

Bizhanova M.T.

Ph.D. Student, al-Farabi Kazakh National University,
Kazakhstan, Almaty, e-mail: b.meiramgul7@gmail.com

THE ISSUE OF SUCCESSION OF KHAN GOVERNANCE IN GOLDEN HORDE AND KAZAKH KHANATE

In the article the issue of succession of khan governance in Golden Horde and Kazakh Khanate is considered. In the process of collapse of Golden Horde the governance in the state formed in its territory was in possession of Chingisids descendants of Zhoshy khan. This tradition continued in Kazakhstan until the beginning of the 19 century. Some signs of governing institutions in Golden Horde were stable and sustainable. They appeared during the process of collapse of Golden Horde in the regions where new states were formed. One of these parameters is khan governance issue. Along with the dynasty continuation of khan governance, the issues of ways of possession of the khan governance, inheritance, continuation of main attributes of khan governance is considered. For example, continuation of tradition of election of khan, appointment of most powerful candidate from ruling dynasty to khan governance.

Key words: Golden Horde, Kazakh Khanate, historical succession, khan governance, sacredness.

Бижанова М.Т.

Phd докторант, әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті,
Қазақстан, Алматы қ., e-mail: b.meiramgul7@gmail.com

Алтын Орда мен Қазақ хандығындағы хандық биліктің сабақтастық мәселелері

Мақалада Алтын Орда мен Қазақ хандығындағы хандық биліктің кейбір қырларының сабақтастық мәселелері қарастырылды. Алтын Орданың ыдырау процесінде оның территориясында пайда болған мемлекеттерде билік Жошы ұрпағынан тараған ақсүйектерге тиесілі болды. Бұл дәстүр Қазақстанда XIX ғ. басына дейін жалғасты. Алтын Орданың басқару институттарындағы кейбір белгілері әжептеуір тұрақты және өміршең болып шықты. Олар Алтын Орданың ыдырау процесі кезінде сол аумақта пайда болған мемлекеттерде көрініс тапты. Бұл параметрлердің біріне хан билігі мәселесі жатады. Хан билігінің әулеттік сабақтастығымен қатар, хан билігіне келу жолдары, таққа мұрагерлік, хан билігінің негізгі атрибуттарының жалғастығы мәселесі қаралды. Мысалы хан сайлау дәстүрінің жалғасуы, хандық билікке билеуші әулеттің ішіндегі ең беделді өкілінің сайлануы.

Түйін сөздер: Алтын Орда, Қазақ хандығы, тарихи сабақтастық, хан билігі, киелілік.

Бижанова М.Т.

докторант, Казахский национальный университет имени аль-Фараби,
Казakhstan, г. Алматы, e-mail: b.meiramgul7@gmail.com

Проблемы преемственности ханской власти Золотой Орды в Казахском ханстве

В статье рассмотрена преемственность некоторых аспектов ханской власти Золотой Орды в Казахском ханстве. В постордынских государствах власть принадлежала чингизидам. Это традиция продолжала свое существование до начала XIX века в Казахстане. Определенные признаки в институтах управления Золотой Ордой оказались стабильными и жизнеспособными. Они были отражены в странах, возникших в этом регионе в процессе распада Золотой Орды.

Одним из этих параметров является проблема ханской власти. Наряду с преемственностью ханской власти обсуждался вопрос о правопреемстве ханских правителей, о наследстве престола и продолжении основных атрибутов ханства.

Ключевые слова: Золотая Орда, Казахское ханство, историческая преемственность, ханская власть, сокральность.

Introduction

Even though the destiny of various states in the territory of Eurasia had a lot in common, the most significant factor in their history, which determined the course of further development is governance system of the ancient Turkic civilization. We can see historical continuation of states that lived before in the political, social, economic, religious, state-legal development of Kazakh Khanate. Moreover, along with the formation of state its governance system was formed. The important part of governance system is competence of an authority and legal efficiency. The governance characteristic relied on some principles in state formations existed in Kazakh steppe, were conserved in many cases. This could be seen from governance of Mongols during Genghis Khan Period, great empire which conquered whole territory of Kazakhstan. It is worth to note that complication and diversity of governance system in nomadic empires cannot be described in one word. Because, in our topic researching the continuation of governance institutions and political governance system of two states we can see that political cultural levels were different. Moreover, the importance of the topic is that historians of neighboring countries consider their country and nation as a successor of Golden Horde

Khan governance in Golden Horde and the issue of continuation of khan governance in Kazakh Khanate is the main goal of my report.

