

ҚАЗАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫ  
ҒЫЛЫМ ЖӘНЕ ЖОҒАРЫ БІЛІМ МИНИСТРАЛІГІ  
ҒЫЛЫМ КОМИТЕТІ  
Ш.Ш. УӘЛИХАНОВ АТЫНДАҒЫ ТАРИХ ЖӘНЕ ЭТНОЛОГИЯ ИНСТИТУТЫ



# «EDU.E-HISTORY.KZ» ЭЛЕКТРОНДЫҚ ҒЫЛЫМИ ЖУРНАЛЫ



2024. 11 (4)  
қазан-желтоқсан  
ISSN 2710-3994

ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

*Құрылтайшысы және баспагері:* Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитеті Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

Ғылыми журнал Қазақстан Республикасы Инвестициялар және даму министрлігінің Байланыс, ақпараттандыру және ақпарат комитетінде 2014 ж. 29 қазанында тіркелген. Тіркеу нөмірі № 14602-ИА. Жылына 4 рет жарияланады (электронды нұсқада).

Журналда тарих ғылымының *келесі бағыттары* бойынша ғылыми жұмыстар жарияланады: тарих (дүниежүзі және Қазақстан тарихы), деректану және тарихнама, археология, этнология, антропология.

*Жарияланым тілдері:* қазақ, орыс, ағылшын.

*Редакция мен баспаның мекен-жайы:*

050010 Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28-үй

ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒК Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

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Журнал сайты: <https://edu.e-history.kz>

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Тарих және этнология институты 2024  
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ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

*Учредитель и издатель:* РГП на ПХВ «Институт истории и этнологии им.Ч.Ч. Валиханова»  
Комитета науки Министерства науки и высшего образования Республики Казахстан

Научный журнал зарегистрирован в Комитете связи, информатизации и информации  
Министерства по инвестициям и развитию Республики Казахстан, свидетельство  
о регистрации:

№ 14602-ИА от 29.10.2014 г. Публикуется 4 раза в год (в электронном формате).

В журнале публикуются научные работы *по следующим направлениям* исторической науки:  
история (всемирная история и история Казахстана), источниковедение и историография,  
археология, этнология, антропология.

*Языки публикации:* казахский, русский, английский.

*Адрес редакции и издательства:*

050010 Республика Казахстан, г. Алматы, ул. Шевченко, д. 28

РГП на ПХВ Институт истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова КН МНВО РК

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ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

*Founder and publisher:* RSE on REM “Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology” of the Committee of Science of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan

The scientific journal is registered at the Committee for Communications, Informatization and Information of the Ministry for Investments and Development of the Republic of Kazakhstan, registration certificate: No. 14602-IIA dated October 29, 2014. The journal is published 4 times a year (in electronic format).

The journal publishes scientific works in the *following areas* of historical science: history (world history and history of Kazakhstan), source studies and historiography, archeology, ethnology, anthropology.

*Publication languages:* Kazakh, Russian, English.

*Editorial and publisher address:*

28 Shevchenko Str., 050010, Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan

RSE on REM Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology CS MSHE of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Tel.: +7 (727) 261-67-19, +7 (727) 272-47-59

E-mail: [edu.history@bk.ru](mailto:edu.history@bk.ru)

Journal website: <https://edu.e-history.kz>

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Published in the Republic of Kazakhstan  
 Electronic scientific journal “edu.e-history.kz”  
 Has been issued as a journal since 2014  
 ISSN 2710-3994.  
 Vol. 11. Is. 4, pp. 965-979, 2024  
 Journal homepage: <https://edu.e-history.kz>


FTAXP / MPHTI / IRSTI 03.20  
[https://doi.org/10.51943/2710-3994\\_2024\\_11\\_4\\_965-979](https://doi.org/10.51943/2710-3994_2024_11_4_965-979)

## PLACES OF MEMORY OF KAZAKH-KALMYK BATTLES IN THE PAVLODAR-IRTYSH REGION IN THE 1ST HALF OF THE XVIII CENTURY

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**Abstract.** *Introduction.* The relevance of the study of memorable places that are associated with the events of the 18th and 19th centuries on the territory of the Pavlodar-Irtysh region is associated with increased public interest in studying the history of their region. These historically significant places, which are important in preserving territorial integrity and statehood, represent an integral part of the historical and cultural heritage of the Kazakh people, passed on from generation to generation. *Goals and objectives.* The purpose of this study is to study places of memory that have survived from the 18th century and to analyze the social tendency to maintain a continuous connection with the past through the installation of new commemorative objects. In the course of the work, the works of local historians who studied the memorable places of the Pavlodar-Irtysh region were reviewed, and oral history materials, literary sources, and archival and cartographic data were also used. The research methodology includes a historical analysis of existing memory sites through the prism of microhistory methods. This method is aimed at studying the historical destinies of individuals, the relationship between a person and his place of birth, and local places of memory. *Results.* The results of the study were useful to reveal the picture of the state of historical memory of the modern population of the Pavlodar-Irtysh region, and analyze existing memory objects and their significance for understanding historical processes, as well as for the formation of national identity. *Conclusion.* The places of memory associated with the historical events of the 18th century carry a sacred value and are one of the key factors in strengthening the civic identity of residents of the Pavlodar-Irtysh region. This



factor, in turn, makes it possible to determine the level of development of the historical consciousness of the citizens of the region.

**Keywords:** Places of memory, sacred geography, Pavlodar-Irtysh region, Kazakh-Dzungarian confrontation, toponymy

**Acknowledgments.** The article was prepared as part of the implementation of the funding project of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan “Local-historical practice of sacralization of “places of memory” in colonial, Soviet and independent Kazakhstan (using the example of the Pavlodar region)” (registration number: AP19176474).

**For citation:** Rakhimov M.I., Shayakhmet N.U., Pussyrkhanova E.R. Places of memory of Kazakh-Kalmyk battles in the Pavlodar Irtysh region in the 1st half of the XVIII century // Electronic scientific journal "edu.e-history.kz". 2024. Vol. 11. No. 4. Pp. 965-979. (In Eng.).

DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994\_2024\_11\_4\_965-979


## XVIII ҒАСЫРДЫҢ БІРІНШІ ЖАРТЫСЫНДА ПАВЛОДАР ЕРТІС ӨңІРІНДЕГІ ҚАЗАҚ-ҚАЛМАҚ ШАЙҚАСТАРЫНЫҢ ТАРИХИ ЖАДЫДАҒЫ ОРЫНДАРЫ

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**Андатпа.** *Kіріспе.* Павлодар Ертіс өңірінің аумағында 18–19 ғасырлардағы тарихи оқиғалармен байланысты киелі орындарды зерттеудің өзектілігі өлкетануға деген қоғамның қызығушылығының артуына байланысты. Аумақтық тұтастық пен мемлекеттілікті сақтауда маңызы зор бұл тарихи маңызы бар киелі орындар қазақ халқының ұрпақтан-ұрпаққа жалғасып келе жатқан тарихи-мәдени мұрасының құрамдас бөлігі болып табылады. *Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері.* Бұл зерттеудің мақсаты – 18 ғасырдан сақталып қалған киелі естелік орындарын зерттеу және жаңадан қойылған ескерткіш нысандары арқылы өткенмен үздіксіз байланысты сақтаудың рухани-әлеуметтік тенденциясын талдау. *Материалдар мен тәсілдер.* Жұмыс барысында Павлодар Ертіс өңірінің киелі тарихи орындарын зерттеген өлкетанушы ғалымдардың еңбектеріне шолу жасалып, ауызша тарих материалдары, әдеби мәліметтер, архив және картографиялық дереккөздер пайдаланылды. Зерттеу әдістемесі микротарих әдістері аясында киелі тарихи орындарды сипаттап, талдауды қамтиды. Бұл әдіс жекелеген тарихи тұлғалардың тағдырларын, адам мен оның туған жері арасындағы байланысты, жергілікті киелі есте сақтау орындарын зерттеуге бағытталған. *Нәтижелер.* Зерттеу нәтижелері Павлодар-Ертіс өңірінің қазіргі тұрғындары бойындағы тарихи сананың бейнесін айқындауға, киелі тарихи нысандар мен олардың тарихи процестерді танудағы рөлін көрсетуге, сондай-ақ ұлттық сананы одан әрі нығайтуға ықпал етеді.

*Қорытынды.* 18 ғасырдағы тарихи оқиғаларға байланысты киелі естелік орындар тарихи-мәдени құндылыққа ие және Павлодар-Ертіс өңіріндегі халықтың азаматтық бірегейлігін айқындайтын негізгі фактордың бірі болып табылады. Бұл өз кезегінде өлкедегі азаматтардың тарихи санасы қай деңгейде екенін анықтауға мүмкіндік береді.

**Түйін сөздер:** Есте сақтау орындары, киелі география, Павлодар Ертіс өңірі, қазақ-жоңғар текетіресі, топонимика

**Алғыс.** Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігінің «Отаршыл, кеңестік және тәуелсіз Қазақстандағы «естелік орындарын» киелі етудің өлке-тарихи тәжірибесі қаржыландыру жобасын жүзеге асыру шеңберінде дайындалған (Павлодар облысының мысал бойынша)» (тіркеу нөмірі AP19176474).

**Дәйексөз үшін:** Рахимов М.И., Шаяхмет Н.У., Пусырханова Э.Р. XVIII ғасырдың бірінші жартысындағы Павлодар Ертіс өңіріндегі қазақ-қалмақ шайқастарының есте қалатын жерлері // «Edu.e-history.kz» электрондық ғылыми журналы. 2024. Т. 11. № 4. 965-979 бб. (Ағылш.). DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994\_2024\_11\_4\_965-979


## МЕСТА ПАМЯТИ КАЗАХСКО-КАЛМЫЦКИХ СРАЖЕНИЙ ПАВЛОДАРСКОГО ПРИИРТЫШЬЯ В ПЕРВОЙ ПОЛОВИНЕ XVIII ВЕКА

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**Аннотация.** *Введение.* Актуальность исследования памятных мест, которые ассоциируются с событиями 18–19 веков на территории Павлодарского Прииртышья, связана с возросшим общественным интересом к изучению истории собственного региона. Эти исторически значимые места, имеющие важное значение в сохранении территориальной целостности и государственности, представляют собой неотъемлемую часть историко-культурного наследия казахского народа, передаваемого из поколения в поколение. *Цель и задачи исследования.* Целью данного исследования является изучение сохранившихся с 18 века мест памяти и анализ общественной тенденции сохранения непрерывной связи с прошлым через установку новых мемориальных объектов. В рамках изучения темы были рассмотрены труды историков-краеведов, исследовавших памятные места Павлодарского Прииртышья, а также использованы материалы устной истории, литературные источники, архивные и картографические данные. Методология исследования включает в себя исторический анализ существующих мест памяти через призму методов микроисторий. Данный метод нацелен на изучение исторических судеб отдельных личностей, взаимосвязи человека и местом рождения, локальных мест памяти. *Результаты.* Результаты исследования позволили

раскрыть картину состояния исторической памяти современного населения Павлодарского Прииртышья, проанализировать существующие объекты памяти и их значение для понимания исторических процессов, а также для формирования национальной идентичности. *Заключение.* Места памяти, связанные с историческими событиями 18 века, несут в себе сакральную ценность и являются одним из ключевых факторов укрепления гражданской идентичности для жителей Павлодарского Прииртышья. Данный фактор, в свою очередь, дает возможность определять уровень развития исторического сознания граждан региона.

