

IRSTI 19.31

[https://doi.org/ 10.63051/kos.2024.4.190](https://doi.org/10.63051/kos.2024.4.190)*¹Tassilova A.A.  ²Tasilova N.A.  ³Zhappassov Zh.E. ^{1,2}Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Kazakhstan, Almaty³International Engineering Technological University, Kazakhstan, AlmatyE-mail: ¹taika9183@gmail.com, ²tasnaz@mail.ru, ³zhappasov-74@mail.ru.

THE ROLE OF BIYS IN THE DIPLOMACY BETWEEN THE KAZAKH KHANATE AND EASTERN COUNTRIES

Abstract. Kazakh public speaking has deep historical roots, originating from ancient times, when the word was the main means of transmitting knowledge and cultural values. The great biys and akyns, possessing the mastery of speech, played a key role in public life, resolving disputes, affirming moral norms and inspiring people to great deeds. The traditions of Kazakh oratory are still preserved, being an integral part of the national culture. The purpose of this scientific research is to identify the main directions and ideas in which Kazakh biy most effectively contributed to the development of the country through diplomatic activities. Also, it is necessary to identify their diplomatic relations with Eastern countries. The study will focus on analyzing their contributions to the political, social and cultural spheres, as well as identifying key factors and strategies used by biy to strengthen international relations and internal stability. The practical significance of this study lies in several key aspects. First, it will help to better understand the historical methods of diplomacy and their impact on modern diplomatic practices in Kazakhstan, which can contribute to improving the country's current foreign policy strategy. Secondly, the research can serve as a basis for the development of educational programs and educational materials aimed at studying the cultural and historical heritage of the Kazakh people. Finally, the results of the study can be used to strengthen national identity and unity, emphasizing the role of biy in the formation of Kazakh statehood and social values. The qualitative method was used in the research work. The works of biy-eloquent speakers from the XV century to the first half of the XIX century were analyzed, their work was diplomatically studied. The study found that biy played a significant role in conducting foreign policy in the diplomacy of the Kazakh Khanate from the XV to the first half of the XIX century.

Acknowledgements: This research was funded by the Science Committee of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Grant No. AP14972830).

Key words: diplomacy with Eastern country, biy, eloquence, policy, national identity.

Introduction

Kazakh people's diplomacy inherited the rich traditions of steppe diplomacy, originating from the letters of Atilla handed to ambassadors from Eastern Rome, imprinted in the Chinese chronicles of embassies between Chinese emperors and Usun Gunmo, then followed in the era of the Turk Khanate series of embassies between Turks and Iranians, Sogdians, Byzantines, further incorporating the arsenal of diplomacy Yeke Mongol of the Ulus, Ulug of the Ulus, the empire of Timur, officially elevated to the rank of the main provisions of the legal norms of the ambassadorial customs of the Kazakh khans proper (A.Orazbayeva, 2023). The medieval East and Asia have always been a benchmark where the professional skills of diplomats and ambassadors were highly appreciated, who sometimes solved the unsolvable with their gift. Diplomatic procedures and duties assigned to diplomats have been changing over the centuries. The first information about the foreign policy activities of the Kazakh khanates, discovered during the archaeological expeditions of the Institute of Oriental Studies, indicates that the roots of Kazakh diplomacy originate in ancient

times. In the XI century work "The Science of being Happy", authored by Yusuf Balasaguni, it is noted that an ambassador should be wise, sedate, devoted, honest, visionary, should master the art of eloquence and many languages. For an ambassador, it is desirable to know astronomy, mathematics, be distinguished by the ability to play backgammon, chess. Only by mastering sufficient professional qualities and arts, a person is able to achieve the goal. The ideal diplomat is someone who combines a variety of skills and qualities that are the result of training, skill and experience (Zhanganatova N., 2015).

Also an important feature and main characteristic of modern diplomatic oratory is a phenomenon closely related to language and speech; every word has meaning in it; information was transmitted not in an ordinary, ordinary way, but in order to influence the feelings, touch the heart of the interlocutor; prove the correctness of their ideas; capture their attention and attract their listeners to a conversation or to a discussion.

Oratorical speech finds its expression in the form of dialogue and aims to achieve mutual understanding between the speaker and the listener. Basically, various conflicts in society arose over land, livestock, and widows, and in the end the parties came to a common opinion (Ismailova, 2020).

Materials and methods of research

This research utilizes a multidisciplinary approach to examine the diplomatic relations of the Kazakh Khanate, particularly focusing on interactions with the Eastern countries, Mughal Empire and the role of the biys (traditional Kazakh leaders). By combining historical analysis, textual interpretation, and comparative studies, this methodology allows for a comprehensive understanding of the Kazakh Khanate's foreign relations.

Primary Sources Analysis: A detailed examination of original documents, including letters and seals, is at the core of this research. Documents from Indian and Russian archives were carefully analyzed to determine their historical authenticity and to verify the identities of key figures involved in diplomatic exchanges. Special attention was given to the letter discovered by G. A. Kambarbekova, attributed to the ruler of Kokand, Abdurahim Khan, and the Kazakh Khan Tauke. These primary sources were cross-referenced with other historical documents to ensure accuracy. *Textual Criticism:* The historical texts were critically analyzed to identify inconsistencies in dates, titles, and figures mentioned. Through careful comparison of these documents with known historical events and timelines, we challenged existing attributions and proposed alternative interpretations. For instance, the differences in the timelines of Tauke Khan's death and Abdurahim's rule were used to dispute Kambarbekova's claim about the letter's origin.

