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13.01.11<https://doi.org/10.71191/3104-459X.2026.3.3.001>**Assel Malikova***PhD, K. Baiseitova Kazakh National University of Arts,**Astana, Kazakhstan**e-mail: malikova.asel@mail.ru**<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8052-9371>***THE CULTURAL ORIGINS OF ORATORY**

Abstract. Oratory originated in antiquity and continues to evolve to the present day. The importance of conceptual rethinking of the phenomenon of oratory and awareness of its significance in the modern era, considered in relation to the unified space of global scholarly consciousness shaped by powerful intellectual impulses, constitutes one of the most relevant topics of contemporary academic inquiry.

Oratory is, above all, a cultural phenomenon involved in the transformation of human existence. When examining its origins, it may be argued that its significance is rooted in the very genesis of culture. Culture encompasses the entire human world, since the human being becomes truly human precisely through cultural essence. Consequently, the human being and culture exist in an inseparable unity and form an integral system within the paradigm of their dual interaction. On the one hand, the human being is a being that creates culture and makes use of its achievements. In other words, culture as a phenomenon originates in the human being and continues through them. Culture does not exist outside humanity. On the other hand, human essence, the space of human habitation, and the time of human existence acquire their reality precisely within culture.

A state can exist and manifest itself only within the boundaries of the cultural sphere it has formed as a unified society. The decline or disappearance of culture inevitably leads to the decline of society or even to its complete disappearance.

Keywords: oratory, phenomenon, rethinking, transformation, human world, space, culture.

Асель Маликова

КУЛЬТУРНЫЕ ИСТОКИ ОРАТОРСКОГО ИСКУССТВА

Аннотация. Ораторское искусство берёт своё начало в античности и продолжает развиваться до наших дней. Важность концептуального переосмысления феномена ораторского искусства, осознание его значимости в современную эпоху в сопоставлении с единым пространством мирового научного сознания, развивающегося под воздействием мощных интеллектуальных импульсов, является сегодня одной из самых актуальных тем. Ораторское искусство представляет собой прежде всего культурный феномен, участвующий в трансформации человеческого бытия. Обращаясь к его истокам, можно утверждать, что его значение коренится в самом генезисе культуры. Культура охватывает весь мир человека, поскольку человек является таковым именно благодаря своей культурной сущности. Следовательно, человек и культура находятся в неразрывном единстве и образуют целостную систему в парадигме своего дуального взаимодействия. С одной стороны, человек - существо, создающее культуру и пользующееся её достижениями. Иными словами, культура как явление берёт начало в человеке и продолжается через него. Вне человечества культура не существует. С другой стороны, сущность человека, пространство его обитания и время его существования обретают свою реальность именно в культуре.

Любое государство может существовать и проявляться лишь в пределах сформированного им культурного ареала как единое общество. Упадок культуры или её исчезновение неизбежно ведёт к упадку общества или даже к его полному исчезновению.

Ключевые слова: ораторское искусство, феномен, переосмысления, трансформация, мир человека, пространство, культура.

Әсел Мәлікқызы

ШЕШЕНДІК ӨНЕРДІҢ МӘДЕНИ БАСТАУЛАРЫ

Аңдатпа. Шешендік өнер көне дәуірден бастау алып, бүгінгі күнге дейін үздіксіз дамып келеді. Қазіргі уақытта әлемдік ғылыми сананың біртұтас кеңістігінде қуатты интеллектуалдық дамуға серпін беру шешендік өнердің болмыстық сипатын концептуалды түрде қайта қараудың маңызын арттырады. Шешендік өнер – ең алдымен адам болмысының өзгеруіне қатысатын мәдени құбылыс. Ол адамның ойлау жүйесін, дүниетанымын, қоғамдық ортамен қарым-қатынасын қалыптастырып қана қоймай, белгілі бір қоғамның рухани және құндылықтық бағдарларын жеткізудің маңызды тетігі ретінде қызмет етеді.

Шешендік өнердің негізіне үңілсек, оның мәдениет генезисінің бастауында жатқанын айтуға негіз бар. Мәдениет адам әлемін түгелдей қамтиды, өйткені адам өзінің мәдени мәнінің арқасында адам болып табылады. Бір жағынан, мәдениетті өндіруші де, әрі оны тұтынушы да – адам, демек, мәдениет адамнан басталып, адаммен аяқталатын құбылыс. Мәдениет адамзаттан тыс өмір сүре алмайды. Екінші жағынан, адамның қалыптасуы, оның өмір сүру кеңістігі мен тарихи уақыты мәдени ортада жүзеге асатын шындық. Осы тұрғыдан алғанда, шешендік өнер мәдени тәжірибені ұрпақтан ұрпаққа жеткізетін, қоғамдық сананы қалыптастыратын және адамдар арасындағы рухани сабақтастықты қамтамасыз ететін маңызды мәдени-коммуникативтік құбылыс болып табылады.

Кез келген мемлекет өзі қалыптастырған мәдениеттің аясында ғана біртұтас қауым ретінде өмір сүре алады. Мәдениет қоғам мүшелерін ортақ тарихи жады, тіл, құндылықтар мен дүниетанымдық ұстанымдар төңірегінде біріктіреді. Сондықтан шешендік өнерді зерттеу тек тілдік немесе әдеби құбылысты зерделеумен шектелмей, оның мәдени, әлеуметтік және дүниетанымдық мәнін кешенді тұрғыдан қарастыруды талап етеді.

Түйін сөздер: шешендік өнер, феномен, қайта қарастыру, трансформация, адам әлемі, кеңістік, мәдениет.

INTRODUCTION

The consideration of oratory as a cultural phenomenon can be explained by the nature of its origin, the history of its development, its function within civilized society and the public sphere, and also the place and the role it holds in the broader world of culture. Furthermore, the nature of the phenomenon of culture may be explained primarily through the ontogenetic dimension of the civilized origins of the verbal art of oratory.

In this case, we draw on the assertions «the phenomenon of civilization» and «oratory is culture». We will begin by taking the first steps toward a brief analysis of the civilizational and cultural nature of these assertions. To determine a general understanding of culture from a scientific perspective, consider the following definition: «Culture is the creative heritage of a people, preserved in its collective memory for millennia; it is the spiritual quest of society and of the individual; it is a treasury of folk wisdom and expressions of humanity» (Gabitov 1998). In other words, the scholar links culture to the world of values. Another scholar, Nurzhanov Beket, noting that there are many definitions of culture, believes that attempting to explain them all is like

entering an infinite space (Nurzhanov and Yerzhanova 2011, 1). We agree with this view, since the profound meaning of culture lies in sustaining the life and existence of the entire social universe, upholding meaningful and important values, strengthening and setting them in motion, and reviving them. To put it another way, culture is the reproduction of the value parameters of spirituality.

Thus, the significance of culture lies in bringing order to the life of human society and in fostering this process in every way possible. Drawing on the views of the two scholars mentioned above, we cite here a statement by T. Gabitov from his book *Typology of Kazakh Culture*, in which he, conducting a comparative analysis of the relationship between culture and civilization and dividing existing viewpoints into six groups, concludes: «Culture and civilization are interrelated concepts» (Gabitov 1998). Having analyzed B. Nurzhanov's cultural studies devoted to the interrelationships between civilization and culture, we agree with the scholar's assertion that these two concepts are synonymous and form the foundation of human society, one part being the spiritual foundation and the other the material foundation. As such, culture is a category that defines the formation and development of any civilization. In a broad sense, culture is a derivative of human civilization. Civilization, in turn, is the *oecumene* of the human community. The *oecumene* is the space in which all of humanity dwells. This is why culture and civilization are twin concepts, existing in a dialectical relationship with one another. Without culture, there is no civilization, while the absence of civilization destroys culture. Civilization and culture are an inseparable pair, revealing the patterns of mutually influencing and interdependent relationships between them. They are two sides of a single whole, partners to one another, which is indeed true. Consequently, culture is the creation of civilization, and civilization is the space in which the cultural process takes place. This means that culture is a second matter, a second nature, produced by humanity with its own hands, by its own doing. In this case, one can agree with the following statement by D.S. Rayev: «Since a people creates the art of oratory itself, it is clear that it is closely intertwined with the life of every people, with its philosophy of existence. This is precisely why, in terms of its historical, figurative, and philosophical interpretation, it is incomparably superior to any work created by an individual author, and therefore it is an objective phenomenon» (Rayev 2011). From this, we conclude that the essence of the people, as well as the essence of oratorical mastery and the essence of cultural civilization, are one and the same. In science, culture is divided into two parts material and spiritual. The cultural essence of oratory is precisely one part of scientific theory and the foundation of methodology. It is in this light that we have examined the ontogenetic civilizational roots of oratory.

Based on the postulate that «oratory is culture», we can identify the cultural essence of oratory. Oratory is a unique expression of culture. Professor Zh. Moldabekov, a renowned scholar and philosopher, wrote: «Rhetoric is the highest, most profound form of verbal creativity. It is a level of thought, a culture of speech, a manifestation of character and temperament, a professional service, and an example of creativity and mastery as a system of communication...».

Supporting this viewpoint, we believe that oratory is a cultural matrix capable of reflecting cultural traditions and customs of any people, cultural self-awareness and perception, and the architecture of cultural knowledge. If so, oratory can be defined as the content continuum of culture and its spiritual epicenter. There are solid scientific and theoretical grounds for such a definition. To support this argument, let us cite a passage from Yusuf Balasaguni's *Blessed Knowledge*: «If one possesses reason, it will be of great benefit to them, and knowledge will help them perform good deeds. Reason is a power through which any task can be accomplished, and knowledge will bring benefit to human life». These words of Balasaguni clearly reveal the cultural perception underlying the author's reflections. Balasaguni, first, regards oratory as a cultural core; second, he unveils the meta-theoretical idea that oratory possesses all the potential to help humanity achieve perfection. In light of this, two principles can explain why oratory is a cultural phenomenon: first, through the ontological issues of oratory and culture; second, through issues concerning the epistemological and methodological principles of the lexical vocabulary of oratorical mastery.

The scientific novelty of this study lies in the interdisciplinary interpretation of oratory as a cultural code and a mechanism of public consciousness formation. Unlike traditional approaches that examine rhetoric primarily as a linguistic or persuasive practice, this research considers oratory as a multidimensional cultural phenomenon embedded in the development of civilization, collective memory, civic identity and public communication. The article also integrates classical rhetorical theory with contemporary approaches from communication studies, cultural studies and public sphere research, thereby expanding the theoretical framework for understanding the cultural origins of oratory.

RESEARCH METHODS

Based on an interdisciplinary research approach, the article employs the following methodological tools: actualization and conceptualization; analytical method (for source analysis); retrospective systemic analysis and universalization; historical-logical analysis; cultural-strategic and epistolary analysis; cultural-axiological analysis allows for the interpretation of oratory

as a carrier of cultural values, ethical norms and collective meanings; retranslatability and introspection; semantic and textual analysis is used to investigate the conceptual content of key categories such as «culture», «civilization», «rhetoric», (content analysis); balanced and predictive analysis; interdisciplinary analysis (to identify the essence, meaning, theories, and concepts of the art of oratory); diachronic and synchronic methods (for comparative/comparativist analysis). Comparative analysis is applied to examine similarities and differences between Greek and Roman rhetorical traditions; contextual and situational analysis; cognitive and personal mental analysis; and methods for predicting the cultural scenario of the future personality.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Let us begin our analysis by examining the fundamental foundations of existence. We can observe the unity of the ontological origins of culture and oratory in their convergence through the category of consciousness. Here, we draw upon scientific findings regarding the connection between language and culture. Therefore, the regularity of the dialectical connection between language and consciousness is defined as a theoretical and methodological principle. Based on the ontological principle, language and consciousness are on an equal footing with one another in terms of development or can be equal to each other as equal principles of substance. Within the interrelationships of consciousness and language, «consciousness and objective reality» constitute the core of the problem of communication. That is, in all cases, culture necessarily addresses the problem of the relationship between consciousness and speech, and in order to reveal the cultural essence of language, it establishes one of the principles underlying the unity of consciousness and language. The material and ideal relationships between consciousness and language can be understood only through their interdependent relationships. To define the dialectic of ideal and external reality, one must rely on the unity of language and consciousness.

When we speak of epistemological and methodological principles pertaining to public speaking, the key concepts of cultural worldview in cultural studies just as in philosophy are «the world» and «humanity». This means that any science can explore the problems that arise from the relationship between these two natural realities. For everything related to culture is a product of goodness, and everything human and good is itself a cultural phenomenon. In other words, any science studies manifestations of the unity of «humanity and the environment» or objective reality. It follows that oratory is one of the well-known components of a holistic perception of

the world. The main issue of culture in this case is the relationship between cultural consciousness and cultural existence; that is, the relationship between the human being and the external world implies that the cognitive and methodological phenomenon of oratory has an objective foundation.

To summarize the above, we support the view that the intrinsic unity of culture and oratory is explained not only by the similarity of their challenges, but is also «linked to the need to understand the significance of the fundamental forms of matter and the movement of the world, their internal connections, their interdependence, and their mutual conditioning, as well as to define general principles and laws governing the development of objective existence».

Next, we will attempt to explore the cultural history of existence. We will attempt to elucidate the meaning of the following concepts: «history as the process of the development of oratory» and «oratory as the continuum of historical space». Let us turn to the first concept. Let us state right away that history is the arena of the culture of oratory, the arena where oratory was born and took shape; history is a comprehensive dimension that defines the temporal and spatial development of the art of oratory. In this context, for us, the art of oratory and the culture of oratory are synonymous. The culture of oratory both its origins and its continuation is measured by world history, as evidenced by the story of humanity itself. Historically speaking, oratory embraces the best examples of spiritual intellect passed down to us from generation to generation, which over time have become a priceless cultural treasure, a spiritual legacy, and a traditional cultural treatise of the people, refined by time.

The nature of the second concept is explained from an ontological perspective. Suppose that history and culture can be equally valid foundations of substance; in that case, it is evident that oratory as a cultural phenomenon would constitute the subcultural essence of history. Zh. Zh. Moldabekov has written about this: «The boundaries of oratory... share common roots with the history of a people, its destiny, equal in significance and unity, in the truth of life and mastery, in love of freedom and maturity, in will and courage, in immortal artistic achievements within subjective-objective relations... everything is created from such national traits». Then he concludes: «Oratory is a form of historical phenomena, or real manifestations of the social and cultural nature». (Moldabekov 2009). B. Nurzhanov writes on the same subject, linking the main features of culture to the historical phenomenon of universal human existence. Oratory cannot be viewed in isolation from history. History is the ethos of the formation of oratory. Each of these, as an objective reality and a distinct phenomenon, can be understood and explained in terms of their inner nature through their interdependent relationships and

connections. Therefore, oratory as a component subculture of world history or a spiritual constituent part thereof develops, matures, and influences all aspects of social and historical existence (economic, public, political, and others). This is evident from the facts of past and present history. Oratory is an indicator of social activity and power, political literacy, and political culture among the subjects of history. Human history bears witness to the fact that oratory is a manifestation of the cultural and strategic processes of social and humanitarian responsibility and cultural insight, as well as the culture and sense of duty of historical figures, their patriotism, statesmanship, unity with the people, and love for their homeland. It is also a powerful and effective tool for achieving all set objectives. Thus, in every specific historical period, cultural consciousness both that of the individual and that of society has, in accordance with its nature, created forms and models of the art of oratory. Artistic images of the world for people of any era depended on the interpretation and understanding within the consciousness of their specific time, because cultural consciousness always reflected those ideas in real language. Historian Nabizhan Mukhametkhanuly elaborates on this idea as follows: «In that well-known historical period, activity in Kazakh society was an expression of the practice of public consciousness. At the same time, public consciousness and perception ... are reflected in their views, opinions, and written works» (Mukhametkhanuly 2007). Undoubtedly, it demonstrates the freedom of creativity and dynamism in the human mind, as well as the ongoing development of rhetorical language. It can be said that this determines, within the historical context, the possibility of fostering an independent movement of rhetoric. This phenomenon undoubtedly existed in the past and continues to exist today.

Let us now turn to the history of oratory. Its roots run deep. Its history spans two and a half thousand years. If, for example, we rely on historical facts, oratory arose and took root as classical rhetoric in ancient Greece in the 5th–4th centuries BC, and later in the 3rd–2nd centuries, having established itself as a system, it spread to Rome in the 1st century AD. There is ample evidence that the first examples of the art of public speaking appeared in ancient Greece. Oratory has a lengthy history and is historical in nature. According to M.N. Pryakhin, having originated in ancient Greece, it became a vital art for every member of society (Pryakhin 2013). For example, it is well known that Athens was the center of economic, political, and cultural life. In Athens, given the social conditions of the time, the Council of Five Hundred and the Assembly, as well-known forms of public consciousness and social, political and cultural institutions of the people, were widespread and exercised enormous influence. To appear before a large audience, to speak freely and sharply, to persuade, to inspire, to express profound thoughts, to

deliver eloquent speeches, to analyze, and to be familiar with methods of conversation, information gathering, and dissemination all of this came to hold great significance in public circles and generated heightened social and cultural demand. These institutions trained talented, educated individuals well-versed in philosophy, politics, history, and law. In short, the state highly valued the art of oratory, manifested in the ability to debate, think deeply, and wield words with finesse. In this, we see the socially civilized nature of oratory and, in a cultural sense, its vital essence. Oratory developed alongside the culture of human thought. It was, at its core, an art form in itself, a distinct and established mode of thinking. To think, to penetrate the meaning of words, to use words as a tool for expressing thought, to make use of the impression created by spoken words fall within the realm of mastery of the art of oratory.

For every Greek, mastering this sacred art was a mandatory duty. It was during this period that rhetoric emerged as a science. Rhetoricians began to appear, teaching the art of public speaking. The word «orator» comes from the Latin *orare*, meaning «to speak» or «to prophesy». The term «rhetoric», in its primary and fundamental sense, is understood as the theory of the art of public speaking (Negimov 1997).

According to N.A. Fedorovskaya's definition, in ancient times the laws of rhetoric were widely applied in the art of public speaking, and many scholarly treatises were written on this subject (Fedorovskaya 2009). Alongside rhetoric, such academic disciplines as eristic (the art of debate) and sophistry emerged. James Herrick wrote that the sophists that is, teachers who instructed in the art of oratory for a fee and even some politicians were very famous people. They assured their followers that they would teach them how to win in court cases. According to Herrick, the excessive use of eristic and sophistry, and their designation as rhetoric, sparked heated debates among philosophers, as philosophers (Protagoras, Prodicus, Hippias) viewed sophistry as a doctrine that resembled the truth but was a lie told deliberately (Herrick 2005).

In ancient times, there were two golden ages of oratory. The first period spanned the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Pericles rose to prominence in Athens like a bolt from the blue, followed by the renowned Demosthenes. The period from Pericles to Demosthenes is considered the first golden age of oratory. In Rome, the first century BC was the era of Cicero. We have examined these two periods, analyzing how they differ from one another: the art of oratory in Greece and the art of oratory in Rome. By analyzing each separately, we note their differences.

Many phenomena of world culture emerged in ancient times. For example, according to scholars, in the sixth century BC, songs, dances, and religious rituals were held in honor of Dionysus. This practice, which began with religious festivals, gradually evolved

into theatrical performances under the open sky. Seats for the audience were arranged on three sides of the stage. Beyond them rose tiers of steps; the more steps there were, the higher the audience sat. It was precisely from that moment when the actor stepped out from the raised platform (the orchestra), where the chorus was situated, and the performance began that the art of drama was born. Going to the theater was a cultural activity; the audience experienced spiritual purification (catharsis) and, by sharing the actor's emotions, felt a sense of spiritual unity (in those days, only men played the roles; they took the stage wearing masks and high heels, so-called cothurni) (Smolina 2001).

In general, ancient culture portrayed only people who were perfect, without flaws, and beautiful both aesthetically and ethically. This was not a part of social life, but rather the goal of culture. As researchers note, in the fifth century BC, the Greeks defeated the Persians and became a slave-owning state, which gradually grew in power; culture and city-state democracy flourished, with Athens at the center. A slave-owning democracy was established in Athens (Polevoy 1984). Three main governing institutions emerged: the Assembly, the Council of Five Hundred, and the courts. Every 10 days, the citizens of Athens gathered in the square to discuss matters of state. The Assembly was an influential force. Having subjugated all other branches of government by law, it began to decide matters of domestic and foreign policy, such as the election of high-ranking officials, the issuance of decrees, the declaration of war or peace, and so on. In between sessions, day-to-day affairs were handled by the Council of Five Hundred (the Boule). The large court consisted of about six thousand judges who were responsible for lawmaking and administration of justice.

