

Turkic Origins of the Traditional Kazakh Historical Thought and Islamic Influence on its Formation

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Abstract

Background/Objectives: The study aims to determine the Turkic origins of the traditional Kazakh historical thought and Islamic influence on its formation and to provide a scientific reconstruction of the Kazakh Khanate's history. **Methods:** Methodological analysis of the medieval-era written sources presupposes the usage of the methods of forecasting and assumption, comparison and scientific reconstruction, aimed at the disclosure of the content of scientifically-confirmed events and facts that can be found in genealogical tables, genealogies, and traditional written sources. Genealogy is used as an auxiliary method. **Findings:** As a result, the functions of genealogical data as a unique historical source that reveals the essence of the social and political relationships and social institutions of the traditional Kazakh society were classified. Thus, greater emphasis was placed on the religious and spiritual aspects of ethno-political processes in the society, which previously were not covered in the fundamental studies based on ideological postulates. The paper also provides the periodization of the Kazakh historical thought formation and development, systematizes the process of integration of the Islamic historical thought and the foundations of the Turkic worldview into the genealogical data that strengthened the tribal structure of the Kazakh society. For the first time, the concept of transformation of the ancient Turkic notion of the sacredness of the authority over the Islamic spiritual and political values advocated by the Turko-Islamic Sufi Ahmad Yasawi as a basis of the state ideology of the Kazakh Khanate was proposed. The Kazakh shezhire (genealogy) as a genre of oral history was evaluated methodologically. **Applications/Improvements:** The results of this study can be used in teaching relevant disciplines such as history, sociology, political science, etc. at higher educational institutions, and as sources for research papers and dissertations.

Keywords: Genealogical Sources, Sacredness of the Authority, Traditional Historical Thought, Yesevi-Tariqa

1. Introduction

There are many works written by Kazakh and foreign researchers, concerning the formation of the traditional Kazakh historical thought. However, genealogical data as a special form of historical memory have received almost no attention in the literature, and due to the fact that historical events and data contained in their information layers have never been the object of scientific analysis, the

ethnic essence and existence of the Kazakh society developed on the Turkic and Islamic spiritual values have not been fully disclosed.

Genealogy is considered to be an auxiliary historical discipline. The result of genealogical research can be reference books on the life and work of individuals and families based on all the available historical sources. One of the definitions of genealogy is given in the encyclope-

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dia of F.A. Brokhauz and Y. A. Efron¹ where it is defined as “systematic collection of information about the origin, succession and relationship between generations and within families”. Nowadays this term definition is specified. Thus, V. Tomazov² distinguishes the historical and practical genealogy. In his opinion, “historical genealogy is a special historical discipline that studies the origin of families and individuals, kinship, the history of families with different social backgrounds. A practical, utilitarian genealogy is 1) ... the systematic collection of information about the origin of the family, its history and relationship with other families; 2) a set of scientific methods, with the help of which genealogic tree is made”.

In view of this, we have set a goal to establish a theoretical and methodological scientific rationale for the history of the traditional Kazakh society based on the genealogical data. The significance of scientific analysis of the traditional Kazakh historical thought that preserved the Turkish foundation and was greatly enriched by the Islamic influence is directly related to the definition of the Kazakh national phenomenon, which is distinguished by its particular linguistic, mental, cultural, spiritual and socio-economic type among other Turkic peoples.

2. Literature Review

The basics of the Turkic worldview relating to the history of Kazakhstan were analyzed in works of many Kazakh and foreign authors. Among them we can mention *The Princes of the Left Hand: An Introduction to the History of the Ulus of Orda in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* by T. Allsen³. It is considered to be a classical Western work on the history of East Dasht-i Kipchak. It covers issues of history, culture and social organization of the Horde inheritance, the eldest son Jochi from the government of the Horde that of Sasa-Buki. G. Pultar⁴ focuses his attention on viewing the history of the Kazakhstani from the pan-Turk perspective. His work provides “an opportunity to solve the problem of competing claims over a past shared with other Turkic peoples of Central Asia and Middle Volga who are also going through nation-building processes”. There are works⁵ dealing with the Kazakhs and their history in terms of Russia's People history, referring to the problems of Oriental studies including those held in the former Soviet Union,^{6,7} touching upon their reassessment^{6,8}. These works highlight both the merits and drawbacks of the studies performed in the

Soviet period. The names of scientists who were involved in the study of the Kazakhstan history are mentioned in⁶⁻⁹; they are M. Tynyshpaev, V. V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov, A. S. Levshin, N. A. Aristov. M. T. Tynyshpaev⁹ is known for his essays in which he chronologically presented genealogies of separate clans. He considered that “without a preliminary study of the genealogy of each separate clan of the Kirgiz people – without understanding whom they fought with and at what point in time – it is impossible to obtain a general picture of the historical development of the Kirgiz people”. Levshyn was referred to in⁴ as the author of the most substantial works, and Aristov⁶ was noted for his “detailed and interesting research on the tribal structure of the Kirgiz and other Turkish peoples”.

