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The personality of Tonyukuk and the geopolitical position of the Second East Turkish Khaganate

A relevant topic of historical science is the study and evaluation of the activities of Tonyukuk, the state councilor of the Second Turkic Kaganate, the chief ideologist responsible for the ideological activities of the Kaganate from 682 to 725. Between 682 and 725 the wise Tonyukuk worked as an adviser to the three ruling Kagans on political and spiritual-cultural issues. The article reveals the essence of the secrets of Tonyukuk's socio-political activities, who was a state councilor of the Khaganate and the chairman of the Supreme Court. In the course of the research work the historical data as well as the works of turkologists and historians dealing with the fundamental problems of the Turkic Khaganate were studied. The article analyzes the ethnic origin, ethnogenesis, tribal composition and state structure of the ancient Turks. At present, there is relatively little research work on the activities of Ashide Tonyukuk as a historical figure who did a tremendous political work to establish the Second East Turkic Khaganate. The article extensively discussed hypotheses and scholarly considerations about the reasons why historical figures as Kutlug Kagan and the wise Tonyukuk, within the ideas of independence of all ethnic Turkic tribes, resumed state building of the Second East Turkic Khaganate in 682.

Keywords: Ashina, Turk, Kaganate, Kagan, Bilge, Tonyukuk, Kutlug, Kultegin, Tabgach, Eastern Turkic Khaganate.

Introduction

Tonyukuk was a great persona who left behind an indelible mark in the history; was known for his exceptional intelligence; left undying fame for himself; subordinated to his wisdom, strength, foresight; left the great heritage, carved a song of a deep sorrow, joy, courage and perseverance of his people on a rock [1; 37]. One of the founders of the Second Turkic Khaganate, a son of Kok Turk's Ashide tribal union, a great person Tonyukuk was the Counselor for three kagans and led troops in the most difficult times.

In 1897 well-known Siberian archaeologist D.A. Clements found a priceless heritage of ancient Turkic period — the Tonyukuk monument complex in the steppes of Central Mongolia. In 1898 the inscriptions on the monument were photographed and prints were made. The first translation and publication of the inscriptions were made by V.V. Radlov. Tonyukuk monument is located 66 km away from Bain-Tsokto, on the right bank of the Tola river, in the middle of a populated area Nalayha [2; 68]. Since the days of preparation for independence war of the KokTurks Tonyukuk never defeated in those battles that he led in the period of continuous service for state during the reign of Ilterish kagan, Kapagan kagan and Bilge kagan [3; 57].

With a sharp mind, deep knowledge and abilities in warfare he served as the advisor for the three Turkic kagans and masterfully organized military affairs and diplomatic relations with neighboring countries. The purpose of the study is to identify how this outstanding historical figure influenced the formation of the national idea of the present.

Methodology

In the course of the study, the historical (historical-genetic) method was used, which implies the consideration of any phenomenon in its development: nucleation, formation and death [4; 60]. However, when analyzing the transformation of institutions, phenomena and processes, it was important to establish causal relationships in the process of historical changes in the phenomenon or process being studied in order to identify how the general national idea of the peoples of Kazakhstan was born and developed. At the same time, it was important in a huge number of different processes and events to highlight those that are most relevant to the task.

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Results and discussion

The question of the origin of the Second Turkic Khaganate kagans' advisor and the main ideologist of the revived Khaganate Tonyukuk comprehensively considered in science researches. Famous sinologist N.Ya. Bichurin first raises the question of Tonyukuk in his work "History of the peoples that lived in Central Asia" published in 1851 [5; 267].

Many researchers from V. Thomsen and famous sinologist F. Hirt consider Yuanzhen and the famous ancient Turkic sage Tonyukuk as one man and devoted their science research work for this person. They substantiate the subject of research by verified facts and make a scientific opinion on this question [6; 19].

