

# MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF CENTRAL EURASIA



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# MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF CENTRAL EURASIA

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Editorial address: 8, Kabanbay Batyr avenue, of.316, Nur-Sultan, Kazakhstan, 010000  
Tel.: (7172) 24-18-52 (ext. 316)  
E-mail: [medieval-history@isca.kz](mailto:medieval-history@isca.kz)

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## PROSPECTS OF KAZAKHSTAN'S MEDIEVAL STUDIES: TO THE PROBLEM STATEMENT

M. Y. Shaikhutdinov  
Nur-Sultan, Kazakhstan

**Abstract.** The article deals with topical issues of formation of Kazakhstan's medieval studies in the context of the development of world historical science. The author notes that foreign medieval studies went through a series of stages in its development, gradually transitioning from political and military history to economic history, "new social history", cultural history, historical demography, etc. Thus, an extensive collection of historical sources has been published, and different national school of medieval studies has been formed.

The article presents author's view on the main issues of studying the Kazakh and Turkic Middle Ages, including the chronology and periodization, the state of the source base, the research level of various problems of national history. It is noted that the history of Kazakh Middle Ages can be divided into three main periods: 1) the era of the Turkic empires (*VI-XII centuries*), 2) the era of the Mongol conquests and the Ulus of Jochi (*XIII-XV centuries*) and 3) the era of the unified Kazakh khanate (*XVI – early XVIII centuries*). Modern Kazakh statehood is the successor of all the above-mentioned historical epochs.

National medieval studies are in the process of formation, so it needs to simultaneously develop both traditional and modern perspectives, expand the source studies base on the history of the Kazakh Middle Ages, master the latest theoretical and methodological approaches, and form a unique national school of medieval studies. At the same time, it is important to develop a dialogue with foreign specialized research centers and universities, as well as with the world's leading medievalists.

**Keywords:** medieval studies, source studies, historiography, history of the Middle Ages, ethnogenesis, Turkic empires, Jochi Ulus.

**Introduction.** In the recent centuries, a long-standing tradition of studying Middle Ages developed within the world historical science. At the early stages of the research of world medieval studies, the main attention was paid to the political and military history of the Middle Ages, the activities of monarchs, feudal nobles and prominent commanders. In the nineteenth century, Western scholars attempted to link political and social history together by studying economic history and social institutions.

At the turn of the XIX-XX centuries, interest in medieval culture increased, as evidenced, in particular, by the fundamental work of the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga "The Autumn of the Middle Ages" (1919), in which issues of social hierarchy, chivalrous idea, religious experiences, art and aesthetics came to the forefront [64]. Five years later, a representative of the British school of social history Eileen Power published the work "Medieval People", in which she points out that 'there is often as much material for reconstructing the life of some ordinary person as there is for writing a history of Robert of Normandy or Philippa of Hainault; and the lives of ordinary people so reconstructed are, if less spectacular, certainly not less interesting' [43, p. 7].

In 1929, Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch founded "Annales d'histoire économique et sociale" journal and established a 'new social history'. Due to the "Annales", such promising perspectives as 'longer time spans', historical anthropology, historical demography, gender studies, the history of everyday life, microhistory, history of 'mentalities' (*modes of consciousness*), political reading of non-verbal forms of communication, etc. were developed [55, p. 459-460]. Modern medievalism combines efforts not only by historians, but also

archaeologists, sociologists, cultural anthropologists, literary critics, linguists, psychologists, art historians, philosophers, theologians, and others.

The Annales school sought to cover the phenomenon of the Middle Ages in all of its diversity, without dividing it into separate countries. This is exactly how Mark Bloch [13], Georges Duby [23], Jacques Le Goff [37], Fernand Braudel [14] and others created their works. The Annales school is characterized by a broad view on history, a free scientific search, and a critical approach to established opinions. For example, Jacques Le Goff tried to rehabilitate political history [39] and at the same time questioned the need for strict periodization of the historical process [38]. In the same spirit, Bernard Guenée argues: 'Every medievalist knows today that the Middle Ages never existed, and even more so, there was never the spirit of the Middle Ages. Who would want to put the people and institutions of the seventh, eleventh, and fourteenth centuries in the same bag? ... The more general is periodization, the more controversial it becomes. This is no more than a shadow, just a word, that is convenient for denoting a certain chronological layer, but it is dangerous to put any other meaning into it, and you should not be deceived by this word' [19, p. 13].

