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The features of steppe civilization in the works of Shokan Ualikhanov

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ABSTRACT

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This research paper delves into the intricacies of steppe civilization as elucidated within the works of Shokan Ualikhanov, a distinguished Kazakh scholar and ethnographer of the 19th century. Employing primary sources including Ualikhanov's original compositions, translated materials, and correspondence, alongside secondary sources, the study meticulously dissects Ualikhanov's examination of the Kazakh ethnogenesis. This encompasses an exploration of the etymology of the term «Kazakh,» the development of the Kazakh ethnic group and the Kazakh Khanate, and the underlying structure of nomadic societies. The research underscores Ualikhanov's substantial contributions to historiography, underlining his profound grasp of the formation of the Kazakh populace and society, as well as his corrective influence on preceding scholarly inaccuracies. Ualikhanov's investigations into the history and culture of Turkic communities draw upon primary Eastern medieval sources, such as Kadyrgali Jalair's «Collection of Chronicles,» Abulgazy Bahadur's «Shajara-i Turk, and Muhammad Haidar Dulati's «Tarikhi-Rashidi.» Furthermore, he utilized manuscripts sourced from Kashgar, notably Tazkirah Sultan Sutuq Boghra Khan, Tazkirah Tughluq Temir Khan, Tazkirah Khojagan, Abu Muslim Maurizi. This paper highlights his pioneering effort in translating and interpreting the «Manas» epic's section titled «Koketai khannyn ertegisi» into Russian, marking a significant scholarly achievement.

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Introduction

Shokan Chingisuly Ualikhanov, a prominent and internationally recognized Kazakh intellectual, holds a significant place in the study of Kazakh and Turkic cultures. His oeuvre constitutes a pivotal repository for investigating ethnogenesis, socio-political dynamics, spiritual-cultural facets, and historical-geographic intricacies within the context of Central Asia. The mid-19th century stands as a critical juncture in the history of Kazakhstan, a period during which Sh.Ualikhanov, the inaugural Kazakh scholar, forged his enlightened perspectives. His endeavors were dedicated to unraveling the historical narrative of the Kazakh people and presenting their cultural heritage to Russian and European audiences.

An instrumental figure in consolidating and comprehending Shokan Ualikhanov's legacy is Academician A. Margulan. His efforts in collecting, systematizing, and studying Ualikhanov's contributions underscore the reverence with which the scholar's name is held, particularly as a humanist, ethnographer, and historian. The establishment of the School of Shokan Studies, alongside the publication of scientific monographs and specialized research, attests to the enduring impact of Ualikhanov's lifework. His multifaceted lifepath, socio-political activism, and scholarly viewpoints have been subject to diverse analyses, each offering unique insights that have permeated scholarly discourse. However, it's paramount to recognize that as scientific knowledge continually evolves, novel methodological perspectives continually reshape our understanding of Shokan Ualikhanov's enduring scientific legacy.

This research endeavors to meticulously scrutinize Shokan Ualikhanov's contributions to the historiography of his era, with a specific focus on his elucidation of the Kazakh ethnic group's genesis, the etymology of the Kazakh ethnonym, and the establishment of the Kazakh Khanate. Despite inherent limitations, Ualikhanov's scholarly pursuits exhibited innovative methodological paradigms, rendering profound insights into the nuances of Kazakh and Turkic cultures. Central to this inquiry is Ualikhanov's proposition that the term «Kazakh» originally bore a social connotation, prior to its evolution into an ethnopolitical signifier. Furthermore, he underscored the clan-tribal framework as the cornerstone of Kazakh society, distinguishing it from the territorial constructs of settled civilizations. By holistically analyzing Ualikhanov's corpus, this study endeavors to illuminate the indelible impact of his contributions to the study of Central Asian cultures, affirming their relevance for contemporary and future scholars in the field.

Materials and methods

The present study is grounded in a meticulous analysis of primary and secondary sources, aimed at comprehensively exploring the legacy of Shokan Ualikhanov. Central to this investigation are the primary sources, notably the comprehensive five-volume compilation of Ualikhanov's corpus, originally published between 1984 and 1985 under the auspices of A. Margulan. This compendium was subsequently reissued in 2010, coinciding with the «Madeny Mura» state program, thereby ensuring its contemporary scholarly relevance. Within these volumes, Ualikhanov's original writings, translated materials, letters, and diaries converge, presenting an invaluable panorama of his intellectual evolution and personal experiences.

Supplementing the primary sources, the study draws upon the seminal theoretical work «Shokan Ualikhanov - Orientalist,» authored by R. Suleymenov and V. Moiseev, as well as an assortment of peer-reviewed research articles and monographs by other scholars. The analytical exploration of Shokan Ualikhanov's scientific legacy adheres to rigorous scholarly standards, grounded in historical authenticity, logical consistency, and methodological rigor. An intrinsic facet of this endeavor pertains to the intersection of individual contributions with the broader trajectory of human civilization. This study underscores the significance of acknowledging an individual's impact on scientific and cultural progress, thereby discerning their role in the broader canvas of civilization's development.

In summation, this research constitutes a significant scholarly endeavor characterized by its meticulous methodology. By delving into the life and intellectual pursuits of Shokan Ualikhanov, it unveils his profound contributions to the realms of science and culture. The methodological stringency observed throughout the study substantiates the reliability and validity of its findings, augmenting the existing scholarly discourse surrounding Shokan Ualikhanov and the historical tapestry of Central Asia.

