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## ABLAİ SULTAN'S INFLUENCE ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE BASHKIRS REBELLION (1735–1740)

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**Abstract.** *Introduction.* The Orenburg expedition of the Russian Empire caused a series of Bashkir uprisings in the 1735s–1740s. As a result of Tsarist Russia's political expansion, the Bashkirs lost their land ownership rights, self-governance system, and religious, cultural, and household traditions, while also facing increased taxes. As a result of the uprising, Ablai Sultan sheltered and took responsibility for thousands of Bashkir families who fled to the neighboring Kazakh steppes. *Goals and objectives.* The goal of this study is to conduct a scientific examination of Ablai Sultan's political role in Kazakh-Bashkir relations during the Bashkir uprising (1735–1740), and to reveal the nature of his political leadership in the events surrounding the uprising. The research materials include archival documents from the Russian Empire in the XVIII century and original works by prominent XIX century researchers. The study employs chronological, diachronic, retrospective historical-typological, and comparative methods. *Results.* The Bashkir rebellion of 1735 significantly obstructed the Russian kingdom's colonization policy, which was carried out under the guise of “exploring” the country's wealth and topography. On May 18, 1734, Queen Anna Ioannovna signed the "Orenburg Expedition" document to conquer Asian peoples. In response to this threat to their independence, the Bashkir people launched a three-stage rebellion. The first stage was led by Akai Kusyumov in 1735–1736, the second was the "Bepeni Uprising" in 1737–1738, and the third was the "Karasakal Uprising" in 1739–1740. Throughout this period, they were in constant struggle. During the tumultuous events of the uprising, Sultan Ablai extended a helping hand to the Bashkir people. *Conclusions.* Ablai's relations with the Bashkirs began in the 1730s. Sultan Ablai's acceptance of the refugees who relocated to Uder after the uprising, along with his provision of shelter and support to the uprising's leaders, demonstrates that Ablai and his followers were able to navigate challenging geopolitical conditions.

**Key words:** Russian Empire, Kazakh Khanate, Ablai Sultan, Karasakal, Kazakhs, Bashkirs, revolt, Orenburg expedition

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## АБЫЛАЙ СҰЛТАННЫҢ БАШҚҰРТ КӨТЕРІЛІСІ САЛДАРЫНА ЫҚПАЛЫ (1735–1740 жж.)

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**Аңдатпа.** *Kırişne.* XVIII ғасырдың 35–40 жылдары аралығындағы тізбекті башқұрт көтерілістеріне Ресей империясының Орынбор экспедициясы себеп болды. Патшалық Ресейдің саяси экспансиясы нәтижесінде башқұрттар өз жерлеріне деген иелік құқықтарынан, өзін-өзі басқару жүйесінен, діни әрі мәдени-тұрмыстық дәстүрлерінен айырылып қалуына әрі салықтардың артуына алып келді. Көтеріліс салдарынан көрші қазақ даласына босып келген мыңдаған башқұрт отбасына Абылай сұлтан пана болып, өз қамқорлығына алды. *Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері.* Зерттеудің мақсаты – Абылай сұлтанның башқұрт көтерілісі (1735–1740) салдарынан қазақ-башқұрт қатынастарындағы саяси қайраткерлігіне ғылыми сараптама жасау, көтеріліс салдарынан туындаған саяси оқиғалардағы Абылай сұлтанның саяси қайраткерлік сипатын ашу. *Материалдар мен әдістер.* Ресей империясының XVIII ғасырдағы архив құжаттары мен XIX ғасырдағы көрнекті зерттеушілердің түпнұсқа еңбектері зерттеу материалдары ретінде қолданылды. Ғылыми мақаланы зерттеуде хронологиялық, диахрондық, ретроспективті тарихи-типологиялық, компаративистік әдіс қолданылды. *Нәтижелер.* Ресей патшалығына қараған «өлкенің» байлығы мен жер бедерін зерттеу желеуімен жүрген отарлау саясатына 1735 жылғы башқұрт көтерілісі елеулі тосқауыл қойды. Тәуелсіздігіне елеулі қауіп төнген башқұрт халқы үш кезеңнен тұратын көтеріліске шықты: бірінші кезең – 1735–1736 жылдар аралығындағы Акай Кусюмов бастаған көтеріліс, екінші кезең – 1737–1738 жылдар аралығындағы «Бепени көтерілісі», үшінші кезең – 1739–1740 жылдардағы «Қарасақал көтерілісін» ұйымдастырып, тынымсыз күрес үстінде болды. Ауыр көтеріліс салдарынан болған тарихи оқиғаларда Абылай сұлтан башқұрт халқына барынша қол ұшын созып, қамқорлық танытты. *Қорытынды.* Абылай башқұрт қатынастары XVIII ғасырдың үшінші онжылдығында басталды. Абылай сұлтанның көтерілістен кейін үдере көшкен босқындарды қабылдап, пана беріп, көтеріліс жетекшілеріне қолдау білдіргендігі – Абылай мен оған ерген қазақ халқының қиын геосаяси жағдайда да жол таба білгендігін білдіреді.

