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THE CORE PRINCIPLES OF TAUKE KHAN'S FOREIGN AND INTERNAL POLICIES (THE LATE XVII TO EARLY XVIII CENTURIES)

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The foundational tenets of Tauke Khan's foreign and domestic policies in the late XVII and early XVIII centuries centered on unity, centralization, and effective diplomatically policy. Domestically, his emphasis lay in fostering societal cohesion through the enactment of the “Zheti Zhargy” legal code, while elevating Turkestan as a symbol of centralized authority. In foreign affairs, he pursued a diplomatic approach to safeguard the territorial integrity of the Kazakh Khanate, forging alliances with neighboring peoples and organizing a unified Kazakh armed force that culminated in the tribes' unity by the century's end. This scholarly article delves into Tauke Khan's core principles: unity and integration, centralized governance, territorial sovereignty, effective diplomacy, and defense and security. *The objectives of the study.* This article aims to identify the key principles and orientations of Tauke Khan's foreign and domestic policies, shedding light on the essence of the “Zheti Zhargy” legal code, which stands as the central pillar of the internal governance of the Kazakh Khanate. *Materials and methods.* The research materials included a collection of documents on the history of Kazakhstan and the works of outstanding researchers of the XIX–XX centuries. In the exploration of this scientific article, various general scientific methods and methodological approaches were applied, including the analytical method, methods of classification and analogy, deduction, induction, generalization, and formalization. *Results.* Despite Tauke Khan's effective foreign policy and his role in fostering internal unity, challenges emerged, particularly in addressing the Dzungar threat. Tensions escalated, giving rise to wars and conflicts that persisted beyond Tauke Khan's reign. The waning influence of Tauke Khan in the subsequent years signaled the onset of a challenging era for the Kazakh Khanate. *Conclusions.* Tauke Khan's rule was marked by endeavors to unite the Kazakh Khanate, establish robust governance structures, and navigate intricate international relations. The enduring legacy of “Zheti Zhargy” stands as a vital legal framework, encapsulating the societal values of that era.

Keywords: Kazakh Khanate, Tauke Khan, foreign policy, internal policy, Zheti zhargy, Kazakhs, Dzungars, Russian Empire



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ТӘУКЕ ХАННЫҢ СЫРТҚЫ ЖӘНЕ ІШКІ САЯСАТЫНЫҢ НЕГІЗГІ ҰСТАНЫМДАРЫ (XVII ҒАСЫРДЫҢ АЯҒЫ МЕН XVIII ҒАСЫРДЫҢ БАСЫ)

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Аңдатпа. *Kırişne.* Тәуке ханның XVII ғасырдың соңы мен XVIII ғасырдың басындағы сыртқы және ішкі саясатының негізгі ұстанымдары бірлікке, орталықтандыруға және тиімді дипломатиялық саясатқа негізделген. Түркістан қаласын Қазақ хандығының астанасы ретінде орталықтандырылған биліктің символына айналдыра отырып, «Жеті Жарғы» заңдар жинағын қабылдау арқылы қоғамның бірлігін нығайтуға баса назар аударды. Сыртқы саясатта ол Қазақ хандығының аумақтық тұтастығын сақтаудың дипломатиялық жолын ұстанды, көршілес халықтармен одақтасып, XVII ғасырдың соңына қарай біртұтас қазақ руларының қарулы күштерін құрды. Бұл ғылыми мақалада Тәуке ханның XVII ғасырдың аяғы мен XVIII ғасырдың басындағы сыртқы және ішкі саясатының негізгі ұстанымдары: бірлік пен интеграция, орталықтандырылған басқару, территориялық тұтастық, тиімді дипломатия, қорғаныс пен қауіпсіздік мәселелері қарастырылған. *Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері.* Ғылыми мақаланың мақсаты – Тәуке ханның сыртқы және ішкі саясатының маңызды ұстанымдары мен негізгі бағыттарын айқындау, сондай-ақ Қазақ хандығының ішкі саясатындағы «Жеті жарғы» заңдар жинағының орны мен мәнін ашып көрсету. *Материалдар мен әдістер.* Зерттеу материалдары ретінде Қазақстан тарихы бойынша құжаттар жинағы және XIX–XX ғасырдың көрнекті зерттеушілерінің еңбектері пайдаланылды. Ғылыми мақаланы зерттеуде аналитикалық, дедукциялық, индукциялық, жалпылау және формализация әдістері секілді жалпы ғылыми әдістер мен әдістемелік тәсілдер қолданылды. *Нәтижелер.* Тәуке ханның жүргізген оңтайлы сыртқы саясаты мен ішкі береке-бірлікке қосқан үлесіне қарамастан, жоңғар қаупі сейілмеді. Саяси-әскери шиеленіс күшейіп, Тәуке ханнан кейін де жалғасқан соғыстар мен қақтығыстарға ұласты. *Қорытынды.* Тәуке ханның билігі Қазақ хандығын біріктіру, тиімді басқару құрылымдарын құру, күрделі халықаралық қатынастарды тиімді басқару әрекеттерімен сипатталды. Жеті жарғы мұрасы сол кездегі қоғамдық құндылықтарды көрсететін ішкі саясатты тұрақты ұстауда маңызды құқықтық негіз ретінде сақталды.

Түйін сөздер: Қазақ хандығы, Тәуке хан, сыртқы саясат, ішкі саясат, Жеті жарғы, қазақтар, жоңғарлар, Ресей империясы

Алғыс. Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі ШЖҚ РМК Жошы Ұлысын зерттеу ғылыми институтының «Қазақ хандығы XV ғасырдың екінші жартысы – XVIII ғасырдың бірінші жартысы: этносаяси тарих және сыртқы



саясат» тақырыбындағы бағдарламалық-мақсатты қаржыландыру жобасын жүзеге асыру аясында орындалды (жеке тіркеу нөмірі: BR 21882223).

