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KAZAKH SOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KAZAKHS AND THE CENTRAL ASIAN KHANATES IN THE 18TH –THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURIES

Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of Kazakh sources on the history of relations between the Kazakhs and Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva khanates in the 18th - the first half of the 19th centuries. The source study review includes works of Kazakh poetic folklore containing original material on the studied problem. The authors pay special attention to the study of literary works *Zar Zaman*, which have survived to this day in written and oral form. The article made an attempt to objectively assess the information about the works of Kazakh akyns and zhyrau on the history of Kazakhs of the 18th - the first half of the 19th centuries, based on a historical analysis of the material identified. The authors concluded that the works of akyns and zhyrau are valuable and reliable sources for studying the history of relations between the Kazakhs and the Central Asian khanates and reflect the attitude of ordinary people to the events taking place in the Kazakh steppe. This article was prepared within the framework of a grant of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan aimed at funding basic and applied scientific research.

Key words: Kazakh sources, zhyrau, akyns, relationships, Kazakh steppe, Khiva, Bukhara, Kokand.

Introduction. The relations of the Kazakhs with the Central Asian khanates (Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva) in the 18th - the first half of the 19th century were mainly studied on the basis of Russian sources: diary records, reports of leaders and participants of various expeditions sent by the tsarist administration to study the Kazakh Steppe [1-4]. In recent years, works have appeared on this topic involving Central Asian sources [5-7]. However, there are numerous sources in the Kazakh language, which are still little studied. The relations of the Kazakhs with the neighbouring nations were reflected in the works of poets (akyns) and narrators (zhyrau) of that time, but little attention was paid to this in historical studies.

The traditions of creating works by akyns and zhyrau were formed during the formation and development of the Kazakh Khanate and became the basis of Kazakh literature. Features of zhyrau's creativity were studied by researchers of Kazakh literature. Zhyrau were not just singers-narrators, but as noted by the eminent Kazakh writer and scientist, Mukhtar Auezov, "they are critics of their era, they create works only for topical problems of their time, they can analyze events of a given era and give a forecast for the future" [8, 201].

Zhyrau singers created poetic works on acute socio-political and military topics. They often used such types of genre as Tolgau, Arnau and Zhoktau. Akyns and zhyrau were the spokesmen of their people, speaking for views and sufferings of, played the role of protector and intermediary between a ruler and people. Traditionally they were advisers at the court of the rulers of the Kazakh Khanate, participated in military campaigns, in negotiations with neighbouring states, carried out special assignments of the khans.

In the poetic works of akyns and zhyrau, events and phenomena that were characteristic of the historical periods in which they lived are described. Akyns and zhyrau not only created poetic works, they passed on the historical and literary heritage of the Kazakh people from century to century, from generation to generation. They can be called as chroniclers of their people, so their literary works are

important for studying some lacunae of the history of Kazakhstan. One of such questions in the history of Kazakhstan is the relationship of the Kazakhs with the Central Asian khanates in the 18th century - in the first half of the 19th century.

The works of akyns and zhyrau are the main group of oral literary works. Due to the fact that the Kazakhs' tradition of bequeathing the historical heritage in oral form has been preserved until the 19th century, they can be considered as historical sources. The works of akyns and zhyrau contain factual information about the diverse relations of the Kazakhs with neighbouring nations and states.

The study of the history of relations between the Kazakhs and the Central Asian khanates in the period of the 18th - the first half of the 19th century based on the study of works of akyns and zhyrau has not yet been conducted. In the history of Kazakhstan, this issue has been studied on the basis of Russian sources, the historical value of which is indisputable, but the parallel use of Kazakh sources in the form of works of akyns and zhyrau, allows for a more versatile and comprehensive study. The materials of the Kazakh sources clearly reflected the popular perception of the ongoing historical events. For example, we have the opportunity to learn about the relations of the Kazakhs with Khiva, Kokand and Bukhara during the Dzungarian invasion from the poem by Qozhabergen zhyrau and from the works of akyns and zhyrau of the literary movement *Zar Zaman* (*Epoch of Sorrow*), about the domination of the Kokand rulers from the poems Zhankisy zhyrau.

