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## **HISTORICAL SOURCES ON THE ETHNONYM "KAZAKH" AND THE KAZAKH KHANATE IN THE WORKS OF SHOKAN UALIKHANOV**

### *Abstract*

The article analyzes the issues of the formation of the Kazakh people, the origin of the ethnonym "Kazakh" and the formation of the Kazakh Khanate in the research of Shokan Ualikhanov. The scientist was particularly interested in the ethnonym "Kazakh", the etymology of tribes, and information about the processes and stages of the formation of the Kazakh people. According to Sh. Ualikhanov, the term "Kazakh" existed until the Turkic period and was used to denote "free and wanderer." Sh. Ualikhanov attached a specific ethno-social meaning to the term that he argued had developed over time. The conclusions of the scientist on this question were close to the truth compared to the results of the scientists before and after him. His research on the origin of the Kazakh people and the establishment of the Kazakh Khanate was based on specific conclusions that he studied during his studies in the cadet corps, and then developed in his research "Kazakh genealogy" and others.

**Keywords:** Shokan Ualikhanov, Kazakh, Kazakh Khanate, ethno-social, ethnogenesis, "Kazakh genealogy", Central Asia, tribe.

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## **Ш.УӘЛИХАНОВШЫҒАРМАЛАРЫНДАҒЫ «ҚАЗАҚ» ЭТНОНИМИМЕНҚАЗАҚХАНДЫҒЫНАҚАТЫСТЫДЕРЕКТЕР**

### *Аңдатпа*

Мақалада Шоқан Уәлиханов зерттеулеріндегі қазақ халқының қалыптасуы, «қазақ» этнонимінің шығуы мен Қазақ хандығының құрылуы туралы мәселелер қарастырылды. Ғалымды «қазақ» этнонимі, рулар мен тайпалардың этимологиясы, қазақ халқының құрылу үдерістері мен кезеңдері туралы мәліметі ерекше қызықтырды. Қазақ халқының этногенез мәселесіне көңіл бөле отырып, «қазақ» этнонимінің семантикасы мен оның пайда болуына мән берді. Шежірелерден, ортағасырлық шығыс қолжазбаларынан, батыс ғалымдарының еңбектерінен, қытай деректерінен, орыс жылнамалары мен шығыстанушылардың зерттеулерінен қазақтың этникалық тарихы туралы деректерді іздестірді. Уәлихановтың пайымынша «қазақ» сөзі Шыңғыс хандәуіріне дейін, түркі заманында өмір сүрген. Бұл ұғым «еркін» деген мағынада қолданылған. Ғалым «қазақ» сөзінің шығуы мәселесін зерделей отырып, «Қазақ халық поэзиясының түрлері туралы» зерттеуінде: «Көне заманда «қазақ» деген сөз ерікті және еркіндікте деген мағынада кездеседі...» деп жазды. «Қазақ» ұғымына этноәлеуметтік мән берген. Оның аталған мәселе төңірегіндегі тұжырымдары өзіне дейінгі және өзінен кейінгі ғалымдардың нәтижелерімен салыстырғанда ақиқатқа барынша жақын болды. Қазақ халқының шығу тегі мен қазақ хандығының қалыптасуы туралы ізденістерін кадет корпусында оқып жүрген кезде бастап, кейін оны «Қырғыз шежіресі» және тағы басқа зерттеулерінде дамыта түсті.

**Түйін сөздер:** Шоқан Уәлиханов, қазақ, Қазақ хандығы, этноәлеуметтік, этногенез, «Қазақ шежіресі», ру-тайпа, Орталық Азия.

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## ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЕ ИСТОЧНИКИ ОБ ЭТНОНИМЕ "КАЗАХ" И КАЗАХСКОМ ХАНСТВЕ В ТРУДАХ ШОКАНА УАЛИХАНОВА

### *Аннотация*

В статье рассматриваются вопросы формирования казахского народа, происхождения этнонима «казах» и образования Казахского ханства в исследованиях Шокана Уалиханова. Ученый интересовался этнонимом «казах», этимологией племен, сведениями о процессах и этапах формирования казахского народа. Обращая внимание на проблему этногенеза казахского народа, он акцентировал внимание на семантике этнонима «казах» и его происхождении. Искал источники по этнической истории казахов, в генеалогиях казахского народа, средневековых восточных рукописях, западных и китайских источниках, русских летописях и исследованиях востоковедов. По мнению Уалиханова, слово «казах» существовало до эпохи Чингисхана в тюркские времена. Это понятие использовалось в значении «свободный». Ученый, изучая вопрос происхождения слова «казах», в исследовании «О видах казахской народной поэзии» отметил: «В древности слово "казах" встречается в значении произвольного и свободного...». Он изначально придавал этносоциальное значение понятию «казах». Выводы ученого по данному вопросу были близки к истине по сравнению с результатами ученых до и после него. Поиски происхождения казахского народа и становления Казахского ханства он начал во время учебы в кадетском корпусе, а затем развил в трудах «Казахское родословие» и других.