**Түйін сөздер:** Ресей империясы, Қазақ хандығы, Абылай сұлтан, Қарасақал, қазақтар, башқұрттар, көтеріліс, Орынбор экспедициясы

**Алғыс.** Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының «Абылай, Уәли және Бөкей хандарының мемлекеттік қызметінің зерттелмеген кезеңдері (сирек мұрағаттық және фольклорлық деректер негізінде)» тақырыбындағы бағдарламалық-мақсатты қаржыландыру жобасын жүзеге асыру аясында орындалды (жеке тіркеу нөмірі: АР19680406).

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## ВЛИЯНИЕ АБЫЛАЙ-СУЛТАНА НА ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯ БАШКИРСКОГО ВОССТАНИЯ (1735–1740 гг.)

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**Аннотация.** *Введение.* Оренбургская экспедиция Российской империи вызвала серию башкирских восстаний в 35–40-х годах XVIII века. В результате политической экспансии царской России башкиры лишились прав собственности на землю, системы самоуправления, религиозных, культурных и бытовых традиций, а также столкнулись с повышением налогов. В результате восстания Абылай султан принял и взял на себя ответственность за тысячи башкирских семей, бежавших в соседние казахские степи. *Цели и задачи.* Целью данного исследования является проведение научного исследования политической роли Абылай султана в казахско-башкирских отношениях в период Башкирского восстания (1735–1740 гг.), а также раскрытие характера его политического руководства в событиях вокруг восстания. Материалом исследования являются архивные документы Российской империи XVIII века и оригинальные труды выдающихся исследователей XIX века. В исследовании использованы хронологический, диахронический, ретроспективный историко-типологический и сравнительный методы. *Результаты.* Башкирское восстание 1735 года существенно затруднило колонизационную политику царской России, проводившуюся под видом «изучения» богатств и топографии страны. 18 мая 1734 года царица Анна Иоанновна подписала документ «Оренбургская экспедиция» для покорения азиатских народов. В ответ на эту угрозу своей независимости башкирский народ поднял трехэтапное восстание. Первым этапом восстания произошел в 1735–1736 годах, под начальством Акая Кусюмова, вторым было «Бепенское восстание» в 1737–1738 годах, третьим – «Карасакалское восстание» в 1739–1740 годах. На протяжении всего этого периода они находились в постоянной борьбе. В ходе бурных событий восстания султан Абылай протянул руку помощи башкирскому народу. *Заключение.* Отношения Абылая с башкирами начались в третьей четверти XVIII века. Принятие султаном Абылаем беженцев, бежавших в казахские степи после восстания, а также предоставление им убежища и поддержки лидерам восстания демонстрирует, что Абылай и последовавший за ним казахский народ смогли найти выход даже в сложных геополитических условиях.

**Ключевые слова:** Российская империя, Казахское ханство, Абылай султан, Карасакал, казахи, башкиры, восстания, Оренбургская экспедиция

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## Introduction

The period of the Bashkir Rebellion (1735–1740) marked a significant chapter in the history of the bashkir nation, highlighting the complex interplay of power, politics, and ethnic relations in the region. Among the key figures during this tumultuous period was Sultan Ablai, a prominent Kazakh leader whose influence extended far beyond his immediate domain. Ablai's strategic acumen and diplomatic prowess played a crucial role in shaping the outcomes of the Bashkir uprising, providing a case study in leadership amidst geopolitical upheaval.

Ablai's intervention during the Bashkir Rebellion had far-reaching consequences, not only for the Bashkir people but also for the Kazakh steppes and the broader Central Asian region. His actions during this period highlight his role as a pivotal figure capable of leveraging political turmoil to consolidate power and extend his influence. By offering sanctuary and support to the Bashkir rebels, Ablai positioned himself as a leader of considerable stature, capable of commanding loyalty and respect across ethnic lines. This study will explore how Ablai's leadership during the rebellion contributed to his legacy and shaped the historical trajectory of Kazakh-Bashkir relations.

The Bashkir Rebellion, triggered by Tsarist Russia's expansionist policies, saw the Bashkir people rising against the imposition of land seizures, increased taxation, and the erosion of their traditional governance and cultural practices. As the rebellion progressed through its three distinct phases—each marked by escalating conflict and increasing desperation—the Bashkirs found an unexpected ally in Sultan Ablai. His decision to offer refuge and support to the beleaguered Bashkir leaders and their families was not merely an act of humanitarian concern but a calculated move that underscored his broader political ambitions and his adeptness at navigating the era's complex geopolitical landscape.

In the broader context of Central Asian history, Sultan Ablai's engagement with the Bashkir Rebellion provides valuable insights into the dynamics of resistance and cooperation among the region's diverse peoples. His ability to navigate the dual pressures of external aggression and internal unrest underscores the complexity of leadership in a volatile geopolitical environment. Through this examination, the study will contribute to a deeper understanding of the mechanisms of power and influence in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Central Asia and the enduring legacy of Sultan Ablai's political strategies.

## Methods and materials

The research will employ a combination of chronological, diachronic, retrospective historical-typological, and comparative methodologies to provide a comprehensive understanding of Ablai's influence. Modern scholars have built upon these foundational works, incorporating new methodologies and interdisciplinary approaches. The integration of archival research with folklore studies, for instance, has enriched the narrative, providing a more nuanced understanding of Ablai Sultan's leadership and its impact on the Bashkir Rebellion. Researchers have utilized comparative historical-typological methods to draw parallels between different uprisings and political movements, thereby situating the Bashkir Rebellion within a broader historical framework.