Since there were no prosecutors or defense attorneys in court, any citizen had the right to accuse and defend, and could speak in his own defense to the best of his ability. Naturally, when everyone could actively participate in the life of the polis and express their point of view, such a democratic system often gave rise to heated debates and squabbles. For every Athenian, the ability to defend oneself, to utterly crush one's opponents in debate, to possess the gift of persuasion, and to speak eloquently became a primary necessity. For example, in the barracks-like Sparta, the highest authority was the people's assembly, but true governance lay in the hands of the king and the elders (Blavatskiy 1973). This may have happened because Sparta had no founders of the art of oratory that is, there were no orators. As for Athens, since all issues were discussed by the people and decisions had to be made publicly, it created favorable conditions for the emergence of oratory as a social phenomenon. Therefore, while scholars highly valued the art of oratory in Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, and India believing it was well-developed in those countries they considered ancient Greece to be the birthplace of oratory (Apresian 1978). The reason was that democracy reigned in the polis, and the ability to speak persuasively was essential not only for statesmen and

military leaders, but for every citizen of the city. Democracy and the freedom that accompanied it gave unprecedented power to the spoken word; it became necessary to master it as an art form, and G.Z. Apresyan is correct in his assessment that «Oratory is the child of democracy».

As scholars have noted, for a very long time even the finest examples of speech were not written down, and oratory existed solely in spoken form. It was only in the second half of the fifth century BC that theorists and practitioners of oratory the Sophists began to record and keep written accounts.

Among them were Alcides, Antiphon, Hippias, Gorgias, Critias, Prodicus, Protagoras, and others. In those days, the term «Sophists» came to refer to itinerant teachers who, for a fee, taught wisdom and the art of public speaking. The Sophists opposed nature to art, and they regarded language as an art. They believed it was impossible to know the truth, for there could be many conflicting opinions about the same phenomenon; therefore, the Sophists used various elaborate reasoning and conclusions to make people believe in deceptions. As humanists, the Sophists were interested in human problems and spiritual freedom. The main principle of the Sophists can be described as Protagoras's postulate: «Man is the measure of all things». (Freiberg 1975) Like other Sophists, Protagoras paid close attention to the psychological aspects of influencing the listener. Kora and Tisia are named as the authors of the first textbooks on rhetoric, the first teachers, and the founders of schools; those good deeds paved the way for enlightenment and led to the art of oratory becoming mandatory in the field of education and rising to a high level. We believe that the art of public speaking has embarked on the path of cultural enlightenment and has manifested itself in innovative directions.

Gorgias, a native of Leontina (who lived from 485 to 380 BC), is referred to as the father of rhetoric. He became famous not only for his great eloquence, but also for his exceptional teaching skills and his significant achievements in the teaching of oratory. According to researchers, he was the first to use stylistic devices that later came to be known as «Gorgianic ornaments». The main tenets of Gorgias's teachings such as the comparison of opposites (antithesis), the juxtaposition of concepts with opposite meanings (oxymoron), the assonance of the final words in a line, the play on consonant sounds (alliteration), and others are known from Plato's dialogue «Gorgias», since the works of the father of rhetoric have not survived.

According to scholars, logical proofs and dialogues of various forms are associated with the name of Socrates (469–399 BC). Socrates' philosophy is primarily focused on the human being and his soul; the soul, in turn, represents consciousness and the norms of humanity that is, the source of goodness,

providing an understanding of good and evil. Socrates believed that evil arises because people do not know what good is. Compared to the body, the soul requires greater care, and the body is considered the tomb of the soul. Many of Socrates' wise sayings have survived to this day: «Know thyself», «I know that I know nothing» (Orlov, Litvinova, and Krasnov 1995). Socrates' method (maieutics) consists of arriving at the truth through conversation, as a result of a person's self-examination. The wise man saw it as his duty to ensure that the questions he asked led to the desired answer, and for this reason he was an unrivaled master of posing questions. He compared the birth of truth to the birth of a child with the help of a midwife. Socrates sought paths to constant, enduring norms of humanity that could serve as a foundation for people. He never wrote down his thoughts. Although he was a brilliant academic master of oratory, he taught people in public places, squares, and marketplaces. We can find Socrates' thoughts in the works of his disciple Plato, the author of the theory of beauty and the theory of art, the founder of objective idealism, and a renowned orator (427–347 BC).

According to Asmus, Plato portrayed his outstanding Teacher in several dialogues. Thus, in the dialogue *The Symposium*, he depicts Socrates as gentle, friendly, unpretentious, and somewhat absurd. In the work *The Apology of Socrates*, he quotes the teacher's words before the judges. He was accused of impiety and corrupting the youth, and he was forced to speak in his own defense. His speech at the trial resembled an attack rather than a defense. In the works *Crito* and *Phaedo*, Plato writes that Socrates placed duty and obligation above his own life, and that he did not renounce his philosophical convictions even in the face of death.

Sentenced to death and forced to drink poison, Socrates found the strength in his final moments to comfort his students, lift their spirits, and bid them farewell. After Socrates' death, Plato left Athens, wandering and traveling for a long time. It is known that in 387 he founded the first professional academy.

Plato was not only a philosopher but also an excellent writer. His philosophical dialogues are written with great literary skill. Plato expresses his thoughts through metaphors, mythological devices, imagery, symbols, and comparisons. His works are distinguished not only by their logically structured compositions but also by their distinctive emotional depth, and they are organized into an introduction, exposition, argumentation, and conclusion. Plato expounded his theory of oratory in the dialogues *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus*. His other major works include *The Republic* and *The Statesman*. Plato's views differed from those of the Sophists. He believed that knowledge is not given to each individual separately, but to everyone. The purpose of knowledge is to comprehend the world of ideas, and a copy

of the world is given in the form of the surrounding environment. Plato paid great attention to the relationship between the individual and society. The philosopher's main idea regarding the state is to create an ideal, flawless political system; to this end, the ruling class, the military, workers, and manufacturers must fulfill their duties in such a way that all spheres are in harmony with one another. He wrote: «here are two constitutional orders: one where the rulers are above everything, and the other where laws are prescribed for the rulers as well» (Asmus 1975). Plato's works have made an immense and invaluable contribution to the development of humanity's philosophical and artistic thought and the formation of the art of oratory, and this is an irrefutable truth.

Creative endeavors and public service by Isocrates (436–338 BC) and Lysias (459–380 BC) played a significant role during the period of Greek independence. (Yarco 2002) What they had in common was that, although for various reasons they did not speak before the people themselves, the speeches they composed were executed with great skill.

Researchers note that Isocrates was a master of ceremonial (epideictic) speeches; he conveyed his speeches to the people in written form and headed a school of rhetoric. Lysias, on the other hand, prepared brilliant courtroom speeches for his clients. It is clear that this work required not only a superb command of oratory, but also a subtle understanding of psychology and an excellent knowledge of the lives of various social groups in society.

Another outstanding orator who made his own fortune was Demosthenes (384–322 BC). In our time, such people would be called self-made men. His name, known throughout the world, has become a byword for eloquence. As a result of Demosthenes's determined and selfless efforts, he became an example and a guiding light for those who believe they will never be able to speak in public. The historian Plutarch recounts in his book *Parallel Lives* that Demosthenes was born a frail, lisping child with a weak voice. Despite all these shortcomings, Demosthenes did not give up; through constant practice and self-improvement, he became a renowned political orator and a master of the art of public speaking (Plutarch 2006). His book *The Philippics*, directed against the aggressive policies of the Macedonian King Philip II, is an invaluable example of political oratory. We take this work as the basis for our study in identifying the genesis of the formation of oratory as a cultural phenomenon.

Aristotle (384–322 BC), an outstanding student of Plato and a polymath, was a contemporary of Demosthenes. Like Demosthenes, Aristotle was active during the decline of the polis. The subtle psychological observations in Aristotle's works, particularly in *Rhetoric*, are interwoven with his theory of passion, and in our time, when interest in classical humanistic rhetoric is

being revived, the significance of these works has not been lost (Malikova, Makulbekov, and Imanzhushyp 2019). In other words, here we have the opportunity to see a historical and cultural characterization of the art of oratory. It is quite clear that oratory, as a cultural phenomenon, is a temporal and spatial vision of human history, a manifestation of a people's social life, and a form of their public consciousness.

In those days (due to the decline of life in the polis) people began to seek to withdraw from public, civic, and family life. Wishing to free themselves from material and social dependence, they began to seek a happy life. A well-known representative of this philosophical school, Diogenes of Sinope (414–323 BC), content with little, lived in a barrel (Gubsky, Korableva, and Lutchenko 1994). Here we see an example of evidence from the natural history of culture, where the human tendency toward alienation and ascetic culture manifests itself.

It should be noted that Aristotle's fate is closely linked to that of Alexander the Great. In his youth, Aristotle served as Alexander's tutor for three years. After Alexander's death, Aristotle fell into disgrace and was forced to leave Athens (Kosolobova 2000). Aristotle is known as the founder of logic and the Lyceum. He bequeathed a rich legacy. His most famous works include *Metaphysics*, *Politics*, *Rhetoric*, *Physics*, *Economics*, and others. Aristotle's views on the knowledge of the world, the origin of art, and its significance have not lost their relevance and value to this day. Aristotle, asserting that art must be realistic, spoke of a special method of cognition, understanding that what matters is not its essence but the environment in which it is formed. In his view, works of art do indeed depict not what might have been, but what is or was, because they are not factual but man-made. Art, combining reality and play, can be both true and false. It depicts real processes, and therein lies its advantage over scientific precision. Works of art bring joy to the viewer and allow them to empathize with the characters; for example, tragedy offers the viewer catharsis, i.e. spiritual cleansing. Art has a profound influence on the spiritual growth of the individual and shapes a worldview rooted in goodness and virtue. Aristotle was the first to propose that what distinguishes humans from animals is reason and language, and that humans are social beings. The state, according to Aristotle, is a system that carries out necessary actions through language. In his work *Rhetoric*, he notes: «The orator expresses his thought in the opening address, then he expounds it, proves it, draws conclusions, presenting his thoughts clearly and accessibly, clothing them in a simple form (Orlov, Litvinova, and Krasnov 1995). Furthermore, he must master the art of emotionally influencing the listener». At the same time, Aristotle defines the basic concepts: «*logos* - logic, the choice of language; *pathos* - the orator's idea, his initial thought,

his motto; *ethos* - the appropriateness of the language to the audience, its relevance». Aristotle, being an excellent master of words himself, said that an orator must deeply feel a sense of responsibility toward people and is obligated to constantly improve himself. He believed that the purpose of oratory was to serve the cause of a better life and happiness for the people (Takho-Godi 1978). Scholars agree that Aristotle's works, devoted to many sciences (logic, mathematics, mechanics, politics, physics, etc.), systematize and deepen the scientific and philosophical ideas of the ancient Greek philosophers.

Beginning with Alexander the Great's campaign to the East and the creation of a vast empire (from the Danube to the Indian Ocean, from Egypt to Central Asia) during the Hellenistic period, Hellenic culture emerged as a result of the fusion of Greek culture with the cultures of the conquered peoples (Polevoy 1984). In our view, the decline of the democratic polis was accompanied by the disappearance of the roots of the art of oratory. During this period, new cities began to emerge; astronomy, mathematics, and mechanics arose; navigation began to develop; and the works of Archimedes (284–212 BC), Euclid, the founder of geometry (3rd century BC), Aristarchus of Samos (late 4th–early 3rd century BC), who proved the rotation of the Sun around the Earth and the Earth's rotation on its axis, and other scientific discoveries.

During the Hellenistic period, libraries and museums came into being. According to scholars, literature became more diverse, but its quality was inferior to that of classical literature. The collapse of the polis led to individualism and eclecticism in literature, art, and philosophy. Epicureanism, founded by Epicurus (341–270 BC), gained popularity. It is known that this philosophy made indifference and the enjoyment of life the norm.

During the Hellenistic era, as research shows, religion viewed the king as a god and promoted the worship of the monarch. Rhetoric lost its social significance and became an academic discipline within the educational system. The style that came from Asia began to prevail, characterized by its sound structure, ornate syntax, and elaborate decoration. Rhetoric was not studied to develop critical thinking; instead, texts that did not address specific issues were selected and memorized by heart.

In the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, following Rome's conquest of the Hellenistic states, it became a center of ancient culture. By the fifth century BC, Rome had developed into a city-state with a well-developed infrastructure. It was a city surrounded by stone fortress walls, equipped with an aqueduct system, and featuring a massive circus where gladiatorial combats were held. From the eighth to the fifth centuries BC, Rome saw seven rulers come and go. The last ruler, Tarquinius Superbus, was overthrown by a rebellious

populace in 510 BC. After that, Rome became an aristocratic slave-owning republic and subjugated the entire Apennine Peninsula (Losev 1989). As a result of its conquest of Greek cities, Rome encountered a more developed culture there, which in turn led to the fusion of many cultural elements - that is, to eclecticism (Ordasheva 2008).

For example, by the 4th century BC, Rome had its own professional theater and its own playwrights; the influence of Greek culture was clearly evident in all these innovations. Plautus, the author of many comedies, gave his characters Greek names, and the plots were set in Greek cities. As for Terence (195–159 BC), he created his comedies by adapting, in particular, the works of the Greek Menander. At the same time, Greek religion had a significant influence on Roman religion, as can be seen by comparing the gods: Jupiter as Zeus, Venus as Aphrodite, and so on. The Romans, distinguished by their pragmatism, had a highly developed legal system, and in our view, this phenomenon is closely linked to the art of oratory. One of the greatest achievements of ancient Rome - Roman law - had a major influence on global jurisprudence and the development of forensic oratory. As for philosophy, according to A.F. Losev, the Romans failed to create their own system. As for Epicureanism and Stoicism, these schools of thought - particularly the idea that the mind should be governed by the passions - were known only to the ruling elite (Emperor Marcus Aurelius). As for the development of the art of oratory in Rome, it became possible only due to the need of senators and influential figures for oratorical skill. As the republican government took shape, its leaders needed to master the art of persuasion in their addresses to the people, and this likely served as a catalyst for the development of oratory. During the Republic, slaves from conquered Greek states, along with material and artistic treasures, were brought to Rome following military campaigns and brilliant victories. Gaius Julius Caesar, an orator, skilled military leader, and dictator (100–44 BC), actively pursued the internal and foreign policies of the state.

By the end of the first century BC, civil wars had brought the Republic to ruin. In place of Caesar's military dictatorship under a republican form, a hereditary dictatorship the principate emerged. From 31 BC onward, the Roman state transformed into a vast empire that included the conquered regions of the Eastern Mediterranean, parts of Europe, and parts of North Africa. In addition to Rome, the empire included the cities of Alexandria, Athens, and Carthage, which, as in earlier times, remained centers of philosophical inquiry. An outstanding philosopher, statesman, jurist, writer, and renowned orator and a contemporary of Caesar - Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) embraced the ideas of Greek philosophy and, in his writings, revealed the distinctive features of the Roman worldview. In his understanding, the world

was created by God, time was born of eternity, and the soul manifests itself in human activity. He sees the perfect person in the unity of virtuous deeds: wisdom, heroism, justice, and equanimity. Philosophy and rhetoric, in his view, form a single science. All of these views of Cicero are reflected in his works, such as *Brutus*, *On the Orator*, *The Orator*, and others. It is known that Cicero was the head of a school of oratory, where he also taught. He highly valued in speech the delicacy, precision, conciseness, and authority of the orator. According to Cicero, an orator must hold an active civic stance, and his interests must be wide-ranging.

CONCLUSION

The words used by an orator when speaking before an audience have three levels: the highest, the middle, and the lowest. Compared to other words, they should be delivered in a slightly higher tone. Nevertheless, as Cicero noted, the words spoken to an audience must be accessible, systematic, well-thought-out, appealing, and expressed in a simple form.

Thus, in ancient Greece and later in Rome during the heyday of democracy, with the aim of improving humanity and society, the art of oratory—as an essential tool involved in all areas of public life - solidified its position and began to develop extraordinarily rapidly and fruitfully. In our view, democracy and the freedom that people gained gave speech great strength and power; the opportunity arose to use speech at the level of art, so defining oratory as a product of democracy, as its «child», is entirely logical.

Oratory appeared alongside social mechanisms and spiritual phenomena in public life, in close interaction with the achievements of political organization, as a distinct form of spiritual and practical life within the framework of ancient democracy, and began to develop successfully. It should be noted that this form, both as a spiritual and cultural product that emerged in ancient Greece and as a significant cultural issue concerning human values, came to the forefront.

The cultural heritage of the ancient Greek and Roman states had an enormous influence on the development of world culture, researchers note, and this is true. For example, it is well known that the wanderings of Odysseus and his return after the Trojan War, described in Homer's works (8th century BC) - the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are priceless creations that have survived to this day.

The findings demonstrate that oratory functions not only as an artistic and linguistic practice but also as a cultural institution that preserves collective memory, transmits values and shapes public consciousness. The interdisciplinary interpretation proposed in this article expands existing

approaches to rhetorical studies and contributes to a broader understanding of oratory as a phenomenon situated at the intersection of culture, communication and civilization.

Summarizing the above, it should be noted that we have analyzed oratory art as a cultural and historical phenomenon and as a natural entity - in light of the following conceptual frameworks of ontogenesis: «oratory as a phenomenon of civilization», «oratory as culture», «history as a mechanism of oratory skill», and «oratory skill as a historical continuum of space». At the same time, we have examined oratory from the perspective of cultural understanding. Proof of this lies in the emergence of the first theaters and the birth of poetry. Speaking of Roman oratory, since Rome was an empire, the art of oratory served the empire that is, the interests of one well-known part of it. A cohort of religious orators emerged. Considering the foregoing, we acknowledge that oratory, which developed within the spiritual realms of the common good, requires study as a phenomenon distinguished by national peculiarities.

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ETYMOLOGY OF THE TERM «ESTEK» IN THE KAZAKH ORAL TRADITION AND FOLKLORE

Abstract. This article examines the main findings of a study of the term «estek» in the oral history and traditions of the Kazakh people. The study focused on the oral narratives of the Kazakhs in which the term «estek» is widely used. The relevance of the study is justified by the urgent need to investigate the nature ethnic identities and nationalisms, which are derivatives of social identities. The aim of the article is to determine the origin and meaning of the term «estek», as transmitted (and currently still being transmitted) in the oral historical tradition of the Kazakh people. The author of the article utilised a broad range of ethnographic sources and materials. The primary research methods employed were both general scientific methods of analysis and specialised scientific methods, namely comparative and historical method.

The research concludes that throughout its long development and evolution, the term «estek» has acquired various connotations without changing its own semantic class as exonym, endonym, and subsequently socionym. Of greatest interest is the use of the term to denote a social category, despite the fact that, according to oral narratives, the term «estek» was predominantly an exonym among the Kazakhs.

Keywords: *oral historical tradition, traditional worldview, ethnogenesis, ethnonym, exonym, the Turkic people, the Ugrians, the Kazakhs, shezhire, estek.*

Рүстем Досмырзинов

ҚАЗАҚ АУЫЗША ДӘСТҮРІ МЕН ФОЛЬКЛОРЫНДАҒЫ «ЕСТЕК» ҰҒЫМЫНЫҢ ЭТИМОЛОГИЯСЫ

Аңдатпа. Бұл мақалада қазақ халқының ауызша тарихы мен дәстүрінде кездесетін «естек» терминін зерттеудің негізгі нәтижелері қарастырылады. Зерттеудің басты нысаны ретінде «естек» термині кеңінен қолданылатын қазақ халқының ауызша тарихи әңгімелері, этнографиялық деректер мен дәстүрлі тарихи таным үлгілері алынды. Зерттеу тақырыбының өзектілігі әлеуметтік бірегейліктің маңызды көріністері болып саналатын этникалық бірегейлік пен ұлтшылдықтың қалыптасу табиғатын, сондай-ақ олардың тарихи-мәдени негіздерін зерделеу қажеттілігімен айқындалады. Осы тұрғыдан алғанда, халықтың тарихи жадында сақталған этнонимдік және әлеуметтік атаулардың мазмұнын зерттеу этникалық қатынастар мен бірегейліктің қалыптасу ерекшеліктерін түсінуге мүмкіндік береді.

Зерттеу барысында автор этнографиялық дереккөздер мен материалдардың кең ауқымын пайдаланды. Негізгі зерттеу әдістері ретінде жалпы ғылыми талдау әдістерімен қатар арнайы ғылыми әдістер, атап айтқанда, салыстырмалы және тарихи әдістер қолданылды.

Зерттеу нәтижелері «естек» терминінің ұзақ тарихи даму мен эволюция барысында өзінің негізгі семантикалық сипатын сақтай отырып, экзоним, эндоним және кейіннен соционим ретінде әртүрлі мағыналық реңктерге ие болғанын көрсетеді. Терминнің әлеуметтік категорияны белгілеу мақсатында қолданылуы ерекше ғылыми қызығушылық тудырады. Сонымен қатар ауызша тарихи деректерді талдау «естек» терминінің қазақтар арасында басым түрде экзоним ретінде қолданылғанын көрсетеді.

