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E-mail: [kabulzia@rambler.ru](mailto:kabulzia@rambler.ru) Тел.: +77014070164

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*Әбусейітова Меруерт Қуатқызы*, тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР ҰҒА корр.-мүшесі. Р.Б. Сүлейменов атындағы Шығыстану институтының тарихи материалдарды зерттеу жөніндегі Республикалық орталығының директоры (Алматы, Қазақстан); Scopus Author ID: 57208107912; ORCID

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*Әлімбаев Нұрсан*, тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, профессор, Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының бас ғылыми қызметкері (Алматы, Қазақстан); Scopus Author ID: 55860087100; ORCID

*Вильмено Анне-Мари*, антропология докторы, Лувен католик университетінің профессоры (Лувен, Бельгия); Scopus Author ID: 36679419300; ORCID

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*Моррисон Александр*, PhD, NewCollege профессоры, Оксфорд (Оксфорд, Ұлыбритания); Scopus Author ID: 35794760200; ORCID

*Мотузаите-Матузевичюте*, Гидре, Археология докторы, профессор, "Биоархеология" ғылыми орталығының жетекшісі, Вильнюс университеті, Вильнюс қ., Литва; Scopus Author ID: 25225880890; ORCID

*Муминов Әшірбек Құрбанұлы*, тарих ғылымдарының докторы, арабист, профессор, ИКҰ (Орталық Азия) ұйымдастыру қызметінің бас директорының кеңесшісі (Стамбул, Түркия); Scopus Author ID: 56409722900; ORCID

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*Оутрам Алан*, археология ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, археология және тарих департаменті, Эксетер университеті (Эксетер, Ұлыбритания); Scopus Author ID: 8954776500; ORCID

*Өмер Құл*, әлеуметтік ғылымдар докторы, Стамбул университетінің профессоры (Стамбул, Түркия); ORCID

*Петер Финке*, PhD, Макс Планк атындағы Институтының профессоры, Цюрих университеті (Цюрих, Швейцария); Scopus Author ID: 55124700300

*Садвокасова Закиш Төлеханқызы*, тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының бас ғылыми қызметкері (Алматы, Қазақстан); Scopus Author ID: 56682843400; ORCID

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*Финке Петер*, доктор PhD, профессор Института Макса Планка, университет Цюриха (Швейцария, Цюрих); Scopus Author ID: 55124700300; ORCID

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*Вильмено Анне-Мари*, доктор антропологии, профессор Католического университета Лувен, (Бельгия, Лувен); Scopus Author ID: 36679419300; ORCID

*Исмагулов Оразак Исмагулович*, доктор исторических наук, профессор, академик Национальной академии наук РК, член-корр. Болонской АН (Италия), заведующий лабораторией физической антропологии Национального музея РК (Республика Казахстан, Астана); Scopus Author ID: 22979625700; ORCID

*Крупа Татьяна Николаевна*, научный сотрудник Научно-исследовательской лаборатории экспериментальной археологии, Павлодарский педагогический университет им. А. Маргулана, Margulan Centre, заведующая Международной научно-исследовательской лабораторией «YMAI» (Казахстан – Украина); ORCID

*Кумеков Болат Еимухамбетович*, доктор исторических наук, профессор, академик Национальной академии наук РК; директор Международного института кипчаковедения Казахского национального университета имени аль-Фараби, профессор Евразийского национального университета имени Л.Н. Гумилева (Республика Казахстан, Алматы) Scopus Author ID: 57193858171; ORCID

*Кушкумбаев Айболат Кайрсылович*, доктор исторических наук, главный научный сотрудник, профессор кафедры регионоведения Евразийского национального университета им. Л.Н. Гумилева (Республика Казахстан, Астана); Scopus Author ID: 57202775542; ORCID

*Мионг Сун-ок*, доктор антропологии, ассоциированный профессор (Корея, Сеул); Scopus Author ID: 56720218700; ORCID

*Моррисон Александр*, PhD, профессор NewCollege, Оксфорд (Великобритания, Оксфорд); Scopus Author ID: 35794760200; ORCID

*Мотузайте-Матузевичюте, Гидре*, Доктор археологии, профессор, руководитель Научного центра «Биоархеология» Вильнюсского университета, г. Вильнюс, Литва; Scopus Author ID: 25225880890; ORCID

*Муктар Абильсеит Капизович*, Директор РКП «Государственного историко-культурного музей-заповедник «Сарайшык», доктор исторических наук, профессор; Scopus Author ID: 57193092619; ORCID

*Муминов Аширбек Курбанович*, доктор исторических наук, арабист, профессор; Консультант Генерального директора по организационной деятельности ОИК (Центральная Азия), (Турция, Стамбул); Scopus Author ID: 56409722900; ORCID

*Нурсан Алимбай*, кандидат исторических наук, профессор; Главный научный сотрудник Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова (Республика Казахстан, Алматы); Scopus Author ID: 55860087100; ORCID

*Омер Кул*, доктор социальных наук, профессор Стамбульского университета; (Турция, Стамбул); ORCID

*Оно Рюосуке*, доктор исторических наук, антрополог Университет Васеда (Япония, Токио);

*Отенова Гульфира Елубаевна*, Доктор исторических наук, профессор Павлодарского педагогического университета им. А. Маргулана. г. Павлодар, Казахстан; Scopus Author ID: 57194518893; ORCID

*Оутрам Алан*, доктор археологии, профессор департамента археологии и истории университета Эксетер (г. Эксетер, Великобритания); Scopus Author ID: 8954776500; ORCID

*Садвокасова Закиш Тулехановна*, доктор исторических наук, профессор; Главный научный сотрудник Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова (Республика Казахстан, Алматы); Scopus Author ID: 56682843400; ORCID

*Уяма Томоико*, PhD, профессор Центра славянско-евразийских исследований Университета Хоккайдо (Япония, Саппоро); Scopus Author ID: 56471951500; ORCID

*Финке Петер*, доктор PhD, профессор Института Макса Планка, университет Цюриха (Швейцария, Цюрих); Scopus Author ID: 55124700300

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*Kushkumbayev Aibolat Kairslyamovich*, doctor of historical sciences, chief researcher of the regional studies department of the Gumilev L. Eurasian national university (Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana); Scopus Author ID: 57202775542; ORCID

*Morrison Alexander*, PhD, professor New College, Oxford (Great Britain, Oxford); Scopus Author ID: 35794760200; ORCID