A number of works deal with the Kazakh's history from the perspective of genealogy, which is considered as the oldest of the auxiliary historical disciplines. Thus, Z. Urynbassarova¹⁰ narrates about shejire, Kazakh family tree, and juzes (or ‘hundred’ in Kazakh). The role of genealogy in investigating the history of the Kazakhs is also underlined in studies by S. Akimbekov¹¹, A. M. Alpysbesuly¹², A. Amanjолоv¹³, M. Benkō¹⁴, J. Noda¹⁵, A. S. Orazbayeva¹⁶, B. Ye. Saurykov¹⁷, Yu. A. Zuev¹⁸ and many others.

It is no wonder that studies dedicated to the history of Kazakhstan often refer to the issues related to Islam. They are touched upon in works of S. Edelbay¹⁹, A. Khalid²⁰, N. D. Nurtazina²¹, H. Pilkington²², G. Yemelianova²², A. J. Frank²³, M. A. Usmanov²³, etc. These issues are urgent, and it is explained by the growth of the process of Islamization and its influence in today's Kazakhstan. S. Edelbay¹⁹ argues that “one can also notice the expansion in the field of activities of Islam and the complication of the religious factor within the Islamic structures”.

So, as we can see, the issues of Turkic origins and Islamic influence are closely interwoven with the history of Kazakhstan and deserve thorough attention while studying the traditional Kazakh historical thought.

3. Method

The documentary and source base of the research comprises written sources (Utemish Hajji²⁴, Mirza Haydar Dughlat²⁵, Kadirgali Zhalayiri²⁶, Abulgazi Bahadur Khan²⁷, Machkhur Yusuf Kupeyuli²⁸, Khurbangali Khalidi²⁹, Shakerim Kudajberdiuly³⁰) and the traditional genealogical sources of Kazakh history – ‘shejire’, which

means a 'family tree', 'memory', 'genealogy', as well as the research conducted by Russian, Western, and Kazakh scientists. Such principles as scientific rigor and objectivity alongside with phenomenological methods are taken as a methodological basis.

To analyze and evaluate the traditional sources of information that became the object of study, special methods, corresponding to their form and content, were selected. Since the original data related to Kazakh history (genealogies and chronicles, folklore genres) cannot be evaluated using criteria of intellectual history, preference was given to the methods of forecasting and assumption, comparison and scientific reconstruction, aimed at the disclosure of the content of scientifically-confirmed events and facts that can be found in genealogical tables, genealogies, and traditional written sources.

Each of the objects of historical research, being tangible or intangible, presents historically accurate information, but the attitude to them in certain studies may vary. The historical accuracy of the information contained in written or oral sources should always be checked by comparison, since they represent a subjective view. Thus, it is a true conclusion saying 'the accuracy of oral sources of nomadic illiterate horde is an absolute fact that is beyond doubt'³¹.

Kazakh historical studies formed in the Soviet era in the institutional form have never been able to exceed the scope of scientific methodology. Moreover, the historical past was never considered through the prism of social history, and this reduced history to a depersonalized and inadequate science prioritizing economic facts. Consequently, earlier studies of that period did not contain free discussion of historical events and processes; moreover, elementary historical reality has never been revealed. In order to fill these gaps, we abandoned modernism based on the general, universal theories and were guided by the method of post-structuralism, which has made good progress in establishing an authoritative paradigm and ideology of scientific research, based on the diversity and constant volatility. In addition to that, to analyze the complex ethno-political processes taking place in the traditional Kazakh society, the complex system model of a conflict situation was used during consideration of the issues of the dynamics in social development. "The life requires that we pay more careful attention to the cultural and subcultural diversity, special characteristics

of political behavior of ethnocultural communities, diagnostics of the current level of political and social security, discovery, prediction and systematization of possible threats to the comprehensive and dynamically developing multi-cultural community.

The complex system model of a conflict situation is based on a certain classification, i.e. in distinguishing those factors, which, according to the analyst, have decisive influence, from a multiple set of events, which have an impact on the conflict"³².

4. Results

4.1 Issues of the Periodization of the Kazakh Genealogy, Genealogy Originating from Oghuz Khan

This genealogy is one of the oldest in the Turkic historical thought. On the basis of this genealogical tree, the data related to Genghis Khan and his descendants can be divided into two groups. The first group is the Uighur version, containing no influence of Islam. The other was circulated through the Islamic system in the works of Rashid al-Din³³, Ulugbek³⁴, K. Zhalayiri²⁶, and other scholars; it dated back to Noah followed by his son Buldja (Abuldja)-Khan, who, in turn, was the father of Qara Khan, Or Khan, Kor Khan, and Koz Khan, and so on to Genghis Khan and his descendants. Oghuz Khan was a lineal descendant of Qara Khan. His greatness and victoriousness are primarily associated with the adoption of Islam. Oghuz Khan had six sons – Kun-Khan, Ay-Khan, Yulduz-Khan, Kok Khan, Tag (Tau)-Khan, and Teniz-Khan. It is pointed out that Buzanjar, the ancestor of Genghis Khan in the eighth generation, was descendant of Qara Khan and the third son of Dobun Bayan from his wife Alan Gua born from the light.²⁶ If we turn our attention to Oghuz Khan's sons whose names mean the Sun, the Moon, the Star, the Sky, the Mountain, and the Sea, we may say that this genealogy was formed in accordance with the cosmogonic conceptions of the origin of the world. Despite the fact that this shejire is presented in the above mentioned version, its content had been affected by Islam, in consequence of which it was not continued and interrupted in the historical memory of the people.