Түйін сөздер: *ауызша тарихи дәстүр, дәстүрлі дүниетаным, этногенез, этноним, экзоэтноним, түркілер, ұғырлар, қазақтар, шежіре, естек.*

Рустем Досмурзинов

ЭТИМОЛОГИЯ ТЕРМИНА «ЕСТЕК» В УСТНОЙ КАЗАХСКОЙ ТРАДИЦИИ И ФОЛЬКЛОРЕ

Аннотация. В статье представлены основные результаты изучения термина «естек» в устной историологии и традиции казахского народа. Предметом исследования выступили устные нарративы казахов, в которых встречается и применяется термин «естек», а также связанные с ним представления, сформировавшиеся в процессе исторического раз-

вития и межэтнического взаимодействия. Актуальность исследования обосновывается необходимостью изучения природы этнических идентичностей и национализмов, выступающих производными социальных идентичностей, а также определения роли традиционных наименований в формировании представлений об этнических и социальных группах. Обращение к материалам устной исторической традиции позволяет рассмотреть особенности сохранения, передачи и трансформации подобных терминов в коллективной памяти казахского народа. Цель статьи – определить происхождение, содержание и значение термина «естек», транслировавшегося и продолжающего транслироваться в устной исторической традиции казахского народа. Автором статьи использован широкий корпус этнографических источников и материалов. Методологическую основу исследования составили общенаучный метод анализа, а также специально-научный сравнительно-исторический (этнографический) метод, позволивший проследить особенности употребления и смысловой трансформации исследуемого понятия в исторической перспективе.

Исследователь пришел к выводу о том, что термин «естек» на протяжении своего длительного развития и эволюции приобретал различные коннотации, не меняя собственного семантического класса и выступая в различных контекстах как экзоним, эндоэтноним, а затем и соционим. Наибольший научный интерес вызывает употребление данного термина в качестве обозначения социальной категории. Вместе с тем материалы устных нарративов свидетельствуют о том, что в казахской традиции термин «естек» преимущественно функционировал как экзоэтноним.

Ключевые слова: устная историческая традиция, традиционное мировоззрение, этногенез, этноним, экзоэтноним, тюрки, угры, казахи, шежіре, естек.

INTRODUCTION

In the oral historical tradition, folk art and genealogies of the Kazakh people, ethnographers and folklorists often encounters the names of various ancient and modern ethnic groups, such as «*qyzylbas*» (Kyzylbash; the Persians), «*orys*» (the Russians), «*qalmaq*» (the Kalmyks), «*shurshit*» (the Manchus; the Kazakhs also used this term for the Chinese) (Artykbaev 2012, 423). It is believed that the term «*estek*» (semantic variations of the word are «*sary estek*», «*istek*») was used by the Kazakhs to refer to the Bashkirs and certain ethnic groups that formed part of the population of the Siberian

Khanate (1468–1598) (Artykbaev 2012, 251). Nevertheless, its origin and original meaning remain largely unclear.

The relevance of this study is grounded in the need to examine the nature of ethnic identities and nationalisms, which, in turn, are derivatives of social identities. The aim of this study is to determine the historical roots of the term «estek» in the verbal tradition of the Kazakhs and its specific meaning. To achieve this, the researcher has identified the following objectives: 1) theoretical and methodological objectives, i.e. overcoming the limitations of semantic analysis; the correct application of the civilisational approach in comparative and historical research; 2) empirical and analytical tasks, i.e. identifying reliable information and materials for qualitative research; conducting a preliminary analysis of oral narratives.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The author of the article drew on a wide range of ethnographic sources and materials. The main research methods employed were both general scientific analysis and the specialised comparative-historical method. By analysing materials and oral narratives of the Kazakh, Bashkir and Russian peoples, the researcher outlines various accounts of the term «estek». The comparative-historical method has revealed similarities or even kinship between the term across different peoples, taking a new step towards the further reconstruction of historical and cultural processes. Subsistence in the context of a specific geographical environment («local development»; in a broader sense, «civilization») (Savitsky 1927, 29), (Fernandez-Armesto 2001, 12) across the Eurasian space predetermined the emergence, formation and subsequent development of the term.

In the process of developing the identity of a particular ethnic group, people or nation, the distinction between «in-group» and «out-group» is of significant importance. In the author's view, the influence of a unique geographical environment – referred to by representatives of the Eurasian movement as «place-development» – played a significant role in the formation and evolution of the term «estek». The life-support systems that developed within this specific 'place and development' and under the conditions of a particular economic and cultural type predetermined the course of ethno-cultural processes in the Eurasian (Turanian) space.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The history of study can be divided into two groups – ancient studies and modern researchers. It should be noted that the descriptions of Scythia («*Ishkuza*», «*Iskit*» in the Old Greek; «*Saka*» for the ancient Persians) in the

works of the ancient Greek historian Herodotus drew researchers' attention to the existence in the antiquity of several dozen peoples across the vast Eurasian steppes, such as the Royal Scythians, the Sauromatians, the Massagetae, the Alans and others. It is likely that not all of them spoke Indo-Iranian languages. Thus, according to Herodotus himself, the language of the Sauromatians was Scythian, «but they have spoken it with errors for a long time» (Herodotus 1972, 176).

We shall therefore turn to the available written sources regarding the possible ancestors of the «Aestii» people (clan union). In the works of Tacitus (late 1st century), the «land of the Esti tribes» is described on the right bank of the Baltic Sea (Tacitus 1937, 80), (Jovaiša 2022, 345). The «Aestii» (identified with the Estonians) occupied the entire eastern coast from the mouth of the Vistula to the Gulf of Finland. Tacitus noted that «they worship the mother of the gods and wear images of wild boars as a symbol of their beliefs. They rarely use iron weapons, but often clubs. They labour with great patience to produce bread and other fruits of the earth. They also search the sea and, unlike anyone else, gather amber on its shoals and even on the very shore» (Tacitus 1937, 80).

The certain elements of this description, particularly the references to the veneration of wild boars and the language, point to a Celtic culture. The cult of the bear is characteristic of the worldview of the Ugric peoples, as it is of many peoples of Siberia. Therefore, the question of correlating the «Aestii» mentioned by Tacitus with peoples known today, including the hypothetical ancestors of the «Esti» among the Kazakhs, is problematic.

Modern researches linked with works of Kazakhstani and foreign scientists. According to the conclusion of the renowned folklore researcher – the Bashkir historian and ethnographer Rail Kuzeev – the early stages of the ethnic history of the Bashkirs are characterised by a mixture of Turkic and Ugric tribes (Kuzeev 2010, 273). The term «estek» served as an ethnonym for one or more Ugric tribes known to the Proto-Turks, who disseminated and preserved it for the «forest» population of the Trans-Urals. Therefore cannot be excluded the significant role of the Ugric tribes in the early stages of the ethnogenesis of the Bashkir people that gave the Kazakhs grounds to use the term «estek» in reference to them, a term passed down to them from their ancestors. Although, as noted above, such a claim requires unequivocal proof of the Ugric origin of the term «estek».

The works of significant historiographical importance proved highly useful during the research, such the works of Herodotus and Tacitus (ancient era), as well as those of Soviet and Russian historians R. G. Kuzeev, A. V. Golovnev, G. H. Samigulov, D. N. Maslyuzhenko, and Kazakhstani ethnologists Zh. O. Artykbayev, Zh. M. Sabitov, A. H. Ryskildin, and D. U.

Ryskildina (Aksanov 2019). In the course of the study, the author of the article presented various interpretations of the probable correlation (identification) of «estek» among the Kazakh people and ethnic groups and peoples known in the past and present.

RESULTS

The text of the work cited above explores concepts such as the importance of love for one's homeland, honourable competition and justice. The oral folk narratives suggest that one cannot be a true ruler in diverse countries and among different peoples without respecting their customs and traditions. There are many countries and peoples in the world, but none can compare to one's own country and people. The value of «*shezhire*» materials lies precisely in the fact that they convey traditional Kazakh worldview concepts regarding the surrounding world, societies and cultures.

The narratives cited above demonstrate variations in the incorporation of non-ethnic groups within a patriarchal social structure – brotherhood, marital and kinship ties, and adoption. Nevertheless, it should also be borne in mind that the term «estek» did not always denote origin from a particular ethnic or social group, nor did it always function as a proper name. For example, the batyr called as Estekbay Besbayuly (1650–1725) came from the Jagalbaily clan, whilst the batyr Bukharbay Estekbayuly (1822–1898) was a member of the Tabyñ clan of the Junior Zhuz of the Kazakhs (Bektürsynov 2021, 114).

ANALYSIS

As mentioned above, it was primarily the Kazakhs who used the term «estek» to refer to the Bashkirs. The Bashkir ethnonym is widely known – «*bashqort*» (it was recorded in written sources of the 9th–10th centuries under the terms «*bashgird*», «*bashkerd*», «*bashjert*», «*bashjart*») (Bikbulatov et al. 2002, 6). However, whether the term «estek» was in use as an ethnonym for the Bashkirs, although the cognate name «*ishtyak*» has been preserved in Bashkir genealogies («*shejere*») (Bikbulatov et al. 2002, 6).

It should be noted that the terms «estek» and «ostyak» are phonetically similar. The Russians used the term «ostyak», as did earlier representatives of various Turkic peoples, to refer to the modern Khants, Kets, Yugs, and the northern and southern Selkups (Novitsky 1884, 7). A much older term, used in the past by the Russians to refer to the ancestors of the modern peoples of the Baltic-Finnic group, is «chud» («*chukhnu*»; hence the old Russian name for Estonians is «*Chukhonci*»). Originally, the term was used as a general name for numerous Uralic peoples, such as the «Vod», «Ves» («*Veps*»), «Sum» (the Finns), «Em», «Korela», «Izhora», «Esti» and others. Later, this exonym was

also applied to the territory of Western Siberia. In the 18th–19th centuries, various legends and tales were widespread concerning the rich ‘*Chud’ mines*’ located in the Urals and Siberia (Kuzin 1961, 3).

Kazakh historical tradition preserves accounts of a mysterious people known as the «*myq*» («*mug*», «*mag*»), who are said to have inhabited the Kazakh steppes prior to the arrival of the Kazakhs (Köpeyuly 2010, 29). According to Kazakh legends, these were people of small stature who built semi-underground dwellings and passageways leading to their homes. For unknown reasons (in the Siberian legends – when the Russian tsar arrived), these mysterious people buried themselves alive in their homes. It is worth noting that such stories are similar to the legends about the «*Sikhirtya*» people in the Nenets mythology (Golovnev, Zaitsev, Pribyl’skiy 1994, 1).

Funeral enclosures, now classified by researchers as belonging to the Bronze Age, were known in ancient times by the Kazakhs as «*myqtyń uyi*» (literally, «the house of the *Myq* people»). Consequently, the Kazakhstani historian and ethnographer Zh. O. Artykbayev uses a specific term in his works on the oral history of the Kazakhs to denote the Bronze Age: «*myq zamany*» («the era of the *Myq* people») (Artykbayev 2012, 66). Nevertheless, there are still insufficient scientific arguments to identify the ancient semi-legendary population of the Kazakh steppes with any of the currently existing ethnic groups.

It is evident that the question of the origin of the steppe and forest-steppe peoples cannot be fully resolved, as the question of the origin of the population of the Andronovo (Aryan) cultural and historical community remains unresolved to this day. Some researchers have pointed to the Indo-Iranian origin of the Andronovo people, whilst others have argued for two genetically unrelated the Indo-Iranian (the Alakul people; the main type of burial rite being burial) and the Ugric (the Fedorovo people; the main type of burial rite being cremation) (Kuzmina 1994, 16).

Contemporary Russian historians G. H. Samigulov and D. N. Maslyuzhenko consider it entirely plausible that, in the medieval period, the term «*ishtek*» might have denoted a certain community; however, whether it was ethnic in nature, constituted a tribal confederation, or represented a clan group remains unknown (Samigulov and Maslyuzhenko 2019, 47).

Based on an analysis of 16th-century Russian written sources, the aforementioned researchers concluded that the term «*ishtek*» often denoted a social category, i.e. the tax-paying, tribute-paying population (Samigulov and Maslyuzhenko 2019, 52). To a certain extent, A. H. Ryskildin, D. U. Ryskildina, who proposed a combination of various political and ethnic transformations as the basis for understanding the term «*ishtek*» as a politonym, ethnonym and genonym, i.e. the thesis that the term in question changed its meaning

over a long period (Ryskildin and Ryskildina 2021, 103). Thus, the Russian scientists use the term «*ishtek*», the Kazakhstani researchers implement the term «*estek*».

The ethnogenesis of many large peoples was a multi-stage process of synthesis (fusion) of various ethnic groups (tribes, ethnic groups) based on a common ethnic core. As inter-ethnic contacts developed and expanded, and due to various historical circumstances and events, parts and individual groups of some ethnic groups became part of others. Thus, the «*shezhire*» of the Kazakhs incorporated clans of the Kyrgyzs (*Kyrgyz*), the Turkmens (*Turikpen*, Turkmen), the descendants of the old Iranian-speaking population of the cities and urban areas (*Sart*), the Circassians (*Sherkesh*) and the Russians (*Orys*) (Artykbaev 2012, 422).

In Kazakh genealogical sources, «*estek*» appears as the name of several clans, primarily those belonging to the *Kishi Zhuz* (clan union). The Kete tribe, part of the Alimuly tribal confederation, included the «*estek*» sub-clan, which had the following sub-divisions: Balta, Sary, and Zhaman «*estek*» (Seidimbek 2008, 80).

According to the *shezhire*, the «*Estek-Kete*» clan (part of the large Alimuly Alshyn clan) emerged among the Kazakhs after Azhibay biy (the ruler) adopted three people from «*estek*» (the Bashkirs) called as Balta, Sary and Zhaman. In some versions, the account refers to five Bashkirs, three of whom remained with the Kazakhs and became the founders of the clan, whilst two left no descendants or lived separately from the *Estek-Kete* (furthermore, the *Estek-Kerei* were part of the khan's Tolengut guard). The arrival of the *Estek* is linked to the Bashkir uprisings of the 1730s and/or 1770s, the suppression of which caused an exodus of rebels into the steppe. However, these were not ordinary migrants, but warriors bound to the Kazakhs by alliance and battle. For example, in 1771, the Kazakh khan Nuraly granted land holdings to the *Estek-Kete* clan after Karmys, son of Balta batyr, defeated a Kalmyk warrior in single combat, securing victory for the Kazakhs over the Kalmyks (Golovnev 2020, 566).

In one account, Balta batyr is described as a comrade-in-arms and relative of Salavat Yulaev, who later took refuge in the Kazakh steppes with his relatives and friends. The Kazakhs themselves took part in the Bashkir uprisings: according to one legend, Balta batyr was not a Bashkir at all, but a Kazakh from the Qarakesek Argyn clan of the *Orta Zhuz*, who arrived in Bashkiria in the 1730s alongside the Kazakh khan Sameke to aid the rebellious Bashkir batyr Karasakal; in this version, Balta was an *Estek* not by origin but by nickname, which he earned on his campaign to Bashkiria upon returning to the *Kishi Zhuz* to Azhibay biy.

Another legend presents the ancestors of the *Estek-Kete* not as Bashkirs,

but as the Kazakhs who visited Bashkiria during the '*Shandy zhoryq*' of 1771 and returned to the steppe with the nickname '*estek*'. Finally, there is a legend that directly indicates the origins of the five warriors who came into the service of Azhibay biy (the ruler): one of them was a Bashkir, and the rest were a Nogai, a Turkmen and two Kazakhs (Golovnev 2020, 566).

It should be noted that there is a locality in the Aktobe Region of Kazakhstan known as «*Qosestek*». Members of the clan live in various districts of the Aktobe Region. There are three versions of the clan's origins. According to one version, in ancient times two Bashkir brothers settled in these parts, and their descendants were subsequently named as «*Qos Estek*» by the local Kazakhs. According to another version, the ancestor of the Akkoian clan was a Bashkir, and the ancestor of the Turkmen clan was a Turkmen. Their descendants settled in the territory between the modern cities of Aktobe and Orsk (Zhamanqala) – in the area known as '*Qosestek*' (Sabitov 2019, 117).

The materials described above should be supplemented with previously unknown archival information. In the Ottoman archives, researchers discovered a letter from the Kazakh khan Kayip (1650–1718) to the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed III (1673–1736). In the letter, the Kazakh khan informs the Ottoman Sultan of the Bashkir uprising and proposes forming a military alliance to come to their aid: «Let it be known to Your Most Noble Majesty that between our state and the Muscovite (Moscow) state there is a territory known as '*Aka Ashtak*'. Its inhabitants are all Sunnis. Previously, when this territory lay in ruins, Moscow conquered it by force. Since then, they have been subjects of Moscow and pay it tribute (*baj*). Now, however, this people, with all their army and banner, having been frightened by Moscow, have moved to us, inflamed by the Muslim faith. ...If we act together, we shall inflict damage on the territories...» (Erofeeva 2014, 93). As can be seen from the text above, the term '*Aka Ashtak*' functioned both as a toponym and, to some extent, as a politonym.

It should be emphasised that the term in question was widely used in Kazakh folk poetry. Upon learning of the marriage of his younger brother Bayyk's son, Tayip, in the Bashkir steppes, the Kazakh *jyrau* (poet) Bukhar Kalkamanuly (1693–1787) uttered the following words:

Estek boldyñ, bar boldyñ,
(you have become a member of another nation),
Keñ dalada zar boldyñ.
(you need a help out here in the vast steppe),
Özine zhumbaq ajtajyn,

Tapsam, ūlym etejin.
Tappasañ, qūlym etejin,
 (I will tell you a riddle,
 If you solve it, I will make you my son,
 If you don't solve it, I will make you my slave),
Kündız qojdy küzetersin.
Keshke zhündı tütersin,
Ujqym keldi demessin.
Kündız damyl etersin,
Keñ dalada qos agash.
 (By day you will tend the sheep,
 By evening you will shear the wool,
 By day you will find no rest,
 Two trees grow in the vast steppe),
Qos agashtyñ qos basy,
Bir qazanğa syjmastaj.
Qos qoshqardyn qos basy,
Bar eken el qasqasy.
 (The crowns of two trees can't grow together,
 They can't find a common place in a single pot,
 The heads of two rams,
 They can't find a common place in a single pot,
 There are places where distinguished people live),
Tūrgan bejne taqyrğa,
Ala böten qaq emes.
Aj men kündej ekeui,
Zhalgyz-zhalqy taq emes.
 (This image is nothing new,
 Two months and two days come up even) (Artykbayev 2012, 490).

According to folklore, a true leader must respect the traditions and practices of his own and other peoples. There are many countries and peoples in the world, but none can compare to one's own. The issue of ethnonyms, endonyms and exonyms is explored from a new perspective within a spiritual culture.

CONCLUSION

Thus, this study has shown that the term of «*estek*» was used in a broad multi-ethnic and multicultural context as an exonym, an endonym, and later also as a socionym. Folklore suggested that respect for the customs and traditions of various peoples and nations is essential to being a true ruler. The world is full of nations and peoples, but none of them can match one's own. The reason of Kazakh «*shezhire*» materials are valuable is because they express traditional perspectives on the environment, societies, and cultures.

The researcher has determined the following goals in order to accomplish this: 1) theoretical and methodological goals, such as overcoming semantic analysis's limitations and correctly applying the civilizational approach in historical and comparative research; 2) empirical and analytical tasks, such as locating trustworthy data and resources for qualitative research and performing an initial analysis of oral narratives.

Both broad scientific analysis and the specialized comparative-historical method were used as the primary study techniques. The researcher describes different interpretations of the term «*estek*» by examining sources and oral histories of the Kazakh, Bashkir, and Russian peoples. A new step toward the further reconstruction of historical and cultural processes has been taken by the comparative-historical method, which has shown parallels or even kinship between the term across many peoples.

The formation and evolution of the term «*estek*», denoting the ancient population of the transit territory, was determined by the specific features of the «*place and development*» (in Kazakh is translated as «*ölkeniñ damuy*») and traditional subsistence systems. Further research into the oral historical tradition of the Kazakh people, combined with new advances in archaeology and the ethnography of the steppe and forest-steppe regions of Eurasia, will shed a new light on this scientific issue.

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МРНТИ
03.20:[https://doi.org/ 10.71191/3104-459X.2026.3.3.003](https://doi.org/10.71191/3104-459X.2026.3.3.003)**Керимсал Жубатканов***кандидат исторических наук, доцент**Казахский агротехнический научно-исследовательский университет**им. С. Сейфуллина**Астана, Казахстан**e-mail: kerimsal.zhubatkanov@mail.ru**<https://orcid.org/0009-0001-0387-7997>***МАНАШ КОЗЫБАЕВ И ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ НОВОЙ
ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ НАУКИ КАЗАХСТАНА**

Аннотация. В статье рассматривается научное наследие выдающегося казахстанского историка, академика Манаша Кабашевича Козыбаева (1931–2002), его вклад в развитие отечественной исторической науки и формирование новых методологических подходов к изучению национальной истории. Анализируются основные направления научно-исследовательской деятельности ученого, включая историю Великой Отечественной войны, историографию и источниковедение, национально-освободительные движения, историю движения Алаш и Алаш-Орды, проблемы коллективизации, массового голода, политических репрессий, исторической памяти и национальной идентичности. Особое внимание уделяется научной и общественной деятельности М. Козыбаева в условиях общественно-политических преобразований конца 1980-х – 1990-х гг., сопровождавшихся переосмыслением советского исторического наследия и становлением независимого Казахстана. Раскрывается роль ученого в пересмотре устоявшихся историографических концепций, преодолении идеологических ограничений и расширении источниковой базы исторических исследований. Подчеркивается его стремление к объективному освещению сложных и противоречивых периодов отечественной истории, восстановлению исторической справедливости и возвращению в научный оборот ранее замалчивавшихся сюжетов. Рассматривается значение научных трудов М. Козыбаева для развития национального исторического сознания, сохранения исторической памяти и утверждения новых исследовательских ориентиров. Обосновывается положение о том, что научная деятельность академика оказала существенное влияние на становление современной казахстанской исторической школы, развитие историографической мысли и формирование концептуальных основ изучения истории Казахстана в постсоветский период.