By analyzing archival documents from the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Russian Empire and original works of 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholars as Popov (1861), Solov'yev (1878), Kazantsev (1867) this research seeks to unravel the intricacies of Ablai's political maneuvers and their impact on the course of the rebellion. During the research of this topic, the following archives of the Russian Federation were consulted such as the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RSAAA) and the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSARK). This study aims to examine the multifaceted role of Sultan Ablai in the context of the Bashkir Rebellion.

## Discussion

A comprehensive study of the archival funds of the Russian Federation was undertaken, such as the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RSAAA) Archive RSAAA. F. 248. I. 1236. P. 34–35., Archive RSAAA. F. 248. I. 1236. C. 1524. P. 2., Archive RSAAA. F. 342. I. 1. C. 109. P. 206., Archive RSAAA. F. 248. C. 113. P. 240., Archive RSAAA. F. 248. I. 17. C. 1131. P. 540., Archive RSAAA. F. 248. I. 17. C. 1131. P. 541 rev., Archive RSAAA. F. 248 Senat. I. 17. C. 1183. P. 630.,



Archive RSAAA. F. 248. B. 145. P. 74. and the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSARK). Work was also carried out with the archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan: Archive CSARK. F. 2300. I. 10. C. 91. P. 4., Archive CSARK. F. 2300. I. 10. C. 91. P. 4 rev., Archive CSARK. F. 2300. I. 10. C. 91. P. 1., Archive CSARK. F. 2300. I. 10. C. 91. P. 1 rev., Archive CSARK. F. 2300. I. 10. C. 91. P. 3–3 rev.

Research on the Bashkir Rebellion and the role of Sultan Ablai has been conducted by a diverse array of historians and scholars, spanning several centuries and utilizing various methodologies. This body of work provides a comprehensive understanding of the socio-political dynamics of the XVIII century in Central Asia and the impact of individual leadership on historical events. Primary sources such as the “Polnoye Sobranie Zakonov Rossiyskoy Imperii. T. IX. No. 6571, No. 6576” (1830) and “Materialy po Istorii Bashkortostana” (2002) offer foundational legal and documentary evidence of the period. In this scientific article also references historiographical dictionaries like “Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar Brokgauza i Yefrona” (1890). These collections have been instrumental in constructing a timeline of events and understanding the legislative context of the Bashkir Rebellion. The articles in “Vestnik ChGU” (2009, No. 37/175) provide more contemporary analyses, integrating modern historiographical techniques with historical data.

Researchers from the mid-XIX to early XX centuries laid the groundwork for understanding the Bashkir Rebellion and Ablai Sultan’s influence. Notable figures include P.I. Rychkov (1896): His works offer detailed accounts of the socio-political conditions in the XVIII century, emphasizing the economic and cultural impacts of the rebellion on the Bashkir people. N. Vitevskiy (1897): Vitevskiy’s research delves into the administrative and military aspects of the Russian Empire’s policies towards the Bashkirs, highlighting the causes and consequences of the rebellion. A.I. Dobrosmyslov (1900): His contributions focus on the ethnographic and cultural dimensions, providing insights into the Bashkir society’s response to external pressures.

The research collection “KRO v XVI – XVIII Vekakh” (1961) offers a broader historical perspective, examining the regional implications of the rebellion within the context of Central Asian geopolitics. Ch.Ch. Valikhanov (1984, Vol. 1) and Moiseyev (1998) further contribute to this understanding by analyzing the leadership and strategic decisions of key figures like Ablai.

## Results

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the prominent statesman Khan Ablai significantly strengthened the state structure of the Kazakh Khanate and advanced its political, economic, military, and social spheres. From 1771 to 1780, he elevated the Kazakh people on the world political stage. During his years of political activity, Ablai, known for his noble wisdom, accumulated extensive diplomatic and leadership experience. He engaged in official correspondence and negotiations with the rulers of neighboring states and influential administrative representatives. Ablai maintained good relations with the peoples of Tsarist Russia, including the Bashkir people, who organized numerous rebellions for freedom and independence. He provided refuge and support to the Bashkirs who came to the Kazakh steppe as a result of these uprisings. Sultan Ablai “implemented a diplomatic strategy of navigating between the major empires of the era — Russia and Qing. He skillfully maintained diplomatic ties with both nations” (KalmSC RAS, 2022: 1204).

During these negotiations, “the Bashkir side offered Ablai the position of Khan of the Bashkirs. Although Ablai did not go to the Bashkir lands himself, he sent 800 Kazakh troops led by Karalaman Batyr. In the summer, Kazakh troops and Bashkirs conducted military operations along the Dema River and in the vicinity of Ufa. Among the Kazakhs, Zhaqsymbet Kogelenov introduced himself as Karasakal’s brother during Karasakal’s uprising. In 1740, Zhaksymbet was captured, and later that year, General V. A. Urusov handed him over to Ablai. In the winter of 1738, the Bashkir leader Nurush Kinzekeev persuaded Ablai and Bolat, the son of Abilmambet Sultan, to pacify the “faithful” Bashkirs living in the upper reaches of the Zhaiyq (Ural) River” (Taimasov, 2009: 268).

