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The Kazakh Khanate

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Summary and Keywords

The Kazakh Khanate was a Chinggisid nomadic state that ruled the eastern Qipchaq Steppe (*Dasht-i Qipchāq*), a steppe zone that roughly corresponds to modern-day Kazakhstan, during the post-Mongol period as one of the most important successor states of the Mongol Empire and the last reigning dynasty of the Chinggisids. The Kazakh Khanate branched off from the Ulus of Jochi, whose people (*ulus*) were called *Uzbek*s in 15th-century Central Asia. The Kazakh Khanate was founded by the Uzbeks led by Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan, two Jochid princes who sometime in the 1450s had broken away from Abū al-Khair Khan, the Jochid ruler of the eastern Qipchaq Steppe. In the 16th century, like other Chinggisid states such as the Crimean Khanate, the Northern Yuan, and the Shibanid Uzbek Khanate that emerged as regional empires in the territories of the former Mongol Empire, the Kazakh Khanate was transformed into a nomadic empire. During the reigns of Qāsim Khan (r. *c*. 1512–1521) and his successors Ḥaqq Naẓar Khan (r. *c*. 1538–1581) and Tawakkul Khan (r. *c*. 1582–1598), the Kazakh Khanate expanded westward to reach the Yayïq (Ural) River and eastward the Tienshan Mountains. The Kazakh Khanate entered a period of sharp decline at the turn of the 18th century due to the Zunghar Oirat onslaught. As a result, the Kazakh khans and sultans became nominal vassals of the Russian Empire and the Manchu Qing Dynasty. The Kazakh Khanate was annexed by the Russian Empire in the early 19th century, which brought to an end the six-centuries-long reign of the Chinggisids.

Keywords: Kazakh Khanate, Kazakhs, Qazaqs, Chinggisids, Mongol Empire, Ulus of Jochi/Jochid Ulus, Uzbeks, Qipchaq Steppe, Jüz

The Origins of the Kazakhs and the Kazakh Khanate

The Kazakh Khanate was a successor state of the left, or eastern, wing of the Ulus of Jochi, better known as the Golden Horde. The Jochid Ulus was a western Mongolstate founded in the mid-13th century following the Mongol conquest of the Qipchaq Steppe and the Rus' principalities, ruled by the heirs of Jochi (*d*. 1227), Chinggis Khan's eldest son. While the western half of the Jochid Ulus formed the patrimony of Jochi's second son

Batu, who was also recognized as the ruler of the whole Jochid Ulus, its eastern half that roughly corresponds to modern-day Kazakhstan formed the *ulus* (people or state in Mongolian) of Jochi's eldest son Orda. The patrimony of Orda was referred to by contemporaries as the"Ulus of Orda" (*ulūs-i Orda*).[1] It was also known as the *Kök-Orda*, or the Blue Horde, while Batu's *ulus* was known as *Aq Orda*, or the White Horde.[2] When Batu's lineage became extinct in 1359–1360, a century-long internecine struggle broke out among the Jochid princes. By the early 1360s, the line of Orda had also lost its prominence inthe Ulus of Orda, and the descendants of Jochi's thirteenth son, Toqay-Timur, obtained supremacy in the eastern Qipchaq Steppe. As a result, the Jochid Ulus disintegrated into several successor states over the course of a century: the Great Horde; the Crimean, Kazan, and Astrakhan khanates; and the Manghit *ulus* (Noghay Horde) in the western and central Jochid realms and the Kazakh Khanate in the eastern Jochid realm.[3]

In 15th-century Central Asia, the nomads of the Jochid Ulus, including those who founded the Kazakh Khanate, were collectively called *Uzbek*s due to their conversion to Islam under Uzbek Khan (r. 1313–1341). These *Uzbek*s (also called *Tatar*s by the Muscovites and Ottomans) arose from the merging of the Mongols and various Turkic groups in the 13th and 14th centuries in the Mongol states of the Qipchaq Steppe.[4] It was from this Jochid/Uzbek *ulus* (people) that the Kazakh identity emerged when the nomads of the eastern Qipchaq Steppe became divided into the Kazakhs and the Shibanid Uzbeks at the turn of the 16th century.[5] Seen from a broader perspective, the Kazakhs belonged to the Chinggisid *ulus*es, others being the Shibanid Uzbeks, Crimean Tatars, Manghits/Noghays, and Chaghatays (Moghuls and Timurids), who shared a common language (Turkic), political ideology (based on Mongol traditions), royal lineage (Chinggisid related), ethnic identity ("Mongol Turks" [*Turk-i mughūl*]), and religion (Sunni Islam), and who still dominated much of the vast region stretching from the Crimea in the west to the Tien Shan Mountains in the east, and from southern Siberia in the north to northern India in the south during the post-Mongol period.[6]

The Formation of the Kazakh Khanate

During a century-long internecine struggle among the Jochid princes, the eastern wing of the Ulus of Jochi became the birthplace of some energetic leaders who gained control of both halves of the Qipchaq Steppe. The first such leader was Urus Khan (r. *c*. 1368–1377), a descendant of Jochi's thirteenth son, Toqay-Timur.[7] After ascending the throne of the Ulus of Orda, Urus Khan led a major expedition through the Volga region and by 1374 united the right and left wings of the Jochid Ulus, becoming the first Jochid prince from the left wing to occupy the throne of the Ulus of Jochi. After his death, Toqtamïsh (r. 1378–1395), another descendant of Toqay-Timur, took the throne, overthrowing Urus Khan's son and successor Malik Temür in 1377. Toqtamïsh Khan also led an expedition against the western wing of the Jochid Ulus and re-subjugated Muscovy, gaining full control of the Ulus of Jochi. After the downfall of Toqtamïsh Khan following his war against Temür, Temür Qutluq Khan (d. 1400) and his Manghit *amīr* Edigü (d. 1419) took power in the Jochid Ulus. However, both halves of the Jochid Ulus were soon plunged into a succes-

sion struggle again, and the winner of this strife in the eastern Qipchaq Steppe was Barāq Khan (d. 1428), a grandson of Urus Khan. Barāq Khan seized the throne of the Jochid Ulus around 1424–1425 by defeating and ousting Ulugh Muḥammad (d. 1445), the future founder of the Kazan Khanate. In 1427, Barāq Khan clashed with the Timurids over the ownership of Sighnaq and soundly defeated the Timurid army led by Temür's grandson Ulugh Beg. After the death of Barāq Khan, Abū al-Khair Khan (r. 1428–1468), a descendant of Shībān, the fifth son of Jochi, became the ruler of the eastern Qipchaq Steppe. He was elected khan in 1428 and, by the mid-15th century, had united the nomads of the eastern wing of the Jochid Ulus with his capital at Sighnaq. (His previous capitals were Chimgi-Tura and Ordu Bazar.)

The Kazakh Khanate was founded by two great-grandsons of Urus Khan, Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan, who had broken away from Abū al-Khair Khan sometime in the 1450s.[8] According to Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Abū al-Khair Khan "wanted to eliminate, with complete farsightedness, any prince of the Jochid line from whom he smelled the scent of rebellion."[9] Under such circumstances, Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan fled their state with their followers and sought refuge with Esen Buqa Khan (d. 1462), the ruler of the Moghul Khanate, the eastern branch of the Chaghatayid Khanate. Esen Buqa Khan assigned them the pastureland around the Chu River.

Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan and their followers became known as *qazaq* Uzbeks. The term *qazaq* denoted "fugitive," "freebooter," or "vagabond" in Turkic in post-Mongol Central Asia and was attached to them since they had separated themselves from their own people, the Uzbek *ulus*, and lived the life of vagabondage and brigandage in the frontier regions. Over time, the designation of the Jochid/Uzbek *ulus* led by Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan and their heirs changed from "*qazaq* Uzbeks" to "Qazaqs (Kazakhs)," while that of the Jochid/Uzbek *ulus* led by Abū al-Khair Khan's descendants became "Shibanid Uzbeks" or "Uzbeks."[10]

After Abū al-Khair Khan's death in 1468, the *qazaq* Uzbeks led by Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan became the dominant force in the eastern Qipchaq Steppe. When the old enemies of Abū al-Khair Khan, including Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan, attacked and killed Abū al-Khair Khan's son and successor, Shaikh Ḥaidar, a succession struggle ensued, in which the two *qazaq* leaders, who provided stability in the midst of political turmoil, drew under their banners a great number of Uzbek nomads who were seeking a safe refuge. As a result, Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan were able to re-establish the rule of the Urusid line in the former domain of their great-grandfather Urus Khan in the 1470s.