**Ключевые слова:** Шокан Уалиханов, казах, Казахское ханство, этносоциальный, этногенез, «Казахское родословие», Центральная Азия, племя.

### **Introduction**

Shokan Valikhanov's research on the ethnogenesis of the Kazakh people and the origin of the ethnonym "Kazakh" is considered a significant contribution to the field of Kazakh history [1, 154 p.]. He dedicated a significant portion of his life to studying the history, culture, and traditions of the Kazakh people. Sh. Ualikhanov paid special attention to the semantics of the ethnonym "Kazakh" and its origin, which led him to conduct extensive research on the subject. He searched various sources, including Kazakh chronicles, manuscripts of medieval orientalisists, works of Western scientists, Chinese primary sources, Russian annals, and researches of Russian orientalisists to find information about the Kazakh history, origin, and meaning of the ethnonym "Kazakh."

Despite his rigorous search, Sh. Ualikhanov found limited information on the subject matter. This lack of substantial information prompted him to write the "Kazakh Chronicle," a work that provides valuable information about the history of the Kazakh people in the Middle Ages. The chronicle is a detailed account of the early history of the Kazakh people and includes information on their political, social, and cultural development. Shokan not only collected these sources himself, but handed them over to the literate people in the Kazakh society at that time.

Shokan Ualikhanov's research on the origin and meaning of the ethnonym "Kazakh" is significant and noteworthy. Through his meticulous research, Sh. Ualikhanov uncovered that the term "Kazakh" had existed during the Turkic period prior to the era of Genghis Khan and held the connotation of "free and wandering." His findings are based on solid evidence and provide valuable insight into the history and ethnogenesis of the Kazakh people. In this regard Shokan noted: "Kyrgyz call themselves Kazakhs. In ancient times, the Kazakh word means "free", I have no doubt about it. The Kazakh verb in the sense of wandering is found in the works of Babymama and Shaibaninama [2, 241 p.]. He further highlighted the ethno-social significance of the concept of "Kazakh" and presented his research findings in his study "On the types of Kazakh folk poetry": "In ancient times, the term "Kazakh" is found in the meaning of "free and wandering" [2, 66 p.]. Sh. Ualikhanov's meticulous research on the origin and significance of the ethnonym "Kazakh" yielded findings that were remarkably closer to the truth when compared to the results of both his predecessors and successors in the field.

Scholar B. Komekov's meticulous research on the origin of the ethnonym "Kazakh" significantly advances our understanding of the complex process of the formation of the Kazakh people. Komekov's insightful findings are in accordance with Sh. Ualikhanov's perspective, suggesting that the emergence of the Kazakh people was a gradual and nuanced process, shaped by centuries of inter-ethnic contact and cultural exchange spanning over

three millennia. The initial meaning of the word "Kazakh" was primarily social, and only later acquired ethnic and political connotations. This assertion is supported by historical evidence, which shows that people who separated from the main population were referred to as "Kazakhs" in the past. For instance, Zhanibek and Kerei were known as Uzbek-Kazakhs after they separated from the nomadic Uzbeks. This serves as evidence that the term "Kazakh" initially carried a social significance [3, 4 p.]. While some scholars, based on Byzantine primary sources say that the word "Kazakh" was known as "Kasakhs" and "Kosohs" in the 9th-10th centuries. It is important to note that this argument rests solely on phonetic harmony and similarity [4].

The perspective proposed by Shokan in the mid-19th century is in accordance with the current findings and developments in modern historical scholarship. According to a number of Turkic studies scholars, the spread of the term "Kazakh" was connected with Eastern Desht-i Kypchak. According to Samoilovich, the identity of this term in the Kypchak language did not appear before the 11th century. More specifically, the term "Kazakh" is first used in written records in 1245 among the Kypsakhs in the Mamluk sultanat of Egypt, that is, in the Arabic-Kypchak dictionary. The word "Kazakh" means "free, wandering". With this concept, it can be understood that there is a social content in the meaning of the term "Kazakh".