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ОСНОВНЫЕ ПРИНЦИПЫ ВНЕШНЕЙ И ВНУТРЕННЕЙ ПОЛИТИКИ ТАУКЕ ХАНА (КОНЕЦ XVII – НАЧАЛО XVIII ВВ.)

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Аннотация. *Введение.* Основополагающие принципы внешней и внутренней политики Тауке-хана в конце XVII – в начале XVIII веков были сосредоточены на единстве, централизации и успешной внешней политике. Внутри страны он делал акцент на содействии социальной сплоченности посредством принятия правового кодекса «Жеті Жарғы», одновременно возвышая Туркестан как символ централизованной власти. Во внешней политике он применял дипломатический подход для защиты территориальной целостности Казахского ханства, заключая союзы с соседними народами и организуя единые казахские вооруженные силы, кульминацией которых стало единство казахских родов в конце XVII века. В этой научной статье рассматриваются основные принципы внешней и внутренней политики Тауке-хана: единство и интеграция, централизованное управление, территориальный суверенитет, эффективная дипломатия, а также оборона и безопасность. *Цели и задачи.* Целью данной статьи определить основных важных принципов и направлений внешней и внутренней политики Тауке хана, а также раскрыть суть свода законов «Жеті жарғы» как основной стержень внутренней политики Казахского ханства. *Материалы и методы.* Материалами исследования служили сборник документов по истории Казахстана и труды выдающихся исследователей XIX–XX вв. Для изучения данной научной статьи были применены общенаучные методы и методические приемы как аналитический метод, методы классификации и аналогии, дедукция, индукция, обобщение и формализация. *Результаты.* Несмотря на успешную внешнюю политику Тауке-хана и вклад во внутреннее единство, возникли проблемы, особенно в борьбе с джунгарской угрозой. Напряженность нарастала, что привело к войнам и конфликтам, которые продолжались и после правления Тауке-хана. *Заключение.* Правление Тауке-хана характеризовалось усилиями по объединению Казахского ханства, созданию эффективных структур управления и управлению сложными международными отношениями. Наследие Жеты Жаргы сохранилось как важная правовая основа, отражающая общественные ценности того времени.

Ключевые слова: Казахское ханство, Тауке хан, внешняя политика, внутренняя политика, жети жаргы, казахи, джунгары, российская империя

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Introduction. In the late XVIIth to early XVIIIth centuries, Khan Tauke stood out as a powerful and respected senior Khan in Kazakhstan. He skillfully navigated both local and international affairs, demonstrating a keen sense of diplomacy. This influential Kazakh leader implemented various initiatives to fortify the cohesion of the Kazakh people and safeguard the nation's borders from external threats.

When delving into the historical records related to Tauke Khan, it becomes evident that there are distortions in the names of fraternal peoples. In light of this, I find it crucial to bring to the attention of our foreign audience some essential information. Given that this article is meant for a foreign audience, there may be potential confusion regarding historical inaccuracies in the names of the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz. In this article, Kazakhs are referred to as Kirghiz (Kazakh-author). In other words, the Kazakhs are referred in this article to as “Kirghiz”, and the Kyrgyz are called “Kara Kyrgyz” or “Dikokamennye Kyrgyzy” that is “wild-stone Kyrgyz”. A P. Chuloshnikov, in his book "Essays on the history of the Kazakh-Kyrgyz people in connection with the general historical destinies of other Turkic tribes," made significant observations on this matter: “The Kazakhs always identify themselves as Kazakhs (Qazaq) and find it puzzling when referred to as Kyrgyz. Similarly, they are surprised when the term "Cossack" is used for a Russian person. When asked about their nationality, their response is consistent: “we are Kazakhs.” They supplement this collective national name with the name of their tribes, such as Naiman, Kirey, Kangly, and others. The term “Kirghiz” attached to their original name (Kazaks) was likely assigned by the Russians (Siberians) to distinguish them. This led to the emergence of the modern Kazakh people known as “Kirghiz-kazaks,” later shortened to “Kirghiz-Kaysaki” and eventually simplified to “Kirghiz.” Similarly, the Kyrgyz people do not recognize the name “Kara Kyrgyz” (Dikokamennye Kyrgyzy) given to them by settled natives, who use the term “kara” (black) in a disparaging manner. The Kyrgyz refer to themselves simply as Kyrgyz” (Chuloshnikov, 1924: 1–3). Tauke Khan, a prominent historical figure in Kazakhstan, pursued policies that left a lasting impact on both internal governance and foreign relations. The main directions of Tauke Khan's foreign policy can be outlined as follows:

Territorial Integrity. Tauke Khan aimed to safeguard the territorial integrity of the Kazakh Khanate, stretching from the north to the Russian city of Tara, south to Tashkent, west to Edil (Volga), and east to the Ob-Irtysh interfluve.

Alliances. Thanks to his efforts, the country gained recognition on the global stage during his reign. To safeguard the country's territorial integrity and uphold the inviolability of its borders, Khan Tauke implemented a strategic and successful foreign policy. He successfully subdued and forged a military alliance with the Alatau Kyrgyz and the Aral Karakalpaks, strengthening regional relationships. The joint forces of Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Karakalpak troops dealt significant blows to the invaders, helping to curb the periodic raids by the Dzungars into the territory of the Kazakh Khanate.

Diplomacy with Bukhara. Tauke Khan maintained peaceful relations with Bukhara, emphasizing trade and diplomatic exchanges rather than confrontations. This approach aimed at ensuring stability along the southern borders of the Khanate.

Conflict with Dzungaria. Relations with Dzungaria in the east were marked by periods of conflict and raids. External threats from Dzungaria prompted Tauke Khan to create a unified armed force of the Kazakhs, leading to the unity of the Kazakh tribes by the end of the XVIIth century.



