

Batyr: Historiographical Survey

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ABSTRACT The paper analyses the historiography of the *batyr's* role in maintaining the integrity of the Kazakh state in the first quarter of the XVIII – the second half of XIX century. The researchers demonstrate the degree of study of the theme and peculiarities of approaches in the development of the institute of *batyr*s and its role in the unity of the Kazakh khanate. The researchers identified contemporary tendencies and directions in the study of theoretical problems of the role of *batyr*s as a social institute ('institution' should have been more appropriate) in the life of Kazakh society. Certain aspects of the problem, such as the term "*batyr*", the social structure of the Kazakh society, the role of *batyr*s as a public institution in the life of Kazakh people. Modern Kazakh historiography is characterized by a trend away from dogmatic stereotypes, expansion of range of issues under study and attraction of oral folklore materials on the topic that interests people.

INTRODUCTION

After gaining the independence, Kazakhstan society faced the challenging process of social and political self-identification. The most essential tool in this process was the knowledge of their national history and the revival of forgotten names of their heroes in the memory of the people. Reflecting historical events, each era puts forward the brightest personalities in the arena. The *batyr*s like Kabanbai, Bogenbay, Zhasybay, Malaysary and many others are the pride of the Kazakh people. The names of *batyr*s, who fought not sparing themselves for the sake of their motherland, passed down from generation to generation. Appealing to the history of the country and understanding the complex critical stages of the struggle for independence and sovereignty acquires a special meaning and significance. The heroic pages of the national liberation struggle of the Kazakh people in the first quarter of the XVIII - the first half of the XIX century associated with the names of many military commanders-*batyr*s. They fought with Dzhungarian khanate that was destroyed and became part of the Chinese empire (Zhang 2015). Most of the *batyr*s, headed the fighting units, soldiers of his general and tribal groups, played a prominent role not only in the military but also in social and political life of the nomadic Kazakhs.

The question of necessity of deciphering and converting unique institution of *batyr*s in the Kazakh society and the role of the *batyr*s in preserving the integrity of the Kazakh government in the first quarter of the XVIII century-the first

half of the XIX century is actualized in the historical and social thought of Kazakhstan.

METHODOLOGY

Relevance and novelty of the question lies in the interdisciplinary approach of considering the institute of *batyr*s as an integral and original phenomenon of traditional Kazakh society. "*only the generation that knows about the complicated history of the state, the turns and zigzags of the path traversed by the ancestors, the complex stages and fateful decisions, "white spots" and accomplishments of great personalities can successfully achieve the intended purpose*" Nazarbayev (2013).

Fundamental rethinking of the national history of Kazakhstan, taking into account the new approaches, developed during the years of independence, is necessary for the younger generation of Kazakhstan, who must learn to draw conclusions from the past (Nazarbayev 2013). The scientific study of the *batyr*s' role in maintaining the independence of Kazakhstan, integrity of the Kazakh state in the first quarter of the XVIII century - the first half of the XIX century is necessary for civic education and Kazakhstani patriotism.

Considering the historiography on the research problem, we can distinguish three main stages of its development:

1. The historiography of the pre-revolutionary period (first quarter of the XVIII century-1917);
2. The historiography of the Soviet period (1917-1991);

3. The contemporary historiography of Kazakhstan (from 1991 to the present day).

OBSERVATIONS AND DISCUSSION

In historical science, the role of batyrs in the integrity of the Kazakh state in the first quarter of the XVIII century - the first half of the XIX century has not been the subject of special study. However, certain aspects of this problem were reflected in the historiography of the pre-revolutionary period. Thus, the first mention of "*bahadur*" is found in the works of Masud Bin Usman Quhistani (died somewhere in the 1590s), Kamal Al-Din (Shir) - Ali-Binai (1453-1512) and other eastern authors. Turkic-Mongolian word "*batyr*", "*bagatur*", "*bahadur*" originally meant "a brave man", who calls the enemy to the confrontation before the battle. The term was used as an honorary title received by sultans or khans for personal bravery, for skillful leadership over military action against external enemies.

