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Ondan “Marksman”: Kazakh Sultan of the Second Half of the XVI Century

The middle and late XVI century is an important stage in the history of the Kazakh Khanate. However, the role of individual personalities in the history of the state remains unexplored. One of the major military and political figures of that period was Sultan Ondan, the eldest son of the Kazakh khan Shigai. Despite the importance of this figure for the history of the Kazakh Khanate, there are no special studies of his biography. The purpose of this article is to reconstruct the major stages of the life of the Kazakh sultan Ondan and to highlight his role and significance in the history of the Kazakh Khanate. In the article all basic historical data about the activities of the Kazakh sultan Ondan are collected and studied. In fact, this study represents the first time in historiography that a comprehensive biography of Sultan Ondan has been reconstructed based on all available sources, which accounts for the novelty of the research. The study is based on biographical approach and historical personalistics. Ondan-sultan had a high origin, being a notable figure in the last years of the reign of khans Haknazar and Shigai. He possessed military qualities, actively participated in military-political events of his time. According to sources, Ondan-sultan participated in wars with the Oirats, as well as in the war against the Tashkent ruler Baba-sultan. An important issue is his relations with the Nogai Horde. An important conclusion that can be drawn from the sources, despite their limited nature, is the significant role played by Sultan Ondan and his active participation in the major events of the history of the Kazakh Khanate during the second half of the 16th century. At the same time, it should be noted that, contrary to prevailing views in historiography, one should treat with caution data from sources that often contain contradictory information about Sultan Ondan. This article challenges the established view that this sultan died in the mid-1580s and suggests that his death occurred earlier. Furthermore, previous historiography has paid little attention to the circumstances surrounding the sultan's death.

Keywords: Kazakh Khanate, The second half of the 16th century, foreign policy, Ondan sultan, Uraz-Muhammed, Nogai Horde, “Jami al-Tawarikh”, Kadyr Ali-Bek, Ch. Ch. Valikhanov, Kurbangali Khalid.

Introduction

The second half of the XVI century is an important stage in the history of the Kazakh Khanate. At that time, uneasy relations with neighboring Bukhara Khanate, Nogai and Oirats are formed, and after a long break, relations with the Tsardom of Russia are resumed. In the internal policy there was also a rather complicated situation connected with competition for power among different branches of Kazakh khans and sultans. To this time belongs the activity of several political figures such as Hak-Nazar-khan, Shigai-khan, Tavakkul-khan. A notable figure of that time is Kazakh sultan (tsarevich) and khan of Kasimov Uraz-Muhammed and several other bright figures. One more name stands out among the names of that epoch — Ondan sultan, who left a noticeable trace in Kazakh history.

The importance of the personality of Sultan Ondan is largely due to the factor of his dynastic line, of which he was the founder. Among his descendants there were many bright representatives who played a notable role in history in the following centuries. This is Uraz-Muhammed — khan of Kasimov, who was destined to play a significant role in the history of Kazakh Russian relations and to become one of the heroes of the “Time of Troubles” in the Russian history of the beginning of the XVII century. These are Barak-Khan, one of the most prominent figures in the history of the first half of the XVIII century, his son Bukey, who became one of the last khans of the Kazakhs of the Middle Juz in the early XIX century, their descendant Alikhan Bukeykhanov, a famous political figure of the early XX century, and others. This circumstance attracts attention to Sultan Ondan himself and makes it relevant to study his place and role in history.

At the same time, despite the important place that Ondan Sultan occupies in the history of the Kazakh Khanate, and as the founder of a new dynastic branch, separate studies are still insufficient.

The weak study of the history of Ondan sultan largely relates to a very limited range of sources. Even for such figures as Hak-Nazar-khan, Tavakkul-khan or Uraz-Muhammed, whose names and activities are more often found in sources, some stages of their lives are not always complete and clear. Even less is

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known about Ondan, which complicates the study, but on the other hand makes the study of his life and the era in which he lived more relevant and demanded.

The purpose of this article is to reconstruct, based on all available sources, the biography of the Kazakh sultan Ondan, son of Khan Shigai.

Materials and Methods

It should be stated that there are very few sources that allow one to reconstruct the biography of Ondan and to show his participation in the historical events of the second half of the XVI century.

The most voluminous source, which contains some information about Ondan sultan is the famous chronicle “Jami at-tavarikh” or “Collection of chronicles” by Kadyr Ali-Bek created during the “reign” in Kasimov of Uraz-Muhammed, son of Ondan. This source is well known to researchers and has long attracted the attention of scientists as it not only contains some original messages on the history of the Chingizids but also is an important monument of post (late) Golden Horde Turkic historiography. The text itself was introduced into scientific circulation quite a long time ago and has been published several times. Among recent editions it is worth noting the recent translations by Z.A. Khisamieva [1] and R. Alimov [2], published in 2022.