*Motuzaitė-Matuzevičiute*, Giedre, Professor (Archaeology), Full Professor, a head of Bioarchaeology Research Centre at Vilniaus Universitetas, Vilnius, Lithuania; Scopus Author ID: 25225880890; ORCID

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*Omer Cul*, doctor of social sciences, professor of Istanbul university (Turkey, Istanbul); ORCID

*Ono Ryosuke*, PhD, anthropologist Waseda University (Japan, Tokyo);

*Otepova Gulfira Elubayevna*, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor Pavlodar Pedagogical University, Pavlodar, Kazakhstan; Scopus Author ID: 57194518893; ORCID

*Outram Alan*, Doctor of archeology, professor, Department of Archaeology and History, University of Exeter (Exeter, UK); Scopus Author ID: 8954776500; ORCID

*Peter Finke*, PhD, professor of the Max Planck institute, Zurich university (Switzerland, Zurich); Scopus Author ID: 55124700300; ORCID

*Sadvokassova Zakish Tleukhanovna*, doctor of historical sciences, professor; chief researcher of the C.C. Valikhanov Institute of history and ethnology of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Republic of Kazakhstan, Almaty); Scopus Author ID: 56682843400; ORCID

*Uyama Tomohiko*, PhD, professor of the Slavic-Eurasian researches Center of Hokkaido University (Japan, Sapporo); Scopus Author ID: 56471951500; ORCID

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### THE COMPLICATION OF KAZAKH-DZUNGARIAN RELATIONS IN THE 20S OF THE XVIII CENTURY

Zhumatay Samat<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Research Institute for Jochi Ulus Studies  
(15B, Pushkina Str., 010008 Astana, Republic of Kazakhstan)  
Researcher  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9667-6205>. E-mail: [kopeev95@mail.ru](mailto:kopeev95@mail.ru)

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**Abstract.** *Introduction.* The study of the complication of Kazakh-Dzungarian relations in the 20s of the XVIII century is an important part of the historical analysis of conflicts and interactions in Central Asia. *The goals and objectives of the study.* To study the causes, the scale contributing to the aggravation of relations between the Kazakh and Dzungarian peoples, the policy of the Dzungarian rulers towards the Kazakh people. *Materials.* To write an article about the complication of Kazakh-Dzungarian relations in the 20s of the 18th century, work was carried out in the Russian Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA). A variety of sources were used, including historical documents, academic research, archival materials and the work of scientists. These materials helped to present a complete picture of the events and various factors influencing the development of relations between Kazakhs and Dzungars in the 18th century. *Conclusion.* The political, territorial and cultural reasons underlying the Kazakh-Dzungarian relations are analyzed. The events and actions of the parties, including armed conflicts, diplomatic events and socio-cultural influences that influenced the evolution of relations between Kazakhs and Dzungars in the XVIII century, are considered in detail. This study highlights the significance and consequences of such events as the Years of the Great Calamity, the Battle of Bulanty and the Battle of Anirakai.

**Key words:** Kazakh Khanate, Kazakh-Dzungarian relations, the years of the great disaster, the Battle of Bulanty, the Battle of Anirakai, Tauke Khan

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## XVIII ҒАСЫРДЫҢ 20-ЖЫЛДАРЫНДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚ-ЖОҢҒАР ҚАТЫНАСТАРЫНЫҢ АСҚЫНУЫ

Жұматай Самат<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Жошы Ұлысын зерделеу ғылыми институты  
(15Б-үй, Пушкин көш., 010008 Астана, Қазақстан Республикасы)  
Ғылыми қызметкер  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9667-6205>. E-mail: [kopeev95@mail.ru](mailto:kopeev95@mail.ru)

**Андатпа.** *Kіріспе.* XVIII ғасырдың 20-жылдарындағы қазақ-жоңғар қатынастарының асқынуын зерттеу Орталық Азиядағы қақтығыстар мен өзара іс-қимылдарды тарихи талдаудың маңызды бөлігін білдіреді. *Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері.* Қазақ пен жоңғар хандықтарының қарым-қатынасының шиеленісуіне ықпал еткен себептерін, ауқымын, жоңғар билеушілерінің саясатын зерттеу. *Материалдар.* XVIII ғасырдың 20-жылдарында қазақ-жоңғар қатынастарының күрделенуі туралы мақала жазу үшін Ресейдің ежелгі актілер мұрағатында жұмыс жүргізілді. Тарихи құжаттарды, академиялық зерттеулерді, мұрағаттық материалдарды және ғалымдардың еңбектерін қоса алғанда, әртүрлі дереккөздер пайдаланылды. Бұл материалдар XVIII ғасырдағы қазақтар мен жоңғарлар арасындағы қатынастардың дамуына әсер ететін оқиғалар мен түрлі факторлардың толық бейнесін ұсынуға көмектесті. *Қорытынды.* Қазақ-жоңғар қатынастарының негізінде жатқан саяси, аумақтық және мәдени себептерге талдау жасалды. XVIII ғасырдағы қазақтар мен жоңғарлар арасындағы қатынастардың эволюциясына әсер еткен қарулы қақтығыстарды, дипломатиялық іс-шараларды және әлеуметтік-мәдени әсерлерді қоса алғанда, тараптардың оқиғалары мен іс-әрекеттері егжей-тегжейлі қаралды. Бұл зерттеу ұлы апат жылдары, Бұланты шайқасы және Аңырақай шайқасы сияқты оқиғалардың маңызы мен салдарын көрсетеді.

**Түйін сөздер:** Қазақ хандығы, қазақ-жоңғар қатынастары, ұлы апат жылдары, Бұланты шайқасы, Аңырақай шайқасы, Тәуке хан

**Алғыс айту.** Мақала ИРН BR 21882223 «XV ғасырдың екінші жартысы – XVIII ғасырдың бірінші жартысындағы Қазақ хандығы: этносаяси тарихы және сыртқы саясаты» ғылыми жобасын орындау аясында дайындалған.