The tradition of Jacques Le Goff is also developed by the French philosopher Alain de Libera, author of the work "Medieval philosophy", dedicated to the analysis of the 'latent relevance' of medieval thought – 'the relevance of philosophical decisions that imperceptibly, without being recognized, secretly guide our perspectives' [21, p. 31]. Like Le Goff, Alain de Libera recognizes that Arab culture was a mediator between Antiquity and Gothic, but de Libera considers the contribution of Arab thought to the European philosophy more significant, and the Arab world being more active in creativity.

Among the latest Western writings, the work of the British historian Chris Wickham "Medieval Europe" deserves a special attention, in which the Middle Ages is considered as an integral whole. The main focus Wickham put on turning points, including – the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the V century, the crisis of the Eastern Roman Empire in the VII century, the Carolingian's project at the turn of VIII-IX centuries, the spread of Christianity in Northern and Eastern Europe in the X century, the radical decentralization of political power in the West in the XI century, demographic and economic growth from X to XIII centuries, the restoration of political and religious power in the West in the XII-XIII centuries, the decline of Byzantium in the same period, the Black death and the development of public authorities in the XIV century, the involvement of wider segments of the population into the public sphere at the turn of XIV-XV centuries [56, c. 23].

Reinterpretation of the tasks and goals of medieval studies is scrutinized in the work by modern German historian Hans-Werner Goetz named "New medieval studies: the state and prospects of Medieval studies" [1], in which the concept of 'the Middle Ages' is examined. The book reveals the role of auxiliary historical disciplines and source study analysis, and underlines the growing interest of German historians towards the problems of everyday history, analysis of social conflicts, attitudes, constitutional structures and historical anthropology (*mentality, 'psychohistory and medieval studies', medieval studies as a science of cultural history, etc.*).

Russian medievalism study has as well made a significant progress. The publication of the "Middle Ages" journal, founded in 1942, continues. In 1992, the 2nd volume of "The History of Europe", dedicated to the Middle Ages was published [26]. This was immediately followed by the publication of the 2nd volume of "The History of the East", dedicated to the medieval East [25], and in 2012 by unorthodox in structure and content the 2nd volume of "The World History"-"Medieval civilizations of the West and East" [18]. In this context, it is also important to mention the works of O.S.Voskoboynikov [17], L.Vasiliyev [15] and other Russian researchers.

**Discussion.** Kazakhstan's medieval studies also have its own history and traditions. Even in the Soviet era, there were departments of World History within the History Faculties of universities, where the history of the Middle Ages was studied. Kazakhstan's Middle Ages was studied in the departments of Ancient and Medieval history and Oriental studies of the Institute of history, archeology and ethnography of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic's Academy of Sciences. Unfortunately, in recent decades, the interest of Kazakh researchers in the history of the Middle Ages has decreased, a new generation of historians has switched to the problems of Modern history, geopolitics and international relations, as a result the problem of succession of generations has arisen in Kazakhstan's medieval studies.

In this context, it is important to re-draw the attention of Kazakh historians to the history of Central Eurasia, which includes not only the territory of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, but also other areas where the Turkic peoples lived. The history of these peoples is of particular interest and requires joint efforts of historians, archaeologists, ethnographers, linguists, geneticists and other specialists. It is important to take into account that during this historical period numerous steppe States emerged, flourished and then collapsed, whilst actively interacting with the surrounding world – Europe, Russia, China, Persia and other countries and regions. This interaction was not always peaceful, conflicts often arose, but at the same time there was a vigorous cultural and civilizational dialogue, economic relations developed, intercontinental trade routes (*the Great Silk road*) evolved, etc.

A comprehensive research of the Turkic Middle Ages requires ***a holistic approach towards all types of historical sources***. In recent years, Kazakh historians have made a significant contribution to the study of sources. For example, under the editorship of G.S.Sadvokasov and K.Sh.Hafizova, a work called "Documents and materials on the history of Kazakhstan, Central Asia and East Turkestan" was published [31]. M.H.Abuseitova and Yu.G.Baranova issued a new edition of "Utemish-Haji. Chingiz-nama" [58], as well as "The written sources on the history and culture of Kazakhstan and Central Asia in the XIII-XVIII centuries" [3]. M.Kh.Abuseitova and L.N.Dodkhudoeva published the work "History of Kazakhstan in Oriental miniatures" [4].