Comparative Historical Method: To further validate the findings, a comparative historical method was employed, focusing on the diplomatic practices of neighboring states such as the Khiva and Bukhara Khanates, as well as the Dzungarian Empire. This comparison helped to contextualize the diplomatic norms of the Kazakh Khanate and highlighted the unique role of the biys as intermediaries in foreign affairs. *Secondary Sources and Literature Review:* A comprehensive review of relevant literature was conducted, including works by historians such as Toigunur Kultabayev and Beisembiev, as well as earlier studies by Ch. Valikhanov. The secondary sources provided valuable context for understanding the geopolitical landscape of Central Asia during the late 16th to early 18th centuries and the role of biys in shaping the Khanate's foreign policy. *Chronological Approach:* A chronological analysis was employed to reconstruct the sequence of diplomatic events. This helped in reassessing the dates of the letters and other correspondences, leading to a more accurate historical timeline. The research particularly focused on dating the letters attributed to the Mughal rulers, including the letter from Jahandar Shah, and corrected earlier misinterpretations regarding the timing of these exchanges. *Oral Tradition and Historical Memory:* The research also draws upon oral histories and traditional accounts, particularly the role of oratory

in Kazakh diplomacy. The biys, known for their eloquent speech and negotiating skills, were examined not just as political advisors but as key diplomats. Oral traditions were analyzed alongside written records to present a fuller picture of the diplomatic mechanisms in the Kazakh Khanate.

Discussions

The diplomatic relations between the Kazakh Khanate and Eastern countries have been comprehensively examined by various scholars, highlighting the Khanate's strategic efforts to foster peace and strengthen alliances. This topic is well-documented in the works of K. Hafizova, M.H. Abuseitova, S. Tulebekov, and S. Pakhman.

Kazakh biy-orators resolved any issues with neighboring states diplomatically, without disputes. Scientists say there are two types of storytellers. The scientist N.Uali distinguishes two types of discourse from the standpoint of the peculiarities of the speakers' speech: friendly and unfriendly. He attributes conflicts, troubles, intimidation, fraud, deception, evasive response, etc. to an unfriendly strategy, and refers such positive phenomena as trust, interest, truthfulness, responsiveness to a friendly strategy (Uali N., 2007).

Russian scientist Vasily Bartold has clearly demonstrated the role of dance in Kazakh society. Biy is the second person after the khan, to whose opinion the ruler listened. At the same time, he is an administrative person, a judge, a military commander and a representative of the steppe aristocracy. Even at the court of Genghis Khan, 11 biy advisers were in service (V.V. Bartold, 1966). They acted as a link between the institution of the state and the tribes, the people and the political authorities. They resolved legal disputes, united Kazakh clans in the fight against enemies (K.Useinova, 2012).

Modern researcher M.H. Abuseitova notes that "contacts between the rulers of various states intensified the practice of sending messengers, messengers with correspondence, reflecting the concern of the Kazakh rulers about the aggressive aspirations of opponents. The envoys of the khans, who were called "ilchi", were the confidants of the khans, to whom they entrusted important messages or orders (written and oral) as governors, dependent rulers, and rulers of independent states with whom the Kazakh Khanate maintained friendly relations" (Abuseitova, 2005).

The envoys of the embassy missions of the Kazakh khans were representatives of the upper classes of sultans and batyrs, who had eloquence and command of the Chagatai language, the embassy missions had ideas about the host country through spiritual representatives (Kortabeva G.K., Avaliev A.A., 2022).

Satow said, there are many definitions of diplomacy, stating that most of them involve representing a person on behalf of the state. In his famous study of diplomatic experience, he defined diplomacy as the ability to think and show foresight in the implementation of official relations between the governments of independent states (R. Trager, 2018).

The position of "foresight and leadership" in the oratory of the Kazakh biys were similar to the only political and social axiom of the entire nomadic world in relations with its surrounding social environment. The same thing violated political stability and stability in the Kazakh steppe or political and social stability. It is this compulsion that teaches humanity to act based on its own experience, as well as to evaluate what it has experienced. He is always ready for some kind of political cause, practicing vigilance and perseverance (Ismailova F., 2020). In the process of diving into the Edge and mystery of the world, humanity acted with both a shaft and a wrist, arguments and explanations. According to K. Omarkhanov, no matter how you feel about nomads...public thought, shaken by thousands of years of experience, foresight, capable of deeply anticipating the course of life ...common sense defines (K. Omarkhanov, 2008).

During the period of the Kazakh Khanate, introducing the heirs to the throne to diplomacy, he experienced various qualities of oratory. Constant correspondence with the administration of

neighboring countries, with other eastern rulers – Barys- contributed to the continuation of the treaty. Thanks to this, they were aware of each other's inner and outer state, their desire for each other. Such correspondence became so widespread that both sides often sent correspondent couriers under such an excuse to investigate. Khan-sultans often preferred to transfer such matters to their sons. Because it was a kind of school of diplomacy for them. In addition, they studied the laws of their country on the punishment and punishment of the criminal. The princes get acquainted with the mentality, culture, political, administrative and economic structure of the neighboring country. It was cruel for young sultans to have an "amanat" in another country. Therefore, they learned the language and writing from another country. The heirs gained experience in international relations, some, as already noted, specialized in individual countries (K. Hafizova, 2022a).

According to Amangelda Alipbayev, during the reign of Zhangir's son Tauke Khan (1680-1718), the unity of the Kazakh Khanate was significantly strengthened. Tole-biy, Aiteke-biy and Kazybek-biy played a huge role in the issues of streamlining the management of Kazakh zhuzes at that time. Kazybek-biy participated in solving interstate issues between Russia, Bukhara and Khiva, advocated peace and friendship, and brought the countries closer together. Therefore, according to the historian, he can rightfully be called one of the first Kazakh diplomats who performed the embassy service flawlessly (Kazahstanskaja pravda, 2021).