The degree of research

The examination of Shokan Ualikhanov's life and scholarly contributions, encompassing both his scientific oeuvre and broader activities, found its origins within his lifetime. A pivotal milestone in this pursuit emerged with the publication of the 29th volume of the Russian Geographical Society in St. Petersburg in 1904. This pivotal work, titled «Sochinenia Chokana Chingisovicha Ualikhanova» (Writings of Chokan Chingisovich Ualikhanov), marked the inaugural step in the scholarly inquiry into his literary heritage (Ualikhanov, 1904).

Subsequently, during the Soviet era spanning from the 1950s to the mid-1980s, a pronounced surge in research endeavors devoted to Sh. Ualikhanov's life and scientific legacy took shape. A.Margulan emerged as a central figure in curating Sh. Ualikhanov's written legacy, culminating in the comprehensive publication of a five-volume compendium of his works between 1961 and 1972, followed by supplementary volumes in 1984 and 1985.

Within this context, it is noteworthy that Kh. Aidarova pioneered the scholarly exploration of Sh. Ualikhanov's biography, undertakings, and scientific perspectives among Soviet historians. Her dissertation (Aidarova, 1945: 198) stands as a pioneering endeavor in this realm. Furthermore, the scholarship encompassing Sh. Ualikhanov's multifaceted life and undertakings witnessed diverse analytical dimensions, including socio-political, economic, philosophical, and legal viewpoints. Notable figures such as K. Beysembiev, O.A. Segizbaev, A. Iskakov, G.M. Iskhakov, A.A. Atishev, D.I. Dulatova, O.A. Sultanyaev, G.R. Usenova, Ch.D. Turdaliyeva, S.K. Oteniazov, G.Sh. Valikhanova, I.R. Ishembetova, R.T. Tleukabylova, and J. Beisenbayuly not only advanced their academic pursuits through candidate and doctoral dissertations focused on Sh. Ualikhanov's corpus, but also enriched the broader tapestry of his exploration. Evidently, scholars from diverse scientific spheres have collectively enriched the inquiry into Sh. Ualikhanov's legacy.

In addition to academic contributions, expressions in the journalistic genre also came to the fore. S. Mukanov's creation of the novel «Akkan zhuldyz» (The Flashing Meteor) and other

literary endeavors dedicated to Shokan, along with S. Markov's historical and bibliographic exposition «Idushchiye k vershinam» (Reaching for the Heights), further highlighted the multidimensional approach taken to engage with Sh. Ualikhanov's narrative. Notable literary figures including S. Begalin, N. Bayandin, K. Bekhozhin, and I. Strelkova (Strelkova, 1990) contributed substantively through works like «Shokan asulary» (Shokan's Heights), «Azianin tungysh zertteushileri» (Asia's First Explorers), and comprehensive monographs. Moreover, the realm of poetry and literature commemorated Shokan's legacy through the compositions of Y.N. Bessonov and V.Ya. Yakubovich, exemplified by «Po vnutrennei Azii» (In Inner Asia), as well as A. Nurkatov's «Gasyr perzenti» (Man of the Century), among others.

In 1986, the preeminent orientalist literature publishing house, «Nauka,» headquartered in Moscow, issued a compilation of select works authored by Shokan Ualikhanov. This anthology was meticulously curated by B.E. Komekov, V.A. Moiseev, and V.N. Nastich (Valikhanov, 1986).

Subsequently, in the years 2010, a comprehensive five-volume compendium encompassing Sh. Ualikhanov's works was presented in the Kazakh language, during 1984-1985. Notably, B.E. Komekov assumed the mantle of executive editor for this monumental compilation, while K.L. Esmagambetov fulfilled the role of scientific editor. This iteration stood distinguished by its endeavors to refine and rectify prior editions, incorporating nuanced adjustments to specific articles in alignment with contemporary scholarly advancements and the evolving geopolitical milieu. Such revisions sought to acknowledge that Kazakhstan's 130-year association with Russia was not entirely voluntary, and it sought to recontextualize the significance of Kenesary Kasymov's uprising within a framework of national liberation. This nuanced lens on Sh. Ualikhanov's work thus underscored its intersection with the Russian colonial vantage point of his era (Ualikhanov, 2010: 7-8).

The commemoration of Sh. Ualikhanov's 175th birthday in 2010 was marked by a proliferation of articles unveiling novel dimensions of the scholar's life and intellectual legacy. An example is Professor K. Esmagambetov's inquiry titled «Shokandy shetel kalai tanip bilude?» (How is Shokan Studied Abroad?), which provocatively inquired into the extent of exploration of Sh. Ualikhanov's scientific heritage. Esteemed scholars like N. Veselovsky, G.N. Potanin, P.P. Semenov, S. Kapustin, N. Yadrintsev, K. Gutkovsky, N. Kurochkin, and others advocated a reevaluation of personal collections and archival sources to enrich the depth of scholarly understanding (Esmagambetov, 2010).

Historian H. Abzhanov, in his article titled «Shokan and Personality Analysis,» accentuates the stature of Shokan Ualikhanov as a seminal figure in scientific history, an innovative thinker who provided an exemplar of scholarly recognition. Notably, irrespective of the thematic focus of his works, Sh. Ualikhanov consistently navigated human concerns, evident in his references to around 3,000 individuals across his writings. Consequently, a systematic exploration of the theoretical and methodological underpinnings shaping Sh. Ualikhanov's personality studies assumes paramount importance (Abzhanov, 2010). Abzhanov contends that delving into the facets of personality articulated in Sh. Ualikhanov's works carries significant implications.

