazakh Army, which was worn out quite a lot with the previous Jungarian attacks could not display a real resistance, and experienced one of the greatest defeats of its history.⁸ Sufferings that came in the aftermanth of this defeat were kept alive as bad memories in the minds of Kazakhs. The defeat and the sufferings survived have been recorded in the Kazakh History with the names such as Aktaban Şubırındı, Savran Aynalgan, Alkaköl Sulama.⁹

This defeat that came in 1723 has been the final knot of the forty years of Jungarian-Kazakh wars. During and after this war Kazakhs have lost most of their population. According to todays demographies this figure should be between 800 thousand to 1 million. As the result of the Jungarian attacks rebeginning with 1725, life field for Kazakhs became almost instict in Turkestan, Tashkent, Sayram and entire Southern Turkestan. Because of this, many Kazakh tribes crossed the Transoxania and moved to the Sarı Arka steppe. Kazakhs could take a relaxed breathe during the period until Galdantseren Khan petrified his rule, who set on the Jungarian throne in 1727.¹⁰

1.3. Relations With the Kazakh Khanate During Galdantseren Khan

Jungarian-Kazakh wars have seen their warmest period during the rules of Tseveen Aravadan and Galdantseren Khan. Especially 1723 defeat had

⁷ Sh. B. Chimitdorjiyev, *Natsionalno-Osvoboditelnoye Dvizheniye Mongolskogo Naroda v XVII-XVIII vv.*, pp. 87-88.

⁸ V. A. Moyseyev, *Djungarskoye Hanstvo i Kazahi XVII-XVIII vv.*, p. 71.

⁹ Z. V. Togan, *Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi*, p. 168; A. Kayyum Kesici, *Dün Bugün ve Hedefteki Kazakistan*, p. 61.

¹⁰ M. Magavin, *Kazak Tarihinin Elippesi*, pp. 96-97.

caused Kazakhs to fall into a very desperate situation. After this war Jungarian military kept some parts of Kazakh lands under their command.

While Galdantseren Khan was busy with trying to petrify his reign, Kazakhs had an opportunity to have a relaxing breath. But, according to folk tales and historical information the fiercest field battle between the Jungars and the Kazakhs during Galdantseren Khan took place along the Bulantı River on the west banks of Sarı Su on the Sarı Arka steppe, one year after Galdantseren set on his throne. Following battle was near Lake İtishpes located south of Lake Balkash, around 1730. Kazakhs won these two battles. After the victory, the place where the battle took place in Bulantı¹³ became to be named as “Kalmakkırılğan¹¹”.¹²

Beginning with 1730 Kazakhs officially started to be divided into little principalities. These Juzes used to be named as Ebu'l Hayr Khan, Batır Khan, Semeke Khan, Ebu'l Membet Khan, Jolbarıs Khan, Barak Sultan Khan juzes. Abılay participated in one of the 1728 or 1730 battles and killed Galdantseren Khan's close friend Sharsh Noyan. After this battle he designated the name Abılay (his real name is Ebulmansur) and started to be called as the Khan of the Medium Juz.¹³

Even though Sevden Taishi and Shar Menji, commanders of Galdantseren, attacked on Kazakhs in Sarı Arka in the fall of 1739, they could not achieve a certain victory and turned back. Jungars, under the command of Sevden, set another attack on Sarı Arka in 1740, but Jungars had a lot of losses in that battle and had to retreat. Winter same year, Lamadorj, son of Galdantseren Khan, attacked with a force of 30 thousand people, the battle lasted until the summer, and Jungars were once more defeated. With the force that came with the victory, Abılay entered Jungar lands and defeated Sevden Taishi.

As the battle went on between the two parties, Abılay along with his 200 men were surrounded by Jungars and enslaved. Galdantseren Khan had been admiring the Abılay's courage. He could have been killed immediately if he would, but he did not do that thinking that it would cause bigger problems in the future. During the slavery period of Abılay, infrastructure of Jungarian-Kazakh peace was tried to be established. An envoy of 90 people in total from the Three Kazakh Juzes were sent to İli. By the visit of these emissaries Abılay was set free.¹⁴

¹¹ This word means “The destroyed of Kalmuqs”.

¹² M. H. Asylbekov, J. K. Kasymbayev, et al, *Kazakstan Tarihi*, Vol. III, pp. 139-143.

¹³ M. Magavin, *Kazak Tarihinin Elippesi*, pp. 97-104.

¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 108-111.