In addition, M.Kh.Abuseitova and Zh.M.Tulibayeva drafted a new edition of the "History of Kazakhstan in Persian sources" [27]. Zh.M.Tulibayeva published "Persian-Language sources on the history of Kazakhs and Kazakhstan of the XIII-XIX centuries" [54], "Treatise on Sairam" [52], "Anthology on the history of interstate relations and diplomacy in Central Asia of the XIII-XV centuries" [65], as well as the work "Methods of describing Central Asian manuscripts" [53].

One of the most important theoretical and methodological problems facing Kazakhstan's medieval studies is the ***periodization of the Kazakh and Turkic Middle Ages***, which should be an integral part of the periodization of the entire Kazakh history from ancient times to the present day. Currently, there is no consensus on this issue among Kazakhstan's historians, which is due to various theoretical and methodological approaches.

For example, S.G.Klyashtorny and T.I.Sultanov divide the Central Asian Middle Ages into Early (*VI-XIII centuries*) and Later (*XIII-XV centuries*) [28]. According to Zh.Artykbayeva, the Kazakh Middle Ages covers the Era of the Huns, the ancient Turkic era and the Golden Horde, while the emergence of the Kazakh khanate falls under to Modern times [6]. E.A.Abil divides the Kazakh Middle Ages into four stages: 1) the stage of the Hun nomadic empire (*III century BC – V century AD*); 2) the stage of the Turkic nomadic empire (*VI – early XIII centuries*); 3) the stage of the Mongol-Kipchak nomadic empire (*early XIII – late XVI centuries*) and 4) the stage of the unified Kazakh khanate (*early XVII – early XVIII centuries*) [2, p.13-14]. N.S.Lapin believes that the Kazakh Middle Ages covers the period from the middle of the VI century AD until the beginning of the XVIII century, and includes three main stages – the Turkic khaganate, the Mongol conquest and the unified Kazakh khanate [36].

A.E.Daniyarova identifies three periods in the history of medieval Kazakhstan:

1) States of the early and developed Middle Ages (*VI-XII centuries*), namely, the Turkic and Western Turkic khaganates, Turgesh and Karluk khaganates, Kara-Khanid khanate, the Oguz khaganate, the Kimak and Kipchak States, as well as the Naiman and Kereit Ulus;

2) Medieval Kazakhstan (*the beginning of the XIII – first half of the XV century*) - the time of the Mongol conquests, as well as the formation and development of such States as the Golden Horde, White Horde, Mogolistan, Abulkhair khanate and Nogai Horde;

3) Kazakhstan in the late Middle Ages (*XV-early XVIII centuries*) - the period of formation of the Kazakh nation, as well as the emergence and development of the Kazakh khanate [20]. This periodization takes into account the world context, regional features, and the uniqueness of Kazakhstan's history. That is why this periodization deserves to be taken as a basis with due regard for valuable ideas from other scholars.

An extremely important place in the history of Kazakh statehood is occupied by the *era of the Turkic empires*, which began after the collapse of the Hunnic empire. This historical period insufficiently explored by Kazakh historians, but there is a certain body of knowledge.

In particular, the authors of "History of Kazakhstan and Central Asia" noted that in the second half of the I Millennium BC Turkic tribes had created a number of large state formations on the territory of South Siberia, Central and Middle Asia, the Lower Volga region and the North Caucasus: the first Turkic khaganate (551-630), the East Turkic khaganate, the West Turkic khaganate, Turgesh khaganate, the Uyghur khaganate and the state of the Yenisei Kyrgyz, Karluks, Kimaks and Aral Oguz [28, c. 74-75]. During this particular era ethnopolitical associations that became the predecessors and ancestors of modern Turkic-speaking nations had emerged, the Turkic writing system had developed, and the Turkic tribes had attained to Buddhism, Manichaeism, Christianity, and Islam. In the conditions of nomadic and semi-nomadic life, and sometimes while transitioning to settled and urban life (*for example, in the Zhetysu region*), an original Turkic culture was created [28, p. 75]. Researchers emphasize the following: 'the Turkic-speaking nations of Eurasia, as well as their predecessors, for many centuries had a common history and a common culture, which became their common heritage. The change in the historical arena of some tribal associations by others did not mean their complete disappearance. Ancient tribes persisted in newly emerged ethnic and political structures, often under different names, and formed new peoples that underwent their own deformations. The fate of each of them is inseparable from the fate of their neighbors and kindred' [28, p. 75].