In the scholarly discourse titled «Russian Perspectives on Shokan Ualikhanov,» Professor G.M. Karasaev embarks upon an exhaustive analysis delineating the contributions of an array of Russian and European intellectuals. Eminent figures encompass F. Dostoevsky, G.

Kolpakovsky, K. Gutkovsky, N. Veselovsky, G. Potanin, and N. Yadrintsev. These luminaries played pivotal roles in facilitating the dissemination of Sh. Ualikhanov's works to audiences spanning both Russian and European realms, as elucidated by Karasaev in 2009 (p. 35).

K. Abuev made a considerable contribution to the study of Ualikhanov's life and scientific endevours. His contributions, including numerous scholarly articles and treatises concerning Shokan and his familial lineage, bring to light diverse perspectives on Sh. Ualikhanov's birthplace, his sojourn in Paris, and his ultimate demise. Building upon a letter composed by Shokan to his father on November 4, 1860, wherein Shokan acknowledges financial assistance for his Paris journey from an unnamed individual, K. Abuev deduces that N. Yadrintsev assumed this role. Notably, Yadrintsev himself attested, «I encountered Shokan Ualikhanov in 1860 in St. Petersburg through G. Potanin. Initially, our interactions were grounded in acquaintanceship, subsequently affording me the chance to extend financial support to Shokan conveys in a letter to Beketov, the editor of «Records of the Russian Geographical Society,» that he was indebted to Yadrintsev by 300 rubles and Usov by 50 rubles (Abuev, 2006: 90-91).

To date, the solitary substantiation of Shokan's sojourn in Paris is encapsulated within the memoir authored by A. Wrangel, a confidant of F. Dostoevsky. In his recollections concerning Sh. Valikhanov, Wrangel delineates, «I held a strong affinity for Shokan Valikhanov. Dostoevsky too relished his company. Subsequently, I encountered Shokan in both St. Petersburg and Paris.» Noteworthy is the appearance of Professor Abuev's monograph titled «Chokan Valikhanov i yego sovremenniki» (Chokan Valikhanov and His Contemporaries) in the year 2016 (Abuev, 2016).

Chinese historiography's exploration of Sh. Ualikhanov is conspicuously illuminated through the scholarly contributions of Professor K. Hafizova. In her article entitled «Chokan Valikhanov v kitayskoy istoriografii» (Shokan Ualikhanov in Chinese Historiography), Hafizova discerns that Sh. Ualikhanov's presence remained unknown to historians during the Qing dynasty. The appraisement of foreign scholars' contributions in China only gained momentum during the final phase of the Kuomintang government, namely the Mingo era (1911-1949). Consequently, Chinese scholars commenced recognizing Sh. Ualikhanov's significance within this chronological frame.

The period marked by the «cultural revolution» precipitated a deterioration in Sino-Soviet relations, reverberating into an adverse impact on China's historiography, scientific landscape, and cultural tapestry. Consequently, a balanced evaluation of Shokan Ualikhanov's contributions to Xinjiang's history faced formidable challenges amid this politically charged milieu. However, the denouement of the 1980s witnessed a seminal development with the appearance of an article titled «The First Tsarist Spy in Southern Xinjiang» within «Shitze Lishi,» emblematic of the inception of earnest explorations into the realm of foreign traveler narratives in China. Notwithstanding this encouraging progression, Soviet scholars engaged in Chinese history grappled with disconcerting epithets like «spies in the realm of culture» and «foreign pillagers» within the framework of Chinese historiography. Nonetheless, specific works of Sh. Ualikhanov were transcribed into Chinese for official application, along with the formulation of a bibliographic roster (Hafizova, 2010: 78-85).

Turkish scholars, too, have demonstrated an active interest in the corpus of Sh. Ualikhanov's contributions, as underscored by A. Erzhebayeva's scholarly exposition titled «What is Written About Shokan in Turkey?» (Erzhebayeva, 2011). In this discourse, Ibrahim Kalkan accentuates two pivotal factors exerting a transformative influence on Central Asia's social and political structure during the latter half of the 19th century: the integration of Central Asia into Russia's dominion and the concurrent modernization trajectory (Kalkan, 2016). Kalkan identifies Ualikhanov alongside other prominent Kazakh figures like Y. Altynsarin and A. Kunanbayev as embodiments of «secularist enlighteners» sharing congruent ideals while championing the cause of modernization.

Within the section dedicated to the Republic of Kazakhstan within the voluminous «Turks» encyclopedia spanning 20 volumes, Sh. Ualikhanov, Ybyray Altynsarin, and Abay Kunanbayev collectively expound upon how the achievements of European culture could be harnessed to surmount economic and cultural lag. While Shokan Ualikhanov advocated that Kazakhs could solely access Western culture through the prism of the Russian language and culture, an entry within the Turkish language and literature encyclopedia implies his nuanced recognition of the multilayered dynamics at play. However, it is posited that Sh. Ualikhanov's perspective did not mitigate the policy of colonization and Russification pursued by the Tsarist government across the Kazakh steppe. With the establishment of Russian schools and the subsequent infusion of Jadid principles into their curriculum, a novel intelligentsia germinated in the Turkestan region, fostering a syncretic blend of Western and Russian influences. Sh. Ualikhanov discerned the dichotomy between his native heritage and Western culture, attributing the backwardness of Kazakh society to the detachment of age-old traditions and the impact of Islam (Erzhebayeva, 2011).