Ch. Ch. Valikhanov, who knew this source well, characterized it as the most valuable on the history of the Kazakhs: “there is no doubt that with regard to information about the Kirghiz, the “Collection of annals”..., remarkable all the more because it represents the only monuments of the past life of the Kazakhs” [3; 164].

However, this source also contains rather fragmentary and not always clear data, which nevertheless allows us to give a general idea of the fate of the sultan. In addition, there are some other, albeit very brief, chronicles about Ondan Sultan [4; 246].

Among the sources concerning Ondan sultan it is worth mentioning folklore and genealogical legends collected in his time by Ch. Valikhanov, which, although more legendary in nature, nevertheless allow one to show more clearly the importance of Ondan in the historical memory of Kazakhs of the new time and thus indirectly confirm his important role in the historical events of his time. First, this is the material of Ch. Valikhanov entitled by the publishers as “Family tree of Kazakh khans and sultans” [5; 173-177]. Of no less interest are the data collected by the original Turkic-Tatar historian of the early XX century, Kurbanqali Khalid, which significantly complement the data known to Ch. Valikhanov [6].

In the work there were applied both general scientific methods such as analysis, generalization and others, and historical methods proper, as well as elements of biographical approach and historical personalistics.

The primary method to be employed is the historical-biographical approach, which is used to reconstruct the life stories of historical figures. Within the framework of this approach, based on the entire known body of sources, an attempt will be made to identify the main stages of Sultan Ondan’s life. The application of this method allows for the consideration of the individual’s personal characteristics, which in turn helps to better understand the logic behind the sultan’s actions in various circumstances.

Closely related to the biographical method is the prosopographic method, which allows us to move from individual facts to the construction of a collective portrait and to reveal certain features of the functioning of the sultan’s group and its overall significance in the history of the Kazakh Khanate.

Results

Ondan (Andak, Onnan, Ozsan, Undan) sultan was one of the sons of Shigai Khan (1580-1582). According to Kadyr Ali-bek “Shigai Khan had many wives, famous, great wives were three”, among which was Bayym-bikem mother of Ondan sultan [1; 140]. It is known about Ondan’s brother and sister — Saidkul sultan and Altyn-khanim. Among Ondan’s brothers from Shigai’s other wives were future Kazakh khans Tavakkul (1594-1598) and Ishim (1598-1628).

If the origin of Ondan sultan’s father Khan Shigai is well known, there is very little data about his mother Bayym-bikem. An interesting fact is Kadyr Ali-Bek’s indication of her special status as the wife of the Kazakh khan. Firstly, in the list of “great wives” Shigaya Bayym-bikem is named first, and in addition, her name is preceded by the epithet “Altyn khanim”. Several researchers working with Kadyr Ali-Bek’s text have repeatedly drawn attention to this. Thus, M.A. Usmanov noted that this epithet is not just a part of the name Bayym-bikem — “at first glance everything seems clear: [Altyn-khanim] is the proper name of the khansha and that is all. However, its strikingly frequent use in the “Collection” requires a more attentive attitude to it” [7; 91]. In this regard, he suggests that the epithet “altyn-khanim” applied to Bayym-bekim in fact

"was the title of "the main (senior) wife of Kazakh khans and tsareviches" [7; 92]. Other researchers adhere to similar assessments regarding this title [1; 101]. Thus, we can reasonably speak not only about the special status of Bayym-bikem mother of Ondan sultan, but also about his own status also — the son of the khan and the son of his senior (main) wife. Due to the undeveloped problems of political anthropology of Kazakhs in the khan's period, it is difficult to speak in detail about the practical expression of this or that title or rank, their correlation with each other, material and political content, but in any case, it should be noted that Ondan sultan had a special origin due to the above reasons, i.e. the high status not only of his father, but also of his mother.

The question of the Ondan's sultan family himself, his wives and children remain unresolved. According to Kadyr Ali-bek Ondan had many wives and concubines and many of them were "from conquered regions" [1; 140]. This thesis is successfully illustrated by another source "Sharaf-name-yi Shahi (Book of the Shah's glory)" by Hafiz-i Tanish. This author notes one of the episodes connected with the name of Ondan sultan the events of which refer to the period of Khanate of Hakk-Nazar (1538-1580) and are dated 1579. Hafiz-i Tanysh writes that at one time on the banks of the river Talas together with the khan there were several sultans, including Shigai and his son Ondan, who apparently about that time "caught in the net of his marriage union the wife (kuch) of "Abd al-Karim sultan, and his sister was taken captive for Jalim sultan" [4; 246]. And as the author of "Sharaf-name-yi Shahi" writes further that exactly after this case "sons of Khorazmshah sultan refused the campaign against Kazakhs" [4; 246].