The researcher academician V.V. Barthold gives the following information in his work, "In the Chinese sources Tonyukuk mentioned only from 716; with regard to its role in Elterish reign, those feats and achievements that Tonyukuk attributes to him, according to the Chinese, were the work of Ashide Yuanzhen, supposedly killed in 689, at war with Turgeshes" [7; 314]. Relying on the information that V.V. Barthold gives, the first mention of the Tonyukuk name in Chinese sources only begins in 716. Also, the Chinese doubt on the exclusive role of Tonyukuk, his exploits and activities during the reign of Elteris and Kutlyk kagans, and believe that he wrote it by himself. According to the Chinese researchers this is the result of Ashide Yuanzhen activities, which died during the war with Turgeshes in 689. In this work V.V. Barthold wrote that sinologist F. Hirt gives certain evidence regarding the fact that Yuanzhen and Tonyukuk is the same person. Rumors of the Tonyukuk death in the Far East could spread by Mo-ch'o Khan (Kapaghan kagan) and Tonykok himself. From a political point of view between Kapaghan kagan of the Second Turkic Khaganate and the Chinese government have been established good relations, despite their temporary nature: the disappearance of the most dangerous enemy of the Chinese people, "traitor". The researcher academician V.V. Barthold in the last years of his life for the first time found the key to the Turkic secret writing. In the encyclopedic research article devoted to Danish scientist W. Thomsen who made an invaluable contribution to the study of Turkic culture, V.V. Barthold returned again to his opinion and gives the following assessment, "V. Thomsen devoted pages of his research work "On the identity Tonyukuk", published in 1916 for Tonyukuk person who was an advisor to the three Khans, who wrote about himself as the main participant in the political revival of the Turks" [8; 764]. After analyzing, we can conclude that Tonyukuk was born during the reign of the Chinese people over the Turks and intends to become a Chinese. Wise Tonyukuk hadn't died and only considered to be dead in one of the battles by assumption of F. Hirt.

Well-known orientalist-historian, archaeologist, anthropologist and one of the leading scientists specializing in the history and culture of the Central Asia peoples A.N. Bernstamm characterizes Tonyukuk in his fundamental monograph "Socio-economic structure of the Orkhon-Yenisei Turks. VI-VIII centuries" [9; 180].

In the fundamental work "Western Mongolia and Uryankhai region", G.E. Grumm-Grjmailo associated sudden improvement of Kutlug-Elterish kagan with the accession of Tonyukuk to Kok Turks [10; 285]. G. E. Grumm-Grjmailo refers in this work to F. Hirt statement that Tonyukuk and Yuanzhen one and the same person. But the answer to this question he leaves to F. Hirt.

Basing on the opinion of G. E. Grumm-Grjmailo, recognizing that Ashide Yuanzhen and Tonyukuk are two people L.N. Gumilyov writes, "Kutlug win over Ashide Yuanzhen and Tonyukuk who speak Chinese. And he used them for his own purposes. Such people know very well weaknesses of opponents and know how to overcome them. And indeed, after a while the shape of the war is changing dramatically" [11; 272]. Probably because of the complexity of the Tonyukuk origin and many contradictions in the scientific opinions on this subject L.N. Gumilyov did not study it in depth. I.V. Stebleva who made a scientific analysis of Tonyukuk written records argues that the contribution of this great personality in the creation of the Second Turkic Khaganate is very high. She writes, "Tonyukuk belonged to Ashide clan, the second in nobility and he was a really prominent figure, who played an important role in the history of the Second Eastern Turk Empire. With his help Kutlug came to power and was proclaimed as a kagan" [12; 103].

The book of Myrzatai Zholdasbekov and Karzhaubay Sartkozha "Complete atlas of Orkhon monuments", which was published in 2007, focuses on the etymology of the word Tonyukuk, "Tuj" — the first syllable of the word hawk (tuygyn). If in the first Turkic Khaganate warriors were "bori", then in the time of the Second Turkic Khaganate first-line warriors are called "hawks". Tuj-uqoq — battle leader. Therefore, it is possible that he was called "Hawk". Uqoq — sage, philosopher, wit [13; 320].

S.M. Syzdykov makes analysis of the etymology of the word Tonyukuk, "In our opinion, taking into account the opinion of the scientists who studied this question before us, we recognize that there is a com-

plex of historical reasons for the appearance of this name on the scene. Firstly, if we consider Tujuquq environment, we will see that he was Bilge kagan's father-in-law. In his youth he lived for 13 years in the capital of China, there he was educated and trained. At that time, khaganate management divided into "Ashina" and "Ashide". It is known that there was an overwhelming majority of the Ashina. However, without the support of Ashide khaganate would not be so strong. In 682 Ashina Kutlug kagan was able to create the Second Turkic Khaganate only after securing the support of Ashide. Tonyukuk wrote that he was a kagan's adviser and a commander" [14; 75].