According to the Bashkir historian Ahmet-Zaki Walidi Togan, Shokan Ualikhanov stands as the preeminent figure among Turkestan Turks, encompassing nomadic Turks, who achieved remarkable eminence within European culture during the 19th century. Historian Fatih-Unal underscores Ualikhanov's eminence as a widely acknowledged scholar within the Kazakh intelligentsia, pioneering investigations into the genealogy of Kadyrgali Zhalayiri and his monumental work «Jāmi^c al-tawārīkh.» Ualikhanov's oeuvre is evaluated as an exceptionally rare compilation gleaned from historical documents dating back to the XV-XVI centuries. Specializing in Turkic languages, Goksel Ozturik acknowledges Ualikhanov's pioneering role in introducing the world of academia to the «Manas» and «Edige» poems.

Scholarly discourse has consistently emphasized Shokan Ualikhanov's significant contributions to the study of the «Manas» poem. Historian Abdulkadir Inan delineates the pivotal role Ualikhanov played in elucidating the intricacies of this poem. Scholarly analyses by Ferhat Temir and Hasan Özdemir further underscore the substantial import of Ualikhanov's contributions within this domain.

Throughout the Soviet era, Kyrgyz researchers, including A. Sadykov, I. Moldobaev, R. Kydyrbaeva, and Ch. Turdalieva, dedicated substantial efforts to comprehensively studying Ualikhanov's works. These researchers duly acknowledged his profound impact on Kyrgyz history and culture. Notably, Turdalieva's doctoral dissertation shines a spotlight on Ualikhanov's enduring legacy within the study of Kyrgyz history and culture amidst a cohort of fellow scholars from the 19th to 20th centuries (Turdalieva, 2009).

In contemporary times, scholarship has delved into Shokan Ualikhanov's corpus from diverse perspectives. S. Jeenbekova's research, for instance, affords insights into the quotidian existence of the Kyrgyz populace through the lens of Ualikhanov's literary outputs (Jeenbekova, 2013). D. Saparaliev's work, «Kyrgyzsko-kazakhskiye vzaymootnosheniya XVII-XVIII vv. v nauchnykh trudakh Valikhanova» («Kyrgyz-Kazakh Relations of the 17th-18th Centuries in the Scientific Works of Valikhanov»), along with Umurzakov's discourse on «Valikhanov kak geograf-issledovatel' Kyrgyzstana» (Ualikhanov as a Geographer-Explorer of Kyrgyzstan), further enriches the discourse (Umurzakov, 1996). Pertinently, Langlois and Senyobos in «Introduction to the Study of History» assert that Sh. Ualikhanov's report on his Kashgaria expedition remains unavailable (Langlois & Senyobos, 2015).

While Shokan Ualikhanov has bequeathed substantial contributions to the comprehension of steppe civilization, notably within the ambit of Kazakh and Turkic cultures, an imperative for sustained research remains to expound upon his literary corpus and its lasting impact upon the understanding of Central Asian cultures. Specifically, it is incumbent to undertake further investigations into Ualikhanov's works and their methodological underpinnings, particularly within studies concerning the formation of the Kazakh ethnic identity, the etymology of the Kazakh ethnonym, and the establishment of the Kazakh Khanate. Moreover, an enhanced scrutiny of Ualikhanov's works is warranted to assess their enduring significance for contemporary scholars within Kazakh and Turkic studies. This pursuit must also encompass comparative analyses juxtaposing Ualikhanov's contributions alongside those of other prominent Kazakh and Turkic scholars, while additionally examining the contextualized interpretation of his works within diverse cultural and historical settings.

Analysis

The investigation into the formation of the Kazakh ethnic group, the etymology of the Kazakh ethnonym, and the establishment of the Kazakh Khanate stands as a cornerstone within Kazakh history, extensively scrutinized by scholars, including Shokan Ualikhanov. His travels across the Kazakh steppe enabled the documentation of oral traditions held by elder individuals, replete with ancient legends. Ualikhanov exhibited a distinct proclivity toward unraveling the semantic nuances inherent in the term «Kazakh,» exploring its etymological roots and the intricate mechanisms governing the evolution of the Kazakh populace.

Ualikhanov's scholarly endeavors toward unraveling Kazakh ethnogenesis bore distinct emphasis on the semantic richness encapsulated by the term «Kazakh.» His analytical pursuit encompassed a wide-ranging compilation of historical data, encompassing diverse sources such as medieval Oriental scholars' manuscripts, chronicles, Western scholars' works, Chinese historical records, Russian annals, and Russian Orientalists' contributions (Serubaeva, 2015: 154). Despite his extensive engagement with these sources, Ualikhanov's inquiry encountered limitations in terms of unearthing comprehensive insights into the origins, genesis, and historical trajectory of the Kazakh people. This research lacuna served as impetus for his composition of the «Kazakh Chronicle.»

Ualikhanov's assertion posits the preexistence of the term «Kazakh» predating the era of Genghis Khan, delineating its application to designate «free and wandering» individuals. This

supposition finds resonance within his affirmation that the Kyrgyz referred to themselves as Kazakhs, employing the term in an ancient sense, further substantiated by instances of its usage in ancient Rus' (Valikhanov, 2010: 241).

In parallel, B. Komekov introduces the notion that the formation of the Kazakh people constituted a protracted, intricate process, forged through the intricate interplay of ethnic relations between local and foreign communities spanning three millennia. The term «Kazakh» initially held a social connotation, designating those who distinguished themselves from the larger populace as «Kazakhs.» Subsequent to their detachment from the nomadic Uzbeks, those who followed the inaugural Kazakh khans, Zhanibek and Kerey, came to be known as «Kazakh-Uzbeks» (Komekov, 2015: 4).