In "Sharaf-name-yi Shahi" in the translation made by M.A. Salakhmetdinova and published in 1969, which we refer to, in this episode the name of Ondan sultan is indicated as "Andak sultan", but in the notes to this translation made by A.A. Ibragmova it is assumed with reference to V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov that it is Ondan son of Shigai-khan and nephew of Tavakkul-khan [4; 536]. V.V. Velyaminov -Zernov himself in his translation of the episode from "Sharaf-name-yi Shahi" about the abduction of Abd al-Karim sultan's wife and sister directly names Ondan sultan [8; 281, 362].

According to sources, Ondan Sultan had two known wives. The first was Altyn-khanim daughter of Bulat sultan son of Usyak-khan [1; 140]. She was the mother of the famous Uraz-Muhammed whose short but very rich military-political life, and even more often circumstances of death, status of "Kasimov king", closeness to the author of "Jami at-tavarikh" Kadyr Ali-Bek, role in the Kazakh-Russian ambassadorial relations, kinship with Kazakh khans and a number of other factors made him noticeable in the history of the Russian state and attracted the attention of researchers. In historiography there is an assumption concerning the father of Altyn-khanim Sultan Bulat, which indirectly can give information about the age of the senior khan's wife. N.A. Atygaev referring to the work of A.I. Isin suggests that Sultan Bulat died during the Kazakh-Nogai confrontation in 1537 [9; 449]. However, this statement does not consider another important factor. If Bulat sultan died in the summer of 1537, his daughter Altyn-khanim had to be born not later than this time or in any case not later than the beginning of 1538. Her husband Ondan Sultan was born not earlier than in the middle of 1550s. If the assumption of N.A. Atygaev is correct, then in this case Ondan's wife, who gave birth to several children, was almost 20 years older than her husband, which is unlikely. Thus, the assumption about the death of Altyn-khanim's father Sultan Bulat in 1537 looks doubtful and requires more solid grounds.

The second wife of Ondan — Chuyum-khanim was the daughter of Kimsin sultan son of Burunduk-khan. From her was born Kuchuk sultan, about whom Kadyr Ali-bek reports that he was "under the padishah of Islam Tevekkel khan the leader of the army" [1; 140]. His name is also mentioned in ambassadorial documents connected with Kazakh-Russian contacts in 1594-1595 [10; 31, 32, 37, 39]. Known descendants of Ondan XVIII — the beginning of XX centuries mainly belong to the line of Kuchuk sultan. Almost nothing is known about the other sons of Ondan sultan.

In rare references to Ondan sultan researchers cite interesting data on this sultan collected by Ch. Valikhanov. So, in the materials devoted to the genealogy of Kazakh Tore, first published only in the 1960s, the following legend is given: "one line of Kaisak sultans is known under the name of sultans of the red banner and comes, according to the legend of the people, from one Central Asian native, adventurer. The ancestor of this branch of sultans Ondan, nicknamed Marksman, was from Kurama, that at Angren" [5; 173]. As the legend goes on Ondan was forced to leave Kurama and on the advice of his father's friend Alibek Agievsky he went to the Kazakhs where he "gave himself away" for the sultan [5; 173].

In this message cited by Ch. Valikhanov, several interesting points concerning Ondan, which in the future will require more detailed study in case they are confirmed by other sources.

First, it is the origin of Ondan, in this message it is territorially connected with the southern city of Angren, which he was forced to leave. In this case, an interesting parallel with Ondan's brother Khan Tavakkul conducted by J.O. Artykbaev, he also offers an interpretation of the word "Kurama" [11; 108].

Secondly, the thesis that Ondan "passed himself off" as a sultan. More specifically, the legend says that Alibek, the father of the famous Tole-biy, when Ondan fled to him after the incident, gave him the following advice: "You cannot stay here. There are nomadic tribes on the steppes of Zachuysk who respect sultans and khojas. You cannot be a hodja, but you can be a sultan. You're brave and a first-rate marksman. Go there and pretend (*italics — N.L.*) to be a sultan" [5; 173]. Ch. Ch. Valikhanov did not share this version and, as if commenting on, it cited information from "Collection of annals" Kadyr Ali-Bek, about the kinship of Ondan sultan with Kazakh khans and thus refuting the "imposture" of the sultan, given in the legend collected by him.

Regarding the probability of "imposture" of Ondan, it will be appropriate to refer to the opinion of experts who analyzed DNA-data of representatives of several groups of Kazakh Chingizids, including the descendants of Ondan: "among Kazakh khans, there were no documented facts of imposture or adoption. It is important to note that, as a rule, Kazakh Chingizids knew each other and the fact of imposture or adoption would immediately become the property of "uzun-kulak" (steppe rumor). Thus, the only mechanism of incorporation of another haplogroup into the Chingizids could be adultery" [12; 122]. By the way the same group of researchers has received interesting results concerning the modern descendants of Ondan sultan. From them it follows that haplogroup (C3 (xC3c)) of a line of Sultan coincides with haplogroup of other Chingizids unlike, for example, some other tested descendants of Kazakh khans [12; 123]. In any case, the presence in the legends collected by Ch. Ch. Valikhanov mentioning that Ondan allegedly "gave himself away" for the Sultan is quite interesting.

