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## **The Study of a Kazakh document in Chinese archives related to Khankhoja sultan's cattle trade and its historical significance**

In the following article, Advanced research methods of history and historical philology are used, along with a letter written by the Kazakh's sultan Khankhoja, who owned the East Kazakh steppe since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and had close relations with the neighboring Qing dynasty, to the local taiji who was in charge of affairs in Tarbagatai is studied. The letter is written in the old Kazakh written language, the language is simple, understandable, the content is deep, it is an original document written by the Kazakh, which is very valuable for the comprehensive study of the trade business of the Kazakh steppe. In the previous studies, it was often said that "silk was traded for horses", but as we can see from the content of the analyzed letter, not only horses were exchanged for silk, sometimes other livestock were also traded. The letter is now stored in the First Historical Archives of China in Beijing. From the contents of the letter, the long history of Kazakh- Kyrgyz relations can be indirectly understood.

*Keywords:* Kazakh Khanate, East Kazakh steppe, Qing Dynasty, Khankhoja sultan, cattle trade, Chinese archives, Kazakh document, historical significance.

### *Introduction*

After the destruction of the Junghars, official diplomatic relations were established between the eastern part of the Kazakh under the rule of sultans Ablai and Abilpeiz with the Qing emperor. This period corresponds to 1757, which is always referred to as "year of the cow" in Kazakh documents. In September of this year, a 7-person ambassador of Ablai and Abilpeiz led by Kenjeqara (total of 11 people with 4 horsemen) went to Qianlong emperor and returned with success; After this regular meeting, trade between the two sides was revived, trade fairs were opened in Urumqi in 1758, in Yili in 1761, and in Tarbagatai in 1764, creating favorable conditions for the continuous development of economic relations between the Kazakh Khanate and the Qing Dynasty [1; 51-54].

The return of the Kazakh ambassadors, led by Kenjeqara, to meet with the Qianlong was not only an unprecedented event in the history of the Kazakh Khanate, but also a milestone in the political and economic relations between the Kazakh Khanate and the Qing dynasty. Therefore, the contribution of Kenjeqara, who was Ablai's trusted companion and the ambassador-in-chief, a successful start of friendly relations between the two countries and their daily strengthening, can be highly appreciated.

Although we have obtained partial memories of Kenjeqara's diplomatic trip from the 18<sup>th</sup> century Chinese language records, but due to the lack of Kazakh sources, no scientific conclusions have been made until recent of his origin, which is, what kind of person he was. However, information related to Kenjeqara's family name can be found in Kazakh documents written in the Manchu script, which was considered the state script during the Qing dynasty. For example, Zhaohui and Fude were said about Kenjeqara in the Manchu letter which was with the copy of the first letter that written by Ablai and Abilpeiz to the Emperor Qianlong "Henjigar, Kara kesek argan otok i jaisang, Hadzbek i jalahi jui" (Kenjeqara is a jaisang (in Kazakh: bi) of the Qara Kesek tribe of Argyn, cousin of Kazybek) [2; 15]. This is the only historical source that can directly contribute to our comprehensive study of Kenjeqara. The name Kazybek here is Kazybek bi, whose name is well-known to the Kazakh people at the time. According to the Kazakh genealogy, Kazybek Keldibekuly was born in 1667 and died in 1764. He was from the Qara Kesek tribe of Argyn, and he had 5 brothers: Sadymbek, Asan, Balapan, Usen, and Bodene [3; 118-119].

It can be assumed that Kenjeqara is the son of one of these 5 brothers of Kazybek bi. Because Kazybek's nephew is written while Kenjeqara's father's name is not mentioned in Manchu records. According to the recognition of Kazybek bi in the statement that sent to the emperor by the local administration of the neighboring Qing dynasty, he was a popular person despite the come of the age not only in the Kazakh society of that era, but also in the neighboring regions.

One thing to note in the 24<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong (1759), Saguchi Toru mentioned about Kazakh traders led by Kazybek went to Urumqi to trade horses, and concluded that the head of the trade was the bi Kazybek of Kazakh nation, Based on N.G. Apollova's research [4; 325, 651]. If we refer to this opinion, Kazybek bi, who has a Kazakh judging power, went to Urumqi to lead Kazakh merchants in his old age. From this, it can be understood that Kazybek bi is not only a top judge who adds wisdom to the councils of khans and sultans, but also a figure that has his own place in the trade affairs between the Kazakh Khanate and the Qing dynasty.