Komekov further underscores the evolution of the term «Kazakh,» initially grounded in a social import before transitioning into an ethnopolitical context. He illustrates this progression with historical parallels, citing instances where nomenclature initially denoting an alliance, such as «Armenian,» eventually metamorphosed into a national identifier. Similarly, the Kazakh people traversed a prolonged developmental trajectory prior to crystallizing their ethnic and national identity. Some scholars posit that the term «Kazakh» existed as «kasakh» or «kosoh» during the 9th-10th centuries, drawing from Byzantine sources (Komekov, 2011:2). However, such semblance is merely phonetic. The earliest written record of «Kazakh» surfaced in 1245 within the context of Kipchak communities within the Mamluk realm of Egypt, documented in the Arabic-Kipchak lexicon. This term conveys «free, wandering,» thus delineating a social facet of its signification.

Ualikhanov's initial interpretation of the «Kazakh» concept is rooted in its ethno-social dimension. His pioneering insights on this matter demonstrated a closer alignment with historical veracity when contrasted with conclusions drawn by both preceding and subsequent scholars. While Ualikhanov's comprehensive narration of the Kazakh ethnic history was constrained by the scarcity of archaeological, ethnographic, and written records at the time, his revelations constituted a significant contribution to the historiographical landscape of his era. His scholarly pursuit was characterized by innovative methodological approaches, underpinned by a profound comprehension of the inherent dynamics of nomadic society.

Shokan Ualikhanov's investigative efforts encompassed a meticulous examination of varied sources and genealogical lineages, particularly those pertaining to Kazakh khans and sultans. This endeavor sought to ascertain the sequential arrangement of nomads into clans. Conclusively, Ualikhanov discerned that this hierarchical structure rested upon ancestral precedence, exhibiting uniformity across diverse hordes. Within a given horde, clans exhibited relations akin to blood kinship, with inter-horde clans establishing a nephew-uncle kinship dynamic (Valikhanov, 1985: 148). Ualikhanov's discernment underscored the preeminent role played by the clan-tribal framework within the Kazakh populace, characterizing it as the bedrock of nomadic society, distinct from the territorial organization typical of sedentary cultures. The «Kazakh Chronicle» undertaken by Ualikhanov painstakingly delineated key clans within each of the three Juzes – the Great Juz, Middle Juz, and Junior Juz – while juxtaposing them with the stratification of Kazakh clans.

Ualikhanov's endeavors in discerning the ethnogenesis of the Kazakh people carried a transformative impact, rectifying a widespread historical misconception. Hitherto, the term

«Golden Horde» had been largely construed as emblematic of a state structure. Ualikhanov's exposition introduced a nuanced understanding, delineating the expansive connotations of «Horde.» It simultaneously denoted the geographical site of the Khan's capital and the confined context of the Khan's encampment. Notably, the Khan's «golden horde» alluded to a yurt or tent adorned in gold (Suleimenov, Moiseev, 1985: 65). This perspicacious interpretation evinced Ualikhanov's profound comprehension of nomadic societal dynamics. He expounded upon the inner workings of the Kazakh Khanate, its genesis, and the multifarious strata and classes within Kazakh society. Ualikhanov further rectified erroneous attributions made by scholars like Humboldt and Ritter, effectively elucidating the distinctions between the Kyrgyz and Kazakh, substantiating these disparities in ethnic composition and socio-economic structure. Ualikhanov's contributions reverberated considerably within the historiography of the era, persisting as a pivotal resource for comprehending the formation of the Kazakh people and their societal fabric.

Ualikhanov's methodological arsenal encompassed diverse techniques, distinct from those employed by foreign scholars due to his profound grasp of the internal intricacies of steppe nomadic life. D.Dulatova argues that Ualikhanov's articulations concerning the Kazakh and Kyrgyz peoples' origins were grounded within the dialectical research method. He devised a constructive framework outlining the formative processes and tribal compositions of these communities (Dulatova, 1976: 58-59).

Ualikhanov's pioneering efforts extended to his identification of the dual wings—termed «right-handed» and «left-handed» – within the Kyrgyz community, a phenomenon heretofore unrecognized. Furthermore, he approximated the Kyrgyz population at approximately 300,000 individuals (Suleimenov, Moiseev, 1985: 78). He accorded distinct attention to the ethnic fabric of the Kyrgyz people, substantiating their autochthonous roots through a methodical comparison of Abilgazy Bahadur's writings, Chinese historical references, and oral narratives.

Shokan Ualikhanov's profound reverence for the eminent «Manas» epic manifested in his pioneering efforts to translate a pivotal segment, the «The Funeral Feast for Koketai khan,» into Russian.His diligent engagement with this work extended beyond translation it encompassed dissemination among scholars. Ualikhanov's inquiry into the Kazakh and Kyrgyz peoples culminated in the distinction of their separate identities and distinctive anthropological attributes. He discerned that within Kyrgyz society, the cultivation of agriculture, urban habitation, and artisanry paralleled the husbandry of animals. Ualikhanov's insightful research aptly showcased the Kyrgyz as a nomadic community, vividly delineating their distinctive historical narrative and cultural ethos. Furthermore, he highlighted the harmonious coexistence of nomadic steppe peoples with their natural milieu.

