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# **ОТАН ТАРИХЫ ҒЫЛЫМИ ЖУРНАЛ**

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**ДЕРЕКТАНУ ЖӘНЕ ТАРИХНАМА  
ИСТОЧНИКОВЕДЕНИЕ И ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ  
SOURCE STUDY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY**

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**MANUSCRIPT SOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF  
RELATIONSHIPS OF KAZAKHS AND  
THE KHANATE OF KHIVA**

The study of manuscripts has crucial importance in the study of the history of the peoples of Kazakhstan and Central Asia. The sources contain numerous factual materials, and the study of certain periods in the history of the peoples of Kazakhstan and Central Asia is impossible without their thorough examination. Publication and study of the manuscripts will significantly clarify the history of Kazakh tribes of the Khanate of Khiva, many important aspects of which were known only in outline. The study of the reign of the Chengizid khans in Khorezm is of crucial importance not only to the history of Kazakhs, but also to all peoples of Central Asia. The materials of the sources will fill the gap in the description of the history of Kazakhs' relationship with their neighbors. The paper is written in framework of realization of project No. AP05132796 of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

**Keywords:** The history of Kazakhs and Kazakhstan, Arabic-script manuscripts, Khanate of Khiva, Khivan manuscripts.

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**ҚОЛЖАЗБА ДЕРЕККӨЗДЕРІНДЕГІ ҚАЗАҚТАРДЫҢ  
ХИУА ХАНДЫҒЫМЕН ҚАТЫНАСТАРЫНЫҢ ТАРИХЫ**

Қолжазбалық шығармаларды зерттеу Қазақстан және Орталық Азия халықтарының тарихын зерделеуде маңызды болып табылады. Арабографиялық деректерде көптеген фактілік материалдар бар, ол материалдарды мұқият зерттемей, Қазақстан және Орталық Азия халықтарының кейбір тарихи кезеңдерін зерттеу мүмкін емес. Қолжазбалық шығармаларды зерттеп, жариялау Хиуа хандығындағы қазақ руларының тарихын нақтылауға айтарлықтай мүмкіндік туғызады. Хорезмдегі Шыңғыстық хандардың билік кезеңдерін зерттеу қазақ тарихы үшін ғана емес, Орталық Азияның барлық халықтарының тарихы үшін маңызды

болып табылады. Арабографиялық деректердің материалдары қазақтардың көршілес халықтармен өзара қарым-қатынасының тарихын сипаттауда ақтаңдақтарды толықтыра түседі.

**Кілт сөздер:** қазақтар және Қазақстан тарихы, арабографиялық қолжазбалар, Хиуа хандығы, Хиуа қолжазбалары.

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## **РУКОПИСНЫЕ ИСТОЧНИКИ ПО ИСТОРИИ ВЗАИМООТНОШЕНИЙ КАЗАХОВ С ХИВИНСКИМ ХАНСТВОМ**

Изучение рукописных сочинений имеет важное значение в разработке вопросов истории народов Казахстана и Центральной Азии. В арабографических источниках содержатся многочисленные фактические материалы, без тщательного изучения которых невозможно исследование отдельных периодов истории народов Казахстана и Центральной Азии. Публикация и исследование рукописных сочинений позволят существенно уточнить историю казахских родов в Хивинском ханстве, многие важные моменты которой были известны только в общих чертах. Изучение периода правления ханов Чингизидов в Хорезме имеет важное значение не только для истории казахов, но и для всех народов Центральной Азии. Материалы арабографических источников восполняют пробелы в описании истории взаимоотношений казахов с соседними народами. Статья выполнена в рамках реализации проекта № АР 05132796 Министерства образования и науки Республики Казахстан.

**Ключевые слова:** История казахов и Казахстана, арабографические рукописи, Хивинское ханство, Хивинские рукописи.

### **Introduction**

There is a rich collection of manuscripts written in Arabic-script, which reflects the centuries-old history of the peoples of Central Asia. In Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva for many centuries, historical works, on the history of the khanates and their relationships with neighboring states, have been created. The study of the history of Kazakhs' relationship with the Khanate of Khiva, based on the data of Khivan manuscript, is one of the promising directions of Kazakhstan oriental studies. The surviving Khivan manuscript books in their content and variety of factual material occupy a special place in the circle of written sources of the Central Asian region.

Information on the Kazakhs contained in historical works, as a rule, is connected with political events that took place in the region. Numerous references to the Kazakhs refer to 1706, when Kalmyks began active raids on the territory of Kazakh Zhuzes (Mir Muhammad Amin Bukhari. *Ubaydallah-name*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan

Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 1534, pp. 144a-145b). Kazakhs were forced to migrate in three directions: the Junior Zhuz – to the west to Khiva and to the north to the valleys of the Zhaik and Emba rivers, the Middle Zhuz to Samarkand and Bukhara (Muhammad Yakub b. Amir Daniyal-biy. *Gulshan al-Muluk*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 1507, p. 133b).

### **Manuscript sources**

Among the Arabic sources on the history of Kazakhs of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century should be especially noted the work of Muhammad Wafa Karminagi *Tuhfat al-Khani* (*Khan's gift*). The work is also known under the name *Tarikh-i Rahim Khan* (*History of Rakhim Khan*). The full name of the author of the work is Muhammad Wafa b. Muhammad Zahir Karmagni, however, he is better known as Qazi Wafa (Ahmedov B.A. *Istoriko-geograficheskaya literatura Sredney Azii XVI-XVIII vv. Pismennyye pamyatniki*. – Tashkent, 1985, p. 114). *Tuhfat al-Khani*, completed in 1759, was written in a complex Persian language. Subsequently, the work was revised and set out in a simpler, plain language (Muhammad Wafa b. Muhammad Zahir Karminagi. *Tuhfat al-Khani*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 2726/2, f. 37a). The author of the revised version is Mirza Abd al-Kadyr Keshi. The main work contains the history of the Khanate of Bukhara from 1722 to 1759. The work was continued and supplemented by the history of the Khanate under its second Mangyt ruler Daniyal-biy atalyk (1759-1785). The manuscript has a preface and 70 subsections of the text, beginning with the words: zekr, guftor, bian.

*Tuhfat al-Khani* contains factual material about places of settlement of nomadic tribes, the state apparatus, political relationship of Khanate of Bukhara with neighboring states. In the spring of 1723 Kalmyks conquered Tashkent, Sayram, Turkestan. In the source are the facts of joint resistance of Kazakhs and residents of Tashkent against Kalmyks (*Tuhfat al-Khani*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 16, pp. 158a-161a).

In 1737, Rizaquli Khan, the son of Iranian ruler Nadir Shah, crossed the Amu Darya, with a 12-thousand army besieged Karshi. Baba Khan, the ruler of Huzar, joins Rizaquli Khan with a three thousand strong army (*Tuhfat al-Khani*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 16, pp. 24a-26a). The troops from Bukhara, Miankal and Samarkand arrived in time to help the besieged. There was a battle near the city, which ended with the defeat of Uzbeks. Abu al-Faiz Khan and Muhammad-Hakim atalyq fortified themselves behind the walls of Karshi. The siege continued (*Tuhfat al-Khani*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 16, ll. 26a-30a). Rizaquli Khan, after receiving news of entry into the Khanate of Bukhara of Khivan Khan Ilbars (1728-1740), “Kazakh, whose ancestry goes back to Genghis Khan”, with a large army, made peace with Abu al-Faiz Khan. Ilbars Khan, heard about the conclusion of peace and returned to Khiva (*Tuhfat al-Khani*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the

Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 2721, p. 26a).