**Дәйексөз үшін:** Жұматай С. XVIII ғасырдың 20-жылдарындағы қазақ-жоңғар қатынастарының асқынуы // Отан тарихы. 2024. Т. 27. № 1. Б. 79-91. (Ағылш.). DOI: 10.51943/2788-9718\_2024\_27\_1\_79-91

## ОСЛОЖНЕНИЕ КАЗАХСКО-ДЖУНГАРСКИХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ В 20-Е ГОДЫ XVIII ВЕКА

Жұматай Самат<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Научный институт изучения Улуса Джучи  
(д. 15Б, ул. Пушкина, 010000 Астана, Республика Казахстан)  
Научный сотрудник  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9667-6205>. E-mail: [kopeev95@mail.ru](mailto:kopeev95@mail.ru)

**Аннотация.** *Введение.* Исследование осложнения казахско-джунгарских отношений в 20-е годы XVIII века представляет значимую часть исторического анализа конфликтов и взаимодействий в Центральной Азии. *Цели и задачи исследования.* Изучить причины, масштабы, способствовавшие обострению отношений между Казахским и



Джунгарским ханствами, политику джунгарских правителей. *Материалы.* Для написания статьи об осложнении казахско-джунгарских отношений в 20 -е годы 18 века была проведена работа в Российском архиве древних актов (РГАДА). Были использованы разнообразные источники, включая исторические документы, академические исследования, архивные материалы и работы ученых. Эти материалы помогли представить полную картину событий и различных факторов, влияющих на развитие отношений между казахами и джунгарами в 18 веке. *Заключение.* Проанализированы политические, территориальные и культурные причины, лежащие в основе казахско-джунгарских отношений. Детально рассмотрены события и действия сторон, включая вооруженные конфликты, дипломатические мероприятия и социокультурные воздействия, которые оказали влияние на эволюцию отношений между казахами и джунгарами в XVIII веке. Данное исследование подчеркивает значение и последствия таких событий как: Годы великого бедствия, Булантинское сражение и Аныракайская битва.

**Ключевые слова:** Казахское ханство, казахско-джунгарские отношения, годы великого бедствия, Булантинское сражение, Аныракайская битва, Тауке хан

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**Introduction.** Escalation of the Kazakh-Dzungarian military conflicts. In 1635, a powerful Dzungarian state headed by Batur-khuntaiji was formed to the southeast of the borders of the Kazakh Khanate. Thanks to the code of military and civil laws adopted by the Dzungars in 1640 called the "Steppe Code", the unity of the Dzungars was strengthened, their military discipline and combat power strengthened. For example, they could field a combat-ready mounted army with a total strength of up to 100 thousand soldiers, which also had small arms. The Dzungars themselves made gunpowder from saltpeter and sulfur, forged sabers, military armor from metal, and managed to establish the production of cannons with the help of the Swedish prisoner Johann Gustav Renat.

The territory of the Kazakh Khanate has long attracted the attention of the Dzungarian rulers: the conquerors needed extensive pasture lands and trade and craft centers of Southern and Southeastern Kazakhstan; they sought to control the Kazakh route of trade routes; the capture of Kazakhstan allowed them to receive regular material receipts in the form of taxes from the conquered population; the annexation of the territory of Kazakhstan provided the Dzungars with unhindered passage to their tribesmen who roamed in the interfluvium of the Zhayyk (Urals) and Volga. Also, the slave trade flourished in those days, one of the main goals of wars and raids was kidnapping, which also became one of the reasons for the outbreak of war.

In 1697, the young and energetic ruler Tsevan-Rabdan (1670–1723) became the head of the Dzungarian Khanate. In a short time, he strengthened the military and political power of his khanate. He marked the beginning of his reign with a major invasion of the territory of Kazakhstan. So, in 1698, the 40-thousandth Dzungarian army made a devastating raid on the nomads of the Elder Zhuz. The Dzungars undertook military campaigns against the nomads of the Kazakhs in subsequent years.

In 1710, a kurultai was held in Karakum, at which Abulkhair was chosen commander-in-chief, and Bokenbai batyr was chosen leader. Here is how Ya. P. Gaverdovsky describes this event, which gave the countdown to the first attempt at an



organized repulse to the enemy: "In 1710, some elders and heads of families from among those clans that were located in the sands of Karakum gathered for a council in order to use all efforts to unanimously defend each other to the last drop of blood. Weak souls even among this assembly revealed their fear and offered to seek safety from the mercy of the congregation; others wanted to leave their homes and flee across the Volga River, and some, like timid hares, wanted to scatter in different directions and shook the constancy of many. But the foreman Bukanbai, known at that time for his bravery, destroyed these enterprises of theirs. The Kyrgyz say that in the midst of a heated argument, he tore his clothes and threw his sword into the council circle, saying in a frenzy: "Let's take revenge on our enemies! Let's die with a gun! Let's not be weak spectators of the looted nomads and our captive children! Were the warriors of the Kipchak plains ever timid!...". After that, everyone solemnly swore to follow Bukanbai's advice. ... The hordes elected Sultan Abulkhair at that time as the eldest son of the Khan's family, and the grateful people proclaimed Bukanbai their leader" (Gaverdovsky, 2006: 393–394).

In 1710 and 1717, the largest incursions of Dzungarian troops into the borders of Kazakhstan took place. Due to their numerical and military-technical superiority, the Dzungars occupied part of Semirechye. The Dzungarian Khanate has turned into a strong state and a dangerous enemy not only for the Kazakh Khanate, but also for the entire Central Asian region. It also posed a threat to such large countries as the Russian Empire and China.

Thus, by the early 20s of the XVIII century, Kazakhstan was under another threat from a powerful neighboring nomadic state. The Jungarjuntaiji made active attempts to seize the Kazakh territory. The struggle between the Kazakh and Dzungarian rulers had been going on for more than one century, so the Kazakhs called Dzungars nothing but atazhau (the enemy of my ancestors). Another Dzungarian-Kazakh war began in 1720. This is evidenced by a letter from the Jungarjuntaiji Tsevan-Rabdan to the Kalmyk Khan Ayuka in October 1723, which indicated that he had been at war with the Kazakhs and Karakalpaks for the third year, and next spring he plans to approach Yaik and Volga with troops (Apollova, 1948: 174). The beginning of a new war was the Kazakh raid on Dzungaria in 1720, when about 3 thousand people were captured (Moiseev, 1991: 70–71).

**Materials and methods.** "Aktaban shubyryndy, Alkakol sulama" (The Years of the great Disaster). In the early 20s of the XVIII century. A favorable situation has developed for the Dzungars for a major campaign on the territory of Kazakhstan. In 1722, the Chinese emperor (Bogdyhan) died Kangxi, who had been at war with the Dzungarian Khanate for a long time. The Dzungarian rulers managed to come to a peace agreement with China, thus securing their eastern borders. The Dzungars sent ambassadors to the ruler of the Volga Kalmyks, Khan Ayuka, to establish a military-political alliance through the conclusion of dynastic marriages. But the presence of internal strife that arose among the Volga Kalmyks in 1723 and the possible arrival of the Dzungarian army on the Volga in order to withdraw the Kalmyks to Dzungaria stopped the Kalmyk Taish from such a step.