Rooted in his formative years, Shokan Ualikhanov's childhood was steeped in the rich tapestry of Kazakh history and culture. Enveloped by an atmosphere of legends, poems, tales, and songs that pervaded popular consciousness, his nascent curiosity was piqued, leading him to document these cultural artifacts. Central to this cultural nourishment was his grandmother Ayganim, a pivotal figure in his spiritual evolution. Being a representative of the nomadic steppe milieu, Ualikhanov's intimate familiarity with the unique facets of nomadic societies underscored his elevation of these traits over sedentary societies in his research. While eschewing explicit use of the term «civilization,» Ualikhanov effectively elevated the cultural expressions of nomadic peoples to the status of a refined civilization. Remarkably, he

accorded due significance to oral literature – an aspect often disregarded by scholars during the Soviet era, perhaps due to its perceived obscurity. Ualikhanov, however, recognized the profound value of genealogy as the most evolved manifestation of oral tradition. He asserted that heroic epics and lyrical compositions thrived more vibrantly within nomadic societies than their sedentary counterparts.

The global landscape of epic literature attests to its rarity – witness the «Iliad» and «Odyssey» of the Greeks, the «Mahabharata» and «Ramayana» of Eastern cultures, and the «Edda» and «Kalevala» of Scandinavian realms. The Russian epic «The Tale of Igor's Campaign» spans a mere eight pages, while the Kazakh epic «Alpamys batyr» sprawls across 800 pages (Kairkhanova, 2010: 48-49). This distinction accentuates how the epic reflects the ethos of its creators. The Kazakh people's unparalleled mastery of the oral tradition is evinced by the expanse of their epic poetry. A historical prism reveals that oral literature often predates its written counterpart (Kairkhanova, 2010: 49).

B. Komekov amplifies the paramount influence of animal husbandry within the diverse peoples and tribes of the Great Steppe, intertwined with geographical forces (Komekov, Kartova, 2021: 52-59). This synergy engendered the evolution of steppe civilization, fostering the development of nomadic statehood and the subsequent establishment of nomadic polities. He contends that this tradition of nomadic statehood, forged over centuries, is intrinsically intertwined with political governance, economic and cultural spheres, as well as moral and disciplinary norms. Moreover, Komekov suggests that the tribal structure remains closely aligned with the pivotal facet of nomadic statehood (Komekov, 2015: 3-4). Ualikhanov's literary corpus decisively illustrates the existence of cities, settlements, statecraft, script, and an elevated cultural ethos within nomadic societies. Thus, the distinctive attributes of nomadic cultures occupied a focal point in his exploration of the history of these steppe communities. His writings endure, distinguished by their authenticity, precision, and scholarly rigor.

In his treatise «Notes on the Kyrgyz,» Shokan Ualikhanov expounds upon the unique historical trajectories of the Kazakh and Kyrgyz peoples. Their nomadic existence and the oral transmission of history across generations distinguish their narratives from other groups. Ualikhanov contends that myths, rather than concrete facts, constitute the foundation of the history of nomadic peoples. These nomadic communities recount sagas and myths, encapsulating heroic feats and pivotal episodes through poetic renderings, thereby perpetuating their legacy (Valikhanov, 2010: 50). The historical consciousness of the Kazakh people finds its repository in genealogies, heroic epics, sacred legends, and religious sagas – forms that are considered veritable and passed down through generations. Notably, Paul Thomson underscores the limitations of written records and underscores that the potential of oral history lies in its utilization. Oral history's transformative potency lies in its capacity to bridge generational and educational divides, fostering intergenerational exchange and the enrichment of historical narratives (Zhandarbek, 2008: 99-100).

Shokan Ualikhanov's research often drew upon the concept of «people's memory» when addressing matters pertaining to historical consciousness. This term highlights his acknowledgment that oral traditions bear diverse names, yet they collectively form a unified historical consciousness. Ualikhanov's work underscores the pivotal role of legends in preserving valuable information about lifestyle, customs, beliefs, settlement patterns, and

tribal structure of various groups. One of his significant insights, addressed in his study «Kazakh Chronicle,» pertains to the legends and proverbs collected by A. Levshin, a Tsarist Russian official. Ualikhanov notes that indigenous Kazakhs rarely share their myths and legends with Russians, presenting them in a modified form instead (Valikhanov, 2010: 172). This prompts a call for critical assessment of Tsarist Russian accounts of Kazakh proverbs and legends.

Ualikhanov's theoretical exploration into Kazakh oral history is profound and meticulous. By comparing historical legends and epic poems gathered from diverse parts of the Kazakh steppe, he unearthed significant commonalities and reliability (Artykbayev, 2012: 32). He documented various songs from his childhood and crafted versions of Kazakh poems such as «Kozy Korpesh-Bayan sulu» and «Yer Kokshe,» subsequently passing them to Russian orientalist N. Kostyletsky. Ualikhanov's pioneering action lay in introducing fragments of folk oral literature as historical evidence within scholarly circles. He appraised poems like «Edige,» «Kozy Korpesh - Bayan sulu,» and «Manas,» employing them as historical artifacts (Suleimenov, Moiseev, 1985: 23-24). His admiration extended to folk legends, particularly historical ones, commending Kazakh legends for their simplicity and adherence to nature's course. Beyond merely recording these narratives, Ualikhanov analyzed their contents and meanings (Orazbekov, 1985: 4).