After the conquest of Bukhara in 1740, Nadir Shah undertook a campaign against Khorezm, as “the inhabitants of Urgench refused to obey and submit this sovereign and the hand of courage and bravery was stretched to battle. The collision of both troops took place in Khazarasp... The Khorezm army was besieged in the fortress of Khazarasp and fortified its towers and ramparts... The Iranian sovereign, seeing the numerous... troops, considered useful to break their unity and went to the fortress of Khankah. This decision brought trouble to the Khorezm army, nervousness and split arouse among the small and great persons in attendance of Ilbars Khan...” (*Tuhfat al-Khani*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 2721, p. 48a). The nomads, fearing for their nomad territories, began to leave to the steppe. Ilbars Khan managed to take cover in the fortress of Khankah, and “having gathered an army Kazakhs and Karakalpaks” (*Zikr ta'dad padishakhan-i Uzbek*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 4468/III, p. 146a), prepared for battle. The siege of the fortress began with the use of artillery. After a three-day siege, Ilbars Khan and the inhabitants of the fortress asked for mercy, which was given to them. However, at the insistence of the Djuibar Khojas, Ilbars Khan was executed, and the throne of Khiva was given Abu Tahir Khan (*Histoire de L'Asie Centrale [Afganistan, Boukhara, Khiva, Khoqand]*. Depuis les derniers années du regne de Nadir Chah (1153), jusqu'en 1233 de L'Hegire (1740-1818), par Mir Abdoul Kerim Boukhary. Publiee, traduite et annotée par Ch. Schefer. Texte persan. Paris, 1876. T., 1. 49). However, the power of Abu Tahir Khan did not extend to the northern part of the Khanate of Khiva, where Nurali Sultan, the Khan of the Junior Zhuz, strengthen himself among the inhabitants of the Aral Sea region. In 1741, the Khiva people, led by the Nurali Sultan, rebelled against the Iranians. Abu Tahir Khan, a protege of Nadir Shah, was executed with persons in attendance to him. The uprising was suppressed by the Iranians, Nurali Sultan fled to the Kazakh Steppe.

Interesting data on the history of Kazakhs is contained in the chapter “... about the events in the Khorezm vilayet and about the flight of Gaib Khan towards Desht-i Kipchak in the ulus of the Kazakhs...” (*Tuhfat al-Khani*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 16, pp. 286a-293b). In *Tuhfat al-Khani* Qazi Wafa writes that Gaib Khan, the son of Bahadur Khan, the Khan of the Little Zhuz, was in the service of Nadir Shah of Iran (*Tuhfat al-Khani*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 16, p. 286b). After the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, the Khivans invited him to the throne of Khorezm, where he ruled for ten years. According to the author, Gaib Khan tried to restore the authority of the khan's power, and to this end executed the influential emirs of Uzbek tribes, including Khuraz atalyk mangyt (*Tuhfat al-Khani*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 16, f.287a-287b). However, his attempt was not successful, while introduction of a heavy emergency tax caused turmoil in the Khanate, and Gaib Khan was forced to flee to Desht-i Kipchak

(*Tuhfat al-Khani*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 16, p. 293b).

Among Arabic-script works of historical and geographical content, should be noted the work of Abd al-Karim Bukhari Khaqa'iq al-umur (The True State of Affairs), which is better known among researchers under the title History of Central Asia [8]. Khaka'ik al-Umur is the important source on the history of the relationship of Kazakh Zhuzes with the Central Asian khanates of the second half of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century. Information about Kazakhs is contained in the following chapters: "On the lineage of Uzbek khans", "The genealogy of the rulers of Urgench and Khiva", "The Story of Muhammad Amin-biy Kungrad inak". The essay contains data on nomadic tribes, ethnic groups living on the territory of the Khorezm oasis, including the Kazakh tribes. Various subdivisions of the tribes of shomekei, tabyn, turt-kara, bayuly and others are mentioned (*Histoire de L'Asie Centrale* [Afghanistan, Boukhara, Khiva, Khoqand]. Depuis les derniers années du règne de Nadir Chah (1153), jusqu'en 1233 de L'Hégire (1740-1818), par Mir Abdoul Kerim Boukhary. Publiée, traduite et annotée par Ch. Schefer. Texte persan. Paris, 1876. T. 1, pp. 87-88).

Abd al-Karim Bukhari, describing types of taxes and duties in the Khanate of Khiva, mentions military service, the service of nukers at the Khan's court. According to the author, under Ilbars Khan Chingizid (1728-1740) there was a special advanced detachment of 20 thousand people, consisting of nomads: Turkmen, Aral Uzbeks and Kazakhs.

Among the Arabo-script sources of historical and theological content, should be noted the work of Muhammad Husayn b. Shah-Murad Mahazin al-taqva fi tarikh al-Bukhara (Treasure of Piety). The work was written in verse in 1830, and is devoted to the activity of Khojas from the Order of Naqshbandiyya. Khojas were one of the political forces in the state and their influence on secular power, the state apparatus was sometimes decisive. The work consists of 673 small poetic stories, thematically unrelated. Information about Kazakhs, contained in the Mahazin al-taqva (Muhammad Husayn ibn Shah Murad. Mahazin at-takva fi tarikh al-Bukhara. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 2773, ll. 88a-91b), when compared with the data of *Tuhfat al-Khani* (*Tuhfat al-Khani*. Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Abu Rayhan Beruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, No. 2721, ll. 37b-39a) of Muhammad Wafa Karminagi, sheds light on some aspects of the relationship of Kazakhs with neighboring peoples.

The work of Muhammad Husayn b. Shah-Murad reveals the wide participation of representatives of the dynasty of Kazakh khans in the political life of the Khiva state. The Khanate of Khiva was founded in 1512 by Chingizids from Desht-i Kipchak by Ilbars and Balbars, who were descendants of Sheiban, the son of Juchi Khan. The dynasty of Chingizids, who ruled in Khorezm, is also known in the scientific literature as the Arabshahids. Representatives of this



dynasty ruled in the Khanate of Khiva from 1512 to 1804. The Khanate of Khiva existed until 1920. In the Arabic-script works the Khanate itself is called the Khorezm state. The Khanate included modern territories of Western Uzbekistan, South-West Kazakhstan and most part of Turkmenistan.

Many of the Kazakh sultans were elevated in Khiva on the khan's throne. In this regard, in the Khanate of Khiva, certain groups of the Kazakh population appeared to be. The Mahazin al-taqva contains interesting information about Ilbars Khan Chingizid.

The formation of the Khorezm state, historical events that took place in the Khanate up to the middle of the XVII<sup>th</sup> century, are described in detail in the work *Shajara-yi Turk va Mogul* (Genealogy of Turks and Moguls). The life and work of the author of the work, Abu al-Ghazi Khan (1643-1664) have been extensively studied and covered in the literature (Allaeva, N. The *Shajara-yi Turk* as an Important Source on the History of the Relations between Khiva and its Neighbors. In *Journal of Persianate studies*, Eds., Arjomand, S.A., Kasheff, M. Leiden: Brill, 2014, 7, pp. 55-87). In this article, should be noted only a few facts concerning his relationship with Kazakh khans. In 1053/1643 the nomads of the Aral invited him to their place and declared Abu al-Ghazi their Khan, and two years later in 1055/1645 he was proclaimed as Khan in Khiva.

Abu al-Ghazi Khan died in 1074/1664, left his historical work *Shajara-yi Turk va Mogul* uncompleted. On the orders of his son, Anush Khan (1663-1667), some chapters of the work were completed by Mahmud b. Mullah Muhammad Zaman Urganji. In the manuscript fund of the Institute of Oriental Studies there is a list of *Shajara-yi Turk va Mogul* under No. 851 (194 f.), which contains the continuation of the history of Khorezm, including the reign of Abu al-Ghazi Khan and Muhammad Anush Khan. This list of manuscripts has not yet been studied as a source on the history of Kazakh people. Abu al-Ghazi is also known as the author of the works *Shajar-yi Tarakima* (The Genealogy of Turkmen) and *Manafi'al-insan* (Book, which benefits the person).