At that time, Russia was busy strengthening the newly erected Irtysh military line (1716–1720), designed to protect against raids by both Kazakhs and Dzungars. In the relations between the two nomadic states, she adhered to a neutral wait-and-see position, hoping for the weakening of both the Kazakh state and the Dzungarian Khanate.

In February–March 1723, Tsevan-Rabdan moved his 70,000-strong army to the territory of Kazakhstan. The Dzungarian army operated in seven directions. The first blow of the Dzungars was taken by the Kazakhs of the Semirechye and Irtysh regions. A major role in the initial stage of the invasion was played by the Dzungarian commander Luzan-Shono (Shuno-Daba), the youngest son of the Dzungarian juntaiji. The invasion of the Dzungars was sudden, so the Kazakhs had to retreat, abandoning all their property, livestock and housing. Cities such as Tashkent, Sairam and the main political center of the Kazakh Khanate,





Turkestan, fell under the blows of the Dzungarian troops. About 5 thousand caravans of Kazakhs were captured, and about a thousand were taken to Dzungaria (Weiss, 1986: 126) (Unkovsky, 1887: 193). The elder wife, stepmother and wives of Abulkhair's brothers were also captured by the Dzungars (Yerofeyeva, 2007: 163).

The Dzungarian invasion brought numerous sufferings, hunger and poverty to the Kazakh people. Hundreds and thousands of villages were ravaged, cattle were taken away, once flourishing cities were captured and destroyed. The war took on a nationwide character for the Kazakhs. Retreating, the soldiers fought in defensive battles, giving the Kazakh villages, who were fleeing from the pursuit of the enemy, the opportunity to break away. So, the residents of Tashkent, led by the Kazakh militia, held the defense of the city for almost a month. As a result of military actions, almost the entire territory of Kazakhstan was captured, except for desert and mountainous areas. Only remote areas of Western Kazakhstan turned out to be relatively invulnerable. This period (1723–1727) in the history of the Kazakhs was called "Aktaban shubyryndy" – "The years of the great disaster" or "nationwide barefoot flight". To this expression, in the Younger Horde, they add "Sauranainalghan" – "the case when the city of Sauran was bypassed." Kazakhs of the Senior and Middle hordes add another expression – "Alkakol sulama", i.e. when "they lay down in complete exhaustion by the lake Alka-kol" (Tynyshpaev, 1993: 163–164) (Tynyshpaev, 1927: 60).

Some of the Kazakhs ended up on the territory of the Central Asian states, which were also subsequently ravaged by the invaders. After crossing the Syr Darya River, most of the families of the Middle Zhuz went to Samarkand, and the Younger ones migrated to the borders of Khiva and Bukhara. Then the masses of Kazakh refugees were forced to migrate to the Aral Sea region, and from there move in the northern and north-western directions – to the regions of the southern part of the Urals and Western Siberia. Part of the Kazakh clans of the Younger Zhuz moved to Yaik, the other part and many clans of the Middle Zhuz went to the Tobol, Or, Uy and Ilek rivers, where they pushed the Bashkirs of the Nogai and Siberian roads (the road is an administrative unit of the Bashkirs) (Yerofeyeva, 2007: 165).

**Discussion.** The reasons for the defeat of the Kazakhs and its consequences. The defeat of the Kazakhs in the early years of the great disaster is explained by a number of reasons. Firstly, the reason for this was the disunity of the Kazakh zhuzes and the lack of unity among the nomadic aristocracy. Under the nominal rule of the non-authoritative senior khans of Kaip and then Bolat, the Kazakh territory was divided into several khanates, and Abulkhair and Tauke's successors fought for supreme power in the khanate (Apollova, 1948: 177). Secondly, the Dzungars prepared for this invasion with special care. Spring was chosen as the time of the attack, when the Kazakh villages were preparing to migrate to dzhailau, being at a considerable distance from each other. Thirdly, in 1723, the Kazakhs were overtaken by strong jute, there was an acute shortage of horses. Fourth, the enemy managed to correctly take into account the current geopolitical situation in the region, which was influenced by the conclusion of the Jungar-Chinese peace. The Dzungarian Khanate took into account the weakened position of Russia after the end of the Russian-Swedish war and its neutral attitude towards the Kazakh-Dzungarian war. Fifth, the factor of surprise played its fatal role. At the same time, the Dzungars were well armed, had a large artillery fleet led by Renat and had solid experience in combat operations (Apollova, 1948: 176–177).

This is how the famous Kazakh researcher M. Tynyshpaev describes the events in the spring of 1723: "... A lot of people were killed by the Kalmyks, a lot of them died during the floods through the raging rivers Talas, Boraldai, Arys, Syrdarya. Panic-stricken Cossacks fled to the Syr Darya River, only behind it could they feel safe. The Elder Horde and part of the Middle Horde crossed the Syr Darya above the confluence of the Chirchik River with the Syr Darya River. A huge crowd crossed at the present Konnogvardeisky settlement (modern Syrdarya region. Uzbekistan.), near the historical lake Alka-kol, which is remembered by the



Cossacks of the Elder and Middle Horde ("Alka-kolsulama"). The younger horde, having bypassed the city of Sauran ("Sauranainalgan"), crossed the station of Chiili or Kzyl-Ordya (Ak mosque) and went to Khiva. This historical disaster is called "Aktaban shuburyndy". Poverty and hunger reached extreme limits; they ate unclean creatures and the roots of various plants (jau-jumur – something like field potatoes; algyr-similar to onions, the root of a very bitter plant; kozy-kuyryk-mushrooms; mia-birch bark, etc.)" (Tynyshpaev, 1993: 163–164).

Although the consequences of the Dzungarian invasion also affected other peoples, the population of the Kazakh Khanate took the brunt of the conquerors. Pastoralists lost fertile pastures, livestock numbers decreased markedly, trade with neighboring countries was temporarily interrupted, and many cities were destroyed. Kazakh prisoners were driven to the territory of Dzungaria, agricultural oases fell into disrepair, according to Sh. Kudaiberdyuli, two thirds of the steppe population died. Part of the captive Kazakh population was sold into slavery. Famine began among the Kazakhs: in order to survive, according to folk legends, the Kazakhs were forced to eat birch sap ("kayinsaugan"). The surviving population of the region was forced to pay unbearable taxes to the conquerors.