Since the 30s of the XVIII century, the foreign policy of the Kazakh Khanate was directed by khans Abulkhair, Abulmambet and Tole biy. By the 40s, the control of the Khan family clans covered almost the entire territory of the Kazakh settlement. The rulers maintained constant communication with each other on important foreign policy matters, and tried to smooth out the contradictions arising between their own interests as much as possible. But they could not always overcome them – due to various ethno social, economic and political priorities. The nomadic tribes in the central and eastern parts of Kazakhstan, subject to the khans and sultans of the Younger and Middle Zhuzes, were located in the immediate vicinity of Russia. Some rulers of the clans of the Great Zhuz, as Abulmambet repeatedly claimed, were dependent on the Dzungarian Khanate or under threat of losing their dependence. The policy of the Khans was subordinated to the search for strong allies and patrons in the foreign arena. Foreign policy issues were resolved at khan's councils, which all significant rulers tried to gather – from khans to elders and famous batyrs of clans, – notes Clara Hafizova (K.Hafizova, 2022b).

Famous professor S. Tolybekov expressed the following opinion about the ability to negotiate with Aiteke biy: "Aiteke biy considered it advisable, while preserving the independence and unity of the country, to maintain political and economic relations of the Kazakh Khanate with the Russian government and peoples. Russian Embassy in Turkestan in 1694, we believe that in the message of Tauke Khan to the embassy to the Russian Tsar, in the reception of the Khan in Turkestan of the Russian embassy of the same year, it is directly related to Aiteka biy. After all, the Younger Juz ulus, under the auspices of Aiteke bi, bordered on the Russian state. Tauke Khan, remembering this feature, could not help but consult with Aiteke biy. At that time, Aiteke was a 37-year-old recognized person. This "Russian policy", which was perfected by the dance of the Younger zhuz, was firmly adhered to by Tauke Khan. His secret: in the fight against the threat of the Dzungars from the eastern side, in the historical need to have healthy relations with the Russian country in the West" (Islam.kz , 2015).

However, we cannot say that biys were involved only in politics through diplomacy. Their role in society was different. According by Pakhmakhan S., biys were not uniform in political and social status due to their diverse roles in Kazakh society. Some acted as clan leaders, performing administrative and political functions and leading the people's militia (military role), while others dealt with judicial matters (judicial role) and contributed to the development and adoption of oral codes of the Steppe (legislative role). Additionally, some biys frequently served as ambassadors (diplomatic role) and were guardians of the people's spiritual heritage (spiritual and aesthetic roles).

Sometimes, all these functions were concentrated in one individual, which significantly impacted the financial situation of the biys. Thus, certain biys, as a social institution, accumulated all forms of authority. In this context, terms such as 'ancestral leader,' 'ancestor,' 'lawyer,' 'ambassador,' and 'orator' can be used as synonyms for 'biy' (Pakhman S.V., 1879).

Also, Raev A.S. and Tokmurzayeva A.Zh. note that in the political and cultural tradition of the XVII-XVIII centuries concerning biys, the continuity of traditions that were able to predict the future continued (Raev A.S., Tokmurzayeva A.Zh., 2019).

Research results

Biy-orators have often actively intervened in resolving political differences between the two countries through diplomacy. The basic hypothesis is as follows. This is due to the fact that scientists have divided Kazakh diplomacy into two stages. The interval between the beginning of the XV and the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century for the first period. The formation of the Kazakh Khanate after 1465 and (Atygaev, 2015) the appearance of the Dzungarian nomadic Empire in 1635 (Zlatkin, 1964) are conditional. During this period, the Khans pursued a relatively independent foreign policy. And international forces did not interfere in Khan's election. And the second period covers the time from the 20s of the XIX century to the end of the century.

The first stage of Kazakh diplomacy coincides with the life of Tole biy, Kazbek biy and Aiteke biy. Each biy interfered in communication with each neighboring state.

Their diplomatic speeches give us an idea of those times, for example, according to the speakers of the biys, one can judge the problems of that time: the struggle for land, internal and external conflicts that tore apart the peoples.

The name Tole biy is also associated with the maintenance of equal Kazakh-Uzbek relations. Khan Zholbars ruled in Tashkent. A. I. Levshin adds to this fact: "That a strong Kyrgyz elder named Tole biy shared power with him and that he collected an annual tax from the city. Then Zholbars was killed, but Tole biy continued to rule and collect income for a few more times without him. His power was terminated by some Kuchek Bek, a tributary, and maybe the governor of Galdan Tsyren." It happened in 1749. I must say that for twelve years Tole biy was the senior biy in Tashkent.

During the period of the Kazakh Khanate, one of the most common diplomatic acts were peace treaties, which were preceded by preliminary negotiations to agree on the text of documents. Based on the analysis of sources, Professor M. H. Abussitova identifies the following three types of agreements: The first type assumes the achievement of peace, provided that the khan with the entire army stands on the side of his partner. Partial military support is also possible... The second type of contracts provides for the payment of tribute. A special type of peace treaty is mentioned, which is supported by a marriage alliance, and payments are provided only in the future.