The work *Shajar-yi Turk va Mogul* was repeatedly published as text and its translations in various countries (Ahmedov B.A. *Istoriko-geograficheskaya literatura Sredney Azii XVI-XVIII vv. Pismennyye pamyatniki*. - Tashkent: Fan, 1985, pp. 72-78). The work consists of an introduction and nine chapters:

Chapter One: From Adam to Mogul Khan.

Chapter Two: From Mogul Khan to Genghis Khan.

Chapter Three: From birth of Genghis Khan until his death.

Chapter four: Ugedei Qaan and his descendants.

Chapter five: Chagatai Khan and his descendants.

Chapter Six: Tuluy Khan and his descendants.

Chapter Seven: Juchi Khan and his descendants.

Chapter eight: Sheiban Khan and his descendants.

Chapter Nine: The descendants of Sheiban, who ruled in Khorezm.

Abu al-Ghazi Khan in the introduction writes that at his disposal were 18 volumes of works devoted to the history of Genghis Khan and his descendants.

The work *Shajar-yi Turk va Mogul* contains numerous information about the kindred and trade relationship of the Khanate of Khiva with Kazakh Zhuzes. The author of the composition, during the internecine struggle in the state, was



forced to flee from Khorezm to Turkestan to Ishim Khan (1598-1614), the son of Shigai Khan. In 1022/1613-14 the authority of Ishim Khan as supreme khan was usurped by Tursun Sultan. Abu al-Ghazi spent several months in Turkestan. Ishim Khan presented Abu al-Ghazi to the Kazakh ruler Tursun Khan with a request for patronage. Abu al-Ghazi lived in Tashkent for several years, being at Tursun Khan (Materialy po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii XVI-XIX vv. / Iranskiye, bukharskiye, khivinskiye istochniki / Ed. V.V. Struve, A.K. Borovkova. A.A. Romaskevicha, P.P. Ivanova. Vol. 2. - Moskva-Leningrad, 1938, p. 326). In 1037/1627-28 Ishim Khan kills Tursun Khan, and again becomes the supreme khan. Abu al-Ghazi with his permission leaves Tashkent, going at first to Bukhara, and then to Khiva (Firdaws al-iqbal: history of Khorezm / Shir Muhammad Mirab Munis and Muhammad Riza Mirab Agahi; edited by Yuri Bragel. Leiden; Boston; Keln; Brill, 1988, p. 134). The reforms carried out by Abu al-Ghazi Khan in the Khanate of Khiva contributed to the strengthening of the central authority, and the decline in the state of intertribal conflicts.

The stable political situation in Khorezm depended largely on the personality of the ruling Khan. When on the throne of Khiva was a powerful khan with a strong authority, the power of representatives of the tribal elite was weakened. With a weak ruler, the authority of specific governors was strengthened. After the death of the ruling khan, each specific ruler tried to put Khan Chingizid, loyal to his family, on the throne of the state. Each change of power was accompanied by a fierce struggle between the tribal elite, in which participated both the Chingizids themselves and senior officials of the Khiva court.

The political situation in Khorezm, the fierce struggle for power, palace intrigues are well described in the writings of well-known Khiva historiographers: Shir-Muhammad Munis (1778-1829), Muhammad Riza Agahi (1809-1874), Muhammad Yusuf Bayani (1859-1923). Shir-Muhammad Munis, author of the work *Firdaus al-iqbal* (*Paradise Garden of Prosperity*), is also known as the author of the complete *divan* of poetry. He was initiator of the translation of Persian-language historical works into Chagatai. In particular, he translated the first volume and the first part of the second volume of the well-known work of the historian Mirkhond *Rauzat as-safa' fi sirat al-anbiya' wa al-muluk va al-hulafa* (*The Garden of Purity in Respect of Biographies of Prophets, Sovereigns and Caliphs*). The work describes the period from the "creation of the world" to the reign of Sultan Husain Mirza Baikara (873/1469-911/1506) included. The only copy of this translation is kept in the manuscript fund of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan under the number 3446.

*Firdaus al-iqbal* consists of an introduction and five chapters. The work is devoted to the history of Khorezm from the second half of the XVII<sup>th</sup> century until 1813. At the very beginning, Shir-Muhammad Munis gives brief autobiographical information and writes about the reasons that encouraged him to write this work. Then he proceeded directly to the narration of the history of Khorezm.

Because of a long struggle and with the support of the urban and landholder nobility, in 1768 Muhammad Amin inak (1762-1790) came to power - the founder of the Kungrad dynasty in Khorezm. Further, the events that took place in Khorezm under Avazbiy inak (1790-1804), Iltuzar Khan (1804-1806) and Muhammad Rahim Khan I (1806-1825) are described successively.

Since the second half of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century, since the reign of Muhammad

Amin inak, the power of the Chingizid khans was gradually weakened. If Chingizid khan made attempts to strengthen his power, then inaks, possessing real power, elevate another Chingizid on the throne of the Khanate instead of him. In *Firdaus al-ikbal* there are information about the fierce struggle for power, intertribal clashes and the participation of Chingizids in it [13, 176-180]. At the beginning of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century, power in Khorezm completely passed into the hands of the inaks, and in 1804, Iltuzar inak ascended the throne of the Khanate of Khiva with the title of a ruling khan.

### **Conclusion.**

By tradition, the Muslim clergy took part in public affairs. Shaykhs and khojas were appointed to various positions at the court of rulers both in the Khanate of Khiva and in Kazakh Khanate. When sending an embassy to neighboring states, usually a well-known representative of the Muslim clergy was appointed as ambassador. Often, as confidants, khojas performed personal assignments of the Khan. In the *Firdaus al-iqbal*, Toktash Khoja was mentioned, who was in the service under the Kazakh ruler Sultan Timur Khan (*Firdaws al-iqbal: history of Khorezm / Shir Muhammad Mirab Munis and Muhammad Riza Mirab Agahi*; edited by Yuri Bragel. Leiden; Boston; Keln; Brill, 1988, p. 877) and in 1812 arrived in Khiva as ambassador. Muhammad Rahim Khan I, having showed Toktash Khoja benevolence and hospitality, awarded him a valuable gift [13, 884].

Translations of separate extracts from *Firdaus al-Iqbal*, containing information on the history of Kazakhs, were published by N.N. Mingulov (*Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv v XV-XVIII vv. (izvlecheniya iz persidskikh i tyurkskikh sochineniy)*). Contributors: S.K. Ibragimov, N.N. Mingulov, K.A. Pishchulina, V.P. Yudin. Executive Editor: B.S. Suleymenov. - Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1969, pp. 435-475) in "Materials on the history of Kazakh khanates in the XV<sup>th</sup> – XVIII<sup>th</sup> centuries". In the domestic historiography, there are works that cover issues of the relationship between Kazakhs and the Khanate of Khiva, written on the basis of the published Khivan and Russian documents. However, a significant part of the Khivan manuscripts, such as *Jami al-waqiyati Sultani*, *Zubdat al-tawarikh*, *Gulshan-i dawlat*, *Shajara-yi Khorazmshahi* and *Khorazm tarikhi* have not yet been studied, and were not used for study of the history of Kazakhs and Kazakhstan.

This paper lists only some information about Kazakhs contained in the Arabic-script manuscripts. The introduction into the scientific use of factual material from Khiva historical works will allow us to reconsider certain established, but not always true, provisions on the history of Kazakhs and their mutual relationship with neighboring nations.