### **Materials and methods**

The present study is a comprehensive exploration of the life and work of Shokan Ualikhanov, a highly respected Kazakh scientist who played a crucial role in advancing knowledge about the history and culture of the Kazakh people. The study draws on a range of sources to provide a comprehensive overview of Ualikhanov's life and contributions to science. The primary sources of information for this study are Shokan Ualikhanov's extensive five-volume collection of works, which was published under the leadership of Academician A. Margulan in 1984-1985. As well as the Kazakh edition of his works, which was published in 2010 as part of the state program "Cultural Heritage". By utilizing these valuable sources, this study provides an in-depth examination of Ualikhanov's scientific achievements and their impact on the field of Kazakh studies.

Additionally, this study utilizes seminal works by other Kazakh scholars, including N. Masanov's "Chokan Valikhanov on Ethnogenesis of the Kazakh People," B. Komekov's "History of Kazakh Statehood and the Kazakh Khanate," Z. Kinayatuly's "The Kazakh Identity of Sh. Ualikhanov and His Discovery of Kazakh History" T. Omarbekov's "It is Impossible to Determine the Historical Roots of Kazakh Statehood Without Studying the Ethnic Issues of Kazakh History," A. Amanzholov's "Origin of the Kazakh etymology," T. Omarbekov and G. Habizhanova's "Current Issues of Kazakh Ethnogenesis," Derbisali's "Unique figures of the steppe. Kazakh Khanate. Kerei, Janibek. "Tarikh-i Rashidi," I. Zhemenev's "Myrza Haidar Dulat (1499-1551) historian - writer" and B.B. Karibaev's "History of the Establishment of the Kazakh Khanate".

Academician M. Kozybayev, a leading historian in independent Kazakhstan, argues that it is crucial to examine historical figures carefully, avoiding both undue praise and criticism: "We should look very carefully at historical figures. We should not praise them while they are alive and complain after they are gone, we should not paint historical figures with one color, but we should talk about their personality, show their shortcomings, and create a political portrait that will serve as a lesson for the future. The life and work of a historical figure, his good deeds and mistakes should be recorded in history through special research. We need it not for us, but for future history. What do we hide, it is true that we have been hiding the names of our men who fought for the future of the country for many years, took some brave actions, spoke the people's speech openly, and have been hiding and hiding from the cold of politics" [5].

This article also draws upon the insights of K. Atabaev, a source study expert who has analyzed the methodology and historical source science research related to Sh. Ualikhanov's works and made the following conclusion about the works of Sh. Ualikhanov: "Shokan Ualikhanov was the first Kazakh scholar to express scientifically based thoughts about the unique historical sources of his nation. If we say that the science of data science begins with the search for historical data and their publication in a systematic manner, then the learned scientist has done great work in the field of scientific circulation by searching for historical sources related to the history of the Kazakh-Kyrgyz peoples, systematizing them and translating them into Russian. The significance of his collected historical sources, his position as a historian, and his historical views have been studied in the works of many historians. Our great thinker well understood the need to reflect and scientifically analyze the historical sources that will help to recognize the path of the Kazakh people, the winding history that has passed through countless generations. In this regard, Shokan's thoughts about historical sources, his assessment of different groups of sources, and methods used in analysing sources, thereby determining the scientific value of information stored in data have not lost their importance in the science of data science" [6].

Thus, the present study emphatically emphasizes the vital importance of Sh. Ualikhanov's immense contributions to the study of Kazakh history and culture. It underscores the indispensable significance of his painstakingly collected historical sources, his distinguished position as a historian, and his incisive analytical

insights, which have played an instrumental role in shaping subsequent scholarship in the field of source study. Overall, this study endeavors to augment and enrich our comprehension of Sh. Ualikhanov's illustrious legacy, acknowledging his unwavering commitment to scientific inquiry and his unparalleled contributions to the study of Kazakh culture and history.

### **Discussion**

The ethnogenesis of the Kazakh people is a complex historical issue that has been discussed by many researchers and presented in various ways. The dominant view in the historiography until the middle of the 19th century was that the Kazakhs originated from the Yenisei Kyrgyz, as proposed by the Dutch scientist Nicolaes Witzen. However, other scholars such as P.Rychkov, N.Bichurin, and A. Levshin presented their own hypotheses on the origins of the Kazakh people based on limited information available at the time. P.Rychkov argued that the Kazakhs appeared from the "Alatau-Kyrgyz" suggests that the Kazakhs have close ties with the Kyrgyz people and may have originated from the same region. N.Bichurin contended that the Kazakhs are the heirs of the ancient Kangyu and suggests that the Kazakhs have a long history and may have originated from a more ancient civilization. A. Levshin stressed that the Kazakh people are an "ancient people" that constitutes a branch of the Turkic tribes and is no less ancient than the Naimans and the Kyrgyz, suggests that the Kazakhs have a unique identity and history that is distinct from other Turkic branches.