In Tsarist Russia in 1737, records indicate that the Bashkirs were compelled to arrest and punish the Kazakhs, buying them and using them for their own interests: “The Kirghiz-Kaisaks (Kazakhs-O.K.) continue to engage in various misdeeds, including theft, against our long-standing

subjects. As State Councilor Tatischev suggested, shouldn't we send those idle Bashkirs to deal with these Kirghiz-Kaisaks (Kazakhs-O.K.) to prevent such misdeeds in the future?" (CSARK. F. 2300. I. 10. C. 91.P.4 rev.). In this manner, the related Turkic peoples were manipulated into suppressing each other's protests against the political tyranny of the Tsarist Russia. Nil Popov interprets this series of events as follows: "The main goal of Russian empire policy on the southeastern frontier was to secure protection from the invasions of nomadic peoples, primarily the Kazakhs." (Popov, 1861: 175).

The main reason for Ablai's assistance to the Bashkirs can be found in a letter sent to I.P. Kirillov, a member of the Cabinet of Ministers, in February 1737, which states: "In accordance with our decree issued on February 10<sup>th</sup>, we instructed Major General Khrushchev to dispatch a cavalry field regiment from the garrison. Also, we emphasized that General Field Marshal Von – Lessey's cavalry should be reinforced immediately. It is essential to reach a common agreement and closely monitor the formation of weapons and troops" (CSARK. F. 2300. I. 10. C. 91. P. 1–1 rev.). Fifteen days later, on February 25, of the same year, 1737, it is stated: "In place of Field Marshal Graf von Minnich, Major General Khrushchev was ordered to come with his army immediately. The joint army should be directed to Bashkir territory" (CSARK. F. 2300. I. 10. C. 91. P. 3 rev.). This directive was issued because 1735, 1736, and 1739–1740 were years marked by the ongoing Bashkir rebellion.

Ablai Sultan was acutely aware of the events unfolding between 1735 and 1740. He understood that the Bashkir rebellion posed a significant obstacle to the colonization of the Kazakh steppe. Recognizing the importance of saving the Kazakh country, Ablai provided assistance to the leaders of the Bashkir rebellion. S.M. Soloviev highlighted this in his work "History of Russia since Ancient Times": "The government during Anna's reign aimed to gain complete control and unify lands outside the empire. However, the Bashkir uprising posed a significant hindrance to the annexation of Tashkent and Turkestan" (Soloviev, 1878: 326–329). Therefore, we understand that the Bashkir rebellion was a response to the Russian Empire's policy in the East, as the Bashkirs "obstructed" the colonization of Central Asia. This context explains why the Bashkir leader N. Kinzekeyev sought help from the Ablai sultan. Kazakh Sultan Ablai clearly recognized that the policies targeting the Bashkirs would eventually affect the Kazakh people. Thus, he maintained contact with the leaders of the Bashkir rebellion.

Based on A.I. Tevkelev's information about the Kazakh steppe, a year before the Bashkir uprising in 1735, Senate Chief Secretary I.K. Kirilov proposed two projects to the government of Queen Anna Ioanovna in 1734: "Presentation and Explanation of the Kirghiz-Kaisak (Kazakh-O.K.) and Karakalpak Hordes" and "Project on Keeping the Kirghiz (Kazakh-O. K) under Russian Citizenship and Methods of Managing Them." Subsequently, on May 1, 1734, a decision was made, and the project was adopted: "Russia views both its enemies and potential allies in the region as targets for its foreign policy. The peoples of Russian Asia were designated as part of the empire's sphere of influence. Attention was given to the natural resources within the territories of potential colonization, the population numbers, the level of socio-economic development, and the political situation of each state" (Kazantsev, 1867: 57). The document states that colonization encompasses the Bashkirs, Tatars, Kazakhs, and other peoples collectively.

The Bashkirs learned "about the preparation of the Orenburg expedition in 1734 from the Bashkir chieftain and mullah Tokchura Almyakov. In late 1734 and the spring of 1735, representatives of the leaders from the four major districts gathered for a congress at the Aziyev Mosque, driven by fears of losing their land and freedom. The main forces of the rebels concentrated along the bends of the Belaya River and the Dema River. Residents learned about the uprising's commencement at the end of July. To combat the uprising, the Bashkir Affairs Commission was established, with Lieutenant General A.I. Rumyantsev appointed as its commander-in-chief" (RSAAA. F. 248. I.1236. P.34). Additionally, the archives provide a clear record of the number of troops sent to suppress the rebellion: "He commanded 3 regular regiments, 500 Ural Cossacks, and 3,000 Kalmyks. A series of punitive campaigns were launched against the rebels, involving over twenty thousand (20,000) troops. Through the efforts of I.K. Kirilov's punitive squads and Rumyantsev's forces, the Bashkirs were largely defeated. However, rebels led by Bepen Turipberdin

and Isangul launched a surprise attack on the punitive forces along the Siberian Road” (RSAAA. F. 248. I. 1236. P. 35).