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## **CH.CH. VALIKHANOV, AN OUTSTANDING SCHOLAR OF THE TURKIC PEOPLES**

***“For the proper growth and development of a people, freedom and  
knowledge, above all, are required...”***

***Ch. Valikhanov***

Ch.Ch. Valikhanov (1835-1865) was a remarkable Kazakh scholar, orientalist, geographer, ethnographer, specialist in folklore, artist, democratic enlightener, an outstanding scientist of history and culture of the peoples of Kazakhstan as well as Central and Inner Asia. He made a valuable contribution to science by his public, political, research activity (particularly, on the material on the Turkic peoples' culture).

Of particular interest are his studies of the closed cities of Kashgar, during which the valuable materials on many areas of the region's life were collected. In addition, we have to note the geographical studies of the Tien Shan, with the exact imposition of objects on maps, the ethnorgraphic research, which made it possible to learn a lot about the way of life and culture of the peoples of Central Asia. One of the scholar's significant contributions to world science is the extract of the “Manas” epic recorded and translated by him, which is still recognized as the best translation. Ch.Ch. Valikhanov's studies on the spiritual and material culture of the Kazakh people are a valuable source on the history of Kazakhstan.

The article focuses on the study of the closed cities of Kashgar by Ch.Ch. Valikhanov, during which valuable materials were collected about many areas of the region's life. In addition, of particular interest are his geographical studies of Tien Shan, with accurate mapping of objects, ethnorgraphical research, which allowed learning a lot about the way of life and culture of the peoples of Central Asia. It is noted that one of the scholar's significant contributions to world science is the extract of the epic “Manas” written and translated by him, which is still recognized as the best translation. The researches of the scholar on the spiritual and material culture of the Kazakh people are a valuable source on the history of Kazakhstan. It is noteworthy that with the passage of time the value of his research only increases.

**Key words:** map, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, Ch. Valikhanov, orientalist.

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### **Ш.Ш. УӘЛИХАНОВ ТҮРКІ ХАЛЫҚТАРЫНЫҢ БЕЛГІЛІ ЗЕРТТЕУШІСІ**

Қазақтың ұлы ғалымы – шығыстанушы, географ, этнограф, тарихшы, фольклоршы, суретші, ағартушы демократ Қазақстан мен Орталық Азия халықтарының зерттеушісі Шоқан Шыңғысұлы Уәлиханов (1835-1865жж.). Оның саяси – қоғамдық қызметі мен түркі халықтарының мәдениетін зерттеулері ғылымға үлкен үлес қосты.

Мақалада Қашғар сияқты жабық қаланы Ш.Ш. Уәлихановтың зерттеп, аймақтың өмірі туралы құнды материалдар жинақтағаны сипатталады. Сонымен қатар, Тянь-Шаньды зерттеген география ғалымдары үшін картаға нақты объектілерді енгізгені, Орталық Азия халықтарының тұрмысы мен мәдениеті туралы көп мәліметті білуге мүмкіндік беретін этнографиялық зерттеулері қызықты. Дүние жүзілік ғылымға қосқан үлесі «Манас» эпосын жазып алып, зерттеуі, қазіргі күнге дейін мойындалған жақсы аударма болып табылады. Ғалымның қазақ халқының рухани және мәдени зерттеулері Қазақстан тарихының құнды дерегі болып есептеледі. Оның зерттеулерінің құндылығы күннен күнге артуда.

**Кілт сөздер:** карта, Қазақстан, Орталық Азия, Ш. Уәлиханов, шығыстанушы.

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### **Ч.Ч. ВАЛИХАНОВ ВЫДАЮЩИЙСЯ ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬ ТЮРКСКИХ НАРОДОВ**

Выдающиеся казахский ученый, востоковед, географ, этнограф, историк, фольклорист, художник, и просветитель – демократ, исследователь крупном масштабе истории и культуры народов Казахстана и Центральной Азии – Чокан Чингисович Валиханов ( 1835-1865 гг.). Его общественно-политическая деятельность и исследования материальной культуры тюркских народов явились ценнейшим вкладом в науку.

В статье уделено внимание исследованию Ч.Ч. Валихановым закрытых городов Кашгара, в ходе которых были собраны ценные материалы о многих областях жизни региона. Кроме того, интересно изучение ученым географии Тянь-Шаня, с точным нанесением объектов на карты, этнографическое исследование, позволившее узнать многое о быте и культуре народов Центральной Азии. Отмечается, что одним из

существенных вкладов ученого в мировую науку является записанный и переведенный им отрывок эпоса «Манас», до сих пор признаваемый самым лучшим переводом. Исследования ученого по духовной и материальной культуре казахского народа являются ценным источником по истории Казахстана. Примечательно, что с ходом времени ценность его исследований лишь возрастает.

**Ключевые слова:** карта, Казахстан, Центральная Азия, Ч. Валиханов, шығыстанушы.

### **Introduction**

Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov (1835-1865) was a remarkable Kazakh scholar, orientalist, geographer, ethnographer, specialist in folklore, artist, democratic enlightener, an outstanding scientist of history and culture of the peoples of Kazakhstan as well as Central and Inner Asia. He made a valuable contribution to science by his public-political activity and the results of his research of the material on the Turkic peoples' culture.

He had lived a short life, but brilliantly and fruitfully. Having summed up all the comments of the West-European scholars N.I. Veselovsky, professor of the St.Petersburg university wrote about him: «Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, an off-spring of the Kazakh khans as well as an officer of the Russian Army flashed like a meteor over the cornfields of the Orient. The Russian Orientalists admitted him unanimously as a phenomenal being and expected from him great and important revelations about the fortunes of the Turkic peoples...» (Веселовский, 1904: 15). And such a flattering characterization of him was given not only by the Russian academician.

Ch.Ch.Valikhanov's great scientific heritage left after his short, but extremely fruitful life entered the Gold fund of the Oriental studies. It is composed of great scientific transactions, publicistic statements, articles, journals, records of folk legends, tales, stories and songs, their translations into Russian, drawings and epistolary heritage...

### **Actual problems in the Valikhanov's works**

Ch.Valikhanov's travelling to Eastern Turkestan in 1856 and in 1858-1859 was really a great scientific exploit for the first time since Marko Polo and a Jesuit Benedict Goes. These journeys opened up slightly the farthest territories of Central Asia for European science, for at new time all attempts of the searching explorers to penetrate into the legendary Serendiya had ended in disaster, as that occurred in 1857, for instance, to the German traveler Adolph Schlagintweit, who was in the service of the English East India company. Ch Valikhanov's journey to Kashgaria brought him world-wide fame even during his life-time. The results of his research appeared in his major work entitled «On the Conditions of Altyshar or the Six Eastern Cities of the Chinese Province of Nan-lu» (Little Bukhara) in St.Petersburg in 1861. The scientific contribution of the Kazakh scholar was highly and exactly valued by German and English Orientalists (B.Kumekov, S.Uteniyazov, 1990: 41).

The above mentioned Ch.Valikhanov's work was published in Germany in 1862 by famous scholars A.Arman and Petermann (B.Kumekov, S.Uteniyazov 1990: 41). In 1865 the brothers John and Robert Mitchell published in London the English translation of Valikhanov's works in the book entitled "Russians



in Central Asia". This way the English society was able to learn about Chokan Valikhanov as a brilliant representative of the oriental borderlands of Russia, who managed to bring scientific and social progress to new heights and occupy an honourable place in the pantheon of orientalists (Russians in Central Asia, 1865: 28).

