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Central Asian Kazakhs
(Historical-ethnographic research)

The Republic of Kazakhstan

Almaty, 2014

UDK

BBK

Recommended for publishing by the Board of Academics
of the History, Archeology and Ethnology Faculty,
Kazakh National University after al-Farabi

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Central Asian Kazakhs (Historical-ethnographic research)/ translation in
English:

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	5
1 ETHNIC HISTORY OF THE KAZAKHS IN CENTRAL ASIA	15
1.1 Administrative-regional historical division of Central Asia.....	15
1.2 Formation and development of the Kazakh diaspora and irredentists in Central Asia..	21
1.2.The Kazakh diaspora developed in Central Asia during the Soviet Union	26
2 ETHNODEMOGRAPHY, ANSECTRAL COMPOSITION AND SETTLEMENT OF CENTRAL ASIAN KAZAKHS	42
2.1 Kazakhs in Uzbekistan and Karakalpakstan.....	42
2.2 Kazakhs in Turkmenistan	49
2.3 Kazakh people in Kirgizstan and other ethnic groups in Central Asia.....	52
2.4 Growth rate of the Kazakhs in Central Asia between the 60s of the XIXth centuryand 1917	56
2.5 Ethno-demographic situation of the Kazakh diaspora in Central Asia during the Soviet period	60
3 SOME PECIULARITIES IN TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS OF THE KAZAKHS IN CENTRAL ASIA	71
3.1 Crop farming and its peculiarities.....	71
3.2 Cattle breeding	78
3.3 Additional occupations	83
4 MATERIAL CULTURE	89
4.1 Settlement.....	89
4.2 Features of national clothes.....	
4.3 Characteristics of food culture	
4.4 Handicraft	
5 CHARACTERISTICS OF FAMILY TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS	

5.1 Similarities and differences in marriage/wedding traditions and family relations
.....

5.2. Some ethnographic characteristics of pregnancy and upbringing

5.3 Funeral and post-funeral rituals and peculiarities of Kazakh people.....

INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that national integrity is the sole prerequisite for the development of our country. Therefore, in forming the national idea, the main task for the Republic of Kazakhstan is to carry out considerable research into the ethnic history of our compatriots who live abroad. This research will cover their ethnic and ethno-cultural approaches in a foreign environment, and to what extent they've preserved or changed national traditions and customs. During the World Kurultai II of the Kazakhs, President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A.Nazarbayev focused on this problem and said: 'There is only one Kazakh nation in the world, therefore, its national existence, mentality and traditions are common to all Kazakhs of the globe, and its spiritual wealth is also inseparable. That's why there is no border between our literature, culture and art. We must make every effort to retain the spiritual wealth that was gained by the people who had to flee the motherland due to different fateful historic events' [*Nursultan Nazarbayev Report by the World Congress...,2005., P.8*]. In fact, only after the independence of the country Kazakh people had an opportunity to identify themselves and to obtain what they'd lost many years ago.

It is obvious that the Kazakhs make a bigger part of the world diaspora. Moreover, it is the Kazakhs who prevail in residing in foreign countries, far away from the Republic. In fact, 5.5 million of our fellow citizens live abroad many of whom have got settled in the countries of Central Asia. For instance, according to the statistics made on the eve of a new century (2000), an approximate number of Kazakh people who lived in neighboring countries of Central Asia was as follows: 990 022 - in Uzbekistan, 98000 - in Turkmenistan, 42657 - in Kirgizstan and 2000 - in Tajikistan [*Results of the All-Union population...,1991.; Demographic Yearbook of Uzbekistan..., 2006.; Statistical composition of population of Kyrgyzstan, 2000., The population of the Republic of Tajikistan., 2000.*]. We are well aware of the historic events which forced our compatriots became alienated from the motherland. It happened due to the hardship of the XVII-XVIIIth century: Zhongar invasion and enduring Russian imperialism (imperial and administrative influence over the traditional Kazakh settlements, occupation of fertile Kazakh lands and the Tsar's Decree in 1916) in the XIX-XXth centuries. Moreover, those people were confronted with the political and economic crises in 1917-1918, succeeding social-political situations, forced collectivization, famine and other adversities in the country. Describing those hard times of the Kazakhs in one of his speech, President N.A.Nazarbayev has mentioned: 'Social trials of the XXth century had forced the Kazakhs flee the homeland. Unfortunately, no one can detail the cause of ruthless decade of the XXth century that was full of grief and tragedy; they know nothing about the fate of the deceased between Iran and China or refugees who