Thirdly, this are the data of Ch. Ch. Valikhanov that the descendants of Ondan are known as the Red Banner Sultans. This fact may indeed speak of the formation of an independent dynasty within the Kazakh Chingizids, who had their own symbol expressed in a banner of a certain color. On the other hand, this shows not only the special role of Ondan as the founder of the dynasty, but also indirectly testifies to his own significant role in the history of the Kazakh Khanate. It is extremely interesting that the information about the presence of a separate designation, a symbol in the form of a banner specifically among the descendants of Ondan, is confirmed by the data of a younger contemporary of Ch. Ch. Valikhanov, the historian Kurbangali Khalid. However, he gives his own very important clarifications, which also deserve attention. If Ch. Ch. Valikhanov calls the descendants of Ondan the sultans of the red banner, then Kurbangali Khalid, relying on the information he painstakingly collected, writes the opposite, that Ondan himself came from the sultans of the red banner as a descendant of Urus Khan and the heir of the Kazakh khans. However, unlike his predecessors, Ondan chose white as his banner and thus, according to Kurbangali Khalid, his descendants are not red-, but white-banner sultans (*ak tuly torelers*) [6; 103].

In general, the information provided by Ch. Ch. Valikhanov (and Kurbangali Khalid) provides additional details to the biography of Ondan, which is especially valuable given the limited sources.

In historiography, attention has been drawn several times to Ondan's age given in the "Collection of Chronicles". Kadir Ali-bek in his work indicates that he died in a clash with the Kalmyks "at the age of thirty" [8; 365]. According to other data from the same source, the sultan died "from internecine strife" [1; 140].

Based on this information and calculations of Uraz-Muhammad's age made by V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov, several versions of the lifespan of Sultan Ondan are given. At the same time, in general, there is, if not a consolidated, then the most widespread opinion among researchers — about 1555–1585. In this case, the starting date was Ondan's death — 1585, and retrospectively, given that the sultan lived for about thirty years, his birth was dated around 1555. This version, in various variations, was supported by V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov himself, who was the first to propose 1585, and after him, most modern researchers, including A.V. Belyakov, M.Zh. Abdirrov, T.I. Sultanov, K.K. Abuev and others [8; 399], [13; 20, 23], [14; 29], [15; 27], [16; 29], [17; 353], [18; 326, 415].

However, there are other opinions in historiography. For example, the same A.V. Belyakov in some of his works adhered to a different, earlier dating of the life of Ondan sultan — 1545–1575 [19; 76], [20; 176]. Zh. M. Sabitov offers his version concerning the time of Ondan's death. Justifying a different date of birth of Uraz-Muhammad than it is accepted in the literature and assuming that he was born in 1574, and not in 1572 Zh. M. Sabitov indicates that thus the time of Ondan's death should be attributed to 1587 [21; 1163–1164].

As we see, the available ideas about the time of Ondan's life are based primarily on indirect data coming from assumptions regarding the dating of the events of the life of his son Uraz-Muhammad. In the ab-

sence of direct instructions in the sources about the time of life of Ondan himself, it is difficult to give more substantiated dates. For our part, we would like to note that there is no information about Ondan after 1579 in the sources, and in this connection, it is possible to assume that he died earlier than it is accepted in the historical literature, i.e. before 1585.

If the sources are silent about the time of Ondan's death, the place of his burial is known quite accurately. According to the main source on the life and activities of Ondan sultan "Collection of Annals" by Kadyr Ali-Bek, he was buried near the mausoleum of Khoja Ahmet Yasawi, that is, in the city of Turkestan. However, in historiography sometimes there is an unusual indication that Ondan "Marksman" was buried in another place. So A.V. Belyakov in several of his works for quite a long time adhered to the version about the place of burial of Ondan sultan not in Turkestan, but in Turkmenia [14; 29], [19; 76], [20; 177], which has already been pointed out [17; 355]. However, later in his works he indicated the place of burial of the sultan in Turkestan, which corresponds to the source.

Brief data from the sources allow us to say a few words about the personal qualities of Ondan sultan. According to Kadyr Ali-Bek "stories [about the life] of Ondan Sultan are heard everywhere, he was a great hero — a sniper in any case, in every battle with the enemy showed courage and bravery. In the time of Shigai Khan he was the leader of the army. The fame about him is known" [1; 140].

Ch. Ch. Valikhanov cites such an incident that forced Ondan to leave Kurama: "once at a feast he, having drunk too much, [said] that he had killed a noble Kurama man. Having drawn a bow with an arrow of twelve girths, he sat on a black horse and fled from revenge" [5; 173].