After the deaths of Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan, the latter's son Burūndūq Khan (r. *c*. 1473/1474–1511) inherited the throne, while the former's son Qāsim (r. 1512–1521) acted as a junior co-ruler.[11] These two leaders led the *qazaq* Uzbeks/Kazakhs against the Abū al-Khairids, among whom was Muḥammad Shībānī Khan (r. 1500–1510), a grandsonof Abū al-Khair Khan. Burūndūq Khan and the sons of Jānībeg Khan repeatedly attacked Shībānī Khan while he lived the life of a political vagabond and also after he was given the town of Otrar by the Moghul ruler Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khan (r. 1487–1508) sometime after 1488.

However, although Burūndūq Khan succeeded in keeping Shībānī Khan out of the Qipchaq Steppe, he failed to eliminate the latter. In 1500, Burūndūq Khan concluded a truce with Shībānī Khan, which included marriage alliances. Shībānī Khan then rallied the scattered followers of Abū al-Khair Khan and embarked on the conquest of the Timurid states of Transoxiana and Khorasan when a succession struggle was underway among the Timurid princes. In the course of seven years, Shībānī Khan and his followers, referred to in the sources as Shibanid Uzbeks, took Samarqand, Bukhara, Khorezm, and Khorasan from the Timurids, and also Tashkent and Ferghana from the Moghuls, thus reviving the Abū al-Khairid dynasty. Despite their truce, the Kazakhs resumed their offensive and repeatedly raided the territories of Shībānī Khan in Transoxiana. Shībānī Khan, now the most powerful ruler in Central Asia, thus undertook a number of punitive expeditions against the Kazakhs but with no lasting result. And in 1510, Qāsim severely defeated a large Uzbek expeditionary force, which, in part, contributed to the downfall of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan.[12]

The Heyday and Decline of the Kazakh Khanate

In the 16th century, several Chinggisid states simultaneously emerged as regional empires in the territories of the former Mongol Empire; in the western end of the Qipchaq Steppe, the Crimean Khanate, which exacted tribute from Muscovy, Lithuania, and Poland; on the Mongolian Plateau, the Northern Yuan, which posed a serious threat to the northern borders of the Chinese Ming Dynasty; and in the Central Asian oases, the Shibanid Uzbek Khanate, which menaced the northeastern borders of the Safavids.[13]

The Kazakh Khanate was also transformed into a nomadic empire in the early 16th century during the reign of Qāsim Khan (r. *c*. 1512–1521). Under him the Kazakh Khanate expanded westward to reach the Yayïq (Ural) River and eastward to reach the Tienshan Mountains. In the west, the Kazakhs pushed the Manghits (Noghays), who had occupied the central Qipchaq Steppe, further west and, in the east, they ousted the Moghuls from the Jetisu (Semirechye in Russian) region.[14] The Kazakhs also occupied some areas on the right bank of the Syr Darya, including Sairam. Accordingly, Qāsim Khan was described by Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt as the most powerful ruler of the Qipchaq Steppe or the Jochid Ulus since the reign of Jochi Khan, possessing an army numbering over one million men.[15] After the death of Qāsim Khan around 1521, however, the Kazakh Khanate experienced a sharp decline during the reigns of his son Mamāsh Khan (d. *c*. 1521/1522) and the two sons of his brother Adīq Sulṭan, Tāhir Khan and Buydāsh Khan. Mamāsh Khan died in battle and Tāhir Khan alienated most of his followers and was deserted by them.[16] The Manghits then reoccupied the Qipchaq Steppe.[17] After the reign of Buydāsh Khan, the Kazakhs became so divided and weakened that Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt remarked that after the year 940 (1533–1534), “the Kazakhs became totally uprooted.”[18]

The Kazakh Khanate regained supremacy over the eastern Qipchaq Steppe during the reign of Qāsim Khan’s son Ḥaqq Naẓar (r. *c*. 1538–1581), prevailing over the Manghits. The Kazakhs inflicted several severe blows on the Manghits. For instance, in 1557, the

Kazakhs captured the brothers and relatives of the Manghit leader Ismāʿīl and by 1569, Ḥaqq Naẓar and twenty other princes raided the Manghits.[19] As a result, the Manghit nomads residing to the east of the Yayïq (Ural) River were incorporated into the Kazakh state. The Kazakhs also attempted to seize Tashkent from the Shibanid Uzbeks. The 16th-century English traveler Anthony Jenkinson, who visited Bukhara in 1558, noted that the Kazakhs were constantly raiding the city.[20] Ḥaqq Naẓar also became involved in the feud between two Abū al-Khairid rulers, ʿAbdallāh, who since 1561 had been the *de facto* ruler of the appanage of Bukhara, and Bābā Sulṭān, the governor of Tashkent and son of the former Abū al-Khairid khan Naurūz Aḥmad (r. 1552–1556). At first, the Kazakhs sided with Bābā Sulṭān but later switched sides and supported ʿAbdallāh. Ḥaqq Naẓar Khan and several other Kazakh sultans (princes) conspired against Bābā Sulṭān, but they were counterattacked and defeated by the latter. Ḥaqq Naẓar Khan died in flight.

Shighāi (r. 1581–1582), a son of Adīq Sulṭan and grandson of Jānībeg Khan who succeeded Ḥaqq Naẓar Khan in *c*. 1581, also aided ʿAbdallāh in his war with Bābā Sulṭān. Shighāi went to Bukhara with his son Tawakkul and swore allegiance to ʿAbdallāh. Then the two led the vanguard of ʿAbdallāh's army when the latter campaigned against Bābā Sulṭān in 1582. Tawakkul caught up with Bābā Sulṭān, who was in flight, and killed him. Tawakkul was greatly rewarded by ʿAbdallāh, but their relationship soon soured after Tawakkul executed Bābā Sulṭān's son without ʿAbdallāh's permission. After Tawakkul Khan (r. *c*. 1582–1598) succeeded his father, the time of whose death is unknown, he decided to challenge ʿAbdallāh, who was becoming the most powerful ruler in the eastern Islamic world in the late 16th century.[21] By 1582, ʿAbdallāh had subdued all the other Abū al-Khairid rival sultans and in 1583 became khan when his father Iskandar died. From then on ʿAbdallāh Khan II (r. 1583–1598) conquered neighboring territories, capturing Badakhshān from the Timurid Mughals under Akbar (r. 1556–1605) in 1584, and Khorasan from the Safavids under Shāh ʿAbbās I (r. 1588–1629) by 1589. Khorezm was also annexed to his empire in 1594–1595. When ʿAbdallāh Khan II's son ʿAbd al-Muʾmin revolted against his father in 1597, Tawakkul Khan invaded Tashkent and defeated the Uzbek troops sent for relief. ʿAbdallāh Khan II himself led an army to repel Tawakkul but the latter retreated to the steppe and ʿAbdallāh Khan II died before confronting the enemy. Tawakkul Khan and his brother Īshīm invaded Transoxiana again when ʿAbd al-Muʾmin was assassinated after a short reign in 1598. The Kazakhs seized Tashkent, Turkistan, Andijan, and Samarqand but failed to take the Uzbek capital Bukhara. The Kazakhs were also defeated in the ensuing battles against the Uzbeks, one of whose leaders was Bāqī Muḥammad (r. 1603–1605), the de facto founder of the Toqay-Timurid dynasty, also known as the Astrakhanids, in the Uzbek Khanate. Tawakkul Khan retreated to Tashkent but soon succumbed to his injuries.

Īshīm Khan (r. 1598–1628), who succeeded his brother, concluded a truce with Bāqī Muḥammad, according to which the Uzbeks accepted the Kazakh claim to Tashkent, while he acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the latter. However, during his reign, the Kazakhs clashed with the Uzbeks several times over the ownership of Tashkent and other cities along the Syr Darya. Īshīm Khan also had to share his power with other contenders to the throne during most of his reign. He ruled from Turkistan (Yasī), while other Kazakh

sultans, including Tursūn Muḥammad Sulṭān, the governor of Tashkent, acted as independent rulers.[22] By the end of his reign in *c*. 1627, Īshīm Khan defeated Tursūn Muḥammad Sulṭān and annexed Tashkent.

