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PROBLEMS OF KAZAKH KHANATE FORMATION

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The formation of the Kazakh Khanate was a natural result of centuries-long process of public, cultural and ethnic development occurred on the territory of Kazakhstan, as well as political development after the collapse of the Golden Horde. Researchers pay special attention to ethnic processes in the formation of the Kazakh Khanate.

Therefore, we will also focus on the ethnic processes of the Khanateformation.

Formation of the Kazakh ethnos was happening at the end of XIV - the middle of the XV century. A natural result of the Mongol dominance in the ethnic development was the completion of *kipchakization* (becoming "kipchaks") of Mongolian ethnic elements eventually forming new ethnic communities. Sources show that these ethnic communities got their name from ethnonym "Uzbek". On the territory of the Desht-i-Kipchak in the XIV-XV centuries, ethnic development has led to the formation of an Uzbek ethnic community under ethnonym of "nomadic Uzbeks" and then in the middle of the XV century it led to the separation of different ethnos - Kazakh ethnos.

Ethnogenesis of Kazakh peoplehood was associated with the final stage of ethnic processes in the territory of Ak Orda. Ak Orda was formed on the lands possessed by Orda Edzhen, which was part of the Golden Horde, and occupied the territory of East Desht-i-Kipshak. Until the middle of the XIV century "Kipchak" was the name for residents of the Golden Horde and White Horde. The name used afterwards - Uzbek (өзбек) - also referred to the residents of this wing (of the Horde).

After formation of Dzhuchi Ulus (Khanate) and until the XV century political stability in the territory of East Desht-i-Kipchak was maintained for relatively long period, the process of kipchakization was on its last stage, traditional economy prevailed, locals embraced Islam, - all of these contributed to the consolidation and development of a single political, religious, ethnic and emerging economic space in the region. And this, in turn, had a positive effect on the ethnic processes, their mutual convergence, consolidation, and that led to formation of common national consciousness. It is evidenced by the fact that the Ak Orda territory was named Uzbekistan and its inhabitants were given a common name - Uzbek.

Name Uzbek in terms of the period under review is used as a collective one; therefore it is particularly important to determine the parts of the tribes composing it.

In the end of XVI century, Fazlallah ibn Isfakhani Ruzbikhani defines as the union of "nomadic Uzbeks" almost all people living in the territory of East Desht-i-Kipchak: "Uzbeks referred to three

tribes, all of them were considered to be the strongest under Genghis Khan's rule. At present [them] they - shaybanids, after several of their fathers are headed by His Excellency Khan (Khanate of Mohammed Shaybani – B.K.). The second tribe - the Kazakhs, who became known worldwide for their strength and courage, the third tribe - Mangyts who gave origin to Astrakhan khans" [16, p.62].

Now we are going to enlarge upon the second tribal ethnic community. The name "Kazak" were given to these tribes after the formation of the Kazakh Khanate, ie after the 60-ies of the XV century. The ethnonym "Kazak" without ethnic meaning was assigned to the tribes known as the "nomadic Uzbeks".

By the end of the formation of the Kazakh peoplehood the ethnic community of "nomadic Uzbeks" disintegrated, releasing the tribes of Orda-Edzhen, and thus the ethnic term "Kazak" became the basis for an independent political structure.

Ethnic community "Uzbek" was directly linked to the political history of the Abulkhayr's Khanate. Due to the weakening of the state some of the tribes began to separate from the community. The collapse of "Uzbek" ethnic community has completed the process of formation of the Kazakh ethnos. The entry of Kazakh ethnos to the historical arena was the most important event in the ethnic and political process. For this reason, East Desht-i-Kipchak was disintegrated before long, though it previously managed to unite many tribes.

Strengthening of the Abulkhayr's Khanate coincided with the second half of the 40s of the XV century. Not long before the next stage in the history - decay and collapse of the state.

In 1449, in the Abulkhayr's Khanate after the death of a reliable partner and ally Okas bi his heirs did not want to stay with the "nomadic Uzbeks" and immediately began the separation. We call it the first division of "nomadic Uzbeks" ethnic community.

The second division happened in 1457. After Abulkhayr's defeat in the battle with the Kalmyks, Burek Sultan elected Yadgard father of Shaybanids as a Khan, and formed a separate khanate on the lower reaches of the Syr Darya and in the Aral Sea region.

Third division - separation of Orda-Edzhen tribes. From the beginning Orda-Edzhen tribes were opposed to Abulkhayr Khan. In 1428-1457, according to Quhistani Orda-Edzhen tribes were not among those who paid taxes to Khan.