The "Years of the Great Disaster" had the most negative consequences for the Kazakh society. The traditional routes of nomadic steppe dwellers were significantly disrupted, the Kazakhs lost fertile pastures. The once flourishing agricultural oases of Semirechye and southern Kazakhstan have fallen into disrepair. Barter with neighboring countries has practically stopped for a while. Political ties between Kazakh zhuzes have significantly weakened. The population of Kazakhstan turned out to be scattered across different regions of the country and even neighboring countries. The mass movement of Kazakhs in the western direction also led to the outbreak of land conflicts with neighboring peoples. Subsequently, the weakened and bloodless Kazakh Khanate could not resist colonization by the Russian Empire.

In difficult times, the Kazakh people, relying only on their resources, took steps to unite. The consolidation of the forces of the entire population of the Steppe allowed the Kazakhs to win impressive victories in two major battles with the Dzungars – Bulantay and Anirakai.

Uniting the Kazakh people against external aggression. Initially, the resistance to the Dzungarian invasion of 1723 was organized on the initiative of Khan the Younger ZhuzAbulhair. However, the first actions of the united Kazakh army were not directed against the Dzungars. Abulhair and the noble generals of the people first of all led troops to the northwest against the Kalmyks. So they sought to secure their rear, at the same time ending the military-political alliance of the Kalmyks with their kindred Dzungars, who intended to attack the Kazakhs from two fronts. At the same time, this decision was also connected with the breakthrough of the Dzungars, who were crowding the Kazakhs from the east and southeast. At that time, there was an acute issue of the placement of the rear, the Kazakhs who had to leave their places in the southern territories were in dire need of land for the location of their numerous villages. Concerned about the performance of the Kazakh army against them, the Kalmyk Khan Ayuka was forced to send his ambassadors with a peace proposal. However, Abulhair, who met them at the Temir River, openly declared to them that "there is a war with the Kalmyks and Russians." In August, a combined 20,000-strong army led by Abulhair Khan and Bulhair Sultan crossed the Zhaik and stopped at the village of Baksai. Alarmed by this, Ayuka asks for military help from the Astrakhan governor, but the promised help could not influence the situation – at the very first battles, 6 thousand troops led by Khan himself smashes the uluses of TaishiLekbey, capturing a large number of cattle and prisoners. The vanguard led by Yesetbatyr goes further into the Kalmyk uluses (Allayaruli, 2023: 89) (Apollova, 1948: 175) (Yerofeyeva, 2002: 131). The Karakalpaks also participated in this campaign.



The military actions of the Kazakhs against the Kalmyks continued until September 1723 and were resumed in the early spring of 1724. In early March 1724, a 13,000-strong army led by Abulkhair defeated the ulus of Dorji and other rulers located on the left bank of the Volga, where 450 people were captured. Yesetbatyr with a detachment of Kazakhs and Karakalpaks breaks up the ulus of his son Lobzhi on the right bank of the Zhaik. Sameke Khan, many sultans and batyrs, mostly of the Middle and Younger Zhuzes, participate in these campaigns. As a result of these strikes, the threat of an attack by the Kalmyks was eliminated, the uluses of which were thrown back to the Volga. The Kalmyks, with the combined efforts and support of the local tsarist authorities, were able to stop the impulses of the Kazakhs in August 1724.

Only after that, the striking forces of the Kazakh army are sent against the Dzungars in the east. As it became known to the Astrakhan authorities from the Kalmyk rulers, Abulkhair and Sameke intend to "completely ruin the ulus of Dorji Nazarov", and then launch an offensive against the Jungarjuntaiji, "who shot them down with a war from their former nomads, and roam at will" (Yerofeyeva, 2002: 132). It is worth noting that not all Kalmyk Taishi supported the secret agreements of Ayuk Khan with the Dzungars, they were afraid of the promised arrival of the latter in their nomads and total subordination to them. In the summer of 1724 Along with the Kalmyks, the Kazakhs attacked villages, guards and wagons of the Yaik Cossacks several times. In three battles, the Yaik Cossacks lost more than 170 people. killed and captured (Allayaruli, 2023: 91, 94).

At the end of the summer of 1724, the all-Kazakh army under the leadership of Abulkhair directs its forces to the south. Breaking up dense Dzungarian military guard lines, stops at the walls of Turkestan and takes the city by storm in the autumn. The experienced Dzungarian commander ShonoLozan was forced to retreat and leave Turkestan (Yerofeyeva, 2002: 136]. According to information sent to the Board of Foreign Affairs by Bashkir M. Yunusov, who traveled to the Karakalpaks in the Syr Darya, Abulkhair's militia returned the former Kazakh capital and all 32 settlements captured by the Dzungars in that vicinity (Allayaruli, 2023: 100) (Yerofeeva, 2005: 342, 344). At the same time, according to M.-J. Kopeyuly, the Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz, who came from Bukhara led by ShakshakZhanibek-batyr, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Dzungars in 1725 in the area of Lake Shubarkol, which is not far from the Korgalzbyn lakes (Kozybaev, 2010: 138). However, the ruler of the Dzungars, Tsevan Rabdan, unwilling to admit defeat from the Kazakhs, tried with all his might to reconquer the southern territories. In the early spring of the following 1725, the Dzungars with superior forces again invaded the Kazakh nomads. As a result of the bloody wars, the Kazakhs were forced to leave Turkestan along with the surrounding territories. Abulkhair stumbles into the area of the lower reaches of the Syr Darya. The Kazakh zhurt is located along the same river near the Aral Sea. The Dzungars again took possession of all the settlements and settlements along the middle course of the Syr Darya. Many people were killed and captured, property and livestock were looted. A scout sent by Kalmyk taisha Dorji Nazarov reported that Abulkhair went to war for Turkestan with the Dzungars with 50 thousand wagons, but the army of the Juntaiji defeated 10 thousand of them. The remaining 40 thousand. The caravans moved again in a northwesterly direction towards the Kalmyk uluses and concentrated near the Zhem (Emba) River (Allayaruli, 2023: 118) (Yerofeeva, 2002: 136]. This Kazakh kosh (caravan) mainly consisted of villages of the Younger and Middle Zhuzes.