Īshīm Khan was succeeded by Jahāngīr Khan (r. *c*. 1629/1630–1652), during whose reign the Kazakh Khanate began to decline. In 1635, Imām Qulī (r. 1611–1641), the Toqay-Timurid Uzbek ruler, invaded the Kazakh steppes after his son had been killed in a rebellion involving some Kazakh sultans. As a result, Tashkent was lost to the Uzbeks. However, the two khanates were not always at war. The two sides concluded a marriage alliance in 1642, according to which Jahāngīr Khan's daughter married Imām Qulī's younger brother Nādir Muḥammad (r. 1641–1645 and 1645–1651). The Kazakhs then fought on the Uzbek side and repulsed the Kirghiz, who had invaded Andijan. Jahāngīr Khan also aided the Uzbeks when the Timurid Mughals invaded the southern Uzbek province of Balkh in 1646–1647 in order to reassert Timurid authority over Transoxiana, the Timurids' ancestral homeland. In alliance with the Kazakhs, the Uzbeks led by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 1645–1681), son of Nādir Muḥammad, succeeded in driving out the Mughal army led by Prince Aurangzīb (r. 1659–1707), from the Balkh province.[23]

From the mid-17th century onward, the greatest threat to the khanate came from the Oirats, a Mongolic-speaking people, who, under Esen Taishi (r. 1439–1455), had established a formidable nomadic empire.[24] In the 16th century when the Chinggisid Kazakhs and Mongols were enjoying their heyday, the Oirats did not pose a great threat to their Chinggisid neighbors. However, in the second half of the 17th century, the Oirats rose to power again and became the most powerful nomadic horsemen in the steppes of Inner Asia, creating the Zunghar Empire. In 1643, Jahāngīr Khan was able to defeat the Zunghar Oirats with the help of the Uzbeks when his men equipped with firearms could inflict heavy casualties on their invaders. However, this was no more than a temporary setback to the Zunghar Oirats. Earlier in 1634–1635, the Zunghar Oirats had captured Jahāngīr Khan himself in battle and, on another campaign in 1646, they captured his wife and children.

Tauke Khan (r. c. 1652–1715) succeeded his father Jahāngīr Khan, who had probably fallen in battle with the Zunghars. During his reign, the new Zunghar ruler Galdan Bošugtu (r. 1671–1697), after conquering the Moghul Khanate in East Turkistan in 1680, began a series of raids on the Kazakh territories, even capturing Tauke Khan's son. In 1684, the Zunghar Oirats captured Tashkent and Sairam. However, under Tauke Khan the Kazakhs were able to maintain unity against their enemy and also rebuild the destroyed urban centers on the Syr Darya. During his reign, Tauke Khan maintained a good relationship with the Uzbeks, exchanged envoys with Russia, and sent raiding parties against the Bashkirs. However, Tauke Khan is best known for promulgating the code of laws called *jeti Jarghy* (the seven charters). According to the 19th-century Russian ethnographer Aleksei I. Levshin, the Kazakhs remembered him as a ruler who brought peace and unity to the Kazakhs and gave them the law.[25]

The Downfall of the Kazakh Khanate

The Chinggisid states that had reached their apogee during the 16th century all entered a period of sharp decline at the turn of the 18th century. In 1736, the capital of the Crimean Khanate was, for the first time, plundered and burnt by the troops of Russia, which had become a major European empire under Peter the Great. A few years later, in 1740, the Uzbek states in Transoxiana and Khorezm/Khiva were subjugated by the Turkmen conqueror Nādir Shāh (r. 1736–1747), who had overthrown the Safavids and subjugated the Mughals.[26] Earlier in the late 17th century, the Northern Yuan Mongols, being unable to resist the Zunghar Oirats, had submitted to the Manchus, who had conquered the Chinese Ming Dynasty in 1644.[27]

A similar fate was awaiting the Kazakh Khanate due to the Zunghar onslaught. While the Zunghar state was rising to power in the second half of the 17th century, the Kazakh state disintegrated into three *jüz*es, or hordes, each headed by its own khan: the Ulu Jüz (the Senior Horde); the Orta Jüz (the Middle Horde); and the Kishi Jüz (the Lesser or Junior Horde).[28] The Kazakhs were therefore unable to fight under a single command when the Zunghar Oirats led by Tsewang Rabtan (r. 1697–1727) began to conduct devastating campaigns against the former from 1723. The Kazakhs were severely defeated and had to flee to Uzbek Transoxiana and Khorezm and the Russian-held territories. This calamity is known as “the Bare-Footed Flight” (*ak taban shubyryndy*) in Kazakh history. As a result, the Kazakh khans and sultans had to seek military aid and protection from Russia and give their allegiance in return. Abū al-Khair Khan (r. 1710–1748), who had been elected khan of the Kishi Jüz (the Lesser or Junior Horde) in 1718, swore allegiance to Russia in 1730. Abulmambet Khan (r. 1733–1771) and Ablai (r. 1771–1780) of the Orta Jüz (the Middle Horde) followed suit in 1740. However, the Zunghar Oirats led by Galdan Tsering (r. 1727–1745) resumed their offensive in the same year. In the ensuing war, Ablai, the future khan of the Orta Jüz, was captured by the Zunghars and had to spend a year in captivity among them. Tsering treated Ablai with respect and even gave him his daughter in marriage. By contrast, the Russian government did not provide military support to its Kazakh “vassals” and just watched a considerable part of the Kazakh khanates become annexed by the Zunghar state.[29] What saved the Kazakhs from this calamity was the Manchu destruction of the Zunghar state in 1756–1757. When Tsering died in 1745, some Zunghar tribal leaders rebelled against their unpopular new ruler. Ablai supported these rebel leaders, who took power in the Zunghar state in 1752. However, following another internecine strife among the Zunghar leaders, one of whom asked the Qing emperor Qianlong (r. 1736–1795) for help, the Manchu army invaded the Zunghar state in 1756. In the same year, the Manchu army advanced to the Kazakh steppes in pursuit of some Zunghar fugitives and clashed with the Kazakhs, who had allied with the latter. The Kazakh khans and sultans, including Ablai, then chose to accept vassalage to the Manchu emperor.

Ablai became khan of the Orta Jüz after Abulmambet’s death in 1771. During his reign, Ablai Khan was able to establish himself as an autonomous ruler even though he was a vassal of the Manchu Qing and Russian empires. In 1755, he subdued the Kirghiz and in

1771 harried the Oirats (Kalmyks) who were remigrating from the lower Volga region to their old homeland, Zungharia. Ablai Khan also tried to exert his authority over all Kazakhs, but the Kishi Jüz was ruled by Abū al-Khair Khan's son Nuraly (Nūr ʿAlī) Khan (r. 1748–1790), who was supported by the Russian government.

In 1801, the Bukey Horde, also known as the Inner Horde, was formed when Russia allowed Nuraly Khan's son Sulṭān Bukey and his hordes from the Kishi Jüz to reside on the western side of the Ural. This autonomous khanate located north of the Caspian Sea was named after Sulṭān Bukey. After the death of Sulṭān Bukey, the Bukey Horde was headed by Shighāi Khan (r. 1819–1823) and Zhangir Khan (r. 1824–1845).

The Kazakh Khanate lost its sovereignty when the Russian Empire, which had, rather helplessly, watched its vassals succumb to the Zunghars first and then submit to the Manchus, became a major world power under Catherine the Great (r. 1762–1796) and abolished the Kazakh khanates between 1822 and 1848 (the Orta Jüz in 1822, the Kishi Jüz in 1824, the Bukey Horde in 1845, and part of the Ulu Jüz in 1848).[30] Thus came to an end the six-centuries-long reign of the Chinggisids.

Kazakh Society

In the Kazakh Khanate, the descendants of Chinggis Khan (r. 1206–1227) formed a class known as *aq süyek*, or the White Bone, which remained the ruling elite of Kazakh society until the mid-19th century. This group included the Kazakh khans, their sons (*sulṭān*s), and their descendants, all of whom were collectively called *töre*. The White Bone group later came to include the *sayyid*s and *khoja*s (*khvāja*s), who claimed descent from the Prophet Muḥammad and Muslim saints, respectively. The Kazakh commoners, meanwhile, formed the Black Bone class (*qara süyek*). The *biy*s, who served as military commanders, judges, and administrators, were selected from them.