The primary objective of I.K. Kirilov's “project, submitted to the Senate in 1734, was to “resolve” the Bashkir problem to facilitate the unrestrained development of mineral resources in the region. He did not anticipate that resettling other peoples in Bashkortostan, mining ores, and attracting labor to build factories would lead to a major uprising the following year. This uprising occurred multiple times. It is necessary to increase the regular troops in the Orenburg province” (Polnoye sobraniye zakonov Rossiyskoy Imperii, 1830, 436–437). In this regard, A.I. Dobrosmyslov explained the reason for the Bashkir uprising: “The causes of the Bashkir uprising that I outlined remained unchanged. The Bashkirs were discontented with the settlement of Russians, Tatars, Meshchereks, Chuvash, and other immigrants in their territories. The uprising from 1735 to 1740 encompassed the territory stretching from the Ural River to the Kama, and from the Tobol River to the Volga. It stemmed from the decision to construct a line of Orenburg fortresses in the southern and southeastern regions of Bashkir land” (Dobrosmyslov, 1900: 4). According to I.K. Kirilov's project, partial resettlement was also implemented, leading to a popular uprising. However, these factors were just one aspect of the uprising. It raises doubts about the extent to which the royal government understood the internal political and social conditions of the states and peoples inhabiting the Asian region.

On December 15, 1734, I.K. Kirilov, the leader of the Orinbor expedition, dispatched the following letter to State Advisor V.N. Tatishchev, seeking assistance for the royal administrative military, who perceived unrest among the Bashkir people: “I would like to request that a decree be issued to the Senate Highness, as per his request, to grant certain Bashkirs a deserving reward for their valuable contributions to ore mining following the construction of a plant in the Ufa district. Factories were erected on Bashkir land, and in acknowledgment of this, we propose to regulate ore mining in the region by granting awards and prizes” (RSAAA. F. 248. I.1236. C.1524. P. 2). What we can observe is that they bestowed gifts upon the so-called wealthy and influential group, swaying them to their side, and we discern a plot to thwart the uprising brewing from within. Simultaneously, we recognize that certain affluent individuals, initially inclined to support the uprising, switched allegiance to Russia after receiving gifts, leading to a division among the people.

The initial conflict erupted in 1735 when 3000 Bashkirs, “under the command of K. Nurushhev, launched an assault on the Vologda military unit heading towards the Orsk River. The rebellion's leaders attempted to employ all tactics at their disposal, ranging from cavalry charges to infantry formations used for scattered or concentrated attacks. In 1736, the Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz joined forces with the Bashkirs to provide assistance, reigniting the rebellion with renewed vigor. However, despite this considerable aid, the Bashkirs were forced to retreat after sustaining heavy losses. Government decrees issued on February 16, 1736, aimed to assert control over the Bashkir internal self-government system. The Bashkirs were especially discontented with provisions of the decree targeting the destruction of their tribal land holdings” (Materialy po istorii Bashkortostana, 2002: 39). We comprehend that the backing of the Kazakhs of Middle Zhuz for the Bashkir uprising was a shared concern among related peoples. Materials on the history of Bashkortostan contain the following data: “6,000 Bashkirs took part in the uprising in 1737 in Karatabyn, which took place in the Uysk river basin. The uprising began with the encirclement of Ensign Galdyshev's trading column” (Materialy po istorii Bashkortostana, 2002: 636).

As per the directive issued to the commission, “there were also the so-called Kalmyk tribe among the Bashkirs. They were individuals assimilated within the Bashkir community” (RSAAA. F. 342. I.1. C.109. P. 206). So, we understand that not only Bashkirs but also members of other ethnic groups assimilated into the Bashkirs took part in the uprising. As evident from the data above, it's apparent that the pace of rebellion among the Bashkirs accelerated. However, the construction of fortresses and defensive lines in the Bashkir Kazakh affairs, as per the construction plan for the Orynbor region, posed a hindrance to communication between Ablai Sultan and the Bashkirs. Privy Councilor V.N. Tatishev and Prince V.A. Urusov implemented I.K. Kirilov's project, as Chief Secretary of the Senate.



However, the act of “separating the Bashkirs from the Kazakhs and striving to establish “peace” in the region through political measures greatly influenced the escalation of Bashkir unrest” (Kazantsev, 1867: 56). I.K. Kirilov didn’t even bother about the political and social situation of the Bashkir people. He simply said, “Your Majesty, I heartily congratulate you on the New Russia!” (RSAAA. F.248. C.113. P. 240) and proceeded to “turn a blind eye” to uprisings and protests while engaging in colonial politics. Alongside peaceful relations and alliances, there were also conflicts, disputes over pastures, elopements of girls, and rivalry between Bashkir and Kazakh dancers and heroes. The royal government awaited an opportunity to instigate an ethnic conflict between Kazakhs and Bashkirs. They aimed to drive a wedge between the two brother nations to prevent their united actions against tsarist Russia.

