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**ВОССТАНИЕ ПОД РУКОВОДСТВОМ ЖОЛАМАНА ТЛЕНШИЕВА:
ИСТОЧНИКИ, ИСТОРИЯ**

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Анализируется национально-освободительное восстание под руководством Жоламана Тленшиева 1822–1840 гг. в Казахстане и сыгравшее значительную роль в формировании северо-западных границ республики в указанное время. Данное восстание являлось одним из самых первых и крупных выступлений против колониальной политики царской империи. В статье на основе архивных источников описываются ранее неизвестные подробности данного восстания. Основными источниками, в том числе и картографическими, являются материалы из центральных архивов Казахстана и Российской Федерации. Вкратце объясняются предпосылки и основные причины восстания, которые напрямую были связаны с социально-политическим кризисом, сложившемся в первых десятилетиях XIX в. в Западном Казахстане. В этот период была ликвидирована ослабленная царской администрацией ханская власть, колонизация казахских степей переходила на следующую ступень. Требуя свои исконные территории и законного правителя, восстание Жоламана до последнего выступало за сильную и легитимную власть в казахских степях, за целостность и единство казахских общин.

Ключевые слова: национально-освободительное восстание; формирование границ; Жоламан Тленшиев; султан Арынгазы; Илек; Ново-Илецкая линия; форпост; сарбазы; старые карты.

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**ЖОЛАМАН ТЛЕНШИЕВДИН ЖЕТЕКЧИЛИГИ АСТЫНДА БОЛГОН КӨТӨРҮЛҮШ:
ТАРЫХЫЙ БУЛАКТАР**

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Бұл мақалада Қазақстанда 1822-1840-жж. Жоломан Тленшиевдин жетекчилиги астындағы улуттук-боштондук көтөрүлүшү талдоого алынган, бұл көтөрүлүш көрсөтүлгөн мезгилде республиканын түндүк-батыш чекарачын түзүүдө маанилүү роль ойногон. Бұл көтөрүлүш падышалык империянын колониалдык саясатына каршы эң алгачкы жана ири көтөрүлүш болгон. Мақалада архивдик булактардын негизинде бұл көтөрүлүштүн мурда белгисиз болгон жагдайлары сүрөттөлөт. Негизги булактар, анын ичинде картографиялык булактар Қазақстандын жана Россия Федерациясынын борбордук архивдеринен алынган материалдар болуп эсептелет. Кыскача көтөрүлүштүн чыгышына өбөлгө түзгөн жагдайлар жана анын негизги себептери түшүндүрүлөт, көтөрүлүштүн чыгышы Батыш Қазақстандагы XIX кылымдын биринчи он жылдыгында түзүлгөн социалдык-саясий кризис менен түздөн-түз байланышкан. Бұл мезгилде падышалык төбөлдөр аркылуу күчүн жоготкон хандык бийлик жоюлган, казак талааларыни колонизациялоо кийинки тепкичке өткөн. Жоломандын көтөрүлүшү өзүлөрүнүн чыныгы аянтын жана мыйзамдуу башчысын талап кылуу менен, акыр-аягына чейин казак талааларында күчтүү жана мыйзамдуу бийлик үчүн, казак коомунун бүтүндүгү жана биримдиги үчүн күрөшкөн.

Түйүндүү сөздөр: улуттук-боштондук көтөрүлүшү; чек араны түзүү; Жоламан Тленшиев; султан Арынгазы; Илек; Жаңы-Илек тилкеси; форпост; сарбаздар; эск карталар.

Бул изилдөө Қазақстан Республикасынын Билим берүү министрлигинин мамлекеттик каржылоосу менен №АР05131222 “XVIII кылымдагы жана XX кылымдын башындагы Қазақстандын тарыхы боюнча картографиялык материалдар” долбоорунун алкагында аткарылды.