The category of tribute included not only royal gifts, but also gifts to high-ranking border officials, ransom, and various types of payments based on agreements between both sides. Tribute, as a rule, always paid off – "the institution of tribute gifts acted as a two-stage process in which one step predetermined the second" (Khafizova M., 1995). In 1755-1757, the Kazakh Sultan Ablay supported the Oirat prince Amursana. The Qing command repeatedly sent its people to him in order to destroy the alliance with the "rebel and robber." Ablay entered into negotiations with the Qing command only after Amursana fled to Siberia. In response to the gifts that were sent by couriers, Kazakh prisoners and other envoys of the Qing army, in the summer of 1757, the Sultan sent four horses with the ambassadors for the first time as a return gift to the commanders. The tribute, which included nine items, had a symbolic meaning. It was an ancient custom of offering goods of the younger to the elder, of the lower to the higher. The gifts of the "nine" symbolized devotion, obedience, and gratitude. These could be gifts of white cattle, quite rare for camels and horses. The white color of the suit was of a sacred nature, emphasizing the sanctity of the obligations assumed.

Of this kind Offerings were quite common in the courts of Asian rulers. Usually, in response to gifts with "nines" at Timur's court, recognition of ownership rights followed. During the arrival of the Kazakh ambassadors to China in 1759, the emperor generously gifted them and Khan Abulmambet. The ambassadors were given silver bars, while Urus Sultan was given 200 lians (1 liang weighed about 3 grams), and Dos Batyr and Aktamberdi batyr each received 100 lians, i.e. half as much. Thus, Dosai-batyr was the second most important person in the embassy, and Aktamberdi was the third (Khafizova M., 2000).

The third type of contract is associated with certain concessions of territory or the right to collect taxes (Abuseitova, M., 2020). As for the practice of exchanging gifts, inherent in the ambassadorial customs of many countries, the Kazakhs presented pedigreed horses as a gift most often: "We received two horses sent from you and gladly accepted them. On the contrary, we are also a sign of our friendship for you... We are sending you five arshins for a caftan of karmazin cloth and a black fox for a hat," Orenburg Governor—General Neptyuev writes to Ablay (Suleimenov, Basin, 1981). There are many such examples. Special attention should be paid to the study of the institution of amanatstvo (hostage-taking), which was widely practiced between the Kazakh rulers and neighboring states, including Russia. Since ancient times, facts have been known about the exchange of amanats between Kangli, Xiongnu, Turks with the Han, Tang, later Ming, Qing dynasties of China. Through this institution, not only strategic, trade and economic issues were resolved, but also "the hostages performed to some extent the functions of the consulate: they provided information, introduced their ruler to the situation in the country and at court, took care of visiting compatriots, met and escorted them, fought for their interests" (Hafizova 1995: 182).

Kazybek biy went to Galdan-Tseren in 1743 to free Abylai, who was captured. It was a meeting that put an end to the Kazakh-Kalmyk feud and marked the beginning of peaceful relations between the two countries.

You are a Kalmyk, and we are Kazakhs,
You are iron, and we are coal,
Which melts iron.
We have come to,
To face to face
To talk like a man,
To solve the problems that divide us.
There is no need to take it out on captive children and women!
We want to know what your position is.
So we came to an alien camp.
If you don't want to negotiate,
We will solve issues on the battlefield!
And we are ready to fight like lions to the end!
You are a boar, I am a lion-arystan,
You are a tulpar steed, I am a sunkar mountain falcon!
And we won't let you down.
You came with kindness – respond with kindness!
If you don't want peace, you'll get war!"

– such words can be said by a person who is wise with life experience, who harmonizes determination with honor, and intelligence with cunning. Galdan Tseren leaves Abilfaiz, and releases Abylai. After that, Abilfaiz had to stay with his family and acquired cattle among the Kalmyks as a guarantor of peace between the two peoples. And Abylai returned to his homeland with all the honors.

In addition, Kazbek biy established contacts with the Khiva and Bukhara khanates. The role and place of the Kazakh biys judge in the "ancient form" were reflected in brief, expressive and at the same time capacious formulas- expressions: "A worthy biy has a good peace in his community", "A brave warrior will not let enemies trample his land, and biy will not allow conflicts to spread among the people".

Aiteke biy helped unite the three Zhuzes against the Dzungarian invasion, and establish a certain balance in relations with the Oirats and Russians. At the Khan's councils, he repeatedly said that it was necessary to rally the strength of the three Zhuzes, choose from the young Sardar warriors a leader who understood a lot about modern military art, in search of a strong ally, not to go to anyone's citizenship.

The Kazakh Khanate also had contacts with Arabs and Turks, although they were more cultural and religious in nature than direct diplomatic or political. These ties had an important impact on the development of the religious and cultural identity of the Kazakh society. The history of Kazakhs and Arabs begins not with political alliances, but with cultural and religious ties. The influence of Arab culture on Kazakhs spread through Islam and language. The Arabs brought Islam to Central Asia back in the VII-VIII centuries, and although the Kazakh Khanate did not have direct diplomatic relations with the Arab Caliphate, Islam became the basis of cultural and spiritual interaction. The adoption of Islam by Kazakh tribes occurred later, but as Islam spread among Kazakhs, the connection with the Arab world became more spiritual and cultural. Kazakhs drew their knowledge from Arabic scientific and religious literature. Over time, Kazakh writing adopted the Arabic written tradition, and the spiritual leaders of the Kazakh Khanate went to study in Arab Islamic centers such as Bukhara and Samarkand, which were influenced by Arab teachings. Thus, the Arabs had a profound influence on the intellectual and religious life of the Kazakhs, although official diplomatic relations with Arab states did not develop.

