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HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE KAZAKH KHANATE AND THE SHAYBANID STATE: CORE DIRECTIONS AND DYNAMICS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS

Annotation. The second half of the XV and the beginning of the XVI centuries are notable for the fact that the descendants of Jochi came to full power in the territories of Eastern Desht-Kipchak and Transoxiana. The each descendants of Genghis Khan considered themselves rulers on the land of their ulus. Therefore, the long stay of Kerey and Janibek sultans under the rule of the Abulkhair Khan was impossible, and sooner or later they would have to split up. The Kazakh sultans, pursued the goal of creating a own state on the territory of the legitimate inheritance left by their grandfather Urys Khan. And the Shibaniids at the beginning tried to preserve or return the original possessions of the abolished khanate of Abulkhair Thus, the rulers of both dynasties fought primarily for the cities of the Turkestan land, which were a strategically important center of trade, economic and political relations. *The results of the study:* It is revealed that interstate relations up to the first decade of the XVI century were manifested mainly in the framework of marital relations, trade, military alliances and religious issues. *The purpose and objectives of the study.* To study and characterize the relations between the two states up to the first decade of the XVI century, and their main directions. Based on the conducted research, the following *result was achieved.* Firstly, the international relations of the Kazakh Khanate were considered in a new way, secondly, it was revealed that this topic has been little studied, and thirdly, the main directions of interstate relations between the two countries were described.

The scientific work was carried out through the research works of historical sources and modern English, American, Russian, Kazakh, Uzbek, Tajik scientists.

Keywords: History of Kazakh Khanate, International Relations, Buryndyk Khan, Muhammed Shaybani, Shaybani State.

Introduction

By the middle of the XV century, the protests of local tribal leaders and some descendants of Genghis against the ruler of the nomadic Uzbek state Abulkhair Khan, intensified, and after his defeat by the Kalmyks, this protest turned into an open struggle. The result of the struggle for power in the khanate will be the emergence of the Kazakh Khanate.

The Kazakh Khanate originates historically in the Talas, Shu region and gradually expands its territory. Kerey and Janibek sultans, who are descendants of Genghis Khan, form the basis of this state. The Kazakh Khanate got its historical origin from the Talas and Chui regions and gradually expanded its territory. Kerey and Janibek sultans, who are descendants of Genghis, form the basis of this state. In general, this event is now scientifically reliably proven, and there are also available medieval Turkish and Persian sources about this event. Nevertheless, judging by the origin of the rulers of the state, the system of state administration created in the post-Mongol era, the Kazakh Khanate should be accepted as the official successor of the Golden Horde. Some researchers obviously agree with this point of view. «In less than ten years, the descendants of Urus Khan Kerey and Janibek Khans managed to unite a part of the Kazakh people that had taken place so far and create an independent state» [Atygaev 2023: 9]. Over time, it conquered the entire territory of modern Kazakhstan. The Kazakh Khanate was not a feudal, but a military-democratic state [Olcott 1987: 14].

Since 2015, the period of formation of the Kazakh Khanate has been officially adopted as the year 1465. Thus, the Kazakh Khanate can be called a unique state that has lived in Central Asia for more than four centuries, since the real political life of the khanate ends with the colonization of Uly Juz. And it is clear that the decrees on the abolition of the khanate in the Orta and Kishi Juzes do not cover the entire Kazakh land.



During each period of the Kazakh Khanate, there were a number of major statesmen who made a great contribution to the development of international relations with foreign countries. In the period under review, Buryndyk Khan and Kasym Sultan can be noted in relations with the state of Shaybani.

In general, in the international relations of the Kazakhs with the Shaybani's, we can find wars for power, peace agreements concluded through marriage, joint military integration actions against other rulers. It is necessary to understand here that the interstate relations of the two khanates developed in accordance with the needs of that period and, most importantly, that it was based only on the position of their rulers.

According to the general history of creation, the Bukhara Khanate was a state that existed from the XVI century to the eighties of the XVIII century. According to the data, the emergence of the khanate is associated with the coming to power of the Shaybani dynasty.

The grandson of Abulkhair Khan and the commander Muhammad Shaybani, defeated the state of the dynasty of the Emir Timur and the Moghol rulers in Transoxiana and founded his own khanate there, consolidating its geographical name. The difference in views among scientists is manifested in the fact that some researchers say that the population here is mainly made up of Tajiks [Sattarov 2022: 1168], other researchers say that these are nomadic Kazakh tribes, others say that they consist of different tribes and nationalities. Initially, the capital of the state was the city of Samarkand, which was later moved to Bukhara. According to the data, from the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the state became known as the «Bukhara Khanate».

It is difficult to say the exact territory of the Bukhara Khanate, founded by Muhammad Shaybani. Because the political conditions of that time were changing rapidly. In those periods, if the state won the war, the territory increased, and in case of defeat, the territory of the state decreased or disappeared [Hanykov 1843: 2]. However, it can be stated that the khanate's place of residence was mainly the medieval territory of Transoxiana. According to the data, the tribes who migrated here from the Eastern Desht Kipchak remained a nomadic and semi-nomadic way of life for a long time.

The relevance of research. The development of international relations in the Kazakh Khanate can be divided into several stages. In particular, the study of the initial stage of international relations, about which there are not enough specific interstate documents, and conducting research on this is one of the actual scientific problems in the history of the Kazakhstan. The research work is relevant for demonstrating the stable traditions of the political culture of the Kazakh Khanate and studying the history of the development of modern Kazakh diplomacy.

