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## **THE HISTORICAL PERSONALITY OF KHAN TOKHTAMYSH IN THE POEM “EDIGE”**

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**Abstract.** The article analyzes the role of the personality of Khan Tokhtamysh in the studies of the history of the Ulus of Jochi, as it is clear that the centralization of the Altyn Horde state, which prohibits various civil strife, requires colossal painstaking work. The image of Khan Tokhtamysh, who reigned for several years in one of the most influential states of Eurasia, is expressed very incorrectly in some epic poems and some historical studies. In Soviet times, Tokhtamysh's personality was characterized only from the negative side, and there was a reason for this. One of them was that the identity of the person who captured and set fire to the city of Moscow, which is the capital of a giant empire called the USSR, naturally did not coincide with the ideology of that time. However, after the collapse of the Soviet Empire and independence, the "unpleasant" image of Tokhtamysh has an ambiguous and contradictory assessment. The evidence is the facts of the impartial image of Tokhtamysh in the epic poem Edige. Therefore, this article aims to reveal the objective image of Tokhtamysh in history and preservation in official historiography.

**Key words:** Jochi Ulus, epic poem, Tengeler, historical figure, Golden Horde, numismatics, power, Tatars, princes, khan.

## **ЕДІГЕ ЖЫРЫНДАҒЫ ТОҚТАМЫШ ХАННЫҢ ТАРИХИ ТҮЛҒАСЫ**

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**Андатпа.** Бұл мақалада Жошы ұлысының тарихын зерттеуде Тоқтамыш ханның тұлғасын толық танып білудің маңызы зор екендігі талданады. Себебі Алтын Орда мемлекетін түрлі таққа таласқан қырқысулардан тыйып орталықтанған мемлекет ету аса үлкен қажырлы еңбекті қажет ететіні түсінікті. Осынау Еуразия кеңістігін алып жатқан аса ықпалды мемлекетте бірнеше жыл билік құрған Тоқтамыс бейнесі кейбір жырларда және зерттеулерде тым ұнамсыз түрде көрініс тапқан. Кеңестік дәуірде Тоқтамыс тұлғасы тек ұнамсыз жағынан сипатталды, оның өзіндік себебі де болды. КСРО деп аталатын кеңестік алып империяның астанасы болған Мәскеу қаласын өртеген адамның тұлғасы әрине ол заманның идеологиясымен сыйыспады. Қызыл империяның жеккөрушілігін тудырды. Әйткенмен кеңес империясы ыдырап Тәуелсіздік алғанымзға бірнеше жыл өтсе де Тоқтамыстың «жағымсыз» бейнесі сол қалпында қалып қойды. Оның айғағы Едіге жырындағы Тоқтамыстың басына бар зұлымдықты үйіп-төккен қаралау фактілері. Сондықтан бұл мақалаға, Тоқтамыстың тарихтағы прогрессивті ролін ашып көрсетіп оның тарихи тұлғасын шынайы түрде қалыптастыру міндеті жүктелген.

**Түйін сөздер:** Жошы ұлысы, эпостық жыр, тенгелер, тарихи тұлға, Алтын Орда, нумизматика, билік, татарлар, княздар, хан.

## ИСТОРИЧЕСКАЯ ЛИЧНОСТЬ ХАНА ТОХТАМЫША В ПОЭМЕ “ЕДИГЕ”

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**Аннотация.** В статье анализируется роль личности хана Тохтамыша в исследованиях истории Улуса Джучи. Потому что понятно, что централизация государства Алтын Орда, запрещающая различные междоусобицы, требует колоссального кропотливого труда. Образ хана Тохтамыша, несколько лет царствовавшего в одном из влиятельнейших государств Евразии, в отдельных эпических поэмах и некоторых исторических исследованиях выражен весьма некорректно. В советское время личность Тохтамыша характеризовалась только с отрицательной стороны, и этому была своя причина. Одна из них заключалась в том, что личность человека, захватившего и поджегшего город Москва, являющуюся столицей гигантской империи под названием СССР, естественно, не совпадала с идеологией того времени. Однако после распада советской империи и обретения независимости «неприятный» образ Тохтамыша имеет неоднозначную и противоречивую оценку. Свидетельством являются факты нелицопрятного образа Тохтамыша в эпической поэме Едиге. Поэтому в этой статье ставится задача раскрыть объективный образ Тохтамыша в истории и сохранить его в официальной историографии.

**Ключевые слова:** Улус Джучи, эпическая поэма, тенгелер, историческая личность, Золотая Орда, нумизматика, власть, татары, князья, хан.

