



ТАРИХ / ИСТОРИЯ / HISTORY

Published in the Kazakhstan
Отан тарихы
Has been issued as a journal since 1998
ISSN: 1814-6961 (Print)
ISSN: 2788-9718 (Online)
Vol. 26. Is. 2, pp. 350-360, 2023
Journal homepage: <https://otan.history.iie.kz>

FTAXP / МРПТИ / IRSTI 03.20.00
https://doi.org/10.51943/1814-6961_2023_26_2_350-360

REFLECTION OF THE SHIBANIDS (SHEIBANIDS) DYNASTY'S ROLE IN THE HISTORY OF THE JUCHI ULUS AND THE KAZAKH KHANATE IN THE 13-16th CENTURIES

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Abstract. Introduction. The history of Juchi Ulus (Ulug Ulus) today is a very relevant scientific field. An important part of its history is connected with the study of activity of Juchi's fifth son – Shibani (Sheibani) and his descendants, who, due to certain historical circumstances, had a significant impact on the formation of states emerged after the collapse of the Golden Horde. *Purpose and objectives.* The purpose of the research is to study the role of Shibani's descendants in the history of the formation and development of the post-Golden Horde states. The research value is determined by the need to study the process of relations between the Genghisid states in the 13-16th centuries. *The main objectives were* to identify the role and study of the historical heritage of the Shibaniid states in the history of Eurasia. *The research results* are the identification of information about the reflection in the sources of the most important historical figures from the Shibaniid dynasty and the determination of their role in the formation of states on the territory of Central Asia. Particular attention was paid to the study of the phenomenon of such personalities as Khan Abulhair, Mohammed Shaibani, Burunduk Khan, Kasym Khan and others in the system of relations between the post-Golden Horde Central Asian states. *Conclusion* - the scientific significance of the study lies in the fact that in the article, based on the analysis of the studied data on historiography and sources, the question of the role and significance of the Shibaniid dynasty in the history of the formation of states in the territory of Central Asia is considered in a new way. *The novelty* of the study object is in the fact that the authors, on the basis of the data involved, revealed new information on the role of the Shibaniid dynasty during the formation of the Kazakh Khanate.

Keywords: Ulug Ulus – Golden Horde, Shibani, Shibaniids, Siberian Khanate, the state of Abulhair, Kazakh Khanate, Mohammed Shaibani, Burunduk Khan, Kasym Khan.

Acknowledgements. The article was financially supported by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Grant No. IRN AP09258941 “Role and significance of the



Shibanid dynasty in the History of the Golden Horde, the Ak Orda and the Kazakh Khanate (XIII-XVII centuries)”).

For citation: Ayagan B., Akanov K., Kurmanov Z. Reflection of the shibanids (sheibanids) dynasty's role in the history of the juchi ulus and the kazakh khanate in the 13-16th centuries // Otan tarihy. 2023. Vol. 26. No. 2. Pp. 350-360 (Engl). DOI: 10.51943/1814-6961_2023_26_2_350-360