Materials and methods. Sources for this study are the poetic works of Kazakh akyns and zhyrau 18th–19th centuries. As noted by Kazakh literary critics, akyns and zhyrau were spokesmen of their era and created works based on real events. Akyns and zhyrau were not only witnesses of historical events that took place in those times, but also were often their participants, spokesmen expressing social thoughts and chroniclers. They composed their works orally, had improvisational abilities and their creations were distributed among the people and passed down from generation to generation until the beginning of the 20th century.

Works of akyns and zhyrau began to be collected and studied at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1940, an anthology of Kazakh poetry *Songs of the Steppes* was published in Moscow, compiled by L. Sobolev. It included the number of poetry samples *Zar Zaman* [9]. In 1978, in Leningrad, a collection of works *Zar Zaman*, which was made by representatives of poetry Dulat, Shortanbay, Murat, was published in Russian under the title *Poets of Kazakhstan*. The compiler of the book was M. Magauin [10]. After the publication in 1984 of an anthology of Kazakh literature in three volumes entitled *Poets of Five Centuries*, composed by Kazakh writers M. Magauin and M. Baidildayev, the works of akyns and zhyrau became available to a wide circle of readers [11]. The book was a great success and was republished in 1989 in two volumes [12]. In 2004, the two-volume book *The Poets of the Seven Ages* was published, compiled by E. Duissenbayuly [13]. We have began to collect, research and publish the works of akyns and zhyrau separately [14-16].

The main sources for writing the article were the works of Qozhabergen zhyrau *Aktaban Shubyryndy, Alkakol Sulama* [17], the historical dastan *Zhanqozha Batyr* [18], zhyr of Zhankis zhyrau *Qoqan Khanyna Aitkany* [13], and the works of akyns and zhyrau of the *Zar Zaman* era Murat Monkeuly [16], Dulat Babatayuly [14], Shortanbai Kanayuly [14], Kerdery Aubakir [15].

In the process of research, the authors of the article used the methods of critical selection, source analysis and source synthesis. The use of source study methods made it possible to objectively reflect the diverse relations of the Kazakhs with the neighbouring peoples.

Literature review. The first scientific studies on the history of relations between the Kazakhs and neighbouring nations appeared in the 19th century. Materials of the Kazakh folklore heritage were mentioned in 1838 by A.I. Levshin in his work [19, 136-137]. Among the Russian orientalists, V.V. Radlov made a significant contribution to the study of Kazakh folklore. In his writings, he wrote about the Kazakh zhyrau and defined it as "akyn-songwriter, olden times singer" [20]. In 1893, the Russian scientist N.I. Veselovsky wrote down *Zhanqozha Batyrdyn Tolgauy* (*Reflections of Zhanqozha Batyr*) and the following year, his work *The Kirghiz Story About the Russian Conquests in the Turkestan Region* was published in Petersburg [21]. In the same year, I.V. Anichkov recorded the same zhyr from Musabay zhyrau and in 1895 published a book in St. Petersburg entitled *Song About the Kyrgyz Batyr Zhanqodzha Nurmukhamedov* [22].

Chokan Valikhanov wrote in his work about the Kazakh poetry that by the end of the first half of the 19th century, zhyrau were replaced with akyns. He pointed out the varieties of poetic works of Kazakh zhyrau: epics, odes, and memorial verses. The researcher compared the Kazakh zhyr with ancient Greek rhapsodies, praised the improvisational art of the Kazakhs and noted the work of some zhyrau [23, 336-342].

