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PERCEPTIONS OF LIBERTY FROM VIEW OF PASTORALIST PEOPLES

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The article reveals the perception of freedom as a unique category in the views of pastoralist peoples. The main source of this paper was the events of political and cultural history of various pastoralist societies. The author attempted to justify the manifestation of freedom and the struggle for freedom among the pastoralist peoples through the prism of political events. The materials of the largest Mongolian (Buryats, Khalkha-Mongols, Oirat-Kalmyks) and Turkic (Kazakhs) peoples were taken as the studied peoples. As a result of the study, the author concluded that, due to various circumstances, presumably the freedom found its most vivid expression in the culture of the Kazakh people. The notion of individual freedom in Kazakh society corresponded to the modern one, hence ‘steppe democracy’ contributed greatly to the development of the original ‘cells’ of modernised civil society institutions.

Meanwhile, there is still a bias in scholarly works in Europe and America towards the historical role of pastoralists (‘kochevniki’) in the world history. The pastoralist societies are still portrayed as savage, uncultured and warlike societies whose main occupation was robbery and warfare. However, in the social structure of pastoralist peoples there were no dependent peasants, serfs, villagers, and villeins; social relations were based on the hierarchical principles to a certain extent different from those of European societies. Pastoralist societies, which were based on a particular system of subsistence, had their own perceptions of freedom, which are relevant and important for exploring the national mentality of civil society in the contemporary period.

The theoretical and methodological foundations of the study include the macro-approach applied in the modern historical researches and the principle of systematicity. The macro-historical approach revealed the regularities in the historical events that took place in the Eurasian steppes long centuries ago. The principle of systematicity has shown pastoralist peoples and communities as certain systems in which specific worldviews and foundations prevailed. The descriptive and historical-comparative methods made it possible to identify common and specific features in various pastoralist societies. The information was taken from the largest Turkic and Mongol peoples who had led a pastoralist way of life in the past or continue to lead a pastoralist way of life till the present.

The category of freedom among the Buryat, the Khalkha-Mongol and the Kalmyk (Oirat-Mongol) peoples

The ancestors of the Buryat people were ancient tribes of Barguts (baiyrku), who by the 6th century occupied vast territories near Lake Baikal, as well as expanses from Selenga River to the tributaries of Amur River. The ethnic groups of Ehirits and Bulagats had the greatest value in this union of tribes. The main occupations of the Barguts, and later of the Buryats, were deer hunting, horse breeding and blacksmithing.

The Barghuts were often part of Turkic states and connected with the Turkic world. However, a much greater influence on the Bargut union of tribes was exerted by their nearest neighbours, the Khalkha-Mongols. It is known that in the 13th century the ‘forest peoples’ to the north of Khalkha were conquered by the Juchi, and the Buryat tribes were among them. Later the history of the Buryat people was closely connected with Mongolian peoples, among whom the relations with western Mongols, the Oirat, occupied a special place. In modern time Buryat tribes have been involved in the feuds of Khalkha-Mongols, as well as in the confrontation of the Russian and Qing empires. When

the influence of the Russian Empire strengthened in the Far East Buryats began to serve in the Tsarist army and were enlisted in the Cossack army.

The modern Buryat people practise Mahayana Buddhism and traditional beliefs, among which shamanism occupies a special place. Traditional Buryat society was patriarchal, characterised by the high status of men, as in other Mongolian peoples. The Buryat communities were most often part of large state formations of Turks and Mongols, but often their authority on the territory of Buryatia was nominal. Real power was in the hands of the heads of tribal groups and aimags, which were pre-state institutions. This, in turn, explains the relative freedom of the Buryat community members, who for a long time migrated to different parts of Mongolia and Transbaikalia.

The Buryats and the Khalkha-Mongols share a common history and a close culture. The famous Genghis Khan is a common national hero for both Khalkhas and Buryats. So, according to the history at the beginning of the thirteenth century the Mongol warrior Temujin united the scattered Mongolian and some Turkic tribes into one state called as 'Ikh Mongol ulus' ('Great State').