The available legends about the qualities and abilities of Ondan sultan speak about the courage of the sultan and both sources firmly link him with the ability to manage a bow, he is even called "Marksman", "sniper" and "shooter of the first hand". In addition, the sultan was no stranger to feasts and apparently was not characterized by an ascetic lifestyle. This is evidenced by the participation in the "feast" and taking away Abd al-Karim sultan's wife and indirectly by Alibek's words that Ondan could become a sultan, but not a Khoja.

We know even less about Ondan sultan's military-political activity, according to even more brief references. It is known that during the reign of his father Shigai, the sultan was "leader of troops", the death of the sultan at the hands of the Kalmyks suggests that he participated in wars with the Kalmyks (Oirats). The mention of Abd al-Karim sultan allows us to confidently assume that Ondan participated in the events related to the activities of the famous Shibanid Baba sultan, whose nephew was Abd al-Karim sultan.

In historiography there is an interesting assumption or hypothesis related to the possible political status of Ondan sultan as a formal ruler of the Nogai Horde. The author of this hypothesis is A.V. Belyakov, who in his monograph devoted to the Kasimov king Uraz-Muhammed, prefacing the biography of the main character gives curious data and puts forward his assumptions concerning his father, namely Ondan sultan. In this monograph and in some other works [22; 21], [23; 103-104], A.V. Belyakov, referring to the sources related to the sister of Uraz-Muhammed tsarevna Ai-khanysh, assumes that Ondan was the nominal king of the Nogai horde [13; 22].

Already based on this assumption A.V. Belyakov, for example, admits that during the "reign" of Ondan over the Nogai horde there could be born his son Uraz-Muhammed [13; 23]. In addition, A.V. Belyakov assumes that quite numerous relatives of Uraz-Muhammed, including his grandmother and mother, who later found themselves together with him in Russia, were in the Nogai Horde before coming here [13; 82].

In his new monograph A.V. Belyakov corrected some assumptions related to Ondan, but the main thesis about his probable reign in the Nogai horde remained unchanged [24; 21-22].

The historiography drew attention to the assumption of A.V. Belyakov regarding the royal status of Ondan and there are several critical remarks [9; 448-449], [25; 202], [26; 387-388]. For example, N.A. Atygaev in general admits the fact that Ondan could be a Nogai ruler but does not agree that he was a nominal khan appointed by the Nogai biys themselves. E.A. Ryabinina and D.N. Maslyuzhenko are even more critical of this version, believing that its problem "is that it is not clear when Ondan could have been enthroned and why he is not indicated as a king in other sources, which are quite reverent about political terminology" [26; 387-388].

If we agree with this assumption that Ondan was a nominal but still official ruler of the Nogai Horde, it will be a significant addition to the biography of the sultan and the status of his son Uraz-Muhammed not only as a grandson of the Kazakh khan, but also as a son of the Nogai king.

Relations between Kazakhs and Nogai in the second half of the XVI century were not simple, and one cannot exclude the connection of Ondan sultan with Nogai leaders. This is indirectly evidenced by the legend

recorded by Ch. Valikhanov according to which after fleeing from Kurama Ondan sultan first “went to the Small Nogai”, and from them went to the Kazakhs [5; 173]. Nevertheless, this hypothesis of A.V. Belyakov about “Tsar Ondan” still meets an objection, which is significant in our opinion.

A.V. Belyakov himself correctly notes that there is extraordinarily little data about Ondan sultan, which are mainly collected in “Jami at-tavarikh”. In this source, being an apologia of the Kasimov khan Uraz-Muhammed son of Ondan sultan, the official genealogy ascending from the new Kasimov khan to his direct ancestor Urus-khan is presented in fact [27; 235]. It draws attention to the fact that all, with one exception, the ancestors of Uraz-Muhammed, including himself, are named khans. So, the only exception is the father of Uraz-Muhammed — Ondan, who alone is named Sultan. In the chronicle of Kadir Ali Bey the name of Ondan except khan genealogy is found several times and his only sultan title is always indicated, and not once is it mentioned about khan status.

It is interesting that A.V. Belyakov himself, characterizing the work of Kadyr Ali-Bek, notes that he “significantly retouched” the image not only of the Kasimov khan himself, but also of his father Sultan Ondan [13; 23, 30]. In this case, what prevented the author of “Jami at-tawarikh” from showing the higher khan status of Ondan? It should be emphasized that among the very limited information known about Kadyr Ali-bek we know about his service to the ancestors of Uraz-Muhammed, which in turn suggests that the chronicler was informed about the origin of both the Kasimov khan and the high status of his father — Sultan Ondan.

Thus, the assumption of Ondan’s reign in the Nogai Horde cannot be considered confirmed yet, it requires more documentary grounds. In this regard, the conclusions based on this assumption should be taken very cautiously.