Tauke Khan's domestic policy was prosperous. Despite the presence of martial law, the social conditions of the people remained relatively favorable. The rights and responsibilities of every Kazakh were outlined within a legal framework. The main directions of Tauke Khan's domestic policy can be outlined as follows:

Internal Unity. Central to Tauke Khan's domestic policy was the promotion of internal unity among the diverse Kazakh tribes. This unity was crucial for the governance and stability of the Kazakh Khanate.

Capital at Turkestan. Tauke Khan established Turkestan as the headquarters, symbolizing centralized power. This move aimed to consolidate control and reinforce the significance of Turkestan as a holy city.

Legal Framework – Zheti Zhargy. The adoption of the legal code “Zheti Zhargy” played a pivotal role in Tauke Khan's domestic policy. This code regulated various aspects of Kazakh society, including land use, criminal justice, family and marriage, property, and military matters.

Military Organization. Responding to external threats, Tauke Khan organized a unified armed force, uniting the Kazakh tribes into a military alliance. This military organization became essential for the defense of the Khanate. Tauke Khan's foreign policy focused on securing territorial integrity, forming alliances, and managing diplomatic relations, while his domestic policy prioritized internal unity, legal regulation through “Zheti Zhargy”, and the organization of a unified military force to protect the Kazakh Khanate from external threats.

Materials and research methods. The research materials encompassed historical sources detailing Russia and Siberia during the XVI–XVIII centuries, along with collections of documents pertaining to the history of Kazakhstan. Additionally, scientific research from distinguished XIX-century scholars like Aristov (1897), Meyer (1865), Remezov (1882), Gaverdovskiy (1897), and others were incorporated. The materials for the article have been carefully researched. Comparative work was carried out on the scientific works of prominent scientists of other centuries.

In the exploration of this scientific article, various general scientific methods and methodological approaches were applied, including the analytical method, methods of classification and analogy, deduction, induction, generalization, and formalization. Historical research methods, such as synchronous, diachronic, chronological, historical-typological, comparative historical, retrospective, and updating methods, were actively employed in crafting this article.

Discussion. A review of historical publications provides an extensive repository of bibliographic sources from scholars who delved into the late XVII to early XVIII centuries. This historical period of Tauke Khan is full of decisive historical events. The era of Tauke Khan was extensively examined by learned historians in the XVIII century as A.I. Levshin (1996), Ya.P. Gaverdovskiy (1897), G.I. Spasskiy (2011), M.I. Krasovskiy (2006), G.Ye. Katanayev (1886), P.A. Slotvsov (1886), L. Meyyer (1865), S.U. Remezov (1882)

This scientific article used the works of researchers of the XXth century. Also, collections of documents helped to reveal the essence of the topic under study. For example, authors such as A.P. Chuloshnikov (1924), M. Abdykalykov, I A. Pankratova (1943), M.P. Vyatkin (2005), Rene Grusse (2005), Charles Warren Hostler (1957), *Istoriya Kazakhskoy SSR.* (1957,1979).

To delve into Tauke Khan's study, we incorporated the scientific works of local scientists, collection of documents and scientific encyclopedias: I. V. Yerofeyeva (1999, 2006, 2014), N. Atygayev (2015), Sh. K. Khafizova (2019), *Istoriya Kazakhstanana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney v pyati tomakh* (2010), T.I. Sultanov (2001), M.Kh. Abuseitova (2020), *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (2015), G.F. Miller (1993), B. Karibayev, (2015), G.B. Izbasarova (2022), K. Abuev (2006), Zh. Kasymbayev (1999).



The provided materials have undergone thorough analysis and have been incorporated into this scientific text.

Results. Tauke Khan's foreign and internal policies were grounded in principles of unity, centralization, and defense, shaping the trajectory of the Kazakh Khanate during his reign. Before delving into a scholarly interpretation of the topic at hand, let's take note of what researchers have documented regarding the birth and formation of Tauke Khan: "Khan Tauke was the son of the renowned Zhangir Khan, who gained fame for his role in the Battle of Orbulak" (Levshin, 1996: 162). In her book "Khan Abulkhair: Commander, Ruler, and Politician," Erofeeva expresses the following: "He was the grandson of the esteemed khan Yesim, living a long and eventful life before peacefully passing away at a ripe age. His era is often referred to as the "golden age" in the history of the Kazakh people" (Erofeeva, 1999: 53). Upon scrutinizing historical archives, scholar K. Abuev draws the conclusion regarding the birth date of Khan Tauke: "The prospective khan was born no later than the early 1630s (as his father, Zhangir Khan, passed away in 1652)" (Abuev, 2006: 45). Detailed exploration is crucial in studying an individual's lineage, and in the case of Tauke, it's notable that "his mother hailed from the Kalmyk (Dzungarian) heritage" (Sydykov, Mukhtar, 2015: 33). In various sources and oral traditions, Tauke is referred to by different names such as: "Tәuekel", "әз Tәuke," and more. He held the position of the second son of Khan Zhangir" (Encyclopedia, 2017:504). As is customary with rulers, Khan Tauke, too, possessed a full name. The complete name of "Khan Tauke (az-Tauke – revered, holy Tauke) is articulated as "Tavvakul-Muhammad-Bahadur-Khan" (Erofeeva, 2014: 79).

The name Tauke first appears in written records in the early "1650s, when he accompanied his father, Zhangir Khan, as part of the embassy sent to the Chagataid rulers of East Turkestan. During this period, Tauke, not yet 20 years old, demonstrated his courage on the battlefield against the Dzungar hordes and showcased his diplomatic skills" (Karibaev, 2015: 52). Upon careful examination of the information about Tauke Khan, we find that "he assumed political power in 1680 and held rule until 1715" (Erofeeva, 1999:32). He possessed remarkable organizational skills, along with the ability to reconcile conflicting parties. His contemporaries acknowledged him as an expert in Kazakh customs and traditions, personally handling legal disputes: "With a fair-minded approach, he earned the respect of his subjects. Russian diplomat and politician A. Tevkelev offered this perspective: "Tevke Khan was an intelligent man and was held in great esteem by the Kyrgyz people" (Istoriya Kazakhstana v russkikh istochnikakh, 2005: 302).