Relations with the Turks, especially with the Ottoman Empire, were more diplomatic. The Ottomans, being one of the most powerful Islamic empires of their time, played an important role in the Islamic world. The Kazakh khans, realizing the power of the Ottoman Empire and its influence, sought to establish relations with it. One of the key goals of these ties was to strengthen the status of the Kazakh Khanate in the Islamic world. Kazakh rulers sent envoys to the Ottoman Empire, seeking support and recognition from the caliphs who ruled in Istanbul. The Ottomans, in turn, viewed the Kazakhs as important allies in the fight against the Dzungars and other eastern threats. Moreover, trade between Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire passed through the caravan routes connecting the East with the West. Turkish merchants, traders and artisans brought goods and technologies, and in return gained access to the resources and markets of the Kazakh Khanate. Thus, the history of the Kazakh Khanate's diplomacy with the Arabs and Turks was woven into the broader context of Islamic civilization, where culture, religion and trade became the basis for building mutually beneficial relations.

According to researchers' studies, the Kazakh Khanate established diplomatic relations with the Safavid Empire, the Mughal Empire, and the Indian state. This is frequently mentioned in the works of N. Atygaev (Atygaev N., 2015).

There is information about the diplomatic relations of the Kazakh Khanate with the Safavid (Qizilbash) state, which existed from 1501 to 1722 in the territory of Iran and the South Caucasus. According to Russian archival documents, in 1594, Kul-Mukhammed, the envoy of Taukeel Khan to the Moscow state, received news about the arrival of envoys from Shah Abbas I of the Safavid Empire in Moscow. The Kazakh envoy made active efforts to establish contact with the Safavid envoys. Kul-Mukhammed explained his goal quite clearly: 'We need to ally with the Qizilbash and stand together with them against the Bukharians.' He managed to meet with the envoys of Shah Abbas I. The meeting was also beneficial for the Safavid envoys. After signing a very difficult peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire in 1590, Shah Abbas I was seeking allies for the upcoming

war. As a result, together with Kul-Mukhammed and the Russian envoys, a representative of the Shah, Dervish-Magmet, traveled to the Kazakh steppe. Kul-Mukhammed also sent his trusted man to the Safavid Shah.

The results of these negotiations were recorded in historical documents, but it is unknown how they concluded. It is known that Dervish-Muhammed (Dervish-Magmet, Dervish-Mamet) met with Taukeel Khan. The Safavid envoy had planned to return to his homeland through the territory of the Kazakh Khanate, but he did not receive permission from the Kazakh Khan. In the end, he was forced to return to Moscow.

In this regard, it is important to note a significant fact, in our opinion. The military campaigns of the rulers of the Kazakh Khanate and the Safavid state against the Shaybanids coincided in time.

There is data on the diplomatic relations between the Kazakh Khanate and the Safavid state in the second half of the 17th century. Manuscripts containing texts of several letters from the Safavid shahs to the Kazakh ruler Tauke Khan (referred to as Tavakkul in the texts), the son of Zhanigir Khan, have been discovered in the manuscript collections of Iranian libraries. A letter from Shah Abbas II to Tauke Khan, dated 1072 AH (1661-62 AD), was identified by the orientalist K. Kari. He translated it into Kazakh and published it in the journal “Zhuldyz” (K.Kari, 2006). Several more such letters exist. According to the prominent Iranian researcher Iraj Afshar, these letters are dated 1101 AH (1689-90 AD), 1104 AH (1692-93 AD), and 1105 AH (1693-94 AD). In addition to Tauke Khan, the names of Tursun Khan and Fulad Sultan (Bolat Sultan) are mentioned in the letters, who, according to Russian sources, were the sons of Tauke Khan. The Iranologist G. A. Kambarbekova, Ph.D. in Philology, draws attention to the account of Muhammad Tahir Kazvini, who wrote in his work 'Abbas-nama' about the arrival of a Kazakh envoy from the Turkestan vilayet to Shah Abbas II in Isfahan. The envoy was received with due respect and sent back to his homeland with honorable gifts. According to the researcher, these were the envoys of Kazakh Khan Zhanigir and his son Tauke (Kambarbekova G., 2012). These materials indicate the existence of long-term contacts (from the 1660s to the 1690s) between Tauke Khan and such Safavid rulers as Shah Abbas II (1641-1666), Sefi II Suleiman (1666-1694), and possibly Sultan Husayn (1694-1722).

In written sources, there is information regarding the exchange of embassies between the Kazakh Khanate and the Mughal state, which existed in Eastern Turkestan during the 16th and 17th centuries. For instance, in the work *Tarikh Shah-Mahmud Churasi*, it is reported that Iunus-Khodja, the ambassador of the Kazakh Khanate ruler Janqir (Jahangir), arrived at the court of the Mughal khan Abdallah. Accompanying Iunus-Khodja was Sultan Tauke, the son of the Kazakh khan. According to this source, the Kazakh Khanate sent a reciprocal Mughal embassy led by Kochkar-Bek. Another Kazakh embassy to the Mughal state was headed by Apak-Sultan, another son of Janqir-Khan (Shah-Mahmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churasi, 1976). Apparently, the goal of these embassies was to establish a Kazakh-Mughal alliance directed against the Uzbeks and the Kalmyks.

In recent years, historical materials have been discovered, suggesting the existence of diplomatic contacts between the Kazakh Khanate and the Mughal Empire in India. Not long ago, G. A. Kambarbekova found an intriguing letter in one of the Indian libraries, which she believes was sent around 1717-1718 by the ruler of Kokand, Abdurahim Khan, to the Kazakh Khan Tauke. However, in our opinion, this attribution of the sender and recipient of the letter is inaccurate. Firstly, Tauke and Abdurahim ruled at different times. According to Toigunur Kultabayev, Tauke Khan had already passed away by September 1715, whereas Abdurahim only began ruling in Kokand in 1722.