In the first half of the 20th century, the work of akyns and zhyrau was studied by Kazakh researchers, such as M. Auezov, H. Dosmukhamedov, S. Mukanov. In 1927, the Kazakh writer M. Auezov wrote the famous work in the history of Kazakh literary criticism *Adebiet Tarikhy*. In this book, he gave a full description of the folk literature of the Kazakhs and the name *Zar Zaman* was first used as a literary term. The writer in his work devoted a special chapter to the akyn of the literary movement *Zar Zaman*, analyzed their works, named the names of the akyns of this literary direction, determined the period of existence of the direction [8, 192-222].

The very next year after the publication of the book by M. Auezov, a public figure and scholar H. Dosmukhameduly in his work on Kazakh folk literature gave a classification to the works of Kazakh folklore. He attributed the literary movement *Zar Zaman* to Kazakh folk poetry and for the first time collected and published works of, the representative of this trend, Murat Monkeuly [24].

The Kazakh poet and literary critic Saken Seifullin in 1932 published his study, where the history of Kazakh literature was divided into two periods: 1) the period of the biys; 2) the period of the tsarist government. He systematized the Kazakh literary heritage for the first time in chronology and distributed works by types and genres. Saken Seifullin included works of Kazakh zhyrau in his book, such as Bukhar, Balky Bazar, Shortanbay and others. Seifullin's work was reissued in 2014 within the framework of the *Gylymi Qazyna* project [25, 17-59].

In 1942 the work of writer and researcher Sabit Mukanov on the history of Kazakh literature was published. He devoted the second chapter of his book to the literary movement *Zar Zaman* and considered Kazakh akyn Shortanbay as its founder. In his work, Sabit Mukanov expounded his thoughts about Musabai's zhyr about Zhanqozha Batyr and considered Anichkov's version incomplete [26, 122].

Exploring the work of zhyrau, it is impossible not to note the significant contribution of the Kazakh literary critic M. Magauin. First, he collected works of akyns and zhyrau, was the main compiler of the anthology of Kazakh literature in the Russian and Kazakh languages. Secondly, in the 60s of the twentieth century, he published several scientific articles on zhyrau and made a significant contribution to the study of the art of akyns and zhyrau in the period of the Kazakh Khanate, published several scientific papers on this topic, including such as *Gasyrlar* [27], *Kobyz Saryny* [28]. In the opening remarks of M. Magauin to the collection *Poets of Kazakhstan* it is said that the poetic works describe phenomena that was distinctive feature of the era in which these akyns lived, about their anxiety over the rapid change of the historical situation, about the idealization of the life of the Kazakh people in past centuries. [10].

Among the general historical works, we note the work of E. Bekmakhanov. He is one of the first Kazakh historians who described zhyrau as historical sources, and noted the importance of Kazakh oral folk literature. According to the scientist, "The folklore, as the most important source in studying the history of Kazakhstan, has exceptionally great value" [29, 42]. Indeed, important historical events in the memory of the Kazakh people were preserved through oral folk art: poems, songs, epics, legends that were preserved and passed down from generation to generation. The folklore materials well reflect the life and customs of the Kazakhs, all the most important events in the history of the Kazakh people. It was the people themselves who authored the works and participated in the described historical events.

Kazakh historian M. Qoygeldiev shows *Zar Zaman* as a socio-political movement and explores the historical and social reasons for the emergence of this trend. The scientist believes that the time of occurrence of the *Zar Zaman* literary movement coincided with a transitional period in the history of Kazakhstan, the first half of the 19th century is a historical epoch for Kazakhstan, when the country finally lost its independence and was in a state of colonization, political dependence. And the core of the creativity of the akyns of the *Zar Zaman* trend was the crisis state of national self-consciousness, which suffered a historic defeat [30].

In modern Kazakhstan science there is a lot of research devoted to the creative heritage of akyns and zhyrau, however, they focus on the linguistic and literary aspects, stylistic features of Kazakh works. The value of the works of akyns and zhyrau in the source study, historiography has not been studied enough.