Tauke Khan's seat of power (residence) was the city of Turkestan, as mentioned by the German researcher Nicolaes Witsen in the early XVIIIth century: "From Karazhukus to the city of Turkestan, a distance of one and a half German miles, and it is governed by "Tevki Khan". And in the entire Kazakh territory, there are around thirty-two (32 Kazakh cities- O.K.) small towns, the most renowned being the city of Turgustan. It is surrounded by water, and its earthen ramparts are covered with sand" (Erofeeva, 2006: 67). During that era, Senior Khan Tauke assumed roles such as "commanding the Kazakh home guard in military operations and serving as the primary speaker during national kurultais" (Izbasarova, 2022: 129).

During the rule of the senior Khan Tauke, affectionately known as "the wise," the Kazakh Khanate retained its centralized structure: "Thanks to his sagacious governance, the nation experienced tranquility, strict adherence to laws, and a noticeable reduction in inter-tribal and inter-tribe conflicts. Major disputes within the pastoral society were swiftly settled through the mediation of respected biys during the autumn kurultai gatherings near the cities of Sairam and Tashkent. Here, crucial matters related to economic activities, domestic and foreign policies, as well as pressing inter-tribe and inter-tribal disputes, were discussed



and resolved. These assemblies also served as military reviews, where attendees were obligated to come armed” (Abdykalykov, Pankratova, 1943: 114).

Disputes and contentious situations were effectively addressed by seasoned elders and biys, with the support of Khan Tauke, as highlighted by Y. Gaverdovsky, a researcher delving into the life and everyday affairs of Kazakh society: “To ensure the orderly management of public affairs in each national segment, the elders, guided by the counsel of Tyavka Khan, elected three leaders. They were entrusted with overseeing the justice of the biys, or judges, in each aul, simultaneously holding them directly accountable for any disturbances that might arise within the tribes and be reported to the khan... In order to prevent conflicts Tyavka, through voluntary agreement, allocated winter and summer nomadic spaces to each tribe. He assigned auls and their respective commanding elders, curbing the arbitrary power of the forebears by decreeing concise laws... and mandated their confirmation to children from an early age. This ensured the preservation of these laws for posterity, passed down through oral tradition” (Gaverdovsky, 2006: 433–436).

During this period, “conflicts regarding the allocation of pasturelands and water sources were amicably resolved. Each tribe was granted its own “tamga” (eng. insignia, emblem-O.K.)” (Abdykalykov, Pankratova, 1943: 391). In an effort to quell internal conflicts, he frequently united disparate tribes into larger, cohesive entities. Historical records indicate the formation of Zhetiru on the lands of the Kishi Zhuz: “The origin of this junior horde is traced back to the influential Alchin (Alshyn – O.K.) tribe and seven smaller tribes. Faced with challenges in civil strife and raids by the formidable Alchin, these smaller tribes, lacking the strength to resist independently, were consolidated by the renowned Kazakh Khan Tyavka (Tauke) into a single entity, now known as the Semirechensky Horde” (Levshin, 1996: 2).

The relatively favorable conditions under Khan Tauke contributed to the growth of the Kazakh population. Aristov describes it in the following manner: “At that time, among all Turkic peoples, the Kazakhs ranked second in population size, following the Ottoman Turks” (Aristov, 1897: 76). This is affirmed by other esteemed historians, as “during his rule, the effectiveness of the mounted militia significantly improved under Khan Tauke. Tauke could muster an army of 80 thousand” (Atygaev, 2015: 254).

Here is what the renowned Russian researcher of modern times, L. Meyer wrote about the achievements of the khan and his challenging era: “It is known that the power of the Kirghiz (Kazakhs – O.K.) khans, despite internal conflicts, continued to grow until the end of the 17th century... This free society flourished, particularly under the rule of Khan Tauke. He successfully reconciled them, putting an end to tribe conflicts with his sense of justice and providing the entire people with laws based on their ancient customs. He assigned each tribe its own nomadic area, gave them symbols (tamga – O.K.) for branding livestock, which are still used by the Kazakhs. Additionally, he established a tradition for all elders to gather in one autumn month to discuss public affairs. To manage the hordes, he advised the elders to choose one leader for each, and this was implemented: in the large horde, Tyulyabiy (Tole biy – O.K.) was chosen, in the middle – Kazbek, and in the smaller – Itka (Aiteke – O.K.). Here, one can observe the antiquity of the elective principle among the Kirghiz (Kazakhs – O.K.) This period marked the zenith of glory for the reigning khans in Turkestan” (Meyer, 1865: 4–5).

Hence, the cohesiveness and unity of the entire Kazakh people and the centralized Kazakh Khanate were intricately tied to this prominent figure. It is not without reason that historians link the era of Tauke Khan with one of the most prosperous periods of the Kazakh Khanate: “The internal harmony facilitated the governance of an extensive territory. During this period, the Kazakhs occupied lands from the north – reaching the Russian city of Tara, and extending to Tashkent in the south, from the Edil (Volga – O.K.) in the west to the Ob-Irtysh interfluvium in the east. The revered city of Turkestan served as the distinguished



khan's headquarters" (Khafizova, 2019: 50). In the Syrdarya region, the khan and his sultans "governed 32 cities with surrounding agricultural lands, including Tashkent, Sairam, Sygnak, Otrar, Turkestan, Sozak, Akkorgan, Narnak, Ikan, and more. These cities and their territories contributed tribute to the Kazakhs in the form of currency and goods" (Erofeeva, 2014: 80).