Materials and types of research

Sources and research papers on the research topic can be divided into three chronological periods: before the Russian Revolution of 1917, Soviet and post-Soviet times. In medieval sources, especially before the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Kazakh, Bukhara Khanates is considered as a related but separate state formed by the descendants of Genghis Khan. And in the works of the authors of the Soviet period, it is often noted that these khanates were considered in the context of the foreign policy of the Russian Empire, as well as economic issues of relations between nomadic and settled peoples. And the historiography of the post-Soviet period is based mainly on archival materials and published sources. Researchers often focus on the mutual political relations of the khanates.

This research work is based on historical sources, the works of foreign scientists and Kazakh researchers. Data on the diplomatic relations of the Kazakh Khanate are contained in the manuscripts of the Shaybanids and Ashtarkhanids of the Central Asian states.

Results and discussions

Each source and research papers related to the research topic have their own characteristics. Many of them do not consider the history of the two khanates as a whole. The author did not aim at a detailed analysis of the historiography of the proposed topic, therefore, works that are directly or indirectly related to the research topic were included.

The work of Fazlallah ibn Ruzbihan Isfahani is one of the valuable medieval sources on the topic of research. The author is composing an essay on the history of Muhammad Shaybani Khan. Ibn Ruzbihan became the court historiographer of Shaybani Khan during that period. He wrote works on history and law in the Khan Palace. In 1509, he wrote a work entitled «Mikhman-name-yi Bukhara» (Notes of the Bukhara Host). The author says that he was always present at the meetings of Muhammad Shaybani Khan, and he always accompanied the khan on his military campaigns. Therefore, we can say that the information presented in the work has high accuracy and reliability. However, due to the fact that the source was written in the Khan's Palace, it is necessary to conduct a critical analysis when using the book, there is no doubt that there was a bias in the assessment of political history.

In this work, Ibn Ruzbihan describes the cities of the Syr Darya and the Kazakh land. He also noted that the Kazakh khans are descendants of Genghis's son Jochi, and writes that they have many people part of whom is called Kazakh and their current eldest khan is a descendant of Uzbek Khan - Buryndyk Khan. As mentioned above,



and according to rumors, when Buryndyk Khan sends an order to all sides of the Kazakh ulus: "at that moment, four hundred thousand archers, heroes, each of whom is equal to ten young warriors, gather on horseback. Most of their weapons (Kazakhs) tell their poor Khatia Taya..." [Isfakhani 1976: 92-93]

The work of Hafiz Tanysh ibn Mir Muhammad Bukhari «Sharafnama-yi Shahi» or «Abdallah-name» is dedicated to Shaybani Abdullah Khan. This Bukhari manuscript has attracted the attention of researchers since the nineteenth century. This historical source says that after the death of Abulkhair Khan, many people joined the sultans of Kerey and Janibek [Bukhari 1983].

An anonymous work dedicated to Shaybani Khan, can also be noted. Some researchers suggest that its author is Khan himself, since his poems of Khan have been preserved. The participation of the Nogai biy Vakkas in political life, the break with him, the struggle against the descendants of Abulkhair Mangits and Kazakhs, the story of the failed union of Muhammad Shaybani with the Nogai biy Musa. The period after the death of Abulkhair and the conquest of Shaybani of Transoxiana are described in particular detail. The book ends with the events of Shaybani's conquest of Andijan in 1504, on the basis of which its completion dates back to 1505 [Nusrat-name 1969].

«Jami' al-tawarikh» is a historical work in Persian, compiled in the early fourteenth century by the vizier of the Khulagid state Rashid al-Din on the orders of Ilkhan Gazan. Jami' al-tawarikh was based on a plan of two main parts. The first one includes the history of the Mongols and the states they founded, including Iran of the Hulaguids. The second part included world history. The latest translation of the source into the Kazakh language was used in the research work [Rashid al-Din 2023].

It is worth noting the work of the medieval writer, musician Kamal al-Din Ali Binai «The Book about Shaybani». The author of the book enters the service of Shaybani Khan after his conquest of Transoxiana, and then was killed two years after the death of Shaybani Khan [Binai 1969].

One of the important English journey book is a note by the English ambassador to Russia, merchant Anthony Jenkinson. He travels from Russia through the Caspian Sea, Mangyshlak to Bukhara, mapping the path he has traveled. In his work, he left important data about Kazakhs [Jenkinson 1886].

It is worth noting the work of the orientalist, diplomat N.V. Khanykov, published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences in 1843, which presents important historical data about the Bukhara Khanate. Despite the fact that the work was written later than the chronological period under study, it contains important information in determining the composition of the population. [Hanykov 1843].

It is possible to note the works of a number of historians on research of the Soviet period, including, if we focus on the scientific work of P. P. Ivanov, the author's research will be devoted to the history of the countries of Central Asia of the XVI century and the middle of the XIX century. In this work, the author examines the Uzbeks and Kazakhs before settlement in Central Asia. He will also touch upon other topics of the origin of the Kazakh khans, the history of Shaibani Khan and his conquests, interstate relations, and the formation of the Bukhara Khanate. Military conflicts over the pastures of Uzbek Kazakhs, Nogais, Oirats (Kalmyks) in the second half of the XV century indicate one of the reasons for the mass resettlement of Uzbeks to the territory of Central Asia [Ivanov 1958: 50].