**Ключевые слова:** Места памяти, сакральная география, Павлодарское Прииртышье, казахско-дзунгарское противостояние, топонимика

**Благодарность.** Статья подготовлена в рамках реализации проекта финансирования Министерства науки и высшего образования Республики Казахстан «Локально-историческая практика сакрализации «мест памяти» в колониальном, советском и независимом Казахстане (на примере Павлодарской области)» (регистрационный номер AP19176474).

**Для цитирования:** Рахимов М.И., Шаяхмет Н.У., Пусырханова Э.Р. Памятные места казахско-калмыцких сражений Павлодарского Прииртышья в первой половине XVIII века // Электронный научный журнал «edu.e-history.kz». 2024. Т. 11. № 4. С. 965-979. (На Англ.). DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994\_2024\_11\_4\_965-979

## Introduction

The historical period of the Kazakh-Dzungarian confrontation embodies the era of fateful battles and heroes who left a deep mark on the history of the Kazakh people. The traces of these difficult times have been attracting the attention of local historians and scientists for many years.

In the historical chronicle of the Pavlodar-Irtysh region, it was during the most difficult periods that many outstanding personalities appeared. This is a natural phenomenon. Each individual sought to bring the greatest benefit to his people in the struggle for independence. Each family had skilled batyrs, and in each family, there were talented commanders, zhyrau and zhyrshy, who glorified their exploits, thanks to which the modern generation is aware of people and events that happened three centuries ago.

Places of memory, as a reflection of a bygone era, as an echo of former glory, remind of the past. For example, a person who is not familiar with the history of this region, passing by the Kalmakkyrgan mountain, may be interested in the origin of this toponym and after that realize the crucial importance of the battle with the Dzungars, feel connected with the history of this area.

Due to historical intrusions caused by both imperial and Soviet ideologies, the official authorities did not contribute to the preservation of the collective memory of the people regarding specific historical events belonging to this period.

A significant number of toponyms in the territory of the modern Pavlodar region were renamed during the colonization by the Russian Empire, with the advent of new geographical designations that differed in Slavic-Russian roots. Traditional Turkic and Kazakh toponyms began to gradually disappear, giving way to Russian-speaking ones. (Insebaev, 2018: 232)

An example is the name of the region city, established during the reign of Emperor Alexander II at the request of local merchants in honor of the birth of his youngest son Pavel. Also, the village of Alexandrovka in the Sharbaktinsky district was named after one of the members of the Romanov royal dynasty as a sign of the loyalty of officials of the district city of Pavlodar. In turn, the village of Berezovka in the Kachir district was founded in the Barak area, and the village of Belousovka, originally known as Shoptikol, was named after the first Russian migrant who arrived after the abolition of serfdom in the Russian Empire during the resettlement of peasants to the Kazakh steppe.

It is also worth paying attention to the fact that the ancient name of the famous salt lake in the Pavlodar Region, is now called Lake Yamyshevo.

G.N. Potanin notes that in the historical information of the XIII century, it is known as Lake Emshi or Emshikol (Healing Lake). It is emphasized that Lake Emshi was one of the largest fairgrounds in Central Asia (Potanin, 2005: 355–356).

During the Soviet regime, the territory of Belousovka was transformed into the Red Army collective farm in 1934. This led to the appearance of new toponyms on the map of the Pavlodar region, such as the village of Leninsky, Krasny Oktyabr, Kyzylkogam, and Frunze, Sverdlov, Dzerzhinsky streets.

The names of heroes and figures of Soviet power began to appear in these territories since each historical epoch influenced the collective memory of society and established its own norms of ideology.

The interest in places where memory crystallizes and is preserved is associated with special events in history.

With the acquisition of independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan, new opportunities for rethinking the national history have opened up to the society. By rejecting the subjectivity of imperial and Soviet ideologies, society was enabled to rethink its past. The modern generation feels torn and disconnected from the past, which stimulates interest in studying the origins of historical memory and identity.

The lively interest of society in history and systematic measures on the part of the state in reviving historical memory have yielded certain results. For example, in honor of the heroes of the Kazakh-Dzungarian battles, names of settlements, streets, and localities are assigned, and monuments are erected (Bayan and Malaysary batyrs in Pavlodar). Conferences and other cultural and educational events are also held to create a sense of belonging and pride in their history. This allows the modern generation to realize the importance of the historical continuity of statehood and the inviolability of territorial integrity in the context of geopolitical conflicts in the Eurasian space.

### **Materials and methods**

The research is based on the analysis of recorded legends and legends of oral history, as well as on the works of local historians of the Pavlodar-Irtysh region, on the study of archival materials, cartographic, and ethnographic sources.

The theory of the place of memory applied to the study of the "remnants" of the events of the 18th century, is based on Maurice Halbwax's "The Social Framework of Memory" (Halbwax, 2007) and Pierre Nora's "France - Memory" (Nora, 1999).

The research methodology includes a historical analysis of existing memory sites through the prism of microhistory methods. This method is aimed at studying the historical destinies of individuals, the relationship between a person and his place of birth, and local places of memory.

Methods of historical-geographical, comparative-historical, and cartographic analyses and the study of socio-cultural contexts were used to identify the cause-effect relationships between toponyms and the history of their origin and change.

### **Discussion**

The study of the problems of places of memory in the Pavlodar region of the XVIII–XIX centuries attracts considerable interest from local historians and residents. The reflection of this topic in books, periodicals, and literary works has always been relevant and is becoming more common nowadays.

Thus, Ch. left their contribution to the transmission of valuable information in their writings. Valikhanov (Valikhanov, 1985), G.N. Potanin (Potanin, 2005), A.N. Bokeikhanov (Shcherbina, 1908) and others. They left information about the etymology of geographical names of the Irtysh region, about sacred places of worship, and the religious customs of the Kazakh people.

M.J. Kopeyuly (Kopeev, 2010) left interesting information about the sacred places of the middle Irtysh region. M.J. Kopeyuly had brilliant knowledge in the field of toponymic names of the Irtysh region. He collected valuable information about the oral historical traditions of the people and their religious and ceremonial traditions. The scientist studied the worship of sacred places by the people, linking it with local legends.