**Introduction.** Many sources on the history of the Jochi ulus give different information about them. Such types of sources include “heroic epics”. Especially noteworthy is the “Epic of Edyge Batyr”, which elegantly conveys the historical events of those times. The epic itself has several versions and has firmly established itself in the memory of all Turkic peoples not so much by its expressiveness and brilliance, but so much by its involvement in historical events (Asanova, 2010: 25).

In the epic about Edyge Batyr, the following is said:

Edyge sultan er, – dedi, [Edyge Sultan follow me, he said,]

Artynnan keldim men, – dedi, [I came for you, he said,]

Kidirshi batyr sen, – dedi [Wait for a bit, batyr, he said.] (Batyrlar zhyry, 2008a: 464).

The epic gives an assessment of the historical personality of Edyge through the popularization of the image of bravery. Also in the epic about Edyge batyr, it is said that from his youth he participated in resolving disputes in society, and even Toktamys Khan himself could listen to his decisions (Batyrlar zhyry, 2008b: 11). However, in the “Epic of Edyge Batyr”, as well as the epics of the Kazakh people, there is an image of an unprecedented villain, which is opposed to the main character. The image of Toktamys Khan belongs to such a character. In the epic itself, his image is described as follows:

Toktamystai zalymdy [A villain like Toktamys]

Tusirip taktan koiayyk. [We will demolish the throne.]

Toktamystai zalymnyn [A villain like Toktamys]

Basyn kesip alaiyk, [We cut off his head.]

Or there are other lines in the same epic song:

Toktamystyn sozine [To the speeches of Toktamys]

Zhalgyz Nogai ermedi, [Not a single Nogai trusted,]

Bir adam erip zhurmedi. [No one followed him.]

And in real life, there were many people who accompanied Tokhtamys and supported him, thanks to which Tokhtamys was able to unite the fragmented ulus of Jochi.

Toktamys zhaman torykty, [Toktamys was very worried]

Kelmegezin bir adam [Since no one came]

Ote zhaman korykty. [He was very much afraid]

Zhelmayany aldyryp, [Calling a messenger to him]

Keter boldy Toktamys, [Intended to leave]

“Turmaspyn,-dep,-kalaga”, [Saying: "I won't stay in the city"]

Keter boldy dalaga. [Decided to go to the steppe]

Katyn menen balaga [To his wife and children]

Toktamys boldy sadaga. [Toktamys was excited]

Orge karap zhoneldi, [He jumped up]

Toktamys kashyp dalaga [Run away to the steppe] (Batyrlar zhyry, 2008a: 464).

So who was Toktamys Khan really? Should the younger generation accept his historical personality through this song about Edyge batyr? It seems that the moment has come long ago when it is necessary to demonstrate his historical deeds and give a real assessment of his progressive actions. The relevance of our article lies in the fact that in this article we will try to accomplish these tasks.

**Materials and methods.** In the process of writing the article, methods of historical comparison and analysis were used. In addition, the materials of the Hundred-volume “Song of Heroes”, abstract materials and archival data of dissertation research were used as written sources, and links to research materials of scientists within the framework of this topic were made. In order to form a true image of a historical person and unify the data in the data, the method of “real analysis” and the methods of “historical personology” in scientific research, as well as to reveal the internal content of the topic, the method of “retrospective research” were used to study the movement of thoughts and scientific opinions of a number of researchers from the present to the past.

**Discussion.** Many scholars have dealt with materials related to the Ulus of Jochi, including disputes and songs between Edyge and Tokhtamys. The famous scientist R. Berdibay expresses the opinion that the image of Edyge reflects his contradictory personality by criticizing his actions towards the fall of the Golden Horde (Berdibay, 1990: 275). The Russian scientist N. Burlankov studied in depth the aspects of the Kulikovo battle in the history of the Ulus of Jochi (Burlankov, 1999:38-40), in his short life our great scientist Sh. Ualikhanov recorded the song of Edyge for the first time among our compatriots and included it in scientific circulation (Ualikhanov, 1904:223-33), and L.L. Galkin expresses many valuable opinions (Galkin, 1985:189), V.L. Egorov also put forward the unique arguments regarding the Ulus of Jochi (Egorov, 1999:38-40), V.M. Zhirmunsky, in his work “The heroic epic of Turkic people”, makes the poem an object of comprehensive study (Zhirmunsky, 1974:726). A.N. Kirpichnikov delves into the history of the Golden Horde, drawing on his research on the Battle of Kulikovo. Among the scientists who made a significant contribution to the disclosure of the role of Toktamys in history are M.I. Mirgaliyev (Mirgaliyev, 2003: 165), E. Magauin (Magauin, 1993: 76), G.V. Nosovsky (Nosovsky, 1997: 131-154), F. Urmance (Urmance, 1999:149). In addition, M.G. Safargaliyev studied the topic of the Golden Horde in-depth based on archival data (Safargaliyev, 1960: 276), and the outstanding Kazakh scientist, geologist, and academician K.I. Satpayev was also interested in this Edyge song and devoted his work (Satbayev, 1989: 373). Among the Kazakh intellectuals of the beginning of the last century, it should be noted that the historian-Engineer M. Tynyshpayev made the first contribution to the study of the Personality of Edyge and Toktamys (Tynyshpaev, 1924: 3).