ШИБАНДАР (ШЕЙБАНДАР) ӘУЛЕТІНІҢ XIII-XVI ҒҒ. ЖОШЫ ҰЛЫСЫ ЖӘНЕ ҚАЗАҚ ХАНДЫҒЫНДАҒЫ ТАРИХЫНДАҒЫ РӨЛІНІҢ КӨРІНІСІ

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Андатпа. *Kіріспе.* Жошы ұлысының (Ұлық Ұлыс) тарихы бүгінгі күні аса өзекті ғылыми бағыт болып табылады. Соның тарихы маңызды бөлігі Алтын Орда қирағаннан кейін құрылған мемлекеттердің қалыптасуына едәуір ықпал еткен белгілі бір тарихи жағдайлармен байланысты Жошының бесінші ұлы Шибанның (Шейбан) және оның ұрпағының қызметі болып табылады. *Зерттеудің мақсаты және міндеттері* – Шибан ұрпағының Алтын Ордадан кейінгі мемлекеттердің қалыптасуы мен даму тарихындағы рөлін зерттеу болып табылады. Зерттеудің құндылығы XIII–XVI ғасырлардағы Орталық Азиядағы Шыңғыс ұрпақтарының мемлекеттері арасындағы қарым-қатынас үдерісін зерттеу қажеттілігімен айқындалады. *Нәтижелер.* Дереккөздерінде Сібір және Орта Азия мемлекеттері арасындағы қарым-қатынастар жүйесін дамытуға маңызды ықпал еткен ерекше тарихи тұлғаларды көрсететін мәліметтерді келтіру зерттеудің нәтижесі болып табылады. Алтын Ордадан кейінгі Орта Азия мемлекеттерінің өзара қарым-қатынас жүйесінде Әбілқайыр хан, Мұхаммед Шайбани, Бұрындық хан, Қасым хан және тағы да басқа тұлғалардың құбылысын зерттеуге ерекше назар аударылды. Қорыта келе, мақалада зерттеудің ғылыми маңыздылығы, тарихнама мен дереккөздер бойынша зерттелген деректерді талдау негізінде Орталық Азия аумағындағы мемлекеттердің қалыптасу тарихындағы Шибанидтер әулетінің рөлі мен маңызы туралы мәселе жаңаша қарастырылады. Зерттеу нысанының жаңалығы – авторлардың тартылған деректер негізінде Қазақ хандығының құрылуы кезіндегі Шибанидтер әулетінің рөлі туралы тың мәліметтерді ашуында

Түйін сөздер: Ұлық Ұлыс – Алтын Орда, Шибан, Шибандар, Сібір хандығы, Әбілқайыр мемлекеті, Қазақ хандығы, Мұхаммед Шайбани, Бұрындық хан, Қасым хан.

Дәйексөз үшін: Бүркітбай Ғ.А., Ақанов Қ.Ғ., Құрманов З.К. Шибандар (шейбандар) әулетінің XIII-XVI ғғ. Жошы ұлысы және Қазақ хандығындағы тарихындағы рөлінің көрінісі // Отан тарихы. 2023. Т. 26. № 2. С. 350-360. (Ағылш.) DOI: 10.51943/1814-6961_2023_26_2_350-360

ОТРАЖЕНИЕ РОЛИ ДИНАСТИИ ШИБАНИДОВ (ШЕЙБАНИДОВ) В ИСТОРИИ УЛУСА ДЖУЧИ И КАЗАХСКОГО ХАНСТВА В XIII-XVI ВВ.

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Аннотация. *Введение.* История Улуса Джучи (Улуг Улуса) сегодня является весьма актуальным научным направлением. Важной частью его истории связана с изучением деятельности пятого сына Джучи – Шибана (Шейбана) и его потомков, которые в связи с определенными историческими обстоятельствами оказали значимое влияние на процессы формирования государств образовавшихся после распада Золотой Орды. *Цель и задачи исследования* – целью статьи является изучение роли потомков Шибана в истории становления и развития постзолотордынских государств. Ценность исследования определяется необходимостью изучения процесса взаимоотношений чингизидских государств в XIII-XVI веках. *Основными задачами* являлись: выявление роли и изучение исторического наследия государств Шибанидов в истории Евразии. *Результаты исследования* – выявление сведений об отражении в источниках наиболее важных исторических личностей из династии Шибанидов и определение их роли в формировании государств на территории Средней Азии. Особое внимание уделялось изучению феномена таких личностей как хан Абулхайр, Мухаммед Шайбани, Бурундык хан, Касым хан и др. в системе взаимоотношений постзолотордынских среднеазиатских государств. *Заключение* – научная значимость исследования, заключается в том, что в статье на основе анализа изученных данных по историографии и источникам по-новому рассматривается вопрос о роли и значении династии Шибанидов в истории формирования государств на территории Средней Азии. *Новизна* объекта исследования заключается в том, что авторами на основе привлеченных данных выявлены новые сведения по роли династии Шибанидов в период образования Казахского ханства.

Ключевые слова: Улуг Улус – Золотая Орда, Шибан, Шибаниды, государство Абулхайра, Казахское ханство, Мухаммед Шайбани, Бурундык хан, Касым хан.