In his work "*Notes on Muscovite Affairs*" in the XVI century, Austrian diplomat, ambassador in Moscow Sigismund von Herberstein (1486 - 1566) left the first written evidence of Turkic people's batyrhood (Herberstein 1988). The author notes that in the XIV century, the word "*batyr*", "*bagatur*", "*bahadur*" penetrated into the Russian language, surpassing the earlier, indigenous South Slavic literacy term "*khrabr*" (brave) or "*voitel*" (warrior). At the end of the XV century and the first third of the XVI century along with the Russian calque of the term - "*bogatyr*" for foreign brave warriors in the Moscow State, the Turkic term "*batyr*" had already been used (1988).

It should be noted that the study of Kazakhstan in oriental studies of Western Europe in the XVIII century occupied rather modest place; this is partly explained by the scarcity of sources available to researchers. Narrative literature, created in the framework of theoretical schemes of evolutionists, was the main source of Europeans' knowledge in the XVIII-XIX centuries. The idea of conditionality of history, customs, manners, material and spiritual culture of the people with the natural environment, where they live, runs through almost all travel records, diaries and reports (Kozybaev 2000).

Kazakhs' fight against Jungar expansion is reflected in the general works of Russian histori-

ography. Despite the fact that the general situation is represented in general, at the same time systematic sequential presentation of historical events are missing (Kozybaev 2000). The writings about batyrs' role as a public institution in the life of the Kazakh people left by English artist and traveler, John Kestl, who visited Abulkhair, khan of the Kazakh Junior "*Juz*" (region) in the 30s of the XVIII century, are of interest. The names of batyrs, in particular, such well-known and famous batyrs as Janibek, Bogenbai, Baimurat, Buberek, Assan and Akmolai were mentioned in them (1998).

The Russian military orientalist's and political figures' studies relate to the historiography of the pre-revolutionary period. For example, in the scientific works of the second half of the XVIII century "*History of Orenburg*" and "*Topography of Orenburg Province*" Russian scientist Rychkov reflected the diplomatic activities of the Kazakh batyrs like Zhanibek from the genus "*argyn*" and E set from the genus "*tama*" in the issue of the integrity of Kazakh state (1887).

In his traveler's journal, which is the first part of the book "*Journey from Orenburg to Bukhara*" Colonel of General Staff Meyendorff concludes that, in the Kazakh society, "*courageous, fair and enterprising people and the riders during the war are batyrs*" (1975). According to his definition, batyr is not only the title of a brave man, but also the person, primarily engaged in the implementation of military functions (1975). Indeed, any brave and experienced person, very famous in the raids and battles is called batyr in Kazakh society. Batyrs were both from the social category of "*blackbones*" and hereditary aristocracy.

The range of published works by Bronevsky, Velyaminov-Zernov, Gaines, Grigoriev, Zavalishin, Meyer, Kazantsev, Zeland, Ignatiev, Grodekov and Romyantsev say about their interest in the social structure of the Kazakh society (Erofeeva and Zhanaev 2007). Describing the social structure of the Kazakh society, Andreev noted that the tsarist government attracted batyrs in the service to protect their fortresses, paying them a hundred rubles and premium, and thus included them into the orbit of its policy (1998).

Levshin's "*Description of Kirghiz-Kazakor Kirghiz-Kaisakhordes and Steppes*" that tried to find and examine the reasons for the emergence and evolution of the Institute of Kazakh batyrs is considered the beginning of the scien-

tific study of the Kazakh society (1996). The work contains a lot of information about the key stages of Abylai khan's life and activity, his role in the organization of the liberation struggle against the Jungar aggression. The valuable information about the batyrs about their role in the unity of the Kazakh people is given in the works of the scientists as Blaramberg (1848), Meyer (1865), Kraft (1900), Terentyev (1903), Dobrosmyslov (1900), Haruzin (1889) and Alektorov (1900).