The Kazakhs adhered to Sunni Islam. The Jochid ancestors of the Kazakhs were first converted to Islam under Uzbek Khan in the early 14th century. However, the early-16th-century history *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā* by Fażlallāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī relates that the Kazakhs followed some non-Muslim practices such as idol worshipping and selling Muslims into slavery.[31] In addition, it has been noted by Aleksei Levshin that most of the Kazakhs he encountered in early-19th-century Kazakhstan did not clearly identify themselves as Muslims.[32] Based on these statements, many modern scholars have argued that the Kazakhs were rather marginally Islamized and that they were reintroduced to Islam in the 19th century by Kazan Tatar missionaries supported by the Russian government. However, neither Khunjī nor Levshin can be accepted as authoritative sources on Kazakh religion, since they bring in a number of political and social biases.[33] It is now accepted that the Kazakhs were already Muslims at the time of the formation of the Kazakh Khanate and that they were not reintroduced into Islam in the 19th century.[34]

The Kazakh Khanate

At the turn of the 18th century and earlier, the Kazakhs were divided into three *jüz*es: the Ulu Jüz (the Senior Horde), centered in the Jetisu region (southeastern Kazakhstan); the Orta Jüz (the Middle Horde), occupying central Kazakhstan; and the Kishi Jüz (the Lesser or Junior Horde), located in western Kazakhstan, all of which were headed by the descendants of Jānībeg Khan. Traditionally, the Orta Jüz and the Kishi Jüz recognized the seniority of the Ulu Jüz. The origin of the three Kazakh *jüz*es is not documented and thus historians of the Kazakhs are not able to trace the origin of this tripartite division or to precisely date its formation. Varying dates have been proposed for its formation, ranging from the 15th century to the 17th century, but most specialists suggest that the Kazakh *jüz*es appeared in the 16th or early 17th century.[35]

The legend of Alash Khan is a Kazakh oral tradition that narrates the origin of the three Kazakh *jüz*es. Various versions have been collected by Russian and Kazakh ethnographers such as Grigoriy Nikolayevich Potanin, Chokan Valikhanov, Aleksei Levshin, and Nikolai Ivanovich Grodekov in the 19th century. According to this oral tradition, the Kazakhs came into existence as a new nomadic people when a group of fugitives elected Alash, an outcast prince, as their leader.[36] Although modern Kazakh historians do not look to the legend of Alash Khan to reconstruct Kazakh history, this oral tradition reflects two important events in pre-modern Kazakh history. First, the frontier freebooter origin of the Kazakhs: according to the legend of Alash Khan, the Kazakhs are descended from a group of frontier freebooters, which is in accordance with the fact that the Kazakhs indeed evolved from Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan's fugitive Uzbeks, who had broken away from their ruler Abū al-Khair Khan. Second, the division of the Kazakhs into the three *jüz*es: the legend of Alash Khan relates that the three sons of Alash Khan inherited their own hordes, which became the three Kazakh *jüz*es. Importantly, Ablai Khan viewed the three Kazakh *jüz*es as a political institution that came down from his ancestor Jānībeg Khan. In his letter to Emperor Qianlong, Ablai Khan stated, after briefly describing the three Kazakh *jüz*es, that "we all are the descendants of Jānībeg Khan's three sons (*biz Žäníbek hannyń üšūlynyń ūrpaǧymyz*)."[37]

Another Kazakh oral tradition that narrates the origin of the Kazakhs is "The Origin of Kazakhs" collected by Vasily Vasilievich Radlov in 1864. According to this legend, the first ruler of the Kazakhs was Chinggis Khan, whose mother gave birth to him after being impregnated by the sun's rays. Since each of his heirs was invited to rule China, the Ottoman Empire, the Caliphate, and Russia, respectively, the Kazakhs had to accept as their rulers the heirs of Chinggis Khan's half-brothers.[38] Chinggis Khan and his mother in this oral tradition are in fact reminiscent of Bodonchar and his mother Alan Qo'a, both of whom are presented as the progenitors of Chinggis Khan, in the *Secret History of the Mongols*.[39] After the death of her husband, according to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, Alan Qo'a was impregnated by a radiant being and gave birth to three sons, including Bodonchar, from whom Chinggis Khan was descended.

Discussion of the Literature

The pioneer in the study of the Kazakh Khanate was Ablai Khan's great-grandson Chokan Valikhanov (1835–1865), the father of Kazakh ethnography and historiography. Valikhanov viewed the Kazakh Khanate as one of the successor states of the Jochid Ulus. He maintained that the Kazakh Khanate was built by various Turkic and Mongol tribes that had constituted the Jochid Ulus and that it gave rise to the Kazakh nation.[40]

In Soviet Kazakhstan, historians offered a different approach to the study of the Kazakh Khanate. Official histories, such as the *Istoriya Kazakhskoy SSR* (The history of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic) published in Almaty in 1979, emphasizing the "autochthonous" development of Central Asian nationalities, asserted that the modern Kazakhs are descended from all the nomadic peoples such as the Saka (Scythians), Wusun, Xiongnu, Türks, and Qipchaqs that had inhabited the steppes of Kazakhstan from the Bronze Age.[41] Naturally, Soviet historians viewed the Kazakh Khanate as one of the nomadic polities that the Kazakh people founded throughout its history rather than as a state that gave birth to the Kazakh nation.

After Kazakhstan gained independence in 1991, Kazakh historians have followed a rather similar approach when defining the nature of the Kazakh Khanate, basically reiterating the Soviet interpretations of the Kazakh ethnogenesis. For instance, the *Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney* (The history of Kazakhstan from ancient times to our days) published by the Kazakh Academy of Sciences in 1993, and other more recent works also maintain the view that the Kazakhs descend from all the nomadic peoples that have inhabited the steppes of Kazakhstan from the Bronze Age.[42] At the same time, Kazakh historians place greater emphasis on the Qipchaq origin of the Kazakhs and suggest that the ethnic basis of the Kazakhs was formed before the Mongol period, while acknowledging that the process of Kazakh ethnogenesis was completed in the 15th and 16th centuries.[43] Accordingly, unlike Valikhanov, they tend to view the Kazakh Khanate as a Chinggisid-led "indigenous Qipchaq Turkic" or "local Turkic" state, not as a Mongol successor state that gave rise to the new Kazakh nation.[44] For instance, Meruert Khuatovna Abuseitova argues that the ethnic and linguistic basis of the Kazakh nation was formed during the Türkic and Qipchaq period (9th–12th centuries) and that the Kazakhs adopted the name *Qazaq* with the formation of the Kazakh Khanate.[45] Similarly, Tursun Ikramovich Sultanov, while emphasizing the role of the Chinggisid leadership in the history of Inner Asia and Kazakhstan, argues that in the 14th and 15th centuries the Mongol minority was Turkicized by the indigenous Turkic Qipchaqs, who formed the ethnic substratum of the Kazakhs.[46] However, Kazakh historians provide no explanation of why the Kazakhs (and other Chinggisid *ulus*es) saw themselves as Mongol descendants.[47]

In recent years, Kazakh historians have published a considerable number of Russian and Kazakh translations of primary sources written in Persian, Arabic, and Chaghatay Turkic that contain a substantial amount of information on the Kazakh Khanate as part of the national research project called "Cultural Heritage."[48]Some Kazakh historians have also

been produced new studies on the Kazakh Khanate that deserve academic attention in recent years.[49]

The history of the Kazakh Khanate is also receiving scholarly attention in Japan, where a great deal of scholarship has focused on the Mongol Empire. Japanese historians unequivocally characterize the Kazakh Khanate as the direct heir of the Ulus of Jochi. For instance, Akasaka Tsuneaki describes the Kazakh Khanate as the successor state of the left wing of the Jochid Ulus in his monograph, which draws on Chaghatay Turkic and Persian sources.[50] Nagamine Hiroyuki also argues that the Kazakh Khanate should be regarded as a successor state to the left wing of the Jochid Ulus, which was ruled by the Urusid branch of the Jochid lineage.[51] Noda Jin, who utilizes Manchu documents in his study of the Kazakh *jüz*es and their relations with the Qing Dynasty, also maintains the view that the Kazakh Khanate evolved from the left wing of the Jochid Ulus, whose first ruler was Urus Khan.[52]

The Western contribution to the study of Kazakh history has not been substantial even though there has been an upsurge in the publication of works devoted to the politics of modern Kazakhstan in the last three decades. Among the works in English, Jiger Janabel's doctoral dissertation titled "From Mongol Empire to Qazaq Jüzder: Studies on the Steppe Political Cycle" is the most detailed study of the formation and development of the Kazakh Khanate.[53] In it, Janabel argues that the Kazakh Khanate evolved from the Jochid Ulus as a result of the gradual disintegration of the Mongol Empire into smaller polities.[54] The Kazakh Khanate is the subject of several chapters included in monographs on Central and Inner Asian history: "The Kazakhs and the Kirghiz" by Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay; "The Kazakhs" by Karl Moldakhmetovich Baipakov and Bulat Eshmukhambetovich Kumekov; "The Qazaqs and Russia" by Allen J. Frank; and "Uzbeks, Qazaqs and Turkmen" by Yuri Bregel.[55] The last two works, included in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, contain the most critical and up-to-date information on the history of the Kazakh Khanate.[56] Yuri Bregel's *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* also offers a very useful outline of Kazakh and Central Asian history.[57] Most recently, Joo-Yup Lee published *Qazaqlïq, or Ambitious Brigandage, and the Formation of the Qazaqs: State and Identity in Post-Mongol Central Eurasia*.[58] In this work, which is the only comprehensive study of the formation of the Kazakhs available in English, Lee demonstrates that the Kazakhs came into existence when the Jochid/Uzbek *ulus* of the eastern Qipchaq Steppe bifurcated into the *qazaq* Uzbek (Kazakh) and Shibanid Uzbek khanates and *ulus*es at the turn of the 16th century.