THE UPRISING LED BY ZHOLAMAN TLENSHIEV: SOURCES, HISTORY

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The article discusses the national liberation uprising led by Zholaman Tlenshiev that took place on a non-continuous basis between 1822 and 1840 in Kazakhstan, and which played a significant part in the formation of its northwestern borders during the indicated period. It was one of the first and major oppositions against the colonial policy of the tsarist empire. Based on archival sources, the article describes previously unknown details of this uprising. The main sources, including cartographic, are materials from the central archives of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation. The prerequisites and main causes of the uprising, which was directly related to the socio-political crisis prevailing in the first decades of the XIX century, are briefly presented in Western Kazakhstan. During this period, the khan's power, weakened by the tsarist administration, was liquidated, the colonization of the Kazakh steppes moved to the next step. Demanding their ancestral territories and a legitimate ruler, the uprising of Zholaman up to the last advocated for a strong and legitimate power in the Kazakh steppes, for the integrity and unity of the Kazakh communities.

Keywords: national liberation uprising; the formation of borders; Zholaman Tlenshiev; Sultan Aryngazy; Ilek; line of Novo-Iletsk Line; outpost; sarbaz; old maps.

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The uprising led by Zholaman Tlenshiev, which began in 1822 in Western Kazakhstan, was one of the very first and largest protests against the colonial policy of the Tsarist Empire and played a significant role in shaping the northwestern borders of Kazakhstan in the first half of the XIX century. The main reason for the armed struggle was the territorial issue – the establishment by the tsarist authorities of the Novo-Iletsk military line while grabbing the vast fertile Kazakh lands between the rivers Zhayik (Ural) and Ilek. The occupation by the Ural Cossack army of the sand of Naryn and the environs of Uzen and Kamysh-Samar rivers had fueled general discontent. The fight was led by the famous hereditary batyr (commander) and biy (chief of a clan) Zholaman (in Russian sources - Dzhulaman, Yulaman Tlenchiev), who was a well-known person in all Kazakh steppes, coming of a very heavyweight family of brave military leaders and clan chiefs.

In the first period of the uprising, in 1822–1826, Kazakh soldiers, united in numerous armed groups, organized hundreds of large and small attacks against Russian fortified lines. All six outposts of the Novo-Iletsk line and many other villages erected within their former borders were subjected to open assaults and attacks. After the largest and ruthless punitive measures by the tsarist authorities in 1823–1826, the uprising was temporarily suspended, as its leaders focused on the Khivan settlements. In the early 30th of the XIX century, there were some fights with government units. In 1835, in connection with the laying of the New Line in Northern Kazakhstan, with the next seizure of steppe territories, Zholaman Tlenshiev again went

on the path of armed struggle against the policies of the tsarist government. Zholaman's uprising continued intermittently until 1840.

As was noted above, the main cause of the uprising was the violation of the long-established northwestern borders between the Kazakh communities and the Russian population. By the beginning of the XIX century, almost the entire territory of Kazakhstan from west to east was covered by a continuous chain of various Russian military lines with fortresses, forts, outposts, and redoubts. This is reflected on the map of "the Kirghiz steppes (regions) of Orenburg and Siberian Kirghiz, Semipalatinsk, and Turkestan regions, with the border parts of Central – Asian possessions". Scale 1: 4200000. Edition by A. Ilyin. No date [1, d. 78]. The Orenburg borderline established by the middle of the XVIII century was considered one of the strongest, and had a total length of up to 2000 km. This line consisted of several branches: the Nizhneyaitskaya line with 6 fortresses, 14 outposts, and one town, Verkhneyaitskaya – with 9 fortresses, 16 outposts, and the Uyskaya line with 8 fortresses and 9 redoubts. The first two lines were also called the Yaitskaya line. According to M. Terentyev, the Orenburg line consisted of 23 fortresses and 27 redoubts [2, p. 74]. The Ural line ran from Guryev to Iletskaya Defense and at the beginning of the XIX century it consisted of 4 towns, 5 fortresses, and 19 outposts, where 30 000 regular army Cossacks of the were in marching order, in the middle of this century, - together with their families, their number reached 77 thousand people. A separate corps of the Orenburg cossack army consisted of 10 line battalions. In the first half of the XIX century the Orenburg borderline

was constantly updated – there were new fortresses, outposts, and redoubts built there, and the number of troops in linear military posts increased.

