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THE ROLE OF MIGRATIONS IN THE ETHNOHISTORICAL PROCESSES OF CENTRAL ASIA (the early middle ages)

The major objective of this article is to analyze the migrations of nomadic tribes, which led to a number of transformational changes in the territory of Central Asia in the early Middle Ages. The methods used in the work are structural-functional, comparative-historical, systematization and generalization.

The migrations of tribes in the Medieval Period are one of the core issues of research in historical science today. The influence of this phenomena on ethnic processes can be barely reevaluated. The study of the migrations of nomadic tribes makes it possible to determine the origins of ethno-glotto-cultural genesis, many political, economic and social events of medieval history. The ethno-historical characteristics of the migration processes which took place among the Turkic tribes of the Middle Ages contributed to the advancement of a number of hypotheses regarding the time of their appearance on the territory of Kazakhstan. Data from historical sources, also the research by scientists, allowed the authors to trace the history of some Kazakh tribes to the early stages of the beginning of the Turkic ethnic community.

The conclusion of the study is migratory movements of tribes were a frequent phenomenon during the period being studied, which began with the collapse of state formations. They were formed on the basis of the effect of inner and outer factors associated with climatic, economic, demographic and political changes. In this regard, it can also be argued that the large movements of medieval tribes played the role of locomotives in the history of peoples.

Key words: migration, ethnic processes, Turkic tribes, ethnonym, Central Asia.

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Орталық Азияның этнотарихи үдерістеріндегі көші-қонның рөлі (ерте орта ғасыр)

Бұл мақаланың негізгі мақсаты – Орталық Азияның аумағында бірқатар трансформациялық өзгерістерге соқтырған көшпелі тайпалардың ерте орта ғасырлардағы көші-қон мәселесін қарастыру. Мақалада қолданылған негізгі әдістер құрылымдық-функционалдық, салыстырмалы-тарихи, жүйелеу және жалпылау болып табылады.

Орта ғасырлардағы тайпалардың қозғалысы қазіргі кезде тарих ғылымындағы зерттеулердің басты мәселелерінің бірі болып табылады. Бұл құбылыстың этникалық процестерге әсерін бағалау мүмкін емес. Көшпелі тайпалардың көші-қон процесін зерттеу этно-глотто-мәдени генезис, ортағасырлық тарихтың көптеген саяси, экономикалық және әлеуметтік оқиғаларының бастауларын анықтауға мүмкіндік береді. Орта ғасырлардағы түркі тайпалары арасында орын алған көші-қон процестерінің этно-тарихи сипаттамасы олардың Қазақстан аумағында пайда болу уақытына қатысты бірқатар болжамдардың алға жылжуына ықпал етті. Тарихи дереккөздерден алынған мәліметтер, сондай-ақ ғалымдардың зерттеулері авторларға кейбір қазақ тайпаларының тарихын түркі этникалық қауымдастығы қалыптасуының алғашқы кезеңдеріне дейін жүргізуге мүмкіндік берді.

Зерттеудің нәтижесінде мемлекеттік құрылымдардың күйреуінен басталған тайпалардың көші-қон қозғалыстары зерттеліп отырған кезеңде жиі орын алды деген қорытынды жасалды. Олар климаттық, экономикалық, демографиялық және саяси өзгерістерге байланысты ішкі және сыртқы факторлардың әсері негізінде қалыптасты. Осыған байланысты ортағасырлық тайпалардың ірі қозғалыстары халықтар тарихында локомотив рөлін атқарды деп те айтуға болады.

Түйін сөздер: көші-қон, этникалық үдерістер, түркі тайпалары, этноним, Орталық Азия.

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Роль миграций в этноисторических процессах Центральной Азии (раннее средневековье)

Главной целью данной статьи является рассмотрение миграций кочевых племен, приведших к ряду трансформационных изменений на территории Центральной Азии в раннее средневековье. Основные методы, используемые в работе, это структурно-функциональный, сравнительно-исторический методы, систематизирование и обобщение.