Researcher K.A. Pishchulina XV-XVII centuries emphasizing the importance of the cities of the Syr Darya in the history of the Kazakh Khanate, she notes that until the end of the XVI century there was a fierce war between the Kazakh khans and the Shaybans. Of particular importance from the point of view of the research topic is the author's scientific work on the relationship of the Kazakh Khanate with the Mogols and Shaybans in the last quarter of the XV century [Pishchulina 2016: 28-143].

In addition, since the eighties of the XXth century, there has been a growing interest among American scientists in the history of Central Asia. One of the important studies of Kazakhs was the work of Martha Brill Olcott «The Kazakhs». The chronological study of this work examines the political history of Soviet Kazakhstan from the creation of the Kazakh Khanate to the time of D. Kunaev [Olcott 1987]. The section of the book dealing with our topic is based exclusively on Kazakh, Russian and Western works. In the first part, the author addresses the main events of the period from the creation to the fall of the Kazakh Khanate, paying special attention to such topics as Kazakh ethnogenesis, economics, political and social structure, culture and religion.

However, Yuri Bregel, one of the leading experts on the Islamic history of Central Asia, makes a number of comments on this book. From Yu. Bregel's literally «The first part of the book, «Origin of the Kazakhs and the formation of the Kazakh khanate», is, in fact, an outrageous collection of gross and small errors, sometimes laughable, but mostly shocking, Errors are found in every paragraph and almost in every sentence» [Bregel 1996: 30], analyzes errors. Nevertheless, he rates highly as one of the most voluminous American works devoted to the history of the Kazakhs.

The research of Edward A. Allworth, an American historian specializing on the history of Central Asia, contains valuable information about the history of Central Asia. It touches on issues such as diplomatic relations,



trade relations between Russia and the Central Asian states, and tensions. Since the main topic of the author's research is devoted to new and modern history, partial information can be obtained in some events related to our topic. In his work, Yu. Bregel criticizes the use of Edward Allworth of medieval sources only through translations, noting that he is an expert in ethnic relations and intellectual history of Central Asia in the Imperial and Soviet era [Bregel 1996: 33].

Also the fundamental work of Fred W. Bergholz based on Russian, Chinese and English sources and consists of three chapters. The work is mainly devoted to the struggle of Russia, the Manchus, and the Dzungars for power in Central Asia. The third chapter get a information about the Kazakh Khanate [Bergholz 1993: 353-379].

As part of the research topic, Audrey Burton's work «The Bukharans: A Dynastic, Diplomatic, and Commercial History» can be noted. The chronological framework of the monograph covers the years 1550-1702 [Burton 1997].

There are scientists among Kazakh historians who write a research paper on the relations of the Kazakh Khanate with foreign countries. Among them can say the works of M.H. Abuseitova, N. Atygaev etc. The works of M.H. Abuseitova are mainly based on Persian sources. The author mainly pays attention to the period of the Kazakh Khanate from the time of the reign of Khaknazar Khan onwards, and also studies the military events of the late sixteenth century and relations with neighboring countries [Abuseitova 1985].

The scientist K.Sh. Hafizova has important works devoted to international diplomatic relations of the Central Asian states [Hafizova].

In the study of the history of Kazakhstan, valuable information is provided by the works of the source scholar V.P. Yudin. As part of the research topic, his work on the work «Zia al kulub» (Radiance of Hearts) was used. The work contains data on Tauekel Khan, who lived later than our research period, but information in there allows us to demonstrate the influence of religion in politics of that period. There is also information about the involvement of Kazakhs in the Naqshbandiyah tariqa [Yudin 2001].

Scientist N.Atygaev in his monograph, devoted to the foreign policy history of the Kazakh Khanate, writes, «as evidenced by historical works, the Kazakh Khanate had various relationships with neighboring states and peoples. In some cases, these were episodic, and in others, more or less stable interstate relations» [Atygaev 2023].

The monograph by Tajik scientist A. Saidov tells the story of the Bukhara Khanate of the XVII century and the first half of the XVIII century. In the work, you can get a number of data on the relationship of Kazakhs, Kazakh khans, Kazakhs with Bukhara [Saidov 2007].

Also the works by Joo-Yup Lee on the Kazakh Khanate will be considered [Lee 2019]. And also another article by Joo-Yup Lee is devoted to a detailed study of the lifestyle of the descendants of Genghis Khan and Emir Timur and other contenders to the throne in the Kipchak steppe of the post-Mongol period and in Central Asia, "kazaklyk" (qazaqliq), also occupies an important place in our research work. The term "kazakhlyk", which the author uses in this article, is used in the sense of striving to come to power through politically free actions. Literally from the work of Joo-Yup Lee: «Qazaqliq, or the qazaq way of life, was a form of political vagabondage that involved the action of leaving one's state or tribe, wandering in some remote areas that served as a place of refuge, and engaging in brigandage in order to return or rise to power, or a least to raid for booty» [Lee 2017: 87].

Also, as an auxiliary material, in the article uses the work of the Oriental scholar Andreas Wilde on the Emirate of Bukhara, published in the Oxford Scientific Encyclopedia of Asian History [Wilde 2016].