In his book, "Gök-Türkler", A. Tashagyl relying on Chinese sources comprehensively studied Tonyukuk contribution to the creation and prosperity of Kok Turk khaganate. In the paragraph "Tonyukuk's escape from China and joining Kutlug" of 3 volume book "Gök-Türkler" Ahmet Tashagyl writes about the Tonyukuk identity, "Ashide Yuanzhen in the position of inspector of tribes subservient to Shyn (China) troops was captured by the deputy head of Whang Penley. Later, during a Kutlug raid on China Ashide Yuanzhen was forgiven. He also asked Kutlug to reinstate him in a previous post. After permission, Tonyukuk returned to the countryside, where his tribe lived. Later he became Kutlug's supporter. Kutlug noticed Tonyukuk by his prudence, organizational abilities and military skills and appointed him as Apa Tarkhan (military leader). Thus the leadership of the troops and military affairs has moved fully under his command" [15; 335].

In the first summer of Yuen-Shun reign in 682 Kutlug rebelled against China [5; 266]. Kutlug origin is coming from the Ashina tribe; he was educated in China and he headed Turkic people in the liberation movement against China, who had been under the yoke of China for 50 years during the period from 630 to 680. At this time Tonyukuk masterfully took an advantage of this very important political event, joined the Kutlug rebellion against the empire. He also put in key positions his close companions in arms and reliable relatives. After declaring himself as a kagan he awarded two younger brothers by the title of yabgu. He made Tonyukuk as a companion in arms and entrusted him with the strengthening of the military forces and diplomatic relations. [16; 56].

It says following about the war for the independence of the Turkic peoples in the Tonyukuk inscriptions, "Those who had survived (among stones and sockets) joined together, and (they) were seven hundred people. Two parts of them were horsemen, and other part was footmen. He who seven hundred people. Made follow him — was I — "shad", the eldest among them. He said: "Gather!". It was I who gathered! I, wise Tonyukuk, wanted to explain my kagan and thought: whether (the future kagan) distinguishes the difference between greasy and gaunt bulls?" I thought long: "A gaunt bull can not contest with a greasy one!" as Tengri gave me intelligence, I was the one who rose (put, announced and acknowledged) the kagan! I, the Wise Tonyukuk Boila Baga Tarkhan, In alliance with Elterish kagan, killed a lot of Tabgaches (Chinese) in the south, in the east a lot of Kitans, in the north — Oguzes" [17; 123].

In writings on bitig tash lots of lines were devoted to the performance of its functions of Apa Tarkan. The most important thing — he was co-regent, without his approval any decision of national importance was not accepted. Tonyukuk's opinion always transmitted to kagan and eventually executed. He is aygushy, i.e. main state advisor [18; 228].

In turn, this is interconnected with the conclusion of the famous sinologist F.A. Zuev. And Turkish scientist Ahmet Tashagyl defines the term "apa tarhan" as commander-in-chief of the army in his work "Kök Tanrı'nın Çocukları" [19; 160]. In this regard, we can say that all of the above scientists have come to a consensus on "apa tarkhan" definition.

The rebellion of 682 had succeeded, and on the historical scene appeared the famous Second Turkic Khaganate. Wise Tonyukuk directly participated in the creation of the Second Turkic Khaganate and he is the one who formulated the state ideology of the newly created khaganate.

The writings of the main character of carved on stone monuments Tonyukuk begins the history with his life story. It says, "I myself, wise Tonyukuk, lived in Tabgach (Chinese) country. (As the whole) Turkic people was under Tabgach (China) subjection. Turkic people not being with their kagan, separated from Tabgach (China). (Then) having left their kagan, joined Tabgach (China) again" [17; 123]. From these words, we can understand that Tonyukuk was the son of one of the leaders of Turkic tribes. Because in those days, only descendants of the tribe leaders were left in hostage in the imperial palace, where they trained and educated. It means that wise Tonyukuk brought up with the Chinese from a young age was and got an education there.

Tabgach ruler's aim was to destroy the newly established Turkic state and not give it to strengthen its position. They tried to incite the people to their neighbor Tokuz-Oghuz tribe. But Tonyukuk, who was

brought up in the Tabgach country from an early age and fully mastered all the techniques against the enemy, anticipated the disaster with exceptional foresight and kept his spies among Toguz-Oguz. Tonyukuk defeated Tokuz-Oghuz after knowing about the tabgach's violent plans against Kok Turks.