Для цитирования: Буркитбай Ғ.А., Аканов Қ.Ғ., Курманов З.К. Политика советского государства в отношении религиозных деятелей (Казахстан. Актюбинская область) // Отан тарихы. 2023. Т. 26. № 2. С. 350-360. (Англ.) DOI: 10.51943/1814-6961_2023_26_2_350-360

Introduction. In recent years, a number of new works have been published on the history of Juchi Ulus (Ulug ulus) – the eldest son of Genghis Khan and the states of his numerous descendants (Golden Horde, Khanate Abulkhair, Kazakh Khanate and etc.), the large number of scientific conferences has been held. The scientists explore previously insufficiently studied topics from new methodological positions, publish collections and monographs, and expand the historiography. One of the most relevant scientific areas, which began to be actively studied at the end of the 20th century is the history of the Shibaniid dynasty, originating from Shibani, Juchi's fifth son. The sources also mention the dynasty as Sheibanids, Sibaniids, and Shibani himself as Sheiban, Shaiban or Sibani. We will adhere to the generally accepted formulation as Shibaniids (Sultanov, 2021: 285). The historical role of Shibani and his descendants in the history of Eurasia is significant. They took part in the formation and development of many Genghisid states. Medieval authors, especially Persian, Arabic and Slavic, wrote quite a lot about the rulers of this dynasty. However, basically, the history of the Shibaniid dynasty in the sources was considered mainly in line with the study of the general rule of the Genghisides. Overall, the certain issues related to the study of the influence of Shibaniids in Central Asia, their role, historical destinies and political heritage of Shibani's descendants are still poorly researched and will be covered in this article.

Materials and research methods. The source base of the article was the works of foreign and Kazakhstan researchers on the history of Shibaniid dynasty in the 13-15th centuries. Many of these



works were published in the list of works written by V. Tiesenhausen, as well as in series produced by the state programs “Cultural Heritage” and “People in the Flow of History”.

The authors made an attempt to analyze the historiography data by studying recent publications on the topic. Historical comparative and historical-system methods became the main methods of the research. The historical-comparative method was used when comparing information from sources and historiography, analyzing data from related scientific disciplines: linguistic, numismatics, toponymy, etc. The historical-system method contributed to the widest use of an integrated approach to the study of historical sources and historiography on the research topic.

Discussion. The selected research topic is necessary to give a more complete picture of the events that preceded the formation of the Middle Asia Genghisid States and the participation of Shiban's descendants in those distant events. Their role was described by Sh. Kudayberdyuly and academician A. Margulan (Kudayberdyuly, 1991: 22-24; Margulan, 2015: 249-250). The works of these scholars was not fully published until after the announcement of ‘*perestroika*’ and ‘*glasnost*’ - restructuring and openness policy

V.P. Yudin, a famous Orientalist scholar, emphasized, “The history of the state of “nomadic Uzbeks” of Abulkhair Khan is one of the most interesting pages in the history of Kazakh people, which, unfortunately, the Kazakhstan historians have paid undeservedly little attention until recently” (Yudin, 2001: 46). The activities of the Shibanids were partially displayed in the works of such authors as Rashid al-Din, Muhammad Haidar Dulati, Kadyrgali Zhalairi, Abulgazi, Utemish-hadji and others (Rashid al-Din, 2018; Dulati, 2003; Zhalairi, 1997; Utemish-hadji, 1992; Abulgazi, 1991; Validi, 1992). A significant contribution to the development of the problem was made by foreign researchers John A. Boyle, Wheeler M. Thackston, Sheila Blair who made translations of the works of medieval authors into foreign languages and their analysis (Boyle, 1971; Thackston, 1999; Blair, 2017). An important event was the publication of the works of Rashid ad-Din, Yazdi, Zahir ad-Din and Muhammad Haidar Dulati “Tarikh-i-Rashidi” in the Kazakh language, which made it possible to clarify the names of toponyms, hydronyms, where the main events related to the history of Shibanid dynasty took place (Rashid al-Din, 2018; Dulati, 2003; Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi, 2008, Zhalairi, 1997, Abulgazi, 1991). Part of works on the topic is called “the works of authors of Shibanid circle” which includes Masoud Kukhistani, Fazlallah Ruzbikhan, Kamal al-Din Ali Binai, Mahmoud bin Amir Wali, Muhammad Salih et al. At least an anonymous author of one of the works - “Tavarih-i Guzida-yi Nusrat-name” - may have been Mohammed Shahbakht himself. The whole array of named works, though in cuts (extracts) is given in the “Materials” (Materialy po istorii, 1969).