4.2 Genealogy Originating from Uzbek Khan

Uzbek or Ozbeg Khan (1282-1341) acted as the organizer of deep reforms in the Ulus of Jochi – the eldest son of Genghis Khan. In 1312, after the death of Tokhta Khan, Uzbek Khan who had been brought up by representatives of the Yesevi-Tariqa for a long time and supported by them occupied the throne of the Jochi Ulus, forced his enemies to obey. And in 1320, he raised Islam, particularly the Sufi teaching of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi, up to the level of a state ideology. This fact is described in the *Genghis-nama* by Utemish Hajji, 'The History of Four Uluses' by Mirzo Ulugbek and 'A Compendium of Chronicles' by Qadirgali Jalayir.²⁶ Among the Kazakhs, there exists an expression 'We inherited Islam from Uzbek.' Basing on the state ideology, Uzbek Khan rebuilt the system of the state structure, destroyed the tribal system that was founded on kinship, and created a tribal taxonomy, united on the principle of spiritual unity. In the above taxonomy, the genealogical tree was limited by the seventh generation, and the ancestors left beyond the bound were united based on spiritual unity. The tribal system and zhuz structures, forming the Kazakh nation, appeared as a result of reforming the state system based on the religious and ideological policy of Uzbek Khan. Before the reform, each clan had been governed by an authority figure that was a representative of this clan, after the reform, however, a representative of the Yesevi-Tariqa was appointed as a spiritual and political leader of each tribe. The appearance of names 'Khodja' and 'Sufi' was directly connected with this fact.

Zhuz formations first came on the stage of history in that period. The genealogical taxonomy, bringing together different tribal structures, was coincidentally formed. G. A. Fedorov-Davydov³⁵, who studied the social order of the Golden Horde, indicates that the Kazakh zhuzes were realized due to the changes that had taken place in the system of governance of the Golden Horde and arrives at the following conclusion: "Kazakh zhuzes are not the nomadic tribes of the XII-XIII centuries that appeared as the primary tribal patriarchal division of the nomadic population. Although the unions have many survivals of the past tribal unity, they were basically united as a nomadic ulus under the reign of a khan or group of khans... A zhuz was not a tribe, but an ulus, domain dating back to the ulus system of the Golden Horde'. The reforms of Uzbek Khan were reflected in the shejire (a genealogical table

of the Turkic people where the names of the leaders of gens were introduced, in addition, it included information about historical events, the most important facts of the life of clans and tribes.) of that period. The names presented in this genealogical table were not the names of some fairy tale characters; they were the names of historical figures of the period, which is the main feature of the genealogy dating back to Uzbek Khan.

4.3 Genealogy Originating from Alasha Khan

The fact controversy between Asan Qayg'i zhyrau (the end of the XIV century – the beginning of the XV century) and Janibek Khan became a turning point in the complex ethno-political processes occurring in the Golden Horde; this is evidenced by numerous surviving oral sources. Asan Qayg'i failed to over-persuade Janibek (Khan and win over to cause, so he was forced to say: 'Farewell, Janibek! You will never see me again...,' then he left³⁶. This event marked the beginning of profound changes in the Golden Horde. The State of Alash, which has been unjustly forgotten and not received the proper scientific assessment in the history of Kazakhstan so far, emerged during that period. The people that had left Janibek Khan and joined Asan Qayg'i and Alasha Khan formed the State of Alash. The event took place in 1350 and was reflected in the genealogy dating back to Alasha Khan. The controversies between Janibek Khan and Asan Qayg'i split the state. However, this event is mentioned in none of the written sources of the Golden Horde. We are beginning to think that the discord within the Golden Horde remained hidden from outsiders. Perhaps, no one understood the hidden meaning of these controversies in Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde. By contrast, the above events are reflected in legends, shejire and poetical works of zhyrau (ancient epic poets) distributed among the Turkic peoples. The legends about Alash and Alasha Khan, Amat, the son of Isa, making mention of certain personalities in the legends are associated with the persons included in the list of Kazakh genealogical tables, suggesting that the Kazakh ethnic group existed as long ago as that period, forming the State of Alash under the leadership of Alasha Khan, and entered the scene of history even before the Kazakh Khanate. The emergence of the national-bourgeois party 'Alash' and establishment of the Alash Orda (Alash Autonomy) at the beginning of the

twentieth century was a logical reflection of the historical thrust of the State of Alash.