At the end of the era of the Turkic empires, the Kipchaks created The Kipchak khanate, and the Karluks founded the Kara-Khanid khanate, which included the territories of Southern and South-Eastern Kazakhstan. In the early XII century the territory of Zhetysu (*Semirechye*) was part of the Qara Khitai. Kara-khanids were replaced by new Turkic dynasty of Khwarazmian dynasty founded by commander Anush Tigin Gharchai. It was this dynasty and the Kipchaks who took the brunt of the Mongol cavalry.

It is important to note that these states were inhabited by both nomads and settled farmers. On the territory of Central Eurasia and Kazakhstan, urban culture was successfully developed, which was actively studied by prominent Kazakh historians and archaeologists such as A.H.Margulan, K.A.Akisev, K.M.Baypakov, E.A.Smagulov, and others.

Back in 1950, A.H.Margulan published a monograph "From the history of cities and construction art of ancient Kazakhstan" [40]. In 1966, K.M.Baypakov received his PhD with his thesis being on "Medieval cities and settlements of the Semirechye (*VII-XII centuries*)", and in 1986 completed his doctoral thesis on "Medieval urban culture of southern Kazakhstan and the Semirechye of the VI – beginning of the XII century (*dynamics and main stages of development*)". In 1998, he published the work "Medieval cities of Kazakhstan on the Great Silk road" [12], and in 2012-2016 – the monograph "Ancient and medieval urbanization of



Kazakhstan", which covers the urbanization of Kazakhstan in the Bronze Age and early Middle Ages [8], in the IX – early XIII century [9], in the XIII – early XV century [10] and in the second half of the XV – XVIII centuries [11].

At present D.Talapov, A.M.Sadykova, G.M.Utkelbaeva and O.E.Bekbayev scrutinize the problem of localization of medieval towns of Southern Kazakhstan [50], A.A.Nurzhanov and A.Aitbayeva study the results of excavations by A.N.Bernshtam, in the South of Kazakhstan and Zhetysay in the 1940s [42], U.A.Ergaliyev explores the archaeological science of Kazakhstan in the post-Soviet time, with special attention to the Middle Ages. He notes that in recent years have been developed typologies of ancient cities and settlements of the Talas valley and the interfluvium of the river Chu and Talas of the VI-XIII centuries, Central Kazakhstan of the VIII-XVII centuries, the Aral sea region of the XII-XVIII centuries, the North-Eastern Semirechye and the Keles steppe. The architecture of medieval cities of southern Kazakhstan and Semirechye of the VII-VIII centuries is explored. [24] There are also works devoted to the historiography of urbanism in Kazakhstan [5].

Currently, a new generation of Kazakh scientists is gradually being formed, who are engaged in the study of the era of the Turkic empires. For example, N.H.Utibayev traces the evolution of medieval state formations on the territory of Western Kazakhstan [59]. The focus of attention of A.N.Dogalov, D.A.Seitkhodzina and A.R.Bizhanov is on the issues of interregional cooperation in medieval state entities on the territory of Kazakhstan [22]. A.E.Rogozhinsky studies property and power signs of ancient and medieval inhabitants of the Kazakh steppe, including signs of the ancient Turkic period (*late VI-VII centuries*), the Turgesh period (*first half of the VIII century*), the Karluk and early Kara-Khanid periods (*second half of the VIII – early XI century*), etc. [45] This work is consistent with the trends of modern world medieval studies, which attach great importance to symbols of power, political rituals, etc. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that Kazakhstan's historical science has made only the first steps towards studying proto-Kazakh medieval state formations. Further progress on this path requires new scientific approaches, in-depth study of historical sources and foreign historiography.

