

Sources and History of the Kazakh Statehood: To a Question of Institutes of Management in the Kazakh Khanate

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ABSTRACT The origin and development of statehood in the territory of Kazakhstan dates back to a long time. Alasha the Khan is certainly the nominal, generalized image of that era. Horse-breeding tribes created the very first nomadic civilization in the world which were far ahead compared to the others on labor productivity level, on benefit to the individual and as a way of improving the economy, it is as well in harmony with nature. In this environment, there was a feeling of statehood among the people and this subsequently made far and close neighbours stick together. The formation of Kazakh khanate is connected with the political disintegration of the Golden Horde at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century. The events connected with the falling of the Golden Horde and the formation of the Kazakh Khanate have found a reflection in the Kazakh historical legends and in monuments.

INTRODUCTION

In an ancient phase of development, nomads dominated the Eurasian world and their contribution in the formation of the society was extremely huge. Here is what was written about this period by A. Weber (1999): "Invasion of the nomadic people from Central Asia which have reached China, India and the countries of the West (great cultures of antiquity borrowed from them use of a horse) had a similar consequence in all three areas: moving on them, these nomadic people have learned a world distance. They won the states of great cultures of antiquity. Dangerous undertakings and accidents have helped them to understand the fragility of life, as the dominating race, they have introduced to the world heroic and tragic consciousness which has found the reflection in the epos" (Weber 1999). Till this time for territories from China to Europe there were ancient cultures going to the depth of times characterized partially as matriarchal, it is either the culture of settled cattle farmers, or the people who were living in isolation occupying a cultural belt from China to Europe. Then history turns into a fight between these two forces – culture of matriarchy, the ancient, stable, connected, not awakened and new, dynamic, released, and realized by tendencies of culture of the nomadic people.

One of the great historians of the east, Rasheed-ad-dyne (1952) wrote a great book: "Zhami At-tavarikh" which has a story about Alasha *khan*, the first legendary Kazakh khan: "Noy-God bless him! – have divided the earth from the North to the south into three parts, – Rasheed writes. – He had given the first part to one of his sons – Hama who was an ancestor of the black; Sama, became the ancestor of Arabs and Persians; and have presented the third part to Yafet – the forefather of Turkic peoples. Noy sent Yafet to the east. Mongols and Turkic people tell the same, but Turkic peoples called and continue to call Yafet Abuldzha khan (Alasha-khan) and don't know enough whether this Abuldzhakhan (Alasha-khan) is a son of Noy or his grandson; but all of them agreed that he was from amongst his family and was close to him. All Mongols, tribes of Turkic peoples and all nomads (inhabitants of steppes) come from his sort" (Rasheed ad dyne 1952).

Authors' task is to trace how this idea was viable during the formation of the Kazakh Khanate. Researchers referred to the texts of the oral traditions of the Kazakhs as the main source for the analysis of this process.

In texts of Kazakh *shezhire*, it is constantly claimed that before the reign of Alashkhan the people of Kazakh weren't well known and neither was the country. They had no statehood. In

the researchers' opinion Alashakhan certainly insightful, generalized the image of the state model. Abulgazakhan also gave the characteristic to a mythical era of the government of Alashakhan: "... Alancha-khan had two twin sons, a senior's name was Tatars, a younger –Mongol. When Alancha-khan grew old, he divided the possessions between both sons. Both brothers lived a happy life in good health without being jealous of each other" (Sablukova 1854).

Kazakhs attribute a large number of the national traditions connected with rules of philanthropy and charity to the Wise Alashakhan. The custom "the guest's meal" which assumes a free entertainment, a shelter and a lodging for the night, not only to the invited guest, but for any Kazakh traveler also belongs to this category. This custom was obligatory in traditional society so that a refusal to comply with it resulted in a punishment *aiyp* (penalty). Another, not less important custom than "the guest's meal" is "warm", that is, a help for lost, or ruined from enemy attack, or relatives suffered from severe winter. These customs belong to the category of radical traditions of the nomadic society of Kazakhs. The related principle defines a basis for all public system of Kazakhs.