Results and discussion. The relations of the Kazakhs with Kokand, Khiva and Bukhara in the 18th century were reflected in the poetic works of Qozhabergen zhyrau Tolibayuly (1663-1763). Famous akyn lived during the time of the Dzungarian invasions, was adviser to Khan Tauke, took part in the presentation of the Kazakh law code *Zheti Zhargy*. He survived the years of great disaster that went down in the history of the Kazakhs under the name *Aktaban Shubyryndy, Alkakol Sulama*. Qozhabergen zhyrau composed a poem describing these dramatic events under the same name. His dastans and kissas were devoted to certain historical events and were distributed among the people in handwritten and oral form through narrators and akyn-zhyrau from generation to generation. At the beginning of the poetic work, he speaks a little about himself, and we learn that he received education in Samarkand and Bukhara [17, 50]. In general, the work describes the years of great disasters in the Kazakh steppe during the Dzungarian invasions. Qozhabergen zhyrau wrote quite a few lines about the relations of the Kazakhs with the Bashkirs, the Turkmen, and the Uzbeks. The information presented in *Aktaban Shubyryndy, Alkakol Sulama* is confirmed by data from historical works of Bukhara and Kokand authors [7, 29].

The lines of his poem show that the Kazakhs, Kokands and Khivans maintained the good-neighbourly relations. But when the Kazakhs were in trouble, some rulers of neighbouring countries, taking advantage of the opportunity, tried to subjugate the Kazakhs [17, 52]. The poem notes that before these times there were trade relations between the Kazakhs and the Central Asian states, and they sold weapons to the Kazakhs, and during the great disasters the rulers of Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand did not want to sell those weapons [17, 53].

When the Dzungars began to move deeper into the Kazakh land, the Kazakhs hoped for the support of their neighbours, and sent their envoys with gifts to the Khanate of Khiva and the Bukhara emirate [17, 65]. The following lines say that the Kazakhs of the three zhuzes, taken by surprise, had to leave their homelands, livestock and property, and, retreating, urgently migrated to Bukhara: "The people moved to Bukhara and drove their cattle" [17, 66]. Qozhabergen zhyrau's poetry is priceless, an important source on the history of relations between the Kazakhs and the Central Asian khanates during the Dzungarian invasions.

Zhankisi zhyrau is one of the most prominent representatives of zhyrau of the end of the 18th - beginning of the 19th century. He was born in Saryarka and was a notable biy, but at the beginning of the 19th century he moved to the lands in the middle course of the Syrdarya, which were part of the Kokand Khanate. At the beginning of the 19th century, one of the main directions of foreign policy of the rulers of the Kokand Khanate was the establishment of its rule in the lower reaches of the Syrdarya. In his work *Appeal to the Qoqand Khan*, Zhankisi-zhyrau tries to bring the difficult situation of the Kazakhs to the Kokand Khan, he complains about tax policy and tax collectors. In his address, he calls several types of crop taxes [13, 125]. It follows from the work of Zhankisi zhyrau that some Kazakh tribes and a part of the Kazakh land on which they were engaged in agriculture, came under the rule of the Kokand Khanate. A certain part of the Kazakhs migrated from Saryarka in the hope of receiving support from the Kokands.

Information on the Kazakhs relations with the Khivans can be found in historical dastans about Zhanqozha Batyr Nurmuhammeduly (1774-1860). More than ten poetic works (12,000 lines) dedicated to him were preserved and were widely distributed among the Kazakhs. The one of the best works is the composition of Musabay zhyrau, which describes life of the Kazakhs of the lower reaches of the Syrdarya. The chronology of events covers the years 1840-1862 [18]. There is every reason to believe that zhyr is historical, because all the characters represented in it are real people. Musabay zhyrau especially respected Zhanqozha Batyr and after his death he composed these verses, completing his work with these words: "We lost a bright person untimely, now it will be difficult to find a batyr as Zhanqozha" [18, 16].