Participation of batyrs in the national liberation struggle of Kazakhs against colonial oppression is poorly represented in the literature of the XVIII -XIX centuries. This is mainly fragmentary publication like the pages of *"Military Collection"* (Kozybaev 2000).

Meyer (1865), Dobrosmyslov (1900), Vitevsky (1897) and Terentyev (1903), who worked in the General staff as military specialists, give more or less detailed information about the course of Kenessary khan's uprising for maintaining the integrity of the Kazakh State. The researchers justified the colonialist policy of tsarism and characterized the national liberation struggle of the Kazakhs as "illegal" actions, "revolt" and "outbreak". They called the rebels "crowd", "gang" and the leaders of the uprising as "bandits" and "predators". Sereda's, Savicheva's, Potto's, Anichkov's and Yudin's articles interpreted the mass performances as "rebellion" and the leaders of the uprising got different characteristics, depending on the position of the author (Kozybaev 2000).

The official chancery of Orenburg and Samara governor-general, Sereda, published his work *"Kyrgyz Sultan Kenessary Kasimov's riot"* (1838-1847) in three issues of the famous Russian journal *"Herald of Europe"* in 1870 and 1871 (Kozybaev 2000). According to Bekmakhanov, it is the best and most serious work of all the pre-revolutionary works about Kenessary. The book contains the most comprehensive, rich factual material and objectively assessed from the perspective of a historian of tsarist times.

The essay *"Kenessary and Syzdyk sultans"*, written from the words of Kassymov's son Sultan Ahmet Kenesarin by Smirnov (1992), as well as Tchernyaev's article in the magazine *"Russki Vestnik"* should be noted among the pre-revolutionary publications about Kenessary batyr's activities (1992). Kenesarinre tells his father's biography and activities, without giving any

evaluation and analysis of the movement. The work is of particular interest in highlighting the role of the batyr in the struggle for independence. References to Kenessary are contained in Kazantsev's publication *"Description of Kirghiz-Kaisaks"* and in the memories of the traveler and geographer Semenov-Tyan-Shyanski.

In the middle of the XIX century, the valuable notes of customary law of the Kazakhs were published by Ballyuzek, Myakutin, Makovetski, Dobrosmyslov, Kraft and others (Erofeeva and Zhanaev 2007). They are valuable materials for studying the processes of class differentiation in the Kazakh village and for determining the positions of the social group – the batyrs that interest us. The most reliable notes are the materials collected by Kazakh *sultan* (governor) and *biys* (judges). Thus, the materials on the customary law of the Kazakhs of Orenburg region, published by Ballyuzek were collected by sultan Seidalin (Erofeeva and Zhanaev 2007). During the first half of the XIX century, many travelers, diplomats, merchants and missionaries accumulated diverse materials on the socio-economic and political history of the people of the Central Asian region.

The distinctive feature of the historiography of the XIX century is the publication of Kazakh researchers about the traditional structure of the Kazakhs, Kazakh batyrs and their struggle against Jungar invaders. Famous Kazakh scholar and social activist Chokan Valikhanov wrote about batyrs and their role in maintaining the unity of the Kazakh state, in his work *"Historical legends about batyrs of the XVII century"* (1985). He writes: *"Batyr is the most significant and important personality among the people. In the battle, batyr is fearless like a tiger and strong as a lion. He is a respected person and people always listen to him (1985). In his article "Historical legends about batyrs of the XVI-II century" Valikhanov gives 14 stories, mentioning famous historical personalities as Abylai, Bogenbai, Zhanatai, Baigozy, Urazumbet, Elchibek batyr, Temirkhan batyr, Arkandar batyr, Bayan batyr, Khudaiberdi batyr, Zhapek batyr, etc. Valikhanov's merit is that, in his articles, he gave the valuable historical data that had been passed from one generation to another orally (Kozybaev 2000).*