Historical legends stated above give only indirect chronological reference points. It is explained by legends that the independent beginning of nomads' state of Eurasia developed during the period of pastoralism. In turn, the Altai, Indo-European and other people demonstrated parallel existence of the general cult of "Alashakhan". In the researchers' opinion, the canonization of this bright image happened during the bronze era. The era of bronze is known for the largest shifts in the economic and cultural plan. The important place in complex economy of tribes in the bronze era of Kazakhstan was taken by ancient metallurgy. In the hugest territory of Kazakhstan and particularly in her North-central regions, non-ferrous metals, especially copper, were extracted by thousands of tons. This region was the centre of metallurgy during this era and it provided all of Eurasia by its precious metals.

In the process of travel of steppe tribes to the south and west, the cult of Alashakhan, and reminiscence of him as about the progenitor and the organizer of the first state founded in the western and east historical literature. Old Slavic

words "horse", "hovel", "to *alash*" and others are derivatives of the "*alash*". In Indo-European languages, there is a derivative of this word – "*peku*" (skewbald or motley), which is derived from ancient Turk and Mongolian *-ala* (alag) which means wealth, a personal estate, cattle. It is close to the Latin word "pegas" - a winged horse.

Objective

From the beginning of the existence of the Kazakh Khanate, institutions of governance that are unique from one side to the other side are a continuation of the institutions of governance that characterized the Great Steppe.

METHODOLOGY

The researchers considered that in the original statehood, Kazakhs existed on the Kazakh steppe and continued to the Kazakh Khanate. The researchers used the methods of historicism, attracting oral sources of the legends and comparative analysis. Judging from the oral tradition, which researchers used for the analysis, strategic role of kinship in Kazakh society was the fact that the whole system of social relations was built on the principles of tribal organization. Genealogical schemes, legends (*shezhire*) sanctioned in one way or another. The principle of kinship, as can be seen from the scientific analysis *shezhire* could be based both on the actual (kinship), and the fictitious material. In the process of the formation of the Kazakh state all the existing genealogical tables have been revised. The collapse of the Golden Horde, and then "the era of fermentation" in the Great Steppe led to the fact that many of the traditional genealogical formations disintegrated. Judging by the texts of historical traditional society looks quite hierarchical on the whole. The upper class there are descendants of Genghis Khan - *tore* (*aksuyek*).

The rapid emergence of strong states of nomads, and then just as fast in the historic scale of their death, returned to the nomadic society of the pre-state, in which there were no classes, no traces of statehood (Weber 1999). It is an extremely difficult problem and little developed historical and ethnographic science can only be solved with the help of the analysis of the texts of oral traditions of the Kazakhs.

OBSERVATIONS AND DISCUSSION

The formation of the Kazakh Khanate from the tribes that recognized Alash Khan as the ancestor was associated with the political collapse of the Golden Horde in the late XIV - early XV century.

Strong Golden *Horde* was a continuous political threat, and in particular, to the economic interests of the Mawerennakhr. Timur has always been interested in the movement of the political center and the international transit trade ways to the south. Timur's travel to the Golden Horde took place in 1395-1396 as a result of which *uluses* with the most developed systems of the cities and trade were subjected to the ruthless defeat. The main objective consisted of the destruction of economic and military capacity of the last world power of the nomads. At this time, descendants of the eldest son, Dzhuchi Horde Edzhen remained in North Central Kazakhstan. Rasheed-ad-Din emphasized relative independence of these possessions: "Descendants and his ulus (Horde) are still there. From the very beginning, it never happened that those who deserved their places came to khans of Bathu's uruk from uruks of Horde" (Rasheed ad dyne 1952). According to the statements of a number of eastern historians, the Western Kazakhstan and Southern Siberia were the specific territories of Shiban-khan, the son of Dzhuchi-khan. The political center of shibanid was in Akkul, nowadays it is in the territory of the Pavlodar region, in the district called Akkol-Zhayylma, occupying Shiderta and Ulenta's rivers.