Ключевые слова: Манаш Козыбаев, история Казахстана, историография, источниковедение, национально-освободительное движение, Алаш, историческая память, национальная идентичность, историческая наука.

Керімсал Жұбатқанов

МАНАШ ҚОЗЫБАЕВ ЖӘНЕ ҚАЗАҚСТАННЫҢ ЖАҢА ТАРИХ ҒЫЛЫМЫН ҚАЛЫПТАСТЫРУ

Аңдатпа. Мақалада көрнекті қазақстандық тарихшы, академик Манаш Қабашұлы Қозыбаевтың (1931–2002) ғылыми мұрасы, оның отандық тарих ғылымының дамуына және ұлттық тарихты зерттеудің жаңа әдіснамалық тәсілдерін қалыптастыруға қосқан үлесі қарастырылады. Ғалымның ғылыми-зерттеу қызметінің негізгі бағыттары, атап айтқанда, Ұлы Отан соғысының тарихы, тарихнама және деректану, ұлт-азаттық қозғалыстар, Алаш қозғалысы мен Алаш Орда тарихы, ұжымдастыру, жаппай ашаршылық, саяси қуғын-сүргін, тарихи жады және ұлттық бірегейлік мәселелері талданады. 1980-жылдардың соңы мен 1990-жылдардағы кеңестік тарихи мұраны қайта пайымдау және тәуелсіз Қазақстанның қалыптасу кезеңіндегі қоғамдық-саяси өзгерістер жағдайында М. Қозыбаевтың ғылыми және қоғамдық қызметіне ерекше назар аударылады. Ғалымның қалыптасқан тарихнамалық тұжырымдамаларды қайта қараудағы, идеологиялық шектеулерді еңсерудегі және тарихи зерттеулердің деректік негізін кеңейтудегі рөлі ашып көрсетіледі. Оның отандық тарихтың күрделі әрі қайшылықты кезеңдерін объективті тұрғыдан зерделеуге, тарихи әділеттілікті қалпына келтіруге, бұрын назардан тыс қалған сюжеттерді ғылыми айналымға енгізуге ұмтылысы айқындалады. М. Қозыбаевтың ғылыми еңбектерінің ұлттық тарихи сананы дамытудағы, тарихи жадыны сақтаудағы және жаңа зерттеу бағдарларын орнықтырудағы маңызы қарастырылады. Академиктің ғылыми қызметі қазіргі қазақстандық тарих мектебінің қалыптасуына, тарихнамалық ойдың дамуына және посткеңестік кезеңдегі Қазақстан тарихын зерттеудің тұжырымдамалық негіздерін айқындауға елеулі ықпал еткені негізделеді.

Түйін сөздер: Манаш Қозыбаев, Қазақстан тарихы, тарихнама, деректану, ұлт-азаттық қозғалыс, Алаш, тарихи жады, ұлттық бірегейлік, тарихи ғылым.

Kerimsal Zhubatkanov

MANASH KOZYBAYEV AND THE FORMATION OF A NEW HISTORICAL SCIENCE OF KAZAKHSTAN

Abstract. The article examines the scholarly legacy of the prominent Kazakhstani historian, Academician Manash Kabashevich Kozybayev (1931–2002), his contribution to the development of historical scholarship in Kazakhstan, and his role in shaping new methodological approaches to the study of national history. The main areas of his scholarly research are analyzed, including the history of the Great Patriotic War, historiography and source studies, national liberation movements, the history of the Alash movement and Alash Orda, collectivization, mass famine, political repression, historical memory, and national identity. Particular attention is paid to Kozybayev's scholarly and public activities during the socio-political transformations of the late 1980s and 1990s, a period marked by the reassessment of the Soviet historical legacy and the emergence of independent Kazakhstan. The article explores the scholar's role in revising established historiographical interpretations, overcoming ideological constraints, and expanding the source base of historical research. It highlights his commitment to an objective examination of complex and controversial periods of Kazakhstan's history, the restoration of historical justice, and the introduction of previously neglected historical events. The significance of Kozybayev's scholarly works for the development of national historical consciousness, the preservation of historical memory, and the establishment of new research perspectives is also considered. The article argues that the academician's scholarly activities significantly influenced the formation of the modern Kazakhstani school of historical scholarship, the development of historiographical thought, and the conceptual foundations for studying Kazakhstan's history in the post-Soviet period.

Keywords: *Manash Kozybaev, history of Kazakhstan, historiography, source studies, national liberation movement, Alash, historical memory, national identity, historical scholarship.*

ВВЕДЕНИЕ

История отечественной исторической науки Казахстана второй половины XX – начала XXI в. неразрывно связана с именем академика Манаша Кабашевича Козыбаева. Его научная деятельность охватила несколько поколений исследователей и пришлась на сложный период трансформации общественных представлений о прошлом. Козыбаев был не только автором многочисленных исследований, но и организатором науки, руководителем научных коллективов, редактором фундаментальных изданий, педагогом и общественным деятелем.

Манаш Козыбаев родился 16 ноября 1931 г. В 1969 г. защитил докторскую диссертацию, в 1970 г. получил звание профессора. В 1989 г. был избран академиком Академии наук Казахской ССР. С 1988 г. и до конца жизни возглавлял Институт истории и этнологии имени Ч. Ч. Валиханова (Университет имени М. Козыбаева, б. г.). Значительная часть его научного наследия была опубликована уже в годы независимости Казахстана. По данным биографических материалов ученого, он является автором более 800 научных и научно-популярных работ, включая около 30 монографий (Университет имени М. Козыбаева, б. г.).

Научная биография Козыбаева представляет особый интерес потому, что в ней отразилась эволюция отечественной историографии от советской модели к современной национальной исторической науке. Именно поэтому изучение наследия ученого является не только задачей истории науки, но и важным элементом осмысления формирования современной исторической памяти Казахстана.

МЕТОДЫ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

Методологическую основу исследования составляют историко-научный, историко-генетический, историко-сравнительный, историографический и проблемно-хронологический методы, а также методы анализа и синтеза научной литературы. Применение историко-генетического метода позволило проследить основные этапы становления и развития научных взглядов академика М. К. Козыбаева, выявить изменения в тематике и методологических подходах его исследований в советский период и годы независимости Казахстана. Проблемно-хронологический метод использован для систематизации научного наследия ученого по основным направлениям его деятельности, включая историю Великой Отечественной войны, национально-освободительных движений, коллективизации, голода, политических репрессий и исторической памяти.

Историографический анализ позволил определить место трудов М. Козыбаева в развитии отечественной исторической науки, раскрыть особенности пересмотра сложившихся исторических концепций и оценить его вклад в формирование новых исследовательских подходов. Историко-сравнительный метод применен для сопоставления научных позиций ученого в различные периоды его деятельности, выявления преемственности и изменений в интерпретации ключевых событий истории Казахстана. Метод анализа научного наследия использован при изучении монографий, избранных трудов, биобиблиографических материалов и публикаций, посвященных научной и общественной деятельности историка.

Комплексное применение указанных методов позволило рассмотреть научную деятельность М. Козыбаева в контексте трансформации казахстанской историографии конца XX века, определить основные направления его исследовательских поисков и раскрыть значение его научного наследия для становления современной исторической науки Казахстана.

ОБСУЖДЕНИЕ

1. Формирование историка и первые направления научной деятельности

Первый этап научной деятельности Манаша Козыбаева был связан с изучением истории Казахстана советского периода и прежде всего истории Великой Отечественной войны. Одной из его ранних крупных работ стало исследование «Компартия Казахстана в период Великой Отечественной войны (1941–1945)», а в 1970 г. была опубликована монография «Казахстан - арсенал фронта» (Козыбаев 1964; Козыбаев 1970)

В этих исследованиях Козыбаев стремился показать значение Казахстана в обеспечении фронта промышленным сырьем, продовольствием, людскими ресурсами и продукцией оборонных предприятий. Историческая литература того времени во многом находилась в рамках господствующей советской концепции, однако уже в ранних работах ученого проявлялось стремление к широкому привлечению архивных материалов и статистических данных.

Позднее исследователь значительно расширил проблематику военной истории. Его труды позволили рассматривать Казахстан не только как территорию мобилизации людских ресурсов, но и как важную часть экономической и социальной системы СССР в годы войны.

Монография «Казахстан — арсенал фронта» стала одной из наиболее известных работ историка. Позднее она была включена в двухтомное издание избранных трудов ученого (Козыбаев 1970; Козыбаев 2015). В 2015 г. в Алматы вышло двухтомное собрание «Избранные труды» М. Козыбаева, где первый том посвящен проблемам Казахстана как арсенала фронта, а второй — труду «История и современность» (Козыбаев 2015).

Таким образом, уже на первом этапе научного пути Козыбаев сформировал исследовательскую культуру, основанную на сочетании архивных источников, статистики, историографического анализа и широкого исторического контекста.

2. Козыбаев и проблема исторической истины

Особое место в научном наследии М. Козыбаева занимает проблема соотношения истории и современности. Наиболее ярко это проявилось в книге «История и современность», опубликованной в 1991 г. (Козыбаев 1991).

Это было принципиально важное время. Советская система переживала кризис, происходил пересмотр многих ранее устоявшихся концепций, расширялся доступ к архивным материалам. Историческая наука постепенно освобождалась от жесткой идеологической заданности.

Для Козыбаева история никогда не была исключительно описанием прошлого. Он рассматривал ее как средство формирования исторического сознания общества. Поэтому историк постоянно обращался к вопросу о том, каким образом научная интерпретация прошлого влияет на современное общество.

Книга «История и современность» была издана в Алма-Ате издательством «Ғылым» в 1991 г. и насчитывала 252 страницы (Козыбаев 1991).

Важнейшее значение имело стремление Козыбаева переосмыслить само содержание отечественной истории. Он выступал против механического воспроизводства идеологических схем и считал необходимым возвращать исторической науке ее исследовательскую функцию.

Именно в этом заключается одна из главных особенностей научного наследия ученого: он рассматривал историка не как пассивного регистратора событий, а как исследователя, несущего ответственность перед обществом за достоверность исторического знания.

3. «Белые пятна» истории Казахстана

Одним из главных направлений деятельности М. Козыбаева стало изучение так называемых «белых пятен» истории Казахстана.

В советской историографии многие проблемы рассматривались ограниченно либо вообще не становились предметом научного исследования. К числу таких вопросов относились последствия коллективизации, голод 1930-х гг., массовые политические репрессии, судьба национальной интеллигенции, национально-освободительные движения, деятельность Алаш и другие проблемы.

Козыбаев одним из первых среди казахстанских историков периода перестройки последовательно поставил вопрос о необходимости объективного изучения этих страниц прошлого.

Особое значение имела книга «Ақтаңдақтар ақиқаты», опубликованная в 1992 г. (Козыбаев 1992). Само название — «Истина белых пятен» — стало своеобразной программой исследователя.

В научном наследии ученого проблема «белых пятен» не ограничилась перечислением трагических событий. Козыбаев стремился показать их причины, последствия и место в историческом развитии Казахстана.

Исследование коллективизации и голода стало одним из наиболее значимых направлений новой историографии. В этом контексте важным коллективным трудом стала работа М. Козыбаева, Ж. Абылхожина и К. Алдажуманова «Коллективизация в Казахстане: трагедия крестьянства» (Козыбаев, Абылхожин и Алдажуманов 1992).

Эти исследования сыграли важную роль в изменении научного дискурса. История Казахстана стала рассматриваться не только через достижения советской модернизации, но и через социальную цену проводившейся политики.

4. Национально-освободительные движения и историческая реабилитация

Одним из наиболее значимых результатов научной деятельности Козыбаева стала переоценка истории национально-освободительных движений.

В советской исторической литературе многие движения казахского народа против колониальной политики Российской империи рассматривались преимущественно через категории «феодально-монархических» или «реакционных» выступлений.

Козыбаев выступил за более сложное и объективное рассмотрение этих процессов. Особое место в его исследованиях занимала деятельность Кенесары Касымова и других лидеров национально-освободительного движения.

В книге «Жауды шаптым ту байлап» ученый обращается к проблемам исторической памяти, борьбы народа за свободу и исторического опыта Казахстана (Козыбаев 1994). Издание вышло в Алматы в 1994 г. и стало одним из заметных трудов историка периода независимости.

Важным направлением стало также изучение движения Алаш и Алаш-Орды. В конце 1980-х – начале 1990-х гг. под руководством Козыбаева были активизированы исследования национальной интеллигенции, политических процессов начала XX в. и исторических судеб казахской государственности (Университет имени М. Козыбаева, б. г.).

Таким образом, Козыбаев внес существенный вклад в возвращение в научный и общественный оборот имен и идей деятелей казахской национальной интеллигенции.

5. Историческая память и национальная идентичность

Научное наследие Козыбаева имеет особое значение для современного понимания исторической памяти.

Для ученого история представляла собой важнейший механизм формирования общественного самосознания. Народ, не знающий или искажающий собственное прошлое, оказывается лишенным важнейшего элемента национальной идентичности.

В этом отношении показательно его внимание к проблемам национальной государственности, исторической преемственности и исторической памяти.

Козыбаев стремился показать историю Казахстана как длительный и сложный процесс, а не как совокупность разрозненных периодов. В его исследованиях древняя и средневековая история, история Казахского ханства, колониальный период, события XX века и история независимости рассматривались в рамках единого исторического процесса.

Особое значение имела разработанная ученым концепция степной цивилизации. По данным биографических материалов, Козыбаев одним из первых в отечественной исторической науке сформулировал концептуальное представление о развитии степной цивилизации в евразийском пространстве (Университет имени М. Козыбаева, б. г.).

Данная концепция позволяла отказаться от представления о степной истории исключительно как о периферийной части мирового исторического процесса. Казахская степь рассматривалась как пространство самостоятельного политического, социального и культурного развития.

6. Методология, историография и источниковедение

Еще одна важнейшая заслуга Козыбаева связана с развитием методологии исторического исследования.

В 2006 г. вышло издание «Проблемы методологии, историографии и источниковедения истории Казахстана», включившее избранные труды ученого. Книга насчитывает 270 страниц и содержит работы, посвященные методологическим и источниковедческим вопросам отечественной истории (Козыбаев 2006).

Для Козыбаева было принципиально важно, чтобы историк не ограничивался одним видом источников. Он обращался к архивным документам, статистике, периодической печати, мемуарам, официальным документам и материалам личного происхождения.

Такой подход особенно важен при исследовании трагических страниц истории Казахстана. Чем сложнее историческая проблема,

тем большее значение приобретает сопоставление различных групп источников.

Именно поэтому методологическое наследие Козыбаева сохраняет значение и сегодня. Современная историческая наука Казахстана продолжает развиваться в направлении междисциплинарности, критического анализа источников и сопоставления различных исторических интерпретаций.

7. Козыбаев как организатор исторической науки

Научное значение Манаша Козыбаева невозможно свести только к его индивидуальным публикациям.

С 1980 г. он возглавлял Главную редакцию Казахской советской энциклопедии. Под его руководством осуществлялась подготовка фундаментальных энциклопедических изданий на казахском и русском языках (Университет имени М. Козыбаева, б. г.).

С 1988 г. Козыбаев являлся директором Института истории и этнологии имени Ч. Ч. Валиханова. На этом посту он сыграл большую роль в развитии исторической науки Казахстана.

Под руководством ученого были подготовлены и опубликованы обобщающие труды по истории Казахстана, включая академическое многотомное издание «История Казахстана с древнейших времен до наших дней» (Университет имени М. Козыбаева, б. г.).

Эта деятельность имела принципиальное значение. После обретения независимости возникла необходимость создания целостной концепции истории Казахстана, способной выйти за рамки советской периодизации и идеологических оценок.

Козыбаев способствовал формированию научной среды, в которой молодые исследователи получили возможность заниматься ранее недостаточно изученными темами.

8. Историк и общественная ответственность

Козыбаев был не только ученым, но и общественным деятелем.

В 1990–1993 гг. он участвовал в работе государственной комиссии по проблемам реабилитации жертв массовых политических репрессий. Кроме того, он возглавлял историко-просветительское общество «Адилет» (Козыбаев 1998).

Эта деятельность непосредственно связывала научные исследования с общественной практикой.

Особое значение имело участие ученого в процессе восстановления исторической справедливости в отношении репрессированных представителей казахской интеллигенции.

В данном случае историческая наука выступала не только способом познания прошлого, но и механизмом общественной реабилитации. Историк становился участником процесса возвращения обществу его памяти.

9. Научное наследие Козыбаева в годы независимости

Особенность позднего периода творчества М. Козыбаева заключается в том, что именно в годы независимости его научная деятельность приобрела особенно широкий характер.

Среди его работ этого периода - «История и современность», «Ақтаңдақтар ақиқаты», «Жауды шаптым ту байлап», «Тарих зердесі», «Казахстан на рубеже веков: размышления и поиски», «Өркениет және ұлт» и другие исследования (Козыбаев 1992; Козыбаев 1994; Козыбаев 2000; Козыбаев 2001).

В университетской библиографии ученого отмечается, что значительная часть его научных трудов была опубликована именно в годы независимости. Список его работ включает более 800 научных и научно-популярных публикаций (Университет имени М. Козыбаева, б. г.).

После смерти ученого его научное наследие продолжает переиздаваться. В 2015 г. Институт истории и этнологии имени Ч. Ч. Валиханова подготовил двухтомное издание «Избранные труды» (Козыбаев 2015)

Кроме того, в 2001 г. была опубликована биобиблиография ученого «Манаш Қабашұлы Қозыбаев», подготовленная специалистами Центральной научной библиотеки и Национальной академии наук Казахстана (Смағұлова и Әбеннова 2001).

Таким образом, научное наследие Козыбаева продолжает функционировать как самостоятельный историографический ресурс.

10. Манаш Козыбаев и современная историческая наука Казахстана

Сегодня, когда историческая наука Казахстана переживает новый этап методологического развития, обращение к наследию М. Козыбаева приобретает особую актуальность.

Современные исследования требуют более глубокого изучения источников, применения междисциплинарных методов, цифровых технологий, сравнительной истории и транснационального подхода. Однако эти новые методы не отменяют фундаментальных принципов, которые отстаивал Козыбаев: уважения к историческому источнику, критического отношения к устоявшимся концепциям и ответственности историка перед обществом.

Современные исследователи продолжают обращаться к его трудам при изучении коллективизации, голода, репрессий, национально-освободительного движения и проблем исторической памяти (Аубакирова и Байсарина 2025).

В этом смысле научное наследие Козыбаева нельзя воспринимать только как часть историографии XX века. Оно остается предметом научного диалога.

ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

Манаш Кабашевич Козыбаев принадлежит к числу тех ученых, деятельность которых оказала непосредственное влияние не только на развитие отдельной научной дисциплины, но и на формирование общественного исторического сознания.

Его вклад в историческую науку Казахстана можно определить по нескольким основным направлениям.

Во-первых, он внес значительный вклад в изучение истории Казахстана периода Великой Отечественной войны и показал значение республики в обеспечении фронта.

Во-вторых, Козыбаев стал одним из наиболее последовательных исследователей «белых пятен» отечественной истории. Его труды способствовали научному изучению коллективизации, голода, политических репрессий и трагедии национальной интеллигенции.

В-третьих, ученый внес большой вклад в переосмысление национально-освободительных движений и истории Алаш. Благодаря этому многие исторические деятели и события были возвращены в научный оборот.

В-четвертых, Козыбаев разработал важные историографические и методологические подходы, позволившие рассматривать историю Казахстана как целостный процесс.

В-пятых, он был выдающимся организатором науки. Его деятельность в Институте истории и этнологии имени Ч. Ч. Валиханова способствовала созданию фундаментальных обобщающих трудов по истории Казахстана.

Наконец, особое значение имеет его понимание связи истории и современности. Для Козыбаева историческая наука была не только академической дисциплиной. Она являлась важнейшим средством формирования исторической памяти, национальной идентичности и гражданской ответственности.

Поэтому Манаш Козыбаев по праву может рассматриваться как один

из крупнейших историков Казахстана XX века и один из основоположников современной национальной историографии периода независимости.

Его научное наследие остается востребованным, поскольку поставленные им вопросы — историческая правда, национальная память, государственность, ответственность историка и объективное изучение прошлого - сохраняют принципиальное значение для современной Республики Казахстан.

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MPНТИ
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**ИСТОРИЯ СОВРЕМЕННОГО КАЗАХСТАНА
В МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ НАУЧНОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЕ
В 2009–2026 ГОДАХ**

Аннотация. В статье рассматривается развитие историографии современного Казахстана в западной и турецкой научной литературе за период 2009–2026 гг. Целью исследования является выявление основных направлений и особенностей изучения Казахстана в зарубежном научном дискурсе, а также определение ключевых тенденций в интерпретации его исторического развития. Методологическую основу составляют сравнительно-исторический, системный и междисциплинарный подходы, а также контент-анализ научных публикаций и историографический обзор. В работе выделяются ключевые направления исследований: изучение Казахстана в контексте глобальных процессов, евразийского пространства, взаимодействия с исламским миром, а также вопросы государственности, национальной идентичности, экономического развития и экологической истории. Особое внимание уделяется анализу постсоветских трансформаций включая вопросы ядерного разоружения и энергетической политики. Результаты исследования показывают, что современная зарубежная историография Казахстана характеризуется расширением источниковой базы, усилением междисциплинарного подхода, ростом международного научного сотрудничества и активным использованием новых теоретических подходов. Выявлена тенденция к комплексному и сравнительному анализу

исторических процессов. Делается вывод о формировании многомерного подхода к изучению современной истории Казахстана, отражающего его значимую роль в региональных и глобальных процессах.