Передвижения племен в средние века являются на сегодняшний день одной из центральных проблем исследований исторической науки. Влияние этого явления на этнические процессы трудно переоценить. Изучение миграций кочевых племен позволяет определить истоки этноглобтокультурогенеза, многих политико-экономических и социальных событий средневековой истории. Этноисторическая характеристика миграционных процессов, происходивших в среде тюркских племен средневековья, способствовала выдвиганию ряда гипотез относительно времени появления их на территории Казахстана. Сведения письменных источников, а также труды исследователей позволили авторам путем реконструкции истории некоторых казахских племен возвести их к ранним этапам формирования тюркской этнической общности.

Результатом исследования стало заключение о том, что миграционные движения племен, начавшиеся с распадом государственных образований, были частым явлением в исследуемый период. Они формировались на основе воздействия внутренних и внешних факторов, связанных с климатическими, экономическими, демографическими и политическими изменениями. В этой связи можно также утверждать, что крупные перемещения средневековых племен играли роль локомотивов в истории народов.

Ключевые слова: миграция, этнические процессы, тюркские племена, этноним, Центральная Азия.

Introduction

The study of the history of ethnic, socio-economic and political transformations concerning the Middle Ages is connected with one of the highly relevant phenomena of this period as migration. The issue of periodic mass relocations of Eurasian nomads over vast distances is one of the problems of Nomadology that does not lose relevance. Scientists during the examining the causes and consequences of migration movements in the Early Middle Ages tried to find out answers to the following questions: was the migration a figment of imagination of medieval authors? Because many authors of the Middle Ages, due to the limited means of communication, exaggerated some information coming from afar. Then how can we explain the structural alterations that have occurred in medieval communities under the influence of wars, famine, epidemics, natural disasters and many other external and internal factors. This is especially true for the problems of ethnoso- cial and ethnopolitical history.

At one time, the study of migration processes contributed to the emergence of the theory of “cultural circles” within the framework of diffusionism, which still finds its followers. In the modern age, many concepts about the origin of some peoples

have begun to be revised. For example, while recently the Mongol ethnicity of the main ethnic core of the Buryat people has been claimed, scientific studies that affirm the Turkic origin of these ethnic elements have recently become more frequent. The researchers cited the data of archaeological excavations, which testify to the existence of direct links between the proto-Buryats and the ancient Turkic tribes, whose genealogy date from the era of Kurumchin culture. In this regard, it is hypothesized that two main components of Turkic origin participated in the ethnogenesis of the Buryats – the Teles, which the worship of the swan, and the Oghuz, which considered a bull as their totem.

As a result of such conclusions, there is a rethinking of ethnic movements of local significance, which in turn were the result of even more extensive in scale and consequences of movements of the tribes of Central Asia, which are reported by the writers of the Muslim Middle Ages. In this regard, the period leading up to the Mongol conquest presents many facts that allow us to understand the significance of medieval migrations. In any way, it is intolerable to disclaim the prevalence of such a phenomenon as medieval migrations, and the facts of the displacement of large masses of the population were comparable to the real catastrophe.

Migration processes of the nomadic tribes in the pre-Mongolian period

The problem of migration in the study of ethnosocial communities at the ethnic and ethno-state levels is extremely multifaceted and diverse. Attention to migration is evident in literally all aspects of the history of different regions of Central Asia, where medieval migrations are associated with ethnohistorical processes. One of the major issues in the study of migration as a spatial, geo-ethnic and geopolitical history is the causes of migration. This problem of the highest level of complexity has repeatedly created the ground for pseudo-discoveries and speculations, mainly concerning the cyclicity of historical periods, more often on a planetary or Eurasian scale, less often local. Researchers offer very interesting interpretations of the reasons for migration in the Middle Ages. In this respect, the work of the Western anthropologist T. Barfield, in which among the reasons that caused migration movements, points to the pressure of external factors, namely the dependence of Central Asian nomads on a prosperous China. He concluded that the formation and fall of the empire both for China and for the nomads had the same cyclical character (Barfield, 2009).

The same reason for the migrations was supported by his predecessor O. Lattimore, who linked the main reason for the cyclic migration of nomads with negative changes in the nomadic society. As a result, the nomads had a need to find new lands more suitable for cattle breeding (Lattimore, 1962).