Chokan Valikhanov's article *"Abylai"* was the first scientific research dedicated to Abylai khan (1985). His name is connected with the idea of

national unity, national independence and territorial integrity of Kazakhstan. Abylai's natural gifts like state intelligence, personal courage, talent of a military leader, politician and quality of a skilled diplomat are revealed in the struggle for the realization of this idea. Abylay khan's epoch is highly appreciated by Chokan Valikhanov. He writes: "*In the legends of the Kazakh, Abylai has some poetic aureole and Abylai's century is the century of the Kazakh knighthood*" (Kozybaev 2000). Such an assessment exactly reproduces that historical epoch, preserved in the minds of the people. Kazakh shezhire system fulfilled its functional task, images of outstanding batyrs and Abylaikhan consolidated in form of poetic and epic legends-epos about batyrs, tolgau etc. (Kozybaev 2000). Based on Russian sources, Valikhanov managed to analyze the internal political situation in Kazakhstan in the XVIII century and to reveal Abylai khan's and batyrs' role in maintaining the integrity of the Kazakh state.

The works of akyns (poets) famous for the whole steppe such as Bukharzhyrau Kalkamanuly, Umbetei Tileuly, Tatikara and others are of great importance in recreating the atmosphere of Abylai's era and in there construction of historical events that took place with his participation. An outstanding thinker, poet and politician Bukharzhyrau's works (1684 - 1781) are of particular value. Bukhar Zhyrau was Abylai's advisor and companion-in-arms, took part in public affairs, which were reflected in his poetry. Umbetei zhyrau's life time (1706-1778) coincided with the most important military milestones of the Kazakh khanate, called among people as "*zhauger shilikzaman*" (*troubled times*). All events of this time were glorified in zhyrs tolgaus, zhoktaus and estirtu. In his poetry, Umbetei zhyrau, the participant of Abylai's marches, famous military leader and batyr was able succinctly and impressively reflect Abylai khan's feats of arms in the fight against Jungars, the role and significance of famous batyrs as Bogenbai, Kabanbai, Sary, Bayan and others in preserving the integrity of the Kazakh state. In his heroic poems, Umbetei glorifies the courage and heroism of batyrs, patriotism of people. When there was batyrs' death, their names were immortalized in the post humorous poem about the hero-liberator. In his tolgaus Umbetei zhyrau gives the social and political life of the steppe. His poems have survived in the memory of (Kozybaev 2000).

In the poetic works of zhyraus (epic poets) and ideologists of patriotic war against Jungar invasion, researchers found confirmation of the nation wide recognition of Abylai khan's genuine achievements as a fighter for national independence, territorial integrity and statehood of the Kazakhs. Many places where the battle of the Kazakh militia with Jungars took place, were mentioned in the legend, and the clearly marked names are consistent with the written documents when compared with the written sources and archaeological data (Kozybaev 2000).

More detailed and thorough study of the Kazakh-Jungar wars can be traced in the late XIX - XX centuries. Kopeyev (1992), Kudaiberdiev (1993), Tynyshpaev (1993) and Bukeikhanov (1995) appealed to this subject. Kazakh-Jungar wars gave the history the names of famous batyrs, who were glorified by people, and their heroic deeds immortalized in the folk memory—in shezhire. Transition of the verbal Kazakh shezhire into the written and bibliographic form is done due to Kazakh scientists' deep creative activity.