As a thorough scholar-orientalist Ch.Ch.Valikhanov formed and developed under the influence of Russian and West-European scholars. Besides in his works there was a lot of novelty and he had almost enriched the Oriental studies. Then the Oriental studies were at such a stage of development, when his precursors till the end hadn't managed to overcome the frames of traditional chronicles, discrepant statements, groundless conjectures, factual mistakes arising from superficial sometimes one-sided knowledge of Oriental peoples' lives, that's why he wrote: «The Eastern part of Central Asia, Central Asian Hills proper with all its world volcanoes and mysterious peoples have still remained an absolute impenetrable terra incognita in spite of great successes of geography attained lately. Annually we read information about journeys to Africa and Australia, about great discoveries made by fearless travelers in favor of science and up to now there has not been an attempt to penetrate into Inner Asia. Is it possible that Asia, the cradle of the mankind is less interesting than Africa...» (Валиханов Ч.Ч. 1961: 305) - he wrote in 1856 in his Kyrgyz researches. And so two years later he secretly penetrated into Kashgaria, a puzzle part of Asia and became the first-discoverer and the greatest researcher.

In his researches he always sought to bring his works to convincing perfection that's why a lot of his works were left incomplete. G.N. Potanin wrote at his time: «The extractions from his works which were edited by the Russian Geography Society's publications haven't far exhausted all gathered by him voluminous rich materials concerning geography, history and ethnography of Central Asian states and especially the Kazakh people. To gather all those materials Valikhanov spared neither his own health nor donations: put thoroughly down the traditions, legends and poems of his people, made a close study of the Central Asian dialect, bought antiquities at a high price found by the natives in old ruins and graves, in peril of his life penetrated into Buddhist monasteries and got there rare manuscripts...» (ИПГО, 1895: 638).

Ch.Ch.Vahkhanov was by right the founder of the scientific investigation on Eastern Turkestan. He also became the first scholar to discover one of the ancient cultural centers of the Turkic peoples for European science. Having admitted his priority in the scientific discovery of Eastern Turkestan and having highly valued the materials gathered by Ch.Ch Valikhanov, P.P.Semenov-Tian-Shanski wrote: «In any case the way of the research of the nearest parts of Tian-Shan was paved for us. Already in 1858... Ch.Valikhanov... penetrated into Kashgaria through Zaukinski pass with a merchant caravan and gathered there a lot of interesting scientific both ethnographic and statistic data...» (Семенов Тянь-Шанский П.П., 1845-1895: 26).

The research of the historical sources predetermined his interest to the Turkic peoples of Central Asia. Basing the necessity of the research of the contiguous countries he wrote sadly: "Till now some mysterious veil has been hanging over Central Asia. Despite the close vicinity... a great part of it has been still remaining inaccessible... (Валиханов Ч.Ч., 1961: 392.) confusing and



discrepant information existing in our geography about Central Asia has made it if not completely 'terra incognita' as it was said in olden times but at least a difficult scientific rebus, we have almost been unacquainted with him as a man of Central Asia. So he defined the state of the scientific investigation of Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan. Ch.Valikhanov's passionate desire was to research the peoples of the named territory, its history and culture, its dwellers and their mode of life.

During his short but highly fruitful life his journey to Kashgaria in 1858-1859 was particularly notable for its results, which turned out to be an important landmark in the development not only of the Russian Oriental studies, but also of the world science. In Kashgaria he stayed only five months. But those months were the months of strenuous work for the Kazakh scholar. His investigations covered all spheres of life of that region...

Ch.Valikhanov's research on the history of religion, its penetration and the change of religions in the territory of Eastern Turkestan, on the basis of the most valuable sources, achieved a great scientific result. «It is impossible to state when Buddhism settled in Eastern Turkestan», - he wrote, - "According to the Chinese sources it existed there as long ago as the times of Khan dynasty. In 140 BC some separate estates were made up of Eastern Turkestan' cities where Buddhist faith existed..." (Валиханов Ч.Ч., 1962 г.: 298-299). He also informed us that Islam began to penetrate that region in VIII century AD.

Later Islam was implanted there with fire and sword, characterizing religious devotion of the peoples of Eastern Turkestan in the middle of the past century. Ch.Valikhanov also noted the lack of any religious fanaticism in them contrary to the whole Moslem world. «The Kashgarian moderation is best of all expressed by a favourable social status of women at home, public and everyday life. Women... take an honourable place in society and many of them are of noble origin. ...Women take part in amusing their husbands and their presence is considered necessary in meetings», - wrote Ch.Valikhanov – «Examples of polygamy are very rare among Turkestanians (in Kashgaria), because a wife can leave her husband whenever she likes, if a wife wants a divorce, she can take nothing out of the house, if a husband wishes to divorce he will have to provide her» (Валиханов Ч.Ч., 1962 г.: 348) ...all these facts including the information about interim-marriages represent a great importance during the research work of family relations, history of marriage relations among Kashgarians in ancient times.

The Kazakh scholar also investigated literature, folklore and musical art of that region. He vividly described people's devotion to music, songs and dances. He introduced to us a number of musical instruments such as dutar, sattar, gidjak, ravap, dab, etc. So, Ch.Valikhanov made a large contribution to the World Oriental studies as the first and great scholar of Eastern Turkestan.

Ch.Ch.Valikhanov is the first and great researcher of the Kyrgyz people in the historico-philological aspect (Кононов А.Н., 1982: 292).

...It is remarkable that Ch.Valikhanov's investigations on history and ethnogenesis of the Kyrgyz people coincide with the researches of contemporary Kyrgyz historians.

Ch.Valikhanov deserves praising for his study of Kyrgyz oral folk poetical works. He was interested in folklore beginning from small genres and finishing with the monumental epos "Manas" which was considered "a remarkable folk legend", as

he noted. The epos “Manas” was highly scientifically appraised by him as an encyclopedic collection of all Kyrgyz myths, tales and legends gathered at one time and grouped around the main epic character Hero Manas. He is a kind of steppe Iliad (Odyssey). The Kyrgyz way of life, their customs and traditions, geography, religion, medical knowledge and their international relations have found place in that great epos... (Кононов А.Н., 1982: 292-293).

How exactly his appraisals coincided with the achievements of contemporary science. Only a great and gifted scholar, well-acquainted with the world culture (he was only 21 years old then) could give such a profound scientific analysis to the epos at the first acquaintance (Кононов А.Н., 1982: 292-293). Though that epic saga has evidently received insertions and amendments lately - wrote Ch.Ch.Valikhanov – but anyhow its plot or base certainly has the proper gentle reminiscences of the Kyrgyzes due to their extreme love and respect for that epos.

We also specially mention his translation of the “Manas” part “Kukotay Khan’s death and his funeral repast”, which has been the best translation into Russian up to our days. In the past century N.I.Veselovsky wrote about it: «... how wonderfully... and vividly he could convey the brief Kyrgyz speech into Russian...» (Живая старина, 1891: 156-158).

It was acknowledged long ago in the world science that Ch.Valikhanov did great services to the Kyrgyz people, studying its history, ethnography, nature and folklore.

Valikhanov was the first in history to write down the epos «Manas» and the civilized world got to know about the existence of the greatest Kyrgyz legend equal to the world-famous stories such as «Odyssey and Iliad». Ch.Valikhanov’s opinion was of great importance in determining the place and meaning of the “Manas” epos in the world culture history.

Ch.Valikhanov was really a remarkable scholar of the XIX century having left a rich scientific heritage covering the history, geography and economy of Central and Inner Asia, and the most of those regions he visited during his difficult journeys. He made a great contribution to the study of Inner Asia, its political history and the state system of the Kokand Khanate, its trade and political links with other countries, everyday life, customs and traditions of the peoples and tribes inhabiting Inner Asia in those days. That wide information one can find in the following works of the Kazakh scholar:

1. Journal of the Travelling to Issyk-Kul.
2. Notes about the Kyrgyzes.
3. On the Conditions of Altyshar, or the Six Eastern Cities of the Chinese Province of Nan-Lu (Little Bukhara).
4. Jungaria Essays.
5. Notes about the Kokand Khanate, etc.

