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**KAZAKH KHANATE AND MAWARANNAHR
AT THE END OF THE XVI CENTURY:
PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL RELATIONS**

In the article, the author examines the problems of the relationship between the Kazakh Khanate and the Mawarannahr Shayban dynasty of the late 16th century. The core of this relationship was the struggle for Turkestan. In the article the author, relying on sources, examines the history of these battles, investigates the facts that Tauekel Khan in the struggle with the Shayban ruler Abdullah II Khan sent an ambassador, and also about establishing a connection between the Kazakh ambassador, the Iranian ambassadors in Moscow and the people of Abbas Shah. Even in the struggle against Mawarannahr, there is a possibility that a military alliance between the Kazakh Khanate and Iran can be established. The reasons for the effectiveness of Tauekel Khan's campaigns are the personal qualities of the khan, the unity of the Kazakh society. Because of this campaign, the Turkestan region finally became a part of the Kazakh Khanate.

Key words: Deshti-Kipchak, Tauekel Khan, Mawarannahr, campaign, Turkestan, embassy.

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**XVI ғасырдың соңындағы Қазақ Хандығы және Мәуереннахр:
саяси қарым-қатынастар мәселесі**

Автор мақаласында Тәуекел хан тұсындағы Қазақ хандығының Мауереннахрдағы шайбанилық әулетпен екі жақты қарым-қатынастарының басты мәселесі – Түркістан аймағындағы қалалар мен өңірлер мәселесін қарастырады. Мақалада автор сол күрестердің тарихына шолу жасай келе, Қазақ хандығы үшін шайбанилық әулетпен күресте өте қолайлы жағдай атқарған факторға – Мауереннахр билеушісінің өзінің оңтүстік-батыстағы көршісі – Ирандағы сефевилік әулетпен жаулық қарым-қатынасын ашып көрсетеді. Бұл көршілер арасындағы қарым-қатынастардың басты өзегі тағы да территория болды. Тәуекел хан жорығының нәтижелі болуының себептеріне ханның жеке басындағы қасиеттері, қазақ қоғамындағы бірлікті жатқызады. Осы жорық нәтижесінде Түркістан аймағы Қазақ хандығының құрамына түпкілікті енеді.

Түйін сөздер: Дешті-Қыпшақ, Тәуекел хан, Мәуереннахр, жорық, Түркістан, елшілік.

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**Казахское ханство и Мауереннахр в конце XVI века:
проблемы политических отношений**

В статье автор рассматривает проблемы взаимоотношений между Казахским ханством и шайбанской династией Мауереннахра конца XVI века. Ядром этих отношений была борьба за Туркестан. В статье автор, опираясь на источники, рассматривает историю этих сражений,

исследует факты о том, что Тауекел хан в борьбе с шайбанским правителем Абдуллой II ханом отправил посла, а также об установлении связи между казахским послом, иранскими послами в Москве и людьми Аббас шаха. Даже в борьбе против Мауереннахра существует вероятность того, что между Казахским ханством и Ираном может быть установлен военный альянс. Причинами эффективности походов Тауекел-хана являются личные качества хана, единство казахского общества. В результате этого похода Туркестанский регион, наконец, вошел в состав Казахского ханства.

Ключевые слова: Дешт-и-Кипчак, Тауекел хан, Мауереннахр, поход, Туркестан, посольство.

Introduction

The main goal of the foreign policy of the Kazakh khans in the 15th-16th centuries was the completion of the formation of the ethnic territory of the Kazakh people. Since most of the residents of Deshti-Kipchak were engaged in nomadic pastoralism, winter pastures along the middle and lower reaches of the Syrdarya river were also important as summer pastures along the middle reaches of the Tobol and Yesil rivers in the northern part of the territory. The territory of Deshti-Kipchak was a completely ethnic territory for local residents, who developed the traditional form of farming for several thousand years. At the same time, some areas of Deshti-Kipchak became very special. In the XIV-XVI centuries such regions were located along the middle and lower currents of the Syrdarya, which is considered the Turkestan region.

It is well known that the cities located in the Turkestan region had economic, political, administrative, spiritual, cultural and geopolitical significance in the 13th and 15th centuries for Ak-Orda, then for the Abulhair Khanate and for cities and regions of the Kazakh Khanate (Karibaev, 2015: 28-72). In this regard, for several centuries, the struggle for the region was waged between the rulers of Deshti-Kipchak and the rulers of Mawarannahr.

At the end of the XIV century, the main cause of Timur's wars with the khans of Ak Orda, Tokhtamysh Khan with Timur, Barak Khan and Ulygbek was the desire to dominate the region. In the early 70s of the 15th century, the Kazakh Khanate, which dominated most of Dashti-Kipchak, was to return winter pastures, lands and cities located on the average flow of the Syrdarya.