4.4 Genealogy Originating from Abulkhair Khan

The emergence of the Kazakh genealogy after Alasha Khan is associated with the name of Abulkhair Khan, the ruler of the Uzbek Ulus. History does not conceal the manner in which Abulkhair Khan won the throne from us. The Kazakh genealogy reflects the historical event as follows: there were ten generations from Noah to Alash Khan, Alasha Khan begot Jayyl-Khan, Jayyl-Khan begot Kazakh, Kazakh begot Juman, Juman begot Abulkhair Khan³⁷. Abulkhair Khan, in his turn, was the father of Akarys, Janarys, and Bekarys who gave birth to the three Kazakh zhuzes. If we analyze this genealogy, we will be able to see that the listed names are the names of real historical figures. The distinction of this shejire from all the previous ones consists in real reflection of the ethnic processes that took place after the collapse of the Golden Horde. For example, the genealogical tree, going back to Alasha, contains the separation, 'Alasha Khan begot Jayyl-Khan, Seyil-Khan.' As we pointed out above, the genealogical tree, going back to Abulkhair Khan, does not include the name of Seyil-Khan, branching out of Alash Khan, which turned into the taxonomy of the Turkmen. So, up to this point, the genealogy was single, but after Abulkhair had ascended the throne and the clans had grouped around him, the Turkmen separated. Further, 'Jayyl-Khan begot Kazakh, and Kazakh begot Juman.' It is possible to see that the structure of Kazakh includes the Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Nogais, and Karakalpaks, which were not yet disaggregated into separate nations. In this case, the notion of Kazakh means a people that preserved their religious, spiritual and cultural freedom, adhered to the Yesevi-Tariqa, and rebelled against the religious and ideological politics of Janibek. Juman, mentioned in the genealogical table, is none other than Zhumadyk Khan (rose to power in 1425).

Another feature of this genealogy is the presence of clans and tribes that are not found in the clan structure of the contemporary Kazakhs in the zhuzes of that period. In the contemporary Big Zhuz, there are no such clans as 'Ming', 'Zhuz', 'Kyryk', or the Karakalpaks, who formed a separate tribe. Subsequent ethno-political processes resulted in the clans' melting into the tribal structure of

the Uzbek people. Narbota Bi, one of the founders of the Kokand Khanate came from the 'Ming' clan³⁸. And the events related to the Karakalpaks' election of their own khan in Turkestan and their later separation during the reign of Tursun-Mukhammad Khan excluded them from the Kazakhs and turned into a separate ethnic unit³⁹. Unfortunately, many historians do not consider the fact that religious and spiritual controversies and discord lie in the depth of the ethno-political processes.

The medieval historian Mahmud ibn Wali wrote about Abulkhair Khan: '... As since the beginning of the year seven hundred and fifty-eight, which was the extreme limit of time of completion of [life] Janibek Khan, and until the middle of the year eight hundred and thirty-five, which was the beginning of the Shaybanids, the throne of the state of Dasht-i Kipchak had no intelligent padishah or dynamic ruler, this resulted in a turmoil in the state [of affairs] of religion and state, the thread [linking] the community in that territory torn and the unity was destroyed. The Omniscient [Allah], casting an eye full of suffering on the condition of the population of that country again, raised the star of existence of the correct government [of the state] associated with [the name of] Abulkhair Khan on the horizon of birth, [the star] so that under the thriving rays the sun of his [Abulkhair Khan's] faith and government the world would again be filled with light ... The interests of the society have become fully respected and prosperous. The Sharia laws of illustrious Akhmad's faith and religious rituals of Muhammad teachings have become widely applied and significantly strengthened⁴⁰. These data show the significance of the role played by Islam, in particular the teaching of Yasawi, in the life of the Golden Horde and the efforts exerted by Abulkhair Khan to restore and use this way. The heads of clans and tribes of the Kipchak steppe that had set Abulkhair on the throne were mainly religious representatives. There is no doubt that the titles 'Sufi' and 'Khodja' point to their direct connection with religion. As to the title 'Bi', in the Middle Ages it was given to spiritual and religious leaders and directly associated with the Yesevi-Tariqa, which was a special form of existence of religion in the Kazakh steppe.

Dramatic changes in the political situation in the Uzbek Ulus were triggered by the murder of Abulkhair Khan's close friend and companion Bakkas-Biy, who was a grandson of Edigey (Edigu), and the subsequent

murder of Dayyr Khodja Akjol who was the Biy of the Argyns of Koblandy ascending to the Karakipchaks³⁰. As a result, many clans and tribes separated from Abulkhair that proves his unforgivable guilt before the people. If he had followed the path of his ancestors, kept his oath and adhered to the teachings of Yasawi, the people would not have assumed such drastic measures. These events led to dividing the Uzbek Ulus into three territorial formations, and three states – the Kazakh Khanate, the State of the Sheibanids, and the Nogai Horde entered the historical arena. The people who had resisted the influence of changing spirituality followed the way advocated by the Sufi teachings of Yasawi who was the moving spirit that united all Turks, called themselves Kazakhs and retained control of the ancestral land. The system of genealogical relationship, which was closed, stable, impermeable from outside and ran through all the levels of the social structure of the traditional Kazakh society, served as its so-called 'framework' or 'skeleton' due to which all its parts formed a comprehensive whole (the essence of the system can be also explained through the notion 'Qarg'a tamyrly qazaq' (the Kazakh-primogenitor)).⁴¹ This conclusion defines the main function performed by genealogy as a manifestation of historical memory. So, in the traditional Kazakh society, genealogy serves as a mechanism that regulates tribal relations and systematizes the tribal taxonomy influencing the formation of ethnic identity as an independent nation through each individual's identifying his 'self' by learning seven generations of his ancestors (the Family Tree).

4.5 Information about the Islamization of the Jochi Ulus in Conventional History

The studies undertaken by foreign scientists to determine the role of Islam in the Golden Horde have not been comprehensive, and the influence of this era on the development of the traditional Kazakh historical thought has not been fully explored. We still have questions of what changes occurred in the tribal structure after the Golden Horde adopted Islam, and of the place these changes occupy in the genealogical history and spiritual life of the Kazakhs.