Sh. Ualikhanov and V. Velyaminov-Zernov stand out as illustrious scholars who have left an indelible mark on the study of Kazakh history and culture. Drawing on Dulati's seminal work "Tarihi-Rashidi," an invaluable historical chronicle of the Kazakh people, both Ualikhanov and Velyaminov-Zernov made a pioneering and systematic analysis of the final phase of the process of ethnogenesis of the Kazakh people. Ethnogenesis, which pertains to the emergence and evolution of a distinct ethnic group or culture, was elucidated through their groundbreaking work. Their seminal contributions have been instrumental in illuminating the origins and evolution of the Kazakh people, and their work remains highly revered among scholars to this day.

The origins and history of the Kazakh people have been the subject of rigorous debate and intense discussion among scholars for many years. One of the most significant discussions concerns the formation of the Kazakh people of the pre-Mongolian period. Hungarian scientist Armeni Vambery challenged A.Levshin's perspective, putting forward Ferdowsi's views instead. However, not all scholars were convinced by Vambery's argument, with Chokan being a notable example. Despite this, other researchers such as M.Tynyshpaev and Kh. Adilgereev attempted to replicate Vambery's prediction, underscoring the continued relevance and interest in this topic among scholars. It is crucial to note that Vambery's work was constrained by the limited information and resources available during his time. He did not have access to the wealth of archaeological, ethnographic, and written data that modern researchers now have at their disposal, which can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the ethnic history of the Kazakh people. Nonetheless, his contribution to the scholarly debate was significant and should be acknowledged.

Notwithstanding these limitations, Sh. Ualikhanov stands out as a preeminent scholar who made significant contributions to the historiography of the period with his numerous scientific discoveries. Through his ambitious expeditions and meticulous research, he was able to unearth new information about the traditions, customs, and way of life of the Kazakh people, providing unprecedented insights into their history and culture. His pioneering work continues to inspire and inform researchers, underscoring the importance of rigorous scientific inquiry in advancing our understanding of the origins and development of the Kazakh people.

According to academician M. Kozybaev, the Turkic peoples can be traced back to the Turkic Khaganate, and the formation of the Kazakh ethnos as a people occurred during the rule of the Kipchaks, prior to the Mongol invasion. However, this development was interrupted by the invasion of Genghis Khan. Despite this, the Kypchak, or Kazakh, ethnos developed with deep cultural traditions and the experience of a great power [7, 16 p.]. T.Omarbekov also emphasizes the importance of understanding the history of the tribes that formed the Kazakh nation, stating that "the history of these ancient tribes, which later formed the 'Kazakh' nation, consists of the history of many clans" [8, 54 p.]. He further notes that this history is often told in superficial generalizations, highlighting the need for deeper and more comprehensive research into the formation and development of the Kazakh people. Overall, the opinions of Kozybaev and Omarbekov demonstrate the ongoing interest and importance of researching the ethnic history of the Kazakh people. While some aspects of this history may be incomplete or poorly understood, continued research and exploration can shed light on the complex and multifaceted nature of Kazakh culture and identity.

For many years, scholars have dedicated their attention to the issue of Kazakh ethnogenesis and the origins of the term "Kazakh." In the mid-20th century, a number of prominent researchers, including M.Akynzhanov, S.Ibragimov, and V. Yudin, conducted extensive research on these topics. However, the progress in this area was somewhat limited until Kazakhstan gained its independence. Since then, the study of Kazakh ethnogenesis and the origins of the Kazakh people has received renewed attention, and researchers such as B.Komekov,

T.Omarbekov, Z.Kinayatuly, and A.Amanzholov have made significant contributions to this field of study [9]. These scholars have built upon the work of earlier researchers, incorporating new methodologies and insights to deepen our understanding of this fascinating topic. Through their research, these scholars have helped to shed light on the complex and multifaceted origins of the Kazakh people, including the historical and cultural influences that have shaped Kazakh identity over time. In their articles "Current issues of Kazakh ethnogenesis," scholars

T.Omarbekov and G.Khabizhanova offered their insights on the topic. They stated that "Kazakh ethnogenesis today can achieve true conclusions only with the combined help of universal sciences that have achieved considerable development. More than 90 percent of the primary sources given in the Kazakh genealogy correspond to the historical truth. The main reason for this is that the Kazakh emphasized at least the memory of his seven ancestors, and now he tried to never allow his ancestors to be falsified. In particular, genealogy is very important in determining historical figures and their names" [10, 6 p.]. Their articles shed light on the importance of utilizing a multidisciplinary approach to studying Kazakh ethnogenesis and highlighted the significance of genealogy in understanding the history and identity of the Kazakh people.