The work of T. Sultanov, in which the analysis of the historical poem by Muhammad Salih «Shaybani-name» is carried out, is valuable for research work. Although the mentioned written data have some disadvantages, they are highly appreciated among scientists as a unique source characteristic of that period. However, researcher T.Sultanov draws attention to the reliability of the information when using the source. There is information about the campaigns of Muhammad Shaybani Khan [Sultanov 1989: 190-204].

It is also possible to note the article by domestic researchers G.A. Kambarbekova and Zh.M. Sabitov. The feature of this article is that the work of the Persian historian Khondemir "Habib as Siyar" was first introduced into scientific circulation. The article provides an excerpt from the political tension between the Kazakh and Uzbek khans [Kambarbekova et al. 2017].

So, at the beginning of the XVI century, the power of the Kazakh Khans was firmly entrenched on the Kipchak steppe, the power of Muhammad Shaybani Khan on the territory of Transoxiana.

The relationship between the Kazakh-Shaybani Khanate was based on a number of factors in accordance with the foreign policy position of the rulers: 1) ethnic proximity and consent of the rulers through marriage; 2) trade relations between the two countries; 3) integration from military needs; 4) religious, etc. The main condition of some agreements between the Kazakh and Shaybani Khanates was the issue of donation or transfer of some cities.



Researcher K.Sh. Hafizova in her research tries to characterize international relations in the Middle Ages with the situation of that time and presents it within the framework of several grounds: "firstly, during the formation of the khanate, the territory gradually expanded, and its borders were very mobile, some parts of the territory of Kazakhstan were part of various possessions, the international priorities of which were not the same. Secondly, the population was also mobile, mainly engaged in cattle breeding. The composition of the khanate's population changed, the rulers attracted neighboring tribes, and some clans migrated beyond the limits of their power. The links between tribal unions and their stable large associations can be considered as a prototype of international relations. In other words, the characteristics of international relations are directly related to the genesis of the state. Fourth, the history of the Kazakh Khanate covers more than five centuries, if we take the year 1470 as the date of its formation. The rulers of the steppes had quite extensive international contacts with neighboring peoples" [Hafizova].

1) *ethnic proximity and consent of the rulers through mutual marriages*. Family ties between the rulers of the two states existed from the very beginning. After all, the origins of the rulers who founded the Kazakh and Bukhara Khanates date back to the Jochi dynasty. It can also be traced back to the work of the medieval Persian historian Rashid al-Din. According to historical data, Jochi Khan had a lot of wives and concubines, as well as about forty sons and many grandchildren from them. But the sons whose names remained in the records are as follows: 1) Orda (Horde), 2) Batu, 3) Birka (Berke), 4) Birkechar (Berkezhar), 5) Shiban, 6) Tangut, 7) Buual, 8) Chilaukun (Shilaukan), 9) Sunkur or Shinkur (Sengir), 10) Zimbai (Cimbai), 11) Muhammad, 12) Udur (Odyr), 13) Tukhatimur (Tokatemir), 14) Shyngum (Sinkum) [Rashid-ad-Din 2023: 464].

According to historical data, the ancestors of the Kazakh khans Kerey and Janibek descended from the eldest son of Jochi Khan, Orda. Muhammad Shaybani Khan, the founder of the Shaybani dynasty and the Bukhara Khanate, is a descendant of Shiban, the fifth son of Jochi.

It is worth noting that the Kazakh khans Kerey and Janibek are cousins. Kerey was born from the second son of Urus Khan – Toktakia Khan, and Janibek was born from the fourth son of Urus Khan – Kudyrchik Khan.

Some researchers call the peoples of the two khanates of this period "Kazakh Uzbeks" or "Uzbeks of Shaibani" [Lee 2019: 86]. It can be assumed that this concept originated from medieval sources, since this name is also found in the works of Ibn Ruzbihan "Mikhman-name ii Bukhara", E. Jenkinson "Journey from Russia to Persia" [Jenkinson 1886: 90].

Ibn Ruzbihan attributes to the Uzbeks three of the most glorious tribes in the possession of Genghis Khan. One of them is Shibans, the second is Kazakhs, the third is Mangits [Isfakhani 1976: 62]. Of course, this hints at ethnic integrity. The reason for this, as we have already mentioned, is that, on the one hand, the sultans Kerey and Janibek separated from the state of Abulkhair (sometimes it was called the nomadic Uzbek khanate, and secondly, most of the troops under the command of Khan Muhammad Shaybani were Kazakh tribes. That is, just as the Kazakh tribes supported them when the sultans Kerey and Janibek moved to Zhetysu, the other part means that the Kazakh tribes migrated together with Muhammad Shaybani to the land of Maverannahr.

In order for our opinion to be valid, we can give the following information from Shaybani-name: "10 thousand servicemen arrived with him. Muhammad Salih says that "most of his people have been Shibans (shibanlaks), (tribes) for a long time. Then the tribal composition of the Uzbek troops is listed as follows: Sihiut, Kiyat (famous for his qualities), Konyrat (revered for all his qualities), Burkut (warrior and brave), Mangyt, Naiman (deserving donations), Durman (infinitely devoted to Shaibani Khan), Usun (khan's assistants), Kushchi (true and fidelity), Jalair, Karluk, Sulduz, Nukuz, Tama, Tatar, Adgu, Adlu-ogly, Ichki, Oirat" [Sultanov 1989: 200]. A number of tribes named in the list are currently also clans of the Kazakh people. When studying the name "Uzbek", one can support the opinion of J. Sabitov. He says that the name was given to the inhabitants of Eastern Desht-Kipchak by the Chagatai people [Sabitov 2011: 173].