Ch.Valikhanov made a great contribution to the study of the Kazakhs’ history, ethnography and folklore. It is obvious that according to its profoundness and importance the results of his works on history and ethnography have still remained superior to those of many contemporary scholars...

There are a lot of original and profound ideas and thoughts, scientific conclusions and data that haven’t lost the importance for the science up to our days.

The scientific world, for example, up to the middle of the XIX century had been sticking to an erroneous opinion expressed by the travelers of the XVIII century that the Senior djuz of the Kazakhs (territorial division of the Kazakh tribes) and the

Kyrgyzes made up one peculiar nation differing from the Kazakhs. In 1856-1858 thanks to the results of the expeditions Ch. Valikhanov gathered important facts and made up that deficiency. He proved scientifically that those peoples differed from each other not only by ethnographic data, but also by linguistic and anthropological ones.

His scientific investigations and statements on the origin of the Kazakh people are also of great importance for us. For those purposes he studied all the folklore, ethnographic and written sources. He wrote such famous research papers as "Commentaries on juridical reform", "Stories and legends of the Great Kazakh horde", "The Kazakh genealogy", "Traces of Shamanism among the Kazakhs", "Historical legends about batyrs of the XVIII century", "Shuna batyr" and many other works.

Using the works of such scholars as V.V.Velyaminov- Zernov, I.N.Berezin, Mokhammed Khaidar Dulaty, Kadyrgaly Galayry, N.Ya. Bichurin, A.I.Levshin, A. Vambéry and others he came to the conclusion, that those authors were wrong in relating the formation of the Kazakh nation to the premongolian period. The Kazakh nation might have been born later, and perhaps in the middle of XIV century in the epoch the collapsing of the Tartar-Mongol domains. «All materials that I am gathering now confirm that the formation of the Kazakh nation was the result of blending of different Turkic and Mongolian tribes after internecine dissensions in the horde that had started just after Berdibek's death (1359), that is why the Kazakhs are not ancient as once Fuidousy used to write», (Валиханов Ч.Ч., 1961: 121-122) - wrote Ch.Valikhanov. He also wrote in his other researches that the formation of the Kazakhs belonged to the period of the Kazakh Khanate's birth in the XIY-XY centuries» (Валиханов Ч.Ч.,1961:130).

In his research investigations he was always objective, that is why he kept disproving categorically the hypothesis about the Kazakhs' formation in the premongolian period, the opinion that is supported by A.I.Levshin, A.Vambéry and others.

In his works Ch.Valikhanov widely investigated the Kazakhs' material and spiritual cultures. His following works are of the most peculiar value: «The Kazakhs' Armament in Ancient Times and Their Fighting Armor», «About Kazakh Nomad Camps», «About the forms of the Kazakh folk oral poetry (Edyga, introduction) «Edygay», «On Moslem Religion in Steppe», «Tenkry», «Traces of Shamanism among the Kazakhs».

The ancient faiths of the Kazakhs and their traces are envisaged in the last articles. Criticizing Islam he pointed out that the Moslem religion had put out any spark of originality and self-nationality, had made an exclusively negative influence on the intellectual and spiritual development of the Kazakh people. He criticized the doctrine of the illiterate representatives of the Moslem religion. «Songs, ancient poems, struggle, femininity's freedom and its taking part in entertainment – all these are getting out of use because of Islam» (Валиханов Ч.Ч., 1961: 389.). He always pointed out the importance of science and knowledge in the development and struggle for people's independence. He profoundly criticized economic and socio-cultural backwardness of the Kazakh people and exposed the colonial policy of the Russian Tzar.

Ch. Valikhanov was also a gifted artist. There are many portraits, ethnographic typical exact drawings and genre paintings left there in his scientific heritage, that is an exclusively important source for the study of culture and life of the Turkic peoples. It is he that was the first professional painter of the Kazakh people...

Very likely there was no an important problem of historical, literal, religious, ethnographical character concerning the Turkic peoples that he didn't touch upon to some extent and that he didn't solve thanks to the investigations. His works made a great influence on the whole history and science of culture study and conditions of life of the Turkic peoples. He became the founder of the democratic trend in the history of Central Asia and contributed to the attachment of that region's people to progressive European culture. «He shines like the brightest star over the dome of heaven of our history having the best traits of our nation...» (Утениязов С.К., 1985. 8 аврысра).

All Ch. Valikhanov's creative activity, his socio-political credo was directed to the search for the way to save the Kazakh people from backwardness and fanaticism through education and attachment to European civilization. However, «he was not a supporter of blind cultural imitation. He strove to prevent his Kazakh people from losing their ethnic distinctiveness while encouraging them to rise to a higher level of social development» (B.Kumekov, S.Uteniyazov, 1990: 44).

Ch. Valikhanov was not only the first discoverer of Kashgaria and Kyrgyzia, but also of many problems of Turkic people's history. He was the founder of Cossack study in Russia. Besides, he was the first to pay attention to the works of Amedei Thierry on the history of Attila. (A.Thierry. Histoire d'Attila.. 1-2 tome. Paris.1856) And this book that made a coup in Attila study, was published exactly when Ch. Valikhanov started to thoroughly investigate the history and culture of the Turkic people. It was he who introduced this book to scientific circulation. Later in Petersburg he took part in its translation into Russian (B.Kumekov, S.Uteniyazov, 1990: 44).

Ch.Ch.Valikhanov was first of all a geographer. His investigations can be divided into 2 stages. The first one includes his journey in Dzhungaria (Semirechensk and Zaili) and Issyk-kul Lake; The second stage of his scientific research begins at the headstream of the Narin River, the main tributary of the Syrdarya. This stage of Valikhanov's journey is the most fruitful and rich in geographic discoveries.

When studying the geographic peculiarities of the explored territory Valikhanov first of all reveals the character of surface construction and peculiarities of the region's natural conditions in general. So these are his observations of the "sunny waterless steppe" of Semipalatinsk area, Arkat Hills, Dzungar Alatau range and valleys, Northern Tyan-Shan and Eastern Turkestan.

Considerable interest arouse Valikhanov's observations of Inner Tyan-Shan Relief. Geomorphological type of this region he defines as tableland and plateau-like. He marked that such type of relief to considerable extent prevails to the east of Kashgar meridian. The same opinion about Tyan-Shan orography was later expressed by an outstanding investigator of Central Asian and Kazakhstan's nature N.A.Severtsov, who repeated Valikhanov's route in Tyan-Shan.

Ch.Ch.Valikhanov on his way to Kashgaria went through the ridges of Central Tyan-Shan and crossed it almost in meridian from north to south. There he for the

There he for the first time gave full geographic description of Dzhetim Choku and Chahrohorum Mountains, The Narin, Karasai, Karakol rivers, etc. When describing river valleys he takes into consideration natural peculiarities of these districts, evaluates their natural resources, points to the great advantages of household usage and developing of these valleys.

Valikhanov in his works gives important information concerning the river-net of Dzhungar Alatau, Northern and Inner Tyan-Shyan. Along with the general characteristics of the rivers, Chokan determined the geological construction, morphology of the valleys, the character of the current, described the climate and also wildlife and vegetative world.

With the full certainty we can state that the sources of the Alatau rivers in such details and accuracy had never been described not only before Chokan Valikhanov, but, to some extent, after him. In this respect Chokan stands among the first discoverers.