**Research results.** The historical significance of this poem lies in the fact that the researchers of the personality of Edyge gave him a different characteristic. For example, some researchers (Mirgaliyev, 2003: 165) say: “Emir Mamai, a major feudal lord and statesman, was very interested in establishing order in the country. He was not such an adventurous person as Edyge” while researchers such as B.D. Grekov, A. Yakubovsky claim that Edyge was a hypocritical person who had no stability and sincerity in his speech (Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950: 384-385).

As for the Jochi Ulus, it is politically difficult to reconstruct the battle on the Vozha River and the meeting of the troops of Mamai, Tokhtamys on the Kalka River in the 1380s. This was not due to a lack of information, but because at that time important events were taking place in the Golden Horde itself, which brought Tokhtamys to power. In 1380, Tokhtamys united the entire Ulus of Jochi. This association in itself determined how great Tokhtamys' personality is. But the Russian chronicles are more concerned with the power of Mamai than with the personality of Tokhtamys. All this indicates that before the Battle of Kulikovo, the Russians were under the rule of Mamai. And even some researchers claim that there was no Kulikovo Battle, it was a literary treatment of the battle on the Vozha River (Nosovsky, Fomenko, 1997: 131-154); (Kirpichnikov, 1980: 3).

The difficulties of the 60-70s of the XIV century ended with the seizure of power by Khan Tokhtamys, who restored political stability throughout the territory of the Jochi Ulus. According to some researchers of the Jochi Ulus, Tokhtamys fled from Urus Khan, who caused the death of his father, to Emir Timur and took an army from him, then fought for power in the Blue Horde from 1376 to 1379 and subsequently united the entire territory of the Golden Horde.

Only researcher V.L. Egorov attaches importance to this event (Egorov, 1999:38-40), while other researchers seem to have bypassed it. But at first, researchers, relying on the evidence of the numismatics of the Golden Horde, wrote that the time of the beginning of the reign of Tokhtamys dates back to 1376, and later, relying on Russian chronicles and without revealing the reasons, they began to write that it dates back to 1380. Contradictions in the study of the personality of Tokhtamys originate in the intervals between these dates. That is, it seems that only after Mamai's defeat in the Battle of Kulikovo, Tokhtamys became khan. But Tokhtamys began to issue its coins in Saray in 1378. The coins that have come down to us were minted: in Saray, Syganak, Khorezm, Gulistan and Crimea. There are also coins minted in Hadji Tarkhan in 1381. As the coin data show, the information that relates to the reign of Tokhtamys Khan requires a radical revision. There are versions according to which Tokhtamys's father, Tuikozha, was the ruler of Mangystau. He ruled the western part of Khorezm and was subordinate to the emirs of the Blue Horde. There is also information that claims that Tokhtamys is a descendant of Toka-Temir.