Ablai khan lived in along the river of the Esil, Kokshetau mountain and Kostanay regions and ruled over the Argyn tribes there. There were a large number of people among the 44 tribes of the Argyn ruled by him. That is why he sent an ambassador to the neighboring Qing dynasty, chose the taiji and heroes of the influential tribes he owned as chief ambassadors to establish political and economic relations, and was able to rationally use their prestige among the clans. On the one hand, his decision to appoint Kenjeqara as the chief ambassador and send him back to meet the Qianlong arose out of this necessity, and on the other hand, it was a good way to get out of the impasse of the Kazakh Khanate, whose power was fragmented.

#### *Experimental*

In this article, research methods of history and historical data science are used, based on historical sources written in Manchu and Chinese, a letter of Khankhoja sultan, who owned the Eastern region of Kazakh Khanate at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, sent to Tarbaghatai nobles is analyzed in detail. A facsimile, transcription and translation of its original in the modern Kazakh language are given and combined with the scientific research method of historical data. In this way, the details of the economic relationship between the Kazakh Khanate and the Qing dynasty are described. Such a research method, in turn, has a positive effect on writing the economic history of the Kazakh Khanate, as well as on re-examining the results of previous research written on this topic.

#### *Discussion*

After the successful visit of the Kazakh ambassadors led by Kenjeqara, the political and economic relations between the Kazakh Khanate and the Qing dynasty developed day by day, and the trade relations between the two countries began to gradually expand from the first "exchange of silk for horses" to a multi-branch trade exchange. Especially after the opening of the trade fairs in Yili and Tarbaghatai, the types of trade such as petty trade and sheep trade became more active [1; 51-54]. However, transporting livestock to the Qulja market was not an easy task for Kazakh traders. There were several main reasons for this: firstly, the trade market is still far away from the central part of Kazakh, the northern regions, and it was not easy for merchants to endure the pain of a long journey. Secondly, the brutal actions of the neighboring Kyrgyz, who settled Kazakh merchants along the Yili road, sometimes caused Kazakh merchants to refuse to go to Qulja. As a result, Kazakh trade in Qulja almost stopped.

After establishing official relations with the eastern part of Kazakhs owned by Ablai and Abilpeiz, the Qing dynasty soon established relations with the Kyrgyz neighbors of the Kazakhs. At the beginning of 1758, Emperor Qianlong sent an edict to the Kyrgyz nobilities in order to continue strengthening the border regions, demanding that they submit to the Emperor as soon as possible [5; 52]. After that, the Kyrgyz nobilities accepted Qianlong's decree and sent ambassadors to Beijing to communicate with the Emperor and return.

In 18<sup>th</sup> century Chinese written data, Kyrgyz are divided into two large geographical groups: Eastern and Western Kyrgyz. The Kyrgyz who settled in the north-west of Aksu and Osh and the south-west of Yili were called "Eastern Kyrgyz", and the Kyrgyz who settled in the north and west of Kashkar, as well as in the south-west of Yarken were called "Western Kyrgyz" [6]. The Kazakh-Kyrgyz conflicts usually refer to the conflicts between the Kazakh tribes in the eastern Kyrgyz region and the southern of the Jetisu region.

If we refer to the historical data, the military conflicts between the Kazakhs and the Kyrgyz or Khoqand have their beginnings, that is, after 1765, there were constant wars between the Kyrgyz and forces led by Ablai [5; 59]. You can find new information about the Kazakh-Kyrgyz conflicts from the Kazakh documents that have been published so far. For example, in a letter of Joshi sent to the Tarbaghatai nobles due to the death of his younger brother Qaday: "Khankhoja wang, Bopy taiji, Aghaday taiji had already left for Kyrgyz, Qaday and I, Joshi gong stayed at home" [1; 51-54], and the Kazakh wang told the Military governor of Yili in order to safely deliver the mullah, who educated children in Khankhoja's home, to his Orda. In his application letter, he writes: "Because of the bad (Kyrgyz) road, we could not send Elaman Akhun, we don't believe Kyrgyz, we believe in you, let him get his homeland safely with your unmeasurable power" [7; 29]. From these sources, it can be clearly seen that even after the 80s of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as a result of the violent actions of

the Kyrgyz against the Kazakhs, there were a certain amount of military conflict between the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz had happened. This is an important historical document, written in the ancient written literary language of Kazakh in our article and addressed to Tarbaghatai nobles, Khankhoja, a Kazakh, with new contents of this kind.