During his rule, not only traditional animal husbandry but also agriculture flourished. Russian ambassador V. Kobayakov, who visited his capital, noted: "Tevka Khan has abundant crops of wheat, barley, millet, and various winter and spring grains" (Istoriya Kazakhskoy SSR, 1979: 54). Also, during his reign, a cult of reverence for the male warrior thrived, as L. Meyer aptly noted: "There was a rule that an unarmed individual had no voting rights at public gatherings" (Meyer, 2007: 61). Under Tauke Khan, "the authority of the biys, whose decisions carried legal weight, underwent significant expansion" (Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dnei, 2010: 424).

The modern Russian researcher M. Krasovsky believed that Khan Tauke's reign marked the pinnacle in Kazakh history: "Neither before Tyavka nor after him did the steppe witness a government that, having established laws fostering the unity of a diverse society, could both adhere to the law itself and safeguard it, preventing any form of arbitrariness" (Krasovsky, 2006: 15).

Tauke Khan, historically recognized as the leader behind the formulation of the "Zheti Zhargy" (Seven Establishments), "implemented this legal code in response to the Dzungars, who had previously augmented their laws with provisions to fortify their statehood" (Erofeeva, 2014: 80). Only fragments of "this historical document have survived to the present day. The written and complete version of this legal code has not been preserved. However, according to the recollections of experts in Kazakh folklore, it was transmitted orally from generation to generation. In the XIXth century, some of its episodes were recorded by renowned Russian researchers. The compilers are believed to be biys from the three zhuzes: Tole, Kazybek, and Aiteke" (Sultanov, 2001: 232–233). The specific regulations of "Zheti Zhargy" were initially published by the Russian researcher Spassky and were collected even earlier by Gaverdovsky. Levshin also included the regulations of "Zheti Zhargy" in his renowned work" (Encyclopedia, 2017: 505–507). This compilation of laws addressed the regulation of various facets of Kazakh society, including "issues related to land use, criminal matters, family and marriage, property, military affairs, and more. Therefore, "Zheti Zhargy" encompassed administrative and legal norms that concentrated supreme power in the hands of the senior khan. He governed the country through influential sultans and elders, convening them in the heart of the steppe during the autumn to collectively address important societal matters" (Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dnei, 2010: 428).

For instance, Khan Tauke's laws embraced the principle of blood feud, allowing retaliation in kind for murder and mutilation: Simultaneously, "Zheti Zhargy" introduced provisions enabling the redemption of a murder through substantial fines, known as "qun" (penalty- O.K). The worth of a woman's life was set at 500 heads of sheep, while a free man's life was valued at 1000 heads. Adultery by a woman was punishable by death. An inventive punishment was devised for a son who insulted his father: he was made to sit on a black cow, facing its tail, with black felt draped around his neck, all while being whipped" (Abdykalykov, Pankratova, 1943: 391). The principle of tribal responsibility for murder was declared: "if someone took a life, the retribution was either an eye for an eye or a payment of 200 horses by the entire tribe of the perpetrator" (Spassky, 2011:39). Life held significant value, especially for the esteemed classes, known as the "aristocrats." For instance, "the killing of a Sultan or Khoja incurred a penalty of 7 people's worth of "qun" (penalty – O.K). Verbal insults to the Sultan or Khoja led to a fine of 9 heads of cattle, while physical beatings resulted in a penalty of 27 cattle. The "Zheti Zhargy" strongly condemned



suicide, directing those individuals who took their own lives should be buried separately from the regular Muslim cemetery” (Sultanov, 2001: 236).

A considerable portion of Tauke's laws focused on regulating family and marriage relations, critical for the stability of the entire steppe society, particularly given men's frequent participation in military campaigns. Therefore, “to uphold a woman's honor, anyone who corrupts or forcibly engages in fornication would face execution, or a restitution of 200 horses for the dishonor” (Spassky, 2011:39). Concerning family life and the dynamics between husband and wife, “Zheti Zhargy” states: “A husband who discovered his wife in adultery had the authority to take her life without facing any legal repercussions” (Levshin, 1996: 368). Abducting another person's wife incurred severe penalties: “Anyone who takes away someone else's wife without her consent faces either death or the forfeiture of “qun” (penalty). If the abduction occurs with the woman's consent, then the abductor can retain her by paying the husband a dowry, and additionally delivering the girl without a dowry”. Several articles addressed matters of the judicial system and legal proceedings. The khan, biys, and prominent rulers could perform judicial functions. “Zheti Zhargy” permitted “barymta” (stealing a herd of horses – O.K.) if the guilty party refused to abide by the court decision: “If the convicted individual fails to fulfill the court sentence, or the village leader intentionally avoids the trial and thereby supports the criminal, the plaintiff is granted the right, with the elder's permission, to initiate a barymta” (Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dnei, 2010: 430–431). To establish the guilt of the offender, it was required to produce three witnesses: “In case the accused failed to appear for the trial, the responsibility fell on the closest relative, or the entire village had to pay a fine. However, these measures could be avoided if the relatives committed to bringing the accused to the place of litigation” (Abdykalykov, Pankratova, 1943: 390).

The people of the steppe “were prohibited from converting to another faith, and the punishment for doing so was severe — anyone had the right to seize their home, property, and livestock” (Sultanov, 2001: 237). Gaverdovsky noted the enduring impact of these laws on future generations, emphasizing, “he (Tauke – O.K.) directed that they be ingrained in children from an early age, ensuring their preservation for posterity through oral transmission. Tauke Khan ensured the inclusion of hunting and sports in his regulations, viewing them as shared pleasures, and he extended this activity to include women as well” (Abdykalykov, Pankratova, 1943: 391).