In the last quarter of the 15th century, this struggle was continued by the successors of Kerey and Zhanibek Khan – Burindyk Khan and Qasim Khan. During the «temporary easing» of the Khanate, the region became dependent on the Shaibanids in Mawarannahr. It is known that during the reign of Haknazar Khan, a long struggle for the return of the region continued. At the end of the century, the Kazakh Khan Tauekel continued this struggle and

eventually achieved a positive result. As a result of his campaigns to Mawarannahr in 1597-1598, the territories under the Syrdarya were fully and finally annexed to the Kazakh Khanate. Thus, the territory is formed as an ethno territory of the Kazakh people. The main reason for the conversion of these territories on the ethno territory of the Kazakh people is the long-term policy of Tauekel Khan and his campaign to Mawarannahr in 1597-1598. Therefore, in this work, we set ourselves the goal of revealing the course and significance of Tauekel Khan's campaigns to Mawarannahr.

The Main Part

Ignoring the question of how Tauekel Khan came to power, we must immediately move on to the policy pursued by the ruler of Mawarannahr Abdallah II, in those years.

The main roots of bilateral relations were the cities and regions of Turkestan. And the Khorasan region is geopolitically and economically an ancient battle front between the rulers of the Mawarannahr and the ruling elite in Iran. And in the last twenty years of the 16th century, between the Shaibanid rulers and Safavid dynasties, there was a tense struggle for the cities of Khorasan.

Abdallah II who overcame all his opponents in Mawarannahr officially declared himself as a khan in 1583 after the death of his father and went on a campaign to the regions of Khorasan, Badakhshan and Khorezm. He conquered Badakhshan in 1584, Herat in 1588 and Khorezm in 1595 (Gafurov, 1989: 274). In 1587, the famous Safavid ruler Abbas Shah uses diplomatic, military means to return the territory of Khorasan. In order not to wage war on two fronts, he came to a peace agreement with the Ottoman Empire in 1590. At the end of 1593, he sent his embassy to Moscow. As was said above, Ambassador Tauekel-khan Kul-Muhammad met with the embassy in Moscow in January 1594 and held talks on fighting the Bukharian khan. We said earlier that in October, 1595, the representative of the Iranian ambassador who was in the Horde Tauekel Khan returned to Moscow together with Velyamin

Stepanov. It can be said that the representative of the Iranian Embassy returned home the following year, that is, in 1596. It is clear that he told Abbas Shah all the details of the results of the talks with Tauekel Khan.

At this stage, we would like to mention the following question. May 30, 1594, the Russian king Fyodor Ivanovich, in response to the embassy Abbas Shah in Moscow, sent to Iran an embassy headed by Prince A.D.Zvenigorodsky. On November 6, 2011, the Iranian Shah received the Russian ambassador in his palace and asked questions about the relationship between the Russian king and Turkey, the Crimea, the German Emperor Rudolf, the King of Lithuania, the Nogai Horde, the ruler of Dagestan Shevkal, the Bukharian khan and other countries (Korsakova, 1916: 313). But there is no question about the Kazakh Khanate, especially about the attitude of the Russian Tsar to Tauekel Khan. We will try to explain it this way.

As we already mentioned, an agreement was reached between Abbas Shah's Ambassador and Tauekel Khan's Ambassador Kul Muhammad that each side send its representatives to the Kazakh steppe and to Iran. We said earlier that one of the representatives of the Iranian embassy, along with V.Stepanov, had already visited Tauekel Khan. A representative of the Kazakh Embassy is not mentioned anywhere. But this does not mean that the representative of the Kazakh embassy did not come to Iran. In our opinion, the representative of Kazakh Khanate arrived in Iran with Iranian Ambassador Azi Khusrau. The embassy of Prince A. Zvenigorodsky arrives in Iran on September 22, 1594, the ship of the Iranian ambassador for 7 days later, because of headwinds. The Russian ambassador will be received by Shah in a month and a half (Korsakova, 1916: 311). Meanwhile, the people of Abbas Shah or Abbas Shah himself learned about the relations between Tauekel Khan and the Shaibanids in Mawarannahr and with the Russian Tsar from the representative of the Kazakh Kaganate who was in the embassy of Azi Khusrau. Therefore, it can be argued that Abbas Shah did not ask the Russian ambassador for information about the Kazakhs.