Secondly, the rulers of Kokand, who originated from the Uzbek Ming tribe, did not bear the title 'khan' until the end of the 18th century, as this title was reserved only for Chinggisids. The first Kokand khan was Narbuta Bi's (Narbuta Bek's) son, Alim Bi (Alim Bek), who ruled from 1798 to 1809. To legitimize this, a special legend was invented (Beisembiev T., 1987)

Thirdly, in some sources, Tauke Khan, the son of Shigai, who ruled the Kazakh Khanate in the late 16th century, is referred to as 'Tauke,' while Tauke Zhanigiruly, who ruled at the end of the 17th and early 18th centuries, is called Taukel Khan. For example, in the work 'Tarikh Shah Mahmoud Churas,' Taukel Khan Shigaiuly is referred to as Tauke. A document from a Russian archive has preserved a seal impression of Tauke Zhanigiruly, in which his full name is given as Taukel-Mukhammed-Batyr Khan ("Tavakkul Mамет Baatyr Khan") (History of Kazakhstan in Russian Sources 2005 (1), p. 401). Additionally, in a letter from Safavid Shah Abbas II written in 1072 AH (1661-62), Tauke Khan is referred to as 'Tavakkul Khan, son of Axaxaurup Khan' (Kari K., 2006). It is likely that both were called Taukel (from the Arabic Tavakkul), and it is no coincidence that the Kazakh scholar Ch. Ch. Valikhanov referred to Oraz-Mukhammed Sultan, a nephew of Taukel, as a "nephew of the Kyrgyz and Kalmyk Khan Tauke."

In the late 16th century, Abdurahim Khan, the son of Bayram Khan Turkman, was known in India. He held a high position under the ruler of the Mughal Empire, Akbar the Great, and in 1583, for suppressing a rebellion in Gujarat, he was granted the title of 'khan' (Ajdogdyev 2000). Therefore, we assume that this letter was sent in the late 16th century to Taukel Khan by this Abdurahim Khan. This could clarify why the letter was found in an Indian library collection.

According to G. A. Kambarbekova, she also discovered another letter in India addressed to Tauke Khan in 1715-1716. The researcher suggests that this is a response from the Mughal ruler Jahandar to a letter from Tauke Khan (Kambarbekova, 2015). In this case, the dating of the letter by the researcher is inaccurate. It is known that the son of Bahadur Shah I, Sultan Mu'izz ad-Din Muhammad Mirza, crowned as Jahandar, was proclaimed ruler of the Mughal Empire in February 1712. By February 1713, he had already been killed (Jahandar Shah, n.d.). Therefore, the letter should be dated to 1712-1713. The likely purpose of the diplomatic contacts between the Kazakh Khanate and the Mughal Empire was to coordinate actions against their common enemy – the Uzbek rulers of Central Asia.

Conclusion

This research has examined the diplomatic interactions of the Kazakh Khanate with Eastern powers, specifically focusing on its relationships with the Mughal Empire in India, the Safavid Empire in Iran, and various Turkish states. A significant theme highlighted is the influential role of biys in shaping foreign policy. Through an in-depth analysis of primary sources, such as letters and seal impressions, this study challenges previous historical interpretations, particularly those regarding the attribution of a letter from Abdurahim Khan to Tauke Khan. By rigorously cross-referencing historical timelines and textual evidence, it becomes evident that these diplomatic exchanges occurred under different contexts than previously assumed. Th

e findings indicate that the diplomatic relations between the Kazakh Khanate and the Mughal Empire likely occurred earlier than previously thought. The reattribution of letters to Taukel Khan in the late 16th century, rather than to Tauke Khan in the early 18th century, sheds new light on the interactions between these two influential empires. Furthermore, the pivotal role of biys in shaping the Khanate's foreign relations is underscored by their active involvement in diplomatic negotiations. As trusted advisors to the khans, biys played a central role not only in resolving internal disputes but also in forging alliances and negotiating peace with neighboring states, including the Mughal Empire, the Safavid Empire in Iran, and the Ottoman Empire in Turkey.

This research highlights that Kazakh diplomacy was intricately linked to oratory and mediation, with biys serving as essential representatives of the Khanate in interactions with Eastern powers. Their ability to articulate political positions, negotiate advantageous terms, and maintain diplomatic ties was fundamental in establishing the Khanate's position within the complex geopolitical landscape of Central Asia and beyond. A comparative analysis of diplomatic practices

with neighboring states further emphasizes the uniqueness of the Kazakh Khanate's diplomatic model, which relied heavily on the authority and rhetorical skills of the biys.

In conclusion, this study revises prior assumptions about Kazakh-Mughal relations and emphasizes the critical role of biys in the diplomatic history of the Kazakh Khanate. Their contributions to both internal governance and international relations were key to ensuring the stability and continuity of the Khanate during a turbulent period. This research not only lays a foundation for future investigations into the diplomatic history of the Kazakh steppe but also deepens our understanding of the role of traditional leaders in the foreign policy of nomadic states, particularly in their interactions with Eastern powers such as India, Iran, and Turkey.