desperately escaped the revolution and civil war heading for safer places through the deserts, iced peaks of the Ala-Tau and Pamir mountains. No one can describe under what conditions the ancestors of those 5.5 million Kazakhs had lived, how they had survived and what they had witnessed' [*Nazarbayev N., 1999., P.140*]. Thus, the Kazakh diaspora and irredentists sprang into existence due to the short-sighted policy conducted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and local high rank officials of that time. Focusing on their difficult life, President N.A.Nazarbayev said: 'We had been persecuted in the land of our ancestors. Thousands of our fellow citizens had perished; the survivors had to flee the country. The fact that we had lost 2.2 million of 6 million people including those courageous and loved ones, who were victims of the repressive regime, is grief-stricken and a serious blemish on bolshevism' [*Nazarbayev N. , 1996. P. 8*].

Many of those Kazakhs who live in neighboring countries of Kazakhstan are the descendents of the indigenous people or of those who had fled the homeland during the Zhongar invasions, political unrest, collectivization, famine, while some of them had gone there seeking for a better life.

Though the diaspora live in a foreign environment, their motherland is on their homeland, and it is considered the ethnic space of their development. That's why our government tries to do all its best in supporting our compatriots who live abroad. Taking into account quite diverse political and economic development of the countries they live in, of course, it is difficult to say that all of them are contented with their lives. One should keep in mind that it is Kazakhstan where the Kazakhs will live, grow, flourish and develop. Thus, the government of the Republic of Kazakhstan has adopted a state program aimed at supporting our fellow citizens living abroad and according to which they may return home or stay there being entirely satisfied with their life. Founded in 1992, the World Kurultai of the Kazakhs is giving considerable serious results in cooperating with the Kazakhs abroad. Also, there are some special centers which directly deal with the migration issues, i.e. providing conditions for those who would like to return to motherland and consulting them on necessary issues and etc. Moreover, it should be a challenge for our ethnographic historians to do some research into the social, economic and cultural life of our compatriots who live abroad.

Such kind of study will strengthen the unity of the nation, as well as it will define the ratio of other countries to a small nation and facilitate the research. That's why all ethnic and social problems or difficulties of our compatriots living abroad are counted as the main challenges of today's Kazakhstan. If we really intend to focus on the issue of national integrity, we should deeply look into the traditional cultures and current ethno-cultural practices of our compatriots living abroad as well as the preservation level of cultural heritage, because all of them are

regarded as the main factors in creating the national idea of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Moreover, at present time, it is necessary to conduct thorough historical and ethnographic study of all these issues.

As we hope, such in-depth historical and ethnographic study into the life of our compatriots living abroad not only satisfies their basic cultural needs, but also helps us to preserve and revive our cultural heritage and propagandize some of them. Self-development problem of our compatriots living abroad is the concern of the country's foreign policy as well as of the domestic policy.

Degree of the research Apart from the abovementioned reasons, some of our compatriots reside in Central Asian countries making the Kazakh diaspora there; they as well as their problems are being overlooked by both the government and local scholars. Under the severe communist ideology, no one could dare say that they had relatives living abroad as it was equal to a crime. Moreover, those, who had left the country, were labeled 'Traitors to their country' or 'Ran away for the sake of wealth'. So, it was really difficult to talk upon this topic under the ruthless Communist totalitarian regime. Not only talking about the research of the topic 'the Kazakh diaspora', this word hadn't been uttered until the 90s of the XXth century. Otherwise, it could have unveiled the dominant policy of the then government which had a direct impact on the emergence of the diaspora. Contradicting the principles of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was equal to treason.