Kadyrgali Beck (Kychanov 1997) from the tribe of Zhalair writes: "... Everyone recognized Urus khan as the senior and attached to his kingdom. Urus khan lodged in vicinities of Ala Tau. For several years, Urus khan ruled among these people. Eventually, he died in the district Kysh-tym. One of his sons was Kuyyrshak sultan. He governed over the ulus after his father. In those days, they were in hostility with the Vilayet of Kashgaria. Kuyyrshak the sultan after the father had a kingdom. It was called Kuyyrchak. His own son was called Barak sultan. He was a governor after the reign of his father. He has subordinated all uluses. He was the real hero, he had a great body, he was brave, thorough, the batyr. After Kuyyrchak, he was raised up the khan and called Barack the khan. Eventually, Kas-Nauryz was killed near the Volga region, on *Zhayyk's* coast,

near the *Sarayshik*. His son was called *Kishi Zhanibek*. This Zhanibek himself took the reins after his father".

This brings us to our Kazakh khans dynasties. Kadyrgali Beck (Kychanov 1997) wrote about Kishi Zhanibek as one of founders of the Kazakh khanate. After the death of Barack khan, the grandson of Urus khan Edzhen Horde lost the power in the Great steppe. Power was seized by Shaibang's descendants (Syban, Shiban, the Shaibak). In 1428 in the territory of the modern Kazakhstan on the ruins of the White Horde there was a state which united the tribes of East Desht-and-Kypshak. Here is what about was written by Muhammad Haidar Dulati (1999): "At this time, Abulkhair khan ruled in Desht-and-Kypchake, Dzhuchi sultans suffered because of him very heavily, also, two of them, Dzhhanibek and Kereyhad to ran to Mogulistan. Isan Bugu khan accepted fugitives and allocated them the Chu and Kozybasha's region which form the western part of Mogulistan".

After a short stage of fight for "a throne of Sayn khan" in the Volga region, Abulkhair suddenly changed the foreign policy. In the 1440 she took a river of the SyrDarya region. Sygnak, the former capital of White Horde became the new capital of the state of "nomadic Uzbeks". And then Kerey and Zhanibek were forced to oppose the usurper openly. They, along with the uluses, having lost the basin of the SyrDarya River, moved to the district of the Tamgaly heat in Betpak Steppe and carried out seym of tribes dissatisfied with Abulkhair's policy. According to patrimonial signs on the Tamgaly Stone, the total number of clan and tribes that supported Kerey and Zhanibek's separatist tendencies were about 500. Subsequently, according to the decision of seym in 1447, in 1453 the first embassies were sent to the neighboring countries, including China, what was written in chronicles of dynasty "Min shilu". So the kazakovation period of the tribes ascending to legendary Alasha the khan begins.

After Kerey and Zhanibek, at the beginning of the 16th century, Buryndyk, the son of Kerey khan became the Supreme khan of Kazakhs. There were several large uluses as a part of the state. Historians of the East in all the cases near the name Burunduk khan put the name of Kasym-sultan as one of the famous persons among the Kazakh sultans, "the only warrior glorified by time". Subsequently, Kasym became the senior

khan in the state. In “*Tarikh-iRashidi*” of Mirzy-Haidar (Dulati 1999), the following characteristic is given: “... Kasym the khan who operated everything in Dasht-i-Kypchak and the number of his army exceeded thousands (of people). The ambassador Dzhuchi of the khan, there was no stronger governor, than him.” In recent years, researchers have found interesting facts concerning the foreign policy of the Kazakh khanate at the time of government of Kasym khan in the archives of Iran.