In this case, speaking about Ondan’s high status, the reasonable question is not so much about his khan title in the Nogai Horde, but about his potential opportunity to become the Kazakh khan after his father Shigai, and most importantly why it did not happen. Given Ondan’s own status, his abilities, seniority among his brothers and involvement in the khanate as Kadyr Ali-Bek writes about it, why did he not become khan, but his younger, half-brother Tavakkul? For lack of details in the sources it is difficult to judge with certainty, but a probable reason could be that he, as we assume, died earlier than it is considered in historiography, even during Shigai’s life or soon after his death. However, as a potential khan, Ondan was quite a suitable candidate.

Discussion

The paucity of sources limits the study of aspects of Ondan Sultan’s activities. In this regard, there are very few works that are directly devoted to him, historiography is mainly represented either by generalizing works on the history of the Kazakh Khanate and the events of the second half of the XVI century, or, even more often, Ondan’s name is mentioned in works devoted to his son Uraz-Muhammed more “popular” with researchers.

Among the researchers who paid special attention to the activities of Ondan Sultan it is worth noting the works of A.V. Belyakov, Zh. M. Sabitov, N. Atygaev, J. Artykbaev and some others [9; 443-452], [11; 107-109], [13], [21; 1163-1165].

However, even in these works the attention to the activities of Ondan Sultan is rather limited. Researchers agree that there is very little data about him [13; 20]. The factor of the unexplored biography of the sultan also adds to the relevance of this work.

In historiography, the name Ondan is first mentioned in the well-known work of V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov, who had a deep knowledge of Eastern written sources, based on which he was the first to identify a number of issues in the history of the Kazakh Khanate, including detailed biographies of some Kazakh rulers. It is in his work that rare data from Eastern sources (Sharaf-nama-yi Shahi by Hafiz-i Tanish) are cited, which allow us to speak of Ondan’s participation in the complex relations that Kazakh rulers built with the Bukhara Khanate and the Tashkent domain [4; 246]. An important contribution is made by V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov regarding the time of Ondan’s life. After analyzing the data reported by Kadyr Ali-Bek in “Jami at-tavarikh” about the life of Uraz-Muhammad, he concluded that Sultan Ondan died in the mid-1580s, and because the same source states that the sultan lived only thirty years, his birth is attributed to the mid-1550s. Later, almost all researchers accepted this date.

Among researchers, it is worth noting the work of Zh. O. Artykbaev, which reconstructs the biographies of a few Kazakh rulers, khans, and sultans, including Sultan Ondan. In particular, he drew attention to Ondan’s place of origin and the fact that his descendants were given the name “sultans of the white banner.”

In fact, Zh. O. Artykbaev was one of the first to highlight Ondan's biography in his work. In addition, it is important that in his work, a large array of Eastern sources was used to reconstruct the sultan's activities, including data from authors such as Kadyr Ali-Bek, Hafiz-i Tanish, Ch. Valikhanov, Kurbangali Khalid, Mahshur-Zhusup, and Shakarym [11; 107–109].

The works of Russian historian A.V. Belyakov, a leading specialist in the history of the Chingizids, examine the biography of Kasimov Khan Uraz-Muhammad, one of Ondan's sons. In this regard, when describing the khan's family, he provides interesting information about his father. In his works, based on the historical sources he has identified, he puts forward a hypothesis about Ondan's possible nominal rule in the Nogai Horde. In connection with this theory, A.V. Belyakov suggests that Sultan Ondan's family was also in the Nogai Horde and even that his son and future Khan of Kasimov, Uraz-Muhammad, was born in the Nogai nomadic camps during his father's reign there. In his work, A.V. Belyakov also notes the years of Ondan's life and place of death. On this issue, he agrees with the proposal put forward earlier by V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov [13].

Zh. M. Sabitov's work is of interest in relation to some data concerning the life of Sultan Ondan. This author is one of the few who revises the chronology of Uraz-Muhammad's life and at the same time clarifies the time of Ondan's probable death. Based on a comparison of some data from Jami at-tavarikh, he suggests that the existing view in historiography regarding this event is not accurate and that the sultan died a couple of years later than is commonly believed [21; 1163–1165].

Also noteworthy in historiography is an article by N. Atygaev devoted to the ancestors of Khan Uraz-Muhammad, among whom his father Ondan occupied an important place. Based on a few sources, some data on the life and activities of this sultan and his family are provided. In addition, N. Atygaev is one of the authors who supported A.V. Belyakov's assumption regarding Ondan's possible reign in the Nogai Horde but believes that Ondan was not a nominal but a real khan of the Nogai Horde and that he was appointed khan by his father Shigai Khan [9; 448].

In general, it should be noted that despite the certain interest of researchers in the figure of Ondan Sultan, several questions remain unstudied and require attention.