The creation of the empire was accompanied by significant changes in the social organisation of Mongol society. The unification of warring tribes and extensive conquest campaigns could only be accomplished if a unified system of government based on a strong military force was established. A centralised power apparatus was created that exercised military command and control over the Mongols and the conquered regions, combining traditional nomadic traits and elements borrowed from the state organisation of neighbouring agricultural peoples. Each tribe and its subdivision formed a unit of the Mongol army according to the size of its warriors. The army was divided into tens of thousands ('tumen'), and they, in their turn, into thousands ('minggan'), hundreds ('zhagun'), tens ('arban'). This combination of military and tribal organisation did not lead to the destruction of the latter.

After the collapse of the Mongol Empire, the single military-administrative system of governance also collapsed, leading to greater independence of the individual tribal groups. Their leaders, who relied only on the military strength of the tribal guard and the support of their relatives, no longer had the same opportunities to coerce their tribesmen and had to reckon to some extent with their interests.

The embodiment of the Mongolian understanding of freedom is the traditional wrestling. It is known that the first competition among Mongols is national wrestling ('bokh baryldakh'). The wrestlers compete in different weight categories, and a special category of judges decides who wrestles with whom. The opponents, accompanied by their seconds, take the field from different sides. Their gait, squatting, waving their arms and slapping their thighs imitate the flight of the mythical bird Garuda. It is a form of introduction to the spectators, who cheerfully greet the appearance of the wrestler. Before the revolution the ritual of the first appearance of wrestlers was also accompanied by their bowing to bogdo-gegen, after which they returned to their seats. At large nadumas, up to ten pairs enter the field at a time; at small ('somon'), only two or three.

The seconds remove the wrestlers' hats and hold them for the duration of the bout. The wrestlers get closer, pat themselves on the thighs, lean towards each other, squat with one hand on the knee, keep the other hand free and ready for the fight and freeze for a while in this waiting pose. If the waiting is delayed, the seconds shall encourage their charges. The task of each fighter is to grab the opponent's shoulders and throw him to the ground with force until he touches it with any part of his body. The most spectacular victory is when one of the contestants rolls the other on his back and presses him to the ground with his knee. The wrestler who touches the ground drops out of the bout. The spectators cheer the winner, he imitates the flight of Garuda again, receives a bowl of koumiss, bows to the spectators, his second puts his hat on and he returns to the tent waiting for the judges to name his next opponent.

The Oirat (Western Mongols) had an ancient history and consisted of four tribes, such as Choros, Hoshouts, Derbets and Hoyts. The first Oirat raids into Central Asia began in the mid-15th century, after the Oirat taishi Oz-Temir raided the borders of the pastoralist Uzbek state (the Khanate of Abulkhair). The defeat of Abulkhair Khan was one of the significant reasons for the disintegration of the Sheibanid state. In 1635 the Oirat created the state of Dzungar Khanate. From that period began

a long series of large and small military confrontations of Oirat (Dzungar) with the Kazakh Khanate, caused by raids of Oirat on Kazakh uluses. In 1723 Dzungar armies led by Tsevan-Rabdan intruded into Kazakh steppes and caused serious damage to Kazakh uluses. As a result of the hostilities, which were perpetually successful, some of the Kazakh sultans became dependent on the Dzungars.

The Jungar Khanate, unlike all other steppe states, had a rigidly centralised political system. The constant wars with the Qing Empire, which was many times larger in population, necessitated the creation of a complex and ramified state apparatus. The state was ruled by the 'taisha' (dukes) of the Choros clan, while the noyons, representatives of the Oirat nobility, played an important role in political life.

At the beginning of the 17th century, the taishi Kho Erlag at the head left the territory of Irtysh river and reached the Caspian steppes, displacing the Nogai auls. This is how the foundations were laid for the Kalmyk Khanate, which played a major role in the twists and turns of events in the Eurasian steppe. A little earlier, in 1640, a congress of the nobility ('chulgan') was organised among the western Mongols, which adopted a number of legal acts – the 'Tsaajin bichig' (or Mongolian-Oirat laws of 1640). The main purpose of these laws was to prevent the unauthorized movement of the nobility and common people, as well as to regulate the internal relations between the Mongolian nobility and strengthen the power of the taisha and noyons [1, p. 13]. These stipulated severe penalties for late fulfilment of prescribed duties, for disobeying the orders of 'taishas' and officials, for stealing from them cattle and etc.

The concept of freedom among the Kazakh people

In the mid-15th century, with the formation of a single state, the main stages of ethnogenesis of the Kazakh people were completed. The word 'kazakh' is of ancient origin and was common among Turkic pastoralist societies. In addition, the Cossacks were called 'free people' who lived in the steppes of the Dnieper region, the North Caucasus, the Don, and the Volga-Ural Interfluve and were hired for border protection and military campaigns.