The wars of the Kazakhs and Shaybanids for the annexation of cities along the Syr Darya to own territory, which began with the creation of the Kazakh Khanate, lasted for a long time with an interval. This has worsened the socio-economic situation of local towns. Anyway, until the beginning of the new century, both sides could not establish permanent power in these conquered cities. It was only at the beginning of the new century that the relations between the two states rose to a new level. After that, the main route of the Shaybani turned towards Transoxiana and he follows the path of creating own state [Bukhari 1983: 104].

Historical sources note that Muhammad Shaybani Khan for seven years, using the struggle for power of the Temurids, took Samarkand, Bukhara, Khorezm, Khorasand from the Temurids, Tashkent, Ferghana from the Mogols and founded the Abulkhair dynasty [Lee 2019: 4].

Kazakh Khans also expanded the borders of the state compared to his predecessors having consolidated its power in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, Zhetysu, a number of lands of Southern Kazakhstan, the Karatau zone bordering with the steppe, a significant part of Central Kazakhstan, and the Northern part of the Aral Sea.



We see that, as in other states, the peace agreement between the Kazakh Khanate and the Shaibanids was carried out through mutual marriages. "According to its terms, the Kazakh Khans continued to own a number of cities in the northern parts of Turkestan, and the Shibanids retained their power in the cities in the south – Otrar, Yassy, Arkuk and Uzgent" [Atygaev 2023: 16].

The work "Tawarih-i Guzida-yi Nusrat-name" says that the son of Kerey Khan, who was the Kazakh khan in 1480-1511, had previously married his daughters to Shaybanids to conclude a peace treaty. Muhammad Shaybani Khan himself becomes the son-in-law of Burundik Khan, and there is also the fact that another daughter of Burundik Khan married the son of Muhammad Shaybani Khan, Muhammad Timur Bahadur Khan, and another for Mahmud Khan, the younger brother of Muhammad Shaybani Khan. The son of Abd al-Shah Sultan was born from the daughter of Burundik Khan and Muhammad Timur Bahadur Khan [Nusrat-name 1969: 17-18; 32]. Also in the work "Shaybani-name" there is information that after the conclusion of a peace treaty, Burundik Khan gives two daughters in marriage to Mahmud Khan and Muhammad Timur [Binai 1969: 121]. Thus, there is temporary silence between the two khanates. The scientist N.Atygaev writes that Muhammad Timur Bahadur Khan married the daughter of Burundik Khan before the conquest of Bukhara [Atygaev 2023: 16].

In addition, she is the wife of the Kazakh Khan Janibek, the mother of Kasym Khan. Jagan Begim Khanym was the sister of Mahmud's mother, Sultan Akkoza Begim Khanym, the half-brother of Shaibani Khan. According to other sources, the mothers of both khans Shaybani and Kasym were sisters.

However, in the struggle of the two khanates for the consolidation of political power, the mutual ethnic proximity of the peoples, as well as the kinship of the rulers, apparently did not play a special role. It can be said that the decisive role was determined by the political positions of the rulers.

2) Trade relations between the two countries. Since ancient times, trade routes in the Eurasian space converged on the territory of modern Kazakhstan. This has always maintained the high strategic importance of the Kazakh land, as well as constantly connected the settled and nomadic peoples both politically and economically. The possession of cities along the Syr Darya determined the military and economic power of the rulers [Abuev 2015: 27].

Ibn Ruzbihan's work contains valuable information about Kazakh cities. For example, the author tells about the city of Yassy, the capital of the Turkestan region, a vast and fertile domain. . . This is the northern region of the Uzbek possessions and the end of the roads from Andijan to the borders of China, the Eastern landscaped outskirts. Goods and valuables are imported to the city of Yassy, trade takes place there, the city is a place where merchants unload their goods and send groups of travelers to different countries" [Isfakhani 1976: 37]. In addition, noting that economic relations between nomads and settled peoples often collapse when they win, they sell each other into slavery. Considering cattle and people as prey and never giving up on it. Among them, the winners say that the losers were sold into slavery without any resistance [Isfakhani 1976: 37-38].

In general, two types of relations that have developed in connection with trade here can be noted: transit and local. The development of transit trade relations depended on the geographical location of the steppe, and local trade relations arose from the mutual needs of neighboring countries. In overpasses, transit routes usually pass through the eastern part of the Caspian Sea along the steppe to Khiva and further to Bukhara. However, the English traveler E. Jenkinson notes about the dangers on caravan roads, that there is no clear measure of taxes. He also claims that in the 1550s, no gold money was used in the monetary circulation of Bukhara, only silver and bronze were used in trade [Jenkinson 1886: 85]

The ongoing wars between the descendants of Jochi for the cities along the Syr Darya have repeatedly proved the strategic and economic importance of this region in the post-Mongol Middle Ages. Fierce wars between the rulers of the Kazakhs, Moghols and Shaybani were fought according to the strategic preferences or political position of the khans. It cannot be said that the local population had any weight in making military or peaceful decisions. Meanwhile, there were other conflicts between the Kazakhs and other neighboring states. According to K.A. Pishchulina, despite such a difficult political situation, the main reason for the territorial increase, development, and political strengthening of the Kazakh Khanate over time since its creation has been associated with intra-economic, social, and ethnopolitical processes [Pishchulina 2016: 138].