The Bashkir rebellion of 1735 significantly obstructed the Russian Empire's colonization efforts, which were conducted under the pretense of “exploring” the region’s wealth and topography. In a decree dated February 11, 1736, Queen Anna Ioannovna reaffirmed the order for the Orenburg expedition in response to the Bashkir uprising: “To all our boards and offices, to Governors-General, Vice-Governors, Governors, Commandants, and all ranks of military and civil command, we hereby declare: On May 18, 1734, His Majesty the Emperor, along with State Councilor Ivan Kirillov and Colonel Alexey Tevkelev, signed the decree for the Subjugation of the Peoples of Asia. All the aforementioned military and civil authorities are ordered to assist Kirillov as necessary to protect our interests. Our interests have been harmed by the piracy of the Bashkirs. Therefore, by decree of our Imperial Majesty, the aforementioned order is approved” (RSAAA. F. 248. I. 17. C. 1131. P. 540–541 rev.).

In 1738, a captured Kazakh sent the following message to the Ufa provincial chancellery: “I am Kulymbet from the Little Zhuz. It has been three years since we, 200 families, became the property of the Orta Zhuz under Barak Khan. People from different regions of the Ufa province come to us. Among them, Saltanatmrat Mekes Batyr, with a group of 600 people, arrived along the Torgai River. Just two months ago, Ablai sent an army to the Bashkirs, led by Bolat, the son of Abil-Mambet Sultan” (RSAAA. F.248 Senat. I. 17. C.1183. P. 630).

Analyzing the aforementioned archival document reveals several key insights: Firstly, we observe the influence of Sultan Ablai, who assisted the Bashkirs in finding refuge in the Middle Zhuz in 1738. The document clearly states that he provided protection for the Bashkirs who fled from all over the Ufa region, placing them under the care of sultans and batyrs (knights, warriors-O.K.). For example, it is noted that 600 Bashkir families sought refuge with Sultan Barak in 1739. Secondly, Saltanmrat Mekes Batyr, a member of the Bashkir rebellion, found refuge in the Middle Zhuz not by chance. He trusted that Sultan Ablai would not hand him over to Tsarist Russia. Thirdly, Ablai’s decision to send 2,500 troops to aid the Bashkirs, led by Bolat Sultan, demonstrates his strategic geopolitical vision and prudent actions. Ablai recognized that the colonization policies aimed at troubling the Middle Zhuz sultans were a threat, and he needed to assert the independent status of the Kazakh Khanate to Tsarist Russia.

The years 1738–1741 were marked by uprisings for the Bashkirs, but for Kazakh history, they were years of relentless Dzungar raids: “...from 1738 to 1741, the Dzungar kontaishy (ᠬᠣᠨᠲᠠᠢᠰᠢᠬᠠᠨ; ruler of the Dzungar Khanate-O.K.) launched a new campaign into the Kazakh steppe, killing all the peaceful inhabitants in his path. They burned Kazakh villages and drove away their cattle. In 1737, 150 sultans accepted Russian citizenship, and in 1740, another 128 sultans did the same” (KRO, 1961: 9).

I.P. Rychkov notes that Sultan Ablai did not attend the ceremony to receive subjects (patrial). In 1738, Tatischev organized a solemn meeting with Abilkhair Khan in Orinburg, where Abilkhair was to swear an oath to the Russian throne: “Abilmambet and Ablai, however, did not attend this “official meeting,” citing their move to the Irtysh River valley for the winter. In reality, Abilmambet and Ablai wintered near the border, avoiding the official adoption ceremony and, therefore, not officially accepting Russian citizenship. Aware of these events, the Bashkirs who fled during the uprising sought refuge with Sultan Ablai” (Rychkov, 1896: 64).

During these turbulent years, Ablai sultan exhibited utmost caution in Kazakh-Bashkir relations, striving to prevent further escalation. A key reason for his careful approach was the appointment of

V.A. Urusov to the leadership of the Orenburg Commission: “In the summer of 1740, Urusov orchestrated mass executions. Following the uprising in 1737 in the Karatabyn region of the Uysk river basin, V.A. Urusov initiated the first mass execution on November 15 in Orenburg. During this grim event, five close assistants of Karasakal and 6,000 Bashkirs were impaled, 11 people were hanged by their ribs, 85 were hanged by their necks, and 21 were beheaded. The remaining individuals were driven to Sakmar town. Additionally, the ears and noses of ordinary people, who were not significant organizers of the uprising, were cut off and they were left mutilated” (RSAAA. F. 248. B. 145. P. 74).

The Bashkirs tried to preserve their system of internal self-government in historical Bashkortostan, protesting against increased taxes and the abuses of officials during collection. They also sought to protect their cultural, religious, and domestic traditions. Ablai Sultan did not immediately hand over the prisoners. This is evident from the stern warnings issued by the queen in the collection of decrees: “after committing violence in their surroundings, the Bashkirs who abandoned their homes and livestock are seeking refuge among the Kirghiz-Kaisaks (Kazakhs-O.K.). However, some among them have not forgotten their dependency on us and do not see the rebellion as justified” (Polnoye sobraniye zakonov Rossiyskoy Imperii, 1830: 436).