In the beginning of the XIX century in the northern border of Western Kazakhstan, the Novo-Iletsk line begins to form, which became the occasion of the national liberation struggle of Zholaman Tlenshiev. Even though the Zhayyk (Ural) River was considered a conditional border between Russia and Kazakh communities, on April 18, 1805, a regulation was approved on the management of the Iletsk salt field on the left side of this river [3, p. 3]. In 1810, a new tract was opened for the delivery of salt from the Iletsk salt field to Samara. This new direction did not run through Orenburg as before, but along the Ilek River through the Kazakh lands. In 1811, the tsarist government plans to establish a new military line under the name Novo-Iletskaya (Novoiletzkaya) line to protect this tract. For this purpose, in the indicated year, 600 thousand acres of Kazakh lands are collected in the spaces between the Ural, Ilek, Kuraily and Berdyanka Rivers the Novo-Iletsky district is created. In 1811, the Ural cossack army arbitrarily captures the land between the rivers Bolshoi and Malyy Uzen. In connection with the outbreak of the Russian-French war, the establishment of a new line is delayed for several years.

Novo-Iletskaya line consisted of 6 outposts, 1 redoubt, and 1 fortress. Built a few years later, the New Line was a continuation of the Orenburg line with a length of 478 versts and consisted of 5 fortresses. On these lines, special artillery brigades with combat units in total consisting of 184 fuse guns were installed. In the city fortress of Orenburg alone, 70 cannons were installed aimed at the Kazakh steppe [4, p. 114]. In 1817, the first outposts were erected at the Kuraily and Berdyanka rivers [5, p. 30]. New villages, farms, and settlements were formed in the region, this event is reflected on the general map of the Russian state at the end of XIX century in the “Ural, Turgai, Akmola, Semipalatinsk regions with Turkestan General Governorate. Scale 1: 4200000. Cartographic institution of Ilyin [6, d. 72]. As a result of the formation of a new line and fortifications, the settlement of Kazakhs was forbidden in the space between the Ural and Ilek rivers, the most convenient places for nomadism were forcibly selected. Besides, Kazakhs were also forbidden to approach a distance of 15 versts (16 km) to the left bank of Ilek. In August 1819, the tsarist government, through the khan of the Younger

Zhuz – Shergazy, notified the biys and clan chiefs about the liberation of these lands. With the entry into force of this decree by the end of 1821, the Kazakh communities of the Tabyn clan, which had long inhabited these lands, were forced to move from their original places, rich in shallow lakes and rivers, groves and pastures. They become the driving force of rebellion.

The formation of the Novo-Iletsk line at the beginning of the XIX century further fueled the discontent of the Kazakhs against the Russian authorities. Beginning in 1822, all the previous numerous spontaneous and solitary attacks on Russian lines were united under a common banner and were turned into targeted and massive attacks. Since then, the attack on the borderline taking on a clearly organized nature.

Preparations for armed struggle were conducted in a thorough manner. According to the historical information, Zholaman and his faithful associates held many meetings, together deciding on all their subsequent steps. They sought to solve this problem peacefully, sent letters to the authorities of the region with their requests and demands. Only after repeated refusals by the authorities was an armed uprising planned. In April 1822, Zholaman sent a letter to the military chieftain of the Ural cossack army, major general Borodin, and requested that the sands Naryn and the vicinity of the three Uzens captured by the cossacks be returned, if this is not possible, then at least remove a new line along Ilek [7, p. 140–141].

Thus, preparations for the uprising were successfully carried out. The rebels expected an answer to their demands. They did not lose hope of resolving the issue peacefully. It is known that the tsarist government left without consequences of such requests. Governor Essen, who sent him to the Border Commission, was also acquainted with Zholaman’s letter to Ataman Borodin. The commission, in turn, gives a conclusion to the letter that it is «filled with various obscene requirements» [7, p. 155]. After such circumstances, the local branches squeezed out of the nomadic ancestors from the beginning of the summer of 1822 to begin their massive attacks on the line. Zholaman and his associates declared their actions an open war against the Russian Empire. During this period, the rebels removed their auls away from the border and placed them in the southern corners of the steppe - along the Sagyz and Uil rivers. These regions were considered the center and foothold of the uprising.