The ongoing interest in this topic is demonstrated by the continued research and exploration by modern scholars, who now have access to a wealth of archaeological, ethnographic, and written data. While some aspects of the Kazakh people's history may be incomplete or poorly understood, the continued study of Kazakh ethnogenesis is essential for a comprehensive understanding of the complex and multifaceted nature of Kazakh culture and identity.

### **Results**

In his study on Kazakh ethnogenesis, Shokan Ualikhanov conducted an extensive analysis of legends and folk literature to shed light on the complex terms "Kazakh" and "Alash". Through his research, Sh. Ualikhanov discovered a wealth of legends about "Alash" and "Alasha Khan" that were deeply ingrained in the Kazakh people. After carefully analyzing these legends, he came to the conclusion that the legend of Alasha Khan may have emerged at a later point in time.

Furthermore, Sh. Ualikhanov found that the ethnonyms "Alash", "Alasha Khan", and "Nogaily" were also mentioned in the poem "Edyge", which was written during the decline of the Golden Horde. In the poem, Tokhtamys Khan's people are referred to as Nogayli, and when the Khan bid farewell to his people, he uttered the phrase, "when Alash becomes Alash, when Alasha becomes Khan" [10, 8 p.]. This suggests that the Nogai people were not a distinct "Nogai" ethnic group, but rather were referred to as "Nogay", and "Nogayly" was an ancient ethnonym of the word "Kazakh" [11, 241 p.]. Thus, Sh. Ualikhanov's research provides valuable insights into the complex origins and evolution of these significant Kazakh ethnonyms.

Sh. Ualikhanov also divided the genealogical origin of Kazakhs into two different classes: the "Asyl syuek" created by sunlight, a privileged part of the traditional Kazakh society, and the "Kara" (black) people, the ordinary people [2]. In his studies, Ualikhanov used the concept of "Alash" as a synonym for the name "Kazakh" and stressed that "there is a historical truth in connecting the origin of Turkish Kazakhs with Alash, Alasha" [12, 111 p.].

Shokan's research drew on various historical sources, and he created several genealogical tables, including the families of Kazakh khans and sultans. Shokan's deep understanding of the tribal structure of the Kazakh people, which he considered the main feature, allowed him to identify the uniqueness of the nomadic society. In his study, "Kazakh Chronicle," Sh. Ualikhanov emphasized that the division of Kazakhs into clans is a long-standing tradition, and the Kypchaks, Kangly, and Jalayir clans, which were part of the Kazakh people, inhabited the shores of Issykkol, the Shu and Talas rivers before the Mongol invasion. The Kypchaks had inhabited the lands between the Don, Volga, and Urals for 400 years, and those lands were called Deshti Kipchak [13, 163-164 p.].

Also, Shokan's research shed light on the formation of three Kazakh "Zhuzes" or "Hordes" on the Kazakh steppe - the "Great zhuz, the "Middle Zhuz" and the "Small Zhuz." He identified the main clans included in each "Zhuz". Moreover, Shokan's study corrected a common mistake among historians about the meaning of the word "Golden Horde." Until then, historians understood it as a state structure. However, according to Shokan's interpretation, "Horde" refers to the place of the capital of the Khan, or its headquarters. The Gold tent or yurt, where Khan lived in Altyn Orda, later became the name of all bets in the cities where the khan lived. This important insight shows Shokan's deep knowledge of the internal structure of nomadic societies, which many European scientists did not notice [14, 65 p.].

Prior to Shokan Ualikhanov's research, even well-known experts on the Kazakh steppe, such as M.Tevkelev, P.Rychkov, and A.Levshin, had not fully understood the structure and history of the Kazakh khanate, as well as other important aspects of Kazakh society. These experts were considered authorities in their time, yet they were unable to reveal the origin of the Kazakhs, the activities of different groups and classes, and their hierarchy.

Shokan Ualikhanov's groundbreaking research on the Kazakh people and their society corrected many misunderstandings and filled significant gaps in knowledge. Through his work, he was able to shed light on the structure of the Kazakh khanate, its meaning, and the origins of the Kazakhs. Additionally, he provided detailed insights into every aspect of Kazakh society, including the activities of different groups and classes and their hierarchy.