The Kazakh Khanate became a rightful successor of the Jochi Ulus, maintaining its system of government in its entirety. The researchers state that the similarity of the system of government in the Jochi Ulus to those

in the ancient Turkic Khaganate and the Uyghur State lay in the fact that the Ulus was their direct successor⁴². However, the structure of the Empire of Genghis Khan was not an exact copy of the state system of ancient Turkic Khaganate. Genghis Khan destroyed the ancient tribal systems, mixed people, and created a new system of clans and tribes in the occupied territories.³⁵ The tribal system never became a mechanism for direct control of the state in the Jochi Ulus. We know from history that Genghis Khan divided the conquered lands among his sons from Borte Ujin – Jochi, Chagatai, Ogedei, and Tolui.⁴³ They became separate states soon. According to the Genealogy by Abulgazi, after a campaign against Western Europe, Batu Khan began to divide the Jochi Ulus into separate areas. The Golden Horde was composed of a multitude of peoples that had different cultural sensitivities, so it was a very complicated problem to offer a religious and ideological trend that would be shared by everyone in such a heterogeneous country. Nevertheless, the Turkic-Mongolian peoples constituted the mainstream population, so the Yesevi-Tariqa, the foundation of which was laid by Khoja Ahmed Yasawi, who managed to unite the spiritual and cultural values of the Turkic peoples and the fundamentals of Islam, had the greatest opportunities in the implementation of this mission. In addition, the majority of Turks living in the valley of the river Edil (Volga), in the Kipchak steppe, Khorezm and Mangystau, had already adopted the Yesevi-Tariqa before the Mongol invasion.

During the reign of Tuda Mengu, the Yesevi-Tariqa was first adopted by the Golden Horde, but in the early going it could not gain a foothold and was expelled from the political arena⁴⁴. However, this retreat of the tariqa representatives did not indicate that they wanted to keep aloof from the spiritual and political processes of that period. On the contrary, we are witnessing the fact that during this break, they continued to improve Islamic teachings. It is proved by the materials gathered in the holy places of Mangystau; moreover, all these places have direct relationship to the name of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi and the names of his followers – Suleiman Bakyrangani, and others. Large schools, preparing the enlightened who disseminated the religious Sufi teachings of the Yesevi-Tariqa, were formed there. Future leaders of the Kazakh tribes and clans were raised at these schools. Later on, they became the taxonomic units of the genealogy of the clans

and tribes. That is why the names of some holy places in the modern Mangystau are associated with their names⁴⁵.

After the death of Tokhta (Toqta), the forces opposing Islam intended to set Ilbasar (Ilbasmysh), a son of Tokhta, on the throne of the Golden Horde. However, Kutlyk Timur, the Emir of Khorezm, got the throne for Uzbek by force⁴⁶. Ilbasar was murdered. So were 120 representatives of the offspring of Genghis Khan. Following that the power was fully transferred to Uzbek Khan. In this political coup, the relatives of Kutlyk Timur, Saray-Timur and Mohammed Khoja, as well as Uzbek's stepmother Khatun Bayalun took an active part. Moreover, the religious leaders of Muslims of the Golden Horde came down to the side of Uzbek. Sheikh Nugman, who had a huge impact on the Horde, fully supported Uzbek Khan⁴⁵. Uzbek Khan was enthroned in 1312. He realized that the mistakes made by Berke and Tuda Mengu should not be repeated. Despite the fact they had declared Islam the state religion, the state structure demanded radical changes. We cannot say exactly what kind of work had been carried out by the religious leaders to make the state Islamic, but the changes taking place from then on make it possible to say in which direction this work was carried out after Uzbek Khan's reform.

Historical chronicles say that Uzbek Khan officially adopted Islam in 1320, after which Islam was declared the official religion of the Golden Horde. According to the genealogy by K. Zhalayyri, it was the eighth year of the reign of Uzbek Khan when saint Seyyid (Sayyid) Ata, a disciple of saint Zengi (Zangi) Ata, Khan converted him to Islam and gave him the name of Sultan Muhammad Uzbek Khan.⁴² In the manuscript 'Timur-nama'⁴⁷ and 'The History of Four Uluses' by Ulugbek these data are repeated almost completely³². 'Genghis-nama' by Utemish Hajji states that Allah appeared to the four saints and ordered to convert Uzbek Khan to Islam. Baba Tuklas, whose full name was Baba Tukti Shashty Aziz, was one of them²⁴. The manuscript by Nurullah Ibn Ubaydullah Khwarizmi says that Zengi Ata, who in turn was a disciple of Suleiman Bakrygani, had four murids (students): Sadr Ata, Said Ata, Uzyn Hasan Ata, Badr Ata, who went to Saray-Jük (Little Saray) and succeeded in converting Uzbek Khan and his people to Islam⁴⁸. Thus, under the influence of these four sheikhs Uzbek Khan raised Islam to the state ideology of the Golden Horde, becoming an initiator of a comprehensive restructuring of the entire state. His social and political reforms were as follows:

1. The structure of the state was completely changed. The system of clans, tribes and zhuzes of the modern Kazakh society emerged during this period of reforms. Each clan, tribe and zhuz was run by biys (mentors and judges). A biy (Bi) was compulsorily elected from the representatives of the Yasawi Sufi order. A biy became a person who exercised the spiritual, administrative and judicial power of the clan.