Ключевые слова: историография, современный Казахстан, западные исследования, постсоветские трансформации, евразийское пространство, национальная идентичность, Центральная Азия.

Рафис Абазов, Бүркітбай Аяған

2009–2026 ЖЫЛДАРДАҒЫ ХАЛЫҚАРАЛЫҚ ҒЫЛЫМИ ӘДЕБИЕТТЕГІ ҚАЗІРГІ ҚАЗАҚСТАН ТАРИХЫ

Аңдатпа. Мақалада 2009–2026 жылдар аралығындағы Батыс және түрік ғылыми әдебиеттеріндегі қазіргі Қазақстан тарихының тарихнамалық дамуы қарастырылады. Зерттеудің мақсаты – шетелдік ғылыми дискурста Қазақстанды зерттеудің негізгі бағыттары мен ерекшеліктерін анықтау, сондай-ақ оның тарихи дамуын түсіндірудегі басты үрдістерді айқындау. Әдіснамалық негізін салыстырмалы-тарихи, жүйелік және пәнаралық тәсілдер, сондай-ақ ғылыми жарияланымдарға контент-талдау және тарихнамалық шолу құрайды. Зерттеуде Қазақстанды жаһандық үдерістер, еуразиялық кеңістік, ислам әлемімен байланыстар контекстінде қарастыру, сондай-ақ мемлекеттілік, ұлттық бірегейлік, экономикалық даму және экологиялық тарих мәселелері негізгі бағыттар ретінде айқындалады. Сонымен қатар, авторлар еңбектерінде Қазақстанның халықаралық рөлі мен геосаяси маңызын түсіндірудің әртүрлі теориялық тәсілдері талданады. Посткеңестік трансформациялар, кеңестік мұра, ядролық қарусыздану және энергетикалық саясат мәселелеріне ерекше назар аударылады. Зерттеу нәтижелері қазіргі шетелдік тарихнаманың дереккөздік базасының кеңеюімен, пәнаралық тәсілдің күшеюімен, халықаралық ғылыми ынтымақтастықтың артуымен және жаңа теориялық тәсілдердің белсенді қолданылуымен сипатталатынын көрсетеді. Кешенді және салыстырмалы талдауға бағытталған үрдіс анықталды. Қорытындысында Қазақстанның қазіргі тарихын зерттеуде көпқырлы және интегративті тәсіл қалыптасқаны тұжырымдалады. Зерттеу шетелдік еңбектерді қазақстандық тарихнамамен жүйелі салыстырудың қажеттігін көрсетеді.

Түйін сөздер: тарихнама, қазіргі Қазақстан, батыс зерттеулері, посткеңестік трансформациялар, еуразиялық кеңістік, ұлттық бірегейлік, Орталық Азия.

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THE HISTORY OF MODERN KAZAKHSTAN IN INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARLY LITERATURE, 2009–2026

Abstract. This article examines the development of historiography on modern Kazakhstan in Western and Turkish scholarly literature over the period 2009–2026. The aim of the study is to identify the main directions and specific features of Kazakhstan studies in foreign academic discourse, as well as to determine key trends in interpreting its historical development. The methodological framework includes comparative-historical, systemic, and interdisciplinary approaches, as well as content analysis of academic publications and historiographical review. The study identifies key research areas: Kazakhstan in the context of global processes, the Eurasian space, relations with the Islamic world, as well as issues of statehood, national identity, economic development, and environmental history. Particular attention is paid to the analysis of post-Soviet transformations, the Soviet legacy, including nuclear disarmament and energy policy. The results show that contemporary foreign historiography of Kazakhstan is characterized by an expanded source base, increasing interdisciplinarity, growing international academic cooperation, and the active use of new theoretical approaches. A trend toward comprehensive and comparative analysis is identified. The article concludes that a multidimensional approach to the study of modern Kazakhstan has emerged, reflecting its significant role in regional and global processes.

Keywords: *historiography, modern Kazakhstan, Western studies, post-Soviet transformations, Eurasian studies, national identity, Central Asia.*

ВВЕДЕНИЕ

В научном дискурсе западных стран интерес к истории постсоветских государств заметно вырос. Казахстан, занимающий значимое место в мировой политике и в Центральной Азии, привлекает внимание исследователей не только как крупное государство региона, но и как важный участник международных политических, экономических и культурных процессов. Существенный вклад в развитие зарубежной казахистики внесли работы Марты Брилл Олкотт и Марлен Ларюэль (Olcott 2010; Laruelle 2016). Вместе с тем зарубежная и турецкая историография Казахстана сама нуждается в систематическом анализе. Несмотря на расширение круга публикаций, посвящённых различным этапам и проблемам истории страны, сравнительных историографических исследований всё ещё недостаточно. Особенно важно проследить, как менялись методология, источниковая база и тематические приоритеты

европейских, американских и турецких авторов, а также выявить различия между национальными и академическими школами. Такой подход позволяет точнее определить место истории Казахстана в международном научном дискурсе, выявить исследовательские лакуны и обозначить перспективы дальнейшего сотрудничества казахстанских и зарубежных историков.

Актуальность исследования обусловлена тем, что зарубежная историография современного Казахстана представляет собой динамично развивающуюся область, для которой характерны углубление концептуального анализа и расширение источниковой базы. Казахстан всё чаще рассматривается в контексте исторического, культурного, социального, экономического и геополитического развития Центральной Азии. Междисциплинарный подход способствует более глубокому пониманию трансформации государственности и идентичности, развития экономики и региональной роли республики. После обретения независимости усилилось сотрудничество между казахстанскими и зарубежными учёными, расширились совместные проекты и публикации. Одновременно возросло число казахстанских докторантов и исследователей, представляющих результаты своих работ в международных изданиях. Цель статьи — выявить основные направления изучения истории современного Казахстана в западной и турецкой литературе и определить характерные изменения исследовательских подходов в 2009–2026 годах.

МЕТОДЫ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

Методологическая основа исследования сочетает историографический, сравнительный и междисциплинарный подходы с элементами качественного контент-анализа. Эмпирическую базу составили научные публикации западных и турецких авторов, посвящённые истории Казахстана и опубликованные преимущественно в 2010–2026 гг. Поиск литературы проводился в международных академических базах Scopus, Web of Science, а также на научной платформе Elsevier ScienceDirect. Поисковая стратегия основывалась на сочетании ключевых слов, связанных с современной историей Казахстана, постсоветскими трансформациями, евразийским пространством, национальной идентичностью, исламом, государственностью и экологической историей.

Отбор публикаций осуществлялся с учётом нескольких критериев: непосредственной тематической релевантности, научного качества, соответствия рассматриваемому периоду и вклада работы в интерпретацию исторических процессов в Казахстане. Приоритет отдавался ре-

цензируемым научным статьям, академическим монографиям и главам в коллективных исследованиях. После содержательной проверки из корпуса исключались работы, лишь косвенно затрагивающие заявленную проблематику.

Историографический анализ позволил определить изменения в исследовательской повестке и подходах зарубежных авторов. Сравнительный метод использовался для выявления сходств и различий между западной и турецкой исследовательскими традициями, а качественный контент-анализ — для систематизации повторяющихся концептов, аргументов и интерпретационных моделей. На заключительном этапе публикации были распределены по трём укрупнённым направлениям: Казахстан в контексте мировой истории и глобальных процессов; Казахстан в евразийском пространстве; экологическая история Казахстана. Внутри этих направлений рассматривались вопросы государственности, национальной идентичности, международных отношений, экономики, энергетики и культурных связей. Такая схема позволила систематизировать зарубежную литературу и проследить изменения в интерпретации современной истории Казахстана.

ОСНОВНАЯ ЧАСТЬ

Проведённый анализ зарубежной научной литературы позволяет условно выделить три ключевых направления в изучении истории Казахстана. Предлагаемая классификация отражает наиболее заметные тематические линии, сформировавшиеся в западной и турецкой историографии, и одновременно показывает постепенное расширение исследовательской широты и глубины — от преимущественно регионального анализа к включению Казахстана как отдельную тему в сравнительно-историческом и междисциплинарном контексте. Следует отметить, что границы между выделенными направлениями не являются жёсткими: отдельные исследования одновременно затрагивают несколько проблемных полей, что свидетельствует о возрастающей взаимосвязи различных подходов к изучению исторического развития страны.

К основным направлениям относятся:

- Казахстан в контексте мировой истории и глобальных процессов - исследования, рассматривающие историческое развитие страны во взаимосвязи с международными политическими, экономическими и социальными трансформациями;
- Казахстан в евразийском пространстве — работы, посвящённые месту страны в исторических процессах Центральной Азии и Евразии,

включая взаимодействие с тюркским миром, Россией, Китаем и другими региональными акторами;

- экологическая история Казахстана — исследования взаимодействия общества и окружающей среды, экологических последствий советской модернизации, Аральского кризиса, ядерного наследия и современных экологических трансформаций.

1. Казахстан в контексте мировой истории и глобальных процессов

Одним из ключевых трендов является включение истории Казахстана в глобальный контекст. Следует обратить внимание на работы таких ученых как Джонатан Айткен, британский писатель и политик. Он известен своими книгами о Казахстане, вышедшими на нескольких языках и переизданными в нескольких странах мира, и внесших значительный вклад в популяризацию современной истории Казахстана. В работах, написанных в научно популярном стиле, автор делится уникальными наблюдениями о политике, культуре и истории страны собранными в ходе его визитов в Казахстан и интервью с представителями различных политических и бизнес кругов. Его работа «Kazakhstan: Surprises and Stereotypes after 20 Years of Independence» (Aitken 2012) представляет собой расширенный анализ трансформаций, произошедших в Казахстане после обретения независимости. Автор описывает политическое и экономическое развитие и роль государственной политики в формировании уникальной модели независимого Казахстана в книге «Nazarbayev and the Making of Kazakhstan» (Aitken 2009) он сосредотачивается на лидерстве Первого Президента. Он исследует теорию и практику принятия стратегических решений правительством Казахстана, включая вклад Президента Нурсултана Назарбаева, таких как переезд столицы в Астану, формирование внутренней и внешней политики и интеграцию страны в мировую экономику. Айткен подчеркивает прагматичный подход правительства Казахстана к внешней политике и внутренним реформам. Работы Айткена ценны благодаря сочетанию систематического анализа и личных встреч с ключевыми фигурами, что делает их важным вкладом в изучение современной истории Казахстана.

В зарубежной историографии особое внимание уделяется роли Казахстана в глобальных энергетических и инфраструктурных процессах. В коллективной монографии под редакцией Индры Оверланда, Хайди Кьерне и Андреа Кендалл-Тейлор анализируется место Казахстана в энергетической политике Каспийского региона, включая связь между управлением углеводородными ресурсами, внутренними институтами и международным взаимодействием (Overland, Kjaernet, and Kendall-Tay-

lor 2010). Китайско-казахстанское сотрудничество в рамках Нового шёлкового пути рассматривается в исследовании А. Битабаровой, показывающем, что Казахстан выступает не пассивным объектом внешнего влияния, а самостоятельным участником переговоров и формирования инфраструктурной повестки (Bitabarova 2018).

Также особое место в казахстанской тематике занимают публикации, связанные с «Новым шелковым путем». Например, в такой фундаментальной работе как «Vanished Khans and Empty Steppes: A History of Kazakhstan from Pre-History to Post-independence» (Wight 2015), Казахстан рассматривается как мост между Востоком и Западом, где анализируются исторические и современные аспекты торговых и культурных связей.

2. Казахстан в евразийском пространстве

История Казахстана часто изучается в контексте евразийского пространства, а также тюркоязычного мира, что особенно характерно для турецкой научной литературы. В западной литературе исследователи, такие как Александр Кули и Марлен Ларюэль (Cooley 2012; Laruelle 2016), рассматривают евразийскую концепцию как способ переосмысления роли Казахстана на постсоветском пространстве. Их работы анализируют, как Казахстан использует свою стратегическую географию для укрепления связей с Россией, Китаем и Европой.

И. Кэмпбелл рассматривает взаимодействие казахского общества с российскими имперскими структурами в XVIII — начале XX века, обращая внимание на роль местных элит и посредников в формировании механизмов управления степью. Исследователь показывает, что включение казахских территорий в имперское пространство сопровождалось сложными процессами политического взаимодействия, обмена знаниями и адаптации управленческих практик. Ш. Келлер анализирует историческую динамику отношений России и Центральной Азии, рассматривая имперскую экспансию, административные преобразования и социокультурные изменения в широком региональном контексте (Campbell 2017; Keller 2020).

Современное измерение евразийских процессов представлено исследованием А. Битабаровой, рассматривающей изменение роли Казахстана в системе китайско-среднеазиатских отношений. Особое внимание уделяется развитию трансграничного сотрудничества, транспортных коммуникаций и экономических отношений в рамках инициативы «Пояс и путь». Исследование позволяет определить место Казахстана в формировании новых направлений евразийского взаимодействия и в расширении экономического присутствия Китая в Центральной Азии (Bitabarova 2018).

Вопросы региональной экономической трансформации Казахстана рассматривают Ю. Турганбаев и А. Динер. Авторы исследуют изменения в стратегиях регионального развития в постсоциалистический период, ориентируясь на пространственные особенности экономической политики и механизмы трансформации экономической структуры. Такой подход дополняет исследование международного взаимодействия анализом внутренних процессов, определяющих особенности экономического развития Казахстана (Turganbayev and Diener 2018).

В турецкой историографии Казахстан рассматривается как важная составляющая исторического, культурного и политического пространства тюркского мира. Особое внимание уделяется историческим предпосылкам тюркского сотрудничества, становлению независимого государства и развитию казахстанско-турецких отношений. А. Кара анализирует интеллектуальные основы идеи тюркского единства через политическое наследие Мустафы Шокая и прослеживает связь между концепциями начала XX века и современными интеграционными инициативами. С. Йылмаз исследует динамику казахстанско-турецких отношений с 1991 года, обращая внимание на соотношение историко-культурной близости и практических результатов сотрудничества. А. Н. Йылмаз рассматривает постсоветское развитие Казахстана в сравнительном контексте независимых тюркских республик, а Т. Дюген — вопросы безопасности, стабильности и международного сотрудничества. В совокупности эти работы раскрывают место Казахстана в евразийском пространстве через общность исторического наследия, политическую независимость и современные процессы тюркской интеграции (Düğen 2022; Kara 2025; A. N. Yilmaz 2021; S. Yilmaz 2021).

Таким образом, зарубежные исследования позволяют выделить три взаимосвязанных аспекта изучения Казахстана в евразийском пространстве: историко-институциональный, ориентированный на взаимодействие казахского общества с имперскими структурами и соседними регионами; политико-экономический, рассматривающий трансграничные связи, региональное сотрудничество и инфраструктурные инициативы; тюркско-интеграционный, получивший развитие прежде всего в турецкой историографии и посвященный историческим и культурным связям тюркских народов, становлению независимой государственности Казахстана и современным процессам тюркской интеграции.

3. Экологическая история Казахстана

Экологическая история Казахстана стала еще одним важным направлением исследований, получившим признание за последние

десять лет. Исследователи изучают последствия экологических катастроф, таких как Аральский кризис и деградация степей, а также их влияние на современную экологическую и социально-экономическую политику. Значительное место в зарубежной историографии занимают исследования экологических проблем Казахстана. В работе Филиппа Миклина подробно рассматриваются причины и последствия деградации Аральского моря, изменения его водного баланса и экологической системы, а также предпринятые меры по частичному восстановлению Северного Аральского моря на территории Казахстана (Micklin 2010; Micklin, Aladin, and Plotnikov 2014). Исследователи восточных стран, например, изучают влияние этой катастрофы на здоровье населения и миграционные процессы. Также популярным направлением стало изучение влияния изменения климата на казахстанскую степь и меры, принимаемые государством для сохранения биоразнообразия. Особое внимание уделяется проектам по восстановлению популяции диких яблонь и сохранению степных экосистем. Например, в книге «Окружающая среда и постсоветская трансформация в регионе Аральского моря в Казахстане» Уильям Уиллер исследует Аральскую проблему в разных социально-экономических контекстах анализа изменения окружающей среды. Автор предлагает анализ политической экологии жизни среди перекрывающихся потрясений независимости, наследия советизма, и формирования собственного подхода к экологической политике Казахстана (Wheeler 2021).

В турецкой историографии значительное внимание уделяется экологическим последствиям советской политики в Центральной Азии. О. Кавунджу рассматривает исторические предпосылки экологических кризисов, связывая деградацию Аральского моря с развитием ирригационного земледелия, а радиоактивное загрязнение территории Казахстана — с советскими ядерными испытаниями (Kavuncu 2017). А. Ялчынкая и Х. Мехметчик анализируют Аральскую катастрофу в контексте советской экономической политики и последующих усилий государств Центральной Азии по преодолению её последствий, уделяя особое внимание региональному сотрудничеству и экологической ответственности (Yalçınkaya and Mehmetcik 2017). Современное направление представлено работой Дж. Уйсал Огуз, А. Озкана и С. Озер, в которой деградация бассейна Арала рассматривается во взаимосвязи с социально-экономическими изменениями, состоянием общественного здравоохранения и задачами устойчивого развития. Авторы связывают исторические причины кризиса с современными вызовами рационального природопользования и необходимостью регионального сотрудничества (Uysal Oğuz, Özkan, and Özer 2026).

В других работах, опубликованных в западной литературе, акцентируется внимание на ядерном наследии Казахстана. Например, закрытие полигона в Семипалатинске стало символом глобальных антиядерных инициатив, вдохновивших другие страны на аналогичные шаги, что стимулировало многочисленные статьи и нескольких монографий, таких как «Atomic Steppe. How Kazakhstan Gave Up the Bomb» (Kassenova 2022).

Таким образом, экологическая история Казахстана занимает значительное место в современной зарубежной историографии, объединяя исследования последствий советской экологической политики, трансформации природной среды и социально-экономических последствий экологических катастроф. Анализ западных и турецких научных работ свидетельствует о постепенном расширении тематики исследований: от изучения причин и последствий Аральского кризиса и ядерных испытаний до всестороннего понимания экологического наследия Казахстана в контексте постсоветских преобразований, устойчивого развития и международного сотрудничества в области охраны окружающей среды.

РЕЗУЛЬТАТЫ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

Проведённый историографический анализ показывает, что зарубежные исследования истории Казахстана за рассматриваемый период характеризуются заметным тематическим и методологическим разнообразием. Систематизация отобранных публикаций позволила выделить три основных направления: рассмотрение Казахстана в контексте глобальных исторических и политических процессов; изучение его места в евразийском пространстве; изучение экологической истории страны. Такое тематическое расширение свидетельствует о постепенном выходе исследований Казахстана за рамки преимущественно регионального или постсоветского дискурса.

Одновременно выявлено усиление междисциплинарного характера исследований. Исторический анализ всё чаще сочетается с подходами политологии, международных отношений, культурологии, антропологии и экологических исследований. Прослеживается отход от публицистического подхода к подготовке работ и расширяется источниковая база: наряду с традиционными историческими материалами исследователи обращаются к политическим документам, материалам международных организаций, визуальным источникам, учебникам, культурным нарративам и другим типам свидетельств. Таким образом, современная историография постепенно формирует более

многомерное представление об историческом развитии Казахстана.

Сопоставление работ показывает, что различия между исследовательскими традициями проявляются не только в выборе тем, но и в характере источников. Англоязычные авторы чаще соединяют исторические материалы с данными политологии, международных отношений и экономической географии. В исследованиях энергетики и регионального развития Казахстан рассматривается через взаимосвязь внутренних институтов, ресурсной политики и внешнеполитического выбора (Overland, Kjaernet, and Kendall-Taylor 2010; Turganbayev and Diener 2018). Турецкие публикации чаще обращаются к общему историко-культурному наследию, тюркской интеграции и двусторонним отношениям. При этом обе традиции постепенно отходят от описательных схем и всё активнее используют сравнительный анализ.

Отдельный результат связан с изменением масштаба исследований. Ранние обобщающие работы стремились представить целостный политический портрет независимого Казахстана (Aitken 2009; Olcott 2010). Более поздние публикации сосредоточиваются на конкретных проблемах: механизмах имперского управления и производстве знаний о степи (Campbell 2017), китайско-казахстанском взаимодействии в рамках Нового шёлкового пути (Bitabarova 2018), региональной экономической политике (Turganbayev and Diener 2018), политической экологии Приаралья (Wheeler 2021) и истории ядерного разоружения (Kassenova 2022). Это свидетельствует о переходе от преимущественно обзорного описания страны к тематически специализированным исследованиям.