Orda-Edzhen tribes concealed their opposition to Abulkhayr Khan until the battle near Syganok, and expressed it openly only after the battle. In the Middle Ages Desht-i-Kipchak tribes openly expressed their protest against the authorities by force of arms, and as an alternative - by separating from Khan and migrating to the neighboring tribes. Orda-Edzhen tribes chose the second form of protest. Thus, after separation of Mangyts, the separation of Orda-Edzhen tribes from ethnic community of "nomadic Uzbeks" was the evidence of - firstly, decay of Uzbek ethnic community in East Desht-i-Kipchak, and secondly, the entry of new ethnic group segregated from this ethnic group - "Kazak" ethnos - to the historic arena.

The formation of the Kazakh Khanate was not the result of a one-time occasion; on the contrary, this process lasted for more than 10 years, and is divided into several stages. Decampment (separation) has become an important incipient event in the formation of the khanate; soon after the death of Abulkhayr Khan a complete domination of the Kazakh Khanate was established in East Desht-i-Kipchak, which proves the completion of the Kazakh Khanate formation. The gap between each of the two events can be divided into periods or stages of formation of the Khanate.

The first stage - the separation of Kerey and Zhanibek, their coming to the territory of the West Moghulistan in Churegion, as well as the election of Kerey as Khan. In chronological terms - the first stage covers the end of the autumn of 1457 - the beginning of winter, spring of 1458.

And now we will dwell on these events in more detail.

Since the first major event was the separation (decampment) during the formation of the Khanate - let us consider the event first.

Like Abulkhayr Khan, sultans Zhanibek, Kerey and other Orda-Edzhen representatives with dependent tribes and clans were on summer pastures at the beginning of the Kalmyks' campaign headed by UzTimur Taishi in 1457, which took place in the summer months. According to historical data, when Abulkhair realized the significance of the Kalmyks' threat, he issued a decree appointing Bakhtiyar-Sultan and Akhmad-Sultan as his commanders. Qukistani has drawn up the list of shibanid sultans and leaders of shibanid clans mentioned in the Kok Kesene, but there were no representatives of the dynasty of Orda-Edzhen or tribes under their control. [2, p. 168 b].

Having heard information about the defeat in the battle, the leaders of the Orda-Edzhen dynasty realized the possibility of reprisals from Abulkhayr. Mohammed Haydar Dulati pointed out in one of the sources: "Some of the sultans of Dzhuchids dynasty feeling the threat tried to prevent it", and in another

source: "Sultans of Dzhuchids dynasty Zhanibek and Kerey Khan avoided it" [3, p.348; 4, p. 305, p.110]. As we can see, Abulkhayr pursued a policy of persecution of disaffected. Kerey and Zhanibek being the leaders of the group opposed to Abulkhayr Khan, in order to avoid punishment, decided to migrate to Moghulistan. Should Kerey and Zhanibek be leaving with a small group of people, the time of year would not be of any matter to them. Besides, as part of the Orda-Edzhentribe they could not migrate at any time of the year. Taking into account the conditions of a nomadic economy when it was time to return to autumn pastures (kuzeu), migration towards Moghulistan was chosen instead of the traditional nomad encampments. The journal "Vestnik KazNU. Historical Series" published several historical legends collected by famous archaeologist M.E. Eleuov during the expedition in the Chu and Talas regions in 1996. [5, pp.6-12]. Among those historical legends there were two sources on the history of the Kazakh Khanate formation. The first legend begins: "In the year of Mouse, in the late autumn, tumens headed by brothers Kerey and Zhanibek migrated from the Syr's shore, with the onset of winter they settled in Moyunkum", and the other legend says, "In late autumn numerous people led by the sultans Kerey and Zhanibek migrated from Syr and arrived at Moyunkum" [5, p.7-8.].

Thus, summing up the above, we can conclude that the tribes under control of Kerey and Zhanibek fleeing from the wrath of Abulkhayr Khan, defeated near Sygnak, in the late autumn of the same year migrated to basin of river Chu instead of going to winter encampments. Mohammed Haydar Dulati writes "Yesen Buga Khan respectfully greeted them, gave them lands for the resettlement in the area called Kozy Bashy located in the west Moghulistan in river basin of Chu. [4, p. 110]. Mahmud bin Wali explains the reason for allocation of this territory: "At that time, Moghulistan was ruled by descendant of Chagataids, the son of Weiss Khan Yesen Buga. Maverennahra governor, the son of Sultan-Muhammad Mirza Abu-Said Mirza, summoned Zhunis Khan (Yesen Buga's brother) from Iraq, supported him and set him against his brother.