In 1509, Shaybani Khan took a number of measures to completely end relations with the Kazakhs after another war. He tried to put an end to the Kazakhs trade relations with Transoxiana and ordered not to trade with Kazakh merchants and to stop trade between them. Shaybani Khan tried to strike at the Kazakh economy with such a policy [Isfakhani 1976: 38].

By the middle of the XVI century, due to the establishment of political stability in the Kazakh Khanate, the economic situation of the country was strengthening. The regulation of trade relations in the region will allow the restoration of the cities of Syganak, Sairam, and Yassy. And by the end of the century, these lands will turn into walled cities and become trading centers for merchants from Kashgar, Mauerannahr [Olcott 1987: 24].



Bukhara, one of the largest trade centers in Central Asia, had no political stability in the second half of the 16th century. Because historical data indicate that the Bukhara ruler, by necessity, taxes chaotically and that the ruler can sit in power for 2-3 years [Jenkinson 1886: 85-86]. And from this note by the ambassador, it should be understood that it was during this period that the Kazakhs had stability and great power in Central Asia.

It is noted that trade relations between Russia and Bukhara have been established thanks to Khaknazar Khan [Abuseitova 1985: 53-54]. The trade route to Europe and Russia necessarily passed through the Kazakh steppes.

Audrey Burton, in her work devoted to the in-depth study of the Bukhara people and their relations with settled peoples and nomads from Moscow to China, from Iran to India, notes that on their way to these countries, merchants and ambassadors of Bukhara pass long and difficult paths through steppe, desert, and mountainous areas. At the same time, despite the lack of water and food and the possibility of threats from armed pirates, the traders showed tolerance. Even in 1555-58 years Kazakhs in the Kalmyk war, 1584-1613 years during the period of difficulties, 1667-71 years even during the revolts of S. Razin, they carried weapons, shovels for digging to protect themselves. Also, on the map of roads oriented to Russia and Siberia from Bukhara, drawn by the researcher, it is not difficult to see roads crossing the Kazakh steppes [Burton 1997: 390-391]. For example, the route of the road from Bukhara to Astrakhan ran through Saraishyk and present Atyrau. The Saraishyk was considered one of the old roads. The road through Atyrau began to be actively used, especially after the construction of a stone city mound here in the XVII century. Roads to Samara and Kazan also passed through the Kazakh steppe. There were several roads to Siberia. One of them-through the Kyzylkum desert-went to Turkestan. Although there were problems with water before Turkestan, there was no shortage of water after Turkestan. There were also no problems with water shortages on another road to Turkestan via Zarafshan, Samarkand, Sairam [Burton 1997: 395-397].

Obviously, there was an active trade between the two neighboring countries, nomadic and settled. The work of researcher Audrey Burton tells that in the XVI century Kazakhs produced cattle, animal products, hides and wool, as well as other wood products for trade with Bukhara. In addition, since Kazakh horses are a sought-after commodity, the Bukharans quickly resold it to Siberia and the khanate. And Kazakh sheep cooked meat, butter, milk, clothes, soap, etc. Flexible sheepskin material was a sought-after commodity in the exchange trade. This material had a different color and was so highly appreciated in Bukhara that it was equal to the cost of an atlas. Another feature of the product was its water resistance. This feature made it ideal for use as a raincoat. Kazakh camels, like Bactrian camels, were double-humped. He was very resistant to carrying heavy loads, which weighed up to 640 kilograms. They were used in the trade caravans of Bukharians to Russia. Also among the goods that Bukharians received from the Kazakhs were fur coats and carpets. Slaves can also be noted among the goods in great demand among Bukharians. XVI-XVII centuries. At first, the Kazakhs mainly bought flour, silk, ceramics and glass, etc. And in the second half of the XVII century the Kazakhs of the Syrdarya region already grew all kinds of cereals and various fruits. The Kazakhs also conducted active trade with the Bukharans. It is noted that in the XVII century, the resale of Bukhara items also developed among the Kazakhs [Burton 1997: 432-434].

3) *Integration from military needs.* In the medieval states of Central Asia, it is difficult to see long-term permanent borders or a stable foreign policy. It is known from history that after the liquidation of the state of Abulkhair, the struggle for the throne continued among the descendants of Jochi. For example, in 1472, Musa Mirza, having concluded an alliance with Muhammad Shaybani, promised to declare him khan of the entire Desht-Kipchak. In return, Musa-myryza received the position of «beklarbek», the manager of the state administration. Having received military assistance from Mangyt Muhammad organizes a campaign to the Syr Darya.

In the work of the medieval author Khondemir, Muhammad Shaybani Khan asks 20,000 soldiers to help Kasym Sultan conquer Central Asia. Shaybani Khan calls Kasym Sultan the elder khan and the governor of Genghis Khan, and promises that the «qutba» will be read and a coin minted in his name. However, after the conquest of Samarkand and Bukhara, Shaybani Khan did not fulfill his promise [Kambarbekova et al. 2017: 371-372]. According to scientists, this situation may be related to the conquest of Samarkand without the help of the military. Because, having not conquered Samarkand, Shaybani corresponded with Zukhra Biki aga (Ali Myrza's mother), promising that he would marry her, and Ali Myrza would transfer his father's possession. When Ali Myrza reaches an agreement, he captures the city and kills him a few days later.