ОБСУЖДЕНИЕ РЕЗУЛЬТАТОВ

Полученные результаты позволяют говорить не только о количественном расширении зарубежных исследований Казахстана, но и об изменении самой исследовательской направленности. История страны всё чаще рассматривается не изолированно, а как составная часть более широких процессов, происходивших в Центральной Азии, евразийском и тюркском пространствах, а также в рамках глобальных политических, социальных и экологических трансформаций. Такой подход способствует включению казахстанского исторического опыта в сравнительные международные исследования и позволяет рассматривать его значение за пределами традиционной постсоветской проблематики.

Вместе с тем западная и турецкая историографические традиции демонстрируют различия в постановке исследовательских вопросов. В западной литературе заметное место занимают проблемы советского

наследия, постсоциалистической трансформации, политических институтов, международных отношений, энергетики и экологических последствий советской модернизации. Для части турецких исследований более характерно обращение к историческим и культурным связям Казахстана с тюркским миром, вопросам языка, общей исторической памяти и цивилизационного наследия. Эти различия не следует рассматривать как взаимоисключающие: напротив, они расширяют спектр интерпретаций и позволяют сопоставлять различные исследовательские перспективы.

Одновременно расширяется и перспективное направление исследований — экологическая история страны и региона, что постепенно превращается из относительно узкого направления в самостоятельное поле исследований, связывающее экологические аспекты истории, советское наследие, Аральский кризис, изменение окружающей среды и социальные последствия экологических трансформаций.

Проведённый анализ выявил потребность в дальнейшем расширении исследовательской повестки. Несмотря на увеличение тематического поля, сравнительно мало внимания уделяется локальной истории и истории повседневности, местным сообществам и восприятию масштабных политических и экономических преобразований различными группами населения. Необходимо также последовательнее сопоставлять зарубежные интерпретации с казахстанской историографией, расширять использование источников на казахском языке и региональных архивных материалов. Такое сопоставление позволит избежать механического переноса внешних теоретических моделей и точнее учитывать исторический и культурный контекст Казахстана.

Источниковая база рассмотренных работ неоднородна. Наряду с официальными документами и опубликованной статистикой используются интервью, материалы международных организаций, политические тексты, картографические данные и результаты полевых исследований. Особенно заметно расширение источников в экологической истории, где природные изменения анализируются вместе с социальным опытом местных сообществ. Исследование У. Уиллера показывает, что трансформация Аральского моря не может быть сведена только к количественным показателям сокращения водоёма: она связана с изменением хозяйственных практик, памяти и представлений жителей региона о будущем (Wheeler 2021). Такой ракурс дополняет макроисторические объяснения экологического кризиса.

Одновременно выявляются ограничения зарубежной литературы. Часть публикаций опирается преимущественно на англоязычные и русскоязычные материалы, тогда как казахоязычные источники и результаты региональных исследований представлены менее полно. Это влияет на постановку вопросов и иногда ведёт к преобладанию внешнеполитических или институциональных объяснений над анализом локального исторического опыта. Поэтому перспективным направлением является соединение международных теоретических подходов с казахстанской источниковой традицией, устной историей и материалами местных архивов. Такое расширение позволит точнее сопоставлять глобальные процессы с их проявлениями на региональном и повседневном уровнях.

Сравнение публикаций разных лет позволяет также уточнить содержание понятия «современная история Казахстана». В рассмотренной литературе оно охватывает не только период независимости, но и более ранние процессы, без которых невозможно объяснить формирование государственных институтов, границ, политической культуры и моделей взаимодействия с соседними странами. Поэтому работы по имперскому и советскому периодам включаются в современную историографическую дискуссию не как отступление от темы, а как основа для анализа последующих преобразований. Вместе с тем такое расширение хронологических рамок требует от исследователей ясно разграничивать историческое описание и оценку актуальных политических процессов. Наиболее убедительными являются исследования, в которых современные выводы опираются на проверяемый корпус источников и сопровождаются сопоставлением нескольких интерпретаций. Именно сочетание исторической глубины, источниковой критики и сравнительного подхода определяет дальнейшие перспективы зарубежного изучения Казахстана.

ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

В течение последнего десятилетия изучение истории современного Казахстана сохраняет устойчивое положение в исследовательской повестке турецкой и западной академической литературы. Проведённый анализ показывает, что зарубежная историография постепенно выходит за рамки традиционного рассмотрения Казахстана исключительно как части исламского, советского и постсоветского пространства. Исторический опыт страны всё чаще анализируется в более широких исследовательских контекстах - через призму глобальных исторических процессов, развития евразийского пространства, взаимодействие с тюркским

и исламским миром, становление государственности и национальной идентичности, экологические последствия советской модернизации и последующих социально-экономических преобразований, так и изучение сугубо узких аспектов истории, таких как семейные микро-истории, локальные места памяти, истории малых устных традиций.

Одной из наиболее заметных тенденций стала эволюция зарубежной историографии от преимущественно общих и обзорных работ к более специализированным исследованиям отдельных периодов, событий и исторических процессов. Расширение круга доступных источников и материалов, развитие международного академического сотрудничества и применение новых исследовательских подходов позволили зарубежным авторам обратиться к тем аспектам истории Казахстана, которые ранее оставались на периферии международной историографии. Особенно показателен рост интереса к таким проблемам, как ядерное наследие Семипалатинского полигона, энергетическое развитие, Аральский кризис и конструирование национальных исторических нарративов. Наличие специализированных исследований по этим направлениям подтверждается и рассмотренным в статье корпусом зарубежной литературы.

Другой существенной особенностью является усиление междисциплинарности. Современные исследования всё чаще находятся на пересечении истории, политологии, антропологии, международных отношений, культурологии и экологических исследований. Благодаря этому история Казахстана рассматривается не только как последовательность политических событий, но и как сложный процесс институциональных, социальных, культурных и экологических изменений. Одновременно усиливается сравнительная перспектива: казахстанский опыт сопоставляется с процессами, происходящими в Центральной Азии и других частях Евразии.

Важным фактором развития историографии становится и возрастающий вклад казахстанских исследователей, участвующих в международных публикациях, исследовательских коллективах и совместных проектах. Такое взаимодействие способствует расширению академического диалога и позволяет включать в международную дискуссию источники, исследовательские вопросы и интерпретации, сформировавшиеся непосредственно в Казахстане. Вместе с тем сохраняется необходимость более широкого использования источников на казахском языке, региональных архивных материалов и результатов исследований местных научных школ.

Данное исследование имеет ряд ограничений

Представленный обзор охватывает прежде всего англоязычную и турецкую академическую литературу и поэтому не претендует на исчерпывающее отражение всей зарубежной историографии современного Казахстана. Временные рамки и преимущественно историографический характер исследования ограничивают возможности систематического сопоставления зарубежных интерпретаций со всем корпусом казахстанской исторической литературы.

Таким образом, зарубежная историография современного Казахстана развивается в направлении тематического усложнения, расширения источниковой базы и большей методологической открытости. Вместе с тем дальнейшие исследования требуют более последовательного сравнительного анализа западной, турецкой и казахстанской историографических традиций, привлечения более широкого круга первичных источников и развития международных исследовательских проектов. Это позволит точнее определить место исторического опыта Казахстана не только в истории Центральной Азии и Евразии, но и в более широких дискуссиях о модернизации, имперском и советском наследии, национальном строительстве, экологических трансформациях и глобальной истории.

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STAGES OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDEPENDENT KAZAKHSTAN

Abstract. The article analyzes the development processes of constitutional reforms in independent Kazakhstan. It provides a comprehensive analysis of the major amendments and additions introduced to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan since its adoption. The New Constitution, adopted through the national referendum of March 15, 2026, was aimed at the comprehensive modernization of the political system and the establishment of a new social contract. It possesses unique features in comparison with previous constitutional norms and provisions. The content of the latest constitutional amendments, which shape and regulate social relations, is of particular importance and relevance. It can be argued that the ideas of a New, Just Kazakhstan and the Second Republic were legally formalized

through the expression of the people's will in these amendments. The essence of this constitutional reform lies in identifying and consolidating the most significant issues of contemporary social relations, clearly reflecting the processes of political modernization through new constitutional norms, and defining the core content, detail, and precision of their implementation in current legislative acts. As a result, Kazakhstan's political system has begun to function in a new way on the basis of the renewed Constitution.

Keywords: *constitutional reforms, constitutional norm, Constitutional Court, rule of law, Parliament, Assembly, civil society.*

Талғатбек Әминов, Ғани Қарасаев, Аққайың Балыкова **ТӘУЕЛСІЗ ҚАЗАҚСТАННЫҢ КОНСТИТУЦИЯЛЫҚ ДАМУ КЕЗЕҢДЕРІ**

Аңдатпа. Мақалада тәуелсіз Қазақстанның конституциялық реформаларының қалыптасуы мен даму кезеңдері, олардың мемлекеттің саяси жүйесін жаңғыртудағы рөлі мен қоғамдық қатынастарды реттеудегі маңызы жан-жақты талданады. Қазақстан Республикасы Конституциясының қабылдануынан бастап конституциялық заңнамаға енгізілген негізгі өзгерістер мен толықтырулардың мазмұны, олардың саяси-құқықтық алғышарттары және мемлекеттік басқару жүйесіне ықпалы қарастырылады. 2026 жылғы 15 наурызда өткен республикалық референдумда қабылданған жаңа Конституцияның ерекшеліктеріне, оның бұрынғы конституциялық нормалармен сабақтастығы мен айырмашылықтарына ерекше назар аударылады. Конституциялық реформаның мемлекеттік билік институттарын жетілдіруге, билік тармақтары арасындағы өзара іс-қимыл тетіктерін жаңартуға, азаматтардың құқықтары мен бостандықтарын қорғаудың құқықтық негіздерін нығайтуға бағытталған басымдықтары сарапталады. Сонымен қатар конституциялық өзгерістердің қоғамдық келісімді нығайтудағы, саяси институттардың қызметін жетілдірудегі және мемлекет пен қоғам арасындағы өзара жауапкершілік қағидаттарын қалыптастырудағы маңызы айқындалады. Жаңа, Әділ Қазақстан және Екінші Республика тұжырымдамаларының конституциялық реформалармен өзара байланысы талданып, олардың саяси жаңғыру үдерісіндегі идеялық және институционалдық орны қарастырылады. Конституциялық нормаларды қолданыстағы заңнамалық актілерде нақтылау мен іске асырудың қажеттілігі негізделеді. Зерттеу нәтижесінде конституциялық реформалардың Қазақстанның саяси жүйесін институционалдық тұрғыдан жаңартуға, мемлекеттік басқару-

дың тиімділігін арттыруға және қоғамдық қатынастарды құқықтық реттеудің жаңа бағыттарын қалыптастыруға ықпал ететін маңызды фактор екендігі тұжырымдалады.

Түйін сөздер: конституциялық реформалар, конституциялық норма, Конституциялық сот, құқықтық мемлекет, парламент, ассамблея, азаматтық қоғам.

Талгатбек Аминов, Гани Карасаев, Аккайын Балыкова **ЭТАПЫ КОНСТИТУЦИОННОГО РАЗВИТИЯ НЕЗАВИСИМОГО КАЗАХСТАНА**

Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются основные этапы становления и развития конституционных реформ в независимом Казахстане, анализируются их роль в модернизации политической системы государства и значение для регулирования общественных отношений. Проведен комплексный анализ ключевых изменений и дополнений, внесенных в Конституцию Республики Казахстан с момента ее принятия, раскрываются их политико-правовые предпосылки и влияние на систему государственного управления. Особое внимание уделяется новой Конституции, принятой на республиканском референдуме 15 марта 2026 года, ее отличительным особенностям, преемственности и различиям по сравнению с предыдущими конституционными положениями. Рассматриваются основные направления конституционной реформы, ориентированные на совершенствование институтов государственной власти, обновление механизмов взаимодействия между ветвями власти и укрепление правовых основ защиты прав и свобод граждан. Анализируется значение конституционных преобразований для укрепления общественного согласия, совершенствования деятельности политических институтов и формирования принципов взаимной ответственности государства и общества. Исследуется взаимосвязь концепций Нового, Справедливого Казахстана и Второй Республики с конституционными преобразованиями, определяется их идейное и институциональное значение в процессе политической модернизации. Обосновывается необходимость дальнейшей конкретизации конституционных норм в действующем законодательстве и обеспечения механизмов их практической реализации. Делается вывод о том, что конституционная реформа выступает важным фактором институционального обновления политической системы Казахстана, повышения эффективности государственного управления и формирования новых правовых основ регулирования общественных отношений.

Ключевые слова: Конституционные реформы, конституционная норма, Конституционный Суд, правовое государство, Парламент, Ассамблея, гражданское общество.

INTRODUCTION

It is well known that the current Constitution of our country was adopted on August 30, 1995, through a nationwide referendum. Over the course of its history, it has been amended and supplemented seven times through relevant laws. Despite the number of laws and the frequency of amendments to the Basic Law, the constitutional reforms can be specifically associated with the changes and additions made in 1998, 2007, 2017, and 2022. At present, the draft of the new Constitution of 2026 is undergoing nationwide discussion and is generally receiving broad support. The main idea of the new text of the Constitution is centered on education and science, culture and innovation. This represents a fundamentally important shift, demonstrating that the future of the state will be determined not by mineral resources and natural wealth, but by human capital and the achievements of its citizens. Another significant direction is digitalization. In this regard, the new text of the Constitution proposes, for the first time, to establish a provision on protecting citizens' rights in the digital environment. We fully support this initiative.

RESEARCH METHODS

Within the framework of the conducted scientific research, the methods of objectivity and comparative analysis were applied. Based on these approaches, while maintaining objectivity and neutrality, facts and events related to the significance and purpose of constitutional reforms, as well as their impact on the formation, development, and functioning of the current presidential system of governance, the Parliament, and the Government were studied.

To ensure an in-depth study of historical processes, archival materials, administrative documentation, minutes of meetings, and verbatim records of parliamentary proceedings were used. Source analysis methods were applied to examine and introduce these materials into scientific circulation. In this context, archival materials were systematized, comprehensively analyzed, and critically assessed in order to verify their reliability and determine their relevance to our research.

Documents and materials from the collections of the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the National Archive, reflecting

the formation and functioning of the country's political and socio-economic system during the period of independence, were utilized. In addition, several interdisciplinary methods were applied comparatively.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The first constitutional reform (1998) was carried out three years after the adoption of the Constitution and concerned the status of the President, Parliament, Government, and the judicial system. Politically, the urgency of this reform was obycloved by the fact that the extended presidential powers, granted by the April 29, 1995 referendum, were due to expire on December 1, 2000.

The main essence of this reform was the removal of the provision restricting the holding of early presidential elections (Clause 4 of Article 41 was abolished and the wording of Article 48 of the Constitution was amended). As a result, the article concerning early presidential elections was completely removed from the text of the Constitution. In addition, the requirement to recognize presidential elections as valid (quorum) only if more than 50% of voters participated was eliminated, particularly relevant in cases of low voter turnout.

These amendments were implemented shortly thereafter. For instance, early presidential elections were scheduled and held just three months after the reform, on January 10, 1999. N.A. Nazarbayev received 79.78% of the votes from 87.05% of participating voters.

In addition to these changes, other significant amendments were introduced within the framework of the first constitutional reform:

First, the presidential term was extended from 5 to 7 years, and the upper age limit (65 years) for presidential candidates was abolished. At the same time, the minimum age requirement for presidential candidates was raised from 35 to 40 years. For example, under the previous constitutional limit of 65 years, N.A. Nazarbayev would not have been eligible to run for office after July 6, 2005. Taking into account the new seven-year presidential term, the presidential election was held on December 4, 2005, in which the incumbent head of state received 91.15% of the votes from 77.1% of participating voters.

Furthermore, amendments also changed the succession procedure in the event of early termination, removal, or death of the President. According to the new provisions, if the Chairperson of the Senate is unable to assume presidential duties, they pass to the Chairperson of the Mazhilis; if the latter is also unable to assume these duties, they are transferred to the Prime Minister (previously, the Chairperson of the Mazhilis was not included in the line of succession).

It is evident that these amendments were aimed at strengthening presidential power and legally formalizing the norms necessary to effectively extend the authority of the First President through early elections, regardless of voter turnout.

Second, the term of office of Parliament deputies was extended: the Senate to 6 years and the Mazhilis to 5 years (previously, a unified term of 4 years applied to Parliament). At the same time, the composition of the Mazhilis was expanded: in addition to 67 deputies, 10 additional deputies elected from party lists under a proportional representation system were introduced (Analytical Report 2023).

Thus, for the first time, elements of proportional representation of political parties were introduced in the Mazhilis of Parliament. Third, a jury system was introduced, предусматривающий criminal proceedings with the participation of jurors. The position of the Chairperson of the Supreme Judicial Council, appointed by the President, was also established. Therefore, alongside the strengthening of presidential power and the need to address urgent political tasks, the first constitutional reform contributed to the expansion of the composition of Parliament and the extension of its term of office, while also providing impetus for subsequent judicial and legal reforms.

The second constitutional reform (2007) was implemented nine years after the first and covered the status of the President, Parliament, and Government, the foundations of the legal status of individuals and citizens, the judicial and law enforcement system, as well as local government and self-governance. The political rationale for this reform was linked to the provision in Article 42(5) of the original Constitution, which limited a person from being elected President more than twice consecutively. Considering that presidential elections had already been held twice after the adoption of the Constitution (in 1999 and 2005), it became evident that Nursultan Nazarbayev would not be eligible to run in the next election.

During this period, a decision was made to introduce special provisions for the First President, including the removal of the restriction on being elected more than twice and the rule requiring the suspension of party membership during the exercise of presidential powers. In effect, this granted him the right to hold the office of Head of State for life. To implement this, it was necessary to constitutionally закрепить the special status of the First President. For example, Article 46 was supplemented with a new paragraph stating: «The status and powers of the First President shall be determined by the Constitution and constitutional law». In this regard, the status of the First President was formally established, having first been introduced in 2000 with the adoption of a separate law. (On the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan 2000). At the same time, the presidential term was reduced

from 7 to 5 years, thereby restoring the original constitutional provision. In addition, presidential powers were strengthened: the President was granted the right of legislative initiative, the authority to prematurely terminate the powers of maslikhats (previously within the competence of the Senate), and the quota for appointing Senate deputies was increased from 7 to 15.

As a result, one-third of the upper chamber of Parliament effectively acquired the status of «presidential appointees», which also influenced their electoral nature. This amendment was driven by strategic considerations. For instance, one of the requirements for the final removal of the President from office (impeachment) is a quorum of at least three-quarters of the total number of deputies in each chamber, including a minimum number in the Senate (37 deputies at the time of the reform). In practice, if all appointed deputies fail to participate or remain inactive for various reasons, the session cannot achieve the required quorum and therefore lacks legal validity (Zhakupov 2022). Moreover, the reforms removed specific constitutional grounds and conditions for dissolving Parliament or the Mazhilis. As a result, these conditions were no longer explicitly defined in the Constitution, allowing the Head of State to exercise broader control over the legislative body. Additionally, the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan was granted constitutional status for the first time. It is formed under the authority of the President and was given the right to elect nine deputies to the Mazhilis from among its members. Secondly, the composition of Parliament and the procedure for its formation underwent significant changes. The majoritarian electoral system was abolished, and provisions related to single-member constituencies were removed. At the constitutional level, the foundations of a proportional representation system were established. The number of Mazhilis deputies increased from 77 to 107: 98 of them are elected through universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot, while 9 deputies are elected by the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan. According to foreign experts, the increase in the number of deputies in both the Mazhilis and the Senate did not necessarily expand public representation. Rather, it reflected a further increase in presidential influence in both chambers, through direct appointments (in the case of the Senate) and indirect appointments (through the Assembly's nine representatives) (Rico 2008).

The decision was incorporated into the next package of constitutional amendments and implemented accordingly. Under this, Article 91(2) was supplemented with a guarantee stating that «the fundamental principles of the Republic's activity established by the Founder of Independent Kazakhstan, the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan - Elbasy, as well as the status of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan - Elbasy, shall remain unchanged». Thus, for the first time, the status of Elbasy

was закреплен at the constitutional level. One year after the constitutional reform, the Law «On the Security Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan» dated July 5, 2018 was adopted. Its original version established the status of the Security Council as a constitutional body responsible for conducting a unified state policy in the field of national security and defense (On the Security Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan 2018). The First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan - Elbasy, Nursultan Nazarbayev, due to his historical mission, was granted the right to chair the Security Council for life. The composition of the Security Council was to be approved by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan in agreement with the Chairperson of the Security Council (Article 1, paragraphs 2 and 3). It is important to note that this provision was adopted in violation of the Constitution, as it limited the constitutional powers of the President to form the Security Council and other advisory bodies as defined in the Basic Law. For this reason, the above-mentioned provisions were later amended, and their contradiction with the Constitution was eliminated following the events of January 2022, by the law of February 7, 2022 (On Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of the Republic of Kazakhstan 2022). The revised provisions established only the President's powers in relation to the Security Council. As subsequent developments showed, the amendment to Article 91 of the Constitution became particularly relevant after the events of March 19, 2019, when President Nursultan Nazarbayev voluntarily resigned from his presidential powers but retained political influence as Chair of the Security Council, leading to a period of dual power (often referred to as a «duumvirate») in the country. In addition to this amendment, other significant changes were introduced within the framework of the third constitutional reform: First, an additional requirement of higher education was introduced for presidential candidates, along with a blanket provision allowing constitutional law to establish further requirements. These novelties were soon implemented: on June 15, 2017, amendments to the Constitutional Law «On Elections in the Republic of Kazakhstan» introduced a requirement that presidential candidates must have at least five years of experience in public service or in an elected public office. As this provision remains in force today, it significantly limits political competition for the highest state office.