Primary Sources

Kazakh and Moghul Histories

The sources pertaining to the Kazakh Khanate are somewhat disparate and fragmentary, while the extant source base is large. The single most detailed account of Kazakh history up to the mid-16th century is provided by the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, a history of the Moghul Khanate, written in Persian by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt (d. 1551) in 1546.**[59]**

This history offers important information on the Kazakh Khanate under Jānībeg Khan, Girāy Khan, Burūndūq Khan, Qāsim Khan, and other Kazakh khans. The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was continued by Shāh Maḥmūd b. Mīrzā Fāżīl Churās, who wrote in Persian the *Tārīkh*, a history of the Moghul Khanate from 1428 to the late 17th century.[60] The *Tārīkh* gives some information on Ḥaqq Naẓar Khan and Tawakkul Khan and their relationship with the Moghul khans of East Turkistan. The *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar*, a late Moghul history written in Turkic by an anonymous author in the early 18th century, also offers some information on Ḥaqq Naẓar Khan and Īshīm Khan, among others.[61] The *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* by Qādir ʿAlī Bek Jalāyirī, a member of the Kazakh Jalayir tribe, is important for the study of the Kazakhs.[62] Written in Chaghatay Turkic in 1602 in the Kasimov Khanate, this history contains several *dā stā n*s, or tales, devoted to such Jochid khans as Toqtamïsh Khan, Abū al-Khair Khan, and Urus Khan. The *dā stā n*s devoted to Urus Khan and Uraz Muḥammad Khan (d. 1610), the khan of the Kasimov Khanate of Kazakh origin, provide valuable information on the Kazakh khans and tribes.

The Histories of the Uzbeks

A number of histories produced in the Uzbek states of Transoxiana and Khiva offer indispensable information on the Kazakhs. Fażlallāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā* provides a first-hand account of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan's third campaign against the Kazakhs that took place in 1508–1509.[63] It contains a great deal of information on the Kazakhs under Burūndūq Khan and Qāsim Khan, among others, and the Qipchaq Steppe of the early 16th century. The *Badāyiʿ al-vaqāyiʿ*, written by Zain al-Dīn Maḥmūd Vāṣifī in the early 16th century, also provides an account of the campaign by ʿUbaidallāh Khan (r. 1533–1540) against the Kazakhs that is included in the section titled "the Book of Conquest of the Qazaqs" (*Fatḥnāma-i qazāq*).[64] The *Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma* is a history of the Chinggisids down to the formation of the Shibanid Uzbek dynasty written in Chaghatay Turkic by or for Muḥammad Shībānī Khan. The *Shībānī-nāma* is a history of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan written in Persian by Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī Binā'ī (d. 1512).[65] These Shibanid Uzbek histories are valuable primary source materials for reconstructing the history of the Kazakh Khanate headed by Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan and later by their sons. The *Zubdat al-āsār* is a general history up to 1525, written in Chaghatay Turkic by ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Naṣrallāhī.[66] The *Tārīkh-i Abū al-Khair Khānī* is another general history up to Abū al-Khair Khan and his immediate descendants, written in Persian by Mas'ūd Kūhistānī.[67] These two histories, written in the first half of the 16th century, include details about the constant warfare between the Kazakh and the Shibanid Uzbek khanates. Some original information on the Kazakh Khanate under Ḥaqq Naẓar Khan, Shighāi Khan, and Tawakkul is also provided by the *ʿAbdallāh-nāma*, which is a history of ʿAbdallāh Khan II from his birth to 1587–1588, written in Persian by Ḥāfiẓ Tanīsh Mīr Muḥammad Bukhārī (d. *c*. 1549). The *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyār* is an encyclopedic work composed in Persian by Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī for Nādir Muḥammad Khan.[68] The sixth volume is devoted to the history of Moghulistan, the Qipchaq Steppe, and Transoxiana, and includes a great deal of information on the Kazakh Khanate.

The Uzbek histories written in Khiva are also important for the study of the Kazakh Khanate. The *Tārīkh-i Dūst Sulṭān*, or *Chingīz-nāma*, is a history of the Jochid Ulus, written in Chaghatay Turkic by Ötämiš Ḥājī in the mid-16th century.[69] Particularly useful is its description of Urus Khan. Two other Chaghatay Turkic histories were compiled in Khiva: the *Šajara-i Türk*, a history of the Chinggisids up to the ʿArabshāhid Uzbek dynasty, written by Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khan (r. 1644–1663) and completed by his son Abū al-Muẓaffar Anūsha Muḥammad (r. 1663–1687) in 1665; and the *Firdaws al-Iqbāl*, a history of the Qunghrat Uzbek Dynasty, written by Shīr Muḥammad Mīrāb Mūnīs in 1804.[70] They offer important information on the genealogy of the Kazakh khans and the Kazakhs who came into contact with the Khivan Uzbeks in the 17th and the 18th centuries.

The Ilkhanid and Timurid Histories

For the history of the progenitors of the Kazakhs, the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, the universal history written in Persian by Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318) in the early 14th century, can be utilized.[71] Particularly useful is the section titled “On the History of the Appearance of the Tribes of the Turks . . .,” which covers the origin of Inner Asian tribes, many of which became major Kazakh tribes. The *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* is also the single most important source for the history of the Ulus of Orda, the left wing of the Jochid Ulus, which developed into the Kazakh Khanate.

A number of Timurid histories are also valuable primary sources for the progenitors of the Kazakhs. They include the *Ẓafar-nāma*, the earliest known history of Temür, written in Persian by Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī in 1404; another Persian history of Temür, the *Ẓafar-nāma*, completed in 1425 by Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī (d. 1454); and the *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī* by Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, a general history from Creation to 1413–1414, written in Persian in 1413–1414.[72] These Timurid histories provide a great deal of information on the Jochid/Uzbek khans such as Urus Khan and Barāq Khan. Additional information on the ancestors of the Kazakh khans and the early Kazakhs can be obtained from the last Timurid histories, *Tārīkh-i Raużat al-ṣafā*, a universal history of prophets, caliphs, and kings of Iran up to 1523, written by Mīr Khvānd (d. 1498); and the *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār afrād-i bashar*, a universal history from the earliest times down to 1524, written by Mīr Khvānd’s grandson Khvāndamīr (d. 1534–5).[73] The *Bābur-nāma*, an autobiographical memoir written in Chaghatay Turkic by Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur (r. 1526–1530), the founder of the Timurid Mughal Empire, contains a contemporary account of Qāsim Khan and the Kazakhs.[74]

Mongolian Sources

Along with the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* by Rashīd al-Dīn, the *Secret History of the Mongols*, a 13th-century Mongol history of Chinggis Khan and his ancestors, is an important source of information on Jochi Khan and the origin of a number of Kazakh tribes such as the Jalayir and the Qunghrat.[75] The two 17th-century Mongolian chronicles *Erdeni-yin Tobči*

by Saghang Sechen and *Altan Tobči* by Lubsangdanjin also provide some original information on the Jochid Ulus and the Kazakhs, whom they refer to as *Toγ maγ*.[76]

Diplomatic Materials

In addition to the written histories, some diplomatic materials contain the contemporary account of the Kazakh Khanate. These materials include invaluable Russian diplomatic documents covering the years between 1481 and 1697 that were published under the title *Istoriya K azakhstana v russkikh istochnikakh* (The history of Kazakhstan in Russian sources), volume one: *Posol'skiye materialy russkogo gosudarstva (XV–XVII vv.)* (Diplomatic materials of the Russian state [15th–17th century]). The second volume of this work, *Russkiye letopisi i ofitsial'nye materialy XVI – pervoy treti XVIII v. o narodakh Kazakhstana* (Russian chronicles and official materials of the 16th to the first third of the 18th century concerning the peoples of Kazakhstan), comprises excerpts from the Russian chronicles that yield useful information on the Kazakh Khanate of the 16th to 18th centuries.[77]

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Notes:

(1.) Rashīd al-Dīn designates the Jochid princes who belonged to the Ulus of Orda as "the princes of the left arm/wing" (*shāhzādagān-i dast-i chap*). See Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓlallāh Hamadānī, *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, ed. Bahman Karīmī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Iqbāl, 1367/1988), 506–507.