In general, as a result of the Kazakh-Iranian diplomatic relations of these years, we see that the Kazakh khan and the Iranian Shah fought against the Shaibanite dynasty in Mawarannahr. In historical science, in the late 90s of the XVI century, Tauekel-khan's campaigns to Mawarannahr were rather well researched. (Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864: 345-352; Yudin, 1969: 83-91; Abuseitova, 1981: 124-141). When we look at the facts in history and

compare them with each other, we see that at the end of the XVI century Tauekel Khan's campaigns on Mawarannahr occurred twice, in 1597 and 1598, the first was during the life of Abdallah and the other after the death of Khan of Bukhara. Most medieval data speak of the campaigns of 1598. Only in two sources – a short description of the campaign of Tauekel Khan at the end of 1597 and the beginning of 1598 in Iskander Munshi's History of Alamar-i-Abbasi and the History of Kipchaki by Hijam-i-Balkhi (Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864: 342-343; Tarikh-i Kipchaki, 1969: 394-395). A brief summary of the information given in the historical-and-Kipchaks looks as follows: «Kazakh sultans raised their voices in hearings about the clash between the father and son [Abdallah Khan and Abd-al-Mumin-khan]. Tauekel Khan is trying to conquer Bukhara with many troops. Abdallah Khan brings [his] commanders into battle. In this battle, many prominent Uzbeks were killed. The fleeing army arrived in Bukhara. This incident [for khan] was a bit of sorrow. He mustered troops and went to Samarkand to repulse the Kazakh warrior. At that moment, he began to suffer from grief and sorrow, and died in one thousand seventh (1598/1599). He was buried in Hoja Nakshbandi in Bukhara...» (Tarikh-i Kipchaki, 1969: 394-395). V.Velyaminov-Zernov thus translates the campaigns of Tauekel Khan in 1597-1598 on the research of Iskander Munshi «The Kazakh sultans who lived to the point of fear of Abdullah rebelled when the news of hostility between father and son spread to Turkestan». One of them, Tauekel-Sultan, who owns the rank of khan, comes to Tashkent with a large number of Kazakh troops. Abdullah Khan does not consider him a worthy opponent, and sends the sultans of his dynasty and the amirs of the border regions and only part of his troops. Two armies met between Tashkent and Samarkand and waged a bloody battle. The undefeated army of the Khan lost. Most emirs and commanders and several sultans were killed, and the rest of the army fled to Bukhara in a very bad and miserable state. Khan, who was offended by his son's actions before, was even more exhausted by this situation... He focused only on the army and decided to go to war. In order to avoid the danger caused by Tauekel Khan's army, he went to Samarkand, but disobedience to his son and defeat from the Kazakhs worsened his health. He fell ill and soon died» (Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864: 342-343).

As can be seen from the above two facts, Khan II Abdullah is still alive during this campaign of Tauekel Khan. The actual date and time of death of the Shaiban khan is well known in science, it was

February 8, 1598 (Mukhammed-Yusuf Munshi, 1956: 69). Therefore, the data presented indicate that the campaign of Tauekel Khan was at the end of 1597 and at the beginning of 1598.

It is widely known that the son and successor of Abdallah Khan, Abdul-Mumin became a khan of Bukhara after the death of his father. When the Iranian Shah heard about the death of II Abdallah he immediately prepare for the return of Khorasan, and on April 9, 1598, he went from Isfahan to Herat (Mukhammed-Yusuf Munshi, 1956: 90). The journey of Tauekel Khan to Mawarannahr begins six months after the assassination of Abd al-Mumin Khan. This was written by the author of the history of «Tarih-i Kipchaki» when he heard about the death of Abd-al-Mu'min-khan ... Tauekel-Khan began the conquest of Tashkent and Mawarannahr» (Tarikh-i Kipchaki, 1969: 395).

The above data indicate that the struggle between Tauekel Khan and Abbas Shah against the Shaibanid rule in Mawarannahr and in Khorasan was the result of a preliminary bilateral agreement. This agreement is understood as a result of the work of the representative of the Iranian embassy in Tauekel Khan's Horde and the representative of the Kazakh ambassador in Iran. If, according to the agreement, Tauekel-khan conducted the first campaign in Mawarannahr in 1597 during the life of II Abdallah Khan, Abbas Shah did this in 1598, after the death of the ruler of Bukhara. In 1598, Tauekel-Khan's next campaign was after the death of the successor of II Abdallah Khan. Thus, Tauekel Khan's struggle against the power of the Shaibanid dynasty in Mawarannahr, raises his authority not only in the history of the Kazakh people, but throughout the Central Asian region at the end of the 16th century.

Let us turn now to the campaign of Tauekel Khan in Mawarannahr in 1598 and its significance in the history of Kazakhstan.