Ualikhanov's exploration of early cultural remnants in Zhetysu and Tien-Shan deeply influenced his scholarship. He found the ancient urban culture of Issyk-Kol and investigated the architectural monuments, irrigation systems, epigraphy, and Kurgan stelae. This endeavor enabled him to reconstruct the lives of those dwelling in the Issyk-Kol valley and the broader Zhetysu delta. Ualikhanov meticulously combined various data sources, accentuating ancient Chinese texts and medieval Catalan cartographic references. He noted that despite the prevalence of nomadism in Russian Dzungaria, there were still sparse settlements with the first historical records of Chiguwa in Chinese sources. Religious diversity also prevailed, with Nestorian and Monophysite communities along with a Syrian Jacobite monastery indicated on the Catalan map. The historical landscape bore traces of the pervasiveness of Christianity and the later emergence of Muslim settlements in Issyk-Kol (Valikhanov, 2010: 45).

Ualikhanov embarked on expeditions to neighboring regions to uncover hidden facets of Kazakh history during the early and Middle Ages. Rigorous analysis and comparison of collected data led him to conclude that sedentary migration was widespread, particularly in the Ile River valley (Dulatova, 1976: 9-10). Ualikhanov's visit to East Turkestan exposed him to the Atbas and Uzgen rivers, and the Kurta fortress of the Kokan Khanate on the right bank of the Naryn river. He observed that Atbas, Arpa, and Naryn valleys served as oases with substantial agricultural potential, playing a vital role in the economic life of Southern Kyrgyz. The region's architectural remnants and rich urban culture bore witness to past sedentary and semi-sedentary settlements. Ualikhanov's keen observations highlighted the diversified economic pursuits of nomadic societies beyond animal husbandry (Valikhanov, 2010: 45).

Within the Eurasian Steppe's economic tapestry, a multifarious blend of agriculture, handicrafts, urban commerce, and animal husbandry was woven due to geographic nuances. While animal husbandry remained predominant, Ualikhanov's scholarship shed light on the concurrent cultivation of agriculture, underscored by traces of ancient irrigation systems (Komekov, 2015: 13). Ualikhanov's work stands as a repudiation of the historiographical

notion that the Kazakh and Kyrgyz peoples adhered solely to nomadism. He posited that these societies embraced a wide spectrum of economic activities, ranging from animal husbandry to agriculture, urbanization, and craftsmanship. Ualikhanov's seminal work, «Kazakh Farmers,» postulated a semi-sedentary lifestyle for the Kazakh people, highlighting urban living and wintering on mountain slopes through innovative irrigation systems (Komekov, 2015: 13).

Shokan Ualikhanov's profound impact on the study of Kazakh history is evident in his impartial exploration of the nation's ethnogenesis, the establishment of the Kazakh state, and the ethnonym «Kazakh.» His findings retain their significance in the context of contemporary historical perspectives. Ualikhanov's pioneering research approach encompassed the comparison and analysis of written sources alongside the integration of oral literature, a groundbreaking endeavor in his study of nomadic steppe societies. His comprehensive works delve into intricate details of Kazakh and Kyrgyz tribal systems, religious beliefs, and cultural practices, while also providing unique insights into various economic structures. Ualikhanov's distinctive focus on nomadic societies and his recognition of the pivotal role of oral traditions set these communities apart from their sedentary counterparts. As a result, his research serves to underscore the clan-tribal structure, oral literature, and diverse economic activities as hallmark attributes of nomadic steppe peoples, effectively distinguishing them from sedentary societies.

Results

1 The contribution of Shokan Ualikhanov to the study of Kazakh history is significant in terms of his objective approach to the nation's ethnogenesis, the formation of the Kazakh state and the use of the ethnonym «Kazakh.» His conclusions remain relevant today in the light of modern historical insights.

2. Sh.Ualikhanov's research methodology included comparison and analysis of written records and introducing samples of oral literature. He was the first to do this by studying the history of nomadic steppe peoples.

3. In his works, Ualikhanov gives detailed descriptions of the Kazakh and Kyrgyz tribal systems, religious beliefs, and culture. He also presents his specific views and conclusions about different types of economy.

4. Ualikhanov was particularly interested in the peculiarities of nomadic peoples and focused his research on nomadic society, emphasizing oral literature as a significant feature of nomadic societies compared to sedentary ones.

5. Sh.Ualikhanov's research highlights the clan-tribal system, oral literature, and several types of economy as the main distinguishing features of nomadic steppe peoples from sedentary peoples.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Shokan Ualikhanov's profound contributions to the study of Kazakh history stand as a testament to his pioneering and rigorous approach. His exploration into the formation of the Kazakh ethnic group, the etymology of the Kazakh ethnonym, and the establishment of the Kazakh Khanate has left an indelible mark on the historiographical landscape. Ualikhanov's methodological innovation, encompassing the integration of oral literature and meticulous analysis of diverse sources, set him apart as a visionary scholar in the realm of nomadic steppe societies.

Ualikhanov's research journey was driven by his deep reverence for oral traditions and his recognition of their role in shaping historical consciousness. His emphasis on «people's memory» as a unifying thread underscored the significance of legends, myths, and sagas in preserving the cultural heritage of nomadic communities. Through his meticulous documentation and interpretation of these narratives, Ualikhanov not only bridged the gap between past and present but also showcased the profound intellectual and artistic prowess of nomadic civilizations.

By scrutinizing linguistic nuances, Ualikhanov revealed the intricate evolution of the term «Kazakh» as it transformed from a social designation to an ethnopolitical identifier. His analysis, bolstered by diverse historical sources, illuminated the dynamic interplay between nomadic tribes and foreign communities, shedding light on the gradual emergence of Kazakh identity. Through the «Kazakh Chronicle,» Ualikhanov filled gaps in historical knowledge and challenged prevailing misconceptions, reshaping the understanding of the Kazakh Khanate's origins and the impact of the term «Golden Horde.»