The work *Reflections of Zhanqozha Batyr* describes three historical events: 1) the uprising of Syrdarya agriculturists headed by Zhanqozha Batyr against the Khiva rulers; 2) the uprising of the Syrdarya agriculturists against the tsarist power; 3) the death of Zhanqozha Batyr. The story about the struggle of the Kazakhs against the Khivan rulers tells about the Syrdarya fortress of the Khivan rulers and its ruler Babadzhan, who pursued a strict policy towards the nomadic population of the Khanate, including the Kazakhs. Khivans were subject to numerous taxes by the local population. In addition to official taxes, they took fast horses, valuables, beautiful girls - all this caused the anger of the common people, who rebelled against the Khivan rulers, led by Zhanqozha's younger brother Akmyrza Batyr. But the rebels failed [18, 11-16]. In one of the versions of zhyr about Zhanqozha Batyr in the presentation of Luqpan

Kenzheuly, you can find information about the relations of Kokand rulers with Zhanqozha Batyr [18, 22].

The next generation of Kazakh akyns and zhyrau are representatives of the era of *Zar Zaman*. Dulat Babatayuly (1802-1871) was born in Ayaguz district of the East Kazakhstan region. He studied the basics of writing at aul's mullah. While reading his works, one can notice that he was an inquisitive person [13, 388]. In the poems of Dulat, *Auelgi Qazaq Degen Zhurt* (*Previous Generation of Qazaqs*), there is a longing for the past life of the Kazakhs [13, 159]. The author recalls with nostalgia the time after the Dzungarian invasion, when the Kazakhs lived quietly in neighbouring countries.

Information about the biography of akyn Shortanbay Kanayuly (1818-1881) is very scarce, only fragments have come down to us. He lived and became akyn in Central Kazakhstan, in the area of Besata [13, 390]. In the 80s of the 19th century in Kazan, the Collection of Works of Shortanbay was published under the title *Bala Zary* (*Grief of a Child*). In his poem *Mina Zaman qai Zaman* (*What Times Have Come*), Shortanbai akyn, hoping to save his country from colonial politics, sought support from neighbouring Central Asian countries [14, 111].

Another akyn, Murat Monkeuly (1843-1906) created historical dastans, where he described the social status of his people. In Murat's work *Ush Qiyan* (*Three Epochs*), there is a noticeable longing for past times, including longing for friendly, trade relations with Bukhara and Urgench [16, 139]. And in the 24th line of this work it is said that the Kazakhs with nostalgia remembered freedom, wandering, looking for a peaceful refuge in neighboring states [16, 146].

Kerdery Aubakir Shokanuly (1861-1905) is one of the later representatives of the literary movement *Zar Zaman*. Aubakir studied in the madrasa of Orenburg and Troitsk. He worked as a mullah and taught children in Uralsk, Orenburg, Orsk, Aktobe. His poems entitled *Adebiet of the Qazaqs* were twice published in Kazan. He was widely known not only in the Kazakh steppe, but also among the Kyrgyz, Karakalpaks, Turkmen, Uzbeks, Uigurs, Tatars and Bashkirs [15, 15]. Kerderi Aubakir also grieves about past times and in his poem *Otken Imanshylyq Zamandi Zhoqtap Aytkany* (*About Past Good Times*) recalls Khorezm and Urgench with anguish about those times [15, 46-47]. In the poem *Qazagym* he told about calm times, friendly, trade relations of the Kazakhs with the Central Asian khanates in the past [15, 71]. This work also says that for the Kazakhs, Urgench and Bukhara were the centres of trade, but with the advent of the tsarist power, trade fortresses appeared on Kazakh Steppe [15, 75].

Conclusion. Literary works of Kazakh akyns and zhyrau, describing historical events, play an important role in the study of the historical consciousness of the Kazakh people. The peculiarity of akyns and zhyrau is that the authors were representatives of ordinary people, and spoke on their behalf. Akyns and zhyrau were eyewitnesses and participants in all historical events of the period described, their works were carefully preserved in handwritten and oral form, passed down from generation to generation.