The letter was sent along with the declaration of the Counsellor of Tarbaghatai to the Qianlong emperor in the 8<sup>th</sup> month of the 54<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong (between September 19 and October 18, 1789). Unfortunately, since there is no information about the time when the Khankhoja's letter was written, it can be assumed that the letter was sent to the Counsellor of Tarbagatai once upon a time before the 8<sup>th</sup> month of the 54<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong. The original of the letter is now kept in the First Historical Archives of China. Microfilm number: 145: 2979–2981.

In the letter, the Kazakh side was afraid of the Kyrgyz piracy and could not go to the Qulja fair to sell livestock; therefore, it is clearly written that 800 sheep and 3 cows (probably for milking) were sold at the Tarbaghatai fair. Also, Khankhoja sent his first-born Jankhoja as the head of trade; He informs the Counsellor of Tarbaghatai that they are going to send the Aghadai taiji to meet the Qianglong emperor and return. The letter also mentions that Jankhoja is young and the number of people accompanying him are few, and asks them to be accompanied by a guard.

The document we are analyzing is the first Kazakh document of this content found so far, which proves that the trade relations between the Kazakh Khanate and the Qing dynasty were not limited to the exchange of silk for horses, but also revived the sheep trade. From this point of view, this letter is an important historical material, which is essential for us to fully understand the details and history of the economic trade relationship between the Kazakh Khanate and the Qing dynasty, and to make a scientific analysis of it. Also, it is a very necessary written source for a comprehensive study of the Kazakh written language of the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

### Results

The facsimile, transcription, translation and explanation of the letter are shown below in order. In the original version, the letter writer miswrote the words (3 places in the letter) and added the correct ones on top. During process of copying and transcribing, we copied and transcribed only those corrected words. When transcribing the original letter and Manchu names in the article, we used the method of transcription of texts written in the medieval Turkic written language (Chaghatai) and the method of transcription of Manchu texts, which are used in international research.

#### Facsimile:



#### Transcription:

Tarbaġataynĭ bilip turgan !ub amban, batur ambannĭng esän- (2) likin qaŝaq waġq [sic.<wang] ÷±n ÷w±ja köpdin köp tiläp (3) turamiz. ÷ub amban ezin !±nning yurtini ũlkän aqili (4) bilän özi qilip turadur. Qaŝaq yu[r]tini ham öz aqili bilän (5) qilip turadur. Aqilini ũlkänli bilän eki yurtni, üyini (6) teng

oylap qilip turadur. Qirjizdin qorqup Julja (7) sawd±si:ja baralmay turamiz, sozni !ub ambanga bildura- (8) miz. Sekiz yuz qoy sawd±si bar, uc siyir bar, (9) ±±n ±w±ja waiq J±n ±w±ja balasin yubardi. (10) ±ub ambanning, batur ambanning esanlikin surap kel (11) dep yubardi. 'Aday [sic.<A;aday] tajini ezin bojda !±nning (12) esanlikin tilap kel dep yubaramiz, su sozu- (13) mizni !ub ambanga bilduramiz. U yas bala, az kisi (14) qirjizdin imanamiz, !ub amban qar±wildin yurguzsun.

[mohr] ±±n ±w±ja bah±dur sul<sup>an</sup>

#### Translation:

I, the Kazakh wang Khankhoja have long wished for the peace of Hebei amban and Batur amban, who rule the Tarbaghatai. Hebei amban is ruling the Qianlong's people with his own mind, he is also ruling the Kazakh people too. Eren, with his intelligence, thinks equally about the thoughts of two people. We are afraid of Kyrgyz and cannot go to Qulja to trade. We will say the word to Hebei amban. There are 800 sheep and 3 cows. "Come and find out the safety of Hebei amban and Batur amban", said Khankhoja and sent his son Jankhoja. We will send the Adai taiji: "Come and find out about the safety of the Qianlong emperor", and we will tell the same word to Hebei amban. He is a young boy, an immature person, let gurad us to cross the Kyrgyz, let Hebei amban lead the guard.

[seal] Khankhoja bahadur sultan

#### Explanations:

Tarbatayni bilip standing !ub amban, batur amban: "!ub amban" is the Kazakh equivalent of "hebei amban" (参赞大臣 *can zan da chen*) in Manchu. This is the name in some Kazakh documents that have been observed so far "آمان" different versions.