In difficult times for the head of the state Tonyukuk using his ingenuity came up with a rescue plan and helped to take away troubles from the newly created state. After this victory, the Turkic people gathered at the sacred place Otuken in Altai. Tonyukuk's decision to place Turkic people near Otuken found great support among the people.

In 692, after the Kutlug kagan death according to the country management law of the Kok Turks his 27 years old younger brother Kapagan took the throne. Tonyukuk became his faithful companion, a wise adviser, and served him faithfully. In this regard, Tonyukuk ordered to carve on the stone slabs, "When Kapagan kagan was thirty three ... wasn't sleeping at nights, did not have peace of mind for days. Shed red blood and perspired" [17; 126]. Tonyukuk retained his position of the kagan's advisor under Kapagan kagan reign. He was actively involved in the conducting of domestic and foreign policy of the Second Turkic Khaganate.

In the time of Kapagan kagan the agreement was concluded between Kapagan kagan and Chinese female emperor Wu Zetain about returning Togul of Yellow River to Turks (plain Shugay-zhynys). After some time, Wu Zetain cancelled the agreement. Kapagan kagan being angry with this equipped an army and sent them to the east. This time, his army defeated 23 cities of the Tang Empire and returned with a big booty.

With all possible sincerity successful Turks military operations against Tang Empire carved on stone slabs of Tonyukuk, "Since the Turkic people became strong and Turkic kagan mounted the throne, they did not go with war to Shantung towns and the seas. I asked my kagan and moved the army I reached my army to Shantung towns and the seas. Twenty-three towns were destroyed" [17; 124].

In his book, "Monuments of ancient Turkic writing", S.E. Malov who studied Orkhon monuments writes the following, "Tonyukuk took commanding and succeeded by taking twenty-three cities" [20; 66].

Tonyukuk took over the whole responsibility and activity on kagan protection during the impending threat from hostile nations which are against Turkic people. Wise Tonyukuk described accepted bold decisions as Boila Baga-Tarkhan on "eternal stones", "Tabgaches' kagan (China) was our enemy. The kagan of "Ten Arrows" was our enemy. But our first enemy was the strong Kyrgyz kagan. These three kagans joined and agreed to gather their forces on the Altun mountain. Having formed an alliance they told: "we went on campaign against the Turkic kagan to the east! If not we then he would (kill) us! Their (i.e. Turks) kagan is great and advisor is wise. If we look back, do not join in alliance and do not struggle (with them), then they will go away (without punishment)" then the Turgesh kagan told: "There are my people there! And Turkic people is in confusion (now)! And Oguzes" — said he "are also in discord!" having heard these words I could not sleep at nights, and lost quietness by days. Then I decided ... We shall fight ... said I. When I heard that the road to Kegmen is (only) one and it had been blocked (by snow), I told: that won't do to go this way. I look for a person who knew that place... There was a stopping place, he brought us there "if to start then there would be one horse's speed before lodging for the night", — he said. I said: "if to go that way then it might be". I thought over, and asked my kagan "Bring cavalry troop!" [20; 67].

Tonyukuk took the initiative and offered to attack Kyrgyz in a short time without waiting for the summer and subdue them in the short term. In this regard, the biggest difficulty was the fact that there was opportunity to cross by other ways than through Sayan plateau, because the passage through Kegmen (West Sayan) was guarded. Attacking on the passage would be foolish, because the Kyrgyz put forward 80 thousand soldiers and could deter the arrival of Turkic troops until Turgesh and Tabgach imperials arrival. The Turks had hoped the successful completion of their campaign only in case of a surprise attack. Tonyukuk found a guide among the "steppe azs" who undertook to show them a different way [11; 297].

So, Tonyukuk offered Kapagan kagan to attack Kyrgyz tribes where they did not expect the attack. He proposed to attack them not through passage Kegmen, but through a more complicated and dangerous path that passes directly through the Sayan ridge.