The introduced changes also affected presidential powers:

- The appointment of Government members by the President became subject to the consent of the Mazhilis of Parliament;
- The President's authority to issue laws and decrees with the force of law under delegated legislative powers, to form the Republican Guard, and to instruct the Government to submit draft laws to the Mazhilis was abolished;
- The President's powers were expanded to include the right to apply to the

Constitutional Council to review the constitutionality of laws and other legal acts that have entered into force, as well as to request conclusions in cases of amendments to the Constitution, for the purpose of protecting human and civil rights and freedoms, and ensuring national security, sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

Second, the Government was granted the authority, in agreement with the President, to approve state programs, as well as to establish a unified system of financing and remuneration for employees funded from the state budget. Third, by reference to constitutional law, requirements for judicial positions and the supervisory authority of the Supreme Court over local and other courts were removed from the Constitution. Instead, it was established that, in cases предусмотренных by law, the Supreme Court considers judicial cases within its jurisdiction.

Fourth, for the first time at the constitutional level, the position of the Human Rights Ombudsman was established in the Republic of Kazakhstan, and the authority to elect the Ombudsman was assigned to the Senate.

Fifth, deprivation of citizenship by court decision was introduced as a penalty for committing terrorist crimes, as well as for causing other serious harm to the vital interests of the Republic of Kazakhstan. It should be noted that this amendment provoked mixed reactions among experts (Khabrieva, Andrichenko 2017). Sixth, a constitutional basis was created for the establishment of a special legal regime in the financial sphere within the city of Astana - the Astana International Financial Centre (AIFC). Its legal status was defined by a Constitutional Law. According to it, the applicable law of the AIFC includes its own acts, which are based on the principles, norms, and precedents of the law of England and Wales, as well as on the standards of leading global financial centers adopted by the AIFC bodies within their authority (On the Astana International Financial Centre 2015). This structure generated significant debate and criticism within the legal community. For example, prominent Kazakhstani legal scholars A.N. Shaikenov and V.Zh. Shaikenov noted that these amendments «undermine the secular nature of the Republic of Kazakhstan, affect the independence of the judiciary, remove the requirement of Kazakhstani citizenship for judges, weaken the supervisory functions of the Supreme Court, and create legal ambiguity» (Shaikenov, Shaikenov 2017). Overall, despite differing evaluations and analyses, the third constitutional reform received international support. In its opinion, the Venice Commission emphasized that the draft amendments were generally aimed at strengthening the role of Parliament and the Mazhilis, redistributing certain powers of the President between the Government and Parliament, clarifying the constitutional foundations of the judiciary and прокуратура, enhancing mechanisms for protecting the constitutional order,

and further improving the legal framework of local public administration and self-governance. The main objective of the changes was the redistribution of powers within the institutional structure of state authority. At the same time, the domestic expert community did not view the reform entirely optimistically. According to Professor E.B. Mukhamedzhanov, although the reform was multifaceted, it contained both rational elements and controversial or ineffective provisions (Mukhamedzhanov 2017). Political scientist A.S. Kaukenov expressed doubts that the reform would significantly alter the balance of powers between the executive, judicial, and legislative branches, considering it largely cosmetic in nature (Constitutional Reform in Kazakhstan 2017).

Thus, an analysis of the three constitutional reforms (1998, 2007, and 2017), along with interim amendments in 2011 and 2019, shows that they were largely aimed at strengthening the foundations of a super-presidential system of governance, constitutionally securing the long-term tenure of the First President, and preserving his influence over all state institutions and strategic decision-making. These included: removal of the grounds for early presidential elections (Article 41(4)); removal of term limits for the First President (Article 42(5)); ensuring guarantees for the First President during the transfer of power by establishing the immutability of the fundamental principles he defined (Article 91(2)). At the same time, additional amendments to other constitutional provisions were introduced under the broader framework of «constitutional reform», which helped reduce public scrutiny and secure popular support. However, it is important to recognize that the primary beneficiary of these changes was largely the First President, Nursultan Nazarbayev. As Professor S.K. Zhursimbayev noted, «in practice, the terms of office of the President and Parliament, as well as the timing and procedures of elections, were never strictly observed, and the scheduling of presidential elections was repeatedly altered» (Zhursimbayev 2023).

Nevertheless, among the positive and progressive amendments introduced within these reforms are: the introduction of jury trials in criminal proceedings; restrictions on the use of the death penalty; the establishment of judicial authorization for arrest; granting maslikhats the authority to approve the appointment of regional akims by the President; the constitutional establishment of the Ombudsman institution.

Analysis of the 2022 constitutional reform. This reform was carried out in the aftermath of the January 2022 events. As noted above, numerous constitutional amendments and reforms between 1998 and 2017 effectively legalized the concentration of power in one set of hands within the country's Basic Law. Such a configuration led to a political crisis and, as demonstrated by the January events, posed a threat to statehood.

The Fourth Constitutional Reform. On June 5, 2022, a constitutional referendum was held for the second time in the country's history. This marked a shift from a super-presidential model to a presidential system of governance, outlining a course toward demonopolizing power and further developing socio-political and legal institutions. On September 17, 2022, Parliament adopted a package of amendments to the Constitution limiting presidential powers to a single term, while extending its duration from five to seven years. The changes also affected the status of the Constitutional Court: the term of office of its judges was extended from six to eight years without the right to re-election. In addition, in order to restore historical justice, the capital of Kazakhstan was returned its former name, Astana, as emphasized by Kassym-Jomart Tokayev in his Address to the Nation. (Address to the People of Kazakhstan by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev 2022). According to political scientist D.A. Satpayev, «society demanded change both during and after the January events. This represents an attempt by the authorities to respond to that demand in some way. Therefore, it is certainly better than nothing» (A Blow to Nazarbayev's Legacy 2022).

Political analyst D.R. Ashimbayev noted that the constitutional amendments submitted to the referendum could have been adopted by Parliament, but under the circumstances, «this plebiscite was extremely important for the New Kazakhstan». In his view, the referendum essentially became a vote of confidence in the Head of State and his reforms, while also demonstrating the stability of key constitutional norms that radicals and extremists seek to revise (such as the secular nature of the state, the status of the Kazakh and Russian languages, and prohibitions on activities inciting division). (Kazakhstan: Passions over the Referendum 2022). A comprehensive commentary on the amendments adopted as part of the 2022 constitutional reform was published in August 2022 by domestic legal scholars and is available on the website of the National Academic Library (Abdirasulov, Aubakirova, Bashimov, Ongarbaev 2022). This article does not aim to analyze all constitutional provisions in detail, as they are sufficiently covered in that publication. The reform provisions are grouped into several categories.

At the same time, a more detailed account of the constitutional reform is presented in a separate publication (On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan 2022). The first group of amendments can be characterized as aimed at eliminating the dual power system that emerged after the 2019 transfer of power and was associated with the personal status of the First President. Provisions concerning the special role of the First President - Elbasy, as well as other privileges related to this status, were removed from the Constitution.

It is important to note that the initial draft of the amendments did not include provisions on removing the status of Elbasy from the Constitution. The initiative to eliminate articles related to the personal status of Nursultan Nazarbayev and to remove the privileges granted to him was proposed by members of the working group on constitutional reform, including prominent legal scholars (Abdirasulov, Aubakirova, Bashimov, Ongarbaev 2022).

According to these scholars, the essence of the Constitution-its principles and values-is to establish rules that do not grant privileges to any political power and to provide legal safeguards against non-democratic governance. The practice of extending presidential powers and amending the Constitution in ways that effectively allowed unlimited re-election contributed to the formation of a personalized system of power, the erosion of constitutional values, and the spread of nepotism and corruption. The constitutional entrenchment of the legal status and powers of the First President was seen as contradicting the very idea of constitutionalism, which is based on equality, the separation of powers, and the protection of individual rights and freedoms (Abdirasulov, Aubakirova, Bashimov, Ongarbaev 2022). Taking into account the position of legal scholars, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev submitted an additional appeal to the Constitutional Council to remove provisions related to the status of the First President.

According to President Tokayev, the nationwide referendum of June 5, 2022, was successful. Citizens actively participated in the vote, demonstrating their concern for the country's future and their aspiration for genuine change and comprehensive modernization. The results of the referendum are well known: «The majority supported my initiative to amend the Constitution. I express my gratitude to all citizens who took part in the vote. Thus, a new historical stage in the country's development has begun. A new model of governance has emerged-we have embarked on building the Second Republic». The President concluded by emphasizing that over 30 years of independence, Kazakhstan has signed numerous international agreements and established its state borders. However, building a «New Kazakhstan» requires not only institutional reforms but also a transformation of public consciousness and values. Only then, he noted, will a new quality of the nation emerge and the country as a whole be renewed (Speech by the Head of State, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, at the Fifth Meeting of the National Kurultai 2022).

According to the State Counselor of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Erlan Karin, the constitutional amendments will lead to large-scale political modernization in Kazakhstan. In his view, the changes introduced to the Basic Law are of historic significance for the country. The constitutional reform represents a logical continuation of all the political reforms initiated by the Pres-

ident since 2019. The draft amendments are based on public demand and are being implemented in the interests of society as a whole. As he noted, leading scholars and legal experts worked on the draft. Since it may be difficult for many to immediately see the differences between the old and new versions of the Constitution, all amendments and additions were grouped into five major blocks, each addressing what exactly will change in the updated Constitution (Karin 2022).

The first block of amendments ensures the final transition from a super-presidential model to a presidential republic. First, the President is prohibited from being a member of any political party during his term in office. This restriction also applies to the Chairpersons and judges of the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court and other courts, as well as members of the Central Election Commission and the Supreme Audit Chamber. The purpose of this amendment is to strengthen political competition and create equal conditions for the development of all political parties. Second, close relatives of the President are prohibited from holding positions as civil servants or heads of quasi-public sector entities. Third, the President no longer has the authority to dismiss akims (local governors) of districts, cities, and rural districts. The subsequent provisions are aimed at redistributing a number of powers, enhancing the role and status of Parliament and its chambers, and increasing public participation in the governance of the country. They also seek to strengthen mechanisms for protecting citizens' rights. According to the State Counselor, these reforms, which are of historical significance for Kazakhstan, represent a crucial stage of large-scale political modernization.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, all of the important measures discussed above clearly demonstrate that they are aimed at preserving the independence of our state, strengthening the unity of the people of the republic, and improving their social well-being, health, quality of life, and living standards. These objectives can be achieved by relying on the historic provisions enshrined in our Constitution and by implementing the significant political and fundamentally democratic changes introduced through the 2026 referendum. In particular, these changes are intended to ensure the economic, political, and spiritual modernization of New Kazakhstan society through the development of an innovative system of science and education.

Thus, the further political and socio-legal development of Kazakhstan will be carried out as a result of the fifth constitutional reform implemented this year. President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev had previously announced this at the

5th session of the National Kurultai held in Kyzylorda. Within the framework of the reform, the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan was reorganized into a unicameral body and renamed the Kurultai. The number of deputies was reduced from 148 to 145. A new institution, the People's Council of Kazakhstan, was established. It replaced both the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan and the National Kurultai. Its responsibilities include promoting state ideology, explaining the provisions of the Constitution and other important documents, as well as carrying out functions related to interethnic and interfaith harmony previously assigned to the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan. It will also oversee the organization of the Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions and other major forums.

All these changes are reflected in the Constitution. A special commission consisting of 130 members worked extensively on the reform project, and as a result, the draft Constitution was submitted by Presidential Decree to a nationwide referendum held on March 15, 2026. According to the results of the reform, the position of Vice President was introduced into the Basic Law of the country. The Vice President is appointed by the President with the consent of Parliament. The Vice President's powers include representing Kazakhstan's interests at the international level and maintaining interaction with Parliament, socio-political organizations, and other institutions.

President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev stated: «The position of Vice President exists in a number of countries. In our case, the establishment of this office will stabilize the process of state governance and provide a clear definition of the hierarchy of power. It should be emphasized that this constitutional innovation does not imply weakening the institution of presidential authority. On the contrary, the presidency will remain the central institution within the state system. I am confident that Kazakhstan will continue to develop successfully as a presidential republic» (Speech by the Head of State, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, at the Fifth Meeting of the National Kurultai 2026).

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HISTORICAL MEMORY IN THE URBAN SPACE OF ASTANA: A SOURCE-STUDY ANALYSIS OF COMMEMORATIVE PRACTICES

Abstract. This article examines historical memory in the urban space of Astana through a source-critical analysis of commemorative practices. The primary empirical corpus consists of memorial and commemorative plaques, which are considered a distinct category of material, epigraphic, visual, and spatial historical sources. The study is based on an original database compiled from regulatory legal acts, official materials published by government bodies, and institutional online resources. Following the verification and cross-checking of data and the elimination of duplicate records, 51 unique objects were included in the final analysis.

The methodological framework combines source criticism, classification, comparative analysis, and quantitative analysis. The findings demonstrate that the largest thematic groups comprise memorial objects dedicated to military history and veterans, professional heroism and public service, as well as representatives of culture, literature, and the mass media. The identified thematic structure makes it possible to determine the principal patterns through which the past is represented in the commemorative landscape of the capital.

The distinctive character of the memorial plaque as a historical source is defined by the interrelationship of three components: «person or event – text – place». Such objects provide an opportunity to examine not only the content of urban historical memory but also the mechanisms through which it is officially selected, institutionalized, and spatially embedded in the urban environment.

Keywords: *Astana, historical memory, urban space, commemorative practices, commemoration, source studies, memorial plaques, sites of memory.*

Алихан Бадиев

ИСТОРИЧЕСКАЯ ПАМЯТЬ В ГОРОДСКОМ ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ АСТАНЫ: ИСТОЧНИКОВЕДЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ МЕМОРИАЛЬ- НЫХ ПРАКТИК

Аннотация. В статье исследуется историческая память в городском пространстве Астаны посредством источниковедческого анализа мемориальных практик. Основной эмпирический корпус исследования составляют мемориальные и памятные доски, которые рассматриваются как особая категория материальных, эпиграфических и визуально-пространственных исторических источников. Исследование основано на авторском реестре, сформированном на основе нормативных правовых актов, официальных материалов государственных органов и институциональных интернет-ресурсов. После проведения верификации, сопоставления сведений и устранения дублирующихся записей в итоговый анализ был включен 51 уникальный объект.

Методологическую основу исследования составили методы источниковедческой критики, классификации, сравнительного и количественного анализа. Полученные результаты показывают, что наиболее крупные тематические группы представлены мемориальными объектами, посвященными военной истории и ветеранам, профессиональному героизму и государственной службе, а также представителям культуры, литературы и средств массовой информации. Выявленная тематическая структура позволяет определить основные направления репрезентации прошлого в мемориальном пространстве столицы.

Источниковая специфика мемориальной доски определяется взаимосвязью трех компонентов: «личность или событие - текст - место». Такие объекты позволяют исследовать не только содержание городской исторической памяти, но и механизмы ее официального отбора и пространственного закрепления.

Ключевые слова: Астана, историческая память, городское пространство, мемориальные практики, коммеморация, источниковедение, мемориальные доски, места памяти.

Алихан Бадиев

АСТАНАНЫҢ ҚАЛАЛЫҚ КЕҢІСТІГІНДЕГІ ТАРИХИ ЖАД: МЕ- МОРИАЛДЫҚ ПРАКТИКАЛАРДЫ ДЕРЕКТАНУЛЫҚ ТАЛДАУ

Аңдатпа. Мақалада Астана қаласының кеңістігіндегі тарихи жады мемориалдық тәжірибелерді деректанулық талдау негізінде зерттеледі. Зерттеудің негізгі эмпирикалық корпусын материалдық, эпиграфика-

лық және визуалды-кеңістіктік тарихи деректер ретінде қарастырылатын мемориалдық және ескерткіш тақталар құрайды. Зерттеу нормативтік құқықтық актілер, мемлекеттік органдардың ресми материалдары және институционалдық интернет-ресурстар негізінде автор құрастырған тізілімге сүйенеді. Деректерді верификациялау, өзара салыстыру және қайталанатын жазбаларды алып тастау нәтижесінде қорытынды талдауға 51 бірегей нысан енгізілді.

Зерттеудің әдіснамалық негізін деректанулық сын, жіктеу, салыстырмалы және сандық талдау әдістері құрайды. Зерттеу нәтижелері мемориалдық нысандардың ең ірі тақырыптық топтары әскери тарих пен ардагерлерге, кәсіби ерлік пен мемлекеттік қызметке, сондай-ақ мәдениет, әдебиет және бұқаралық ақпарат құралдары өкілдеріне арналғанын көрсетті. Анықталған тақырыптық құрылым елорданың мемориалдық кеңістігінде тарихи өткенді репрезентациялаудың басым бағыттарын айқындауға мүмкіндік береді.

Мемориалдық тақтаның тарихи дерек ретіндегі өзіндік ерекшелігі «тұлға немесе оқиға – мәтін – орын» үштағанының өзара байланысы арқылы айқындалады. Осы тұрғыдан алғанда, мемориалдық және ескерткіш тақталар қалалық тарихи жадының мазмұнын ғана емес, оны ресми іріктеу, қоғамдық кеңістікте репрезентациялау және кеңістіктік тұрғыдан бекіту тетіктерін де зерттеуге мүмкіндік береді. Ұсынылған тәсіл Астананың қазіргі қалалық кеңістігінде тарихи жадының қалыптасуы мен қызмет ету ерекшеліктерін тереңірек түсінуге мүмкіндік береді.

Түйін сөздер: Астана, тарихи жад, қалалық кеңістік, мемориалдық практикалар, коммеморация, деректану, мемориалдық тақталар, жад орындары.

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, the study of historical memory in urban space has become a prominent field of humanities research. Memory of the past is embedded not only in academic works and archival documents but also in the material environment of the city – in monuments, street names, memorial complexes, buildings, and memorial plaques. Plaques constitute a distinctive type of source because they connect a specific person or event with a particular building and thereby turn everyday urban space into a carrier of historical information.

This issue is especially significant for Astana. The capital brings together several historical layers – Akmolinsk, Tselinograd, Akmola, and contemporary Astana. Memorial plaques make it possible to trace which personalities and events from these different periods are preserved in the city's public

memory, which professional and social groups receive official recognition, and how the criteria of commemoration change over time.

The aim of this article is to identify the features of the representation of historical memory in Astana's urban space through a source-study analysis of commemorative practices, using a compiled corpus of memorial and commemorative plaques as the principal empirical base. To achieve this aim, the study addresses the following tasks: to characterize the legal status of the memorial plaque; to define the principles used to compile and verify the source corpus; to classify the objects by thematic groups; to examine the chronology of their installation; and to identify the possibilities and limitations of memorial plaques as sources for the study of urban memory.

The scholarly novelty of the study does not rest on a claim that Astana's urban memory has not previously been studied. Rather, it lies in an attempt to conduct a systematic source-study analysis of the capital's commemorative practices on the basis of a verified corpus of memorial and commemorative plaques. This approach makes it possible to move from descriptions of individual objects to a comparison of their content, dating, address-based location, regulatory basis, and thematic affiliation.

In studies of collective memory, memorial objects are regarded as mechanisms through which socially significant representations of the past are fixed in public space. The concept of a «site of memory» is particularly productive for the present study: a memorial plaque creates a localized point of contact between historical narrative and physical space. Unlike a large monument, which may be erected in a specially organized commemorative setting, a plaque is usually attached to the facade of a building where a person lived, worked, or stayed, or where a particular event occurred. This address-based character substantially increases its value as a historical source.

Contemporary studies of memorial plaques show that they can be examined simultaneously as markers of historical memory and as forms of public communication. D. Khrushcheva, for example, analyzes memorial plaques as markers of «sites of memory» and as a means of transmitting historical representations in the urban environment (Khrushcheva 2024). Russian scholarship also includes studies of memorial plaques as a form of preserving the memory of the Second World War. For Kazakhstan, this methodological perspective can be applied with due regard to national legislation and the specific features of the capital's urban space.

A preliminary literature search did not identify a specialized study in which a verified corpus of Astana memorial plaques was subjected to an independent quantitative and source-study analysis. This conclusion should be understood as a working result of the bibliographic search rather than as a categorical assertion that no such publications exist.

The historiographical context for the study of urban memory in Astana has been shaped primarily by works that examine the capital's space as a means of representing identity, statehood, and national narratives. B. Köppen analyzes the production of the new capital through architecture, urban design, and identity, showing that since the late 1990s Astana has been conceived not only as an administrative center but also as a symbolic showcase of Kazakhstan's statehood. N. Koch, focusing on the capital's monumental architecture, interprets it as a material expression of ideas of modernity and as a component of post-Soviet nation-building. These studies are important here because they make it possible to treat the city's material environment not as a neutral background to historical processes but as a carrier of political and cultural meanings (Koch 2010; Köppen 2013).