The Kazakhs referred to his era as the most blissful in the life of nomadic society, saying, “Qoy üstinde boztorğai zhумыrtqalağan zaman” (Birds laid eggs on the back of a sheep). G. I. Spassky noted: “Throughout the time of Tauke Khan, these principles were upheld without infringement, ensuring justice prevailed, and tranquility reigned among the people” (Spassky, 2011:40).

The combined Kazakh-Kyrgyz-Karakalpak troops inflicted significant blows on the invaders. This measure somewhat stopped the periodic raids of the Dzungars on the territory of the Kazakh Khanate: “To safeguard the nation's territorial integrity and uphold the inviolability of its borders, Khan Tauke pursued a successful and strategic foreign policy. He succeeded in subjugating and forming a military alliance with the affiliated Alatau Kyrgyz and the Aral Karakalpaks” (Erofeeva, 2014: 80). Tauke upheld harmonious relations with Bukhara, characterized by a notable absence of severe confrontations during his rule. It seems that the Bukharans were astute in recognizing that “if the Kazakhs were to face defeat in a conflict with the turbulent Dzungars, the latter might redirect their attention toward Bukhara. Consequently, peaceful trade prevailed between these neighboring Muslim states, with regular diplomatic exchanges taking place” (Abdykalykov, Pankratova, 1943: 111).

Simultaneously, Tauke navigated challenging relations with Dzungaria. Periods of peace were frequently punctuated by military conflicts and reciprocal raids. For instance,



“between 1681 and 1684, the Dzungars laid waste to the southern Kazakhstan territory. Faced with these external threats, efforts were made to establish unified forces, leading to the consolidation of most Kazakh tribes into a military alliance under the leadership of Khan Tauke by the close of the XVIIth century” (Hostler, 2006: 67). In 1688, Tauke orchestrated a series of campaigns against Galdan Tseren, dealing substantial blows and reclaiming the city of Tashkent from his control (Erofeeva, 2014: 80). These relations “became particularly tense during the rule of Khuntaiji Tsevan Rabdan” (Abuseitova, 2020: 160). Hence, “a considerable portion of his (Tauke's) lengthy life was dedicated to conflicts with the Dzungars” (O drevnikh soyuzakh kirgiz-kaysakov, 1886: 111).

In 1698, the interaction between the Kazakhs and the Dzungars took a particularly challenging turn: “During this time, Tauke Khan received an embassy from his adversaries at his headquarters, escorted by 500 armed individuals. Subsequently, he ordered the execution of all the ambassadors and their armed entourage, leading to a renewed escalation in relations between the two nomadic states. In response, Tsevan Rabdan launched an invasion into the territory of Kazakh nomads” (Grousse, 2005: 297).

On May 29, 1698, addressing the Emperor of Qing China Kangxi in a letter, the Dzungar ruler Tsevan-Rabdan expressed the ongoing escalation of tensions with the Kazakhs: “Your humble servant is still unable to bring an end to the conflict with the Kazakhs”. The historical records also mention the abduction of Tauke's son. In the past, Galdan Tseren, Tauke's father, had captured Tauke and sent him to the Dalai Lama. Subsequently, responding to the Kazakhs' appeal, the Dzungars released him from captivity along with a retinue of 500 individuals. However, contrary to expectations, Tauke, as narrated by the huntaiji, “instead killed all 500 people, ... also pillaged and took over 100 Uriankhians along with their families into captivity” (Sbornik dokumentov i materialov, 2015: 45). Henceforth, relentless conflicts flared up between “Tauke and the Dzungars, marking the onset of persistent and intense Kazakh-Dzungar wars that persisted throughout the subsequent years, including 1698–1703, 1708, 1709–1710, 1712, and beyond” (Erofeeva, 2014: 81).

In the initial years of Tauke's rule, he navigated a complex relationship with the Moscow tsars, as he perceived Moscow's military expansion into the Kazakh steppe. The construction of a line of new fortresses by the Russians understandably raised concerns for the burgeoning steppe ruler. Consequently, he undertook preemptive military campaigns against Russian fortresses and settlements. For instance, “between 1680–82, he conducted several military raids towards the Tarkhansky fort, Utyatskaya, and Yalutorovskaya settlements. In response to these circumstances, the Moscow state dispatched ambassadors led by F. Skibin to engage with the khan. However, the envoy was detained by Tauke in Turkestan, although he eventually managed to return to Russia via Bukhara. Recognizing the challenges of simultaneous military engagements on two fronts, especially with the Dzungars, Tauke Khan transitioned to a peaceful mode of communication with Moscow” (Abdykalykov, Pankratova, 1943: 111).

According to later archival documents, Tauke Khan made distinct efforts to establish peaceful trade relations with the Moscow tsars. This is evident in one of his letters to Russian Tsar Ivan V, dated May 1687, where he expressed a desire for amicable relations: “There must be good relations between us; currently, our subjects seek peace, and ambassadors and merchants travel among us; maintaining good relations will be beneficial for both parties without resorting to hostilities.” (Erofeeva, 2014: 82–83). Certainly, efforts were made on both sides to mend the strained relationship: “In 1691, Khan Tauke dispatched two embassies to Tobolsk and Moscow. Simultaneously, the Tsarist administration, through the Siberian rulers, sent a reciprocal embassy to him in July 1692, comprising Andrey Nepripasov, Vasily Kobayakov, and translator Shamanaev” (Istoriya Kazakhskoy SSR, 1979: 297–298).