Researcher L.N. Gumilev proposed his concept of the reasons for the migrations of nomads in the Eurasian space. He noticed that the migrations were associated with periodic meridional shifts from west to east of anticyclones. Such alterations, leading to moistening of the steppe and, accordingly, to an increase in the grass cover, a number of livestock population, were an important reason for the increase in the mobility of nomadic tribes. However, one should take into account the fact that L.N. Gumilev, did not consider the deterioration of the climate in the steppe an essential condition for the mass migrations of nomads. He noted that the invasions of China and a number of other countries were made not by crowds of starving nomads who were looking for refuge, but by disciplined and trained groups. Suchlike incursions could take place only under conditions of humidification of the steppe zone. And the drying up became the reason not for military incursions, but for the eviction of

small groups of nomads who settled on the steppe outskirts. Put in other words, L.N. Gumilev made a difference between two types of movement of nomads to the west (occupation and resettlement), correlating them with the moisture and drying up of the Steppe zone (Gumilev, 1990).

The sinologist, Ildiko Ecsedy, noted that the nomadic economy was not able to meet the needs of its society, which forced nomads to go into predatory wars. The researcher also noted that nomads never left their lands intentionally, unless there was a specific reason for doing so. In her opinion, the nomads left their lands only if they were forced out by another powerful tribe (Ecsedy, 1968).

The assessments of the causes of migration available in historiography were attempted to be summarized by N.N. Kradin: 1) various global climatic changes (this version was supported by L.N. Gumilev, A. Toynbee); 2) the greedy and warlike nature of the nomads; 3) overpopulation in the steppe; 4) the class struggle or the growth of productive forces; 5) the need for the development of a cattle-breeding economy by raiding agricultural societies; 6) refusal of the sedentary population to trade with nomadic neighbors; 7) personal initiative of the leaders of nomadic tribes; 8) ethno-integrating impulses ("passionarity"). Most of these factors had their own rational aspects. However, the significance of some of them turned out to be grossly exaggerated. For example, paleographic data do not confirm the facts of the coincidence of severe climate change, with the heyday or disintegration of nomadic empires. The class struggle as one of the reasons also has not been confirmed. And the demographic factor is still not fully understood by scientists (Kradin, 2001).

A.M. Khazanov proposed his own classification of forms of nomadic cattle breeding, namely: 1) absolute mobility of the entire population without fixed routes; 2) the mobility of the entire population with relatively unstable routes and without permanent winter roads; 3) the mobility of the entire population with fixed routes and permanent winter roads and the absence of agriculture (Sarmatians, modern Kalmyks and part of the Kazakhs); 4) the mobility of the entire population in spring, summer and autumn with wintering in permanent settlements (a form of nomadism, characterized by the predominance of cattle breeding with the auxiliary role of agriculture); 5) the mobility of the population in a certain part of the year, while the rest of the time it leads a sedentary life (semi-nomadism), which allows us to consider the mass migration of nomads as the initial of the five stages

of the nomadic way of life and, in particular, the nomadic economy (Khazanov, 1984).

W. Pohl in his study, among the reasons that caused migration movements, names such a simple reason as calling for help from more distant peoples in the struggle against neighbors (Pohl, 2002). The resettlement of the Magyars to the Carpathian region is mentioned as an example. A similar situation can be traced in the case of the Karakhanids, who called for help from the Khitan in the fight against the Karluks and came under their influence in connection with the resettlement of the mass of Khitan tribes here. It is also a textbook example of the relationship between the Ghaznavids and the Oghuz. The geopolitical factor cannot be ruled out – the Eurasian steppes played the role of transit territories not only politically, but also culturally. This is confirmed by the entire history of the Middle Ages.

The study of migration processes, and also the study of the long-standing ethnogenetic ties of the Turkic peoples, inevitably raised the question of the time of the appearance of Turkic elements in the west and south-west of Central Asia. For example, in Maverannahr – long before the Mongol invasion of Central Asia. One of the important issues was the time of the appearance of Mongolian ethnic elements in the Aral Sea region.

Soviet scientist S.P. Tolstov expressed an interesting hypothesis about the Mongolian origin of some tribes in the Oghuz confederation of the XI century, the appearance of which he dated to the VI century AD. The orientalist A. Yakubovsky wrote about the migration wave that began with the movement of the Kipchaks and Oghuzes. He considered as one of the subsequences of migrations in the Turkic period, the establishment of Sogdian colonies in the steppe regions, which contributed to the penetration of the agricultural population into the cattle-breeding space. As result, the intensification of interaction between the two economies of Central Asia marked the beginning of internal transformational changes in the social and ethnic environment.