There are many facts of denigration of Tokhtamys in the epic about Edyge Batyr, calling him a villain ruler and accusing him of the brutal murder of Zhylykбай's only son. Does this historical figure really deserve to be considered and portrayed in such a negative meaning? Even under Mamai Khan, many campaigns were made against the Russian people, in particular, up to the battle on the Kulikovo steppe. As for the Battle of Kulikovo, Russians and Tatars were equally deprived of military power in this war. However, researchers believe that it was in this battle that the Tatar army led by Mamai first felt the bitter taste of defeat. At that moment, Tokhtamys, who tried not to lose sight of his chance, had already subdued the entire territory of the Volga region. Like many Tatar khans before him, Mamai also sought to unite the country. However, the result was insignificant. The turmoil in the 60-70s of the XIV century stopped with the coming to the authority of Tokhtamys. The only evidence that can justify the historical role of Tokhtamys and his chanting by all psalmists is that he was able to establish political stability and restore statehood in the entire Ulus of Jochi, as well as put an end to political disputes for power. Basically, it was a struggle and political fragmentation for power that reached the bottom of the Jochi state and destroyed it from that stage of history. According to many sources, Tokhtamys, after the murder of his father by Urus Khan, fled to the city of Sarai and after a while, with the help of his supporters, captured the city of Syganak. According to the information in the work, "Genghisnama", Tokhtamys was involved in managerial affairs from a young age. In his youth, with the support of Arab oġlan, he reached the rank of khan in Saray. And in general, it was only in the spring of 1379 that he was able to become a full-fledged khan by defeating Timur-Malik and subjugating the city of Saray. His capture of the city of Khorezm came at the peak of strengthening his power. We can see what a brave and talented ruler he was by his actions aimed at uniting the Jochi ulus. One of his testimonies can be traced to the feat of the khan, who has great organizational skills, who in the summer of 1380 annexed the cities of Kaji-Tarkhan and Majar to his ulus. Many sources note that after the Kulikovo battle, Tokhtamys's rival, Mamai's army sharply decreased, and only a small group of Tatars remained. Maybe that's why Mamai could not resist the onslaught of Tokhtamys and was defeated. The victory over Mamai brought Tokhtamys the glory of the "great khan". Thus, the reign of Khan Tokhtamys began. According to researchers studying the image of Tokhtamys, he is described as brave,

intelligent and at the same time very cunning khan. After consolidating his power throughout the Golden Horde, he stopped periodic campaigns from Lithuania and Poland to the territory of the Ulus. Moreover, he sent embassies to the Russians and demanded that their princes report to the Uluses in Saray. Many princes were forced to comply with his demands, while Prince Dmitry of Moscow refused to do so. Toktamys finds support from the princes of Ryazan, Nizhny Novgorod and Tver to restore the former territories that the ulus had during the reign of Khan Zhanibek, the great-grandfather of Toktamys Khan. Armed with such an idea, he and his assistants go on a campaign to Moscow against Prince Dmitry. During this campaign, Noyans of Toktamys Khan captured such important Russian principalities as Vladimir, Suzdal, Pereyaslavl and Moscow. Inspired by the victories, the Toktamys army plundered Moscow and burned half of the city. As punishment for Prince Dmitry's disobedience, the amount of Moscow's tribute to the Jochi ulus was doubled. Shortly after, Toktamys sent the chief imam of the city of Sarai to Moscow to ensure control over all Russian principalities. Since 1385, in order to strengthen the economy of the Golden Horde, Toktamys began to rule in the southern part of the Caucasus, thereby providing new trade routes for the Horde. At this time, the Konyrat clan gained powerful power in the Golden Horde itself. Perhaps this was also facilitated by the fact that Toktamys' mother comes from this genus. Ibn-Arabshah describes Toktamys as a man with a very iron and firm character (Ibn Arabshah, 2005:711). He was distinguished during the wars by his bravery. Toktamys also carried out a monetary reform, which was an innovation of that time. He unified the mass sizes of all coins. All these coins of the same mass were minted from the center and distributed throughout the Jochi ulus. In addition, all the surviving sources mostly report more about the main events in history, whereas the relationship of Edyge, Toktamys and Emir Timur among themselves is very intertwined, confusing, tortuous and full of undisclosed facts.

Currently, the study of the image of Toktamys, one of the two characters of a work of art that has long gone beyond the literature of the Turkic peoples, included in the golden fund of the world folklore, is very relevant. Since the national versions of the work describe historical events, i.e. the poem is based on real historical events, the nature of the poem remains unclear if one does not compare the artistic and historical images of Toktamys. Having failed to go beyond the Soviet censorship, we could not comprehensively study the personality of Toktamys, limiting ourselves only to the facts of his defeat by Emir Temur. And, in fact, he had many important things to do: as soon as Toktamys Khan ascended the throne, he stopped the 25-year struggle for the throne among the descendants of Genghis Khan in the Horde. He also united the Blue Horde, Khorezm, Hadji Circassian, Astrakhan and Mamai Hordes and made efforts to restore the unity of the powerful Ulus of Jochi.

In some versions of the epic about Edyge Batyr, information about the Emir Timur is given in detail, denoting his image, origins of origin, gender and place of birth.

Ol dariya da bu dariya, [That river and this river]

Ol dariyadan Syrdariya, [From that river comes Syrdaria]

Syrdariyadan – Samarkand, [From Syrdaria comes Samarkand]

Samarkandta otyrgan [He was sitting in Samarkand]

Amir Barlas Shakh Temir [Emir Barlas Shah Temir] (Idaga, 1988: 254).