The wars of the Kazakhs against the Dzungars are closely interrelated with the military actions against the Kalmyks, which constantly alternated with each other. As the Kalmyk ruler Dorzhi noted in those years: "Kazakhs come to us every year." In the autumn of 1725, the politically fragmented Kalmyk uluses, joining forces with the support of the Russian side, with 20 thousand troops besieged a detachment of Kazakhs consisting of about 10 thousand



people who defected to the right side of river under the leadership of Khans Abulkhair and Sameke, Sultans Barak and Yesim. The parties conclude a truce, where, at the request of the Kalmyks, the most notable people from the Kazakhs remained with them in the amanats. The second major battle with the Kalmyks took place the following autumn 1726.

**Results.** The battle of Bulanty ("Kalmakkyrylgan"). The disasters experienced by the Dzungarian invasion led to the realization of the need to unite forces. For this purpose, in the autumn of 1926, a congress was convened with the participation of representatives of the entire Kazakh people – authoritative khans, sultans and biys, famous batyrs, which met on the high Ordabasy hill in the Badam River valley (Kozybayev, 2010: 138) (Tynyshpaev, 1993: 198). At this kurultai of the steppe nobility, it was decided to combine forces and create an all-Kazakh army under a single leadership: "Khan Abulkhair was elected the main leader of all the forces gathered to fight for the motherland, a desperate struggle not to the stomach, but to the death" (Kraft, 1897: 18). The representative congress was supposed to solve the main issue related to the organization of a centralized resistance to the enemy. By a unanimous decision of this kurultai, Abulkhair Khan became the leader of the all-Kazakh militia again. Its participants took an oath of allegiance to the common cause of the liberation of their native nomads from invaders.

The decisions of the All-Kazakh Kurultai on Ordabasy played a positive role in the liberation struggle of the Kazakh people against the Dzungarian conquerors. Each tribal unit was obliged to provide its own military detachments (Levshin, 1832: 71). Facing the threat to the very existence of the people, internal strife was stopped and the former unity was restored in the name of a common goal, the unification of forces resulted in a series of victories. This is how I. Kraft describes the process of consolidation of the Kazakh people in this difficult period: "Such an unfortunate situation could not be tolerated by the Kyrgyz for a long time. ... Filled with a unanimous desire to return their homeland occupied by foreigners, the Kirghiz rushed with rare courage at their enemies, the Zyungors, and soon defeated them in different places and occupied their former nomads (Kraft, 1897: 18–19).

After the next wars with the Kalmyks, the military actions of the all-Kazakh army were again turned to the east, against the Dzungars. They began with the displacement of the Dzungarian guard posts south of Ulytau. The Dzungars suffer their first defeat near Lake Shubarteniz. Around the summer of 1727, several major battles took place with the Dzungars located west of the Sarysu River in the vicinity of the Bulanta and Bileuta rivers. In the Karasuyr area, the Kazakhs are winning an important victory over the invaders. The exact date of this battle is indicated by different researchers in different ways, starting from the spring of 1727 to the spring of 1728. (Kozybayev, 2010: 141) (Yerofeyeva, 2017: 106–110). It was the first major victory in the long struggle against the Dzungarian Khanate. The place of the battle has been preserved in the national memory for a long time and received the historical name "Kalmakkyrylgan" ("place of death of the Kalmyks"). According to approximate data, up to 10 thousand Dzungarian warriors were destroyed. The invaluable significance of the victory on the Bulanta River was that the morale of the Kazakh army was noticeably strengthened. The myth of the invincibility of the Dzungarian hordes was dispelled. The Kazakh people, who suffered severe hardships and hardships, cheered up. The victory of the Kazakh soldiers at Bulanty was of far-reaching strategic importance. This major victory was the key to success in the next one – the battle of Anirakai.

The successful Kazakh offensive in the Dzungarian direction was to a certain extent facilitated by the mysterious death of the Dzungarian ruler Tsevan Rabdan in 1727. During his lifetime, he bequeathed the khan's throne to his eldest son Galdan Tseren (1671–1745), who temporarily suspended the war with the Kazakhs, but did not abandon this direction of military expansion.





The Battle of Anirakai. The Battle of Anirakai became an outstanding event in the liberation war of the Kazakh people against the Dzungars. The battle took place in the spring of 1730 near Lake Itishpes in the direction of Lake Alakol. The battle was led by Khan Abulkhair. Representatives of all three Kazakh zhuzes took part in it. According to the Chinese source "Dai Qing Shizong Xian huandishilu", Abulkhair Khan moved with 70 thousand troops, entrusting the leadership of the army to his younger brother Bulkhair. Perhaps the number of troops is overestimated, but attention is drawn to the exact mention of the names and actions of specific individuals (Allayaruli, 2023: 142). In this battle, the Kazakhs win a brilliant victory, completely defeating the Dzungars. In folk legends, this place is called Anirakai – "The place of the moans and sobs of the enemy." The name probably comes from a mountain called Anirakai. Based on oral traditions, some researchers do not exclude that this event consisted of a whole cycle of battles lasting up to 40 days. According to these data, we are not talking about one general battle, that there were many duels, confrontations, maneuvers, transitions from one mountain point to another. After that, the Kazakh troops begin a rapid offensive (Galiev, 2013: 153).

According to folk legends, the battle began with traditional martial arts. The Dzungarian side is represented by the military commander Sharysh, and the Kazakh side is represented by the young batyr Sabalak (the pseudonym of Abulmansur, the future Khan of Abylai). He rushed at the enemy with the battle cry "Abylai!". The victory went to the Kazakh batyr. This inspired the Kazakh soldiers, but the enemy was confused, his morale was broken. After this battle, Sabalak was named Abylai. This period was the beginning of the formation of the brilliant military and political career of the young Abylai Sultan.

The khans and sultans of the three Zhuzes, having discarded old feuds, joined forces and presented a united front. The victory in this battle was a logical and natural consequence of the combined efforts of all three zhuzes. A fundamental turning point was brewing in the more than a century-old Kazakh-Dzungarian war, and the final victory was already very close. The Dzungars began to retreat, leaving the previously captured Kazakh lands. They pledged not to make any more raids on the territory of Kazakhstan. Despite the fact that the Kazakh militia had won another victory, the enemy was still strong and dangerous. Therefore, there was still a long and selfless struggle of the entire Kazakh people.