The famous Kazakh historian-archaeologist, orientalist A.H. Margulan compiled a scientific description of the sacred sites of the Irtysh region (Margulan, 2007). The scientist researched the

preserved names of memorable places and historical, cultural, and religious sites of the Pavlodar-Irtysh region.

Historical information about the Irtysh region is found in the writings and publications of foreign travelers. For example, the works of N. Witsen (N. Witsen. 1705) and T. Atkinson (Atkinson, 1858) described the historical, geographical, toponymic, and religious sites of the region.

Among modern researchers, the works of local historian D.M. Ayashinov (The Battle of Serektas, 2019) about Tilumbet batyr, Tleukabyl batyr, published in local newspapers “Shamshyrak” and “Saryarka Samaly” and other materials are known.

In November 2019, an international scientific and practical conference on the topic “Archaeological and ethnographic study of the Kalmakkyrgan area” was held at Toraigyrov University. Following the results of the conference, a collection of works by scientists entitled “The Battle of Serektas” was published, where research on the Kalmakkyrgan area was published.

Also in 2023, two major regional scientific events took place: the presentation of the book by Alkey Margulan “Olzhabai Batyr” and the scientific and practical conference “Historical heritage of the heroes of the Irtysh region” dedicated to the 300th anniversary of the tragic events known as “Aktaban shubyryndy – Alkakol sulama”.

## Results

In the modern world, considerable attention is paid to preserving historical memory and highlighting the merits of ancestors.

Historical events that have not been studied or ignored are gradually erased from the memory of the people over time and the change of generations. It should be noted that even the direct descendants of the participants of the Kazakh-Dzungarian battles now remain unfamiliar with the exploits of their ancestors. Therefore, the period of the Kazakh-Dzungarian conflicts is becoming a key aspect of local history, being an important part of the historical heritage of this region.

People usually idealize their heroes by paying attention to their exploits and bravery, especially in the context of historical military events. Of particular interest is the Bayanauli region, which has a rich heritage and fascinating facts. According to P. Rychkov's description, the Kazakh people revere this mountain as sacred: “Bayan-Ulu (which is specifically mentioned below) Its name means a rich mountain, as it is very rich in iron and copper ores. This mountain is the most revered of all in the Kirghiz-Kaysak Horde” («Баян-Улу (о коей ниже особо упоминается) имя ея значить богатую гору, так как железными и медными рудами весьма богат. Сия из всех в Киргиз-Кайсацкой орде имеющаяся гора превысочайше почитается») (Rychkov, 1762: 169). Perhaps that is why the Dzungars wanted to capture this rich and strategically important territory.

Many toponymic names of the Irtysh region are associated with the epic “Kozy-Korpesh – Bayan-Sulu” and people have preserved 21 versions of it. Even A.S. Pushkin showed interest in the epic dedicated to the lovers. According to A.Kh. Margulan: “The memory of this love was sung by the great Russian poet A.S. Pushkin. This was due to the fact that in 1812 a version of “Kozy-Korpesh – Bayan-Sulu” was published in Ufa, and Alexander Sergeevich became interested in this manuscript. His creative heritage includes poems dedicated to the steppe saga of love” (NAA RK. F. 195. Inv. 1. C. 15. P. 16). I. Belenitsyn, who knew the Kazakh language well, translated folklore from Kazakh into Russian. In a letter addressed to the leadership of the Omsk region in 1833, he notes: “Presenting to Your Excellency the Bayan Sulu Kozy Korpesh poem..., the only poem in the Kyrgyz language, which was composed in ancient times, glorifies with the greatest delight the tender feelings of young people for each other. Therefore, I ask you to order one of the translators to translate the essay into the Russian language and make an effort to convey what is written in the poem and return it to me. I take the responsibility for decent changes with interpretation” (Rahimov M.I., 2018: 1410)

The name Kozy-Korpesh and Bayan-Sulu is widely known among the people; some lands are named after the heroes of the epic. P.P. wrote about it this way. Semenov-Tien-Shansky: “It is quite popular among the Kirghiz people. Many names of the area are associated with the names of its heroes - mountains, rivers, tracts, etc. (where the described events took place” (Semyonov-Tien-Shansky, 1903: 204) G.N. Potanin, who attached great importance to the path traversed by the heroes of the

epic, wrote: "This road is the road of Bayan's father – Karabay, who wanders from Ayaguz to Arka and further to the Yesil, Tobol rivers and back. In each version, there are names of lands: Ayaguz, Zhauyr, Menzek, Tokyraun, Zhamshi, Altynsandyk, Karkaraly, Bayan-Aul, Karaotkel, Dombiraly, Monshakty, Tyume" (Potanin, 1972: 256)

Most of the sacred objects of the Irtysh region are located in Bayan-Aul. One of the famous objects is the grave of Zhasybai batyr.

For example, in folk legends about the battle in the Bayanauli mountains, the strength, pride, and courage of the batyrs, as well as the cunning and treachery of the enemies, are usually highlighted. In addition, it is important to note that the preservation of the memory of the participants in the events is manifested not only in oral traditions but also in the toponymy of the area.

The grave of Zhasybai batyr in the Bayanauli mountains is a sacred place for the inhabitants of the Pavlodar region. It attracts researchers and tourists with its fascinating history, which is an integral part of national history. Located 5 kilometers northwest of Bayanaul village, the grave is a small mound surrounded by stones and fenced with rectangular brickwork. A granite slab with an inscription is installed on the head of the grave.

Zhasybai Omiruly was an outstanding batyr who defended the Kazakh population of Saryarka during the Kazakh-Dzungarian wars. He came from the family of Besen, which was part of the association of the Basentiin tribe Argyn. According to legend, Zhasybai's father, Omir, was famous for his justice, and Batyr's mother was the sister of the famous Olzhabai batyr from the Kanzhygaly tribe. Among the Kazakhs, Zhasybai batyr was known as "Mergen" – a skilled marksman, and "zhauyrynshy" — a predictor on the shoulder of mutton.