Victorious Tonyukuk's campaign against Kyrgyz took place in winter of 711. Because this event well-described on Kultegin's bitik tash. If we look at the inscriptions on Kultegin monuments, "Kultegin was twenty six years old. We went on a campaign against Kirgiz. Dissecting lance-deep snow we marched around the Kogman mountains and fell upon Kirgiz people. We fought with their kagan at the Soḡa mountains. Kultegin mounted Bayirqu's (white stallion) and attacked. He hit one man with an arrow and killed two men with spear. He was attacking until the backbone of Bayirqu's white stallion was broken. We killed the Kirgiz kagan and conquered his country" [17; 63]. If we take into account that Kultegin was born in 685, he was exactly 26 years old in 711. So, because of Tonyukuk's ingenuity, Kultegin's undoubted courage and

endurance of the Turkic soldiers, one of the allied forces was out of order which opposed to the khaganate [11; 298].

In 711 the Turks started a campaign against Turkish. Judging by the words of Tonyukuk on “eternal stone”, at that time the Tang Empire united with the “on ok” people, that was under the leadership of turgesh and went on a campaign against the Eastern Turkic khaganate [21; 129]. At this time, internal and external situation of Turgesh was unstable which replaced the destroyed West Turkic khaganate. In addition, there was no internal unity in the state. Turgesh ruler Soge kagan allocated a land to his younger brother Zheng. In the short run Zheng dissatisfied with the fact that his brother gave him few people and the authorities. In 709 he rebelled and migrated to the East Turkic khaganate to Kapagan kagan. Zheng offered to jointly overthrow Soge. Kapagan kagan invaded khaganate and defeated Soge, who died in the battle.

In the annals of Xin Tang Shu internal stress in Turgesh khaganate described by following way, “Soge and Shunu began to lead the country together. Shunu was offended that his land was small and joined Mo-ch'o. He said that if he performs against his brother, he would lead the army. Mo-ch'o kept Shunu with him”. And so, there was 20 thousand army against Soge that captured him [22; 287]).

Obviously, Tonyukuk learned about the political state of Turgesh khaganate through older brother of Soge kagan. Kapagan kagan didn't want to risk and put only 20 thousand soldiers against Turgesh during the campaign. He appointed his youngest son Inal kagan and tardush shad Mogilyan to lead the army. And Tonyukuk was appointed as an advisor-mentor [11; 299].

Situation of the country before the military operations are described as follows: on the Tonyukuk monuments, “Let them pitch a camp in Altun mob!” Tonyukuk told me the Bilge (wise): “Lead the army! Tell me what are the difficulties? What else can I suggest? If (somebody) comes (i.e. joins us), then the number of (brave men) will increase, if (nobody) comes, then gather different news (litr. words, “tongues”)”. We were in Altun mob. Three messengers came, their words were similar: “Onekagan with his army went on campaign. The army of “Ten Arrows” people went on campaign too. They told that they would gather in the step of Yarysh”. Having heard these words, I told them the kagan. What to do?! With the reply (from khan) With the reply (from khan) a messenger came: “Sit!” — it was said. — “Do not hurry to go, keep the guard as good as possible! Do not allow to crush yourself!” — he said. Begyu kagan ordered me to tell this. I sent a message to Apa-tarkhan (Commander-in-chief): “Wise Tonyukuk is cunning, he himself offered to me to send the spear bearers. Having heard these words, I sent the spear bearers. I crossed the Altyn mob through absence of roads. We crossed without the ford the Irtyshriver. We reached Bolchu early in the morning without stops for night” [17; 125]. Kapagan kagan instructed his commanders to defend. But Tonyukuk went to war. He decided to use a military approach, which assumes the attack on the enemy from an unexpected side by rapid response of nomads. He crossed the Black Irtysh, went to the vanguard of Turgeshes, located at the foothills of Bolchu and defeated them” [17; 125]. Turkic commanders heard this news and offered to return back. But Tonyukuk did not deviate from his plan and convinces commanders to risk and attack enemies. The military doctrine of the Turkic people paid a lot of attention to military and patriotic inspiring soldiers. Patriotic work is carried out on a large scale among the soldiers before the decisive battle. Tonyukuk in solemn form spoke to commanders and Turkic soldiers, who knew about the superior forces of the Turkic troops and afraid to go on the attack. Unconditionally believed in Tonyukuk's fiery speeches Turkic warriors imbued with fighting spirit and fury went on the attack to defeat the enemy. Wise Tonyukuk took into account the fact that the military skills of winning party rose. So, he led the army with high military-patriotic and psychological spirit. Then crushed recovered and went on the offensive to Turgeshes. In this clash it became apparent the superiority of the cavalry of the Turgesh army was completely defeated and Soge kagan was captured [11; 300]. In the result of Yuolchu battle all Turkic tribes from Balkhash, Ili, Issyk-kul, Chu and Talas lands became part of Kok Turk khaganate [3; 61]. The threat for khaganate from the west was eliminated. And all goals and tasks in military operations were carried out. As a result of capable army managing of wise Tonyukuk, skillful in leadership, conducting battles and military affairs, the soldiers were able to reach Kok Turks Iron Gate in the south. These lands since the beginning of our era were regarded as the natural borders of Iran and Turan. There is no doubt that the above Tonyukuk victories largely contributed to maintaining an advantageous policy for khaganate at political situations.