The period of the genesis of the Turkic tribes should be characterized by the following general features: the duration of ethnic processes; participation of the same ethnic components in different proportions in the formation of the Turkic ethnic groups. The creation of tribes underwent numerous processes of assimilation, fusion, mixing of individual Turkic-speaking elements with each other, and these phenomena took a long significant period of time. The main hypotheses expressed

in this regard are based on the sociocultural and ethnopolitical contacts of tribes with each other that took place during the migration.

In scientific historiography, hypotheses were expressed about the beginning of the genesis of the Kazakh tribes in the period preceding the Mongol conquest. For example, about the Kazakh tribe Argyn (ethnic components of this tribe are the Basmyl, the Argu). Characterizing the existing ethnic relationships of some Kyrgyz tribes of the Ichkilik unification with the tribes of the Western Turkic confederation (the Kesek, the Argu (influence of the Sogdians), the Oghuz), the Kyrgyz researcher T. Akerov noted the fact that the Oghuzes formed a new possession of Argu in the Tien Shan, together with the Altaian tribes, during their migration to the west in the VIII-X centuries. (Akerov, 2005: 157).

The starting point of the discussion about the origin of some Turkic tribes was the question of the migration of nomads in the western direction at the end of the X – first half of the XI century, which originated as a result of the creation of the Khitan empire of Liao in North China and Mongolia. S.M. Akhinzhanov connected the transfer of winter nomadic places from the Semirechye to the lower Syr Darya with this migration. The Karluks in the Semirechye have been located since the VIII century, according to the scientist, their contact was inevitable with the Kipchaks. This data gave rise to the reconstruction of the early periods in the processes of ethnogenesis of some tribes, whose names become known at a later time. Interesting opinions were expressed in the scientific literature on the ethnicity of some Uzbek tribes. We are talking about the Lokai tribe. Researchers I.P. Magidovich, M.E. Mason noted the connection between the Lokais and the Karluks, and through them with the Kazakh tribe Argyn. B. Karmysheva noted the connection between the Lokais and the Karluks and asserted the obvious ethnogenetic kinship of the Lokai with the Argyns. Hypotheses about an even earlier (than in the Mongolian period) appearance in the west of some famous tribes have been developed in modern scientific literature. The Kyrgyz researcher T. Akerov investigated the ethnogenetic ties of the Kyrgyz with the Turkic Lakai tribes through reconstruction, made the following conclusion that both Lakai and some Kyrgyz clans are related to the ancient people of Central Asia, the Alakchins. The Altai groups of ancient Lakays in the Karluk Union were represented by the Alka-Bulaks, the Kimaks had Lanikaz (according to Gardizi), and the Zhalairs had Nilkans. Thanks to this information, it is possible to explain the appearance of some Turkic-speaking and even