Stories about Zhasybai batyr have been preserved in the works of Shokan Ualikhanov, Mashkhur Zhusup Kopeyuly, the works of ethnographer Nikolai Konshin, as well as in the historical epic "Er Zhasybai", recorded by Alkey Margulan. Also in the epic "Zhasybai" by the writer Suleyman Bayazitov, based on folk legends and stories of residents.

In 2008, the grave of Zhasybai batyr, a sacred place of the Pavlodar-Irtysh region, was inspected by the Kazrestavration expedition under the leadership of G.M. Kamalova.

In describing the events of the 18th century in the Bayanaul Mountains, Nikolai Konshin presents a picturesque episode: "Zhasybai lived in those distant years when the Kazakhs drove the Kalmyks who lived there out of the Bayanaul region. He was a famous batyr who defeated enemies more than once. Once, on behalf of the main leader of the Kazakhs, Olzhabai, Zhasybai had to hold a Kalmyk khan with a thousand kalmaks in the mountains with a small detachment. The battle was terrible, and Zhasybai performed miracles of bravery until he was mortally wounded by the Kalmyk Khan, hitting a bullet in an uncovered south (chain mail) Jasybai's neck. When they began to remove this south from the dead Zhasybai, thousands of arrows were shaken out of it... The Kazakhs trembled, but at that time Olzhabai arrived at the place of battle, and the gorge resounded with the cries of Kalmyks asking for mercy. But Olzhabai replied to their khan that they were not worth the little finger of the murdered Zhasybai, and ordered his soldiers to beat the Kalmyks without any mercy. The Kalmyks fled, and for a long distance their path turned out to be strewn with dead bodies" (Konshin, 2005: 43).

This is the work of Nikolai Konshin, explaining the heroic activity of young people and the hard work of bits, illustrating the political and war conflicts that took place in the era.

People's prejudice, sealed with Wormwood in the work of "Olzhabai and Zhasybai", tells about another version of events, which is not surprising from the interpretation of Nikolai Konshin. During the period of bad luck as Aktaban Shubyryn and the lack of confidence from the head of state, the tribe Basenti was transferred to Bayanaul. Following this, Olzhabay Batyr took his tribe from the districts of Ulytau and Karatau in Bayanaul. At the same time, we have strengthened the ties between the Jungar and the Saryarka rivers. The great Argyns visited Bayanaul, Irtysh, Olzhabay and Zhasybay batyrs left in the Bayanaul mountains. (Mashhur Zhusup Kopeyuly, 2008: 127).

The legend of the stone "Tu Tikken" describes how, after a long rivalry, the batyrs decided to act together. They chose positions for protection: the pass on Shoindykol was assigned to Zhasybai, and the pass near Lake Toraigyry was assigned to Olzhabai.

While waiting for the enemy, Zhasybai took up his guard post on a stone and began to predict with the help of a sheep's shoulder blade. He saw Kalmyks approaching the Kyzyltau mountains. The Kalmyks also had Zhauryynshy on their side, and they were able to notice each other. The Kalmyks, seeing Zhasybai predicting on a shoulder of mutton, decided to use a trick. They put the saddles of the horses backward so that the batyr would think that they were retreating. And returning to the post, Zhasybai, looking through his shoulder blade, saw how the Kalmyks were "retreating". From this, he concluded that they were leaving these steppes, and thus relaxed his vigilance.

Meanwhile, the Kalmyks headed to the Bayanaul Mountains and found Jasybai sleeping on his guard stone. They organized an ambush on the batyr: 30 skilled shooters were lying in wait for him. When the unsuspecting Zhasybai climbed onto the stone, the Kalmyks fired thousands of arrows and killed him.

The story of the Kalmyks' attack on Zhasybai's detachments and the hasty arrival of Olzhabai with his militia is described in folk legends that say: "Olzhabai slaughtered enemies like a wolf driven sheep. "When Baymurat batyr from the Tortuyl clan appealed to Olzhabai with a request to leave the Kalmyks as prisoners, Olzhabai replied: "I did not even avenge the little finger of Zhasybai batyr". This shows how the commander highly appreciated Zhasybai batyr. (Mashhur Zhusip Kopeyuly, 2008: 129).

After the victory over the Dzungars, the lake where the battle took place is named Shoynydykol. The meaning of the name was explained by M.J. Kopeyuly: "Since there were many dishes belonging to the Kalmyks near the lake, it was named Shoynydykol." Later, the lake was named "Zhasybai" in honor of the heroism of the batyr.

For Kazakhs, this area is considered sacred. Zhasybai batyr is remembered in the memory of the people as a sardar who fought for the independence of Saryarka. Even today, people honor the burial place of the hero. This is mentioned in one document from 1860, found in the Russian State Historical Archive: "For the Kirghiz (from the author of the ispr. grave of batyr Yedige on one of the peaks of Ulutau and in the southeast of Bayan-aul, about eight versts from the tomb of Jasubai and the graves of other heroes are holy places. The kyrgyz, passing through such places, consider it a sacred duty to visit them. They say a prayer and leave some offerings on them. If they do not do this, sooner or later aruak batyr will punish them" (RGIA F. 853. Inv.1. C. 241. P. 47).

Now the name of Zhasybai batyr is immortalized in the memory of the people. Streets and cultural sites are named after him. The descendants of the batyr, together with the charitable foundation, erected a monument on the shore of the lake, which was named in his honor.

The place where Olzhabai caught up with the Kalmyks and defeated the entire army is located in the May district of Pavlodar region, about 6–7 kilometers southwest of Akshiman village. Since the XVIII century, this place, known as Kalmakkyrgan, has occupied an important place in the historical legends of the Kazakhs. This name of the area means the bloody battle between the Kazakhs and Kalmyks for the steppes of Saryarka and the mass death of the enemy in this battle.