The very historicity of the song is supported by these testimonies.

As for the identity of Edyge, Academician Zhirmunsky said: “Undoubtedly, during the life of Edyge, a legend began to form around his name. His personal courage, military successes, and authority as a ruler who maintained unity and order in the country earned him wide popularity and preserved his name in the memory of posterity” (Zhirmunsky V.M., 1974:726). In the war against the sons of Urus Khan, Edyge was with Toktamys and fought on his side. After Toktamys ascended the throne in the Blue Horde, he led Edyge to great power. Such mutual agreement between Toktamys and Edyge is well described in the Kazakh - language version of the epic as follows:

Zhauryndary zhaktaky, [The shoulders are so wide].

Tuime bauy tartpaly, [Pull-out button closure].

Al karakis ton berdi, - [The sable fur coat was given to him].

Ony ustine ki dedi, [Put this on, he said].

Kokala zhorga at min dedi [Rode a grey steed, he said].

Kyrymnan dau kelse, [If trouble comes from the Crimea].



Al, Edigem, sony sen bitir dedi. [You, Edyge, finish with them].

Kyrymnan zhau kelse, [If enemies come from the Crimea].

Al, Edigem, sony sen kyr dedi [You, Edyge, crush them all] (Magauin, 1993: 76). One of the first Kazakh scientists who wrote about the epic about Edyge Batyr was M. Tynyshpaev, who claimed: "I had to partly hear that our great-grandfathers came from the Crimea. In the middle of the XVI century after the Russians captured Kazan and the Crimea, those who were in the Crimea – stayed in the Crimea, those who were in Kazan – stayed in Kazan, and those who lived in Nogai – stayed there. Those who lived in the east of the Volga convinced of the impossibility of reuniting with them back, migrated, and formed a separate Kazakh khanate. The expression that asserts that "Alash became Alash when Alasha Khan became Khan" comes from this period (1570-1590). Before that there was no division of the Golden Horde (not counting only the Crimea). Edyge batyr, Emir Timur and Khan Toktamys are all representatives of the same era; Edyge died in 1419-1420, when there was no fragmentation of the state. 130-150 years after that, the unity of the Golden Horde collapsed and the state split into different parts" (Tynyshpayev, 1924:3). On this occasion, Emir Timur in his "Code of Laws" notes that his army was exhausted as a result of a long campaign lasting six months, they were also exhausted from hunger, so neither the armies nor their commanders had any desire to fight. He also writes that "on the contrary, Toktamys' army was cheerful, fresh... Knowing this, Toktamys wanted to take advantage of this chance, and they attacked me with a great onslaught... I bribed the enemy's flag holder in advance, he promised to throw the flag on the ground when the two sides entered the battle... As soon as his flag fell, Toktamys froze, not knowing what to do, and then began to run away. Thus, he sowed fear among the warriors and was overwhelmingly defeated" (Timur's Code, 1992:179).

Toktamys eventually became a victim of betrayal. In the epic about Edyge batyr, his words are quoted to those who chased Toktamys: "Your ignoble master Toktamys, do not bow to him from now on. My grievances if my flying arrows do not speak, then they will not come out of my mouth. Once a man rides, he does not forget to run away like a woman" (Satbayev, 1989: 373). From these words, it is clear how brave, stubborn and straightforward Edyge was. As a historical source, the image of Kobylandy batyr is known to us from the novel "Rage" by the author of historical novels I. Yessenberlin. For comparison, there are many historical facts and geographical names in the song about Kobylandy Batyr. Modern researchers confirm historical data that the song "Manas", which most Kazakh scientists have studied, is also closely related to the image of Tokhtamys Khan. At the same time, the presence of different historical geographical names and various variations of the epic about Yedig batyr among the Turkic peoples, this epic is consonant with one of the ancient Kazakh lyric-epic psalms "Kozy Korpesh-Bayan Sulu". Ch. Valikhanov in his work "The First Letter" notes the following: "Kazakh epics are a real reflection of the worldview and mutual understanding of their society, and since there are essays there, they have a powerful educational property and great importance that interests a person". Therefore, what is said in the epic that Baltaly, Baganaly, Yst, Toleu, Serkesh, as well as Karabay, passing along the summer pasture of Dombyraly, crossing Monshakty, Tumen, arrival in the sea of Muz, will have a great impact on the awareness of the historical fact and will increase the reader's knowledge. Based on the data of the lyric epic, A. Margulan notes that the Kazakhs of that time wintered in the Semirechye-Syr Darya region, in the spring they supplied their transport movements, together with their possessions they wandered to Saryarka. Before the beginning of the hot days, cattle were bred in the pastures of Kulundy, Baraba, Kokmaisa. Then they moved into the forests of Western Siberia. Thus they reached the shores of the Glacial Ocean. With the onset of cold weather, they migrated back to Semirechye-Syr Darya and reunited with the remaining tribesmen here. The place of Baganaly noted in the work is a dense forest (taiga) in Siberia with pine columns, and Baganaly, apparently, is a place named by our Kazakhs as a result of cutting down forests with sharp axes and opening new paths. This place, called Baltaly-Baganaly, with rivers and lakes, in ancient times was a habitat for Kazakhs in Siberia. Here, this information is undoubtedly a source of knowledge for inquisitive youth, filling the knowledge base and expanding the horizons of knowledge. In addition, such national games as Assyk, and Audaryspak, educational games that instil Kazakh physical education were reflected throughout the song. There is no doubt that, in general, the poem is one of the most elegant, good-quality works of the Kazakh people, filled with instructions and morals. In the epic