As we have already noted, the campaign of Tauekel Khan begins in late summer, in 1598, after the assassination of Abdul Mumin. Local emirs killed him secretly after six months of his reign in Bukhara. Interestingly, according to the descriptions of Muhammad Yusuf Munshi, one of the organizers of the killing was the Kazakh. He states: «... His (Abd al-Mumin-khan) power lasted for six months. Abd al-Mumin knew that the Bukharans are used to the kindness of his father and will be ungrateful in their actions and can do something bad. He wanted to destroy the most reputed people. However, they found out about it and secretly gathered and pondered the plan of action and declared their readiness to do a great job. Among the audience was one Ka-

zakh aksakal, who said: «So it is impossible to say». He stood up and touched each of the participants in the meeting one by one, when it came to embodying our thoughts, your hearts beat harder. And looking at two people: «Your hearts are calm,» said the aksakal. These two were instructed to do the job» (Mukhammed-Yusuf Munshi, 1956: 69). These two people kill Abd al-Mumin and cut off his head (Mukhammed-Yusuf Munshi, 1956: 69-70).

We do not know how was close the unknown elder in the source to the Tauekel khan. Nevertheless, given the fact that Tauekel Khan, since the beginning of the 1580s, was in Mawarannahr, openly and secretly pursued a policy with Bukhara, and that his main rival was the Shaibanid dynasty since 1594, one can say that the Kazakh aksakal is not a simple person, but one of the trusted people of Tauekel Khan in Bukhara. **And he was not alone.** According to «Tarih-i alamara-yi Abbasi», Abd ul-Uashi bi was one of the most reliable and well-known emirs of II Abdallah Khan, and after the death of the khan, he defected to Tauekel Khan's side and was one of the organizers of Abd al-Mumin's assassination and persuaded Tauekel Khan attack to Mawarannahr (Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864: 351). Based on this information, we see that Tauekel Khan was influential in Mawarannahr and his capital, Bukhara. These factors are one of the reasons why the cities of Tashkent, Akhshi, Andijan and Samarkand went to Tauekel Khan's side without a fight in 1598.

As was mentioned above, information about Tauekel Khan's last campaign in 1598 in Mawarannahr is well described in the works of Tarih-i Alamar-i Abbasi and Tarih-i Kipchaki. Let's look at the battle process by comparing the data from both sources.

In the campaign, Tauekel Khan went to the last month of the summer. According to Iskandar-bey Munshi, Tauekel Khan had more than one hundred thousand soldiers, and all the troops were formed from the territory of Dasht-i-Kipchak and Turkestan (Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864: 347-348). According to the information, Tauekel Khan's troops were «collected from the tribes of Turkestan and nomadic Uzbeks». Here, «nomadic Uzbeks» – the collective name of the Dasht-i-Kipchak tribes before the formation of the Kazakh Khanate, especially in the second quarter of the 15th century. After the formation of the Kazakh Khanate, all tribes in the majority of the Dasht-i-Kipchak, dominated by the Kazakh khans, began to be called Kazakhs. The term «nomadic Uzbeks» is often used by the Persian authors of that period. And as the Turkestan tribes, Iskander-bey Munshi speaks of semi-settled and

semi-nomadic tribes along the middle stream of the Syrdarya River.

Conclusion

Iskander-bek Munshi further says: «The residents of the local district surrendered without a fight to the huge army of Tauekel Khan. In a short time, he conquered major cities and regions of Central Asia, such as Tashkent, Ahshi, Andijan, Samarkand and the city of Bukhara, in Myankal. In Samarkand, with 20,000 troops, he left his brother Sultan Yesim, and himself went to Bukhara with 70-80 thousand troops. Since there are no more than 15,000 soldiers in Bukhara, Mohammed Khan and emirs fortify the city fortress and towers. Tauekel Khan approached the city, divided the army into several parts and surrounded the city. Bukharians attacked every day from different gates of the city, inflicted damage on their number. It lasted about eleven days. On the twelfth day, all the troops in Bukhara left the city and fought from sunrise to sunset. On this day the

Bukharians won. And Tauekel Khan will have to retreat. From retreat, some troops will reach Samarkand and Yesim Sultan knows about everything.

When he heard this news, Sultan Yesim sent a message to his brother: «It is a shame to lose with a large number of troops to a small army and if a Khan comes to Samarkand a riot will begin here. Let the Khan stop the retreat and come back I will join him with my troops». Tauekel Khan accepted his brother's advice and went back to Bukhara. Soon Sultan Yesim joins him. Bukharans will also receive reinforcements from Balkh. The troops of the two sides meet in the area of Uzunsakal in Miankal. The battle lasts about a month. The fighting sides could not achieve the final victory. At that moment, Tauekel Khan started the fight himself. The Bukharans had a lot of losses. In this battle, Tauekel Khan himself suffered serious injuries. After the khan's wounding, Kazakh troops return to Tashkent. Soon Tauekel Khan died (Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864: 350-351).

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Әдебиеттер

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