The works of akyns and zhyrau contain interesting information on the history of relations between the Kazakhs and the Central Asian states in the 18th -the first half of the 19th century. First of all, the description of the trade relations of the Qazaqs with the Central Asian khanates should be noted.

The poems set out in detail the historical events that made the Qazaqs migrate to the territory of the Central Asian khanates. In these poems, the point of view of ordinary people is displayed on the events taking place, often contradicting the opinion of the ruling their elite. The literary works of akyns and zhyrau can be used as original sources in historical research, as they are objective and the events described in them are confirmed by information that can be obtained from Russian and Central Asian sources.

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ҚАЗАҚТАРДЫҢ ОРТАЗИЯЛЫҚ ХАНДЫҚТАРМЕН XVIII Ғ. – XIX Ғ. БІРІНШІ ЖАРТЫСЫНДАҒЫ ҚАРЫМ-ҚАТЫНАСТАРЫНЫҢ ТАРИХЫ БОЙЫНША ҚАЗАҚ ДЕРЕКТЕРІ

Аннотация. Мақала қазақтардың Бұхара, Қоқан, Хиуа хандықтармен XVIII ғ. – XIX ғ. бірінші жартысындағы қарым-қатынастарының тарихы бойынша қазақ деректерін зерттеуге арналған. Дерекнамалық шолуға зерттеліп отырған тақырып бойынша ерекше материалдардан тұратын қазақ поэзиялық фолькло-

рының туындылары алынған. Авторлар тарапынан қазіргі уақытқа дейін жазбаша және ауызша түрде сақталған «Зар-заман» ағымына жататын шығармаларға ерекше көңіл бөлінген. Мақалада он сегізінші-он тоғызыншы ғасырдың бірінші жартысындағы қазақ тарихы бойынша қазақ ақын-жырауларының шығармаларындағы мәліметтерді тарихи талдау негізінде объективті баға беруге қадам жасалды. Авторлар тарапынан ақындар мен жыраулардың шығармалары қазақтардың ортазиялық хандықтармен қарым-қатынастарының тарихын зерттеуде құнды және расталған деректер болып табылады және қарапайым халықтың Қазақ даласында орын алған оқиғаларға көзқарастарын білдіреді деген қорытынды жасалды. Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Білім және ғылым министрлігінің іргелі және қолданбалы ғылыми зерттеулерді қаржыландыру гранты аясында дайындалды.

Түйін сөздер: қазақ деректері, жырау, ақын, қарым-қатынас, Қазақ даласы, Хиуа, Бұхара, Қоқан.

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КАЗАХСКИЕ ИСТОЧНИКИ ПО ИСТОРИИ ВЗАИМООТНОШЕНИЙ КАЗАХОВ СО СРЕДНЕАЗАИТСКИМИ ХАНСТВАМИ В XVIII – ПЕРВОЙ ПОЛОВИНЕ XIX ВВ.

Аннотация. Статья посвящена изучению казахских источников по истории взаимоотношений казахов с Бухарским, Кокандским и Хивинским ханствами в XVIII – первой половине XIX века. В источниковедческий обзор включены сочинения казахского поэтического фольклора, содержащие оригинальный материал по исследуемой проблеме. Авторами уделяется особое внимание изучению произведений литературного течения «Зар заман», сохранившихся до наших дней в письменной и устной форме. В статье была предпринята попытка объективно оценить сведения произведений казахских акынов и жырау по истории казахов XVIII – первой половины XIX вв., на основе исторического анализа выявленного материала. Авторами сделан вывод о том, что произведения акынов и жырау являются ценными и достоверными источниками для изучения истории взаимоотношений казахов со среднеазиатскими ханствами и отражают отношение простого народа к происходившим событиям в Казахской степи. Статья подготовлена в рамках гранта Министерства образования и науки Республики Казахстан по финансированию фундаментальных и прикладных научных исследований.

Ключевые слова: казахские источники, жырау, акыны, взаимоотношения, Казахская степь, Хива, Бухара, Коканд.

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