Despite the great work of the wise Tonyukuk to unite the Turkic people after unfair attitude of Kapagan kagan to subordinated peoples there appeared disagreements within the Turkic people.

Rigid reign of kagan and oppressions raised people's dissatisfaction. This escalated into a rebellion. Referring to Chinese sources, the Turkic khaganate often had the uprisings because of the hard attitude of the Great Turkic Kapagan kagan to the people [19; 180].

The Turkic khaganate weakened and exposed to the crisis due to the wrong policy of Kapagan kagan to Turkic people. It caved on the stone in honor of Bilge kagan, "Having gathered his force the Kagan was mistaken. Tengri above, below the sacred water did not curse the kagan. The people of Nine Oguzes moved to China. Tabgach (Chinese) people came here" [13; 104]. Tonyukuk did not agree with the Kapagan kagan actions against the Karluks and ten arrows people. Kapagan kagan death saved the Second Turkic Khaganate from the political crisis. The Xin Tang shu source gives the following information, "Again Mo-ch'o marched against ba-e-gu (bayyrku) as a part of "nine tribes", fought with them on the Tola river and completely broke ba-e-gu. Mo-ch'o was highly elated about victory and carelessly rested in the dense forest. The survived ba-e-gu people suddenly attacked and cut the Mo-ch'o head. Then ba-e-gu sent his head to the royal capital through Hao Lintsyuan the kagan's ambassador in the lands of the barbarians" [22; 187].

Before his death Kapagan kagan had violated the law on inheritance and granted the title of "small khan" to his eldest son Inal as his heir [11; 314]. Therefore, son of Kapagan Inal kagan took the throne of the Second Turkic Khaganate. This solution is openly violated the ancient Turkic tradition of succession to the throne. Traditionally Turkic throne passed from an elder brother to younger brother. Only then it could be transferred to cousins. According to the ancient law of the Turks inheritance belonged to the great Tardush shad Mogilyan, the eldest son of Kutlug-Ilteris.

For the sake of an internal political, national, cultural and spiritual unity of the Turkic state Kultegin carried out a coup d'état and took the board into his own hands. The younger son of Kutlug kagan Kultegin destroyed newly proclaimed Inal Kagan and his advisers. Kapagan kagan left alive only Tonyukuk among other advisers. After a military coup in the Turkic khaganate capital the power passed to the Kutlug kagan's eldest son Mogilyan. At the beginning of his reign Mogilyan asked his younger brother Kultegin to take the throne. But in 716, Kultegin, who took the political power by force, did not violate the ancient Turkic law and relinquished power. He helped his brother Mogilyan to take the throne and to get the title of "Bilge kagan".

After inauguration Mogilyan "Bilge Kagan" appointed Kultegin as his left hand and passed military affairs to his hands. At the time when Kapagan Hagan died Kultegin killed all his viziers. In that case only because of the fact that Tonyukuk daughter Po Beg was the Mogilyan's wife they saved his live, took away only his position and sent back to his tribe. A little later the Turgesh leader Sulu declared himself as kagan and created disharmony among the Turkic tribes. Mogilyan called again Tonyukuk and asked advices on the internal affairs of the state. Those days Tunyukuk was more than 70 years old and people respected and honored him [5; 73]. Eventually Tonyukuk using his high position returned to his old position and without his consent or against his rigid "no" haven't made any important state solution [18; 169].