Studies by N. Bekus and K. Medeuova are more directly connected with the problem of historical memory. The authors show how Soviet heritage coexists in Astana's urban space with new forms of public representation of national ideology. Their analysis includes architecture, monuments, toponymy, facades, sculptures, and other elements of the urban environment. Importantly, the transformation of the symbolic landscape is interpreted not as the complete elimination of previous layers of memory but as their reinterpretation and incorporation into new frameworks of meaning. This conclusion is especially relevant to memorial plaques: plaques from different periods may coexist in the same urban space and form a multilayered structure of memory (Bekus 2017; Bekus and Medeuova 2017).

A separate line of research concerns the mechanisms through which commemorative objects are created. Using two monuments in Astana as examples, A. Fauve notes that the symbolic production of urban space is not always the result of a single predetermined strategy: state priorities, administrative procedures, professional communities, and individual actors interact in this process. This approach helps avoid reducing a memorial plaque to a direct expression of state policy. Official permission records institutional approval, but the initiative to commemorate, the choice of building, the wording of the inscription, and the object's subsequent public life may have a more complex origin (Fauve 2015).

For the Kazakhstani context, the work of K. Medeuova and co-authors on practices and sites of memory is of particular importance. It examines Kazakhstan's commemorative space through heroism, trauma, forgetting, displacement, and nostalgia, drawing on monuments, museums, and other sites of memory. More recent studies continue to develop this approach in relation to particular types of memorial objects. Research on monuments dedicated to female figures of the twentieth century, for example, demonstrates the productivity of combining source criticism with visual-

semiotic and discourse analysis. Thus, Kazakhstani scholarship has developed a methodological basis for studying commemorative space, while the capital's memorial plaques as an independent serial corpus remain considerably less developed as an object of research (Medeuova et al. 2017).

In international and Russian scholarship, the memorial plaque is already treated as a specific mechanism for spatially anchoring social memory. A. A. Barannikova demonstrates the role of memorial plaques in shaping the cultural landscape of the city, while studies of plaques as «last addresses» emphasize their dual nature: they are both material signs of memory and forms of public communication. Unlike a large monument, a memorial plaque is usually directly connected to a specific building and therefore links biography, text, and physical place. It is precisely this localization that makes the plaque a particularly useful source for reconstructing the urban topography of memory (Barannikova 2017; Khrushcheva 2024).

The existing literature can therefore be divided into three broad groups: studies of Astana's symbolic and architectural space; Kazakhstani works in memory studies and on commemorative practices; and specialized studies of memorial plaques as a form of urban memory. The present study is situated at the intersection of these fields. Its distinctive feature is the transition from the analysis of individual landmark objects to a serial source-study examination of a verified corpus of the capital's memorial plaques. This approach combines qualitative interpretation of individual objects with quantitative analysis of the composition of commemorated personalities and events.

RESEARCH METHODS AND SOURCE BASE

The initial working dataset contained 88 records. Verification led to the exclusion of duplicates, objects located in other cities, records lacking sufficient confirmation, and monuments, stelae, and other commemorative objects that the sources did not identify as memorial or commemorative plaques. The cleaned register contained 52 confirmed records; additional deduplication of two entries relating to the site of Akmolinsk's first mosque produced 51 unique objects. Ten objects have confirmation level A (a regulatory act or an official departmental publication), while the remaining objects are supported by official, institutional, or other reliable sources that directly confirm the existence of the plaque in Astana. The present analysis therefore uses 51 unique objects.

For each record, the database documented the commemorated person or event, thematic category, address or installation site, year of installation when available, regulatory act, level of confirmation, source URL, and notes.

This method separates the factual verification of an object's existence from its subsequent historical interpretation and makes the sample reproducible.

A limitation of the current corpus is incomplete dating: the exact calendar year has not yet been established for every object in the register. Chronological conclusions therefore rely only on dated records and cannot automatically be generalized to the entire corpus. Similarly, a regulatory act has been identified for only some objects; the absence of a located act in the working register does not mean that such a document never existed. The study uses only publicly available information and does not involve personal or sensitive data requiring additional ethical procedures.

Research Results: Institutionalization of Commemorative Practice

Under the current Rules for the Installation of Memorial Plaques, a memorial plaque is defined as a slab made of marble, granite, metal, or other materials that contains information about an outstanding person or a significant event and is installed on the facades of buildings and structures. Installation is carried out on the basis of permits issued by local executive bodies. The Rules link a plaque to a specific building associated with the person's residence, work, or stay, or with the occurrence of an event. Amendments adopted in 2025 further specified requirements concerning the duration of the connection with the site, the period after a person's death, and the general principle of one plaque for one person or event within a single locality (Minister of Culture and Sports of the Republic of Kazakhstan 2020).

Astana's regulatory acts show that commemoration is an institutionally organized practice. For example, Resolution No. 105-7 of the Astana Akimat dated January 8, 2018 provided for the installation of memorial plaques to film and theater director Azerbaijan Mambetov at 6 S. Seifullin Street, literary scholar Rymgali Nurgali at 6/5 Abylai Khan Avenue, and weightlifter Anatoly Khrapaty at 5 Zhenis Avenue. The composition of this single regulatory act already demonstrates that the capital's officially sanctioned commemorative pantheon includes representatives of culture, scholarship, and sport and is not limited to the political sphere (Akimat of Astana 2018).

An earlier example is the joint Resolution No. 73 of the Astana Akimat dated November 23, 2009 and Decision No. 288/42-IV of the Astana Maslikhat dated December 21, 2009, which provided for a memorial plaque to statesman and public figure Kairiden Karbayev at 30 A. Bukeikhan Street. Comparison of such acts from different years may in the future make it possible to reconstruct the administrative history of commemoration and changes in the criteria for the official selection of personalities (Akimat and Maslikhat of the City of Astana 2009).

Thematic Structure of the Verified Corpus

For quantitative analysis, the 51 unique objects were grouped into seven broad thematic categories. Classification was based on the dominant rationale for commemoration: the person's professional affiliation, the nature of the recognized contribution, or the type of event. This approach avoids double-counting people who could simultaneously be assigned, for example, to literature and public service, and makes comparison between categories reproducible.

Table 1. Thematic structure of the verified corpus

Thematic category	Number	Share %
Military history and veterans	14	27.5
Professional heroism and public services	12	23.5
Culture, literature and media	11	21.6
Events, urban and religious memory	5	9.8
Science and education	4	7.8
State and public activity	4	7.8
Sport	1	2.0

The largest category is military history and veterans, with 14 objects (27.5%). Professional heroism and service in security, emergency response, law enforcement, and medicine ranks second with 12 objects (23.5%). Culture, literature, and media account for 11 objects (21.6%). Together, these three categories make up 72.6% of the corpus. Events and urban and religious memory are represented by 5 objects (9.8%); science and education by 4 (7.8%); state and public activity by 4 (7.8%); and sport by 1 object (2.0%). Thus, the commemorative landscape represented by the sample cannot be reduced to the memorialization of political and state elites: military memory, professional heroism, and the cultural-intellectual sphere predominate quantitatively.

The category of professional heroism is particularly revealing. The corpus includes individual plaques dedicated to firefighters and rescuers, law-enforcement officers, and medical workers. The official website of the Astana Akimat, for example, records the installation of a plaque to paramedic Uldana Myrzuan on the building of the city ambulance station after her death in the line of duty. Departmental sources of the Ministry of Emergency Situations also confirm the commemoration of firefighters who died while performing their duties. This material suggests not the displacement of the traditional heroic narrative but its expansion: alongside military valor, professional duty in peacetime becomes an object of public memory (Akimat of Astana 2026).

The cultural and intellectual layer is likewise heterogeneous and includes literature, theater, music, journalism, scholarship, and education. Resolution No. 105-7 of the Astana Akimat dated January 8, 2018 vividly demonstrates the breadth of official selection: a single act provided for plaques to director Azerbaijan Mambetov, literary scholar Rymgali Nurgali, and Olympic champion Anatoly Khrapaty. In later practice, commemoration continues through attachment to places of residence: official reports record plaques to Kakimbek Salykov and Akim Tarazi. A memorial plaque therefore both fixes an individual biography and gives a particular building the status of a local site of memory.

Chronology and Dynamics of Commemoration

The exact calendar year of installation has been established for 30 of the 51 unique objects. The dated sequence extends from the late Soviet and early post-Soviet layers represented in the working register to recent unveilings in 2025. Among these dated objects, one belongs to the 1990s, five to the 2000s, eleven to the 2010s, and thirteen to the 2020s. These figures cannot automatically be interpreted as the actual intensity of commemoration by decade: 21 objects remain undated, and digital source availability is substantially better for recent years. For that reason, a date was treated as established only when it was stated in a regulatory act, an official report of the unveiling, or another source directly connected with the object. The register also distinguishes the date of installation from the lifetime of the commemorated person and from the date of publication of the online source.

The early part of the dated series includes objects associated with the international status of the new capital and with state and public figures. The 2010s feature military memory, culture, scholarship, and sport. In the 2020s, official sources particularly well document individual plaques to Second World War veterans and representatives of professional heroism. In 2025, for example, plaques were unveiled in Astana to veterans Nasharbek Shamshanov and Nazhiken Kapyshev; the former was installed at 12 Seifullin Street, in the building where Shamshanov lived from 1983 to 1991. Contemporary commemorative practice therefore combines anniversary-based commemoration of nationally significant events with the localization of individual biographies in the urban environment.

The Memorial Plaque as a Spatial Historical Source

The source-specific character of a memorial plaque lies in the threefold relationship «person or event-text-place». The inscription communicates selected biographical information and officially recognized merits; the material carrier records the act of commemoration; and the address connects

historical information to a specific element of the urban environment. A plaque can therefore be used to reconstruct not only biography but also the spatial structure of memory.

In this respect, Astana may be understood as a distributed urban archive. Memorial plaques mark residences, institutions, places of service, and locations of historical events. They reveal which buildings acquire additional historical significance and which biographies are incorporated into residents' everyday routes. A promising direction for further research is the mapping of verified objects, followed by analysis of their concentration by district, central thoroughfare, residential area, and institutional or departmental territory.

At the same time, a memorial plaque is not a neutral reflection of the past. Its appearance is the result of selection, approval, and official authorization. The text of a plaque inevitably reduces a complex biography to a limited set of socially approved characteristics. This type of source should therefore be analyzed together with regulatory acts, initiative letters, commission minutes, biographical materials, and other sources.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The analysis yields several findings. First, the verified corpus demonstrates thematic pluralism in urban memory. Military history and veterans account for 27.5%, professional heroism and public services for 23.5%, and culture, literature, and media for 21.6%. Second, state and public figures as a separate category constitute 7.8%, which does not support an interpretation of the capital's memorial plaques exclusively as instruments for representing political elites. Third, event-related plaques show that commemoration is not limited to individuals: urban space also marks religious heritage, the Virgin Lands campaign, wartime mobilization, and the international recognition of the capital.

The verification procedure itself was also an important result. The initial dataset of 88 records was reduced to 52 confirmed entries after the removal of duplicates, objects from other cities, unidentified decisions, and other types of commemorative objects; additional deduplication of two records concerning Akmolinsk's first mosque produced 51 unique objects. This reduction is not a loss of material. On the contrary, it strengthens the evidentiary basis of the quantitative analysis and demonstrates the need to distinguish strictly between a memorial plaque, a monument, a stela, an alley, and a museum memorial object.

Spatial attachment is a key characteristic of the corpus. In a substantial number of confirmed cases, the plaque is installed on a residence, workplace, educational institution, or place of service. For example, the

plaque to Professor Mikhail Spektor is located at 2/3 Zheltoksan Street; the plaque to Nasharbek Shamshanov is on the building at 12 Seifullin Street where he lived; and the plaque to Kakimbek Salykov is attached to the house where he lived from 2002 to 2013. A memorial plaque therefore does more than communicate a biographical fact: it connects that fact to the material fabric of the city and turns the everyday route into a channel through which historical memory is reproduced (Akimat of Astana 2022).

Address comparison reveals two principal spatial modes of commemoration. The first is residential localization: plaques are attached to houses in which the commemorated person lived, as in the cases of Nasharbek Shamshanov at 12 Seifullin Street, Professor Mikhail Spektor at 2/3 Zheltoksan Street, Kaireden Karbayev at 30 A. Bukeikhan Street, and several writers and cultural figures. The second is institutional localization: professional memory is fixed at a workplace, educational institution, emergency-service facility, police building, hospital, museum, or religious building. This distinction is analytically important because a residential plaque incorporates a biography into an everyday neighborhood route, whereas an institutional plaque reinforces the collective identity and professional memory of the organization occupying the site.

The address-based distribution also identifies several recurring urban nodes. S. Seifullin Street links cultural and military memory through the plaques to Azerbaijan Mambetov and Nasharbek Shamshanov; Zhenis Avenue combines sporting and literary commemoration through the plaques to Anatoly Khrapaty and Nurgozha Oraz; and the streets of the historic right-bank part of the city, including Zheltoksan, A. Bukeikhan, and Imanov, contain objects associated with scholarship, public service, and the pre-Soviet religious history of Akmolinsk. By contrast, plaques connected with professional heroism are frequently located on institutional or departmental premises. The corpus therefore suggests that thematic categories are not distributed randomly: biographical memory tends to be anchored in residences, while professional and collective memory is more often attached to institutions and places of service.

Table 2. Representative address-based nodes in Astana's commemorative landscape

Location	Object	Memory type	Spatial function
6 S. Seifullin Street	Azerbaijan Mambetov	Culture and theatre	Residence-based biographical memory
12 S. Seifullin Street	Nasharbek Shamshanov	Military history and veterans	Residence and everyday neighborhood route

Location	Object	Memory type	Spatial function
2/3 Zheltoksan Street	Mikhail Spektor	Science and education	Residence-based scholarly memory
5 Zhenis Avenue	Anatoly Khrapaty	Sport	Residence-based biographical memory
30 A. Bukeikhan Street	Kaireden Karbayev	State and public activity	Residence and officially authorized commemoration
2 Imanov Street	Site of Akmolinsk's first mosque	Urban and religious history	Place-based memory of a lost historical structure
City ambulance station	Uldana Myrzuan	Professional heroism and medicine	Workplace and professional community memory

The texts and visual organization of the plaques likewise vary according to the commemorative function. Residential plaques usually combine the person's name, life dates or period of residence, and a concise indication of status or merit. This formula transforms a private biographical connection with a building into a publicly authorized historical statement. Photographic documentation of the plaque to Nasharbek Shamshanov shows a dark polished rectangular slab with a portrait and an inscription identifying him as a Second World War veteran and recording his residence in the building from 1983 to 1991. The portrait individualizes the object, while the residential dates authenticate its attachment to that particular facade (Akimat of Astana 2025a).

The plaque to paramedic Uldana Myrzuan represents a different commemorative model. It is installed at her workplace, the city ambulance station, and its public interpretation emphasizes professional duty, courage, and death in the line of service. The portrait-centered dark plaque and its placement within the institutional environment turn an individual biography into an ethical example for the professional community. Event-related plaques perform another function: the plaque at 2 Imanov Street preserves the memory of Akmolinsk's first mosque even though the original structure no longer survives, while the plaque concerning the UNESCO Cities for Peace award links the international recognition of the capital to the municipal administration building. These examples demonstrate that text, image, material form, and location work together: the inscription names the approved historical meaning, the portrait or symbolic element directs interpretation, and the facade anchors that meaning in urban space (Akimat of Astana 2026).

Serial analysis of memorial plaques thus complements studies of Astana's monumental architecture and major monuments. While the latter

primarily represent the state and the city through large-scale symbolic images, the memorial plaque operates at the micro-level of urban space. It connects public memory to an address, a building, and an everyday route. Joint study of these levels may provide a fuller reconstruction of the capital's commemorative landscape and trace its transformation from Tselinograd and Akmola to Astana in the period of independence.

The present address-based and visual-textual analysis remains limited by the unevenness of online documentation and should be extended through systematic field inspection of all objects. Fieldwork would make it possible to compare regulatory acts and published photographs with plaques that physically survive today and to document, in a standardized manner, the language of inscriptions, materials, portraits, decorative elements, physical condition, and placement on facades. Geographic coordinates should also be added to the expanded database so that the identified residential and institutional modes can be tested through cartographic analysis of concentration by district, central thoroughfare, residential area, and departmental territory.

The representativeness of the corpus also requires special attention. The register includes only objects whose existence could be confirmed through documentary or official institutional sources. It is not an exhaustive catalogue of every plaque ever installed in the city. The most significant bias is related to source digitization: events of the 2010s and 2020s are much better represented on government websites and in electronic media than commemorative practice in Soviet Tselinograd and the first years of independence. The quantitative indicators in this article therefore characterize the structure of the verified corpus rather than the absolute distribution of all memorial plaques in the capital.

The presence of several thematic groups also calls for cautious use of the concept of «memory policy». Not every individual object should automatically be interpreted as a direct expression of a unified state concept. Initiatives may originate from relatives, professional collectives, public organizations, or institutions, while the local executive body carries out the approval and authorization procedures prescribed by law. Studies of Astana's commemorative space likewise emphasize the multiplicity of actors involved in the symbolic production of the city (Fauve 2015). In relation to memorial plaques, it is therefore more accurate to speak of interaction among official regulation, public initiative, and professional memory.

The structure of the corpus shows that the capital's public memory cannot be reduced to a single state-political narrative. The substantial representation of military history and veterans reflects the persistence of memory of the Second World War and other military themes. At the same

time, the large group devoted to culture, literature, and media demonstrates the inclusion of intellectual and creative figures in the urban commemorative pantheon. The category of professional heroism is especially noteworthy: firefighters, rescuers, law-enforcement officers, and medical workers are commemorated for acts of courage and professional service. In this respect, contemporary commemorative practice broadens the range of socially recognized exemplary figures beyond people who held high state or public office.

From a source-study perspective, it is essential to distinguish between information about the commemorated person and information about the period in which the plaque itself was installed. Biographical information on the plaque refers to the person's lifetime, whereas the decision to install it, the choice of building, the wording of merits, and the date of unveiling characterize the society carrying out the commemoration. The same plaque therefore contains two chronological layers. The first refers to a historical person or event; the second records later ideas about which elements of the past deserve public fixation. It is precisely this second layer that makes serial analysis of plaques productive for the study of memory policy.

The findings allow memorial plaques to be viewed not merely as a collection of biographical notices but as the result of institutional selection of the past. Unlike major monuments, which may create independent squares and ensembles, a memorial plaque is inserted into the existing urban fabric. Its effect is tied to everyday life: it is encountered on a residential building, administrative office, educational institution, or other facility, that is, along regular urban routes. Commemoration thus acquires a local character and links a person's biography to a specific address. This mechanism corresponds to observations in studies of Astana's urban space that the symbolic content of the capital is produced not only by major architectural landmarks but also by numerous local objects through which the past is incorporated into the contemporary city (Köppen 2013; Bekus and Medeuova 2017).

Debatable Aspects of the Representation of Urban Memory

The compiled register also has practical value for museum, archival, and educational work. Verified information about addresses and personalities can serve as a basis for thematic urban routes, a digital map of sites of memory, and educational assignments on the history of the capital. For researchers, such a register enables repeated verification of conclusions and subsequent expansion of the sample. It is important, however, to distinguish between a scholarly catalogue and an official register: inclusion of an object in the research database confirms the availability of evidence for the plaque but does not by itself establish its current legal status or physical preservation. Field verification should therefore be treated as a separate stage of research.

Comparison of the register with decisions of municipal bodies may also be used to study changes in regulatory practice, the role of anniversaries, and the balance between initiatives of different professional communities. Expansion of the database through archival decisions from the Soviet and early post-Soviet periods would make it possible to test whether the thematic structure identified here is specific to the contemporary capital or continues earlier traditions of urban commemoration.

CONCLUSION

Astana's memorial plaques constitute an independent corpus of material, epigraphic, and visual-spatial sources for the study of urban historical memory. Their source value derives from the combination of three elements: an officially selected text, a specific person or event, and spatial attachment to a building or place. Unlike a large monument, a memorial plaque more often preserves a direct connection between biography and the everyday urban environment.

Quantitative analysis of 51 unique verified objects showed that the largest thematic categories are military history and veterans (27.5%), professional heroism and public services (23.5%), and culture, literature, and media (21.6%). State and public activity as an independent category accounts for 7.8%. The commemorative landscape represented by the corpus can therefore be characterized as heterogeneous: military valor, cultural authority, scholarly and public service, sporting achievement, and professional heroism in peacetime coexist within it.

Chronological analysis remains limited by incomplete dating: the exact year has been established for 30 objects. The address-based comparison nevertheless reveals a meaningful distinction between residence-centered biographical memory and institution-centered professional or collective memory. Analysis of representative plaques further shows that inscriptions, portraits, materials, and placement on a facade jointly construct the public meaning of commemoration. Further work should therefore prioritize the search for regulatory acts and dates for the remaining records, systematic field documentation of all inscriptions and visual features, and coordinate-based mapping of their locations. Comparison of Astana with Almaty and regional centers also appears promising, as it would help identify which features of commemorative practice are nationwide and which are shaped by the capital status of the city.

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