about Edyge Batyr, the image of Tokhtamys Khan can be compared with the image of Afrasiab from the saga of "Shahnameh", one of the oldest psalms.

In Persian writings, especially in Tajik encyclopedias, Afrasiab is depicted as a symbol of atrocity in the sense of a monster. Nevertheless, Persian literary sources reveal some moments of truth related to the fate of Afrasiab, albeit in the form of a legend. We know they matter here. The Shahnameh describes "Many heroic actions of Nuzar, the son of Manuchehr. In one fierce battle between Iran and Turan, Nazar was killed by Afrasiab. Then the Iranian country goes through a serious crisis, and Afrasiab occupies the Iranian throne for twelve years. The huge Er Tonga fought a lot with Rustam, the main and most beloved hero of the Iranian folk epic. There are many legends in the saga that have a general pedagogical, instructive character. Afrasiab's birth is told in one legend as follows: Shah Pashang was deeply in love with Ala Pise Zhadu's daughter at a young age. Before receiving his father's blessing, he marries his beloved girlfriend. Nine months, nine days later, she gave birth to his son and named him Afrasiab. In fact, it was Afrasiab or Pirasiab, which later became known as Afrasiab. Because godmother Afrasiab noticed that the baby was born baggy. A woman discovers that a bag of blood was born instead of a baby. Horrified, the godmother snatches a bag filled with blood from the center of the Royal Palace, carries it to the bank of a leaking ditch and pierces the bag with the tip of a knife. Suddenly, the look and arms up to the elbow catch the eye of a red baby. When he touches the child's face, he notices that it is soaked in blood. When the woman went to the water to wash her hands, the water pressure increased and the boy fell out of the woman's hands, thereby the water carries him through the water up to the warehouse of the watermill. The miller, noticing the stop of the mill chariot, thinks that something is stuck there and therefore clogged. When cleaning this chariot, the miller discovers a baby stuck there. He brings it home. Having wrapped and wrapped the baby, they put him to bed. As soon as he wakes up, he cries for food. At that time, the miller's female dog was also feeding her puppies. Not knowing what to do, the miller gives the baby to the bitch to breastfeed. A child who sucks a bitch's breast falls asleep. The miller thought: "Tomorrow I will take the child to his owner" and fell asleep himself. Soon Shah Pashang was informed that the born boy was carried away by the current, and the godmother was hysterical at that time. The Shah sends his warriors everywhere to find the child and bring him. Seekers are surprised to see a baby lying in the bowels of a bitch. Quickly the child and the miller are taken to the palace, to the Shah. Pashang hag is sad to hear that the baby was breastfed by a bitch. Because of this, he orders the miller to be beheaded. Also, the shah, having gathered soothsayers and a clairvoyant, asks to tell about the future fate of the baby. They answer that "As he was suckled with the milk of a bitch, he will live wildly like a dog, and the fact that he was born covered in blood means that he will be thirsty to shed blood, he will be a bloody killer". As the predictors claimed, so it was in the future. Everything came true. All those qualities that the soothsayers said were in his blood. During the wars, his enemies referred to him as "the milk-drinking bitch", "who grew up on the miller's doorstep". Given the existence of the proverb "Mother's milk develops thinking", the story about the birth of Afrasiab is very instructive. It was his poem that was nicknamed "Farasiab" or "Parasiab", which means "mill pole". Later it was changed to Afrasiab (Abusharap Sairan, 2004: 354). Although in this song Afrasiab, as well as Toktamys, is depicted as a murderer, this makes sense: we see how great and outstanding a figure of his time was the historical figure of Afrasiab during these events. With the help of this psalm, we get data about Afrasiab. No matter how the image of Tokhtamys sounds in the song of Edyge, we can judge as to how historically significant it is. The Shahnameh mentions Tahmuras, who invented the inscription, and shows that he ruled for 30 years. In this saga, Tahmuras is listed as the ancestor of Afrasiab. And in the "Avesta" it is reported about the battles of Tahmuras with demons and devils. He is a leader who forbade paganism, worshipped God and promoted being a believer. He was in the religion of the prophet Idris. It is known that Toktamys was a descendant of the famous Genghis Khan and intended to spread the Muslim religion.