From this we can conclude that the ruler of the Turks Ashide Bilge kagan, who called back wise Tonyukuk, was able to successfully solve the internal problems of the state. Turkic tribes that fled to the Chinese Empire during the reign of cruel Kapagan kagan, as a consequence of the state adviser Tonyukuk came back to the Second Turkic Khaganate. Bilge Kagan planned to march against Tang Empire to strengthen the Second Turkic Khaganate. But the wise Tonyukuk said to Bilge Kagan, "at the moment it is impossible to do, because the current emperor of the Tang Dynasty is a brave man, and the country for many years lived in prosperity and their unity is strong, they do not have internal problems, which we can use. Moreover, our troops collected recently and cannot be used now" [22; 189].

Tonyukuk, who received the title of "baga tarhan" under the Bilge kagan reign, determined the internal and foreign policy of the state. For example, once Bilge Kagan wanted to build a walled city on the Turkic land like in China. On this occasion, Tonyukuk gave the following advice Bilge Kagan, "We should not do so, because we are the people who spent their entire lives in the steppes full of water and forests. Our daily live keep us in the fortress as if we are on military exercises. Kok Turks number is less than a hundredth of the Chinese. In contrast, we have only the style of our lives. In severe times we equip the army and go to battle. The weak times we retreat to the borders of our boundless steppes and fight there. But if we are inside the walls and fortresses, the Tang army will surround us into the ring and take over us" [3; 65].

Leaders of hostile Chinese empire also recognized wise and genius Tonyukuk. They constantly waited troubles from the Turks. In 725 the Chinese emperor decided to visit the Taishan on the east. President of state cabinet Zhang Yue advised "to strengthen the army and beware of the Turks". Then the Minister of Military Affairs Pei Guang-thin said, "prayer to ask for rain during a drought by sacrifices made in order to bring news of the victory to God and the god of the Earth". Then Zhang Yue said, "even if the Turks have offered to enter into the agreement, it is very difficult to establish mutual relationship of trust with them. Moreover, their kagans kept the people under control through the honesty and generosity" [5; 76].

Because to Bilge kagan's fair and skillful management of a Turkic people and commander Kultegin's military achievement the Second Turkic Khaganate again became a strong state. Kagan's advisor wise Tonyukuk invented new methods of war against the enemies of the Turkic people, managed an active defense policy and problems of the inner spiritual and ideological unity of the state and successfully executes them. In the Tonyukuk monument the main purpose for the stability of the state is the unity of kagan who has all the power and wise counselor. The single-hearted unity of all forces is very important. And it also tells about the Turkic people loss of the statehood, the kagan, obedience to others, subsequent recovery, measures of the new Kagan after coming to power to unite people, the power given to the Turkic people in the night without sleep, in the day without rest, shedding his blood red. It is left for the next generation in the form of the address. Tonyukuk's address is an invaluable heritage that awakens the conscience, honor and consciousness of the Turkic people, involuntarily raises questions. It teaches that statehood is in unity, harmony of Turkic people.

Conclusion

Tonyukuk — the founder of the Second Turkic Khaganate and statesman, who was the direct cause of strengthening the internal situation of the country. In 682 Tonyukuk joined Kutlug in their struggle against the Chinese empire. Due to the Tonyukuk's merger to rebels, who had a great respect among the Turkic tribes, Kutlug's situation changed dramatically. Because of Tonyukuk a lot of Turkic tribes joined to rebellion. Kutlug, who started the rebellion for independence of the Turkic people, received the title of "Elterish" with the direct Tonyukuk's participation.

The basic principle of the "Mangilik El" idea adopted by Tonyukuk was to use the active defensive strategy in international politics of the Second Turkic Khaganate. The main ideological position of the state was the protection of all the Turkic peoples from the influence of the Chinese empire. Because the enmity between the Chinese and the Turks was not just a competition or a war for influence between two countries. It was irreconcilable clash of two different worldviews and cultures, two different spiritualities and cultures. Fortresses of the Great Steppe and the Great China were opposed to each other. The ideology of Turkic khaganate in spite of the defensive policy was more progressive in ideological terms.

The rulers of Turkic Khaganate called people for unity. They considered if the internal unity of the Turkic nation is strong, they will be able to save the cultural and spiritual wealth will be united, only then they will be able to resist the Chinese. It said on the Kultegin's bitig tash, "If you stay in the land of Otukan, and send caravans from there, you will have no trouble. If you stay at the Otukan mountains, you will live forever dominating the countries!" [17; 65]. In the worldview of Turkic people Otukan was not only a symbol of the welfare and peace among the Turkic people, but also a guarantee of social and economic growth by the unshakable power of kagan and stable trade relations with neighboring countries.