Despite diplomatic exchanges, border conflicts persisted. During these conflicts, subjects of Tauke Khan were often captured by the Russians, prompting him to send letters requesting their release. In response, he himself detained Russian envoys with the intention of exchanging them for his people. For instance, on October 4, 1693, he penned a letter to the “white tsar,” urging the release of his batyr Kildey in exchange for the Tobolsk envoys he had detained: “Our request... let Murza Kildey go... Murza Kildeev’s relatives to our Majesty are beating about him brow, so as not to let the Russian envoys leave here, and that’s why we detained the Tobolsk envoys...” (Erofeeva, 2014: 86). The inventories of Siberian archival funds collected by Miller contain records from 1693, indicating the dispatch of gunpowder and lead to the Yalutorovskaya settlement. This was prompted by the inhabitants being “under siege in that settlement from the Cossack Horde. During this time, there were instances of prisoners and casualties, along with the theft of both ordinary and Cossack cattle by Kazakh detachments. In the spring of 1695, the Kazakhs and Bashkirs expressed their intent to march towards the Tobolsk settlement for war” (Miller, 1993: 181–182).

As we can observe, the situation of the Russian government in Western Siberia at that time was not entirely calm: “not only were the Kazakhs posing a threat to the Russian fortified lines, but also the Bashkirs and Dzungars. There was also a risk of their joint actions. According to Siberian explorer Remezov in 1700, the Tyukalinskaya volost also originated from the Cossack Horde and engaged in warfare” (Remezov, 1882: 5). As Russian ambassadors D. Troshin, F. Skibin, and V. Kobekov, dispatched to persuade Khan Tauke to cease raids on Russian cities and settlements, “conveyed upon their return from Kazakh captivity, they reported that many of the elders surrounding Tauke were in favor of continuing the raids” (Vyatkin, 2005: 245).

These circumstances led to some disarray in the government. On the Kazakh side, a more organized character began to emerge, and it was evident that Khan Tauke himself was likely leading these actions. Consequently, the Tsarist authorities were compelled to take all necessary measures to restrain this steppe ruler when diplomatic efforts proved ineffective. In such a situation, the Siberian authorities resorted to a straightforward solution – paying off the khan. For instance, “on January 10, 1694, Russian rulers Ivan Alekseevich and Pyotr Alekseevich instructed the chief steward Andrei Fedorovich Naryshkin to “release Murza (presumably a Tatar – O.K) to Tevki Khan, provide him with a salary as a gift of goodwill, and declare an assurance of non-hostility from him” (Miller, 1993: 174).

In response to Kazakh attacks, the Siberian administration “occasionally took unpopular measures, such as detaining Kazakh ambassadors. This occurred in 1690 with influential ambassadors from Khan Tauke, Sarah, and Kildey” (Istoriya Kazakhskoy SSR, 1979: 297–298). During Khan Tauke's rule, trade flourished with the Russians: “Towards the close of the XVIIth century, Russians engaged in the purchase of salt from Kazakhs and Kalmyks near Lake Yamyshevskoye” (Istoriya Kazakhskoy SSR, 1957: 228).

Following the events mentioned above, the political power of Tauke Khan waned, marking the onset of the decline of the Kazakh Khanate. In the final years of the Khan's rule, the Dzungar threat intensified significantly, coinciding with the onset of the Kazakh Khanate's weakening. By 1713, I. Kirillov described this challenging situation: “If all the Kazakh hordes had united, they could have overcome the Kalmyks. However, with different khans going to war independently and others withdrawing, the Kalmyks manage to diminish their impact.” (Istoriya Kazakhskoy SSR, 1979: 16). In the latter years of his life, “the Khan refrained from participating in military campaigns due to his advanced age and declining health. In 1715, Tauke Khan passed away in his capital, Turkestan, where he was laid to rest” (Kasymbaev, 1999: 14). Researcher T. Sultanov writes that “Tauke was among the final khans whose authority spanned across the entire expanse of the Kazakh steppe” (Sultanov, 2001: 228).



The advent of new rulers stirred discontent among sultan groups unable to seize power, igniting a struggle for supremacy in the Great Steppe. This triggered a crisis in traditional Kazakh society, undermining its age-old state foundations. Connections between tribes, tribes, and zhuzes weakened significantly, and old civil strife resurfaced. In each Kazakh zhuz, one after another, emerged the so-called “small khans” (kaz. “kelte khan” – O.K.). A. I. Levshin extensively documented the onset of the decline of the once-mighty Kazakh Khanate: “The peaceful life restored by Tyavka (Tauke) did not endure for long among the Kirghiz-Kaisaks (Kazakhs – O.K.). Soon, civil strife rekindled, and neighboring peoples were quick to exploit the situation. The Volga Kalmyks initiated attacks from the west, while the Bashkirs and Siberian Cossacks posed threats from the north. Most formidable of all were the Dzungars from the east, led by the formidable hontaiji Galdan Tsyren (Cheren). He not only instilled fear among all his nomadic neighbors but also attracted the attention of both Russia and China. The Volga Kalmyks, Bashkirs, and Siberian Cossacks intensified their attacks on the Kazakhs more than ever. Galdan Cheren could not stand idly by witnessing the potential demise of the ancient enemies of his people. He sought retribution for the troubles and insults endured by his ancestors for over a century” (Levshin, 1996: 165–167).

The weakening of the khan and his eventual death not only presented an opportunity for the Dzungarian state but also for the Russian Empire. Immediately following Khan Tauke's demise, the Russian Empire engaged in activities in the border regions of Kazakhstan with a focus on expediting military intelligence actions. These actions were coupled with the construction of a chain of military fortifications on the former Kazakh nomadic camps: “In the period from 1716 to 1720, a series of military fortresses emerged on the right bank of the Irtysh, including Omsk, Cherlak, Zhelezinsk, Yamyshevsk, Semipalatinsk, Ust-Kamenogorsk, and others. Subsequently, smaller fortifications like redoubts and outposts were erected between them. To facilitate the unhindered construction of these fortresses, the Russian Empire sought to exploit the tensions between two opposing nomadic powers. Historian P.A. Slotsov noted, “During 1716, Captain Gagarin, rectifying his mistake, corresponded with the centurion Cheredov, stating that the fortification of Yamyshevskoye was initiated to safeguard against attacks from the Kirghiz-Kaisaks (Kazakhs – O.K.), who, in the meantime, were instigated to assail the Dzungars” (Slotsov, 1886: 225).