(2.) For instance, Ötämiš Ḥājī refers to Orda's *ulus* as *Kök Orda* and that of Batu as *Aq Orda*. See Ötemís Qažy, *Šyńğys-name*, ed. Meruert Quatovna Äbuseyítova, Qazaqstan tarihy turaly türk derektemeler 1 (Almaty: Dayk, 2005), 158.

(3.) In Russian sources, the Manghits were called the Noghay Horde.

(4.) For the origin and meaning of the designation *Uzbek*, see Joo-Yup Lee, *Qazaqlïq, or Ambitious Brigandage, and the Formation of the Qazaqs: State and Identity in Post-Mongol Central Eurasia*, Studies in Persian Cultural History 8 (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2016), 121–124. For more details on the merging process, see Joo-Yup Lee, "Some Remarks on the Turkicization of the Mongols in Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Qipchaq Steppe," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 71, no. 2 (2018): 121–144.

(5.) The Shibanid Uzbeks were the nomads of the Qipchaq Steppe who conquered Transoxiana at the turn of the 16th century and formed the elite of the Uzbek state. They should be distinguished from the present-day Uzbeks.

(6.) For their Mongol identity, see Joo-Yup Lee, "The Historical Meaning of the Term *Turk* and the Nature of the Turkic Identity of the Chinggisid and Timurid Elites in Post-Mongol Central Asia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 59 (2016): 122–124.

(7.) For the Toqay-Timurid descent of Urus Khan, see Meruert Khuatovna Abuseitova, trans. and ed., *Muʿizz al-ansāb fī shajarat al-ansāb*, Istoriya Kazakhstana v persidskikh istochnikakh 3 (Almaty: Dayk, 2006), 44; "Tauarih-i guzida-yi nūsrat-name," in *Qazaqstan tarihy turaly türk derektemeler*, vol. 1, *XV–XIX Gasyrlar šyğarmalarynan üzíndíler*, trans. and ed. Meruert Quatovna Äbuseyítova (Almaty: Dayk, 2006), 47–49; and Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares*, trans. Petr I. Desmaisons (Amsterdam: Philo, 1970), 178 (text), 187 (trans.).

(8.) The *Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma* refers to them as the sons of Barāq Khan, although in the section where the genealogy of the Toqay-Timurids is given only Jānībeg

Khan is presented as a son of Barāq Khan, while Girāy Khan is introduced as a great grandson of Urus Khan. See “Tauarih-i guzida-yi nūsrat-name,” 24–25, 49.

(9.) Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt Mīrzā, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. ʿAbbāsqulī Ghaffārī Fard (Tehran: Mīrāṯ-i Maktūb, 2004), 404.

(10.) For a detailed discussion of the term *qazaq* and the ethno-political designations “qazaq Uzbek,” “Qazaq,” and “Shibanid Uzbek,” see Lee, *Qazaqlïq, or Ambitious Brigandage*, 21–50, 121–128.

(11.) The chronology of the reigns of the Kazakh khans remains uncertain due to limited documentation. This article mostly follows that established by Tursun Ikramovich Sultanov. See Tursun Ikramovich Sultanov, *Kochevyye plemena Priaral’ya v XV–XVII vv. (Voprosy etnicheskoy i sotsial’noy istorii)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1982), 112–113.

(12.) Due to this unsuccessful campaign, Shībānī Khan had to disband his main army. Thus, when Shāh Ismāʿīl Safavī (r. 1501–1524), the founder of the Safavid Dynasty in Iran, invaded Khorasan with a large army the same year, Shībānī Khan had to confront the former with a small force. Shībānī Khan was killed in battle against the Safavids, which led to the near-collapse of the Abū al-Khairid Uzbek state.

(13.) In South Asia, the Mughal Empire, a successor state of the Chaghatayid Khanate, emerged as a new Islamic empire.

(14.) On the Kazakh aggressions against the Manghits during the reign of Qāsim Khan, see Amantay Isin, *Kazakhskoye khanstvo i Nogayskaya Orda vo vtoroy polovine XV–XVI v*. (Almaty: s. n., 2004), 54–61.

(15.) Mirza Haydar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi: A History of the Khans of Moghulistan*, 2 vols., trans. and ed. Wheeler McIntosh Thackston, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 37–38 (Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1996), 44, 177.

(16.) Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 177.

(17.) Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 75.

(18.) Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 109.

(19.) Mambet Kulzhabayevich Koygeldiyev et al., eds., *Istoriya Kazakhstana v russkikh istochnikakh*, vol. 1, *Posol’skiye materialy russkogo gosudarstva (XV-XVII vv.)* (Almaty: Dayk, 2005), 151.

(20.) Edward Delmar Morgan and Charles Henry Coote, eds., *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and Other Englishmen*, vol. 1 (New York: B. Franklin, 1886), 90–91.

(21.) For this purpose, Tawakkul tried to strengthen his army by acquiring firearms from Muscovy through his envoy to Boris Goodunov, ruler of Muscovy, in 1595.

(22.) In modern literature, the term Turkistan is used to designate the oasis regions of Central Asia, that is, Transoxiana (Western Turkistan) and the Tarim Basin (Eastern Turkistan). However, in the medieval and early modern periods, Turkistan denoted the province made up of several cities along the Syr Darya. It also came to denote Yasī, a town on the middle Syr Darya River.

(23.) Khadzham-Kuli-Bek Balkhi, "Iz Ta'rikh-i Kipchak-khani," in *Izvlecheniya iz sochineniy XIII-XIX vekov*, trans. and ed. Meruert Quatovna Äbuseyítova et al., Istoriya Kazakhstana v persidskikh istochnikakh 5 (Almaty: Dayk, 2007), 378–379.

(24.) In modern literature, the Oirats are often referred to as "Western Mongols." However, the Oirats and the Mongols not only had separate origins but also formed distinct identities during the post-Mongol period. On this point, see Joo-Yup Lee, "Were the Historical Oirats 'Western Mongols'?: An Examination of their Uniqueness in Relation to the Mongols," *Études Mongoles et Sibériennes, Centrasiatiques et Tibétaines* 47 (2016): 1–24. Modern historians tend to depict the centuries-long warfare between the Oirats and the Kazakhs as a conflict between "Buddhist Mongols" and "Muslim Turks." However, to their contemporaries, it was the Kazakhs who were viewed as true Mongol descendants.

(25.) Aleksei Levshin, *Opisaniye kirgiz-kaysakskikh, ili kirgiz-kazachikh, ord i stepey*, 3 vols. (Saint Petersburg, Russia: Tipografii Karla Krayya, 1832), 2:64.

(26.) The Timurid Mughal Empire had also been greatly weakened at the turn of the 18th century.

(27.) The Manchus were a Tungusic-speaking, semi-nomadic people or horse-riding people, who became a major power in East Asia in the early 17th century under their leader Nurhachi (r. 1616–1626).

(28.) The term "horde," originating from the Mongolian *orda*, which meant "the royal tent or residence," is often used to refer to the tripartite Kazakh tribal division. However, *jüz* in Kazakh literally means one hundred. Therefore, the three Kazakh *jüz*es can be rendered as the three Kazakh Hundreds.

(29.) In 1716, the Zunghar Oirats had crushed an expeditionary force sent by Peter the Great.

(30.) From 1809 onward, a large portion of the Ulu Jüz became annexed to the Khoqand Khanate (1709–1876), an Uzbek state centered in the Ferghana Valley. During the reigns of 'Umar Khan (r. 1811–1822) and his son Muḥammad 'Ali Khan (r. 1822–1842), the Khoqand Khanate reached its greatest extent, stretching to the lower course of the Syr Darya in southern Kazakhstan.

(31.) Faẓlallāh b. Rūzbihān [Isfahānī] Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā: Tārīkh-i pādshāhī-i Muḥammad Shībānī*, ed. Manūchihr Sutūda (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjuma va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1341/1962), 42–45.

(32.) Levshin, *Opisaniye kirgiz-kaysakskikh*, 3:52.

(33.) Ancestor worship, that is, rites commemorating ancestors, was certainly found throughout the Islamic world, as was selling Muslims into slavery. For Chokan Valikhanov's critical remarks on Levshin's statement, see Ian W. Campbell, *Knowledge and the Ends of Empire: Kazak Intermediaries and Russian Rule on the Steppe, 1731-1917* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), 51–52.