In "*Kazakh shezhire*", Kopeyev (1992) mentions the names of famous warriors, he writes: "*In times of Abylai khan, there were such Kazakh batyrs as Karakerey Kabanbai, Kanzhygaly Bogenbay, Shakshakuly Janybek and Kokzharly Kokzhal Barak*". The lines "*He made enemies flight many times, the good name is given to Barak*" are about him. Shanyshkaly Berdykozha and Syrym Malaysary are the batyrs from Senior juz. The lines "*When he attacks the enemy with a shout, gallop after him with a banner*" are about Malaysary, Balta-Kerey Tursynbai, Tarakty Baygozy and Olzhabay Batyr, who was the motto and call for the Middle juz, Zhaugash, Bigash, Boritondy-Borte from the genus Malay-jadiger, and Ormanshy, whose banner is with a picture of a wolf's head, red head Shotana batyr, Kozgan Bekshemergen, karauyl Al-teke, Sarym Zhidebai, UakSary and Bayan- all of them are batyrs". "At home, we have a lot of batyrs, but when it is necessary to march and fight with the enemy, there is no one equal to Bayan" - said Abylai Khan (Kozybaev 2000).

Kopeev's shezhire has historical information about Abylai batyr: "*In his youth, Abylai was called Sabalak*". The author writes: "...Near Abylay, who was not twenty years, there was uzbekart Orazak (Oraz) all the time". They came to the genus atygai and karauyl that roamed

on the bank of the Ishim, pastured Dauletkeldybai's horses and served him as the grooms. When Abylai was asked his name, he replied: "*My name is Sabalak!*" (Kozybaev 2000).

In the Soviet historiography, Tynyshpaev, one of the first who turned to the theme of the liberation struggle of the Kazakh people against Jungar invaders. A number of scientific works, which have not lost their importance at the present time, by attracting Russian sources and Kazakh folklore materials about the events in 1723-1730, deposited in people's memory as "the years of the great tribulation", was published by him (1993).

Dosmukhamedov dedicated several scientific papers to batyrs. In his works "*Kazakh batyrs. Isatai, Makhambet*", "*Brief information about Isatai Taimanuly's movement*", "*Makhambet batyr*", "*Who is Isatai?*", Zhalantus batyr's (Yalantush bahadur) genealogy, the builder of madrassas "Thiel-kara and Sher-Dorin Samarkand" and "*Zhalantos batyr*". Dosmukhamedov conducts a detailed analysis of the activities and role of batyrs in the fight for the independence of the Kazakh people (1998).

Khalid wrote about the knights of the Jungar invasion period: "Karakerey Kabanbai, Altybay batyr, Aktamberdy batyr, Esmambet batyr, Matai Shonkey batyr, Kerey Janybek batyr, Bori Akpantay batyr, Kanzhygaly Bogembay batyr and Basenty Malaysary batyr were the batyrs and military leaders in times of Abylai, they were excellent worriers and commanders, but the best of them was Kabanbai (Kozybaev 2000).

Divaev (1995) wrote the Kazakh legends about participation of batyrs of great and junior juzes in a grand and decisive battle on the banks of rivers Bulanty and Beleuty under Tailak and Sanyryk's leadership. Complete destruction of Jungar troops in this area remained in people's memory as "*Kalmakkyrylgan*" – "*The place of Kalmak death*". Between the rivers Bulanty and Beleuty, there is a small hill called "Kalmakkyrylgan" since that time. Its top is dotted with Kazakh graves, many generic tamgas carved on gravestones. According to historical legends, the Kazakh batyrs, died in this battle, were buried in this cemetery. Heroic epic gives the high spirit and heroic mood of Kazakh warriors, who fought on the Bulanty. These batyrs are Malaysari, Olzhabai, Eset, Jantai, Barak, Janybek, Kabanbai, Bogembay, Syrym, Muryn, Zhaulybai, Sarybai and the biys are Kazybek and Tole, that is, all

Kazakh militia, collected from different genera are listed (Kozybaev 2000).

Thus, the historiography of pre-revolutionary period laid a solid foundation for studying the problem posed by the researchers.

A new stage of issues on the batyrs' role in maintaining the integrity of the Kazakh state in the first quarter of the XVIII century - the first half of the XIX century occurs in historiography after the revolution of 1917. Thus, certain aspects of the functioning of the Institute of batyrs, the role of batyrs in maintaining the unity of the Kazakh state can be traced in Ryazanov's (1924; 1993), Chuloshnikov's (1940) and Shakhmatov's (1946) works.