The works of these authors describe in detail the conditions and time of Khan Abulkhair's ascension to the throne in Siberia, the circumstances of movements of his supporters to the south and the capture of Sygnak city in 1445. Despite the partiality of the authors of the Shibanid circle, they described in sufficient detail the routes of movement, Khan Abulkhair's military campaigns, the ways of movement of Abulkhair Khan's descendants Mohammed Shaibani and Mahmud after break-up of his state.

Another group of sources consists of the works of those who were in conflict with the Shibanid dynasty's representatives or negatively assessed their activities. The most valuable source of this circle is the work of Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur “Baburname” where the later period is described, when “nomadic Uzbeks” have entered the final phase of struggle for control over such cities as Samarkand, Bukhara, Herat (Zahiriddin, 1993).

The Shibanids' activity in the Maverannahr territory was widely reflected in the works of modern Uzbek scholars. In the first chapter of “History of Uzbekistan (XVI – first half of XIX century)”, collective authors describe the “planned attack by Mohammed Shaibani Khan on the Temurid lands” (as in the text). It is noteworthy that the authors of this monograph emphasize that the Shibanids were “dashtikipchak khans” (as in the text), and the supporting population was “the nomadic tribes of Dasht-i-Kipchak steppes” (Istoriya Uzbekistana, 2012: 21-23).

The English-speaking authors' activities should be considered in more detail. Translation of Rashid al-Din's work “The Successors of Genghis Khan” prepared by John A. Boyle was published in 1971 in Columbia University Press as part of a four-volume of Persian Heritage Series. The purpose of this program was the implementation of a complete translation of the complex of works of the so-called “great world history” of Rashid al-Din. This section is devoted to the history of the Turkish and Mongol tribes, Genghis Khan and his ancestors, the Great Conqueror's descendants, the Ilkhans



of Persia and was the most original part of the unique work of Rashid al-Din. The Persian Heritage Series was published under the joint auspices of UNESCO and the Royal Institute of Publication and Translation of Iran, in cooperation with the Pahlavi Foundation, on the initiative of the Shahanshah of Iran. The translation was planned as a supplement to translation of the History of the World-Conqueror of Juvaini, which breaks off in the reign of the Great Mongol Khan Mongke (1251-1259). The scholar used the texts of Edgar Blochet and the Russian translator Y.P. Verkhovsky. The work by John A. Boyle had a glossary and a genealogical table at the end (Boyle, 1971).

The work of Wheeler M. Thackston, the British orientalist scholar, was a translation of *Jami'u't-tawarikh* by Fazlallah Rashid al-Din. This translation was made in 1998-1999 and had more than 800 pages (Thackston, 1999). In addition, Wheeler M. Thackston is also known for translating such classic medieval sources as “The Baburname: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor”, “Habibu's-siyar: the Reign of the Mongol and the Turk” of Khwandamir, “Mirza Haydar Dughlat's Tarikh-i-Rashidi: a history of the khans of Moghulistan”.

Canadian-born American art historian and educator Sheila S. Blair in article analyzes the Arabic copy of the work of Rashid al-Din dated 1314-1315. Basically, her work was devoted to the study of the illustrations used by Rashid-al-Din in the texts of manuscripts, created with the aim of disseminating his text and increasing the attractiveness of his manuscripts. According to Sheila S. Blair, this was useful for those members of the Ilkhanid family who did not read Arabic or Persian. When creating illustrations, the artists of the workshop of Rashid al-Din worked on introducing many previously unknown plots into the text, using any improvised sources, books and portable objects that were delivered to the court of the Ilkhans (Blair, 2017). Such issues as the social structure and tribal organization of nomadic societies and their future development within the Great Horde were studied by the American scientist Uli Schamiloglu (Schamiloglu, 2019).