(34.) See Allen J. Frank, "Islam and Ethnic Relations in the Kazakh Inner Horde: Muslim Cossacks, Tatar Merchants, and Kazakh Nomads in a Turkic Manuscript, 1870–1910," in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, ed. Michael Kemper, Anke von Kügelgen, and Dmitriy Yermakov (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1996), 2:234–235. Devin DeWesse has demonstrated that the concept of "superficial Islamization" of nomads is untenable. For his discussion of Islam among the Kirghiz, see Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 65–66.

(35.) See Virginia Martin, *Law and Custom in the Steppe: The Kazakhs of the Middle Horde and Russian Colonialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001), 173n20; and Allen J. Frank, "The Qazaqs and Russia," in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 364–365.

(36.) For a detailed discussion of the legend of Alash Khan, see Lee, *Qazaqlïq, or Ambitious Brigandage*, 140–154.

(37.) Meruert Quatovna Äbuseyítova, et al. trans. and ed., *Cin patšalyq däuíríníń mūrağat qūžattary*, Qazaqstan tarihy turaly qytay derektemeler 3 (Almaty: Dayk, 2006), 104.

(38.) Vasily Vasilievich Radlov, *Proben der Volksliteratur der Nördlichen Türkischen Stämme*, vol. 3, bk. 1, *Kirgisische mundarten* (Berlin: Zentral-Antiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1965), 63–68 (text); and Radlov, *Proben*, bk. 2, 82–89 (trans.). Also see Mihály Dobrovits, "Maidens, Towers and Beasts," in *The Role of Women in the Altaic World: Permanent International Altaistic Conference, 44th meeting, Walberberg, 26–31 August 2001*, ed. Veronika Veit, Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 152 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 51–52.

(39.) See Igor de Rachewiltz, trans., *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols., Brill's Inner Asian Library 7 (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2004), 1:2–8.

(40.) See Chokan Valikhanov, “Pis’mo professoru I. N. Berezinu,” in *Izbrannye proizvedeniya*, ed. Sattar Mazhitov et al. (Almaty: Izdatel’stvo Arys, 2009), 21; and Chokan Valikhanov, “Kirgizskoye rodosloviye,” in *Izbrannye proizvedeniya*, ed. Sattar Mazhitov et al. (Almaty: Izdatel’stvo Arys, 2009), 120–135.

(41.) Akai Nusupbekovich Nusupbekov, ed., *Istoryia Kazakhskoy SSR: S drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dney*, vol. 2, *Razvitie feodal´nykh otnosheniy: Obrazovaniye kazakhskoy narodnosti i Kazakhskogo khanstva* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1977–1981), 240–241.

(42.) Manash Kabashevich Kozybaev et al., eds., *Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney* (Almaty: Izdatel’stvo Dăuīr, 1993), 131; and Kokish Ryspaev, *Istoriya Respubliki Kazakhstan* (Almaty: Bilim, 2002), 13–15.

(43.) Some works on the formation of the Kazakhs and the Kazakh Khanate have also been published in China, where the Kazakhs form an ethnic minority group. In general, Chinese historians reiterate the Soviet interpretation of Kazakh history. They are also somewhat influenced by their motivation to establish a close tie between the Han Chinese dynasties and the ancestors of the Kazakhs. For instance, see Jahef Mirzahan 贾合甫米尔扎汗, “Wusun yu hasakezu di yuanliu guanxi 乌孙与哈萨克族的源流关系 [The origin of the Wusuns and the Kazakhs],” *Xiyu Yanjiu* 2 (2006): 99–102; and Xu Xifa 续西发, “Hasakezu di zucheng, zuyuan he xipu 哈萨克族的族称, 族源和系谱 [The ethnonym, the origin, and the genealogy of the Kazakhs],” *Journal of Ili Teachers College* 1 (2005): 13–17. Geng Shimin argues that the Qipchaq elements formed the nucleus of the Kazakhs but also sees the Mongols as a component of the Kazakhs. Geng Shimin 耿世民, “Hasake lishi yanjiu (2)—Hasake hanguo yu Hasakezu 哈萨克历史研究(二)—哈萨克汗国与哈萨克族 [A study of the Kazakh history (2)—the Kazakh Khanate and the Kazakhs],” *Journal of Ili Normal University* 1 (2008): 1. In general, Chinese studies are impaired by the limited range of the primary sources they draw on.

(44.) Such a point of view is well reflected in the following quote: “The collapse of Mongolian authority after 1395, released the hunger of the indigenous people for self-determination . . . the gradual recovery from the Mongol conquest saw the growing influence of the local Turkic nobles and intensified the people’s resistance to the feudal powers of the Mongol Khans . . .” Michael Fergus and Janar Jandosova, *Kazakhstan: Coming of Age* (London: Stacey International, 2003), 121. Similarly, modern Turkish historians, who tend to view Kazakh history as part of the larger history of the Turks, emphasize the “Turkishness” of the Kazakhs and equate the formation of the Kazakh Khanate with the revival of the Turkic peoples. For instance, see Mehmet Saray, *Kazak Türkleri tarihi: Kazakların uyanışı*, Yeni Türk cumhuriyetleri tarihi serisi 2 (Istanbul: Nesil Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık A.Ş., 1993), 16–18. However, one should note that no occurrences of “ethnic conflict” or “class struggle” between the Turkic nomads of indigenous origin and the nomad elites of Mongol origin (or “the Mongol feudal overlords”) in the Mongol successor states, including the Kazakh Khanate, are attested to in Central Asian sources as some pan-Turkic historians or the Soviet historians would like us to believe.

(45.) Meruert Khuatovna Abuseitova, “Istoricheskiye issledovaniya v Kzakhstane,” in *Istoriya issledovaniy kultury Kazakhstana: sbornik statey*, ed. Erden Zada-uly Kazhibekov (Almaty: Qazaq universitetï, 1997), 7–9.

(46.) Tursun Ikramovich Sultanov, *Podnyatye na beloy koshme: Potomki chiniz-khana* (Almaty: Dayk, 2001); and Sergey Grigoryevich Klyashtornyi and Tursun Ikramovich Sultanov, *Gosudarstva i narody Evraziyskikh stepey: Drevnost’ i srednevekov’ye* (Saint Petersburg, Russia: Peterburgskoye Vostokovedeniye, 2000), 208–209. Other Kazakh historians also minimize the role of the Mongol components in the Kazakh ethnogenesis, arguing that the indigenous Turkic tribes of Kazakhstan Turkicized the Mongols, who were insignificant in numbers. Ryspaev, *Istoriya Respubliki Kazakhstan*, 77; and Kozybaev, *Istoriya Kazakhstana*, 136–137.

(47.) For a study addressing this problem, see Lee, “Some Remarks on the Turkicization.” In order to get a glimpse of how Kazakh historians relate their official history, see “History of Kazakhstan,” National Digital History of Kazakhstan, accessed April 19, 2018.

(48.) For more on this project, see “State Program ‘Cultural Heritage’ of Kazakhstan: Stages of Implementation and Value,” National Digital History of Kazakhstan, accessed April 19, 2018.

(49.) They include the following works: Nurlan A. Atygayev, *Kazakhskoye khanstvo v potoke istorii, Ocherki* [Kazakh Khanate in the stream of history, essays.] (Almaty: Yeltanym, 2015); Kanat Z. Uskenbay, “Stanovleniye Kazakhskogo khanstva i politicheskoy organizatsii kazakhov (seredina XV – nachalo XVII v.) [The formation of the Kazakh Khanate and the political organization of the Kazakhs (mid XV - early XVII century)],” in *Istoriko-kul'turnyy atlas kazakhskogo naroda*, pp. 22–39 (Almaty: Print-S, 2011); Kanat Z. Uskenbay, *Vostochnyy Dasht-i Kypchak v XIII – nachale XV veka, Problemy etnopoliticheskoy istorii Ulusa Dzhuchi* [The eastern Qipchaq Steppe in the 13th-early 15th century. Problems of the ethnopolitical history of the Ulus of Jochi], red. I. M. Mirgaleyev (Kazan: Izd-vo Fen AN RT, 2013).

(50.) See Akasaka Tsuneaki 赤坂恒明, *Juchi ei sho seiken shi no kenkyū* ジュチ裔諸政権史の研究 [A study of the Jochid dynasties] (Tokyo: Kazama-Shobo, 2005), 136–175.

(51.) See Nagamine Hiroyuki 長峰博之, “Kazaku hankoku keiseishi no saikō: Jochi urusu sayoku kara Kazaku hankoku e カザク・ハン国」形成史の再考: ジョチ・ウルス左翼から「カザク・ハン国」へ [Rethinking the foundation of the ‘Kazakh Khanate’: From the left hand of the Ulus-i Jūchī to the ‘Kazakh Khanate’],” *The Journal of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 90, no. 4 (2009): 452, 456.