" [1; 51-54], "آن

آه " [2; 34], "آمانه

" [8; 151] appeared on paper in *Batur amban*: written in the Manchu as a single "baturu amban" [9; 71]. Since this position name is often found only in the letters sent by the Kazakh khans and sultans to the local administration in Tarbaghatai of the Qing dynasty, it can be understood that it is mentioned in connection with one of the officials in Tarbaghatai. However, no information was written during the Qing dynasty about the exact identity of the owner. For example, there is no information about this name in "the Five-language lexical dictionary" typical of that period [9; 69]. And in the letters of Kazakh khans and sultans, you can find reliable information about the official names of the great people who lived in Tarbaghatai and managed affairs. For example, in the letter of There "آمان اسقان آمان مورين جاين آمان" 1781: in embassies arbaghatai the to Abilpeiz sultan Kazakh the job titles [10; 71]. These are the Kazakh phonetic equivalents of the Manchu words "hebei amban" (参赞大臣), "ashan i amban" (侍郎 *shi lang*), and "meiren i janggin" (副都统 *fu du tong*). Based on the above, it is possible to know that "Batur amban" does not belong to the official name of the emperor. So, what kind of job title will "batur amban" be? this knot has not yet been fully resolved. However, since recent years, there has been no lack of research in this regard. For example, in his explanation about "batur amban", Noda Jin said that information about "batur amban" can be found in Russian-language sources, apart from the records of the Qing dynasty, and that its equivalent in Manju is "meyen i amban" (领队大臣 *ling dui da chen*). warns [2; 36].

(1) *qašaq waiq*: in the letters of khans and sultans, this phrase is usually written as "اق وانك" [7; 29] and corresponds to the phonetic law of the Kazakh language. The errors in the mentioned document are probably directly related to the alphabetic literacy of the letter writer.

*ezen !±n*: this means Emperor Qianlong. Kazakh diplomatic letters from that region are sometimes written as "آن آزين" [1; 51-54], "آن آخان" [7; 29], but they are all different spellings of the same name.

*özi qilip turadur...*: the intervening word "qil-" is used in the following meanings: "control", "possess". For example, "!ub amban ezin !±nning yurtini ulkan aqili bilan özi qilip turadur" (Hup amban is leading the people of Ezhen an with his great mind).

*Julja sawd±si*: Trade fairs between Qing dynasty and Kazakhs were opened for the first time in 1758 in Urumji, led by Ablai and Abilpeiz. But since the land is remote and inhospitable for trade, in 1761 a trade fair was opened in Qulja in Yili, which on the one hand provided an opportunity for Kazakhs to regularly trade cattle, and on the other hand, satisfied the demand of the Qing government for the Kazakh horse, which in-

cluded a passenger vehicle, which was urgently needed. These trade fairs continued to open continuously. “*Qulja trade*” mentioned in the text refers to this trade fair.

*segiz yüz qoy sawd±sī bar, üç sīyir bar*: here is the total number of cattle that Khankhoja drove to the Tarbaghatai fair. It can be seen that the demand of the Kazakh side for trade goods of the Qing government increased, as they drove 800 cloven-hoofed sheep to trade on one road.

*J±n ±w±ja*: eldest son of Kazakh sultan Khankhoja. The names of 6 sons of Khankhoja are mentioned in the chapter “*Kazakh khans and sultans’ genealogy*” of the book “*Imperial Commissioned Gazetteer of Xinjiang*”. They are the following (in order of age): Jangkhoja, Bokek, Suanqul, Kushik, Danyar, Chingiz. After Khankhoja died of an illness, in the 5<sup>th</sup> year of Jiaqing (1800), the eldest son Jangkhoja inherited his father’s position as a wang [11]. According to what he wrote in Khankhoja’s letter, “*my son was young*”, in 1789, Khankhoja was probably a boy who had not yet turned twenty.

*Aday [sic. <Ajaday] taji*: although this person’s name is written as “*Aday*” based on the original in the Manchu translation of the letter, it may be a misspelled form of Aghadai. Because we cannot find this person’s name among the 8 sons of Abilpeiz written in the chapter “*Kazakh Khan, Sultans’ Genealogy*” of the book “*Imperial Commissioned Gazetteer of Xinjiang*”. The 5<sup>th</sup> son of Aghadai Abilpeiz, we can learn from the related chapter of the above book that he met the Emperor in 1786. “*Ta[y]ji*” is the title given to Aghadai by the Qing dynasty. In this letter, Khankhoja writes, “*We are sending the Aghadai taji to wish the Qianlong emperor’s well-being.*” There is no information about Aghadai in the Qing records after the 54<sup>th</sup> of Qianlong (1789), the period when the letter was written. And it is recorded in the records that his younger brother Kogedai went to Emperor Qianlong in 1790. Whether Aghadai’s name was spelled incorrectly in the letter we are analyzing, or whether he could not attend for some unknown reason, and his younger brother Kogedai went in his place, is still unknown [8; 101].