It was an important time for the formation of the bases of the state. The Kazakh society in the 15-17th centuries kept the traditions of nomadic statehood. In him, as well as in the previous state educations of the nomads of Eurasia, the researchers observed the existence of the class groups and layers which were in close and ambiguous ties. At the heart of formation of the state ideology of Kazakhs, there were legends about relationships, about the general origin from the unformed ancestor of Alasha-khan. The essential amendments urged to serve to the interests of the arising state. The most difficult ethnic structure uniting numerous tyurko-Mongolian clans of Eurasia could be integrated into a single whole only around the legendary figure of Alash of the khan.

During the rule of Kasym khan which is noted by an unprecedented growth of the Kazakh khanate in the valley of the river Kengir, the mausoleum in honor of Alash of the khan was constructed. The name of the legendary primogenitor had to unite the numerous tribes which entered into the Kazakh union and to direct the people to serve the state. The short text about the legend: “... Having gathered all three five scores, they have put the boy on felt and have lifted on Ulytau’s top and have proclaimed him the khan and all rest of the world was convinced that there were the country of free people. It was on Ulytau’s mountain, and the khan was proclaimed - Alasha-han.... When there were attacks of enemies, they make a military call: “Alash, Alash” and others who didn’t say this call were killed, even if they are their fathers. There were such words since then: “Weren’t we Kazakhs when Alash became Alash, when there was Alashakhan, when our house was wooden, when our call was “Alash!”. Till times of the khan Alash, Kazakhs weren’t the uniform people, the country” (Kopeyuly 2016).

At first the main carriers of the state ideology were zhyrau. Generation of the state idea, a sacralization of the governor, departure a cult of ancestors – all this belonged to their functions. Understanding the origin of a community, unity of socio-cultural accessories, the general traditions and a way of life in the presence of a fundamental principle of the power (the political center, estate, and others) can be cemented by the consciousness to the state, that is, the consciousness plays a role as an integrating factor. Therefore, it is possible to assume that the state exists, first of all, in the form of valuable representations and is implemented in the corresponding subsystems.

The backbone role of relationship in the Kazakh society was that all the systems of social communications were based on the principles of the patrimonial organization. Genealogical schemes, traditions (shezhire) authorized them to some extent. As it is paradoxical, restrictions and hierarchy in the Kazakh society followed not from the property relation, but from the relationships. Ch. Ch. Valikhanov (1985) wrote the following about this feature of the social organization of Kazakhs: “The order of division, causing the right of a patriarchy and force of the tribe, as, on concepts of kyrgyzs’ (Kazakhs – Zh. A.) it is expressed by the right of a physical primogeniture of the ancestor, have a great importance in their patrimonial right and is accepted absolutely in genealogical sense: therefore the form of the relation of hordes to hordes and clans of one horde among themselves corresponds to the rights of a blood brotherhood, and relation of clan to the horde – the son’s attitude towards the father, to the senior sort of the senior horde – the nephew’s attitude towards the uncle, all this patriarchal patrimonial life by the relation in debates of steppe improvisators from different clans about superiority and the ancestor’s patriarchy is more characterized” (Valikhanov 1985). Other authors also write about the mechanism of action of a regulation of the sphere of public life of Kazakhs on the basis of the principles of relationship (Meyer 1865).

According to the social contents, the Kazakh society was not uniform. The essence of the tribal organization of Kazakhs has nothing in common with patrimonial foundations of the primitive kinship unions. Influential Bai had a large number of cattle and a personal estate. The wealth promoted increase of the social status of

the people, the wide field of public work opened for them. Rich Kazakhs had tens of houses, hundreds of camels, ten thousands of sheep and horses. Bai's value in society was defined by the value of estate they had.