This posed a threat to the rule of Yesen Buga, therefore he highly valued the arrival of Kerey and Zhanibek together with the dependent people. Paying respects to sultans he gave them the western part of Moghulistan. This area was a buffering zone of Yesen Buga's and Zhunis Khan's lands called Chu and Kozy Bashy" [6, p.352]. Kozy Bashy (Kozybasy) – mountainous valley (jailau), located in the mountains of Kurday, in front of the village Targap [7, p. 265]. If we look for these names on a geographical map, we will see that the boundaries of Kerey and Zhanibek's lands given to them by Yesen Buga Khan, were stretching from south-western shore of Lake Balkhash to the lower reaches of Chu river, in the west - the river Talas, in the east - to the Ili river, in the south – northern slopes of Ili Alatau.

This region was of strategic importance for the protection of Yesen Buga's lands from the attacks of Zhunis Khan, who was residing in Etikent area, near Andijan, on the one hand, and on the other - from possible attacks of Abulkhayr Khan. Approaching of Zhunis Khan to the territory of Moghulistan was the reason why Yesen Buga formed an alliance with Kerey and Zhanibek by giving them the territory, and up to the end of his days he remained Khan of Moghulistan. Information of Mahmoud bin Wali confirms this: "As long as Yesen Buga Khan was alive, thanks to the help and support of Kerey and Zhanibek, Zhunis Khan could not cross the lands of Yesen Buga Khan [6, p.353]. In other words, this source shows that while Yesen Buga Khan was alive Zhunis Khan was unable to seize the throne of Moghulistan. Thus, since the end of 1457 Yesen Buga found Kerey and Zhanybek, who settled in the western part Moghulistan in the Chu river basin, to be loyal allies in the fight against Zhunis Khan, and until his death in 1461-1462 he felt no threat from him.

With the election of Kerey as Khan, we can say, the first period of the formation of the Kazakh Khanate was completed.

Conventionally, the second period may be attributed to spring of 1458 and until 1461/62; that is until the death of Yesen Buga Khan.

During this period, important events of the Kazakh Khanate formation included the following events. First, Orda-Edzhentribe tribes which were dissatisfied by Abulkhayr Khan or even confronted him have founded their state in the west of Moghulistan and gradually joined to Kerey and Zhanibek Khans.

The first attempt made by Zhunis Khan aimed at appropriation of the throne of Moghulistan failed. The Kazakh Khanate has contributed to Yesen Buga Khan's possession of his throne. The Kazakh Khanate, according to Mahmud bin Wali, "located between Yesen Buga Khan's and Zhunis Khan's lands", prevented accession of all tribes from Zhetysuto Zhunis Khan.

According to Dulati, when Zhunis Khan for the second time came to Abu Said, Moguli emirs started to coalesce around him. He stopped in Zhetikent "but did not dare to cross the lands of Yesen Buga Khan" [4, 117 b.].

This information of the author of "Tarikh-i Rashidi" shows what a significant political force was created in the west Zhetysu by the Kazakh Khanate. Thus, although at that times the Kazakh Khanate did

not directly interfere in internal political life of Moghulistan, it became known as one of the political forces fighting for the ruling rights so that they were forced to admit the Kazakh Khanate. This, in our opinion, was the main achievement of the second stage in the process of formation of the Kazakh Khanate.

Years of 1461/62-1469/70 may be attributed to the third period of the Kazakh Khanate formation. In 1461/62, after the death of Mogul Khan Yesen Buga, as well as with the arrival of his successor Dosmohammed Khan the political life of Moghulistan witnessed abrupt changes, which had an impact on the Kazakh Khanate as well. Let us consider this problem further.

"After the death of Yesen Buga Khan, his son Dosmohammed Khan ascended to the throne. He was 17 years old. He was not among the noble people, many of his actions were unintelligent, besides there were hardly the times when he was not drunk". [Misra]:

"Wherever he goes and sits, there is dirt,

If you are clever enough – stay away from him,

The fool is drunk again today!" - writes Mohammed Haidar Dulati describing his personality [4 bb 115-116.]. Ignoring the basic principles of state affairs management, the lack of clear purpose of internal policy and absence of system in the ruling of young khan gave rise to the strife and discord among the emirs of that part of Moghulistan - East Turkestan.

For the Kazakh Khanate these years, on the one hand, are considered to be a period of increased political power in Zhetysay, increased popularity among their neighbors, and on the other hand, the first years of suffering historical travails. Also, it was the time when clans and tribes which were unhappy with Abulkhayr Khan continued joining the Kazakh Khanate. K.A. Pischulina in this regard expresses the following opinion: "...many sultans-dzhuchids came to Moghulistan with Zhanibek and Kerei, as well as representatives of the clans and tribes leaders. Later relocation dragged on for 15 years, especially this process intensified after the death of Abulkhayr Khan in 1465" [8, 252 b.].