In the first half of the 16th century, under the rule of Kasym Khan, Kazakh khanate reached its highest peak. In the new period of history an important place was occupied by relations with Dzungaria which aspired to establish hegemony in the Kazakh steppe. A number of victories won by Abulkhair Khan, and later by Abylai Khan, enabled the Kazakh state to strengthen its position. However, the threat of new Dzungar campaigns as well as internal political problems forced the Kazakh ulus to accept the Russian Empire's subjection. For a long time, colonisation of the Kazakh steppes was limited to the collection of taxes from the local population and the seizure of land in favour of the Cossacks. After the creation of the military fortresses along the major rivers Irtysh, Tobyl, Ural (Yaik) and Volga, the military-cossack stage of colonization was replaced by a peasant stage which was developed most in the second half of the XIX century – the first decade of the XX century. Constant tax levies and land expropriation forced the Kazakh clans and tribes to various forms of struggle. The largest uprisings were led by Isatai Taimanov and Mahambet Utemisov (1836-1838), Kenesary Khan (1837-1847) and Amangeldy Imanov (1916).

Freedom was also considered as an important category among the Kazakh 'sharua'. Therefore, the rebellion of Kenesary Khan, a paternal descendant of Abylai Khan and a maternal descendant of Oirat Khuntaiji Galdan Tseren, was supported by all three zhuzes. The rebellion of Kene Khan became a symbol of the struggle for independence of the Kazakh people more years later.

Pastoralist community of the Kazakh people, according to N. Masanov, is, first of all, a functionally integrated organisation of labouring individuals, based on the principles of labour co-operation. The historian N. E. Masanov distinguished two types of communities: a minimal (dispersed) community, which developed during winter, early spring and late autumn periods, and a concentrated or extended community that existed during the warm period of the year [2, p. 385].

The size of a nomadic settlement, as M. S. Mukanov noted, depended on the pasture area and availability of water to feed and water a sufficient amount of livestock that was owned by one or more families. In this connection he writes: '...In the first case it could be a household of a rich cattle-owner ('bai'), and in the second – a group of households of medium prosperity and small power, united in a nomadic community...' [3, p. 121].

The turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is not called the heyday of colonialism for nothing. Almost the entire political map of the world during this period was composed of the territories of the metropolitan countries and their colonies. This period was the time of ordeals for Kazakh people just as it was for many other pastoralist nations.

In the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, colonial policy carried out by the Tsarist administration intensified in the Kazakh steppe. In the course of administrative reforms of 1867-1868, the territory of Kazakhstan was recognized as state property. The Peasant Reform, or 'great' reform as it was called, carried out in 1861 in the Russian Empire did not solve the problems that had accumulated in the agrarian sector. This reform did not solve the land problem, as the land continued to be the property of the landlords, and the 'emancipated' peasants were landless. The tsarist government, seeking a solution to this problem, found a way out of the situation by pursuing an active policy of resettling peasants from central Russia to the supposedly vacant lands of the East.

The predominant form of economy in the traditional Kazakh society was the extensive type, when nomads used pasture lands seasonally and cattle were grazing all year round. However, due to the reduction of pastures, the range of nomadic activity decreased sharply. A. Bukeykhanov, the leader of the Alash movement, was convinced that agriculture was the basis of the well-being of the people. Noting the transformation of the traditional nomadic economy, A. Bukeykhanov in his works advocated its preservation, as he considered it one of the fundamental bases on which the ethnic identity of the Kazakhs was formed.

In 'The Kyrgyzes' A. Bukeykhanov drew attention to the changes in the social structure of Kazakh society. The destruction of the traditional structure undoubtedly influenced the economic activities. Kazakh 'aul' (village) in the end of XIX century still remained to a great extent the basis and social structure of the traditional society. It shows that at this time there was a weakening of the clan structure, which was the basis of the traditional Kazakh economy, and the emergence of the aul of a new type.