While conducting the research, we aim at the following problems: dynasty continuation in governance system between abovementioned states, which is khan governance; legal rights and obligations of khan; main attributes of khan governance; ways of throne possession and its types.

Theoretical ground of the issue of historical continuation in legal sphere and governance system was shown for the first time in post-Soviet history in the works of V.V. Trepavlov, R.J. Pochekeyev.

V.V. Trepavlov in his work called «State structure of Mongol Empire in 13 century: problem of historical succession» was dedicated to research of traditional elements of Mongol state in 13 century, that is components of political and social structures which shifted from mediaeval administrative

structures to Mongol state structure. The subject of the mentioned research is state structure of Mongol Empire; main focus of the work is historical continuation. As a result of research of many data and analysis, the author concludes that there is a continuation between Uyghur Kaganate and ancient Turkic governance system in 6-9 centuries and Genghis Khan Empire governance system. In the conclusion of the research it is noted to significance of research of issues of continuation in governance sphere in nomadic societies formed in result of collapse of Golden Horde (Trepavlov, 1993).

The works of R.J. Pochekeyev are about formation of legal rights in Golden Horde and evolution of state structures including Kazakh Khanate as a result of collapse of Golden Horde. The author notes that the source of Chingisids legal rights in the territory of Zhoshy people is ancient law rights, collection of law of Yassy – son of Genghis Khan and decrees of khan as a supreme independent ruler. He proved succession of some elements of Kazakh djuzs with Golden Horde (Pochekeyev, 2005; 2008; 2009).

Kazakhstani historians conducted research on problems of historical continuation between states as well. Z. Kinayatuly in his works calls Golden Horde as Zhoshy-Kypshak state, and investigates issues of continuation of state process of Saks, Huns, ancient Turkic kaganates, Mongol Empire, Zhoshy-Kypshak state and Kazakh Khanate. Some issues of historical continuation of political power and governance system of Kazakh Khanate with previous states, namely one of the major political advantages of Kazakh – formation of dynasty of Kazakh khans, from Zhoshy khan family, successor Genghis Khan Dynasty (Kinayatuly, 2004; 2007; 2010).

The Main Part

Governance system of Golden Horde was branched and complex. It was formed and changed within three centuries when the state existed. Starting from implementation of traditional institutions common for Mongol Empire in the conquered Deshti-Kypshak steppe, governing traditions of nations conquered by Zhoshy descendants and

their neighboring states has been used rationally. Thus, complex of capital and regional hierarchic organizations, central and local administration, governing bodies were formed.

Nowadays, historians have interests in governance system of Golden Horde. There are many reasons for that. Firstly, its stability was longer than the state that formed it. Because, it continued existing in successor khanates and hordes formed as a result of collapse of Golden Horde. In other lieges of Mongol Empire – China and Iran this governance system didn't continue. Secondly, state of Zhoshy Khan existed in the vast territory of people with diverse religions and languages, and with different economic sphere (nomadic agriculture and sedentary agriculture) is rare historical case.

In the history of Golden Horde there were several events influenced the governance system transformation. In the mid 1269 taking independence from Mongol Empire was actions of khans respective to new status of state. Later in the period of Uzbek khan giving Islam the status of state religion brought changes in the governance system.

Some signs of governing institutions in Golden Horde were stable and sustainable. They appeared during the process of collapse of Golden Horde in the regions where new states were formed.

One of these parameters is Khan governance issue.

Khan governance in Mongol Empire were inherited to successors of Genghis Khan, while in Zhoshy Empire it was inherited to Zhoshy descendants. V. Trepavlov shows that holiness of khan governance of Chingisids had historical connections with ancient Turkic states (Trepavlov, 1993: 72). In his monograph he shows that before Genghis Khan dynasty Hun Empire in 2 century B.C ruler of Huns had title of «shaniui sent from the sky». In Kidan, Turk kaganate, Naiman and Kereit states khans and kagans described themselves as kagans sent from the sky or kagan born from the sun and sky. It is clear that Genghis Khan used experience of Turk states in making his dynasty holy. As a result, after collapse of Mongol Empire, some dynasties which formed empires later (Zhoshy dynasty, Tole dynasty, Shagatay dynasty, Ugedey dynasty) and after collapse of these dynasties and formation of khanates power of descendants of Genghis Khan was natural thing and only descendants of Genghis Khan could take the throne. This tradition maintained in Kazakh Khanate, and descendants of Genghis Khan Dynasty, including descendants of Zhoshy khan were tore in Kazakh society, till nowadays they have been honored and respected

in Kazakh society, which shows respect of Kazakh society to governance.