In the 30s of the XX century in the work "*Forty years of struggle for national independence of the Kyrgyz people in 1797-1838*" Ryazanov was one of the first who studied the protest movement of the Kazakhs against imperial colonization and he introduced a wide array of archival materials of Orenburg into the scientific use (1926). The author showed a continuous struggle of the Kazakh people for the independence, ranging from batyr Syrym Datov to batyr Kenessary Kassymov. Despite a number of controversial issues, the work has not lost its significance for the contemporary period.

Outstanding historians of Russia and Kazakhstan and of the first half of the XX century. Vyatkin and Bekmahanovl aid the foundation for the study of batyrs' personalities, exploring the national liberation movement under the Kazakh batyrs leadership. Vyatkin's monograph "*Batyr Syrym*" is devoted to the uprising of the Kazakhs of the Junior juz under batyr Syrym Datov's leadership (1947). Thorough study, written by a professional on the basis of a wide range of documentary sources, contains chronological and historiographical overview and detailed coverage of the broad aspect of socio-economic situation of the Kazakhs of Junior juz on the eve of the uprising, the reasons for the protest of some social categories and, above all, the course of rebellion and its leaders' position; the role of the Orenburg administration headed by Igelstrom and his unsuccessful attempts of liquidation of khan's power. The stages of the uprising are clearly defined and convincing characterization is given to Syrym Datov and the social strata, on which he relied and whose interest she defended; the reasons of defeat of the mass demonstrations against the tsarist are disclosed. The work still

remains one of the few full scientific research topics (Kozybaev 2000).

Bekmahanov wrote his research on the socio-economic life of Kazakhstan in the first half of the XIX century, entitled "*Kazakhstan in the 20-40s of the XIX century*" (1992). The scientist studied the dynamics of social change by categories of sultans, biys, hodjas mullahs, bais, tarkhans and batyrs. However, as the researcher found, by the middle of the XIX century the last two categories (tarkhans and batyrs) lost their economic influence and actually ceased their existence as particular social groups. This conclusion is also traced in Bekmakhanov's work "*On the social nature of the batyrs (XIXc.)*" (1947). On the whole, the monograph "*Kazakhstan in the 20-40s of the XIX century*" is dedicated to Kenessary Kassymov's liberation movement and his efforts to strengthen the Kazakh statehood. In conclusion, the author summarized the events of the 20-40s of the XIX century in Kazakhstan and identified their impact on Kazakh people's future in Central Asia as a whole (Kozybaev 2000).

Tolybekov's monograph "*Socio-economic structure of the Kazakhs in the XVII-XIX centuries*" (1959), Zimanov's "*The political system of Kazakhstan of the late XVIII and first half of the XIX centuries*" (1960) and "*The social structure of the Kazakhs of the first half of the XIX century*" (1958) made a great contribution to the study of social structure and economic activity of the Kazakh population during the domination of the traditional relations in Kazakhstan. They identified forms of dependence and principles of using petty officers of the tribal institutions in their own interests.

Ideology of historical science, dogmatization of Marxism-Leninism had a negative impact on understanding the processes, occurring in the territory of steppes, including the coverage of the problem on batyrs' role in maintaining the integrity of the Kazakh state in the first quarter of the XVIII century– the first half of the XIX century.

For the period of the soviet historiography under review, Joint scientific session, devoted to the history of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the pre-October period (Tashkent 1955), was of great importance. Directions of session became compulsory for all who researched the history of the national liberation movement in Kazakhstan and Central Asia. It gave a positive result in deep-

ening the scope of scientific research. But at the same time, it closed the path to an alternative study of the history and the search for truth. Thus, at the end of the 50s and beginning of the 60s, the views on Kenessary Kassymov's revolt undergone fundamental changes. The movement was generally recognized as feudal-monarchic and the author of the study was accused of nationalism and was persecuted (Kozybaev 2000). After non-objective and unfair, as time has shown, criticizing of Bekmahanov's book about the history of Kenessary Kassymov's uprising "*Kazakhstan in the 20-40s of the XIX century*", the class approach to the Kazakh warriors' social and political activities increases, and institute of batyrs ceases to be the object of study.