An important milestone in the history of Kazakhstan is the *era of the Mongol Empire and the Ulus of Jochi (the Golden Horde)*. According to historians, the statehood of Ulus of Jochi originated mainly within the territory of modern Kazakhstan. In 1269, the Talas Kurultai de facto recognized the political independence of the Ulus of Jochi and confirmed the will of the nomads of the Great Steppe to freedom and independence. The rule of the Jochi dynasty lasted until the middle of the XIX century, and the longest it preserved on the territory of Kazakhstan (*Zhangir Khan ruled the Bukey Horde until 1845, and Kenesary Khan until 1847*). By the XIV century, the ethnogenesis of nomadic peoples, including the Kazakh nation, had mostly forged. During this period, the Kazakh identity is formed and the basis of the Kazakh statehood is created, which is being successor of both the Ulus of Jochi and the former Turkic empires.

It should be noted that the history of Ulus of Jochi has long been the subject of political speculation and pseudo-scientific research. In Soviet times, the study of the Golden Horde was actually prohibited by a special resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) in 1944, in which the Golden Horde was described as a "parasitic" military and political entity that oppressed the Russian and other peoples of Eurasia, with the collapse of which arose the Moscow Principality and post-Golden Horde khanates – Kazakh, Kazan, Crimean, Qasim, Astrakhan, Siberia, Bukhara, Khiva, etc.

Over the years since Independence, the study of Ulus of Jochi in Kazakhstan was conducted unevenly, fragmentally, sometimes tendentiously, while many studies included only small historiographical reviews. Nevertheless, there is already a certain framework for a serious study of Ulus of Jochi in the coming years.

In particular, Kazakh researchers A.K.Kushkumbayev and Zh.M.Sabitov criticized the traditional thesis that the White Horde (*Ulus of Orda Ichen*) is the 'prototype of the Kazakh khanate' and re-substantiated V.P.Yudin's thesis about the succession of the Kazakh khanate from the Golden Horde, which, in their opinion, is proven:

- *geographically*: more than 40% of the territories of the Golden Horde (*Ulus of Jochi*) currently belong to the territory of modern Kazakhstan. Blue Horde and half of White Horde are included in the territory of modern Kazakhstan;

- *ethnically*: of the 92 tribes that were part of the Golden Horde and mentioned in a number of sources (*list of ilatiya tribes*), more than 20 are present in the Kazakhs, the rest are present in other Turkic peoples of the former Dasht-i Kipchak;

- *dynastically*: the Kazakh Genghisid dynasty was descended from the Tuqa-Timur (*a branch of the Jochi descendents*), who ruled in different parts of the Golden Horde (*Mangyshlak, Crimea, Kazan, Astrakhan, etc.*), and not from the Orda Ichen, the elder brother of Batu, who ruled only on the Irtysh (*East Kazakhstan*);

- *anthropologically*: modern Kazakhs are anthropologically no different from the nomadic population of the Golden Horde of the XIII century;

- *genetically*: the genetic homogeneity of Kazakh tribes is 70-90%, and the confidence level of Shezhire (*direct blood ancestors*) exceeds 90% (*Shezhire data are mostly confirmed by population genetics data and TMRCA calculations*);

- *chronologically*: the formation and wide spread of Kazakh tribes date back to the times of the Golden Horde, and the founders of the Kazakh tribes were emirs and Karachi-beks of the Golden Horde khans;

- *folklore-based*: almost all ethos and folklore of the Kazakhs date back to the times of the Golden Horde, or to the times of the post-Golden Horde khanates that arose later [46, p. 846-847]. At the same time, Kazakh scientists do not claim that the Kazakhs are the 'one and only' heirs of the Golden Horde and emphasize that: 'Ulus of Jochi, in a broad historical perspective, was a common "ancestor" for both the Kazakhs, and equally for the Crimean, Polish-Lithuanian, Astrakhan, Siberian, Kazan Tatars, Bashkirs, Nogais, Karakalpaks, part of the Uzbeks, etc., the same as Kievan Rus for such peoples as Ukrainians, Belarusians, Russians and Rusyns' [46, p. 848].