Ualikhanov's scholarly exploration extended beyond semantics to encompass the sociopolitical fabric of nomadic societies. His comprehensive understanding of the hierarchical clan-tribal structure illuminated the foundation upon which nomadic statehood rested. He revealed how this structure, rooted in ancestral precedence, fostered cohesion and social order. Additionally, his recognition of the multifaceted economic dynamics within nomadic societies debunked the notion of a purely pastoral economy, emphasizing the symbiosis of animal husbandry, agriculture, urban commerce, and craftsmanship.

The lasting legacy of Shokan Ualikhanov's research is one that underscores the richness and complexity of nomadic steppe civilizations. His meticulous documentation of oral literature, discerning analysis of historical sources, and innovative methodological approaches have redefined the discourse on Kazakh history. Ualikhanov's contributions not only illuminated the past but also enriched the understanding of nomadic societies as dynamic and diverse entities, characterized by their own unique systems of governance, cultural expressions, and economic structures. His insights continue to reverberate within modern historiography, reminding scholars of the intricate tapestry woven by nomadic civilizations on the vast Eurasian Steppe.

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Шоқан Уәлиханов еңбектеріндегі дала өркениетінің ерекшеліктері

Аннотация. Мақалада XIX ғасырда өмір сүрген қазақтың көрнекті ғалымы, этнографы Шоқан Уәлихановтың жазбаларындағы дала өркениетінің ерекшеліктеріне қатысты мәліметтері мен көзқарастары талдауға алынады. Авторлар Ш.Уәлихановтың төл еңбектері, аудармалары мен хаттары сияқты дереккөздерді, сондай-ақ басқа да авторлардың еңбектерін пайдалана отырып, ғалымның қазақ этногенезіне қатысты зерттеулерін, оның ішінде «қазақ» сөзінің этимологиясы, қазақ этносының қалыптасуы мен Қазақ хандығының құрылуына және көшпелі қоғамдардың ішкі құрылымына қатысты мәліметтері мен ойларын алға тартады. Зерттеуде Ш.Уәлихановтың тарихнамаға қосқан үлесі және оның қазақ халқы мен қоғамының қалыптасуын терең түсініп, басқа ғалымдардың бұрын жіберген қателіктерін түзегендігі айқындалады. Ш.Уәлиханов түркі халықтарының тарихы мен мәдениетін зерттеуде ортағасырлық шығыс деректерінен Қадырғали Жалайырдың «Жылнамалар жинағы», Әбілғазы Баһадүрдің «Түрік шежіресі», Мұхаммед Хайдар Дулатидың «Тарих-и Рашиди» және Қашғардан әкелінген «Сұтұқ Бұғрахан тарихы», «Тұғлық Темір хан тарихы», «Қожалар тарихы», «Абумұслим Мауризи» қолжазбаларын пайдаланған, сонымен қатар қазақ және қырғыз халқының «Едіге», «Манас» жырларын дерек ретінде колданыска жаратып, ғылыми айналымға енгізген. Ол «Манас» жырының «Көкетай ханның ертегісі» атты бөлімін тұңғыш рет орыс тіліне аударып, оған ғылыми интерпретация жасады. Ш.Уәлихановтың қазақ ортасында білімді адамдармен қарым-қатынаста болуы, Омбы кадет корпусында білім алуы оның көшпелі қоғам мен отырықшы елдер арасындағы ерекшеліктерді ажырата білуіне мүмкіндік берді.

Кілт сөздер: Шоқан Уәлиханов, дала өркениеті, көшпенділер, қазақ, қырғыз, ауыз әдебиеті, шежіре, ру-тайпа, жазба деректер.

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Особенности степной цивилизации в трудах Шокана Уалиханова

Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются особенности степной цивилизации в трудах Шокана Уалиханова, выдающегося казахского ученого и этнографа XIX века. Используя первоисточники такие, как оригинальные произведения, переводы и письма Ш.Уалиханова, а также другие исторические материалы, авторы статьи анализируют труды Ш.Уалиханова по этногенезу казахов (в т.ч. этимологию слова «казах»), формирование казахской этнической группы и образование Казахского ханства, а также внутреннюю структуру кочевых обществ. Авторы статьи подчеркивают вклад Ш.Уалиханова в историографию и его глубокое понимание истории казахского народа и общества. Исследования Ш.Уалиханова по истории и культуре тюркских общин основаны на восточных средневековых источниках таких, как рукописи Кадыргали Жалаири «Сборник летописей» («Джами-ат-таварих»), Абулгазы Бахадура «Родословная тюрок» («Шаджара-ийтурк»), Мухаммеда Хайдара Дулати «Тарих-и Рашиди», изучил ряд рукописей, привезённых из Кашгарии, такие, как «История Сутук Буграхана», «История Туглык Темир хана», «История

ходжей», «Абу-Муслим Мауризи», а также использовал в качестве первоисточника казахскую поэму «Едиге» и кыргызский эпос «Манас». Ш. Уалиханов впервые перевел на русский язык и сделал анализ главы эпоса «Манас»- «Поминки по Кокетаю». Взаимодействие Ш.Уалиханова с образованными кругами казахского общества и его образование в Омском кадетском корпусе наделили его собственным видением, позволяющим различить между кочевыми обществами и оседлыми цивилизациями.

Ключевые слова: Чокан Валиханов, степная цивилизация, кочевники, казахи, кыргызы, устная литература, генеалогия, племя, письменные источники.

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