In light of the 550th anniversary of the establishment of the Kazakh khanate, the issue of its foundation and Kazakh statehood has gained increasing significance. N. Nazarbayev, emphasized this point in his speech at the ceremony dedicated to the 550th anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate, stating that "Although the Kazakh Khanate was established only five and a half centuries ago, it was the legitimate successor of the Saka, Hun, Uysin states, the Great Turkic Khanate, the Deshti Kipchak, and the Golden Horde states in the vast Eurasian steppe" [15]. He went on to underscore that the Kazakhs are the true heirs of the Golden Horde.

Undoubtedly, Muhammed Haydar Dulati's work "Tarikh-i Rashidi" provides valuable information on the foundation of the Kazakh Khanate, which is regarded as the iron pillar of Kazakh history and the source of its statehood. The author's work contains extensive historical, ethnographic, and geographical information on the peoples and states that inhabited Central Asia during the 14-16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Muhammad Haidar Dulati explains in his writing that Kerei and Zhanibek separated from the Abulkhair khanate in the 50s and 60s of the 15th century. Shokan Ualikhanov further notes that the Kazakh Khanate was established in the year 870 Hijra, corresponding to 1465-1466 according to the current year. Domestic and foreign scholars do not question this period and regard it as the year of the Kazakh Khanate's establishment. Thus, the author unequivocally demonstrates that the Kazakh people emerged on the stage of history in 1465. Moreover, he states that until the year 940 Hijra (1533-1534), the Kazakhs ruled over most of the current Uzbekistan territory [16].

According to the esteemed Kazakh scholar, Islam Zhemenev, the historical text Tarikh-i Rashidi offers a valuable complement to the incomplete or under-documented aspects of the renowned work, Baburnama. Furthermore, the inclusion of various geographical regions, such as Mauerennahr, Khorasan, Kabul, Badakhshan, India, Mongolia, Kashgar, Tibet, and Kashmir, enriches the areas mentioned in Baburnama. A careful comparative analysis of these two works can significantly enhance the historical significance of Baburnama. Therefore, Zhemenev's assessment provides important insights into the intertextual relationship between these two significant works and their relevance to the historical understanding history of the region [17, 29 p.].

Shokan Ualikhanov's analysis of the formation of the Kazakh khanate and the Kazakh state draws upon a variety of sources, including the "Notes to the book "Khan edicts" by Professor I. Berezin", "Kazakh Chronicle", "Legends and Tales of the Great Zhuz Kazakhs", "Essays of Dzungaria", "Kyrgyz-Kaysak bullet composition", "About the Kyrgyz-Kaysak tomb and the general ancient period", "Tangiri", "Tarikh-i Rashidi", "Genealogy of Kazakh khans and sultans", and "Excerpt from Jami-at-tawarikh". Through his deep analysis of these works, Ualikhanov explores the origin of the Kazakh people and the formation of the Kazakh khanate. The lack of scholarly research on the Kazakh people was a concern expressed by the author, who felt that the limited amount of attention devoted to this topic had resulted in an incomplete understanding of the Kazakh culture, history, and society [18, c. 388].

Ualikhanov's fascination with the history and language of the Kazakh people can be traced back to his time at the cadet corps when he was approached by Berezin, a renowned Orientalist, to assist in deciphering outdated terms found in the Khan's decrees. In 1852, Sh. Ualikhanov reviewed Berezin's work on Khan's Decrees, which led to his familiarity with Berezin's "Library of Eastern Historians", "Jami at-tawarikh" by Kadirgali Jalayiri, and "Shezhire-i Turk" by Abilgazy Bahadur. Ualikhanov's extensive research led him to conclude that the Tokhtamys, a descendant of Genghis Khan, conquered Desht-i Kypchak in the late 14th century and became a khan. Moreover, he discovered that Tokhtamys extended his reign by defeating the great prince of Lithuania, Jagoilo. Additionally, Ualikhanov informs Professor Berezin that some of the terms found in Tokhtamys's Yagoilo edict and Temur Kutlyk and Saadat Girey's edicts are still used among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In his explanations of Kazakh language words, Ualikhanov introduces some assumptions alongside his remarks, acknowledging the limitations of his own knowledge [18, c. 171].