The sentiments expressed by G.E. Katanaev, the official historian of the Siberian Cossack army, affirm the strategy implemented by Gagarin: “Gagarin based the success of his planned advance to the upper reaches of the Irtysh on the simultaneous weakening and conflict among the warring peoples.” (Katanaev, 2007: 163).

Tauke Khan, lived a long and vibrant life, steering the united Kazakh Khanate for nearly 35 years. His rule was characterized by an active domestic and foreign policy. The era witnessed numerous conflicts with the Dzungars and an attempt to halt the northern military expansion of the Russian Empire into the Kazakh Khanate. Khan Tauke's demise left the Kazakhs somewhat unprepared for the establishment of Russian military fortifications and fending off a renewed wave of external aggression. The core principles of Tauke Khan's foreign and internal policies revolved around unity, governance, and protection of territorial integrity:

Unity and Integration: Tauke Khan prioritized the unity and integration of Kazakh society. He enacted laws such as the “Zheti Zhargy” to consolidate the various Kazakh tribes and promote a sense of cohesion among the population. This internal unity formed the foundation for stability and strength in the face of external challenges.

Centralized Authority: Centralization of power was a key aspect of Tauke Khan's internal policy. Establishing Turkestan as the headquarters symbolized his centralized authority, allowing for effective governance and administration across the vast territories of the Kazakh Khanate.



Territorial Integrity: Tauke Khan was committed to safeguarding the territorial integrity of the Kazakh Khanate. He pursued diplomatic and military strategies to protect the borders of the Khanate from external threats, ensuring the preservation of its lands and resources.

Effective Foreign Policy: Tauke Khan pursued an effective foreign policy aimed at securing alliances, managing conflicts, and safeguarding the interests of the Kazakh Khanate on the international stage. This involved diplomatic negotiations, military alliances, and strategic positioning to maintain the Khanate's sovereignty and independence.

Defense and Security: Tauke Khan prioritized the defense and security of the Kazakh Khanate against external aggression. He organized and mobilized a unified armed force comprising Kazakh warriors to defend the borders and repel incursions from neighboring powers.

Overall, Tauke Khan's foreign and internal policies were guided by principles of unity, centralized governance, territorial integrity, effective diplomacy, and defense, all aimed at ensuring the stability, prosperity, and sovereignty of the Kazakh Khanate.

Conclusion. Tauke Khan, a prominent leader in Kazakh history, implemented policies that left a lasting impact on both internal governance and foreign relations. His era is often regarded as one of the most significant periods in the Kazakh Khanate. Additionally, the introduction of the “Zheti Zhargy” law during his reign played a crucial role in shaping Kazakh society.

Internal Policies: During Tauke Khan's governance, internal unity became a cornerstone of the Kazakh Khanate. This unity was instrumental in holding a vast territory that extended from the north to the Russian city of Tara, south to Tashkent, west to the Edil (Volga), and east to the Ob-Irtysh interfluve. The holy city of Turkestan served as the headquarters of Tauke Khan, symbolizing the centralized power. Under Tauke Khan, not only traditional cattle breeding but also agriculture actively developed. This diversification of economic activities contributed to the prosperity of the Kazakh people. The Khan's headquarters, as described by the Russian ambassador V. Kobyakov, produced abundant crops such as wheat, barley, millet, winter grains, and spring crops. The governance structure under Tauke Khan saw an expansion of the powers of the biys, whose decisions held binding force. The Khan successfully implemented a system that involved elders from different hordes, promoting a sense of collective decision-making and unity.

Zheti Zhargy: Tauke Khan's legacy is also closely tied to the creation of the “Zheti Zhargy” a set of laws that played a pivotal role in regulating various aspects of Kazakh society. Although the complete written version of Zheti Zhargy hasn't been preserved, its oral transmission through generations highlights its significance. Compiled by biys from three zhuzes – Tole, Kazybek, and Aiteke – Zheti Zhargy covered administrative and legal norms. It centralized supreme power in the Khanate within the hands of the senior khan, who governed through influential sultans and elders. The law emphasized the importance of collective decision-making, bringing together the khan, sultans, elders, and tribe rulers for discussions on public affairs. Zheti Zhargy addressed diverse issues, including land use, criminal matters, family and marriage regulations, property, and military affairs. The laws reflected the values and norms of Kazakh society during that era.

Foreign Policy: To ensure the territorial integrity of the Kazakh Khanate and protect its borders, Tauke Khan pursued an effective foreign policy. He managed to subjugate and form a military alliance with related groups like the Alatau Kyrgyz and the Aral Karakalpaks. Maintaining peaceful relations with Bukhara, Tauke Khan focused on trade and diplomacy rather than harsh confrontation. However, the relationship with Dzungaria, to the east, was marked by periods of conflict and raids. External threats, particularly from the Dzungars, prompted the creation of united troops, leading to a military alliance among most Kazakh tribes by the end of the XVIIth century.



Despite Tauke Khan's successful foreign policy and contributions to internal unity, challenges arose, especially in dealing with the Dzungar threat. Tensions escalated, leading to wars and conflicts that persisted beyond Tauke Khan's reign. The decline of Tauke Khan's power in the later years marked the beginning of a challenging period for the Kazakh Khanate. Tauke Khan's death in 1715 left the Kazakhs less prepared to face external threats, contributing to disunity and fragmentation, especially during the "Great Disaster" in subsequent years.

In summary, Tauke Khan's reign was characterized by efforts to unify the Kazakh Khanate, implement effective governance structures, and navigate complex foreign relations. The legacy of Zheti Zhargy endured as a significant legal framework that reflected the societal values of the time.

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