It is said on Tonyukuk monument, "I did not allow the supremacy of the strong enemy over the Turkic people. I did not allow enemy's horses to trample down (our land). If Elterish kagan did not rule the country, and if I myself did not rule (the country), there would be neither country nor people! I got older. I reached old age", which indicates that his aim was the struggle for the unity and peace of the people [17; 126].

In the monuments of Kultegin, Tonyukuk, Bilge kagan there is considered the all Turkic state ideology. Also, there is given a central concept of the statehood as a guarantee of the freedom and independence of the Turkic peoples with a common culture, history and genealogy.

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Тоныкөктің тұлғасы және Екінші Шығыс Түрік қағанатының геосаяси жағдайы

Екінші Түркі қағанатының мемлекеттік кеңесшісі, 682-725 жылдар аралығындағы Қағанаттың идеологиялық қызметіне жауапты басты идеолог Тоныкөктің қызметін зерттеу және бағалау тарих ғылымының өзекті тақырыбы болып табылады. 682-725 жылдар аралығында дана Тоныкөк билеуші үш қағананың саяси, рухани және мәдени мәселелер бойынша кеңесшісі қызметін атқарды. Мақалада қағанның мемлекеттік кеңесшісі, Жоғарғы Сот төрағасы болған Тоныкөктің қоғамдық-саяси қызметінің сырларының мәні ашылған. Зерттеу жұмысы барысында авторлар тарихи деректерді, сондай-ақ Түркі қағанатының іргелі мәселелерімен айналысатын түркітанушылар мен тарихшылардың еңбектерін зерттеді. Ежелгі түркілердің этникалық шығу тегі, этногенезі, тайпалық құрамы және мемлекеттік құрылымы талданған. Қазіргі уақытта Екінші Түрік қағанатын құруда орасан зор саяси қызмет атқарған Ашина Тоныкөктің тарихи тұлға ретіндегі қызметі туралы ғылыми-зерттеу жұмыстары салыстырмалы түрде алғанда көп емес. Мақалада түріктердің барлық этникалық тайпаларының тәуелсіздік идеялары аясында Құтлық қаған және дана Тоныкөк сияқты тарихи тұлғалардың 682 жылы Екінші Шығыс Түрік қағанатының мемлекеттік құрылысын қайта бастауының себептері туралы гипотезалар мен ғылыми ойлар кеңінен талқыланған.

Кілт сөздер: Ашина, түрік, қағанат, қаған, Білге, Тоныкөк, Құтлық, Күлтегін, табғаш, Шығыс-Түрік қағанаты.

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Личность Тоньюкука и геополитическое положение Второго Восточно-Тюркского каганата

Актуальной темой исторической науки является изучение и оценка деятельности Тоньюкука, государственного советника Второго Тюркского каганата, главного идеолога, ответственного за идеологическую деятельность Каганата с 682 по 725 гг. Между 682 и 725 гг. мудрый Тоньюкук работал советником трех правящих каганов по политическим и духовно-культурным вопросам. В статье раскрыта сущность секретов общественно-политической деятельности Тоньюкука, который был государственным

советником кагана и председателем Верховного Суда. В ходе исследовательской работы авторами были изучены исторические данные, а также труды тюркологов и историков, занимающихся фундаментальными проблемами Тюркского каганата. Пранализированы этническое происхождение, этногенез, племенной состав и государственное устройство древних турок. В настоящее время научно-исследовательская работа о деятельности Ашида Тоньюкука как исторической личности, продолжавшей колоссальную политическую работу по созданию Второго Восточного Тюркского каганата, относительно невелика. В статье широко обсуждены гипотезы и научные соображения о причинах того, почему исторические личности как Кутлуг каган и мудрый Тоньюкук, в рамках идей независимости всех этнических племен турок, возобновили государственное строительство Второго Восточного Тюркского каганата в 682 г.

Ключевые слова: Ашина, тюрк, каганат, каган, Билге, Тоньюкук, Кутлуг, Култегин, табгач, Восточно-тюркский каганат.

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