Shokan Ualikhanov's analysis of the origins of the Kazakh people is an important contribution to the understanding of the region's history. According to Sh. Valikhanov, the Kazakh people emerged from the union of various Turkic and Mongolian tribes after the death of Berdybek, during the internecine wars that began in the Horde. As he told Professor I. Berezin "Kazakh people emerged from the union of various Turkic and Mongolian tribes after the death of Berdybek, during the internecine wars that began in the Horde, and this is not the people of ancient times written by Ferdausi. Each descendant of Baty wanted to become a khan, and for that, his people had to be. In my opinion, this is how the Crimea, Kazan Khanate, Sarai Horde, Uzbek-Shaibani

and Kazakh Union appeared. The stories and myths surrounding the beginnings of the Kazakh people have been substantiated by various sources. One such source is Kadyrgali Zhalayiri, a member of the Tarak-tamgaly Zhalayr tribe of "Great Zhuz" and your work about "Shaibani-nama" [2, 143 p.].

Shokan Ualikhanov reads Ferdowsi's "Rustem Dastan" from the works of the A. Levshin about the wanderers who live near the city of Keykabad in modern Tajikistan. This was first quoted by the famous orientalist Senkovsky in his work. From this, Levshin wrote about his "Kazakh people and khans" that can be found in Ferdowsi's epic "Rustem Dastan". After reading this document, Shokan wrote the above-mentioned answer to Berezin. Later, he supplemented and deepened his thoughts in his theoretical study titled "Kazakh Chronicle" and writes: "In turbulent times, before the establishment of the Khanates of Kazan, Crimea, and Astrakhan, the Golden Horde and The first tribes of the Chagatai Ullis formed alliances to ensure their rights in their settled lands, and called a prince from Genghis's lineage to become a khan. In this way, a separate political community is created from the clans, which are made up of different independent tribes. "Nogayly was founded in Sarayshik, the Mughal empire was founded in Tashkent, and the Kyrgyz (Kazakh) khanate was founded near the Seyhun" [13, 165-166 p.].

According to official historiography, the origins of the Kazakh khans can be traced back to Orda Yezhen, the eldest son of Joshi Khan. Kerei and Zhanibek Khan, who were cousins, both descended from Orda Yezhen to Urys Khan. However, some historical sources suggest that the Kazakh khans' origin can be traced back to Joshin's youngest son, Tokai Temur. This information is found in the works "Tavarih-i guzida-yi nusrat name" by an unknown author, "Bahr al-asrar fi manakib al-ahiyar" by Mahmud bin Amir Wali, and in the work of Kadirgali Jalayiri.

Scholars have differing opinions on the genealogy of the descendants of Joshi. However, both Kerei and Zhanibek Khan were considered equal rulers of the "White Horde." The Tokai Temur brothers were among the "four brothers" who were given a share in the greatness of the horde and formed the left wing of the Zhosi estates and army together. Domestic researchers consider the issue of whether Urys Khan and his descendants descended from Tokai Temur in the Zhoshi branch or were connected with Orda Yezhen to be of no fundamental importance [16, 24 p.]. We believe that Ualikhanov used Kadyrgali Zhalayiri's "Collection of Annals" in his research, which traced the origin of Kazakh khans back to Tokai Temur. This work was considered one of the most important sources of Kazakh history at the time, and Ualikhanov's use of it in his research reflects his thoroughness and attention to detail.

In his article titled "Kazakh Chronicle" concerning the origins of the sultans Zhanibek and Kerei, Sh. Ualikhanov makes a noteworthy observation. He notes that the origins of the Urys dynasty in Kyrgyz legends and which of its sons became the first khan remain unknown to the Kazakh people. Kazakhs say that a khan named Janibek once passed, but it is unclear whether Janibek was the first khan himself or whether his ancestors were khans. There is no satisfactory information about Urys Khan and Janibek Khan in the chronicle of Kadirgali Jalayir, only on page 14 of that chronicle, it is said that 2,000 warriors of Khanly were on the right wing of Urys Khan's army, and Alash thousand were on the left wing" [13, 174 p.].