In general, the society was rather hierarchical. The highest estate in it was made by Chinghis Khan's descendants – a *Tore* (white bone). In many sources, the term “sultan” is applied to descendants of Chinghis khan. “Descendants of Chinghiz the khan are called sultans” – Ibn Ruzbikhhan write: really, the term “sultan” is reserved for the serving representatives of some of the Chinghiz of the khan and doesn't extend to all his representatives. “Tore” in translation from ancient turk means the law, the rule, an order, at the same time this word means – custom, a ceremony, a feast, and others (Nadelyaev 1969). In this sense, the Kazakh word “Torah” means “the state person”, “public servant”.

A lot of nuances and gaps remain unstudied during the traditional period. In general the principle of a seniority by which the power and its attributes pass after death of the khan to the senior representative of the ruling house, as a rule, plays the main role. Such an important role is also played by the principle of a meritocracy, in compliance with which the fight for the throne is entered by the strongest and gifted members of the ruling house. At the same time, important value has a mood of society on the strong personality.

The Kazakh community always accurately distinguished the senior khans and the junior khans (“*kelte*”). Promotion of the sultans of ulus into place (*keltekhan*) happens usually according to the decision of the khan, but at the same time coordination of this question with patrimonial leaders is considered obligatory (*biy* and *batyrs*). Kazakhs quite often called the ulus sultans the title “khan”, but they really were regional governors. The researchers learnt from Mirza Haidar's book that the governors of uluses were called khans. It is known that he gave the detailed description of a meeting of Kasym khan and Saiyd khan. It occurred in such order: “Kasymkhan, apologizing for his old age can't meet the khan, he has enjoined to thirty – forty sultans from a sort of Dzhuchi, some of them which was on fifty – sixty years, it seems Dzhhanishkhan, Tanish khan, Mumash khan, GianHaidar sultan, Karish sultan and others to kneel down before the khan and to

welcome him / that is, Saiyd khan” (Dulati 1999). The khan listed in this source: Dzhhanish, Tanish khan, Mamush khan in the specified years were governors of the largest Kazakh uluses.

In the ethnographic plan, the question of attributes of the power of khan and in general about distinctive signs of the estate to a *Tore* in the 15th – 18th centuries is important. In the researchers' opinion, unlike the subsequent eras owing to the value of chingizid in the ethno-political life of nomads, there were many attributes and privileges of this estate. During a presentation of the materials on the Kazakh sultans, it would be necessary to light especially the relations of courtship and the related communications acquired by them as within the country, and with the ruling houses of neighboring states and possession.

The prophet-hodzhi descendants (precious bone), represented the highest religious layer in the state. This group was organized corporatively, internal life was an endogamme, privileges in legal establishments were accurately formulated. Hodzhi built the genealogy to straight lines the prophet Muhammad's descendants. It gave them the chance to have a privileged position in the Kazakh society. Numerous communities of *hodjas* were in the south, in the Turkestan-Tashkent oasis. In the 18th century, most Kazakhs connected with this region and the influence of hodjies was strong. Communities of the Kazakh hodjies were included into more extensive spiritual communities of Central Asia, and other adjacent territories and strongly expanded the social and political field of the Kazakh khanate.

Sultans and khans' serving confidants were included in the category of special group – *tolengut*. The most part of *tolengut* concentrated around a khan horde, carrying out in fact a role of executive power in the state. The structure of this group was constantly replenished at the expense of ordinary nomads, prisoners and freedmen slaves.

During military campaigns, the general management of troops was conducted by sultans and khans. In principle, the main function of khans consisted just external activities, in military leadership. In the nomadic society, each person was a soldier, and on the first appeal of “*attan*” could sit down on a horse at any time. Military valor was considered as the highest dignity of the Kazakh nomad. The people who didn't have fighting horses and an armor with the weap-

on weren't allowed in people's assemblies and had no right to vote.