Kazakhs-Jungar fighting, the reasons for Jungars' success in 1723-1726, severe political and economic situation of the Kazakhs were scientifically demonstrated only in the historiography of the 70-80s of the XX century. In their monographs Zlatkin (1983), Apollova (1960), Basin and Suleimenov (1971), and Moiseev (1991) considered the social institutions of Kazakh society, in particular the institution of batyrs. In their study, they paid certain attention to the general, social and political role of the institute of batyrs. The role of the batyrs in maintaining the integrity of the Kazakh state in the first quarter of the XVIII - the first half of the XIX centuries had not been the subject of a special study.

The collapse of the Soviet Union gave an impulse to the beginning of the current stage of the historiography of Kazakhstan in the history of studying the problem. Historical paradigm shift occurred in the Kazakh historiography y; new approaches in covering the entire history of the Kazakh people are formed. After independence, the history of the national liberation war with Jungars and Russian colonialism became the central theme of the whole decade (Kozybaev 2000).

Use of the folk material, so-called "*oral historiography of steppe*", genealogy ("*shezhire*") allows the evaluation of the events from the point of view of the nomadic society. Thus, the historical knowledge, available in shezhire, formed, firstly, of the real genealogy, secondly, surreal one, which is the only structure-forming fictional genealogy, thirdly, the voice of antiquity from the historical mythology, "*kariyacoz*", "*eskicoz*" and batyr larzhyry, tolgau from historical legends and epic stories (2003). The first major work in

this direction was Erofeeva's monograph "*Genealogy of Kazakh khans and hodjas (history, historiography and sources)*" (2003).

In the monograph "Noble between all the petty officers" Erofeeva explores the phenomenon of batyrhood in the history of the Kazakh nomadic society on the basis of a large number of primary sources (2013). It presents the information about the batyrs of the XVIII and XIX centuries, the chronicle of many battles, and in-depth analysis of the military-political situation and the terrible tragedy during the Great disaster. This event is preserved as "*Aktaban shubyryndy*" in the national memory. In the narrative history of "*knighthood century*", the famous batyrs' biographies occupy some space. The different time materials of oral folk and numerous written sources of the first half of the XVIII century were the factographic basis for writing the book. The study is equipped with the vast documentary annex; including Russian translations and facsimiles of the original texts of Kazakh batyr Zhanibek Koshkaraly's letters to different destinations.

Some theoretical and methodological moments of batyrs' role in the history of the national liberation movement in Kazakhstan during the colonial period are reflected in Galiev's (1993), Kasymbayev's (2003) and Kundakbaeva's (2003) scientific articles. Galiev's works are of particular importance for understanding the degree of knowledge of our research topics. The researcher introduced a large amount of archival material on the history of the national liberation movement of the XVIII-XIX centuries and on the role of warriors for the independence of the Kazakh people into scientific use.

In her thesis, Mukhtarova (1997), summarized the results of Russian and Soviet historians' studying the problems of the national liberation struggle of the Kazakh people in the last quarter of the XVIII – the 70s of the XIX centuries. The author traced the evolution of historical knowledge on the history and historiography of Kenessary Kassymov's national liberation movement. In Mukhtarov's and Kusainova's (2000) works, there was valuable information about the role of batyrs in Kassymov's national liberation struggle. In the thesis, Berdyguzhina carried out the historiographical and chronological analysis of scientific papers on the history of the liberation movement of the Kazakh people, under the leadership of Isatai Taimanov and Makham-

bet Utemisov in 1836-1838 (2004). Kaygarlieva's dissertations work "Institute of batyrs and its place in the traditional Kazakh society (based on Bogenbai batyr's dynasty)" (2010) and Dauytbekova's work "Institute of batyrs in Kazakh society" (2010) are of particular interest.