There is no consensus or precise understanding in the literature regarding most aspects of Sultan Ondan's biography, including the dates of his life, his place of birth, the circumstances of his involvement in the major events of the history of the Kazakh Khanate, and even the causes and timing of his death. This is largely because authors have not utilized all available sources. This article, for the first time in historiography, systematizes all data known from sources regarding Ondan's activities. However, the overall scarcity of data does not yet allow for definitive answers to several questions. For example, the question of Ondan's role in the history of the Nogai Horde remains a matter of debate; the question of his relationship with the new Kazakh khan Tavakkul, who ascended the throne after the death of Khan Shigai, requires further study, as do several other issues.

Conclusions

An analysis of the sources consulted shows that the history of the Kazakh Khanate in the second half of the 16th century remains a little-studied period. In this context, it is particularly important to study the role of individual historical figures — khans and sultans — who were the main actors in military and political history. One of the significant historical figures of that time is Sultan Ondan. Written sources and folklore data clearly show that Ondan played a significant role in a number of events. He took part in military events during the struggle of the Kazakh khan Khaknazar against the ruler of Tashkent, Shibaniid Baba Sultan, was commander of the troops during the reign of Khan Shigay and also participated in clashes with the Oirats. In addition, there is reason to believe that Ondan may have taken part in the struggle for power after the death of his father, Khan Shigay. Of particular importance is the information about Ondan's possible connections with the Nogai Horde.

In historiography, a complex situation has developed regarding the study of Ondan's role in the history of the Kazakh Khanate. On the one hand, his name appears in various sources, and the sultan's important role in various events is noted. This has led to some authors in historical literature since the 19th century mentioning Ondan, especially when describing events related to the activities of the Kasimov Khan Uraz-Muhammad. However, the limited number of sources means that the information about the sultan is often repeated, and there is still no complete written biography of Sultan Ondan.

Historical information about the dynastic line founded by Ondan is of exceptional importance. Ondan himself had a special origin and status that distinguished him from other sultans, as he was not only the son

of the khan, but also descended from the khan's main wife, who bore the epithet "Altyn khanim." His successful military and political activities and large family made Ondan the founder of a new genealogical branch of the Kazakh elite, which produced many prominent figures in the history of Kazakhstan. In this regard, it is particularly significant that sources mention the fact that Ondan's dynastic line received its distinguishing mark in the form of a red (according to other sources, white) banner. The special role of his descendants is noted in such an important source as "Jami at-tavarikh" by Kadyr Ali-Bek, which states that one of the sultan's sons became the Khan of Kasimov, and another was a major military leader during the reign of Khan Tawakkul. The important place of Sultan Ondan in the history of the Kazakh Khanate is confirmed by the preservation of his memory in oral traditions collected by Ch. Ch. Valikhanov and Kurbanali Khalid. These data reveal the sultan's personal qualities, among which his bravery, strength, and agility are mentioned.

The limited resources available do not allow for a complete reconstruction of all aspects of this sultan's biography. For example, important details about the time and place of his birth vary significantly between different sources and authors. While there is virtually no information about the sultan's place of birth, the time of his birth and death can be estimated based on the life and biography of his famous son, Sultan Uraz-Muhammad. Analysis of sources has shown that existing historiographical ideas about the time of Ondan's life need to be revised.

The personality of Ondan sultan requires further research, given his status, position and probable participation in several major events in the history of the Kazakh khanate in the second half of the 16th century. Although the limited range of sources does not yet allow us to show the role of Ondan sultan in more detail and accurately, the available references to him testify to his notable role in Kazakh history.