Mongol tribes in the territory of Central Asia in the pre-Mongol time. (Akerov, 2005). According to the source “Hudud al-Alam”, the territory of the Karluk settlement included the basins of the Talas, Chu, or Ili rivers and reached the Syr Darya in the middle of the X century (Iz vlecheniya..., 1939: 211). The Karluks apparently dominated the Tuhsi, the Argu, and the Yagma tribes at that time. However, their power was largely nominal. Ibn Haukal (X century) claimed that Islamized Karluks and Guzes visited a mosque in the city of Syutkend, located west of the Shash River (Istoriya..., 2010). Very often tied the name of the Tuhsi with the Chigil. Thus, Mahmud al-Kashgari wrote about the Tuhsi that it is the name of a Turkic tribe living in Qayas – the country of the Tuhsi and Zhiqil (Mahmud al-Kashgari, 2005: 397, 869). According to sources about the Kai and the Kun tribes, as well as about the “Marka” people, S. Tolstov made a conclusion about the possible appearance of Mongol elements in the Aral Sea in the VI century. S. Tolstov argued that the presence of Mongolian ethnic elements in the composition of the Oguz tribes in the VI century explains the presence of Mongolian components in the composition of the Turkic-Mongol tribes (Tolstov, 1947). This fact is also related to the fact that after the collapse of the Uyghur Khaganate or the Khitan state of Liao, some Mongol tribes were included in the Jalair. The same clear picture of ethnic changes among the Turkic tribes on the territory of the Central Asian region during the emergence of the Khitan state (X century) was presented in her scientific monograph by L.L. Viktorova. So, studying the problem of the origin of the Mongol tribes, she noted that the dominant position of some Mongol tribes was associated with the fall of the Uyghur Khaganate (840) during the invasion of the Kyrgyz. Due to the migration of the Uyghurs to the territory of East Turkestan, the population of Turkic origin in the Eurasian space has sharply decreased. As a result of the shift of the centers of ethnic processes to the territory of Central Asia, many descendants of ancient Turkic tribes in the Mongolian steppe found themselves outside the main line of development of Turkic-speaking peoples (Viktorova, 1980). It should be noted that some Turkic tribes, such as the Jalair were involved in the processes of integration and mixing with the tribes of Mongolian origin, remaining on their ancient territory, which, of course, affected their ethnic appearance. These hypotheses were based on the facts of migrations of medieval tribes, described in written sources.

The famous scientist N. Aristov wrote that in the XI century there was a struggle for territory along

the lower and middle reaches of the Volga River, which is the birthplace of the Khazar Khaganate. The Khazar Khaganate skillfully exploited the internecine enmity between the Turkic tribes that came from the east, and therefore they managed to maintain their power in the region. Subsequently, this led to the fact that the Pechenegs were able to oust the Magyars to the west. However, then, the Pechenegs themselves were ousted beyond the Don by the Tork tribes (meaning the Turgeshes) and the Guzes (the Kipchak and Kangles tribes, who later came to be called the Polovtsy or Cumans). After the settlement of the Polovtsy along the Danube, the resettlement of the Turks to the territory of southern Russia stopped. It has been linked to the fact that some tribes of the Kipchaks and Kangles, in search of a better life, entered the ranks of the Seljuk army, which subjugated Egypt, Iran and Asia Minor in the XI-XII centuries (Aristov, 1897). According to Ibn Fadlan, who made a famous trip to Volga Bulgaria in the X century, the Oghuz were in hostile relations with the Khazars (Kovalevsky, 1956). A lot of written data confirm the fact of the transition of political hegemony from the Oghuzes to the Kipchaks in the steppes of Western Kazakhstan in the XI century. But this event was preceded by a long history of contacts between the Kimaks and the Oghuz, whose Alliance ensured their victory over the Pecheneg tribes. The Oghuz nomads lived side by side with the Kimaks. The close interaction of the tribes is evidenced by the presence of Oghuz tribal names Eymur and Bayandur in the Kimak tribal association. As for the Oghuz, their participation in the ethnogenesis of Kazakh tribes is not in doubt among researchers. Their settlement on the territory of Western Kazakhstan is reflected in the toponyms preserved here. Thus, according to S. Azhigali, the name of Shagray plateau belongs to the Oghuzes, while he is also noted that the uranium of the Kazakh tribe of the Sherkesh of the Junior zhuz is Shagray. He claimed that this Shagray tribe, or a certain part of it, most likely occupied the territory in the Middle Volga region, this is approximately the territory of the north-west of the Aral-Caspian region. He also cited information that in the 30s of the XVII century A. Olearius wrote about the Chagra River, which join the Volga river lower Syzran (Azhigali, 2001). Researchers traced the further connection of the Sherkesh tribe with the Oghuzes through the Turkic tribe of Jagra (Shagra) of the VIII-X centuries, which later became part of the Oghuz Confederation. P. Golden, exploring the tribal names of Kumans, Kipchaks and Kankalis noted that the tribe Chograt (Charak) made a good figure in the

history of Khwarazm and part of them entered the Kankalis sub configuration (Golden, 2006).