Among the lakes of Central Asia and Kazakhstan Valikhanov mostly pays attention to Alakol, Balhash and Issyk-Kul. He was one of the first to give information about the regime dynamics and genesis of these rivers' basins. On his way back from Kashgar Chokan for the first time discovered Alpine Chatyr-Kol lake.

The remarkable fact is that modern geographers can pick up from Ch.Ch. Valikhanov's works the richest paleogeographical material: for instance, he points out the fact, that Alakol and Balhash lakes have recently had one common basin, which is proved by later investigations.

Interesting observations were made by Valikhanov concerning the peculiarities of geographic distribution of flora and animals. During his trip to Issyk-Kul lake he made a n original and entomological collections, sent afterwards, according to his testimony, to Drezden.

Ch.Ch. Valikhanov also owns the priority in studying the fauna of Tyan-Shan and the first scheme of vertical zones. According to the scientist's data, in the mountain zone of Dzhungar Alatau and Tyan-Shan there are mammal animals typical to mountain countries of Southern Siberia and Kyrgyz steppe. Distinguishing features between Dzhungar and Kyrgyz steppe faunas he founds in the absence of some types characterizing Kyrgyz fauna. Besides, he for the first time singles out natural habitat of types and along with this gives information about animals' migration.

Valikhanov made a considerable contribution to the cartography of the explored territories. In his archives numerous drafts, drawings, cartoschemes are kept, many of them are still not deciphered and reconstructed.

He made schematic maps of Karkara River valley, pass of Northern Tyan-Shan, the map of route from Altyn-Emel range to Kuldzha city, scheme of Tyan-Shan Syrt, schematic plan of Kashgar neighborhood, etc. A number of maps Valikhanov made on the basis of studying historic sources when preparing for the journey. These are, for instance, «Schematic map of Mogolistan», made according to the book «Tarihi-Rashidi», «Routes of M. Gabdulmazhitov from Issyk-Kul to Kashgar», etc.

As we know, Valikhanov knew a number of oriental and European languages, that is why almost all European and Oriental sources were accessible for him. Not accidentally he was one of the first to pay attention to the Catalan map, made in Italy in 1375 and published in 1742 in France. For the investigation of Central Asia and Kazakhstan territories the Catalan map was of great significance and served important and rare source in historical topography of Kazakhstan territories.



Of the greatest interest is the Central Asia map, made by Chokan on the pages of his last diary. This was the first reliable map of Kashgaria and bordering on it districts. It is noteworthy that on this map with great accuracy are shown the orientation and direction of the main mountain ranges, surrounding Kashgaria. The Hydrographic system is rather thoroughly marked on the map.

Among the cartographic works of the great Kazakh scientist «The map of Kazakh steppe of 18<sup>th</sup> century» (850) is of much interest. The map amazingly entirely covers almost the hole of the modern Kazakh SSR territory. The value of the map, in our opinion, is in that Valikhanov on the basis of historical data reconstructed the most important geographic objects on the territory of Kazakhstan, known in 18<sup>th</sup> century, and first of all: gydrogeographic system, relief organization and the main thruway, crossing the territory of Kazakhstani steppe from North to South.

«The map of Kazakh Steppe of the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century» is worthy of great attention. In comparison to other Valikhanov's maps, this one has an important advantage – relative maintenance of the scale, which makes the map more valuable in practical application.

It should be also noted that Ch.Ch. Valikhanov during his trips basically relied on eye-survey. And during his journey to Kashgaria there was no possibility to use geodesic and astronomic instruments. It is under these circumstances that Chokan discovered a masterful skill in describing and characterizing seen by him localities, and in marking them on maps.

### **Conclusion**

Cartography works of Ch.Ch. Valikhanov have not been completely collected yet. There are spread in different archives of the country. To collect the materials together and their study – is the matter of future.

In the period when Russia's economic relations with the countries of the East intensively developed Ch.Valikhanov's works with cartographic appendices became important reference manuals for many Russian scientists and statesmen.

Ch.Ch. Valikhanov's zoological, geological and other collections, handed over by him to scientific establishments have not yet been crowned with success. Many scientists testify their availability. Thus, for instance, I.V. Mushketov wrote, that Valikhanov during his journey through Central Tyan-Shan made a collection of rocks. Ch.Ch. Valikhanov's geographic heritage characterizes him as a traveler and scientist, devoted to the science. His geographic characteristics were remarkable for breadth of phenomena coverage. In respect of precision and minuteness of characteristics of explored territories, minuteness of natural components description, Ch.Ch. Valikhanov's works come first in importance than a number of his contemporaries' works. Even at that time he put into practice a complex approach and gave a comparative analysis of explored territories. That is why he fairly stands among outstanding scientists of his epoch (Ch. Valihanov i sovremennost , 1988: 219-223).

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### Г.Н. ПОТАНИН ЖӘНЕ МҰСА ШОРМАНОВ

Мақалада Г.Н. Потаниннің Мұса Шормановпен арадағы шығармашылық, адамгершілік байланыстары сипатталған. Потанин сияқты алдыңғы қатарлы орыс зиялылары мен революцияшыл демократтары Мұса Шорманов туралы жоғары бағалап, жазып кеткен. Өкінішке орай, Кеңес өкіметі тұсында Шорман би ұрпақтары көп қуғындалды. Мұсаның өзі чиновник міндетін ғана орындаған азын-аулақ топпен жұмыс істеп қоймай,



ол Қазақстандағы патша өкіметінің саясатына өзінше баға берді.

Мақалада эпистолярлық дерек ретінде М. Шормановтың Потаниндерге жазған хаттарына талдау жасалып, екеуінің достық қарым-қатынастары дәлелденеді.

**Кілт сөздер:** Г. Потанин, М. Шорманов, Ш. Уәлиханов, хат, әдет-ғұрып, қарым-қатынас.

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## **Г.Н. ПОТАНИН И МУСА ШОРМАНОВ**

В статье рассматривается творческое взаимоотношение Г.Н. Потанина и Мусы Чорманова. Представитель русской интеллигенции Г. Потанин очень высокую оценку дал Мусе Чорманову как знатоку казахской степи, культуры казахского народа и казахского менталитета. К сожалению, во время Советской власти потомки Чорман бия были в изгнании. Сам Муса как чиновник не только работал с малочисленной группой, также он дал оценку на политику царской власти.

В статье как эпистолярный источник проанализированы письма М. Чорманова Потаниным. Таким образом, автор доказывает творческие и добрые отношения Г.Н. Потанина с М. Чормановым.

**Ключевые слова:** Г. Потанин, М. Чорманов, Ч. Валиханов, письмо, обычаи, взаимоотношение.

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## **G. POTANIN AND M. CHORMANOV**

The article deals with the creative relationship of G.N. Potanin and Musa Chormanov. The representative of the Russian intellectual people, G. Potanin, highly appreciated Musa Chormanov as a connoisseur of the Kazakh steppe, the culture of the Kazakh people and the Kazakh mentality. Unfortunately, during the Soviet period the descendants of Chorman Biya were in exile. Musa himself as an official not only worked with a small group, he also assessed the policy of tsar power.

In the article, as an epistolary source, letters written by Potanin to M. Chormanov are analyzed. Thus, the author proves the creative and kind relations of G.N. Potanin with M. Chormanov.

**Key words:** G. Potanin, M. Chormanov, C. Valikhanov, letter, customs, mutual relationship.

## **Кіріспе**

Революцияға дейінгі ғылыми қоғамдар ішінде Орыс Географиялық Қоғамы мен оның бөлімдерінің атқарған ісі орасан зор. Тамаша ғалымдар мен саяхатшылардың өкілдерінің ғылымдағы жетістіктері осы қоғаммен байланысты. Олардың қатарында П.П. Семенов-Тяньшаньский, Н.М. Пржевальский, Ш. Уәлиханов, Н.А. Северцов, Г.Н. Потанин, В.В. Радлов, Ә.А. Диваев, В.В. Бартольд, Н.И. Веселовский, Н.Н. Пантусов, т.б. болды.