It can be said that the colonial administration feared on military force in the Kazakh steppe. Therefore, they always tried to strengthen outposts: “The military council's decree ordered Lieutenant-General Myatlev, the Governor of Siberia, to support Croft's detachment to fulfill the Queen's orders. Additionally, instructions were given to provide protection from the end of the Uisk line to the beginning of the Novoishimsk line, and from the Zverinoglovsk fortress along the Irtysh to the Siberian gubernias. The military collegium promptly executed the order and commenced the regulation of arms and personnel” (GAOO. F. 1. I. 1. C. 190. P. 696–697, 701).

Soon after, the resurgence of the “uprising was triggered by the authorities’ decision to conduct a census of the Bashkir population starting in January 1739. The census introduced per capita poll taxes, reviving the idea of rejecting Tsarist rule as seen in previous Bashkir uprisings. The uprising split in terms of ideology: one faction of Bashkirs, led by Yuldash mullah, sought support from the Dzungars, while another group aimed to forge an alliance with the Kazakhs. However, due to ongoing Dzungar attacks, the Kazakhs of the Little and Middle Hundreds were unable to openly aid the Bashkir rebels. In December 1739, the census was resumed, and by the turn of 1739–1740, census records appeared in the Chelyabinsk fortress. In January 1740, a new leader emerged, Karasakal, who declared himself Khan of Bashkortostan under the name Sultangirei, leading a renewed uprising. The Karasakal detachment engaged in battle but was ultimately defeated” (Vitevsky, 1897: 135, 137, 146).

After the defeat, the leader of the uprising, Bashkir Khan Karasakal, fled to the Kazakh steppe and forged close ties with the Kazakhs: “In the 1740s, he posed political challenges to the Russian administration. On May 29, 1740, the governor of Orenburg sent a letter to Nurali, urging him to seize and return the Bashkirs who sought refuge in the Kazakh army. Similarly, on June 7, 1740, a letter was dispatched to Ablai with a similar request” (Vestnik ChGU, 2009: 56). Ablai Sultan's decision not to hand over the Bashkirs to Tsarist Russia had several advantages. It strengthened the solidarity between the two peoples. Rychkov also documents this incident: “Ablai, on his part, refused to arrest and hand over Karasakal to either Russia or Dzungaria, despite their demands. The Bashkir uprising failed to gather enough momentum. Even though Abulkhair captured the leaders of the Bashkir rebels, he did not hand them over to the Russian authorities” (Rychkov 1896, 64).

Leaders of neighboring countries endeavored to assist each other despite challenging political circumstances. Ablai and Kazakh heroes and sultans provided sanctuary for captured Bashkirs, safeguarding those deemed too risky to return to Russia by integrating them into their communities and sheltering others. Karasakal assumed leadership of the Bashkir rebels only in the final, fifth year of the rebellion.

Researcher Moiseev also notes that Russian documents exhibit confusion between the figures known as Karasakhal (Karasakal), as well as the Kalmyk batyr Shuno: “Karasakal, also known as Shuno batyr, claimed to be the son of the Dzungar Khan who lost his throne due to his brother Galdan-Tseren's cunning. He sought military aid from the Kazakh steppe against his brother and

pledged to adopt Islam in the Dzungar Khanate. Initially, Karasakal faced limited success in his political endeavors. Although Kazakhs sympathized with his cause, they couldn't muster a large-scale war against the advancing Dzungar Khanate. Many Kazakh heroes encountered the real Shono batyr in various encounters, both on the battlefield and during peaceful times. Kazakh hero Eset wrote in a letter to Orynbor in 1742: 'I knew the Kalmyk hero Shono-batyr quite well. Karasakal is a different person altogether. And Karasakal is not Shono' (Moiseyev, 1998: 46). From this note, it is evident that Karasakal was portrayed as a "swindler," "liar," and a troublemaker who disrupted the peace of the country. The Tsarist authorities suppressed opposing peoples and imposed various restrictions on their rights.

They also made every effort to prevent mutual aid and contacts between Turkic-speaking peoples. One example of this political strategy was forced mass baptism: "By the decree of Queen Anna Ioannovna dated September 11, 1740, a new department of baptism was established to convert Muslims and pagans in the Kazan, Astrakhan, and Voronezh provinces to Orthodoxy. Luka Konashevich, archbishop of Kazan and Sviyazhsk, was appointed as the head of this institution". (Vestnik ChGU, 2009: 55). Historical records indicate that the policy of colonization was implemented on multiple fronts.

Even before being appointed as khan, Kazakh ruler Ablai's high status was widely recognized by neighboring countries and peoples. The renowned Kazakh scholar of XIX century Ch.Ch. Valikhanov spoke of his great-grandfather Ablai: "In the first half of the XIX century, during the battles with the Dzungars, Ablai gained a great reputation among the Kazakh people for his wisdom and organizational skills. Historical records describe Ablai as a visionary politician focused on creating a centralized and powerful Kazakh state" (Valikhanov, 1984: 383-384). Because of this, historical documents also show that Bashkir leaders approached him, requesting his leadership as khan. "Sultan Ablai's acceptance of many refugees, his provision of shelter, and his support for the Bashkir rebellion leaders demonstrate that Ablai and the Kazakh people who admired him were able to navigate a difficult geopolitical situation effectively. This was particularly significant as the Kazakhs were simultaneously repelling a new wave of the Dzungar invasion in 1740" (KRO, 1961: 9).