Thus, the "nomadic Uzbeks", recently separated from khan helped Kerei and Zhanibek to enlarge and strengthen their khanate by those who departed from Abulkhayr Khan. In other words, foundations of Abulkhayr Khan's state built in battles and with force began to decay in front of his own eyes. He saw the only way to prevent the collapse of the state in the need to destroy the Kazakh Khanate formed in west of Moghulistan, and he endeavored the very last campaign in his life.

This campaign of Abulkhayr Khan has a particular importance in the history of "nomadic Uzbeks", as well as in the history of the Kazakh Khanate formation.

Although Mahmoud bin Wali does not name a certain year and month of the campaign's start, it can be determined by comparing some of the events of this period. The first month of winter of 874 - year and month of the khan's death. In modern chronology this corresponds to December of 1469 [6, 359-360 bb.]. With this in mind, we believe that Abulkhayr Khan launched a campaign in early autumn of 1469. During this campaign, he fell ill and died.

We refer to the last fourth stage of the formation of the Kazakh Khanate period starting after Abulkhayr Khan's death and until the final establishment of reign of the Kazakh rulers in East Desht-i Kipchak.

After the death of Abulkhayr Khan ethnic and political situation in the state of "nomadic Uzbeks" completely deteriorated. Written sources have the following information about this. The first book "Tarikh-i Rashidi" says: "after Abulkhayr Khan's death Uzbek Ulus suffered from civil wars and strong disagreement", the second book, describes the situation as follows: "after Abulkhayr Khan's death in fighting started in the Uzbek Ulus" [4, 110 b.; 306 b.]. And Abulgazi writes: "He (about Abulkhayr - B.K.) had many sons and grandsons, many enemies got their hands-on, several of his children were killed, the rest fled in different directions. Many people were killed" [10, 126 b.].

Muhammad Haidar Dulati also wrote about it though briefly. Narrating about the strife in Ulus after Abulkhayr Khan's death, he says: "Many have sided Kerei and Zhanibek khans. Their number amounted to 200 thousand people, they became known as the Uzbek-Kazakhs" [4, 110 b.]. In another place, in "Tarikh-i Rashidi" he writes "whenever possible everyone found shelter in Kerei Khan and Zhanibek Khan's lands both for the sake of security and because they felt that this was the right thing to do. So they strengthened their power" [4, 306 b.]. This information of the source shows that after Abulkhayr Khan's death Ulus of "nomadic Uzbeks" witnessed fight for the throne among the two groups. Those clans and tribes which for various reasons did not earlier join Kerei and Zhanibek khans then began the massive relocation. Due to the newly joined the Kazakh Khanate started to increase. In our opinion, it was the clans and tribes of Orda-Edzhenn and Shiban.

In those years the Kazakh Khanate in Zhetysay returned to the former borders of Orda-Edzhenn Ulus. The abovementioned campaign of Burunduk against the power of the Shaybanid sultans forced them out of there. After return to their former habitats Kazakh rulers started to destroy

representatives of ShaybanidUlus in the western, north-western parts of East Desht-iKipchak. According to T.I.Sultanov, the reign of ShaikhHaidar Khan was very short; he was killed in one of these battles [11, p.129].

Such sources as "Tauari-and guzida-yiNusrat-name", "Fatah-name", "Shaibani-name", "Bahr al-Asrar fi Manaqib al-ahiar", "Turikshezhiresi" reported that the Siberian Khan Ibague Kichi and son of Muhammad Khan Akhmed Khan marched together against ShaikhHaidar Khan, defeated and killed him [12, p. 20; 13, p. 57; 14, p. 99]. Thus, with the murder of ShaikhHaidar Khan reign ofShaybanid dynasty in East Dasht-iKipchak ended. While many emirs and beks (lords) fled in different directions, the people loyal to the dynasty found shelter in the Astrakhan Khanate. Though their life there was not long, fleeing from the oppression of opponents they turned out to be in the area near Turkestan in the middle reaches of the Syr Daryariver [6, pp. 362-363]. Thus, the Kazakh Khanate became the only political force in East Desht-iKipchak. Renowned researcher T.I. Sultanov characterizes this situation as follows: "Most of the Uzbek Ulus passed under control ofKerey and Zhanibek, as well as their supporters. Deep analysis of written sources shows that this historical event happenedthe year of 875 (1470-1471)" [15, p. 129].

We also agree with this historical source, and we believe that with this the last stage of the Kazakh Khanateformation was completed. Coming out of the circle of Moghulistan policy the Kazakh Khanate that year became a separate independent state in Desht-i Kipchak and started to act as a subject of political relations in the region.

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