But this event was noted in a different way in the Russian sources. According to Yakinef'e; Galdantseren demanded the sons of Kazakh Khans as hostages. Ebu'l Muhammed and Ebu'l Hayr Khans of Kazakhs accepted this offer, but Ebu'l Hayr Khan reported about this to Neplyuev, commander of Orenburg. Russia sent emissaries to Jungar Khanate, and informed that the Medium and Little Ords of Kirgiz-Kazakhs were under their sovereignty, therefore they do not have right to build contact to the other states, in case they do any harm to the Jungarian Khanate, the necessary precautions would be taken, should they inform Russian government about this.

Even though Galdantseren, as soon as hearing this, sent emissaries to Orenburg to display his reaction, they came back without any result. Russian administration sent Major Miller to Galdantseren, and demanded that they set Abilay, the Sultan of the Medium Ord, who is at that time enslaved by Galdan, reminding them that Russians have always been true to their treaties.¹⁵ But there is no information found in the Kazakh sources that report about that Kazakh juzes had recognized the Russian Rule. Therefore, it does not seem to be so possible that Russian helped Abilay, because of the proposal of subjection written by Yakinef.

By whatever means it was, Galdantseren Khan recognized Abilay as the Khan of the Kazakh Juzes after this event, and a peace was established between the Jungarian and Kazakh Khanates. But the most important reason for this peace was the approaching Manchu treat. As this peace was established, war was secured in order to be able to lead to the east. By the peace treaty, silence was obtained between the parties for 9 years.

After the death of Galdantseren Khan, Abilay Khan will bear a very important role during the struggles on the Jungarian throne. In other words, Kazakh will avenge Aktaban Şubırındı, Savran Aynalğan, and Alkaköl Sulama both in military and political ways.

2. Big Rebellion in Jungarya and Amarsanaa-Abilay Alliaence

Jungarian Khanate had very bad times and lost a great deal of power during the fights on throne especially in the aftermath of Galdantseren Khan's death. Finally in 1755, by the help of Amarsanaa, Manchurian Army managed to invade the Jungar lands. And without having any battle...

But Kazakhs in this period, have taken important steps to come together and unite their forces, by the pressure of the Jungarian raids on their lands for more than last one century.

¹⁵N. Ya. Bichurin, *Istoričeskoe obozrenie Oiratov ili Kalmykov c XV stoletiya do nastoyāšego vremeni*, pp. 59-60.

But Mongolian people, who are very much conscious of what an important value independence is, will not remain reactless to these final incidents for longer, and would begin a rebellion movement against the Manchurian occupation. This rebellion movement, the same year, 1755, was started under the organization and administration of Amarsanaa. The rebel was supported by Zasagt Aimag's Shadar Wang Chingunjav of Hotgoid Tribe, and some Noyans in Inner Mongolia under the administration of Wang Efu Sevdenbaljir of Horchin Tribe. Thus, by the support of the most of the prominent noyans of Jungaria, Halha, and Inner Mongolia, a big people's revolution was started.¹⁶

Manchu Emperor was not confident in Amarsanaa, who had a great share in occupying Jungaria. Therefore, he used to keep Amarsanaa into custody by means of his other commanders.¹⁷

Amarsanaa, taking the advantage of Manchu Army leaving the region with a little number of soldiers in Jungaria, started a big rebellion movement against Manchus. Amarsanaa was planning to occupy the Jungarian throne taking support of the Manchus, but as the continuing incidents did not develop the way he expected, Amarsanaa's behaviour to the Manchus changed very quickly as well. Amarsanaa had negotiation with some of the other Oiras Noyans that were disturbed with the sovereignty and practices of the Manchu, and then with Kazakhs as well. Being aware of all of these activities, Manchu Emperor ordered that Amarsanaa to be caught and executed immediately.¹⁸

The successful struggles against the Manchus had increased the number of the rebels, as well as their power. After a while Ili region achieved its absolute freedom.¹⁹ Then Amarsanaa set on the throne of the Jungarian Khanate on November 11, 1755.²⁰

According to the lunar calendar of 1756, on the 10th day of the new lunar year a big Manchurian force, under the command of Saruul, started to move from Bar Kōl in two wings of four thousand people each. Number of the soldiers in the Jungarian Army was too little compared to the Manchurian Army. Therefore Amarsanaa proposed that Manchurian Army is very crowded, it is not possible to be the winner under the present conditions, so it would be better to take refuge of the Abılay Khan.

¹⁶ A. Ochir, Ch. Dalay et al, *Mongol Ulsiin Tuuh*, Vol. IV, p. 147.