In September 1822 the number of soldiers constantly engaged in an attack on the line exceeded 1 thousand people, in early October – 2 thousand. Their weapons were shotguns, spears, axes, and sabers. The sarbases also threatened an attack on the villages of Shergazy Khan. At the direction of the Kazakh bailiff of the Younger Zhuz under the khan of colonel Gorikhvostov, they were dissatisfied with the khan because he did not try to facilitate the return of the right bank of Ilek to them [7, p. 195]. Another problem that infuriated the Kazakhs was the closure of all trade-exchange routes by which they had previously traveled freely and left only one crossing at the Iletsкая Defense. This measure was also a heavy blow on the local population. Despite such pressures, and during the attacks, the Kazakhs tried to solve the problem peacefully, without any bloodshed. The report sent by the Orenburg Custom to the Department of Foreign Trade says about the first sending of messengers by the Zholaman sarbases with the above requirements and declaring them: "... that they would never have decided to harm the Russians if they had not seen oppression from them" [8, p. 412]. This also testifies to the just nature of the attacks, and the liberation movement as a whole, far from any anarchy aimed at preserving the originality and identity of the people.

In 1835, in connection with the laying of the New Line between Orsk and Troitsk, Zholaman Tenshiev begins the second stage of his struggle against the seizure of land... In contrast to the Novo-Ilets territory, the territory where the New Line was laid was not considered the nomads of his tribe. However, in the interests of the whole nation, the elderly Zholaman again embarks on the path of armed struggle. In 1837, in the Turgay steppes, he, together with his comrades-in-arms, joined Sultan Kasym and his famous son Kenesary. In June 1838, returning with a large detachment to the border areas of Ilek and Ural, he took about 500 villages left there to the borders of Turgai, Irgiz and Syr Darya. Here they are wholly connected with the front of the liberation struggle of Kenesary. According to archival data, Zholaman planned to «burn out the entire New Line, because it was established on the land belonging to the Kazakhs» [9, p. 15]. However, during these years he strictly kept his adherents from random raids on the line, «he advised living more peacefully, not to roam near the line.» Several times, he stopped detachments going on a campaign in the Russian border villages. Together with Kenesary, he participated in raids on villages that did not support

their large chiefs of the clan. The unification of two major centers of rebellion in the history of Kazakhstan was a landmark event. Around 1840, Zholaman forever went to the borders of Bukhara, where he dies in 1846, not recognizing himself as a subject of the empire...

The tsarist authorities were forced to strengthen military defenses to protect themselves from the attack of the Kazakhs. The revolt of Zholaman took place in a meaningful and fateful period for the Kazakhs, at a time when the fate of the khanate was being decided. With the liquidation of the latter, greatly weakened by the targeted actions of tsarist policy, the Kazakh steppes were under the direct influence of the tsarist administration. In this difficult time, the uprising advocated the integrity and unity of the Kazakh communities. The rebels, led by their leaders, unanimously advocated the erection to the khan Tron of Sultan Aryngazy, the undeniable authority in the steppe, who established iron discipline and order in the Kazakh horde in a short time. The coming to power of a strong ruler capable of uniting disparate Kazakh communities and creating a centralized state apparatus was one of the main goals of the uprising. In all respects, the national liberation uprising led by Zholaman Tenshiev asserted rights to legitimate power in the Kazakh steppe and the preservation of national identity. Further unification of the front of the uprising with the liberation struggle of the famous khan Kenesary is a vivid confirmation of this.

The uprising led by Zholaman in the 20–40 years of the XIX century played a significant role in the formation of the northwestern borders of Kazakhstan. It was directed against changes in its original borders and territories. In numerous letters, the rebels raised the same question - the return of their lands, the establishment of former borders. However, in these years, the new borders on Ilek remained unchanged. The territorial problems that arose in connection with the laying of the New Line in 1835 lasted until the 70s of the XIX century and are a separate research topic. In cartographic terms, the uprising was not a local event either, it spread over a vast territory. In 1822-1826 it covered in the north - from the areas of the Ilek, Hobda, Shyngyrlau rivers in Western Kazakhstan, in the south - to the areas of the Zhem (Emba), Sagyz, Uil, Temir rivers, and partially Northern Ustyurt. In 1837-1840 the center of the uprising advanced to the areas of Irgiz, Turgay, and Syr Darya.

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