According to historical information, until the middle of the XVIII century, this low-mountain massif was called Serektas ("The Battle of Serektas", 2019: 125). However, in the 19th century, the name Kalmakkyrgan was finally fixed in the minds of the local population and became the name of the place (Kalmakkyrilgan) as part of Pavlodar County.

In historical science, there are several versions regarding the dating of the battle of Kalmakkyrgan. In the section "History of the settlement of the county", prepared by Alikhan Bokeikhanov in the fourth volume of "Materials on Kyrgyz land use ...", it is noted: "The grandson of the youngest son of Aidabol, Olzhabai batyr, who served Ablay Khan, 160 years ago, i.e. in 1730, appeared in the Bayanaul mountains. Olzhabai found the Kalmyks here, who, after a long struggle, were thrown back by the Kirghiz (Kazakhs – auth.) to the south. The clashes of the latter with the Kalmyks are glorified in an embellished form by the Kirghiz (Kazakh – auth.) improvisers "akyns", who attribute the expulsion of the Kalmyks entirely to "the brave batyr Olzhabai and his glorious Khan Ablay." The eternal monuments of the mentioned struggle that took place between the Kyrgyz and Kalmyks in the territory of Pavlodar county remain on the upper reaches of the Chidderty River in the southwestern corner of the county – Churchutkyrgan hill and in the southeast of the county

Kalmakkyrgan mountain... “Kyrgyzan”, from the verb "Kyrmak", means slaughtered. “Churchut-kyrgan” and “Kalmak-kyrgan” loosely translated mean the place of the Kalmyks' defeat or the Kalmyks' massacre.” (Materials on Kirghiz land use ... Shcherbina, Vol. 4., 1908: 3) Thus, according to A. Bokeikhanov, the battle of Kalmakkyrgan was in the early 1730s. Alikey Margulan had a different opinion. He assumed that the battle in the Bayanaul mountains, where Zhasybai batyr dies, and the defeat of the Kalmyks by Olzhabai on Kalmakkyrgan occurred in the 40s of the XVIII century (Margulan, Vol. 1, 2007: 237).

The Kalmakkyrgan tract is the most studied place of great importance in the history of the Pavlodar region. Both the national memory and material evidence of important military events of the period of the Kazakh-Dzungarian conflicts related to the struggle for the territory of Saryarka are preserved here.

In general, the cartographic data found in the Altai State Historical Archive (Barnaul) can prove that this battle was real. In the middle of the 18th and 19th centuries, Russian military expeditions were sent to comprehensively study the Kazakh land for colonial purposes, try to map the names of places, and also record historical events. One of them is a map from 1878, where the Kalmakkyrgan Mountains are visible.



Fig. 1. Military topographic map of the Semipalatinsk region in 1878 (GAAK F.50. Inv.21. P. 18)

Archaeological excavations in the Kalmakkyrgan tract, which began in the 1990s, attracted the attention of the scientific community. In 2018, the research of the Toraigyrov University Archaeological Research Center was resumed in this historical place with the active participation of residents of the May district.

At the excavation site on the territory of Kalmakkyrgan mountain, objects of material culture of Kazakhs and Kalmyks were discovered: metal belt buckles in the shape of a lotus, fastening elements of a belt, hooks of individual objects, Chinese coins of the 18th century and a large number of remains, weapons: arrowheads, daggers, sword fragments. (Merz, 2020: 283).

These finds testify the importance of this place in history, archaeological finds confirm the scale of military events and the cultural context of the period of conflicts between the Kazakhs and the Dzungars.

On the hills of Kalmakkyrgan Mountain, you can observe giant stones weighing 10 or even 20 tons.

If you believe the stories of the elders, the Kazakhs used these stones against the Dzungars at that time. From the high peaks of the rocks, they threw these stones to the enemies. At the same time, several names of mountain peaks remained in the memory of the people. For example, one of them is called "Gauhar Height". If you pay attention to the legends, the sister of Malaysara batyr and the wife of



Kabanbai batyr Gauhar, in those war years, went to the top of this mountain to guard her borders from enemy raids. If she noticed an enemy, she immediately reported it to her brother Malaysara.

According to the historian J. Artykbaeva, Gauhar's real name is Maysara. Probably because of this, the name of the May district has been preserved in the memory of the people with the name of the heroine. (Rakhimov, 2019: 285).

I. Yerofeeva, in her work “The memorable place of Kalmakkyrgan”, notes that “the confident victory won by Kazakh batyrs over a strong enemy in these mountains is firmly imprinted in the oral memory of local steppe dwellers under the transparent name Kalmakkyrgan” (The Battle of Serektas, 2019: 132).

“The origin of the name Kalmakkyrgan in the toponymy of the region under consideration goes back, undoubtedly, to the spring of 1741, since before this historical date the territory of Northeastern Kazakhstan was not a zone of frequent and more or less large military clashes with the troops of the Dzungars. The earliest mention of it is found in a short article by the famous Siberian local historian S.I. Gulyaev, published in 1853”. (Gulyaev, 1853: 24)

Local historian D.M. Ayashinov significantly contributed to the study of the Battle of Kalmakkyrgan. Thanks to a scrupulous review of the documentation of officials of the “Siberian Kyrgyz Border Administration” from 1832 to 1848, as well as additional analysis of previously published sources from the period 1720–1755, he restored the sequence of events, the approximate composition of the Dzungarian resistance in the Bayanaul Mountains and the final battle of Kalmakkyrgan in the 40s of the XVIII century. The reconstruction of the Battle of Kalmakkyrgan was accomplished by D.M. based on the chain of logical conclusions according to the available data, Ayashinov remains the subject of comprehensive discussion. (The Battle of Serektas, 2019: 160)

Kalmakkyrgan is not only an object of historical memory for the Kazakh people, but also a unique natural heritage inspired by historical traditions. Its significance as a sacred object lies in the fact that in the minds of the Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz, it is associated with the place of the last battle, where the fate of the entire Saryarka was decided.