References:

- Abuseitova M.Kh. (2005) The history of Kazakhstan in Arabic sources // Extracts from the writings of the XII–XVI centuries. Vol 3. Almaty: Dyke Press, 13 p.
- Abuseitova M. Kh. (2020) Kazakhskoe khanstvo [Kazakh Khanate]. Almaty: Shygys pen Batys Publ. (in Rus.)
- Atygaev N. (2015) Kazahskoe hanstvo v potoke istorii [The Kazakh Khanate in the flow of history]. Essays. Almaty: Eltanym. 384 p. (in Kaz)
- Atygaev N. (2015) The Kazakh Khanate in the system of international relations of Eurasia // World of Great Altay. Vol 3. P. 5–8.
- Beisembiev T.K. (1987) «Tarih-i Shahruhi» kak istoricheskij istochnik ["Tarikh-i Shahrukhi" as a historical source] . Almaty: Nauka. 200 p. (in Rus.)
- Ismailova F.K. (2020) The discourse of Kazakh diplomacy // «Advances in Science and Technology» XXVI International Scientific and Practical Conference. P. 126–128. (in Rus)
- A word from Aiteke biy // [Electronic resource] URL:<https://alma.islam.kz/kk/post/aiteke-biden-qalgan-soz-1719/#gsc.tab=0> (date of application 1.08.2024).
- The foreign policy of the Steppe // [Electronic resource] URL: <https://kazpravda.kz/n/vneshnyaya-politika-stepi/> (date of application 23.07.2024).
- Kambarbekova G.A. (2012) Sefevidter tusyndagy diplomatiyalyk khat almasular [Diplomatic correspondence under the Safavids] // Yudin readings: "History and present of Kazakhstan and the countries of the East. Almaty. P. 5–13. (in Kaz).
- Khafizova K. (1995) Kitajskaja diplomatija v Central'noj Azii [Chinese diplomacy in Central Asia. XIV-XIX centuries]. Almaty: Science Publishing. 288 p.
- Khafizova K. (2020) Steppe rulers of the XVIII-XIX centuries and their diplomacy // Monography. Astana. KSI under the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 39–40 p.
- Khafizova K. (2000) The Embassy of Urus Sultan in China // Otan. Vol 4.38 p.
- Korableva G.K., Valiev A.A. (2022) The history of Kazakh diplomacy: correspondence of the Kazakh Khanate with the Russian Empire // Otan tarihy. № 1 (97). P. 50–60.
- Kari K. (2006) Letter of the Shah of Iran to Tauke Khan // Zhuldyz. Vol 3. P. 180–182.
- Omarkhanov K. (2008) Court of judges in traditional law. Book 2. Almaty. 320 p.
- Orazbayeva A. (2023) On the Traditions of Steppe Diplomacy (Based on the Example of the History of Kazakhstan). Kunstkamera. 3 (21). P. 23–32. (In Rus.).
- Raev A.S., Tobmurzayeva A.Zh. (2019) Paradigm of political foresight of Kazakh biy-orators // Journal of Oriental Studies. 2019. № 1 (88). P. 103–115.
- Shakh-Makhmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas (1976). Khronika. Kriticheskij tekst, perevod, kommentarij, issledovanie i ukazateli O.F. Akimushkina [The chronicle. Critical text, translation, commentary, research and indexes by O.F. Akimushkin]. Moskva. 362 p. (in Rus)
- Suleimenov B. S., Basin V. Ia. (1981) Kazakhstan v sostave Rossii v 17 – nachale 20 veka [Kazakhstan as Part of Russia in the 17th – Beginning of 20th Century]. Alma-Ata: Nauka Publ.1981. (In Rus.)

Trager Robert (2018). Diplomacy: fundamentals of communication and international order // Almaty: public fund National Translation Bureau. 265 p.

Uali N. (2007) Theoretical foundations of Kazakh speech culture. 317 p.

Useinova K.R. (2012) The role and place of the Biy Institute in the traditional Kazakh society. P. 34–37.

Zhanganatova N. (2015) Diplomacy of the Kazakh Khanate // Humanities and modernity. Almaty. P. 41–46.

Zlatkin I.Ya. (1983) Istorija Dzhungarskogo hanstva 2-e izd (1635–1755) [The History of the Dzungarian Khanate 2nd ed (1635–1755)]. Moskva. 333 p. (in Rus.)

¹Тасилова А.А. ²Тасилова Н.А. ³Жаппасов Ж.Е.

^{1,2} *Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті, Алматы, Қазақстан*
³ *Халықаралық инженерлік-технологиялық университеті, Алматы, Қазақстан*
E-mail: ¹taika9183@gmail.com, ²tasnaz@mail.ru, ³zhappasov-74@mail.ru.