The historical events in Kalmak kyrylgan and Anirakai took place in parallel and with significant military conflicts with the Kalmyks and Bashkirs. In the years 1727–1730 indicated, there were also clashes between the Yaitsk and Siberian Cossacks. The Kazakh communities faced the most important events related to relations with Russia, protracted wars with the Kalmyks and uncompromising clashes with the Bashkirs, mostly over territories. The next major incursions of the Dzungars into the Kazakh steppes occurred in 1742–1743 in response to the military campaigns of the latter.

Leaders and participants of the liberation wars. The brutal defeat of the previous years did not break the will and spirit of the Kazakh people. It was the heroism of the people, their selfless courage, and willingness to sacrifice that allowed them not only to stand, but also to make a decisive contribution to the defeat of the Dzungarian invaders. It is no coincidence that this time became the "golden age" of Kazakh batyrysm. The entire Kazakh people rose up to fight the invaders. Khans and sultans stood at the head of large detachments: Abulkhair, Sameke, Barak, Abulmambet, Sultanmamet, Bulkhair, Yesim and many other descendants of Genghis Khan from his son Zhosha. It is worth noting the role of Abulkhair, who, having led the popular resistance, with decisive and courageous actions was able to organize a rebuff to the enemies at one of the most difficult moments in the history of the people. By his successful actions in numerous campaigns to the Kalmyk and Russian borders, he gained authority and respect among the people even before these events, and was considered the eldest khan after the death of Kaip Khan, despite his origin from the younger line





of the Khan dynasty. At the same time, the authority of the young Sultan Abylai, who later became one of the most influential and revered Kazakh rulers, began to grow. He also rose through his personal qualities, fearlessness in battles and organizational talents. Khans Sameke, Abulmambet, Sultan Barak and other famous figures constantly participated in campaigns and led the people. They fought on a par with their sarbases, making a huge contribution to the victory of the Kazakh people. The ideological leadership of the liberation struggle was assumed by the largest biis of the three Kazakh zhuzes Tole, Kazybek and Aiteke.

Batyr from various Kazakh clans, tribes and zhuzes played an important role in organizing armed resistance – Karakerey Kabanbai, Bokenbai Kabatyryly, Shakshak Zhanibek Koshkaruly, Tama Yeset Kokiuly, Malaysary batyr, Uak Bayan batyr, Khankeldy Syrymbetuly, Bogenbai Akshauly, Sataibatyr, Sanyryk Toktybayuly, Jasybai Omiruly, Berdykozha batyr, Otegen Otegululy, Shurek Batyr, Olzhabai Tolybayuly, Kozhabergen Zhanibekuly, Altai Ebeskiuly, Sankibai batyr, Aral Bolpyshuly, Karakul batyr, Bolek batyr, Jabai batyr, Tursunbai batyr, Tolebai Zholboldyuly, Aktamberdy Saryuly, Koykeldy Sartuly, Nauryzbai Kuttymbetuly, Adai Moynakbatyr, Rayymbek Khankeldyuly, Eskeldy Khankeldyuly, Barak Shorekuly, Tortuyl Olzhabai and many, many others who remained in the national memory. They were at the head of independent detachments and acted harmoniously under the general command of Abulkhair Khan and the most famous military leaders Bokenbai, Kabanbai, Shakshak Zhanibek, Hangelda, Berdykozha and others. According to Kazakh legends, in the battle of Karasuyr, the batyrs of the Younger Zhuz Tailak and his nephew Sanyryk from the Oshakty tribe of the Elder Zhuz, who commanded large detachments, especially distinguished themselves.

This is how the feat of the famous batyr Olzhabai from Bayanaul region is described: "The grandson of the youngest son of Idabol Olzhabai batyr, who served Ablay Khan 160 years ago, i.e. in 1730, appeared in the Bayanaul mountains. Olzhabai found the Kalmyks here, who, after a long struggle, were driven south by the Kirghiz. The clashes of the latter with the Kalmyks are glorified in an embellished form by the Kyrgyz improvisers "ahyns", who attribute the expulsion of the Kalmyks entirely to "the brave batyr Olzhabai and his glorious Khan Ablay." The eternal monuments of the mentioned struggle that took place between the Kyrgyz and Kalmyks in the territory of Pavlodar county remain on the upper reaches of the Chiderty River in the southwestern corner of the county - the Churchut kyrgan hill and in the south-east of the county the Kalmak kyrylgan mountain. The Kirghiz call the Chinese Churchut in a close sense, but they often extend this name to the Kalmyks" (Chernigov, 1903: 4).

Miracles of bravery and courage were shown by his combat colleague and countryman batyr Zhasybai, as told by the famous Semipalatinsk local historian: "Two large gorges with lakes Zhasybai and Toraigyr are considered the best in beauty places in the Bayanaul mountains... On the top of one mountain near the lake, batyr Zhasybai is buried, after whom the lake was later named... Zhasybai lived in those distant years when the Kazakhs ousted the Kalmyks who lived there from the Bayanauli region. He was a famous batyr who defeated enemies more than once. Once, on behalf of the main leader of the Kazakhs, Olzhabai, Zhasybai had to hold a Kalmyk khan with a thousand thousand Kalmyks in the mountains with a small detachment. The battle was terrible, and Zhasybai showed miracles of bravery until he was wounded to death by the Kalmyk Khan... The Kazakhs trembled, but at that time Olzhabai arrived at the place of battle, and the gorges resounded with the cries of Kalmyks asking for mercy..." (Konshin, 2005: 42–43).

The names of a number of famous batyrs who distinguished themselves by fearlessness and bravery in the Kazakh-Kalmyk, Kazakh-Dzungarian wars later became the battle cries of their families. These are BaymuratBayboriuly, who became the cry of the Zhappas clan,



Daukara Karakozhauly of the Baybakty clan, Baybarak Kudaikululy of the Alasha clan, Bayterek Zholdybayuly of the Ysyk clan, Agatai Tleukeuly of the Berish clan (ancestor of Isatai Batyr, the leader of the uprising in the 30s of the XIX century), Baktybai Tolesuly of the Shekty clan. Many of the batyrs were considered biy of their families, were organizers and participants of many national councils.