(52.) See Noda Jin 野田仁, “Shinchō shiryō jō no Kazafu Sanbu 清朝史料上の哈薩克(カザフ)三部 [3 Kazakh hordes in the Qing sources],” *Manzokushi Kenkyu* 1 (2002): 16–30. Noda Jin and Onuma Takahiro jointly published *A Collection of Documents from the Kazakh Sultans to the Qing Dynasty*, which examines diplomatic letters sent by Kazakh khans and sultans to the Qing Dynasty. This work contains English translations of sixteen documents

produced in the 18th and 19th centuries. Noda Jin and Onuma Takahiro, *A Collection of Documents from the Kazakh Sultans to the Qing Dynasty* (Tokyo: Department of Islamic Area Studies, University of Tokyo, 2010). More recently, Noda Jin published a revised English translation of his study (previously published in Japanese in 2011) that examines the foreign relations of the Kazakh Chinggisid sultans and the Russian and Qing empires during the 18th and 19th centuries. Noda Jin, *The Kazakh Khanates between the Russian and Qing Empires: Central Eurasian International Relations during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Leiden, The Netherlands and Boston: Brill, 2016).

(53.) Jiger Janabel, "From Mongol Empire to Qazaq Jüzder: Studies on the Steppe Political Cycle (13th–18th Centuries)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1997). Henry H. Howorth's *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century*, published in the late 19th century, also offers a great deal of information on the history of the Kazakh Khanate as well as other Mongol successor states. The fourth volume covers the entire history of the Kazakh Khanate. However, Howorth's work draws on secondary sources only and tends to be uncritical. Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century*, part 2, division 2, *The So-Called Tartars of Russia and Central Asia* (London: Longmans, Green, 1888).

(54.) Janabel, "From Mongol Empire to Qazaq Jüzder."

(55.) Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, "The Kazakhs and the Kirghiz," in *Central Asia*, ed. Gavin Hambly (New York: Delacorte, 1966), 140–149; Karl Moldakhmetovich Baipakov and Bulat Eshmukhambetovich Kumekov, "The Kazakhs," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. 5, *Development in Contrast: From the Sixteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, ed. Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib, and Karl Moldakhmetovich Baipakov (Paris: UNESCO, 2003), 89–108; Frank, "The Qazaqs and Russia," 363–379; and Yuri Bregel, "Uzbeks, Qazaqs and Turkmen," in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 221–236.

(56.) Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden, eds., *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

(57.) Yuri Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia*, Handbook of Oriental Studies 8, Central Asia 9 (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2003).

(58.) Lee, *Qazaqlïq, or Ambitious Brigandage*.

(59.) Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*; and Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*.

(60.) Shāh-Maḥmūd b. Mīrzā Fāżīl Churās, *Khronika*, trans. and ed. Oleg Fedorovich Akimushkin, Pamyatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka 45 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1976).

(61.) "Ta'rikh-i Kashgar," in *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV–XVIII vekov*, comp. and trans. C. K. Ibragimov et al. (Alma-Ata: Nauka Kazakhskoy SSR, 1969), 398–418.

(62.) Qādir ʿAlī Bek Jalāyirī, *Sbornik letopisei: Tatarskii tekst, s russkim predisloviem*, ed. Il’ya Nikolaevich Berezin (Kazan, 1854); and Žalayyr Qadyr-Ğali Bi, “Žamiğ at-tauarih,” in *Qazaqstan tarihy turaly türk derektemeler*, vol. 1, *XV–XIX Gasyrlar šyğarmalarynan üzíndíler*, trans. and ed. Meruert Quatovna Äbuseyítova (Almaty: Dayk, 2006), 140–173.

(63.) Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*.

(64.) Zain al-Dīn Maḥmūd Vāṣifī, *Badāīʿ al-vaḳāīʿ* [*Badāyiʿ al-vaqāyiʿ*], 2 vols., ed. Aleksandr Nikolaevich Boldyrev, Pamiatniki literatuy narodov Vostoka: Teksty, Bol’shaya seriya 5 (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Vostochnoy Literatury, 1961).

(65.) Kazuyuki Kubo, ed., “*Shaybānī-nāma* by Mullā Binā’ī, Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī,” in *A Synthetical Study on Central Asian Culture in the Turco-Islamic Period*, 1–93 (Kyoto, 1997).

(66.) ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Naṣrallāhī, *Zubdat al-āsār*, MS, Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 5368; and ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Naṣrallāhī, “Zubdat al-āsār,” in *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV–XVIII vekov*, comp. and trans. C. K. Ibragimov et al. (Alma-Ata: Nauka Kazakhskoy SSR, 1969), 128–134.

(67.) Masʾūd Kūhistānī, “Tārīkh-i Abū al-Khair Khānī,” in *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV–XVIII vekov*, comp. and trans. C. K. Ibragimov (Alma-Ata: Nauka Kazakhskoy SSR, 1969), 135–171.

(68.) Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī, *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyār*, MS, Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1375; and Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī, “Baḥr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyār,” in *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV–XVIII vekov*, comp. and trans. C. K. Ibragimov et al. (Alma-Ata: Nauka Kazakhskoy SSR, 1969), 320–368.

(69.) Ötämiš Ḥājī, *Čingīz-Nāma: Introduction, Annotated Translation, Transcription and Critical Text*, trans. and ed. Takushi Kawaguchi and Hiroyuki Nagamine, Studia Culturae Islamicae 94 (Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 2008); and Ötemiş Hacı, *Çengiz-name*, trans. and ed. İlyas Kamalov (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2009).

(70.) Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares*, trans. Petr I. Desmaisons (Amsterdam: Philo, 1970); and Shīr Muḥammad Mīrāb Mūnīs and Muḥammad Rīżā Mīrāb Āgahī, *Firdaws al-iqbāl: History of Khorezm*, trans. Yuri Bregel, Islamic History and Civilization 28 (Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1999).

(71.) Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓlallāh, *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*; and Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Jamiʿu’t-tawarikh (Compendium of Chronicles): A History of the Mongols*, trans. Wheeler McIntosh Thackston, 3 pts. ([Cambridge, MA]: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1998–1999).

(72.) Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Histoire des conquêtes de Tamerlan intitulée Ẓafarnāma, par Niẓāmuddīn Šāmī*, vol. 1, *Texte persan du Ẓafarnāma*, ed. Felix Tauer (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1937); Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Asom Urinboyev (Tashkent: Fan, 1972); Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Zafar-name: Kniga pobed Amira Temura*, trans. and ed. Ashraf Akhmedov (Tashkent: San'at, 2008); and Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī*, ed. Jean Aubin (Tehran: Khayyam, 1336/1957).

(73.) Muḥammad ibn Khāvandshāh Mīr Khvānd, *Tārīkh-i Raużat al-ṣafā*, 6 vols., ed. Riżā Qulī Khān (Tehran: Pīrūz, 1960); and Khwandamir, *Habibu's-siyar: Tome Three*, trans. Wheeler McIntosh Thackston, 2 pts., Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 24 ([Cambridge, MA]: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1994).

(74.) Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Mirza, *Baburnama*, ed. and trans. Wheeler McIntosh Thackston Jr., 3 pts. (Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1993).

(75.) Igor de Rachewiltz, trans., *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols., Brill's Inner Asian Library 7 (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2004).

(76.) Saghang Sechen, *Erdeni-yin Tobci ("Precious Summary"): A Mongolian Chronicle of 1662*, vol. 1, *The Urga Text*, ed. Minoru Gō et al. (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1990); and Lubsangdanjin, *Altan Tobči: Eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo bzan bstan'jin*, ed. Hans-Peter Vietze and Gendeng Lubsang (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1992).

(77.) Koygeldiyev, *Istoriya Kazakhstana*; and Mambet Kulzhabayevich Koygeldiyev et al., eds., *Istoriya Kazakhstana v russkikh istochnikakh*, vol. 2, *Russkiye letopisi i ofitsial'nye materialy XVI – pervoy treti XVIII v. o narodakh Kazakhstana* (Almaty: Dayk, 2005). There are also some other important Soviet source publications, such as F. N. Kireev et al., eds., *Kazakhsko-russkie otnosheniyav XVI–XVIII vv*. [Kazakh-Russian relations in the 16th–18th centuries], vol. 1. (Alma-Ata: AN Kazakhskoi SSR, 1961); and V. I. Lebedev, ed., *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskoi SSR (1785–1828)* [Materials on the history of the Kazakh SSR], vol. 4 (Moscow and Leningrad: Akademiya Nauk SSSR, 1940).

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