¹⁷ Ch. Dalay, *Oyrad Mongoliin Tuuh*, pp. 316-318.

¹⁸ Sh. B. Chimitdorjiyev, *Natsionalno-Osvoboditelnoye Dvizheniye Mongolskogo Naroda v XVII-XVIII vv.*, pp. 112-113.

¹⁹ Sh. B. Chimitdorjiyev, pp. 114-116.

²⁰ A. Ochir, Ch. Dalay et al, p. 149.

Real purpose of Amarsanaa was to cause Manchurian Army to think that he escapes, keep them busy on the Jungarian and the Kazakh lands and wear them out, and overcome them in a sudden attack. Immediately after practicing this tactic, he proceeded eastward from Ili, and arrived in Abilay Khan's lands. Even though Manchu forces followed Amarsanaa to the Kazakh lands, as Amarsanaa passed beyond the Kazakh border, and they were tired and left without provisions. They had to move backwards.²¹

Manchu Emperor, as a result of this incident, sent Daldanga, his commander of the western wing of the army to the Abilay Khan of Kazakhs. He commanded him to ask Abilay to hand in Amarsanaa, if he would not give him back to attack on the Kazakh lands.²²

Amarsana taking the support of a force of three thousand people under the command of Hodja (Hadja) Bergen of Kazakhs and moved to fight the forces of Dalantay and Fu De; and Abilay Khan, again with a force of three thousand people went to meet the forces of Hadaha. Forces under the command of Hodja (Hadja) Bergen and Amarsana encountered the forces of Dalantay and Fu De at the place called Yarlaq, Nurachin, on August 2, 1756. Battle continued very harsh approximately for one week. Two parties were worn out quite a lot. But right then, a Manchu force of five thousand people arrived in order to help Dalantay.

As a result of this last development, observing that there is no other choice than retreating, Amarsana and Hodja Bergen, had to leave the region. Dalantay, seeing that Amarsana personally leads the army, Dalantay started to chase him to catch. And Abilay Khan encountered the forces of Hadaha at places such as Bayan Mounts and Huu Hasal in his own lands, but was defeated and had to retreat.

Amarsana met with the Manchurian soldiers near Mount Nor once more, but disguised in Kazakh costumes in order not to be recognized. He made some of his soldiers dress like Kazakhs, and sent them to Dalantay's camp, giving them some instructions. These men introduced themselves as the soldiers of Abilay Khan, and told that Abilay Khan has captured Amarsana and hand him to them, so they should wait there, wherever they are. Dalantay believed in that, and started to wait there. But even after days passed after, neither Abilay Khan appeared nor caught and handed Amarsana. Taking this advantage, Amarsana managed to go away from the place.²³

²¹ Ch. Dalay, *Oyrad Mongoliin Tuuh*, pp. 330-332.

²² A. Ochir, Ch. Dalay et al, *Mongol Ulsiin Tuuh*, Vol. IV, p. 150.

²³ Ch. Dalay, *Oyrad Mongoliin Tuuh*, pp. 334-335.

It drew the attention of the Russian Government very much that Amarsana started a rebellion movement, and taking refuge in Kazakhs after proclaiming his khanship. Russian Government appointed I. I. Neplyuyev, the Governor of Orenburg, and A. I. Tevkelev, the General Commander of Siberian Military Forces, to send emissaries to Amarsana and invite him to Orenburg. I. I. Neplyuyev and A. I. Tevkelev, on July 1, 1756, sent Abdullah Kaskinov of Bashkyrts as an emissary to Amarsana, in order to invite him to Orenburg. Abdullah Kaskinov started his voyage towards Abilay's capital, moving on 1st of August from Orenburg, and arrived in Abilay Khan's capital at the end of the month. But then, Abilay and Amarsana had gone to battle with the Manchurian Army. In the middle of September both of the allies came back. Even though Kazakhs did not really allow him to meet Amarsana, Abdullah Kaskinov found one way in a night time to convey the letter of I. I. Neplyuyev and A. I. Tevkelev to Amarsana by his close friends and took the reply again by means of his friends.²⁴

Amarsana stated that he can not leave the people, who trust him, alone in the present conditions, and go to Orenburg; but, should he need to take refuge in Russia someday? He requested that he would be accepted to the Russian lands, after informing the border guards about this. Receiving this reply, Abdullah Kaskinov went back.