ҚАЗАҚ ХАНДЫҒЫ МЕН ШЫҒЫС ЕЛДЕРІ АРАСЫНДАҒЫ ДИПЛОМАТИЯДАҒЫ БИЛЕРДІҢ РӨЛІ

Аңдатпа. Шешендік өнер қазақтар үшін ежелгі дәуірден бастау алған терең тарихи тамыры бар, білім мен мәдени құндылықтарды берудің негізгі құралы болған. Ұлы билер мен ақындар сөйлеу шеберлігімен қоғамдық өмірде шешуші рөл атқарды, дауларды шешті, моральдық нормаларды бекітті және халықты ұлы істерге шабыттандырды. Қазақ шешендік өнері дәстүрлері ұлттық мәдениеттің ажырамас бөлігі бола отырып, бүгінгі күнге дейін сақталып келеді. Аталған ғылыми зерттеудің мақсаты – қазақ би-шешендері дипломатиялық қызмет арқылы елдің дамуына барынша тиімді ықпал еткен негізгі бағыттар мен идеяларды айқындау. Сондай-ақ олардың Шығыс елдерімен жүргізген дипломатиялық байланыстарын анықтау. Зерттеу жұмысы олардың саяси саладағы үлестерін талдауға, сондай-ақ би-шешендердің халықаралық қатынастар мен ішкі тұрақтылықты нығайту үшін пайдаланған негізгі факторлары мен стратегияларын анықтауға бағытталған. Бұл зерттеудің практикалық маңыздылығы бірнеше негізгі аспектілерде жатыр. Біріншіден, бұл дипломатияның тарихи әдістерін және олардың Қазақстандағы қазіргі дипломатиялық практикаларға әсерін жақсы түсінуге көмектеседі. Ол елдің қазіргі таңдағы сыртқы саяси стратегиясын жақсартуға ықпал етуі мүмкін. Екіншіден, зерттеу қазақ халқының мәдени және тарихи мұрасын зерделеуге бағытталған білім беру бағдарламалары мен оқу материалдарын әзірлеу үшін негіз бола алады. Үшіншіден, зерттеу нәтижелері би-шешендердің қазақ мемлекеттілігі мен қоғамдық құндылықтарын қалыптастырудағы рөлін баса көрсете отырып, ұлттық бірегейлік пен бірлікті нығайту үшін пайдаланылуы мүмкін. Зерттеу жұмысында сапалық әдіс қолданылды. XV ғасырдан XIX ғасырдың I жартысына дейінгі би-шешендердің жұмыстары талданып, олардың шығармашылығы дипломатиялық тұрғыдан зерттелді. Зерттеу барысында би-шешендердің XV ғасыр мен XIX ғасырдың I жартысы аралығында Қазақ хандығының дипломатиясында сыртқы саясатты жүргізуде маңызды рөл атқарғаны анықталды.

Алғыс: Бұл зерттеу Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігінің Ғылым комитетінің қаржыландыруымен шығарылды. (Грант № AP14972830)

Түйін сөздер: Шығыс елдерімен дипломатия, би-шешендер, шешендік өнер, саясат, ұлттық бірегейлік.

¹Тасилова А.А. ²Тасилова Н.А. ³Жаппасов Ж.Е.

^{1,2} Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті, Алматы, Қазақстан
³Халықаралық инженерлік-технологиялық университет, Алматы, Қазақстан
E-mail: ¹taika9183@gmail.com, ²tasnaz@mail.ru, ³zhappasov-74@mail.ru.

РОЛЬ БИЕВ В ДИПЛОМАТИИ МЕЖДУ КАЗАХСКИМ ХАНСТВОМ И ВОСТОЧНЫМИ СТРАНАМИ

Аннотация. Ораторское искусство казахов имеет глубокие исторические корни, берущие начало из древних времен, когда слово было основным средством передачи знаний и культурных ценностей. Великие бии и акыны, обладая мастерством речи, играли ключевую роль в общественной жизни, разрешая споры, утверждая моральные нормы и вдохновляя народ на великие дела. Традиции казахского ораторства до сих пор сохраняются, являясь неотъемлемой частью национальной культуры. Целью данного научного исследования является определение основных направлений и идей, в которых казахские би-ораторы наиболее эффективно способствовали развитию страны посредством дипломатической деятельности. Также необходимо определить их дипломатические связи с Восточными странами. Исследование будет сосредоточено на анализе их вкладов в политическую, социальную и культурную сферы, а также на выявлении ключевых факторов и стратегий, использованных би-ораторами для укрепления международных отношений и внутренней стабильности. Практическая значимость данного исследования заключается в нескольких ключевых аспектах. Во-первых, оно поможет лучше понять исторические методы дипломатии и их влияние на современные дипломатические практики в Казахстане, что может способствовать улучшению текущей внешнеполитической стратегии страны. Во-вторых, исследование может служить основой для разработки образовательных программ и учебных материалов, направленных на изучение культурного и исторического наследия казахского народа. Наконец, результаты исследования могут быть использованы для укрепления национальной идентичности и единства, подчеркивая роль би-ораторов в формировании казахской государственности и общественных ценностей. В исследовательской работе использовался качественный метод. Были проанализированы работы би-ораторов с XV века до I половины XIX века, дипломатически изучены их творчество. В ходе исследования было установлено, что би-ораторы играли значительную роль в проведении внешней политики в дипломатии Казахского ханства с XV по I половину XIX века.

Благодарность: Исследование финансировалось Комитетом науки Министерства науки и высшего образования Республики Казахстан (грант № AP14972830).

Ключевые слова: дипломатия с восточными странами, би, красноречие, политика, национальная идентичность.

Information about authors:

Tassilova Aigerim Aitbayevna, PhD, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan.

Tasilova Naziya Aitbayevna, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate professor, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan.

Zhappasov Zharylkasyn Erkinuly, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate professor, International Engineering Technological University, Almaty, Kazakhstan.

Авторлар туралы мәлімет:

Тасилова Айгерім Айтюайқызы, PhD, Өл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті, Алматы, Қазақстан.

Тасилова Назия Айтбаевна, т.ғ.к., қауымдастырылған профессор, Өл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті, Алматы, Қазақстан.

Жаппасов Жарылқасын Еркінұлы, т.ғ.к., қауымдастырылған профессор, Халықаралық инженерлік-технологиялық университеті, Алматы, Қазақстан.

Информация об авторах:

Тасилова Айгерим Айтбаевна, PhD, Казахский национальный университет имени Аль-Фараби, Алматы, Казахстан.

Тасилова Назия Айтбаевна, к.и.н., ассоциированный профессор, Казахский национальный университет имени Аль-Фараби, Алматы, Казахстан.

Жаппасов Жарылқасын Еркинулы, к.и.н., ассоциированный профессор, Международный инженерно-технологический университет, Алматы, Казахстан.