Proceeding from this assumption, we can fully agree with the opinion that by the X century the region of the North-Eastern Caspian Sea was the habitat of Turkic-speaking tribes. The Oghuz component played a prominent role in ethnic processes, which became “a link in the merging of ancient (“Massagets”) and new (Turkic) cultural and ideological traditions in the Aral-Caspian region”. It should be noted that the data of written sources are confirmed in both archaeological research and oral nomadic tradition. The period of the XI and XIII centuries was characterized here by large migration movements of tribes and was reflected in the oral folk art – the epic of Koblandy and a special architectural tradition in the form of a memorial sculpture of a rounded form, which consisted of statues of sheeps, mouflons in memory of the eminent figures of the time (Azhigali, 2001).

A special place in the study of migration processes in the Great Steppe of the XI century is occupied by the problems of the formation of the state Qara Khitai and the Kipchak confederation of tribes. Medieval sources, which mentioned the names of tribes that participated in migration movements, contributed to the advancement of a number of new hypotheses. According to this information, researchers were able to reconstruct the early history of some tribes, the names of which have preserved to this day. So, at one time, researchers promoted the idea of the presence of some tribes in the migratory movement of the Khitan to the west, which later became part of the Cumans (Pikov, 1989). Even G. E. Grumm-Grzhimailo, believed that the tribe of the “Marka”, who participated in the Khitan movement, and which the Magyars in their chronicles called the Kuns, is nothing but the Cumans.

Reconstructing the ethno-historical relationships between the Qara Khitai and the Mascar tribe of the Junior Zhuz, it should be noted that the Qara Khitai, which were located in the western part of the steppe of Kazakhstan, were strongly turkized by the Kipchak tribes. And as a result of this interaction, paired names arose with the involvement of the Ktai tribe (for example, Ktai-Naiman, Ktai-Kipchak, etc.) among the tribal units of some Kazakh, Uzbek and Karakalpak peoples. Based on this assumption, it can be concluded that the Qara Khitai were turkized in the XII century. Returning to the question of the emergence of ethnic elements of Mongolian origin, the researchers proposed a number of hypotheses. They argued that the appearance in the south of a significant number of tribes, as a result of migration

movements, could be caused by the emergence of a new state, and the subsequent campaigns of conquest. The Khitan movement may have contributed to the appearance of such phenomenon.

The formation of the Karakhanid state contributed to the further development of ethnic processes that began with the disintegration of the Turkic Khaganates, the Uyghur Khaganate and eventually led to the creation of many Turkic tribes in advance of the emergence of the Mongolian state.

An important evidence for the characteristics of the tribes of Central Asia is the data of M. Kashgari on the languages of the peoples who inhabited the territory from Sairam to Balasagun. This information indicates that the tribes mentioned by the medieval author in the X century were probably influenced by non-Turkic peoples and represented mixed communities during this period. If we talk about the “residents of cities” mentioned by Mahmud Kashgari, he was referring to the Sogdian population, whose influence on local tribes was quite strong. In the Central Tien Shan and Semirechye, under the rule of the Western Turkic, Turgesh and Karluk khaganates, the Sogdians lived, whose immigration from Sogd to this region began in the V century, but the bulk of them moved in the VII-VIII centuries. Subsequently, these Sogdians were Turkized, mainly by the Turgesh and Karluk tribes. Mahmud Kashgari, describing the language of the Turkic tribes, noted the incorrect utterance of those tribes who speak two languages, and those who mingled with the city dwellers. As an example, he wrote about the inhabitants of such cities as Sugdak, Kenjek and Argu. To the second group, he attributed the inhabitants of Khotan, Tibet and parts of Tangut. He attributed the Chumuls, Kei, Yabaku, Tatars and Basmyls to nomadic tribes, noting that they all had their own language, but at the same time they spoke Turkic language fairly well. He also observed that almost all residents of the Argu country, have an incorrect utterance from Ispijab to Balasagun (Mahmud al-Kashgari, 2005).

Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be noted that the study of medieval migrations made it possible to determine the stages of the formation of many Turkic, including proto-Kazakh tribes, associated with such ethnonyms as Argyn, Jalair, Mascar and many others. Works of scientists have allowed it possible to determine the time of the appearance of some Turkic-Mongol ethnic groups in the area of

modern Kazakhstan. Based on the analysis of the information of medieval sources, the history of the ethnic relationships between the early Turkic and Turkic-speaking tribes were reconstructed, which testified to their ascent to ethnonyms that have preserved to this day.

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