Olzhabai batyr, the main participant in the battles of that time, happened to be not only a wise leader and fighter for his land, but also a supporter of the centralized power of Abylai Khan. His contribution to the development of Kazakh-Chinese relations was significant. In memory of his activities, which are important for history, the village of Blagodotnoye in the Yereimentau district of the Akmola region was renamed Olzhabai village. His name is also immortalized in Bayanaul: the stone and the place where he rested, as well as the mountain pass "Olzhabai Asui", was named in his honor. His contribution to history is also reflected in the work of the writers who dedicated their works to him.

A place of similar importance is located in the upper reaches of the Shiderty River in the current Karaganda region. There, Olzhabai led a huge army to defeat the invading Manchus, whom the Kazakhs called the Shurshyts. Since then, this area has been called Shurshytkyrgan. This place of the battle is recorded on a schematic map of 1890.

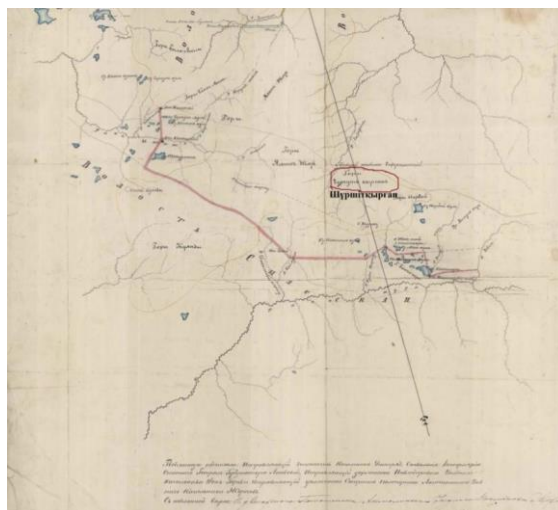


Fig. 2. Schematic map of the Semipalatinsk region in 1890 (IAOO F. 198. Inv. C. P. 1.2)

Another hero of that time, Malaysary batyr, also left a deep mark in the people's memory. He was a brave and talented commander, the first in the history of the Kazakh Khanate to receive the title “tarkhan” from the Dzungarian ruler. His diplomatic skills played a key role in rescuing Abylai Khan from captivity without shedding a drop of blood. According to historical sources that have come down to this day, he refused to comply with Galdan–Tseren's demands, which surprised him, and even returned home with generous gifts from him. “Here and in Russia, they do not require amanates from all families, but you want to be more than the Russian state.” Being a friend and right-hand man of Abylai Khan, he laid his head in the service, in battle.

Villages in the Gvardeysky district of Taldykorgan region and the Maysky district of Pavlodar region, a street in Pavlodar, and a monument in the city center were named in his honor. All these names, places, and monuments are evidence of the greatness of their exploits before their descendants and symbolize important episodes in the history of Kazakhstan. (Insebaev, volume 5, 2017: 224)

According to the study of local historian D. Ayashimov, the name of the son of Malaysara batyr Tleukabyl can be traced in the toponymy of the region. The name of Mount Tleukabil in the mountains of Edyge is associated with the last wintering of Malaysara batyr and, in this context, his son Tleukabil, who also took part in the Kazakh-Dzungarian wars (“Battle of Serektas”, 2019: 169).

Among the key participants in the military events of the XVIII century, batyr Bayan, who was born in the village of Aralagash in the modern North Kazakhstan region, stands out. Batyr Bayan made a significant contribution to the liberation of the Kazakh lands from the Dzungars. He, along with Olzhabai, Malaysary, Kabanbay batyrs, and others, was particularly distinguished by his heroism and remained in the national memory as an outstanding person.

In 2010, the Bayan Batyr Foundation was founded, and in 2014, on the occasion of his 300th birthday, a monument was erected in Pavlodar. Streets in the village of Kenzhekol (Pavlodar region), in Petropavlovsk and Almaty, and a school in Bulaevo (North Kazakhstan region) were also named in honor of Bayan Batyr.

Many brave batyrs, such as Moynak, Lepes, Zhazy, Otel, Tugel, Kozhabergen, Koshkarbai and others, proved themselves in the battles with the Dzungars on the territory of the Pavlodar-Irtysh region. For example, in the Irtysh district of Pavlodar region, Lake Moynak is located, near the shores of which batyr Moynak died and was buried. There are two villages near the lake, Maly and Bolshoy Moynak, named after the batyr.

Zhazy Hill is located in the same area, named after another famous batyr, who, together with Batyr Tugel and others, ousted the Dzungars from the Slety River. In 1995, the descendants of batyr Zhaza erected an obelisk on his grave in the Irtysh district, near the village of Kyzyl-gash.

The lake, where the Tugel, Koshkarbai, and Zhaz batyrs gathered tribal troops and raised banners (zhalau – author), was named Zhalauly (Insebaev, volume 2, 2017: 98).

Batyr Tugel was one of the main leaders of the Kazakh militia in the fight against the Kalmyks for the lands on the left bank of the Irtysh and along the Slety River. He holds a special place in people's memory as the most authoritative leader of the army. According to legend, the batyr was poisoned by a widow, bribed by the Kalmyks, during an overnight stay in an aul on Zhuantobe hill. According to the batyr's testament, Tugel was buried on this hill, where a memorial stele was erected in 2003.

On the modern map of Pavlodar region, the Tugel Batyr stele is located in the Irtysh district, on the border of Pavlodar and North Kazakhstan regions, 2–3 km north of the village of Kyzyl-gash in North Kazakhstan region, on the site of the alleged grave of Batyr Tugel.

Today, the memorial stele is one of the most significant objects of the historical Kazakh-Dzungarian confrontation in the Pavlodar-Irtysh region and plays an important role in preserving the historical memory of the Kazakh people. Residents of the Pavlodar-Irtysh region still honor the memory of the batyr, and conduct memorial rites and prayers at this sacred object.