It was at this time that the name of the then-young Sultan Abylai became known, as his great-grandson Chokan Valikhanov later wrote: "The year 1723 is especially memorable to the Kyrgyz for its fatal character and has been preserved in the national memory. At this terrible and bloody time, Sultan Ablay attracts everyone's attention. Participating in all the raids, at first as an ordinary soldier, he shows feats of extraordinary bravery and cunning. His useful advice and strategic considerations put the name of the wise behind him. Abylai really endured many trials and struggles, until his importance increased to the point that the Kyrgyz considered him an incarnate spirit (arvah), sent down to accomplish great things. He was captured twice: once by the wild-stone Kirghiz (Buruts), and the other by Galdan Tseren" (Valikhanov, 1985: 112-113).

Many participants in these liberation battles were considered biys. In addition to the supreme beys of the three zhuzes of Tole, Kazybek and Aiteke, these are Azhibai-biy, Baiseu-biy, Kedei-biy, Daumbai-biy, Tleuberdy-biy, Jomart-biy, Kozhazar-biy, Ernazar-biy, Yesen-biy, Tanirbergen-biy, Buka-biy, Yesenkul-biy, Karazhadik-biy, Munaytpas-biy, Kyduar-abyz, Shukraliy-kozha, Bargana-biy, Duisen-biy, Karabalan-biy, Omir-biy, Yesembek-biy, Nauryzbai-biy, Kenzhebaibiy, Kara biy and many others. All these biis were the main managers in their ancestral departments and their names are indicated in documents of the early 30s of the XVIII century. (Allayaruli, 2023: 151-152, 157-158). They all actively participated in the liberation war with the Volga Kalmyks and Dzungars.

For example, Zhetysubatyrs such as Oshakty Sanyryk, Shapyrashty Nauryzbai, Alban Khankeldy Syrymbetuly, his son Tleuke and grandson Rayymbek, Azhibai distinguished themselves in the battle of Anirakai. According to folk legends of the Dzungarian batyr Anyrak, Satai batyr won in single combat, Dulat Otegen batyr, Shymkent Koigeldy, Sikym Yrysbek, Suan Bagai, Botbai Samen, Zhaugash, Sirgeli Karatlek, Zhappar, Kaumen, Daulet, Zhalayyr Balpyk, Eskeldy, Orak Batyr and others also differed. Batyrs Toles, Khankeldy, Zhanibek, Bieke and Suyunduk-biy led the militias of the Alban clan. Many of them participated in the battles of Kordai, Shonzh, Shamalgan, in the foothills of Alatau and Karatau, liberating the Kazakh lands. Successful actions in these battles led to victory in the Battle of Anirakai [14]. Nauryzbai batyr subsequently became the standard-bearer of Abylai Khan. The Russian Ambassador K. Miller, who visited him, wrote about him in his diary (Yerofeyeva, 2007: 104).

Women also took an active part in the battle with the Dzungars. In particular, Aylkyn, the daughter of Sultan Abylai, Yesenbike, the daughter of Karasaibatyr, Aybike, the daughter of Bulanbaibatyr, Botagoz, the daughter of Yesetbatyr, and others participated in the war with the enemy. For example, Gaukhar, the wife of Karakerey Kabanbai batyr, led a reconnaissance detachment and participated in many major battles. Subsequently, becoming the mother of a family, she sent her eldest daughter Nazim to the war instead of herself. And the real name of Kabanba iBatyr's wife is Maysara. But the people named her by her middle name Gaukhar-batyr for her courage and bravery. In Kazakh folklore, her words "Atadan ul bolyp tuma, er bolyp tu" (Be born not your father's son, but be born a real man) have been preserved.

The Russian F.M. Lazarevsky, an excellent connoisseur of history and Kazakh life, wrote about the militancy of the Kazakhs about a century later: "The Kyrgyz are brave and courageous more than other neighboring and nomadic peoples" (Lazarevsky, 2013: 184).



During the years of confrontation with the aggressor, the Kazakh people defended their ancestral lands, not dividing into zhuzes, tribes and clans.

The heroism of the Kazakh batyrs was brought to us by the works of outstanding Kazakh zhyrau and poets Kozhabergen-zhyrau, Umbetey-zhyrau, Aktamberdy-zhyrau, Tattikara-zhyrau, Bukhar-zhyrau, Kotesh-akyn and others. Most of them were not only witnesses, but also real participants in the heroic battles against the invaders. The liberation war also took on an international character. Karakalpaks and Kyrgyz, peoples related to Kazakhs in language and culture, fought shoulder to shoulder with the Kazakhs.

**Conclusion.** The historical significance of the struggle of the Kazakh people against the Dzungarian aggression. Thus, at the beginning of the second quarter of the XVIII century, the entire Kazakh people rose to the liberation Patriotic War. The united Kazakh militia provided an organized and decisive rebuff to the Dzungarian invaders. This was largely achieved thanks to the unity of all three zhuzes, the entire Kazakh people. The threat of physical destruction forced the Kazakh rulers to forget their previous feuds, unite and inflict massive blows on the Dzungarian troops.

Kazakh rulers, batyrs and biys made every effort to preserve the Kazakh statehood. The battles of Bulanty and Anirakai demonstrated the high morale of the Kazakh militias. The victory in these battles showed that when the people have unity, it is possible to prevail over any opponent. Moreover, the Kazakh warriors dispelled the myth of the invincibility of the Dzungarian army.

In this war, the foundations were created for the creation of a combat brotherhood of the Kazakh people and related Karakalpaks and Kyrgyz. Tens of thousands of brave Karakalpak and Kyrgyz horsemen fought as part of the all-Kazakh militia. At the same time, the struggle for power in the early 30s of the XVIII century. It again led to the disunity of the Kazakh forces and the subsequent loss of independence.

It is obvious that "Aktaban shubyryndy" became one of the key and fateful events in the history of the Kazakhs, which led to the further weakening of the Kazakh Khanate until its loss of independence in the early 20s of the XIX century. At the same time, there is no reason to consider Aktaban Shubyryndy as a "genocide" of the Kazakh people or in any other way to exaggerate its significance. At the same time, along with the military actions between the Kazakhs and the Dzungars, there were periods of peaceful relations, mutually beneficial trade, and the conclusion of dynastic and ordinary marital relations.

In general, the complication of Kazakh-Dzungarian relations in the 20s of the 18th century represents an important period in the history of the region. Various conflicts, power struggles and territorial claims have led to serious consequences for both sides. This period reflects the complex political and ethnic dynamics of that time, which had a significant impact on the modern geopolitical map of the region. The study of these events helps to understand the roots of many modern conflicts and trends in the development of Kazakh and Dzungarian history.

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