R. Pohekayev considering the governing rights of descendants of Genghis Khan Dynasty in Golden Horde came to the following conclusion: «There were two results for collapse of imperial type state (Golden Horde). Firstly, traditional rights related to Genghis Khan's personality had no use in the new states formed later, as more useful in new cases rights sources have appeared. Secondly, descendants who couldn't maintain Genghis Khan's heritage became short in gravitas among Turkic-Mongol nomads. Thus, in 16 century the right of Genghis Khan Descendants to take throne ended, instead nomadic tribes representatives came to power in the states of Great Steppe. In the end of 18 century and beginning of 19 century descendants of Genghis Khan lost power in the territory of Central Asia (except some parts of Kazakhstan and Mongolia)» (Pohekayev, 2018: 71). However, despite the fact that they lost their power, hierarchical high status of descendants of Genghis Khan was still respected. For example, in the work of V.V. Trepavlov it is said that: «Osman Dynasty admitted nominally their status related to Genghis Khan, but in daily political practice it didn't play any role (Trepavlov, 2011: 16). In Golden Horde supreme power was lodged to khan. People were appointed to high positions by khan, he was responsible to conduct negotiations with foreign rulers, and he led the army in battles, and used to deal with monetary issues. Kazakh khans had the same privileges. As it was mentioned above being from «golden seeds» (Genghis Khan's descendants) meant to have right to own the throne. However, inheritance of power was not formalized officially by law, but it was regulated by tradition. Let's consider types and signs of inheritance of khan's governance:

Firstly, the founder of Mongol Empire Genghis Khan supported the idea of inheritance of power through dynasty. It means that personal qualities, achievements, personality, reputation among descendants of Genghis Khan of a person who is appointed as khan was considered. This tradition in Empire dynasty (for example in Golden Horde) wasn't the only and one political rule to come to throne; however, it was actual till the end of Genghis Khan's dynasty. For example in the second half of 18 century after acceptance of Minor and Middle Djuzs subordination by Russian Empire, Russian government offered to appoint for khan's position in Kazakh steppe not closest or oldest person in khan's hierarchy, but they offered to appoint well-deserved person (Sabyrhanov: 158).

Secondly, Genghis Khan formed the tradition of appointing his successor by choosing Ugedey as his successor to khan's position while he was alive. For example, during the reign of Uzbek Khan in Golden Horde, he appointed his son Tynybek as his successor, who participated in meetings as his successor.

Thirdly, during the reign of Great Guyuk Khan new form of coming to the throne of descendants of Genghis Khan – inheritance of supreme power by representatives of dynasty was introduced. In «Collection of chronicles» of Rashid-ad-Din it is noted that in the congress of 1246 Guyuk Khan came to throne by agreement. It means that it was accepted that only his descendants could come to reign. Since then the tradition of coming to reign by right of succession was introduced for the first time in the history of Mongol Empire. It shows that supreme power could not be given to grandson while son is alive. However, this approach of family-dynasty right of succession was not accepted by descendants of Genghis Khan in general. This tradition was not popular in Empire Dynasties as well.

Fourthly, seniority approach in governing established in dynasties of Genghis Khan. According to this approach, senior successor of khan's descendants had surpassed rights to rule (Fedorow-Davydow, 1973: 68-70). For example, brother of khan was considered to be the oldest than all relatives and children of khan. However, in some cases according to this rule, son of khan stating that his father is older than his brother, attempted in taking the reign. In such cases «seniority ladder» caused arguments on who has more right. That is, argument on appointing khan based on age or experience. This issue can be seen from fight for reign in Golden Horde after death of Batu Khan in 1256 between his son Sartak and his brother Berke or after death of Tukan in 1283 between his son Tuda-Mengu and khan's brother Mengu-Temur.

Fifthly, inheritance of reign within one descent, from brother to younger brother. G.A. Fedorov-Davydov in his research shows describes this regulation as «archaic regulation of inheritance of throne».

As we can see, direct inheritance of throne from khan to his son (to his grandson, in case of death of son) was implemented often. This rule was maintained for many years in khanates formed as a result of collapse of Golden Horde.

The rights and responsibilities of khans' in medieval age were determined. Khan had at least five rights and responsibilities. They are as followings:

1. The right to rule on supreme level as a head of ruling dynasty and supreme suzerain in whole territory of khanate, his right based on his main responsibility and obligation is to protect country from outer enemies.