Currently, Zh.M.Sabitov Zh. M. explores the political history of the Ulus of Jochi [47]. A.K.Kushkumbaev and Zh.M.Sabitov examine ulus system of the the Golden Horde [49]. A.K.Kushkumbayev and A.Sh.Nurmanova analyze Kazakh epigraphic monuments on the genealogy of the Ulus of Jochi elite [34]. However, to a large extent A.K.Kushkumbayev is focused on the issues of military history [16] military tactics of the Turkic-Mongol armies of the XIII-XV centuries [33] and historiography of military affairs of the nomads of Ulus of Jochi [32].

A significant contribution to the study of Ulus of Jochi was made by K.Z.Uskenbai, who published the work "Eastern Dasht-i Kipchak in the XIII-early XV century. Problems of ethnopolitical history of Ulus of Jochi" [57]. On the other hand, in 2014, Z.Kinayatuly drafted a monograph "Qazaq memleketi zhane Zhoshy Khan" ("the Kazakh state and Jochi Khan") [35], which received some criticism from national historians [48, p. 213].

According to A.E.Daniyarova, the combination of historical, archaeological, ethnographic, anthropological, linguistic sources allows us to assert that the process of formation of the Kazakh nation was mostly completed at the turn of the XIV-XV centuries [20, p. 64]. According to the researcher, during the process of the Kazakh nation's evolvement its ethnic territory has been formed, which occupies the arid zone of steppes, semi-deserts, deserts of the temperate belt of Eurasia, with distinct natural borders: 'By the mountain chains of the Altai, Tarbagatai, Tien Shan in the East, the Caspian and Aral seas in the West and South-West of the

Syr Darya, the Western spurs of the Tien Shan and the Karatau ridge in the South, the rivers of Ural, Tobol, Ishim and Irtysh in the North' [20, c. 64].

As argued by this short review, the period of Ulus of Jochi occupies an important place in modern Kazakh historiography, but the national historical science still faces many unexplored areas and unsolved tasks.

*Firstly*, the paradigm of succession of the Kazakh khanate from the Golden Horde proposed by a new generation of historians needs more fundamental elaboration. It is necessary to follow strictly scientific (*and not journalistic style*) justification of ethno-cultural, trade-economic, political-legal continuity and interrelation of Ulus of Jochi and the Kazakh khanate. In this context, the Golden Horde epoch is of particular value not only as a basic element of the formation of the Kazakh khanate, but also as an important legacy for subsequent periods of Kazakh history and modern Kazakhstan.

*Secondly*, unlike Western and Russian medieval studies, which have already "fed up" with the problems of the political history of the Middle Ages and began to focus on the history of political symbols, political rituals, the history of everyday life, gender history, the emerging Kazakh medieval studies can not neglect political, military, ethnopolitical and religious issues. In particular, the following issues of the Ulus of Jochi are of exceptional interest:

- trade and economic relations;
- tax, customs services and money circulation;
- the ethno-political history and the tribal composition;
- political institutions and state structure;
- issues of foreign policy and diplomacy;
- study of the military history and military organization;
- state law and legislation;
- material and spiritual culture;
- the role of the religious factor, etc.

*Third*, Kazakhstan medieval studies needs a fresh look at historical sources. We need professional translation and new scientific interpretation of Turkic, Arabic, Russian, Chinese and European sources. In particular, this refers to such valuable sources as "Jami' al-tawarikh", "Majmu al-tawarikh" and many other medieval chronicles and historical works.

The final phase of the Kazakh Middle Ages is the ***era of the unified Kazakh khanate***. In chronological terms, this important period of history (XVI – *early XVIII centuries*) corresponds to the early Western European Modern time (*if one follows the periodization of the modern British historian Helmut Koenigsberger*) [30]. For this period of Kazakhstan's history, there is a fairly wide range of written historical sources, many of which are stored in foreign countries. Russia possesses Russian-language (*handwritten and printed*) sources compiled by native Russian speakers themselves, as well as numerous Russian translations of various Oriental materials, along with their originals written in Chagatai, Persian, and Mongolian. These include official addresses of the rulers of the Kazakh, Dzungarian, Kalmyk and Central Asian khanates to the tsarist government, lineage lists and graphic schemes of the genealogy of the ruling elite of these states, individual geographical maps, official reports and travel diaries of Russian Muslim officials, bilingual records of Kazakh folk traditions and other materials [41, p. 275-276].