2. Earlier on, a khan had been elected by a decision of the descendants of Genghis Khan and military leaders. After the restructuring of the Horde, the election of a khan became the prerogative power of the Council of Biys.

3. Previously, some provinces of the Golden Horde had been transferred into the possession of Jochi's descendants. As a result of the reforms, local government was fully handed over to biys²⁴.

4. These changes affected not only the Turks and the Mongols adopted Islam, but also other peoples in the Golden Horde, including those controlled by Russian princes. Russian princes carried out only political and military leadership, while the collection of taxes and the judicial power belonged to priests. The religious and cultural autonomy of other peoples was not compromised; in fact, a background for free development of each people was provided.

5. The entire state system was under special laws and Sharia. The provisions of Sharia applied to both a khan and a poor person equally, making no distinction between them. The judicial power resided in biys who had to be absolutely impartial. A khan wielded only military and political power. Thus, Uzbek Khan willingly gave up absolute power, and the institution of biys entered the arena of history.

The adoption of the Yesevi-Tariqa, a Sufi branch of Islam, as the state religion not only brought major changes in the structure of the state, but also became the main spiritual factor determining the freedom and will of the people. Previously, the history of Islam had no precedents where a tariqa was formed as a state ideology, bringing together the power structure and the ayahs (verses) of the Quran and Hadiths of the Prophet to the greatest possible extent. It was the first case in the history of Islam after the Prophet Muhammad and his closest associates, when spiritual power was set equal to political power. This was the way of emerging the era of Sharia power – a single judge, to whom the two powers were submitted. Thus, a

system was created for khans and ordinary people, biys and the aristocracy to obey, and the old concept of power changed completely. The Qurultai (constituent assembly) of Jochi's descendants who elected khans and dealt with the paramount issues was dissolved. Wielding legitimate authority, the khan himself appointed heir to the throne⁴⁹. As early as in the ancient times, Arab historians noticed that the Turks had a genealogy system (Family tree), which combined the tribes into a single unit, determined the social structure of the nation and allowed them to successfully resist external dangers. According to Ibn Khaldun, the society living in the steppe regions had very strong family ties, because each member of the clan was always ready to succor his relative, considering it his overriding task⁴¹. Consequently, the genealogical system, linking the Turkic tribes, integrated into Islamic political and spiritual values, rising to a new and higher level, becoming an integral component of the state and the main motive of political power.

4.6 The Concept of 'the Sacredness of Authority' in the Traditional Historical Thought

The concept of the state authority sacredness was formed even in the ancient Turkic society and became an integral part of its worldview. The Turks regarded the election of a khan as his 'ascent to the sky.' Turkic kagans were special people who 'reached the skies, 'ascended to the heavenly throne' and 'received orders and commands from the skies.' A kagan was put on a rug of white felt and raised, as if he were put up in the sky, implying that the Kagan came to the throne at the dictation of Tengri (the Sky God). It should be remembered that to become a khagan, one must have a 'pure' genealogy and come from the most famous and powerful clan⁵⁰. But the sacredness of authority is not limited by this. The khagan must create abundance and prosperity for the people. At his time, Bilge-Khagan coped with this task and proudly said, 'I enriched the impoverished people and gave clothes to those who were naked'⁵¹. Wielding the sacred power, khagans bore the corresponding responsibility. Those who elected a khagan had the right to depose him from the throne if they noticed him making serious mistakes and blunders. Tonyukuk deemed such an initiative of Kutlug Shad a 'rebirth' or renaissance, since, having won the power, the new khagan brought a new system and new-born people with him⁵².

In the days of the Golden Horde, the world perception directly linked with the sacredness of authority was transformed under the influence of Islam. The concept that power belongs only to the descendants of Genghis Khan was formed at that time, and this concept was adapted to the requirements of Islam to be met by the authorities. Historically, the public administration is directly connected to the system of public authorities of the ancient Turks. In Islam, submission to the existing authority was a noble cause, since only Allah was the owner of absolute power for the Muslims. The submission of His vicegerent on earth is obedience to Allah⁵³. So, the requirements presented in one of the ayahs of the Quran: 'Oh you who believe! Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and owners among you'⁵⁴. Thus, Uzbek Khan fully legalized the right to rule over his subjects.

The historical legitimizing of the sacredness of the Genghisides' authority is a most challenging issue, because the question of the 'sacredness of authority' was under strict control in the Turks. They never recognized the authority of the leaders that had come not from the ruling dynasties. As an example, the Turkic Khagan Sulyk who was not a descendant of the ruling dynasty, had to marry a girl from the ruling dynasty Ashina, standing at the head of the Western Khaganate, to lend legitimacy to his authority⁵⁵.

During that period, the rulers who came from the Chingizids – Uzbek Khan of the Golden Horde, Ghazan Khan in Iran – were well aware of the requirements the Turks imposed to the sacredness of authority. The going up of the genealogy of Genghis Khan to the ancient Turkic ruler Oghuz Khan can serve as evidence. This fact can be seen in the commission given by Ghazan Khan to Rashid al-Din Fazullah ibn Abu al-Khair Ali Hamadani,³³ who cited evidence that Genghis Khan was a member of the ruling dynasty and a direct descendant of Oghuz Khan in his work *Jami' al-Tawarikh* ("Compendium of Chronicles"). Therefore, the power of the Genghisides was not a system imposed to the Turks from outside; on the contrary, the ancient Turkic system of public authorities was legally reinstated after the reign of the Karakhanids and the Oghuzes.