In the following incident, Muhammad Shaybani Khan asks Kasym Khan for military assistance in order to kill Ismail Safavi Shah and conquer his lands of Khorasan. Kasym Sultan sends 8 thousand soldiers through his atalyk Sari, and he himself goes towards Tashkent with 6 thousand soldiers. Here again, Shaybani Khan promises Kasym Khan to read the «qutba» and mint tenge in his name. However, the promise remains unfulfilled again, because the united army will be defeated [Kambarbekova et al. 2017: 372].

4) *religious relations.* The relationship between Kazakhs and Uzbeks during the study period remained complicated for a long time. This was especially determined by the nature and peculiarities of the economic



structure of the two countries. However, it can be said that the relationship between nomadic tribes and the settled population is also based on religion. Therefore, the study of the history of Muslim religious institutions in Central Asia allows us to analyze the identity of Islam and that era.

It should be noted that during the period under study, various Sufi trends played a decisive role in the political and spiritual life of Muslims in Central Asia. The clergy of that time had a strong influence in starting or ending the war. In the territory of Transoxiana, then among the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz mentioned in the late Middle Ages, in addition to the Sufi Tariqa of Yasawiya, the Sufi Tariqa of Naqshbandiya, whose center is located in Bukhara, strengthens its activities. In the middle of the XVI century, according to the work "Ziya al-kulub", a struggle for Irshad (spiritual leadership) took place inside the Tariqa of Naqshbandiya, and as a result two sects arose in the Tariqa [Yudin 2001: 168]. According to researcher N.D. Nurtazina, one of the features of the late Naqshbandiya, was not only Proselytism, but also their interference in political and economic life, caused, according to religious owners, by social chaos and the need to resist military conflicts of secular rulers. In addition, the author writes that the difference between the Sufi tradition of the late Middle Ages and the classical era, signs of formalism and bureaucracy, struggle and rivalry between tariqas, weakening of creative endeavors and strengthening of dogmatism [Nurtazina]. For example, Hafiz Tanish's work tells the story: "1487-88 Sultan Ahmed of the Timur dynasty will transport a huge number of troops to Tashkent. Khoja Ahrar told the Sultan: "We handed over this region (to Mahmud Khan) after peace was established, which is completely inconsistent with the custom of starting (now enmity). After all, it is known that breaking an oath is a criminal matter), whoever dares to do such a thing will lose eternal happiness, as it is said!: Whose fate will be unfortunate, no matter what he does, (everything) will be useless". But he goes to Tashkent with 150 thousand people against the instructions of Khoja Akhrar. Sultan Mahmud khan with a (well) equipped army, armed soldiers leaves the city and settles on the territory of several villages opposite the Samarkand residents. Despite the small number of (his) men, he decided to fight. Since these two armies share rivers (deep) depressions and riverbeds, they do not dare to attack each other. For three days they resorted to (various) military efforts, but did not fight in the same condition [Bukhari 1983: 103].

The following information is found in the work of Ibn Ruzbihan: "we decided to go on a hike to the Kazakhs. You (us) were escorted to this area, which is the beginning of Turkestan, followed the rules of escort and agreements. Now this Arkuk fortress has a passage through Seyhun to the city of Yassy, where the tomb of the holy Khoja Ata-i Ahmet Al-Yasawi is located, which is the time pole of the Junaid era. Now, following the advice, you go there for the purpose of prayer to the light tomb and the second place adjacent to this sacred dome, once there, and passing our prayers to the one to whom all the worshippers turn. . . .". He also writes that once "the ulama of Khorasan gave a fatwa about the disbelief of the Kazakhs and wrote that the campaign on this fatwa was mandatory" [Isfakhani 1976: 92-103].

The author, Sufi Sheikh Ahmed Hazini (lived in XVI-XVII centuries), who was born and raised in Hisari Shadman, in his works raised the religious issues of Central Asia. Ahmed Hazini received first education about the tariqa Kubraviya from his father, and when he turns twelve years old, he meets Shaikh Sayyid Mansur and becomes a murid of the tariqa Yasawiya. Then he becomes the murshid of the two tariqas Yasawiya and Naqshbandiya. Here we see that although he receives knowledge from Kubraviya and Yasawiya, he was strongly influenced by Naqshbandiya too [Kushenova 2021]. This fact also gives us information that among the Central Asian tariqas of the XVI century, not only the process of mutual rivalry and interference in political power was actively going on, but also there was an attitude between them for mutual exchange and exchange of professional experience.

Conclusion

National history is a complex area of research for modern Kazakh science. The historical past of the Kazakh people forms a significant part of the public consciousness, starting from the international and state levels and ending with the daily life of the people. Full-fledged international relations in the modern sense began in our country since the last decade of the twentieth century. However, its historical origins are deeply rooted.

Most researchers, considering the place of the Kazakh Khanate in the system of international relations, increasingly focus on specific mutually documented periods with decrees and letters of the khans. But even if at the initial stages we will not be able to access such documents, we will be able to see the implementation of international relations through information from historical sources.