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Н.С. Лапин

«Ұзын оқты» Ондан: XVI ғасырдың екінші жартындағы қазақ сұлтаны

XVI ғасырдың ортасы мен екінші жартысы Қазақ хандығы тарихының маңызды кезеңі болғанымен, мемлекет тарихындағы жекелеген тұлғалардың рөлі әлі де болса толық зерттелмей келеді. Сол кезеңдегі ірі әскери және саяси қайраткердің бірі — қазақ ханы Шығайдың үлкен ұлы Ондан сұлтан. Бұл тұлғаның Қазақ хандығы тарихы үшін маңызы зор болса да, оның өмірбаянына қатысты арнайы зерттеулер кездеспейді. Мақаланың мақсаты — Ондан сұлтан өмірінің негізгі кезеңдерін қайта жаңғыртып, оның Қазақ хандығы тарихындағы рөлі мен маңызын көрсету. Мақалада сұлтанның қызметі туралы барлық негізгі тарихи деректер жинақталып, зерделенді. Тарихнамада алғаш рет қолжетімді барлық дереккөздер негізінде Ондан сұлтанның өмірбаяны барынша толық қайта жасалды, бұл зерттеудің ғылыми жаңалығын дәйектейді. Сұлтан туралы мәліметтер шежірелік деректерде сақталған, олардың негізгісі — XVII ғасырдың басында Қасым хандығында жазылған Қадыр Әлібектің «Жами ат-тауарих» атты әйгілі еңбегі. Сонымен қатар XIX ғасырдың ортасы мен екінші жартысында Шоқан Уәлиханов пен Құрбанғали Халид жинақтаған фольклорлық дереккөздердегі ақпарат пайдаланылды. Бұл мәліметтер Ондан сұлтанның тарихи санадағы бейнесін айғақтайтындықтан зерттеу үшін өте құнды. Зерттеу өмірбаяндық тәсіл мен тарихи персоналистикаға негізделген. Ондан сұлтан текті әулеттен шыққан, Хакназар мен Шығай хандар билігінің соңғы жылдарындағы көрнекті тұлға болған. Ол әскери өнерді жетік меңгеріп, өз заманының әскери-саяси оқиғаларына белсене қатысқан. Деректерге сүйенсек, Ондан сұлтан ойраттармен соғыстарға, сондай-ақ Ташкент билеушісі Баба сұлтанға қарсы жорықтарға қатысқан. Оның Ноғай Ордасымен байланысы да маңызды мәселелердің бірі. Дереккөздердің шектеулілігіне қарамастан, Ондан сұлтанның XVI ғасырдың екінші жартысындағы Қазақ хандығы тарихының негізгі оқиғаларына белсенді қатысқаны туралы маңызды қорытынды жасауға болады. Дегенмен тарихнамада қалыптасқан пікірлерге қарама-қайшы келетін мәліметтерге сақтықпен қарау қажет. Мақалада сұлтанның 1580 жылдардың ортасында қайтыс болғаны туралы қалыптасқан түсінікке күмән келтіріліп, оның қаза тапқан уақыты ертерек болуы мүмкін деген болжам ұсынылады. Бұдан бөлек, тарихнамада бұрын назардан тыс қалған сұлтанның қаза болу жағдайларына тоқталып, оның өлімі хандық ішіндегі саяси ахуалмен байланысты болуы мүмкін деген негізді жорамал жасалды.

Кілт сөздер: Қазақ хандығы, XVI ғасырдың екінші жартысы, сыртқы саясат, Ондан сұлтан, Ораз-Мухаммед, Ноғай ордасы, «Жамиғ ат-тауарих», Қадір Әлібек, Шоқан Уәлиханов, Құрбанғали Халид.

Ондан «Длиннострелый»: казахский султан второй половины XVI века

Середина и вторая половина XVI в. являются важным этапом в истории Казахского ханства, однако остается не исследованной роль отдельных личностей в истории государства. Одним из крупных военных и политических деятелей того периода был старший сын казахского хана Шигаю султан Ондан. Несмотря на значимость данной фигуры для истории Казахского ханства, отсутствуют специальные исследования его биографии. Цель статьи — реконструировать основные этапы жизни казахского султана Ондана и показать его роль и значение в истории Казахского ханства. В статье собраны и изучены все основные исторические данные о деятельности этого султана. Фактически впервые в историографии на основе всех доступных источников наиболее полно воссоздана биография султана Ондана, что обеспечивает новизну исследования. Сведения об этом султанине сохранились в летописных источниках, главным из которых является известный труд Кадыр Али-бека «Джами ат-таварих», написанный в начале XVII века в Касимовском ханстве. Кроме того, были привлечены сведения, отраженные в фольклорных источниках, собранных Чоканом Валихановым и Курбангали Халидом в середине и второй половине XIX века. Данные сведения очень важны для исследования, так как показывают значение Ондана, сохранившееся в народной памяти, что может свидетельствовать о значительной роли этого султана в истории. Исследование основано на биографическом подходе и исторической персоналистике. Ондан-султан имел высокое происхождение, являясь заметной фигурой в последние годы правления ханов Хакназара и Шигаю. Обладая военными качествами, активно участвовал в военно-политических событиях своего времени. Согласно источникам, Ондан-султан участвовал в войнах с ойратами, а также в войне против ташкентского правителя Баба-султана. Важным вопросом являются его связи с Ногайской Ордой. Важным выводом, который позволяют сделать источники, несмотря на их ограниченность, является значительная роль султана Ондана и его активное участие в основных событиях истории Казахского ханства второй половины XVI века. При этом следует отметить, что вопреки имеющимся представлениям в историографии, следует осторожно принимать данные из источников, которые нередко содержат противоречивые сведения о султанине Ондане. В данной статье поставлено под сомнение устоявшееся представление о времени смерти этого султана в середине 1580-х годов и сделано предположение о более раннем времени его гибели. Кроме того, ранее в историографии мало внимания обращалось на сведения об обстоятельствах, при которых погиб султан. Есть основания предполагать, что его гибель может быть связана с внутренней ситуацией, возникшей в самом Казахском ханстве.

Ключевые слова: Казахское ханство, вторая половина XVI века, внешняя политика, Ондан-султан, Ураз-Мухаммед, Ногайская Орда, «Джами ат-таварих», Кадыр Али-бек, Ч.Ч. Валиханов, Курбангали Халид.

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