Many researchers have not been able to fully understand these processes, and as a consequence they have not been able to reveal their essence. For example, V. P. Yudin⁵⁶ believes that the Golden Horde received this ideology as the result of combining the concepts of shamanism, Buddhism and Islam with the state doctrine of

Genghis Khan. So, he introduced the term 'chingizizm' for the worldview. According to I.L. Izmailov⁵⁷, the ideological system called 'chingizizm' can be found in any structure of political thinking, so it is intrinsic not only to the Genghisides, but also very common among the various rulers of Europe and Asia, including Charles I, the Emperor of France, Olaf II, the 'Eternal King of Norway', Saint Wenceslas (Václav), the patron saint of the Czech state, etc. The researcher states: 'If we consider this phenomenon from a historical perspective, then "chingizizm" is a political reflection of the owner of divine power, showing the authority of the ruler in any political community'.

After the issue of the sacredness of authority in the Golden Horde had been closed both from the religious and historical points of view, there emerged a task to strengthen it through restructuring the state system. Having implemented the reforms, Uzbek Khan restored not only the tribal structure of the society, but also the institution of biys, because the two powers could not exist without each other. According to G. Fedorov-Davydov,³⁵ who studied the social structure of the Golden Horde, the reign of Uzbek Khan was characterized both by the process of Islamization and the process of restoring the tribal structure. Speaking about the processes occurring in the Golden Horde, the outstanding historian makes the following conclusion: 'When studying the written sources in the part related to the nomads of Dasht-i-Kipchak of the XIII century, we could not fail to notice the two similar trends: on the one hand, destruction of the old tribal relationship, the mixture of different clans and tribes as a result of the Mongols' governance; on the other hand, emergence of stable formations, apparently based on the communities that had historically developed before the conquest, i.e., ethnic communities. The interrelation between these two trends determined the 'synthesis' of the new and the old after the Mongol conquest, i.e., the real picture of the historical development of the nomads of the Golden Horde'. Consequently, the scholar gives a neat characterization of the complex processes taking place in the Jochi Ulus. At the same time, it should be noted that not only the principle of blood kinship, but also a single religious ideology based on the Yesevi-Tariqa became a unifier for the formation of the tribal structure.

The concept of the sacredness of authority was an integral part of the sermons of the Yasawi order sheikhs in the Kazakh Khanate; it was frequently spread among the people through the poetry of folk poets – akyns or zhyrau. At

the same time, the degree of commitment of the Kazakh Khanate to the Yesevi-Tariqa became a kind of barometer indicating the heyday or fall of the state. As shown in the analysis of traditional sources, the flourishing of the Uzbek Ulus coincided with the period when Abulkhair Khan was well-disposed to acceptance of the principles of the Yesevi-Tariqa, while the loss of power and glory of the superpower fell on the time when these principles were forgotten. Similarly, when in 1598 Tauekel Khan, Yesim Khan and their 300 relatives came to the pirs (spiritual advisors) of the Naqshbandiya Sufi Order in Samarkand to pray, this step that changed the spiritual and religious landmark shook the foundations of the Kazakh Khanate. During the reign of Ghazan Khan (1271-1304) in Iran, by order of whom *Jami al-Tawarikh* (Compendium of Chronicles) was created, the struggle between Islam and other religions lost its pressingness, while the struggle for power between various currents of Islam became crucial⁵⁸. In the Golden Horde, where a multi-ethnic society had been formed, this phenomenon was reflected in the form of a confrontation of the Sufi Orders, such as the Naqshbandiya, Kubrawiya and Yasawiya representing Hanafi madhab.

The answer to these phenomena, which turned into a certain pattern of historical development, can be found in *Cevâhîru'l-Ebrâr*, a work by Sultan Ahmet Mahmud Khazini, one of the brightest representatives of the Yasawi school – (XVI century), written in the genre of risale – a message. This risale deals with the category 'râbt-i sultan', one of the four conditions of Sufi maturity according to the teaching of Yasawi. This category is explained as follows: "to ensure that the life of the tariqa continues a Muslim ruler should first and foremost pay particular attention to the tariqa. The ruler is the patron of the tariqa, because the strength of the ruler's power depends on the prayers of holy men. If the ruler pays proper attention, he can rely on the tariqa"⁵⁹. Therefore, the secret of this consistent pattern is as follows: even if the state authority built on the Yesevi-Tariqa is extremely sacred as the government, administrative and spiritual structure in the traditional Kazakh society, the masses will not tolerate it, when the authority loses touch with its spiritual and religious foundation, let it even be the 'holy of holies.' It is the conclusion made by the traditional historical science to explain the causes of the highs and lows of the Kazakh Khanate. This is one of the examples of the complex model system of a conflict situation in the Kazakh society.