The fact that in the epic about Edyge Batyr, Toktamys allows the boy Edyge to rule suggests that his resourcefulness and ability to resolve disputes are combined with moments of oratory of the Kazakh people. As an example of this, the following story can be mentioned: a famous speaker (sheshen) Toksaba saw an eight-year-old boy grazing a lamb behind one of the villages and asked him:

Son, whose is this lamb? He asked.

Grandfather, this lamb belongs to the sheep, the boy replied.

Your father didn't have a name, he said.

My father has both a dark horse and a bay horse,

And he has a yellow horse and a red horse, the boy replied.

Speaker (sheshen) thought to himself what a stubborn boy he is. Taking out and shaking out his rattling snuffbox made from the horn of a mountain goat, he puts tobacco-nasvai under his tongue. Then the boy asks: - Grandpa, what kind of animal's horn is your snuffbox made of? Hearing the untruthful answer of the speaker (sheshen), the boy resourcefully says: “However, it is true that they say that the land of the dissolute people is worn out. Our people make shanyrak from rabbit horns. And yours were needed only for a snuffbox”. Toksaba could not respond to such a shrill speech. If we compare the fragments of the epic about Edyge Batyr with the verses of Makhambet, we can find the following points. In the epic about Edyge batyr it is said:

Men kelermin, ketermin, [I'm leaving, I'm coming].

Satemirdei kalmaktyn [As Satemir of the Kalmyks].

Eline izdep zhetermin, [I 'll get there and find it].

Satemirdin elinde [At Satemir's nation].

Shubardy ush ai bagarmyn. [I will graze three months of spotted].

Osy otyrgan kalandy [And this city of yours].

Talkan kylyp shabarmyn. [I will crush to dust]

Toktamystai khanynnyn [And your khan as Toktamys].

Ordada basyn alarmyn. [I'll cut off his head].

Ush ai toksan kun bolganda, [Three months later].

Osy ordaga zhetermin, [I will get the Horde].

Kelerde habar etermin. [I will inform you upon arrival].

And now let's consider what Makhambet Otemisuly said to Sultan Baymagambet. Here Makhambet says the following:

Men ak sunkar kustyn soiy edim, [I am the best of the white falcons].

Shymyrkansam tage ketermin, [I'll leave if I'm offended].

Ketpei de neshik etermin? [Why do you hate me?].

Bul bargannan bararmyn, [As I leave, so I will leave,].

Kiyadan oryn alarmyn, [I'll find a shelter in the steep mountains].

Otinip alyp ot zhakpan, [I will not ask for fire].

Dushpanga kylysh urarmyn. [Let enmity warm me.].

Zhazga bi rai kalganda, [You've caused yourself the trouble.].

Ala sapyran bolganda, [When the time of nomadism comes,].

Boline koshken elindi [When snows sprout everywhere,].

Borikken koidai kylarmyn. [Like scaring sheep away,].

Zharyla koshken elindi, [Your people running in hysterics].

Zharaly koidai kylarmyn. [Equalize with a herd of sheep].

Men ketkenmen tek ketpen, [I'm leaving for a reason].

Sizden artyk tabarmyn. [I'll find myself a better khan!].

Ashuyma kop tisen, [If you annoy me completely,].

Ozekti zhanga bir olim, [I won't yap like a mutt.].

Ordandy talkan kylyp shabarmyn. [I'll come and ruin your bet.].

And there is also a poem that he said to Zhangir Khan: [XXX].

Khan emessin kaskysynh [You are not a khan, you are a wolf geek,].

Kas albasty baskyrsyn [Covering the witch at night,].