Monuments of not only batyrs born in the Irtysh region have been preserved on the territory of the Pavlodar region. In the Ekibastuz district, in the village of Karasu, there is a mountain Bogenbaya, 486 meters high, named after Bogenbai batyr, who chose this place to concentrate his troops. Kabanbai Hill was also located in this area, around which Batyr Kabanbai stationed his troops, preparing for battle. However, in the 1970s, the toponym “Kabanbai” was changed to “Koktobe”.

Khan Abylai, defending the lands of the Kazakh people and pursuing enemies to their destruction, stopped in the Irtysh region. His spear stood at this place of the khan's encampment, and since then this area has been called the "Naiza tract". According to legends, the local rich man named Murat from the Kanzhygaly clan provided Khan Abylai with 400 war horses (Rakhimov, 2023: 155).

In the May district, another resident, Shabanbai, donated 500 horses, cattle, and military equipment for the needs of the army. In honor of these significant events, the descendants of Shabanbai erected a commemorative stone stele in the village of Baskol in the May district, which became another symbol of the memory of historical events on this land.

In the Zhelezinsky district of the Pavlodar region, 17 kilometers northwest of the village of Tserkovnoye, there is the burial of batyr Derbysala. Batyr Derbysaly from the Uak clan remained in history as one of the leaders of the struggle of the Kazakh people against the Dzungars.

Oral traditions have been preserved among the Barabinsk Tatars, containing the saying "Derbysaly kelet – shash alat". The stories of Uriankhai and Altaians about the raids of Derbysaly batyr together with Koshkarbai Batyr are preserved. In the writings of Shokan Ualikhanov, there is a mention that only the name of the batyr scared the Dzungars and forced them to go far away from their village. (Valikhanov, volume 1., 1984: 218).

According to the information of the old-timers of the village of Makratai (18 km from the village of Tserkovnoye), until the middle of the twentieth century (before the beginning of the development of virgin land), there was an adobe brick mazar opposite the village of Troitskoye, where the legendary batyr Uakov Derbysaly was buried. In the spring, Kazakhs came to Mazar to honor the memory of the batyr in the hope of his intercession. This place of memory has gained its sacredness and a new meaning to its existence.

In the Zhelezinsky district, 20 kilometers from the village of Veselaya Grove, there is the burial of Omir Batyr from the Uak-Shoga clan. According to residents, this batyr fought against the Dzungars in the town of Keltesor (near the city of Petropavlovsk, North Kazakhstan region) during the Great Disaster.

Another monument, the granite grave in the stone fence of Sarah Batyr from the Argyn family, is located in the old cemetery 60 km west of the Maykain – Kyzylshilik road in Bayanaul district of Pavlodar region. This monument was built in 2000. The bas-relief composition depicts a quiver with arrows, a shield, and a tamga of the Argyn tribe.

During the Kazakh-Dzungarian confrontations, representatives of the Basentein family, who inhabited the territory of the left bank of the Irtysh, were the most numerous. Among them, heroes such as Koisary batyr and his children Omirzak, Zhanuzak, Omir, and others stand out. This family, representatives of the Basentein clan of the Zhamanai branch of the Middle Zhuz, according to Alikhan Bokeikhanov, lived on the territory of the Pavlodar-Irtysh region since the beginning of the XVII century. Koisara and his eldest son Umirzak especially stood out for their fighting skills. According to the traditions of that time, lakes were named in honor of distinguished heroes near the place of Akkol-Zhayilma, now Akkol rural district of Ekibastuz district.

The burial place of batyr Omirzak, located near the lake with the same name in the village of Enbek, has been well preserved to this day. In 2021, the descendants of the batyr installed an iron fence around the stone mazar. His relative Oten Batyr is buried in the same place. The younger brother of batyr Omirzak, Zhanuzak, according to archival documents, also participated in the Kazakh-Dzungarian battles and, possibly, took part in the famous "Shandy Zhoryk" (Dusty campaign– author) against the Kalmyks.

The grave of Zhanuzak batyr is located in the valley of the Aksu River near the Irtysh and is also a sacred place in the Pavlodar-Irtysh region. This place has become an object of pride for the descendants of the batyr and the contribution of the Basentein family to the preservation of the lands of the Middle Zhuz. (Akbetau, 2022: 81)

## Conclusion

Despite the insufficiency of historical sources, it is possible to form a definite idea of the events of the 18th–19th centuries based on folk traditions, archival information, and places of memory. Examples are Lake Zhasybai, the Naiza tract, and the Kalmakkyrgan mountains, described by oral history, archaeological information, and written sources. This allows you to determine geographical coordinates and restore a picture of historical events and their development.

The names of many historical figures, even less well-known, such as batyrs Oten and Omirzak, remain in the memory of the people to this day.

In the modern society of the Pavlodar-Irtysh region, there is a lively interest in preserving the historical heritage associated with the events of the 18th and 19th centuries, and awareness of the importance of these events for the formation of national identity. As a result, memorial complexes dedicated to the batyrs appeared, as well as streets and towns renamed in honor of these heroes, reflecting the desire to preserve and transfer historical heritage to future generations

These efforts, including research of a local history nature, emphasize the practical importance of the formation of civic identity in Kazakhstan.

Places of memory associated with historical events of the 18th and 19th centuries become a key source of knowledge about the people, contributing to the rapprochement of the present with the past and the future.

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HAOr — Historical archive of the Omsk region  
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 RSHA — Russian State Historical Archive  
 SAAR — State archive of the Altai region

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**EDU.E-HISTORY.KZ**

электрондық ғылыми журналы 2024. 11 (4)

*Бас редактор:*  
*Қабылдинов З.Е.*

*Компьютерде беттеген:*  
Копеева С.Ж.

Пішімі 70x100/16. Баспа табағы 21,125.

*Құрылтайшысы және баспагері:*

Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитеті Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

*Редакция мен баспаның мекен-жайы:*

050010, Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28-үй  
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050010 Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28-үй