

HISTORIC SOURCES AS A REFLECTION OF STATE HISTORY

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History of peoples who inhabited Central Asia in the second half of XV century was marked with the emergence of the Kazakh khanate, “the first national state in Central Asia which had been founded by currently existing nation...”.

Its history is full of blind spots and controversial points. Evaluation of the level of political organization in the Kazakh khanate is one of such issues. According to some researchers the Kazakh khanate had been a proper state, while others deny the very possibility of nomads being able to found a state. However, historiographic works have not dealt with one interesting question yet, that is, whether the Kazakh khanate had been perceived by its contemporaries as a state or not.

This work gives an answer to the question. At this point the analysis of terminology used in historical sources is of utmost value.

The Kazakh khanate was founded by Kerey khan (or Girey khan) and Zhanibek khan in 870 AH/1465-1466. In Russian archival materials of XV-early XVIII centuries it is mentioned as Kazack (also Kazatsk, Kaysat, Kirghiz-Kazack, Kirghiz-Kaysack, and Kazak) Horde. In Nogay documents such expressions as “Barak tsar’s Kazack jurt” and “Urus tsar’s jurt” can be encountered, which implies that in Nogays’ eyes dynastic succession of Kazakh khanate’s rulers originated from khans of the White Horde.

Moreover, in some documents of the Moscovian state’s Ambassadorial Prikaz (Posolsky Prikaz), the term “state” is used in relation to the Kazakh khanate.

Russian ambassadors tried their hardest to demonstrate their tsar's might and neighbouring states (including Kazakh khanate) dependency.

The Kazakh khanate is also mentioned as a state in the report sent to Moscow by V.Tumenets and a foreman I. Petrov on their trip to Altyn khans' state (1617). Russian ambassadors informed in their message, "People say that those states are Kazack Horde..."

Such names as "Ulus of Kazakhs", "Kazakh ulus", "Kazakh el-ulus", "Juchi's ulus" and geographic term of the earlier period "Dasht-i Kypchak" (also Dasht-i Kybchak, or simply Dasht) can be encountered in oriental Muslim works. The term "Doulat" in relation to the Kazakh khanate is used in some Persian sources.

A group of Uzbek scholars under guidance of A. Urunbayev translated a passage from Mirza Haydar Duglat's work in the following way, "The beginning of Kazakh sultans' rule took place in 870 (1465-1466)..."

The word "Doulat" has several meanings in Persian language, that is, state, government, et cetera; it means that the above mentioned abstract should be translated "Emergence of Kazakh sultans' state took place in 870".

It should also be noted that the state founded by Sefevids in 1501 in Iran and Southern Caucasus was called "Doulat-e Sefeviye" or "Doulat-e Kyzalbash", i.e. Sefevids' state, or Kyzylbashes' state.

In Persian written sources we can encounter Arabic and Persian term "mamlakat", the modern Kazakh word "memleket" (state) originated from this ancient term. However, in the early XVI century this term denoted not state, but some domain which is clearly stated in the work of Fazlallah ibn Ruzbikhan Isfahani when he mentions "mamlakat-e Sygnak", also the author used the term "mamlakat" in relation to Sabran, Karsha, and other cities and domains.

Thus, according to Russian and Persian sources the Kazakh khanate had been perceived as a state by its contemporaries.

Recognition of the Kazakh khanate in the capacity of state had been reflected in titulary of Kazakhs' supreme ruler, cited in historical sources.

It is known that terms "khan" and "khakan" had been used in relation to rulers of the Kazakh khanate in oriental written sources. Academician V.V. Bartold, noted, "... the word khan implied a sovereign's title in separate states of Middle Asia, which had emerged upon disintegration of the Mongolian Empire".

In Russian archival documents the term "tsar" is used in relation to Kazakh khans (for example Kasym, Khakk-Nazar, Tauyekel, Yesim, et cetera). In 1521 Z.Zudov, an informant of the Moscovian duke Vasily Ivanovich, who had spent four previous months in captivity in Astrakhan, reported to Moscow, "Kazack tsar Kasym died this winter".

Researchers note that in accordance with European hierarchy the title "tsar" was equal to that of "emperor".

M.Khudyakov, a famous historian of the early XX century, great authority in history of the Khanate of Kazan, wrote in 1923, "The Turkic-Mongolian title, khan in Russian documents had been respectfully translated as Tsar, thus conferring khans to the status of Roman and Byzantian Caesars, that is, emperors."

Aside from the title "tsar", we can find mentions of the term "sovereign" in relation to Kazakh rulers in Russian documents. For instance, in the summer of 1521 Grand Moscovian Duke Vasily Ivanovich, who might have learnt the news of Kasym khan's death, ordered his ambassador V.M. Tretyak-Gubin, "You have to inquire in Kazack Horde who will become their monarch ...". Making report in Moscow on situation in Kazakh khanate upon Khakk-Nazar's

death in 1581, Nogay ambassador Baykesh Temirov said, “There is no monarch in Kazakh Horde; they have tsarevich, but he has not been crowned yet.”

Russian monarchs recognized Genghisids' high status. It is not surprising that at Russian court captive Kazakh sultan Oraz-Muhammed, Tauyekel khan's nephew, had held more noble rank (probably fictitious) than representatives of Russian nobility.

Persian written sources used the term padishah in relation to Kazakh sovereigns. For example, in the work *Nusah-i Jihanara* written by Ghazi Ahmad al-Ghaffari, in anonymous Persian work of the Sefevide historiography *Alam-ara-yi Shah Ismail*, and in some other works Kasym khan is mentioned as padishah of Dasht-i Kypchak (Kypchak steppe).

Same term had been applied to all state rulers in Persian speaking environment.

Moreover, in the letter sent by Sefevide shah Abbas I to Kazakh ruler Tauyekel khan, Dzhangir khan's son, the same expression is used in relation both to Kazakh khan and Sefevide monarch, “The holder of sultan power, grandeur, and might...” (in relation to Tauyekel “glory and grace” were added to above mentioned expression, while in relation to shah Abbas the word “fortune” was used additionally). It is probable that an expression “the holder of sultan's power” had been manifestation of influence exerted by tradition of neighbours, Turkish sultans of the Ottoman Empire.

Words voiced by Tauke khan during reception of Russian ambassadors F.Skibin and M.Troshin in Kazakh khanate (1694-1696) are essential for comprehending Kazakh khans' self-perception as rulers.

Russian ambassadors wrote, “Tauyekel khan said, “Is Turkish sultan or Kyzylbash shah superior to me in any way? They are equal to me”. These words testify that Kazakh khan had perceived himself to be independent and mighty ruler just like the rulers of Ottoman and Sefevide (Kyzylbash) Empires had been. Russian and Oriental Persian written sources clearly indicate that

the Moscovian state and Persian-speaking world considered Kazakh khans to be independent rulers of the state and recognized their high status.

The analysis of terminology shows that the Kazakh khanate had been perceived as a sovereign state by its contemporaries, and its rulers had been equals with foreign monarchs.

Used material: International popular scientific historical journal "Mangi El", №12