The national writer, well-known researcher Magauin outlined his vision of the history of Kazakhstan in the book "The ABCs of Kazakh history". He considered the actual problems of the Kazakh state; the main stages of the struggle of the Kazakh people with Jungar invaders and identified some significant problems in the study of national history (Kozybaev 2000).

In their works, written in the Kazakh language Rysbekov (2008), Mukhtar (2008), Baydosova (2003) and Zhetpisbaya (2006) demonstrate the role of batyrs as a public institution in the life of Kazakh society and special attention is paid to Bogenbai batyr.

In their research, Orazbayeva (2004), Zhaksygaliev (2003), Ismurzin (2008), Kurmanalin (1999) and Dzhampeisov (2004) raise a wide range of issues: the social structure of the Kazakh society, the heroism of batyrs and well-known leaders in the struggle for the independence of the Kazakh state, such as Abylai and Kenessary Kassymov. At the same time it appears that the research has panoramic, fragmentary or staging character in many ways.

Batyr played a big role in Kazakh society. Their institution was necessary to limit the power of Khan and prevent absolutism. It was a kind of democracy. The same points marked and Western countries, such as England (Aguilera Barchet 2015).

CONCLUSION

Thus, the analysis of historiography of the batyrs' role in maintaining the integrity of the Kazakh state in the first quarter of the XVIII century - the first half of the XIX century allows us to identify the main tendencies in the study of the problem. Overview of the pre-revolutionary work shows that the topic the researchers are studying does not become a subject of special study. Certain aspects of the problem as the term "batyr", the social structure of the Kazakh society, the role of batyrs as a public institution in the life of Kazakh people, the Kazakhs' participation in the national liberation struggle against colonial oppression and Jungar invasion proved

to be the researchers' focus. Almost all Russian researchers were representatives of the tsarist bureaucratic apparatus or the Cossack class which could not but affect the objectivity of the interpretation of the materials in their works.

The new trend of pre-revolutionary historiography of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century was the Kazakh researchers' work about the Kazakh traditional structure, the place and the role of batyrs, about Abylai and Kenessary batyrs in the history of the national liberation movement of Kazakhstan by involving Zhyraus' poetic work and materials of shezhire.

The main trend in the development of the Soviet historical science is on one hand, the accumulation of historical materials, on the other hand, the inheritance of many stereotypes of the official Russian historiography. Scientists considered each national liberation movement of the Kazakhs, including against Jungars, in the best case locally and independently of each other, as the regional and interstate phenomenon. Class approach to the social and political activities of the Kazakh batyrs, political repression against the scientists, who did not fit into the official ideology, led to the distortion of assessment of protest leaders and lack of studies of the Institute of batyrs and its role in the unity of the Kazakh khanate in the first quarter of the XVIII century – the first half of the XIX century.

Modern Kazakh historiography is characterized by a trend away from dogmatic stereotypes, expansion of range of issues under study and attraction of oral folklore materials on the topic that interests us. However, a number of researchers investigating the problems of national liberation movement and the batyrs' role in the protest movement, are engaged in the accumulation of actual materials, and with rare exceptions, did not come to new theoretical and conceptual level. Their works are largely of panoramic, fragmentary or staging character. In this context, the first steps in the scientific comprehension of the batyrs' role in maintaining the integrity of the Kazakh state in the first quarter of the XVIII- the first half of the XIX century have been taken.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Authors investigated the pre-revolutionary, Soviet and post-Soviet historiography on the problem posed. The current work does not show

a role in maintaining the integrity of the Knights of the Kazakh state. Researchers in the future need to pay attention to the main stages of the development of the art of war, the institute of warriors in traditional Kazakh society.

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