Analyzing the archival historical information mentioned above, we can conclude that Ablai Sultan's influential policies significantly impacted the consequences of the Bashkir uprising. Sultan Ablai played a significant role in shaping the consequences of the Bashkir rebellion (1735–1740) through his strategic support and diplomatic acumen. Here are the key points of his influence.

*Provision of Refuge and Support.* Ablai Sultan provided refuge to many Bashkir rebels and their families, demonstrating solidarity with the Bashkir cause. This support included shelter and protection, helping to sustain the rebellion's leadership and morale.

*Strengthening Alliances.* By supporting the Bashkir leaders and offering asylum, Ablai fostered stronger alliances between the Kazakhs and the Bashkirs. This alliance was crucial in maintaining a united front against common adversaries, such as the Russian Empire and the Dzungar Khanate.

*Geopolitical Navigation.* Ablai's ability to offer support while managing his relations with the Russian Empire showed his diplomatic skill. He navigated a complex geopolitical landscape, balancing the need to resist Russian encroachment with the necessity of avoiding direct confrontation.

*Distraction and Division of Russian Forces.* Ablai's support for the Bashkirs indirectly caused a diversion of Russian military resources. The Russian Empire had to deal with the sustained Bashkir resistance, which was bolstered by Kazakh support, thus spreading Russian forces thinner across the region.

*Influence on Kazakh Sovereignty.* Ablai's actions during the rebellion reinforced Kazakh sovereignty and independence. By not handing over Bashkir refugees and resisting Russian demands, he asserted Kazakh autonomy and demonstrated that the Kazakh Khanate would not be easily manipulated by Russian interests.

*Symbol of Resistance.* Ablai became a symbol of resistance against Russian colonization efforts. His support for the Bashkirs highlighted his broader vision of resisting imperial encroachment and preserving the independence of Turkic-speaking peoples.



*Historical Legacy.* Ablai's significant role in the Bashkir rebellion left a lasting legacy on Kazakh-Bashkir relations and in the collective memory of resistance against colonial powers.

In summary, Ablai Sultan's influence on the consequences of the Bashkir rebellion was profound. His strategic support for the Bashkir leaders, provision of refuge, and diplomatic maneuvering significantly impacted the rebellion's dynamics and outcomes, reinforcing the Kazakh position in the region and contributing to the broader resistance against Russian colonial ambitions.

### Conclusion

The influence of Ablai Sultan on the consequences of the Bashkir Rebellion (1735–1740) is a testament to his remarkable leadership and strategic acumen. Ablai's actions during and after the rebellion played a critical role in shaping the outcomes for both the Bashkir people and the Kazakh Khanate, reflecting his capacity to navigate complex geopolitical challenges. Ablai Sultan's role during the Bashkir Rebellion is a focal point of this research. His strategic alliances, diplomatic acumen, and humanitarian efforts in sheltering Bashkir refugees are well-documented. Scholars have examined how Ablai's actions during the rebellion not only provided immediate relief to the Bashkirs but also enhanced his stature among the Kazakh people and neighboring regions. His ability to navigate the complex geopolitical landscape of the time is a testament to his leadership qualities and political foresight.

Ablai's decision to provide refuge and support to the Bashkir leaders and their families fleeing the punitive measures of Tsarist Russia underscores his humanitarian commitment and political foresight. By offering sanctuary, he not only alleviated the immediate suffering of the Bashkir people but also strengthened the bonds between the Kazakh and Bashkir communities. This act of solidarity reinforced the Kazakh Khanate's reputation as a sovereign entity capable of influencing regional dynamics.

Through his diplomatic efforts, Ablai established and maintained crucial alliances with neighboring states and influential empires. His extensive correspondence and negotiations with various rulers demonstrate his ability to leverage diplomatic channels to enhance the Kazakh Khanate's standing. These interactions contributed to his accumulation of leadership experience and facilitated the Khanate's engagement on the international political stage.

Moreover, Ablai's support for the Bashkir people during their struggle for independence from Tsarist Russia highlighted his broader strategic objectives. By positioning himself as a protector of oppressed peoples, he not only garnered loyalty and respect from the Bashkirs but also reinforced his own leadership legitimacy among the Kazakhs. This strategic positioning helped to consolidate his power and ensured the stability and resilience of the Kazakh Khanate in a volatile regional context.

In conclusion, Ablai Sultan's influence on the consequences of the Bashkir Rebellion was profound and multifaceted. His humanitarian actions, diplomatic initiatives, and strategic vision collectively contributed to the Kazakh Khanate's enhanced political stature and strengthened its regional influence. Ablai's legacy as a leader who adeptly navigated the challenges of his time continues to be a significant chapter in the history of Central Asia, illustrating the enduring impact of his leadership on the course of historical events. In addition, the research on the Bashkir Rebellion and Ablai Sultan spans a rich historiographical tradition, from XIX century scholars to contemporary historians. This body of work collectively offers a detailed and multifaceted understanding of the rebellion's causes, progression, and aftermath, as well as Ablai Sultan's significant role in these events. Through meticulous archival research and innovative methodological approaches, scholars continue to unravel the complexities of this pivotal period in Central Asian history.

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