In the above-mentioned work A. Bukeykhanov described the social structure of Kazakh society as follows: '...Thus, the scheme of social and economic structure of Kyrgyz (Kazakh – Auth.) population is expressed as follows: its main cell, as elsewhere, is Kyrgyz (Kazakh – Auth.) family – yard, 'changarak'; united by common land, 'changaraks' form Kyrgyz (Kazakh – Auth.) village 'kstaw' or 'economic aul' as they are called in statistical literature; individual 'kstaw', united by common land use, form more complex land community – 'communal-aul group'. Both 'economic aul' and 'communal-aul group' emerged under the patronage of kin and are supported by kin connection, and therefore both these forms of socio-economic life of the Kyrgyz coincide with kin for the time being, although the basis of their viability lies in the needs of land use', concludes A. Bukeykhanov [4, p. 12].

In the second half of the nineteenth century, as historian G. E. Markov noted, there was an intensive break-up of small tribal clan divisions. In his opinion, the organisation of even such small cells of nomadic society as aul was based not so much on kinship as on economic considerations. In this connection he wrote: '...at the end of the 19th-beginning of the 20th century the basic social and economic unit of the Kazakh society was the family, which owned livestock and used pastures. Families were both large in size comprising relatives of 2-3 generations and small families consisting of the head of the family, wife and children. Although polygamous families were common, they were not predominant because only people from wealthy families could pay 'kalym' (bride price) for several wives and support them. Depending on the local traditions, based on economic expediency, time of year, etc., families were united into larger or smaller groups: pastoralist ('kochevoi') or sedentary auls...' [5, p. 170].

In general, it can be said that the sense of freedom in pastoralist societies was based on the personal independence, which corresponds to the modern understanding of freedom. The pastoralist was free in movement and had mostly military service, but this did not mean that the pastoralists did not have strong foundations of statehood. As has already been noted, the hierarchy of social relations in nomadic societies was based on tribal relations of seniority. The first pastoralist peoples in the modern times who attempted to weaken the influence of clan leaders were the Kazakh and Kalmyk

peoples. Comparatively, the European peasant had much narrower rights and his freedom could manifest itself only in the urban conditions, so urbanisation and later modernisation in the European states began earlier.

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УДК 726

МАВЗОЛЕЙ СУЛТАН-ЭПЕ КАК ЭТНОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ ИСТОЧНИК ПО МИРОВОЗЗРЕНИЮ КАЗАХОВ

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«Страной 360 святых» называла полуостров народная молва. Действительно, здесь много мест, связанных с каким-либо историческим или мифическим святым-проповедником: Шопан-ата, Кошкар-ата, Шакпак-ата, Есен-ата, Караман-ата, Ман-ата, Султан-эпе, Темир-баба, Кенты-баба, Масат-ата, Баба-тукти-шашты-азиз, Бекет-ата. Практически каждый уголок Мангыстау и Устюрта имеет свое святое место. Причем подавляющее большинство таких мест случайный путник может и не заметить: невысокий холм, одинокая надгробная стела или нагромождение камней сливаются с пейзажем и практически не привлекают внимания человека. Так как письменных источников средневековья об этих краях сохранилось не много, история большинства памятников овеяна мифами и легендами.

Подземная святилищная постройка Султан-эпе расположена в Мангыстауской области и является одним из наиболее интересных объектов культурного наследия Казахстана. Она известна также как подземная мечеть и является одним из самых посещаемых памятников исламской архитектуры в стране. Этот исторический объект имеет большое значение для культуры и истории казахов, поскольку он является не только местом религиозного культа, но и этнографическим источником мировоззрения этого народа. Комплекс Султан-эпе принят на государственный учет и находится под охраной. Археологические исследования подземной мечети были проведены в 2003 году под руководством археолога Андрея Астафьева, а уже в следующем, 2004 году здесь провели научно-реставрационные работы КГП СНРПМ «Мангыстауреставрация».

В данной статье мы рассмотрим историю создания святилища Султан-эпе, ее особенности и значение для казахской культуры, а также роль этого памятника в формировании мировоззрения казахов и сохранении национальной идентичности.

По всей территории Мангыстау рассеяны множество памятников святых, которые почитаются казахами. С древних времен Мангыстау являлся уникальным регионом, на которой строились культовые постройки еще со времен раннего железного века (Культовые комплексы Байте, Дыкылтас и т.д.). С началом распространения Ислама на территории Казахстана в истории начался расцвет суфийского движения, который связан с именем великого проповедника и основателя ордена Ясавия Ходжа Ахметом Яссауи.