Manchurian commanders sent an emissary to Abilay Khan, and asked that Amarsana be handed to them. On his return on August 27, Manchurian emissary reported that Abilay Khan's proposal that it is very easy to catch Amarsana, and they can hand him only by the condition that he would not be killed. Noticing that winter is approaching, Manchurian Emperor instructed his commanders to retreat to south by a letter, and wrote another letter to Abilay Khan and, treated him telling that, in case he would not hand Amarsana, next year, with a great army, he would enter the Kazakh lands. With this final development, position of Amarsana in Abilay Khan's eyes became worse.²⁵

In March 1757, Amarsana had gone back to his land but he could not manage to gather the other noyans around him to have Oirad's united their forces. Finally, a Manchurian Army of more than a tumen, under the command of Tsengunjav, sent by the Manchu Emperor in order to give an end to the rebellion in Jungaria, encountered the Jungarian Army of three thousand people, under the command of Amarsana on June 30, 1757, at the place called Sharbel (Sharbal). Battle went approximately on for 15 days,

²⁴ A. Ochir, Ch. Dalay et al, *Mongol Ulsiin Tuuh*, Vol. IV, p. 150.

²⁵ Ch. Dalay, *Oyrad Mongoliin Tuuh*, pp. 336-337.

and Amarsana lost about 2500 of his army, and hundreds of his soldiers were enslaved.

Amarsana escaped to Russia with a very little number of soldiers left behind. The Battle of Sharbel (Sharbal) was the last big battle that Oirads had with the Manchus. Amarsana took refuge in Kazakhs, along with his force of three thousand people.²⁶ This battle was the final battle of Amarsana.

After this victory won by the Manchus, rebellion movement of Oirads had a very big hit. Amarsana arrived at Abilay Khan's camp on the evening of August 3. Then, there was a musical entertainment organized in Abilay Khan's otag. By the arrival of Amarsana, they gave a break to the entertainment and behaved strangely. Suspicious of these behaviors, Amarsana left Abilay's otag, by an excuse to rest.

Even though Kazakhs conducted a raid and wanted to capture Amarsana, he managed to escape with eight other people. The biggest reason why Amarsana was not sheltered this time is that Fu De arrived earlier and asked that, in case Amarsana take refuge of them, they catch him and hand to his forces. Even though Amarsana managed to escape, Abilay Khan captured Dashtseren, nephew of Amarsana, and Zaysan Tsibahan, and handed to the Manchus.²⁷

With the battle of Sharbel, the power of the rebelling forces was broken a good deal, and as Amarsana, the leader of the rebellion escaped from the country, rebellion movement was left to its own destiny. Rebellious forces were left without a head, and they went on to struggle with the manchu forces by their own capabilities. But all of these fight will have no result, and the Jungarian Khanate will totally disappear from the stage of history.

The understanding of setting raids towards the west and the south, that any nomadic society, that occurs in the political arena of the Middle Asia, instinctively conducted throughout the history in order to increase the economical power, was valid for the Jungarian Khanate, too. Because of this understanding only, Jungarians set campaigns on Kazakhs, who used to have trade centers in their hands. Approaching from this point of view, the base of the Jungarian-Kazakh relations have political and economical axis. Struggles between the two states, could unite around the necessary benefits, and the two enemies could manage to be two good friends, as well.

²⁶ A. Ochir, Ch. Dalay et al, pp. 151-155.

²⁷ Sh. B. Chimitdorjiev, *Natsionalno-Osvoboditelnoye Dvizheniye Mongolskogo Naroda v XVII-XVIII vv.*, p. 128.

Hence, Middle Asian politics of Jungarian Khans, who used to set campaigns on the Kazakh lands for more than a century, changed its direction, along with that Amarsana made alliance with Abilay Khan, his ever enemy, in order to carry the Jungarian Khanate to liberty. And Abilay Khan, thinking that, in case Jungar Khanate falls, the wall between him and the Manchurian Empire will be removed, and his land would have a Manchurian invasion, too, united with Amarsana against the common enemy. Moreover, he fought Manchus with Amarsana whenever necessary. But changing of the equilibrium, pushed Abilay to a change of politics, too, and he tried to capture Amarsana, whom he had been supporting for a long while. One other negative aspect of the approaching Manchurian treat is that it caused Kazakh Juzes to move to Russia and Middle Asia to be invaded by the Russians.

As a result, Kazakhs, taking the advantage of lack of authority that came along with the fall of Jungarian Khanate, and make their unity under Abilay Khan in a short while, and appear as a political power. But the nomadic nations that could not step up with the necessities of 18th century, having bigger defeats by the civilians that had obtained technologically great developments, and realize that they can preserve their existence by means of subjection. Thus, even Kazakhs would not be able to protect their unity and liberty any longer.

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