It can be said that the activity of the Kazakh Khanate at the international level began with the separation of the Kazakh sultans from the Abulkhair Khanate. Although the period of formation of the Kazakh Khanate experienced difficult military conflicts, the foreign policy position of the rulers was aimed at preserving and expanding the territory of the state. On the way to achieving this goal, the rulers tried to establish peaceful relations with neighboring States on various conditions. These agreements were based on the traditional customs of the time.

According to the available modern data, the Kazakh Khanate at the international level gradually established relations with Central Asia, Russia, Qing, Dzungarian, Iran, the Ottoman Empire and India. Thus, the



Kazakh khans, realizing the strategic importance of their territory, followed a multi-vector course in determining the foreign policy priorities of the state.

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Кушенова Г.И., Нарымбет Г.Б., Таштанов Ж.А., Жанболатов С.Е.
ҚАЗАҚ ХАНДЫҒЫ МЕН ШАЙБАНИДТЕР МЕМЛЕКЕТІНІҢ ӨЗАРА ІС-ҚИМЫЛЫНА
ТАРИХИ ТАЛДАУ: ЕКІЖАҚТЫ ҚАТЫНАСТАРДЫҢ НЕГІЗГІ БАҒЫТТАРЫ МЕН
ДИНАМИКАСЫ

Аңдатпа. XV ғасырдың екінші жартысы мен XVI ғасырдың басы Жошының ұрпақтары Шығыс Дешті Қыпшақ пен Мавераннахр аумақтарында толық билікке келгендігімен ерекшеленеді. Шыңғыс ханның ұрпақтарының әрқайсысы өзін ұлысының жерінде Билеуші деп санады. Сондықтан Керей мен Жәнібек сұлтандарының Әбілқайыр ханның билігінде ұзақ уақыт болуы мүмкін емес еді, ерте ме, кеш пе олар бөлінуі керек еді. Қазақ сұлтандары атасы Урыс хан қалдырған заңды мұра аумағында өз мемлекетін құру мақсатын көздеді. Ал Шибанидтер ең басында таратылған Әбілқайыр хандығының бастапқы иеліктерін сақтауға немесе қайтаруға тырысты осылайша, екі әулеттің билеушілері, ең алдымен, сауда-экономикалық және саяси байланыстардың стратегиялық маңызды орталығы болған Түркістан жерінің қалалары үшін күресті. Зерттеу нәтижелері: XVI ғасырдың бірінші онжылдығына дейінгі мемлекетаралық қатынастар негізінен неке қатынастары, сауда, әскери одақтар және діни мәселелер аясында көрінетіні анықталды. Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері. XVI ғасырдың бірінші онжылдығына дейінгі екі мемлекет арасындағы қатынастарды және олардың негізгі бағыттарын зерттеу және сипаттау. Зерттеу негізінде келесі нәтиже алынды. Біріншіден, Қазақ хандығының халықаралық қатынастары жаңаша қаралды, екіншіден, бұл тақырып аз зерттелгені анықталды, үшіншіден, екі елдің мемлекетаралық қатынастарының негізгі бағыттары сипатталды. Ғылыми жұмыс тарихи дереккөздер мен қазіргі ағылшын, американдық, ресейлік, қазақ, өзбек, тәжік ғалымдарының зерттеулері негізінде жүргізілді.

Кілт сөздер: Қазақ хандығының тарихы, халықаралық қатынастар, Бурындық хан, Мұхаммед Шайбани, Шайбани мемлекеті.

Кушенова Г.И., Нарымбет Г.Б., Таштанов Ж.А., Жанболатов С.Е.
ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ ВЗАИМОДЕЙСТВИЯ КАЗАХСКОГО ХАНСТВА И
ГОСУДАРСТВА ШАЙБАНИДОВ: ОСНОВНЫЕ НАПРАВЛЕНИЯ И ДИНАМИКА
ДУВУСТОРОННИХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ

Аннотация. Вторая половина XV и начало XVI веков примечательны тем, что потомки Джучи пришли к полной власти на территориях Восточного Дешт-Кипчака и Мавераннахра. Каждый из потомков Чингисхана считал себя правителем на земле своего улуса. Поэтому долгое пребывание султанов Керей и Джанибека под властью хана Абулхайра было невозможно, и рано или поздно им пришлось бы разделиться. Казахские султаны преследовали цель создания собственного государства на территории законного наследства, оставленного их дедом Урыс-ханом. А Шибаниды в самом начале пытались сохранить или вернуть исконные владения упраздненного ханства Абулхайра. Таким образом, правители обеих династий боролись в первую очередь за города Туркестанской земли, которые были стратегически важным центром торгово-экономических и политических связей. Результаты исследования: Выявлено, что межгосударственные отношения вплоть до первого десятилетия XVI века проявлялись в основном в рамках брачных отношений, торговли, военных союзов и религиозных вопросов. Цель и задачи исследования. Изучить и охарактеризовать отношения между двумя государствами вплоть до первого



десятилетия XVI века и их основные направления. На основе проведенного исследования был получен следующий результат. Во-первых, по-новому были рассмотрены международные отношения Казахского ханства, во-вторых, выяснилось, что эта тема мало изучена, и в-третьих, были описаны основные направления межгосударственных отношений двух стран. Научная работа проводилась на основе исследований исторических источников и современных английских, американских, российских, казахских, узбекских, таджикских ученых.

Ключевые слова: История Казахского ханства, международные отношения, Бурындык-хан, Мухаммед Шайбани, государство Шайбани.