*qar±wil*: in Kazakh documents, the word “*guard*” is used in two different meanings: “*guard*” and “*guard post*”. For example, in some letters it is found in the meanings of watchman and guard [8; 170], but in this letter of Khankhoja, it is mentioned the guard post (guard house) set up by the Qing dynasty at the border regions in Tarbaghatai.

### Conclusions

It can be determined the following from the above contents:

First of all, this letter, which is based on our article, was written in the old Kazakh written language, the place of this type of writing in the culture of Kazakh writing is special, it was widely used as a national script during the reign of the Kazakh Khanate. Many of our historical written heritages are written with this script;

Secondly, by analyzing the letter, we can deeply understand the details of the political and economic relations between the Kazakh Khanate and the Qing Dynasty. Even some bad things that happened in Kazakh-Kyrgyz relations at that point can be indirectly understood.

In short, this archive document that we are analyzing is considered a very valuable historical source, whether it is in the in-depth study of the domestic historical data science or in the re-examination of the economic history of the Kazakh Khanate. Most importantly, it is written that the Kazakh sultan Khankhoja chose his son Jankhoja as the chief ambassador and drove cattle for trade with the Qing dynasty. At the same time, it was written that Khankhoja sultan was worried about the Kyrgyz side and asked Tarbaghatai nobles to guard the trade caravan. From any point of view, this letter will be a written source that provides important information in the re-examination and study of the history and culture of the Kazakh Khanate.

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Д. Әбділәшім

## Ханқожа сұлтанның мал саудасына байланысты Қытай архивіндегі қазақ құжатың зерттеу және оның тарихи маңызы

Мақалада тарих және тарихи деректану ғылымдарының озық зерттеу әдістерін пайдалана отырып, XVIII ғасырдың аяғынан бастап Шығыс-Қазақ даласына иелік еткен, көрші Цин патшалығымен тығыз қарым-қатынас жасаған қазақ сұлтаны Ханқожаның Тарбағатайда іс басқарып тұрған жергілікті ұлыққа жазған бір парша хаты зерттелген. Хат — ескі қазақ жазба тілінде жазылған, тілі жеңіл, түсінікті, мазмұны терең, сол тұстағы қазақ даласының сауда-саттық ісін жан-жақты зерттеу үшін қазақ тарапынан жазылған аса бағалы түпнұсқа құжат. Алдыңғы зерттеулерде көбінесе «жылқыға жібек саудасы» жасалғаны айтылатын, алайда талдап отырған хат мазмұнынан байқағанымыздай ол кезде жібекке тек жылқы ғана айырбасқа түспеген, кейде басқа мал түліктері де саудаланатын болған. Хат қазір Пекин қаласындағы Қытайдың Бірінші тарихи архивінде сақтаулы. Хат мазмұнынан сол тұстағы қазақ-қырғыз қатынастарының ұзын ырғасын да жанамалай ұғынуға болады.

*Кілт сөздер:* Қазақ хандығы, Шығыс қазақ жерлері, Цин патшалығы, Ханқожа сұлтан, мал саудасы, қытай архивтері, қазақша құжат, тарихи маңызы.

Д. Абдилашим

## Исследование казахского документа в китайских архивах, связанного с торговлей скотом Ханходжи султана, и его историческое значение

В статье с применением передовых методов исследования истории и исторических наук рассмотрено письмо казахского султана Ханқожи, владевшего Восточно-Казахской степью с конца XVIII века и имевшего тесные связи с соседним Цинским царством, местному вельможе, ведавшему делами в Тарбагатае. Письмо представляет собой староказахскую письменность, язык написания легкий, понятный, содержание глубокое, это оригинальный документ, написанный казахами, что очень ценно для всестороннего изучения торгового дела в казахской степи. В ранних исследованиях упоминалось, что «шёлк обменивали на лошадей», однако, как видим из содержания анализируемого письма, на шёлк обменивали не только лошадей, но и другой скот. Письмо сейчас хранится в Первом историческом архиве Китая в Пекине. Из его содержания можно проследить многолетнюю историю казахско-киргизских отношений.

*Ключевые слова:* Казахское ханство, Восточно-Казахстанские земли, династия Цин, Ханқожа султан, торговля скотом, китайские архивы, казахский документ, историческое значение.

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