5. Discussion

The reasons for studying genealogical information as a form of the traditional Kazakh historical thought were the following: first, genealogical trees are the main source that has historical authenticity and is capable to restore historical realities scientifically. According to V. P. Yudin⁵⁶, “oral historiography is a special auxiliary discipline”, i.e. it is such an ancillary discipline of source studies profile, which “should develop its own methodology, reconstructing oral historiography in complete form.” Consequently, the value of the genealogical tradition as a historical source is beyond question. Second, genealogy is not only a source of information on a certain period; it is also considered a cultural monument of a certain age. Thus, it was concluded that it is possible to appraise the significance of the complex ethno-political changes, important events and phenomena of Kazakh history through periodization of genealogical data. On this basis, the differentiation of the integration factors of Turkic origins and Islamic influence in the genealogical data formation is determined by a direct relationship with the Sufi teachings of Khoja Ahmad Yasawi. Third, the ‘sacredness of authority’ of the Yesevi-Tariqa forming the ideological essence of the traditional Kazakh statehood, as well as the principle of blood kinship, which is a structural component of the tribal society, became a decisive factor for the ethnic uniting of Kazakhs.

Until now, the researchers of the Kazakh genealogy have been adhered to hypothesis, in which they try to prove the connection of clans and tribes existing in the modern Kazakh society with those of the ancient world, regarding the former as the direct descendants of the latter. Indubitably, the existence of a genetic link between the ancient and contemporary clans cannot be completely denied. However, it would not be exactly correct to insist on the contemporary clans being the direct descendants of the ancient ones, since many of the names of clans and tribes appearing in Arabic and Persian manuscripts are not found among the modern names of Kazakh or other Turkic clans and tribes. For example, 24 clans belonging to the Oghuzes are mentioned in the Arabic sources of the X-XI centuries, but their names can scarcely be found among major contemporary Kazakh clans, and only very small tribal formations, included in the structure of the major clans, bear them. Those few names that can be dis-

tinguished among the names of major clans now do not suggest that the clans are the direct descendants and heirs of the ancient ones having the same name. As a matter of fact, the names of the large tribal formations that exist at the moment entered the scene of history during Genghis Khan’s era. The historians that have seized upon this fact and claimed that the “Kazakhs are not autochthonous people”⁶⁰ misunderstand the consistent patterns of development of the Kazakh genealogy. Without knowledge of these patterns, we will not be able to determine the socio-political function of genealogy in the traditional Kazakh society, the place and role of clans and tribes in Kazakh history.

The Turks converted to Islam in the second half of the XVIII century. During that period, the states of the Karluks, Karakhanids, Oghuzes entered the scene of history. With the emergence of these states, Islam became an important factor that influenced the traditional Kazakh society. In 951, when Satuq Bughra Khan Abd al-Karim adopted the traditional branch of Islam, the Turks became an integral part of the Muslim world⁴³. Complex transformation processes started in the Turkic languages and traditional cultures. The system that had regulated the internal relationships in the Turkic society was replaced with the regulations of the Sharia, which excluded the existence of some Turkic rituals, customs, and traditions. Exogamic (external) marital relationships that had existed earlier were replaced with endogamous (internal) ones. Adopting marital relationships between blood relatives and representatives of the same clan by the Turkic society led to the destruction of its traditional tribal system.⁶¹ Later on, the Turkic community developed a system of public administration that was a transformation of the Persian system, striving for absolute power and rejecting the tribal structure of the social system. This resulted in eventual dissolving the names of clans and tribes, mentioned by Arab historians and geographers, in the social hierarchy and their fading from the memory of the people.

As the main thesis of the research, we put forward the fact of scientific reconstruction of the complex ethno-political processes and phenomena in the history of the traditional Kazakh society to be carried out based on the information obtained from reliable historical sources – the Kazakh genealogy shejire.

6. Conclusion

Thus, we can infer that genealogy as a special form of the traditional Kazakh historical thought has an important historiographical and scientific value. Due to genealogical data, theoretical and *methodological scientific substantiation* of the traditional history of the Kazakh society was provided.

The complex system model of a conflict situation helped distinguish the factors from a multiple set of events, which have decisive influence on the history of the Kazakhs. In determining the turning points of the ethnic history, the scientific cognition based on the *periodization* of the Kazakh genealogy, which does not recognize Eurocentric principles and includes a very extensive database and the ability to multi-function analysis of the socio-political life, is of a particular value.

The periodization of events, suggested by the authors, and *scientific reconstruction* of the complex processes of the history of the traditional Kazakh society took into consideration reliable historical sources – the Kazakh *genealogy shejire*.

Therefore, the recognition of genealogy as one of the historical genre, determining the Turkic origins and Islamic influence in its concept allowed *updating the content and structure* of the traditional historical science. Since the time of the Jochi Ulus and up to and including the Kazakh Khanate, the Sufi tariqa founded by Khoja Ahmad Yasawi became an inflexible rod of the spiritual and religious processes that took place in those days. The information gleaned from traditional sources proves that the symbiosis of the Turkic origins and Islamic influence in Kazakh history has led to the unity and integrity of the state, which is distinguished by its unique originality. Similarly, we can see that the mentality, economic-cultural type, national psychology and, most importantly, the social and political values of the Kazakh people were formed based on the spiritual and religious, cultural and political principles of the Yesevi-Tariqa.

7. Acknowledgement

The authors accord thanks to the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan and H.A. Yasawi International Kazakh-Turkish University for the grant to accomplish this study.

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