2. Khan had solemn right to declare war and conclude an armistice, which came from responsibility of military commander.

3. Khan had right to conduct negotiation with foreign countries on supreme level, which came from responsibility to determine the course of the foreign policy of the country.

4. Khan had right to sentence person to death penalty or keep alive the person subordinate to him, which came from his supreme power right.

5. Khan had right to introduce law and decrees related to all members of society, which came from his responsibility to maintain rules and structures of society of that time (Sultanov, 1982: 89-90; 2006: 80-84).

It is clear that the tradition to set a king on a throne was followed by great khans of Mongol Empire to khans of Golden Horde and Kazakh Khanate. German Johannes Schiltberger who lived in Golden Horde in 15 century was witness of the ceremony of setting a king on a throne. In chapters on Golden Horde of his work there is the following story: «they set him on white felt pad and lift three times. Then circuit tent lifting him, set him on a throne and make him hold a golden sword. After that, he swears on oath according to their traditions» (Shiltberger, 1984: 44). We can see the same description in the book of A. Levshin written after four centuries. «When the number of voters increases, general meeting is announced, carpets and felt pad are spread on the floor, where sultans, aksakals, bis, tribe leaders sat in accordance with notability or reputation, commons stand behind them. Beginning of such meetings is usually quite, but its end is noisy. It is opened by elderly or experienced honored person, run by brave and led by outstanding people, and at the end it is followed by discussion lasting two, three or even more days. After electing khan, highly respected sultans and elderly people informs him, then set him on a white felt pad and lift him, then put him back on the ground. Right after them commons lift him several times, shouting loudly. At the end of this ceremony, the felt pad and even sometimes khan's cloths were torn to pieces for everyone as a proof of their participation in it» (Levshin, 1832: 126-127). As we can notice, tradition of electing khan in period of Genghis Khan's reign continued in Golden Horde and Kazakh khanate time too.

One side of statehood and governance issue is a throne and crown. It is important to research statehood attributes and symbols of power of medieval states in Kazakhstan, however research of scientific issue is insufficient. Moreover, works on these topics are rare. A.G.Jurchenko one of the scientists who dedicated his work to such problems considers golden tent, crown, flag which shows state's characteristics, state stamp, ring etc. of nomadic empires as attributes of power (Jurchenko, 2012: 72). Some of these attributes existed in medieval Kazakh states. Folklores along with recorded data have information that Kazakh khanate had symbols of power as crown and throne.

Throne and crown existed not only in Kazakh khanate, but also in most of Central Asian Medieval countries, including Mongol Empire. This leads to the second aim of our research. Because, it is necessary to unfold continuation and similarity in throne and crown in the state of Golden Horde and rulers of Kazakh khanate.

There is information that such attributes existed in supreme power of descendants of Zhoshy who lived in Deshti Kypshak. According to Wilhelm de Rubrouck, «the throne of Batu was long and wide painted with gold; there were three tribune of the throne; the ruler used to sit on one throne with his wife» (Jurchenko, 2012: 90-91), which means that the throne's size was big enough for several people. In Russian chronicles where they mention the name of Yaroslav who was in Batu khan's palace, it was described that founder of Golden Horde had crown on his head and sat on throne. In records of

Arab historian Ibn Battuta in 14 century the throne of Uzbek khan of Golden Horde is described as following: «... a wooden throne, overlaid with silver gilded leaves; its feet are of pure silver, and the top is covered with precious stones. Sultan sits on it (throne); on his right side Khatun Taitugly sat, and next to her Khatun Kabak, and on the left side near her Khatun Bayan and Khatun Urduji sat» (SMIZO, 1884: 290).

It worth to mention the abovementioned attributes of states formed as a result of collapse of Golden Horde. D.M. Iskhakov estimates that Turkic-Tatar states in XV-XVII centuries had specific state symbols. Researcher gives information that there were elements of state power, such as throne, crown, and stamp (Iskhakov, 2009: 143).

Considering equal level of traditional successors of Kazakh Khanate and Golden Horde after Zhoshy Khan's reign with political unions, similarity of state symbols is historical pattern.

Conclusion

Concluding, firstly we can see synchronic continuation of inheritance principles of governance system in Golden Horde and Kazakh Khanate. Secondly, we can see the similarity in the tradition of setting khan on a throne and all features of khan's ruling attributes in Golden Horde and Kazakh Khanate. Dividing state into two wings in state structure was experienced in Kazakh Khanate during the first hundred years period, which shows the continuation between two countries.