A wide range of issues on history of the Shibanid dynasty and Juchi Ulus are generally considered by Russian and Kazakhstan scientists. The views of German historians on the history of the Golden Horde, their perception and understanding of a number of poorly researched issues in the study of the Juchi Ulus history and formation of the Genghisid states after the Golden Horde breakup were studied by M.S. Gatin (Gatin, 2011). General comprehensive work on the history of Genghis Khan's descendants and their Uluses was written by T.I. Sultanov who considered the fate of individual dynasties and the states created by Genghisides (Sultanov, 2021). The history of the formation of the Siberian branch of Shibanids, creation of the Siberian and Tyumen Khanates, the nature of their contacts with neighboring states and their role in the ethno-political system of Eurasia are analyzed in works written by V.V. Trepavlov, A.V. Belyakov, D.N. Masluzhenko (Trepavlov, Belyakov 2018; Maslyuzhenko, 2008; Tyumenskoe i Sibirskoe, 2018). In the 1990s-2000s, such scientists as M. Abdirov, M. Grinberg, D.M. Iskhakov, V.P. Kostyukov, Zh.M. Sabitov published a number of works on the history of life and activity of Shiban himself and some of his descendants (Abdirov, 1996; Grinberg, 2021; Iskhakov, 2014; Kostyukov, 1998; Kostyukov, 2007; Kostyukov, 2009a; Kostyukov, 2009b; Kostyukov, 2010; Sabitov, 2014). In general, a whole scientific field was formed on history of Shibanids, where the priority, first of all, belongs to the work of V.P. Kostyukov.

The Shibanid dynasty's role in formation of the Kazakh Khanate, their political influence and further fate is considered by Kazakhstan scientists E. Abil, M. Abuseitova, S. Akimbekov, M. Alpysbes, A. Isin, B. Karibaev, Z. Kinayatuly, A. Kushkumbaev, A. Kuzembaiuly, A. Muktar, K. Pishulina, S. Zholdasbaiuly, and others (Abil et al., 2022; Abuseitova, 2021; Akimbekov, 2018; Alpysbes, 2013; Issin, 2002; Karibaev, 2014; Kinayatuly, 2014; Kushkumbaev, 2020; Kuzembaiuly et al, 2022; Muktar, Diyarova, 2019; Pishulina, 2016; Zholdasbaiuly, 2010). A new monograph “The Kazakh Khanate” (2021) written by Professor M.K. Abuseitova is distinguished by a meticulous analysis of various scientific schools, new archive documents, and rich illustrative part. The merits of the work include the introduction into scientific circulation of completely new, still unknown documents on the Kazakh Khanate history (Abuseitova, 2021).

Thus, the analysis of scientific works allows for the conclusion that, despite the recent publication of a number of major studies, the topic of the role of the Shibanid dynasty's representatives still remains understudied. The significance of this dynasty in the history of Middle Asia and its reflection in sources is not defined. Perhaps, this circumstance is explained by the fact that until the first quarter of the 15th century, the role of the Shibanid dynasty on the throne of the



Genghisid states was not so significant. But with the rise of the state of Khan Abulkhair, the conquests of Mohammed Shaibani, the situation in the studied regions changes dramatically, which is confirmed by the data of the above historiography. The interest of scientists in the phenomenon of these states and personalities demonstrates the relevance of the research topic. However, their role in shaping the system of relations on the territory of Eurasia, their political and historical legacy and many other issues are still poorly studied.

Results. As mentioned earlier, there are several versions of spelling the name of the dynasty - Shibanids, Sheibanids, Shaibanids and even Sibanids, as well as nicknames, which were pronounced and written by ancient authors in different ways. The text of this study mainly uses the Shibanids form, however, when citing sources, the texts of the originals are preserved. As the scientific research shows, personalities and their surroundings have always played a huge role in the history of mankind, in this case we are talking about such rulers as Khan Abulkhair, Mohammed Shaibani and others. The history of the Siberian, northern branch of the Shibanid dynasty was no less interesting. The question of the time of the Siberian Khanate formation and the beginning of the rule of the Shibanids here is debatable. Professor Murat Abdirov believed that, “The Sheibanids in the 13th century created the Tyumen Khanate in the south of Western Siberia with its capital in Chinga-Tura.” (Abdirov, 1996: 25). Other scientists Professor Kadyrzhan Abuev and Irina Muhamadeeva did not agree with him, and believed that, “The creation of an independent state within the Golden Horde, not only in the 13th, but also in the first half of the 14th century, was impossible. Such an opportunity arose ... only in the 60s of the XIV century, that is, with the beginning of the turmoil ... One of such state formations that arose in the 60s of the XIV century was the Tyumen kingdom with its center in Chingi-Tura (as in the text – note B.A.).” (Abuev, Muhamadeeva, 2007: 38-39). But everyone notes that the Tyumen yurt and the Siberian Khanate remained under the patronage of the Golden or Great Horde. But anyway, the history of the Siberian Khanate was directly related to the history of Kazakhstan.