Dostaryn kelip tabalap [Friends — and those will become enemies,].

Dushpanyn senin basks ursyn! [The enemies will stone you!].

Khan emessin ylansyn [You are not a khan, you are a disaster].

Kara shubar zhylansyn [You're a snake's spawn].

Khan emessin ayarsyn [You don't deserve respect as a khan].

Aiyr kuiryk shayansyn! [You're a creeping bastard, crawling forward with cancer] (M. Baidildayev, Magauin, 1984:115).

This is what Makhambet said to Zhangir Khan. And now, thanks to such works, the image of Zhangir Khan has been formed in the minds of generations as an evil khan for many years. But in fact, Zhangir Khan is a historical figure who built schools in the Bukey Horde and opened centers of culture in the Kazakh Steppe. Is it not enough to say that Zhangir Khan built the first archival institution in the Bukey Horde on Kazakh Steppe, not to mention other actions? His similar advanced actions remained nameless after the aforementioned and other verses of Makhambet written against him. In this sense, one can see similarities in the fates of Tokhtamys Khan and Zhangir Khan. And the moment has come to restore the true images of these two personalities.

In general, taking into account the existence of different versions of the epic about the Edyge batyr, the image of Khan Toktamys in the "Epic about Edyge" is more appropriate to reality. Because it is in this epic that not only the facts of his denigration are given, but also such moments as he took care of Edyge and brought him up in the spirit of rulers, batyrs, which also comes close to the real fact.

Ninety viziers of Tulymbi, not seeing his proximity to Toktamys, inform the khan that he is without a son and can harm him, to which the Khan Toktamys answers them as follows:

Aita bermen, auzyna ne kelse, [Don't say what you want].

Barlygy muratyna zhetken bar ma eken?! [Who has achieved everything?!].

Satyp alyp bolmas Kudai bermese, [It is impossible to buy all if God does not give].

Kairatpenen uldy bolu bar ma eken?! [Is it possible to have a son with courage?].

Bul dunienin asli ozi zhalgan-dur, [This world is temporary].

Kone sarai barlygynan kalgan-dur. [The old palace remains from everyone].

Myn zhasasak, turmas sony oiran-dur, [We are not forever alive in this world].

Konil muratyna zhetken bar ma eken?! [Is there anyone who is satisfied with life?].

In addition, Edyge, during a campaign against the enemy, addresses his army as follows:

Lashkerim, soz aitaynm esitin, [Warriors, I will say one thing, listen to me].

Kauiptenseniz, shurtka kaityn, bekterim. [If beware, come back, soldiers].

Toktamys khan, atam bizdi surasa, [If Grandfather Toktamys Khan asks about us].

Baryp bizden salem aityn, bekterim. [Give them our greetings, soldiers].

Here, as we can see, Edyge is interested in whether his grandfather Toktamys and not his father Tulymbi, asked him. That is, it is not difficult to see his very close and warm attitude toward Toktamys here. If Toktamys had not shown paternal care, would Edyge have reached such personal heights? That is, his respectful attitude towards Toktamys is clearly visible here. If you look at the versions of the song Edyge, written in the language of different nationalities and peoples, you can see that at one time the Golden Horde was a huge empire that occupied the Eurasian space, uniting many nations. And were the actions of Toktamys, who ruled for almost a quarter of a century and united this empire into one environment from the fractures of various small khan structures, and the actions of Edyge Batyr, which caused the collapse of such a huge state and destruction following the crushing campaigns of Emir Timur, right?

**Conclusion.** According to many sources and the epic "Forty Crimean Batyrs", the batyrs who kept up with them really were in history. For example, Suyinish, Kaztugan, Kobylandy, Edyge, Toktamys, Syryra zhyrau and others (Қазақ хандығы дәуіріндегі әдебиет, 1993:176). According to these sources, under Uzbek Khan, observatories operated in the ulus of Jochi, which were engaged in the study of the celestial world. During the Toktamys' reign, the work of these observatories was supported, and famous scientists of that time were concentrated in Saray. Coins with images of horoscope signs can be noted as material evidence of this. Representatives of such clans and tribes as Mangytai, Jalair, Mansur, Sejuit, Baryn and others mainly participated in the unified state authority created by Khan Tokhtamys. As most sources show, Edyge batyr killed Toktamys Khan.

In conclusion, it can be stated that a historiographical analysis was carried out on previously published and modern studies that concerned information about the progressive role in the history and historical personality of Toktamys Khan and a review of the literature was made from a new position. The problems considered and the results obtained in the future contribute to a different look at this study.

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