References

- Fedorow-Davydow G.A. (1973). *Obshestvennyy stroy Zolotoy Ordyi* [The social structure of the Golden Horde]. Moscow. Moskovskiy universitet. 180 s.
- Iskhakov D.M. (2009). *Tyurko-tatarskie gosudarstva XV-XVI vv* [The Türko-Tatar states of the XI-XI centuries]. Kazan': Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo. 143 s.
- Kinayatuly Z. (2010). *Shyngys khan zhane kazakh memleketi* [Genghis Khan and the Kazakh state]. Almaty. «Tarih tagylymy». 665-666 p.;
- Kinayatuly Z. (2004). *Kazakh memleketi zhane Zhoshy khan* [Kazakh state and Zhoshi khan]. Astana. 344 s.;
- Kinayatuly Z. (2007). *Istoriya kazahskoi gosudarstvennosti (drevnost i srednevekove)* [History of Kazakh statehood (antiquity and middle ages)]: monograficheskoe issledovanie. Almaty. Adamdar. 416 s.
- Levshin A. (1832). *Opisanie kirgiz-kaysakskih, ili kirgiz-kazachih ord i stepey* [Description of the Kirghiz-Kaysak or Kirghiz-Cossack hordes and steppes]. Chast 3. Sankt-Peterburg. 1832. S. 126-127.
- Pochekayev R.J. (2005). *Osobennosti formirovaniya i evolyutsii pravovoy sistemy Ulusa Dzhuchi* [Features of the formation and evolution of the legal system of Ulus Juchi]// *Tyurkologicheskiy sbornik*.
- Pochekayev R.J. (2008). *Osnovnyye etapy evolyutsii kazahskogo suda biyev (XV – nachalo XX vv.)* [The main stages of the evolution of the Kazakh court biys (XV – early XX centuries.)]// *Zanger. №4 (81)*. S. 51-58;
- Pochekayev R.J. (2009). *Pravo Zolotoy Ordy* [Right of the Golden Horde]. Kazan. Fen. 260 s.
- Pochekayev R.J. (2018). *Stepnyie imperii Evrazii: vlast-narod-pravo (ocherki po politicheskoy i pravovoy antropologii)* [Steppe empires of Eurasia: power-people-law (essays on political and legal anthropology)]. Almaty. ABDI Kompani. 218 s.

Sabyrhanov A. (1981). Istoricheskie predposylki likvidatsii hanskoy vlasti v Kazahstane. (Na materialah Mladshogo i Srednego zhuzov) [Historical background of the elimination of the khan power in Kazakhstan. (On the materials of the Younger and Middle Zhuz)]. Kazahstan v epohu feodalizma. Alma-Ata, 1981. 158 s.

SMIZO (1884). Sbornik materialov, odnosyaschihsya k istorii Zolotoy Ordyy V Tizengauzena [V. Nizengauzen's Collection of materials relating to the history of the Golden Horde]. T. 1. Izvlechenie iz sochineniya arabskih. St. Petersburg. 564 s.

Shiltberger I. (1984). Puteshestvie po Evrope, Azii i Afrike s 1394 goda po 1427 god [Traveling in Europe, Asia and Africa from 1394 to 1427.]. Baku. Izdatelstvo «Elm». 86 s.

Sultanov T.I. (2006). Podnyatiye na beloy koshme. Hanyi kazahskih stepey [Raised on a white gown. Khans of the Kazakh steppes]. Astana. TOO «Astana Damu-21». 2006. 256 s.

Sultanov T.I. (1982). Kochevnye plemena priaralya XV-XVII vv. (Voprosy etnicheskoy i sotsialnoy istorii) [Nomadic tribes of the Aral Sea region of the XV-XVII centuries. (Issues of ethnic and social history)]. Moskva. «Nauka», 1982. 86-90 p.

Trepavlov V.V. (1993). Gosudarstvennyy stroy Mongolskoy imperii XIII v.: problema istoricheskoy preyemstvennosti [State structure of Mongol Empire in 13 century: problem of historical succession]. Moskva. Nauka. 168 s.

Trepavlov V.V. (2011). Tyurkskie narody srednevekovoy Evrazii [Turkic peoples of medieval Eurasia]. Izbrannyye trudy / Otv. Red. I.M. Mirgaleev. Kazan: OOO «Foliant». 252 s.

Yurchenko A.G. (2012). Elita Mongolskoy imperii: vremya prazdnikov, vremya kazney [Elite of the Mongolian Empire: the time of holidays, the time of executions]. Sankt-Peterburg. Evraziya, 232 s.