At the end of the 14th – beginning of the 15th century, the Abulkhair Khanate, known as “Uzbek Khanate” or “State of nomadic Uzbeks”, was formed in the vast expanses of the Siberian Khanate. Many questions on the history of creation and the process of development of the “States of nomadic Uzbeks” are discussed in detail in the eponymous work of B. Akhmedov and in collective academic publications on the history of Kazakhstan (authors: K.A. Pishulina, T.I. Sultanov, M.H. Abuseitova et al.) in section written by K.A. Pishulina (Akhmedov, 1965; *Istoriya Kazakhstana*, 2010: 148-152). We will consider some issues related to the ethno-political situation in the studied region, the nomination of individual representatives from the Shibanid dynasty and their relations with other Genghisides.

The creator of Uzbek state probably was Jumaduk, son of Sufi, a descendant of Balakan from the same Shibanid dynasty (1424-1428). At first, the status of that State was very vague. In addition, it was torn apart by infighting, mostly between representatives of the Shiban house or descendants of other Genghisides. In 1428, this throne was occupied by the 17-year-old Abulkhair who was a son of Dauletshah. Since that period, in the vocabulary of authors and chronographs the name “Khanate of Abulkhair” has been firmly entrenched, and the Shibanid house becomes very famous in the vast Ulug Ulus, especially in Dasht-i-Kipchak. Some representatives of the Shibanids achieved legitimization of their rule by becoming khans in Ulug Ulus – the Golden Horde or in small districts (Kuzembaiuly et al, 2022: 180). Some representatives of the Shibanid house, having ascended the throne, minted their own coins. The collective monograph written by P.N. Petrov, K.M. Baipakov, D.A. Voyakin notes that the Russian numismatist E.Yu. Goncharov called one of the copper coins which was found at Sygnak “spectacle-shaped” and suggested that it refers to Amir Ibrahim, a representative of the Shibanid dynasty. The authors of the monograph suggested that: “Judging by the historical context, Ibrahim’s tamga is a hereditary tamga, and he could have received it along with the position of his ancestor” (Petrov et al., 2014: 51). The permanent trade and diplomatic ties were established between the Siberian branch of the Shibanids (Kuchum) and the descendants of Abulkhair, the Nogai Horde, Kazakh Khanate and Kazan Khanate (Abdirov, 1996: 58-59). Meanwhile, these pages in the history of Kazakhstan and the whole Central Asia remain insufficiently explored.

As a result of the study of this topic, the authors of the article identified a number of poorly researched issues and offer their scientific findings.



The first. The peculiarities of the economy, culture, as well as the activities of political personalities have not been fully studied. This work is one of the first attempts to fill this gap in studying the political activities of historical figures and consider the role of the Shibanid dynasty in the period of formation of the states of Siberia and Central Asia: the Siberian Khanate, the Khanate of Abulhair and the Kazakh Khanate.

The second. There are discrepancies in the definition of the name of the Shibanid supporters in the present period. Uzbek researcher B. Akhmedov and Kazakhstan scientist the authors of academic edition of history of Kazakhstan above described their supporters as “nomadic Uzbeks” (Akhmedov, 1965; *Istoriya Kazakhstana*, 2010). At the same time, in the collective work on the history of Uzbekistan written by Uzbek scientists and the monograph of the Tajik scientist H. Kamolov, they are recorded as the “nomadic tribes of Dasht-i-Kipchak” invading the territory of Maverannahr (*Istoriya Uzbekistana*, 2012; Kamolov, 2012)

The third. The authors of the article point out that there were regular contacts between the representatives of Shibanid dynasties of Siberia, Dashti-Kipchak and Central Asia, as well as with the Kazakh khans.

The fourth. The analysis and brief synthesis of studies on the role of the Shibanid dynasty has been made based on the study of works published in the period 2000-present time.