The central part of the capital city where many of the khans settled down was called a horde and the public affairs was known as *atalyk*. The khan had a council from the *ulusnykh* sultans, *biy* and *batyrs*. The position of the tribal nobility in the definition of domestic and foreign policy amplified by the end of the 17th century and, finds the accurate expression in decisions of "Zhety Zhargy" of the period of government of Az Tauke khan. The appeal of the power on the authority of the recognized head of clan on difficult international situation was likely the only chance of preservation of political integrity and independence of the Kazakh khanate.

In the Kazakh society until the end of the 15th century, "Zhasak" worked as the main norm of life and a number of the codified rules developed in the *ulus* of Chagatay. In the process of consolidation of bases of the state on the basis of improvement of "Zhasak", new orders of public life were developed, they are "*Kasym khan nynkaska zholy*" ("Bright Road of the khan Kasym"), "*Esim khan nyneski zholy*" ("The blazed Road of Esim-khan"). At the end of the 17th century, some revival of the legislative life and strengthening of the Muslim right – Sharia was noticeable as Az Tauke khan reflected in "Zhety zhargy" ("Seven Rules").

The role of people's assembly in the solution of external and internal problems of the society was huge. The most important issues of society, the solution of questions of the territory, a succession to the throne, diplomacy and military operations, were taken out on *kurultai*. The leading role in them was played by representatives of the potestar power, that is, the tribal nobility. They were carriers of the administrative power in the nomadic society. Hundreds-clans-hordes are idiomatic administrative-territorial divisions of the Kazakh state, they carried out a role of "functional organizational structures".

Especially, it is necessary to mention a problem of the South of Kazakhstan and its place in economic, cultural and political development of the Kazakh ethnos. It is known that at the beginning of the 16th century of Sheybani-khan, the grandson of Abulkhair, with a small amount of the Uzbek soldiers took over Bukhara, then Samarkand. Subsequently, it led to a huge migration of nomads of Desht-and-Kypchak to the

south. Splinters of the Uzbek tribes of the Central Kazakhstan together with the come-back Kerey and Zhanibek's supporters amounted to five score (*Djuz*). The Uzbeks who left together with the Sheybani settled in Central Asia and gradually passed to settled life. After the death of Sheybani-khan -1510, Uzbeks in general had come off steppe areas. But the fight of Uzbeks and Kazakhs for the nearby Syrdariya cities was amplified. Since the beginning of independent existence, the Kazakh khanate actively fought for the prisyrdayinsky cities. They played a multidimensional role in the life of the nomadic population. Sygnak which was a capital of the Uzbek *ulus* according to east authors, at the same time was "trade harbor" of east Desht-i-Kypchak, that is, all threads of economic and political life concentrated in it. Such cities as Tashkent (Shash), Turkistan (Yassa), Sauries, Otrar were among the large trade and economic centers of the South of Kazakhstan. Around these cities, minor settlements and satellite towns were located. Each city had different features. Sauran was known for its system of defensive works and *kyariz* (irrigation canals), Turkistan – as the capital of the Kazakh khanate, the center of religious life, a pantheon; Tashkent and Sauries – as the centers of large agricultural districts and autonomous in the internal life.

All documents relating to the specified period note a rather active development of agriculture near the city centers. In the economic structure of the large and small cities, agriculture as an occupation played a significant role. The Kazakh cities were surrounded by gardens and kitchen gardens, *bakhcha* (garden) and vineyards, fields and pastures. At the same time, existence of control over the cities granted the right to speak about the uniform system of the economic relations allowing the combination various economic and cultural Systems.

CONCLUSION

Thus, if the researchers consider the existing interpretations of the nomadic societies and states of nomads, then the researchers will see that in a different measure, they contribute to explain one circumstance – fast emergence of the strong states of nomads and then so fast their death in historical scales, return of nomadic society to a pre-state in which the researchers don't find either classes, or statehood traces. It

generates the extreme points of view and disputes. The nomadic states existed not only as an important factor of the universal history, they are worthy of the most fixed further studying as highly and peculiar organized state educations, but not as an incidentally rallied wild hordes which were eager only for a robbery of settled population.

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