To date, there are a number of works on the history of the Kazakh khanate, but many problems have not yet been solved. In particular, as follows from the previous narrative, the question of the origin of the Kazakh khanate is still relevant. One part of Russian historians believes that the prototype of the Kazakh khanate was the White Horde, the other part defends the thesis of the continuity of the Kazakh khanate from the Golden Horde. Every year the scales are gradually tipped in favor of the second version, but, in our opinion, Kazakhstan and foreign

scholars still have to do painstaking research and sharp discussions on this fundamentally important historical problem.

In recent years, a number of interesting works have been published – for example, a collection of articles by K.A.Pishchulina "Essays on the history of the Kazakh khanate" [44], a book by R.D.Temirgaliyev "History of the Kazakh khanate" [51], etc.

A number of works of national historians are devoted to the political history of the Kazakh khanate, including a significant part of the third section of the collective work "History of Kazakhstan and Central Asia" [28, p. 276-353]. In particular, M.Kh.Abuseitova et al recognize that the Kazakh khanate was founded by sultans Kerei and Janibek, who fled the Uzbek khanate, but note that the question of the date of formation of the Kazakh khanate is still controversial [28, p. 279]. Historians state: 'from 1470-1471 until the liquidation of the Khan's power in the XIX century in the expanses of the Kazakh steppes, some descendants of Jochi's Urus Khan succeeded others, but political domination no longer passed to representatives of another branch of the Genghisids. Individual members of the dynasty of Kazakh sultans also ruled in Khiva as substitute khans for almost the entire XVIII century' [28, p. 280]. Researchers emphasize: 'the Reigning ruler of the Kazakhs had the monarchical title of Khan, and their country was called Kazakstan. The Kazakh state, like all nomad States, was considered the property of the entire reigning family (*sultans*) and was divided into a number of large and small uluses-posessions. In the XVI century. the Kazakh khanate comprised about twenty ordinary, or three fortified, ulus" [28, p. 280]. Already in the early seventeenth century, the Kazakh nation was consisted of three zhuzes, which got its name not by the number of the nomads belonged to them, but by the seniority of tribes constituting them. The Elder Zhuz occupied the easternmost part of the Kazakh khanate, the Younger Zhuz – the westernmost, and the Central Zhuz – the middle territory. The origin of the zhuzes is considered by the authors of "History of Kazakhstan and Central Asia" to be 'one of the main mysteries of Kazakh history' [28, p. 281].

Zh.Artykbayev and S.Razdykov believe that the rapid change of the military power of the khanate, the collapse of the military-political union at the very beginning of the birth of the Kazakh khanate predetermined its division into separate administrative parts – zhuzes, which gradually turned into relatively autonomous regions as economic, cultural and territorial associations [7, p. 126]. According to scholars, the formation of zhuzes coincided with the formation of the Kazakh ethnic group and was not a one-time act: 'the basis of the unification of these tribes, close in traditions, culture, life, language and type of economic activity, are complex social, geographical and political reasons. But it is this common origin that has been a factor in the consolidation of tribes into a single ethnic group. For the Kazakh ethnic group, "zhuzes" were territorial and administrative associations of tribes that considered themselves representatives of a single ethnic group' [7, p. 126].

The foreign policy of the Kazakh khanate is also in the spotlight for national historians. Special attention deserves the works by K.Sh.Hafizova such as "The Qing Empire and the Kazakh khanates" [66], "Chinese diplomacy in Central Asia. XIV-XIX centuries" [62], "Kazakh strategy of the Qing Empire" [61], "Dialogue of civilizations on the Silk road (*historical stories*)" [60] and "Steppe rulers and their diplomacy in the XVIII-XIX centuries " [63]. It is also important to mention the work of Zh.M.Tulibayeva "Kazakhstan and Bukhara khanate in the XVIII – first half XIX centuries" [29].

Thus, the issues of ethnopolitical history of Kazakhstan are at the core of modern national historiography. For instance, one of the leading research centers in Kazakhstan the Institute of history and ethnology named after Ch.Ch.Valikhanov is currently developing a promising research topic "History of the ethnopolitical community of Kazakhs in the XIII-XVIII centuries".