The fifth. In line with the aforementioned topic, the lower chronological boundary of this study falls on the second half of the 14th century, when Ulug Ulus was ruled by Urus-khan, Arabshah – Shibanid and their descendants. But the contradictions between them were sharply intensified with the migration of Khan Abulhair Shibanid from Siberia to the south, to Ulytau and Turkestan. Representatives of this “house” played a prominent role in Sarayshyk in the Siberian Khanate, where the descendants of Ibak (Aibak) – the Kuchumoviches ruled. Abulhair Shibanid, having migrated from Chinga-Tura to Ulytau and Sygnak in the 1430s–1440s, played an extremely important role not only in the collapse of Desht-i-Kipchak and the creation of the State of nomadic Uzbeks, but also in the formation of the Kazakh Khanate. It is known that in the 60s of the 15th century, the Kazakh sultans Kerey and Janybek separated from Abulhair Khan. As many sources present, the founder of Uzbek State was born not far from Sarayshyk (Atyrau), he died in 1468/69 and was buried in the Sygnak district (modern Kyzyl-Orda region). In the 1500s, Abulhair's grandsons, Muhammad and Mahmud, took the nomadic Uzbeks to Timurid territory. The vast majority of them survived as part of the Kazakh people, and some returned to the steppes after the death of Muhammad Shakhbakht.

The sixth. For more than 300 years, at all stages of the history of Ulug Ulus – the Golden Horde, and post-Golden Horde Genghisid States, the Shibanid dynasty acted along with the descendants of Orda-Edzhen and Tukay-Timur. Representatives of these ruling houses were either in confrontation with each other, or created some kind of alliances and misalliances, but most importantly, their participation in the political life of these states was very noticeable. It is possible that they even complemented each other in some way. The last case, where these dynasties closely converged, occurred with the movement of numerous troops of Abulhair Shibanid to the south towards the Ulytau Mountains and Sygnak (Dasht-i-Kipchak) in the 30-40s of the XV century. The central figure of the events of the mid-15th century were Khan Abulhair and his political opponents Kerey and Zhanybek, also Juchids, Nogai Mirzas – Musa and Zhanbyrshy – the grandsons of Emir Yedyge, and then Burynduk, Kasym Khan and Mohammed Shaibani (Shakhbakht), his younger brother, opposing them Mahmud-sultan and their entourage. Such parallels also occurred later, which led to the emergence of new peoples and capable states that are well known in the modern world. Kuchum's descendants, in all likelihood, disappeared among the Tatars of Siberia, the Bashkirs and the Kazakhs.

The seventh. As it is known, Khan Abulhair, his children and grandsons Mohammed Shaibani and Mahmud, the active participants in the events of 15-16th centuries were born and grew up in the territory of modern Kazakhstan and played an important and significant role as opponents of the Kazakh Khans in the formation of their new state. Summarizing the above, we can say that the problems of studying the history of the formation and further existence of the post-Golden Horde Shibanid states are very deep and broad. Many questions, such as the time and reasons for the formation of certain states, as well as their collapse, are still debatable. Many factors intertwined in one knot: political, economic, dynastic and even psychological. No less important is the issue of



further study of personalities who have had an important impact on many processes in world history, such as, for example, the system of relations between the states of Central Asia and Siberia.

Conclusion. Summing up, we note that the Shibanid dynasty's role in the history of medieval Kazakhstan and Central Asia is very noticeable. In general, their activities, starting with Shiban himself and ending with his famous descendants Muhammad and Mahmud, are described in detail in medieval literature. As a rule, the works of these authors are referred to as the works of the "Sheibanid circle" that were mentioned above. Most of them are collected in "Materials on the history of the Kazakh khanates" (1969) (*Materialy po istorii*, 1969). Some out of them are published as separate editions. Very important here are the works of Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur, Mohammed Haidar Dulati, Khondemir and a number of other authors. In any case, these undoubtedly important sources must be viewed critically and very carefully with cross-checking through other materials. The analysis of the sources reveals that the authors of medieval chronicles often exaggerated the merits of some personalities, while often presenting their opponents in a negative light, or silencing their names at all. This remark about "oblivion" especially concerns the leaders of the Kazakh society, khans and their associates. Most likely, Kazakh personalities were too far in their boundless steppes and did not always come to the attention of authors from Samarkand, Bukhara or Iran.