Қазақ жері мен қазақ халқының тарихын зерттеуге орыс ғылымы ерекше назар аударғаны белгілі. Ресейдің ғылыми қоғамдарының өкілдері қазақ зиялыларының көмегімен өлкені ғылыми тұрғыда зерттей бастады. Революцияға дейін орыстың ғылыми қоғамдары қиын жағдайда жұмыс істеді. Омбы, Орынбор, Ташкент, Семейдегі ғылыми қоғамдардың зерттеушілері революциялық қозғалыстарға қатысты немесе саяси айдауда жүрді. Олармен ең әуелі тілмәштар тіл табысты. Пашино, М.И. Венюков, Е.П. Михаэлис, Г.Н. Потанин, Д.Л. Иванов, П. Голубев, Л.К. Чермак, Ф.А. Шербина, т.б. түрлі экспедициялық жұмыстарға тікелей қатысты. Белгілі географ, этнограф Г. Потанин қатысқан экспедициялық зерттеу Зайсан көлі мен Қара Ертіс бойынша жүріп, Алтай мен Жоңғар Алатауы арасындағы түрлі мекендерді зерттеді. Г.Н. Потанинге Мұса Шорманұлы да түрлі көмек көрсеткен.

XIX ғ. екінші жартысында өлкетану жұмыстары жанданып, жергілікті өлкетану ұйымдарының қызметі дамиды. Соның бірі Батыс Сібір, Алтай, Қазақстанның географиясын, табиғатын мен халқын зерттеуде көрнекті рөл атқарған Орыс географиялық қоғамының Батыс Сібір бөлімшесі болды.

1876 ж. Батыс Сібір генерал-губернаторы Казнаков Орыс географиялық қоғамына орталығы Омбы қаласында болатын қоғамның Батыс Сібір бөлімшесін ашу туралы ұсыныс жібереді. 1877 жылы Казнаков Орыс географиялық қоғамының Омбыда тұратын мүшелерін (олар жеті адам болған) жинап алып, бөлімнің ашылғанын айтады (Вопросы истории Западной Сибири, 1970: 100). Бұл жаңа ғылыми қоғамның алдында тұрған міндеті көп еді. Ол генерал-губернатор жетекшілігімен Батыс Сібірді де, онымен көрші жатқан Орта Азияны, Батыс Қытайдың географиясын, тарихын, этнографиясын, статистика, археография, археологиясын зерттеу қажет болды.

Осындай жан-жақты жасалған бағдарламаны жүзеге асыру оңай болған жоқ. Ол жылдары Батыс Сібірде жоғары оқу мекемелері жоқ еді, орта мектептің өзі аз болатын. Бөлімде негізінен Бас штаб офицерлері, әскери топографтар мен азаматтық әкімшіліктің чиновниктері, азын-аулақ мұғалімдер мен дәрігерлер болды. Олар тұрақсыз болды, өйткені әскери және азаматтық чиновниктер қызмет бабымен көшіп-қонып жүрді. Бөлім зерттеу жұмысын жоспарлай алмады, өйткені қаражат жоқ болды. Тіпті экспедициялардың өзіне қаражат аз бөлінді.

## **Методология**

Мақала негізіне қазіргі кездегі тарихшылардың негізгі тұжырымдамалары алынып, философия, әлеуметтану, саясаттану ғылымдарындағы қоғамның әлеуметтік құрылымының мәселелерін

зерттейтін негізгі пайымдамалар алынды. автор историзм, объективтілік принциптеріне сүйенді, сонымен қатар, тақырыптың мәселелерін ашуда кешенді тәсілді қолданды.

Тарихилық принципі нақты тарихи жағдаймен тығыз байланыста тарихи құбылыстарды қарастыруға бағытталады. Мақаланың объективтілігі деректік материалдар негізінде талдау жасау болып табылады. Автор салыстыру, онымен логикалық жағынан байланысты талдау, және оның жоғары деңгейі болып саналатын – синтезді қолданды. Талдау мен синтездің үйлесуі қарастырылатын мәселелерді логикалық түрде тұтас өзегін жасауға көмектеседі.

### **Зерттеулерге шолу**

Г.Н. Потанин туралы библиография көп екеніне дау жоқ. Оның көпшілігі Г. Потаниннің зерттеу еңбектері жарық көргенде және 1905, 1915 жж. 70, 80-жылдықтары атап өтілгенде шықты. Г.Н. Потаниннің өмірбаянын жазу қай кезде болсын тоқтаған жоқ. Мысалы, А.В. Адрианов оның 80 жылдығына арналған жинақта өмірбаянын жазды (Адрианов А.В., 1915). В.А. Обручев оның өмірі мен қызметі туралы көлемді еңбек жазған (Обручев В.А., 1947). Алайда Г. Потаниннің Алаш зиялыларымен қарым-қатынасы туралы жеке тарау арнамаған. М.В. Шиловский Г.Н. Потаниннің туғанына 160 жыл толуына орай оны «кадрдың жеке беті» түрінде жинақтаған (Шиловский Г.Н., 1995). Г.Н. Гехтман Г. Потаниннің өмірбаянымен бірге, оның географияға қосқан үлесін мазмұндаған. Алайда бұл еңбекте Потаниннің қазақ өлкесін зерттеуде оған көмектескен қазақ зиялылары туралы айтылмаған (Гехтман Г.Н., 1962).

Сібір кадет корпусында қазақтың біртуар ұлы Шоқан Уәлихановтың оқығанын мақтан етпейтін қазақ жоқ. Осы оқу орны Г. Потаниннің дүниетанымын қалыптастыруда орны ерекше болды. Өйткені, ол Шоқанмен бірге оқып, одан көп нәрсені үйренді, оның дарындылығына, біліміне тәнті болды. А.И. Солодухин Кадет корпусарындағы оқу үрдісін сипаттай отырып, Г. Потаниннің достары арасында әділетті болғанын айтады (Солодухин А.И., 1995). Шоқан мен Г. Потанин арасындағы достықты С. Өтениязов жүйелі жазумен қатар, автор Мұса Шорманов туралы да ұтымды мәлімет келтірген (Өтениязов С., 1990). Ал, М. Малышева, В. Познанский мақаласында Г. Потанин Шоқаннан үлкен тағылым алғанын дәлелдеген (Малышева М., Познанский В., 1990). Бұл еңбектер Омбы облысының мемлекеттік мұрағат құжаттарын пайдаланғанымен құнды деп есептейміз. Ал И. Белов болса Кадет корпусында оқып жүрген кезде Омбы қаласының Г. Потанинге әсерін жазған (Белов И., 1848). Омбы қаласы туралы М.И. Юрасованың да тамаша еңбегі бар (Юрасова М.И., 1972). Г. Потаниннің өзі Қазақстан қалаларының ішінен Семей туралы жазғанын, ал бұл туралы қалалар тарихын зерттеуші Ж. Қасымбаев еңбегінде айтылған (Қасымбаев Ж.К., 1998).

Г.Н. Потаниннің дүниетанымына, ғылым жолына үлкен үлес қосқан әйгілі саяхатшы П.П. Семенов болды. Ол Потанинге саяхатшы-ғалым болуды үйретті (Семенов Тянь-Шанский П.П., 1948). П.П. Семенов Г. Потанинді Орыс Географиялық қоғамының жұмысына қатыстырып, оны таза ғылым жолына баулыды.