Sh. Ualikhanov quotes that "the invasion of Temur was met with fierce resistance by the White Horde, Urys Khan, the ruler of Alash dynasty, and their sons... Temur killed the sons of Alash, the first Kazakh khan, during his campaign against Tokhtamys." Shokan here says Amet, Samet, the son of the first khan of Alash. This may be an oral genealogical version. It is a historical fact that Temur and Tokhtamys killed Toktakiya and Temur Malik Khan, the sons of Urys Khan. According to Shokan, these events took place in the middle of the 14th century. In his synopsis for the "Tarikh-i Rashidi" annals, he supplemented the analysis of Muhammad Haidar's division of the Zoshi dynasty into two wings and distinguished the White Horde from the Western Horde, which was called the Volga Horde or Golden Horde by Rashid-ad Din, Wassafi and Russian historians, and the Blue Horde by Persian historians. According to the writings of Abilgazy Bahadur, Urys Khan's ancestry is spread from Tokai-Temur, but Urys Khan was recognized as the first Kazakh khan [13, 111-113 p.]. Sh. Ualikhanov argued that after the descendants of Alasha Khan were killed, the Kazakhs recognized Zhanibek, son of Barak, as their Khan. This period, which was characterized by the migration of two related peoples, Kazakhs and Nogais, was regarded as the "Golden age" in Kazakh poetry [13, 180 p.].

In his work "Tribal genealogy of Kazakh khans and sultans," Sh. Ualikhanov documented the history of Sultan Ondan, including facts about his son, Oraz-Mohammed. Sh. Ualikhanov traced the genealogy of Kazakh sultans from Sultan Barak to Sultan Zhanibek [19, 174 p.]. One of the most important genealogical tables created by Sh. Ualikhanov was that of the descendants of Abylai Khan and Wali Khan [20, 186-187 p.].

Historians have been engaged in exploring the intricate history surrounding the establishment of the Kazakh Khanate since the 1860s. B. Komekov posits that the Kazakh Khanate was established in 1465 under the leadership of Khans Kerey and Zhanibek. However, the formation and development of the Kazakh Khanate were not a linear process and spanned over a significant historical period. In fact, the roots of Kazakh statehood can be traced back to the nomadic Saka period that existed 2.5 thousand years ago [3, 3 p.].

According to B. Karibayev, the inception of the Kazakh Khanate can be traced back to the year 1457, when the Orda-ezhen tribes, led by Khans Kerey and Zhanibek, broke away from the "nomadic Uzbeks" ethno-community and migrated to Zhetisu. This momentous event marked the beginning of a new chapter in Kazakh history, as the Kazakh people began to form a distinct political and cultural identity. Over time, the Kazakh Khanate continued to solidify its position, and by the years 1470/1471, it had successfully banished the Shaibani dynasty from the Eastern Deshti-Kipchak region, cementing its status as a fully-fledged political entity [21, 496 p.]. B. Karibayev's research sheds light on a critical period in Kazakh history, and his insights have contributed significantly to our understanding of the emergence of the Kazakh Khanate.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, Shokan Ualikhanov's contributions to the study of Kazakh history have been both significant and enduring. Despite the limited availability of data in the mid-19th century, Sh. Ualikhanov attempted to draw objective conclusions about the establishment and formation of the Kazakh khanate by analyzing primary sources. As a result, his views on these issues are consistent with those of modern scientists.

Sh. Ualikhanov's work stands out for several reasons. First, he was able to identify and correct the shortcomings of foreign scientists who could not differentiate between the Kyrgyz and Kazakh peoples. By scientifically proving that the two groups were distinct in terms of their ethnic composition and socio-economic structure, Sh. Ualikhanov made a significant contribution to the field of Kazakh history. His findings have been widely accepted in the scientific community and continue to inform our understanding of the Kazakh people and their history.

Second, Sh. Ualikhanov's use of new methodological approaches in his research was also notable. He recognized the importance of understanding the internal laws of nomadic peoples, which were not visible to foreign researchers, and used this understanding to guide his research. In particular, Sh. Ualikhanov emphasized the clan-tribe system as a key feature of Kazakh society, and his work helped to establish this system as a primary area of study for Kazakh historians.

Third, Sh. Ualikhanov's contributions to the study of Kazakh history have helped to shape our understanding of the formation of the Kazakh state and the development of Kazakh ethnogenesis. His objective conclusions related to the "Kazakh" and "Alash" ethnonyms, as well as the formation of the Kazakh state, were some of the most important of his time, and continue to be recognized as such by modern scholars.

Overall, Sh. Ualikhanov's efforts to understand the internal laws of nomadic peoples have helped to shape our understanding of Kazakh history and continue to inspire new research in the field. His work remains a valuable resource for scholars and researchers studying Kazakh history, and his contributions have helped to establish the Kazakh people as a distinct ethnic group with a unique history and culture. Sh. Ualikhanov's methodological innovations and his emphasis on the clan-tribe system as a key feature of Kazakh society continue to inform our understanding of this fascinating and complex culture, and his legacy continues to inspire new generations of Kazakh historians and researchers.

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