In sum, it can be argued that the following issues of fundamental importance come to the fore in the study of the history of the final period of the Kazakh Middle Ages – the era of the unified Kazakh khanate:

- development of a holistic concept of the history of the Kazakh khanate in the pre-Imperial period;
- further expansion of the source base, as well as a new interpretation of sources on the history of the unified Kazakh khanate
- issues of historical succession and continuity of the Kazakh khanate with the state entities of the Mongol era (*the Golden Horde, etc.*);
- the problem of concrete date of the origin of the Kazakh khanate;
- issues of ethnogenesis of Kazakhs and ethno-political history of the Kazakh khanate;
- the problem of the origin of the Kazakh zhuzes and their role in the Kazakh history;
- in-depth study of the socio-economic, political, military and cultural history of the Kazakh khanate;
- research of foreign policy and diplomacy of the Kazakh khanate, etc.

**Conclusion.** Further progress of Kazakhstan's medieval studies requires close interaction of various national research centers, including the Institute of history and ethnology named after Ch.Ch.Valikhanov, the Institute of Oriental studies named after R.B. Suleimenov, scientific-research center "Uly Dala" of Astana International University, historical faculties of the al-Farabi Kazakh National University and Eurasian National University named after L.N.Gumilyov, etc.

National medievalists should also not be limited to studying only the Kazakh Middle Ages. It is necessary to thoroughly study the Western and Eastern Middle Ages, that will allow to conduct comparative historical research, identify common and specific features of the Middle Ages in various regions of the world. The government is taking measures to train a new generation of Kazakh medievalists.

In this context, it is important to establish a close dialogue with leading foreign scientific centers, including the Institute of Oriental studies and the Institute of Oriental manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Institute of history named after Sh.Mardzhani, the Institute of nomadic civilization and the Institute of history of Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental studies named after Abu Rayhan al-Beruni, the Institute of history of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, Institute of history, archaeology and ethnology named after B.Jamgyrchiev of the National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic etc.

Filling in the gaps in the traditional perspectives of the Kazakh Middle Ages (*issues of ethnogenesis and ethno-politics; political and economic history; cultural history; foreign policy and military history, etc.*), Kazakhstan's medieval studies will step by step expand the source base, develop auxiliary historical disciplines, master modern theoretical and methodological approaches and new research spaces (*"the history of everyday life", historical urbanism, political symbols, "the history of mentalities", rituals and ceremonies, "the history of memory", etc.*).

## **ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ КАЗАХСТАНСКОЙ МЕДИЕВИСТИКИ: К ПОСТАНОВКЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ**

**М.Е.Шайхутдинов**

доктор исторических наук, профессор, Научный руководитель  
Международного научного комплекса Астана, г.Нур-Султан, Казахстан

В статье рассматриваются актуальные вопросы становления казахстанской медиевистики в контексте развития мировой исторической науки. Автор отмечает, что зарубежная медиевистика прошла ряд этапов в своём развитии, постепенно переходя от вопросов политической и военной истории к истории экономики, «новой социальной истории», истории культуры, исторической демографии и т.д. Изданы обширные собрания



исторических источников, сложились национальные школы медиевистики. Приведена авторская позиция по основным вопросам изучения казахского и тюркского Средневековья, в том числе по хронологии и периодизации, состоянию источниковой базы, степени изученности различных проблем национальной истории. Отмечено, что историю казахстанского Средневековья можно разделить на три основных периода: 1) эпоха тюркских империй (VI-XII вв.), 2) эпоха монгольских завоеваний и Улуса Джучи (XIII-XV вв.) и 3) эпоха единого Казахского ханства (XVI – начало XVIII вв.). Современная казахстанская государственность является преемницей всех вышеназванных исторических эпох. Отечественная медиевистика находится в стадии становления, поэтому ей необходимо параллельно развивать и традиционную, и современную проблематику, расширять источниковедческую базу по истории казахстанского Средневековья, осваивать новейшие теоретико-методологические подходы, формировать оригинальную национальную школу медиевистики. При этом важно развивать диалог с зарубежными профильными научно-исследовательскими центрами и университетами, с ведущими мировыми медиевистами.

**Ключевые слова:** медиевистика, источниковедение, историография, история Средних веков, этногенез, тюркские империи, Улус Джучи.

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**Information about the author:**

Marat Y. Shaikhutdinov, Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor, Scientific supervisor of the International Science complex Astana, Nur-Sultan, Kazakhstan