In recent years, the great editions of medieval manuscripts within the framework of breakthrough state programs "Madeni Mura" ("Cultural Heritage") and "Khalyk Tarikh Tolkynda" ("People in the Flow of History") were published in Kazakh historical science, which provided new coverage of the events of that time. New works have been published by scientists from countries of Middle Asia and Caspian region, which contain valuable information on the research theme and period. In general, in our opinion, the processes of formation of peoples and states in the expanses of Central Asia in the 15th-16th centuries require a new reading. The activity of many Shibanids, and above all the personalities of Mohammed Shaibani and his brother Mahmud, for a long time remained out of sight of domestic historians. According to an outdated method, they continue to be unequivocally called "Uzbeks", "Uzbek rulers" or simply "Sheibanid (Shibanid)" rulers, who had little to do with the history of Kazakhstan. Meanwhile, both Mohammed Shakhbakht and his younger brother Mahmud were not only born and raised on the territory of modern Kazakhstan, they also played a significant role in the period of formation of the Kazakh state. Mohammed Shakhbakht often recalls in his stories to Fazlallah Ruzbikhan the Turkestan and the steppes of Desht-i-Kipchak, where he spent his happy childhood and youth full of worries and dangers.

The scholar B.G. Ayagan became convinced that the activities of Khan Abulkhair and his descendants have been studied extremely insufficiently in modern historical literature while he was working on the books "Kazakh khandygynyn tarihy: kurylyy, orleui, kuldyrauy" (2011), "Sunrise and dusk of the Kazakh steppe" (2014), and "Abulkhair Sheibanid – the last ruler of Desht-i-Kipchak" (2018) (Ayagan, 2011; Ayagan 2014; Ayagan 2018). As part of the study of the problems of education of the Kazakh statehood, other aspects of this topic were studied in detail. According to the scholar, the study of the personality of Khan Abulkhair, his descendants, especially his grandchildren Mohammed Shaibani and Mahmud is still fragmentary if not alienated.

In the 15th and early 16th centuries, all of them – Genghisides from the eldest son of Genghis Khan – Juchi, were Uzbek-Kazakhs, and their ethnicity was blurred. In Persian sources, they are often called "nomads from Desht-i-Kipchak" or simply Juchi's descendants. In particular, the monograph of the modern Tajik scientists H. Kamolov uses the terminology "invasion of the tribes of Dasht-i-Kipchak", that mentioned above. At the same time, some of the Shibanids were born on the territory of modern Kazakhstan, many as Khan Abulkhair, were buried in Sygnak, and his younger son Suyunis – Sultan was buried in Turkestan. It is also known that many Shibanids ended their lives in Uzbekistan or on the territory of modern Russia (descendants of Ibak Khan and Kuchum Khan).

Many events that became crucial in the course of the formation of new, young peoples and states in the 15th-16th centuries took place on the territory of Turkestan, off the coast of the Syr-Darya, and even in Mangistau and Ulytau. Thus, the role of these rulers in the history of medieval Kazakhstan was noticeable, but so far it has been poorly covered. The key figures of the late 15 – early 16th centuries were Kasym Khan – the recognized ruler of the Kazakh Khanate – the son of Zhanybek, and Mohammed Shakhbakht – Shibanid, who initiated the migration of nomadic Uzbeks from the borders of Desht-i-Kipchak to Samarkand, Tashkent and Bukhara – the patrimony of the Timurids and the rulers of Moghulistan (Mogolistan).



Thus, the interest in the Shibanid dynasty's participation in historical literature was diverse. But still, so far it has not been fully developed, which enhances the relevance of its study. According to the authors, this topic requires thoughtful analysis and detailed research. When writing the article, published works were used, where the events of the late 14 and early 15th centuries were covered, in which, on the one hand, the Shibanids Mohammed Shaibani, Mahmud and their supporters participated, on the other hand, the descendants of Urus (Akniyaz) – Kerey, Zhanybek, Kasym and Buryndyk. The events that took place in Samarkand, Urgench, on the territory of Iran and modern Tajikistan, Afghanistan require special and additional studies. It is obvious that the identification of new sources in Persian, Arabic, Chinese, Ottoman-Turkish languages will further allow us to more objectively consider the history of the Shibanid dynasty. In recent years, as a result of findings in the foreign archives of Iran, Turkey, Great Britain, and China, additional materials and documents have been introduced into scientific circulation. It is also necessary to use not only written sources, but also data of oral tradition, as well as data from archaeological research, population genetics, and anthropology.

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