However, our historians have recently made a huge success in making some objective conclusions on the historic events which had been lapsed under some definite circumstances. But we are lack of the literature which emphasizes either the history of the Kazakhs living abroad or their ethnic and cultural development, or the way they preserve and change the cultural heritage. In fact, the Kazakhs in Central Asia make a bigger part of all Kazakhs living abroad. They are different from the Kazakhs who live in other countries, because some of them make 'irredentists' who've stayed on the homeland, while the others were victims of Zhongar invasion, collectivization and famine. Therefore, all Kazakh intelligentsia including politicians and scholars show serious consideration for their history, their life, factors of moving abroad, settling in Central Asia, their number, their ancestral composition, their adaptation to a foreign environment, their returning home back, their accommodation, migration issues, their future and etc.

Under the Russian Tsar, colonialist scholars wrote a lot about the Kazakhs of Central Asia. For example, P. Pallas [*Pallas P., 1778.*] described their life and culture, while Burnashev and Pospelov [*Burnashev and Pospelov, 1851*] narrated about their accommodation along the Syrdarya river, their traditional occupations and trades. I. Falk [*Sievers I. Letters from Siberia., Falk I.,*

1999.] gave some information about the political structure of the Kazakhs who lived in Khiya region, and about the government of Kazakh aristocrats at the beginning of the XIXth century. These data show that Khiya region was initially inhabited by the Kazakhs.

Both of A.I. Maksheev's works [*Maksheyev A.I., 1856*] highlight the ethnic composition, the number, historical and ethnographic features of the people who lived in Turkestan region including Tashkent and Zhyzak uyezds which are a part of Uzbekistan now. Moreover, he presented the ethnic composition of the population in uyezds in quantitative terms.

In his work 'Turkestanski krai in 1866', P.I.Pashino [*Pashino P.I., 1866*] described the culture and the life of the steppe Kazakhs and sedentary urban people. He also wrote about the ethnic composition, main occupation and accommodation of the Kazakhs living in Tashkent uyezd. He pointed out that the Shyrshyq river had been mainly populated by *kanli* and *shanishkili* clans who looked like the Uzbeks, explaining it as a cause of a genetic effect. M.A.Terentiev [*Terent'ev M.A., 1906*] and N.Dingelshtet [*Dingelshtet N. 1874*] demonstrated the quantitative and ethnic composition of Central Asian peoples per oblast and uyezd, as well as imperialist policy of the Russians in the region. They presented a range of facts how the Tsar's government had implemented its imperial policies and showed a complete disregard for the local people. But the reaction of the occupied side hasn't been sufficiently described in their works.

One more work called 'Notes of the imperial Russian geographical community' [*Notes of the Imperial Russian Geographical ...,1874*] edited by Y.I.Yanson is about the administrative and regional division of Turkestan itself and division of Syrdarya oblast into uyezds and volosts. The work also dwells upon the local population, their accommodation, life styles, culture, ethnography and their ethnic composition. Besides, it says that the Kazakhs had lived in 17 of all existing 28 volosts. Information about the nomadic life style, types of pastures, challenges of animal husbandry and stock-raising of the Kazakhs living in Uzbekistan were detailed in A.K.Geins's 'Studies in Turkestan: steppes and nomads' [*].

The work contributed by L.F.Kostenko 'Turkestanski krai. Experience of military-statistical overview of Turkestan military okrug (region)' [*Kostenko F., 1880*] gave a precise information about the population in the oblasts of Turkestan governorship, their ethnic composition, their main occupation, the shelters they had lived in and the clothes they had worn. The relationships between the Kazakhs and Turkmen, their ancestral composition, their life and culture, their customs and traditions were portrayed by R.Karutts [*Karutts R., 1910*]. His work 'Economic life of the Kirgiz, Sart and Russian population in the south-east part of Chimkent uyezd of Syrdarya oblast' [*Yuferov V.I., 1910*] compared the economies of the Kazakhs and Sarts and characterized the methods of their field-crop cultivation and the equipments they'd used. It also showed that it was the Sarts who pushed the Kazakhs to work on the cottonfields.

The article entitled ‘Kirgiz problem’ in ‘St. Petersburg Gazette’ reported that the occupation of the fertile Kazakh lands by the Russian imperialists had resulted in mass movement of the Kazakhs. In 1869, about ten thousands of people from *adai* clan had moved to Afghanistan via the khanates of Central Asia [*St. Petersburg Gazette, 1886*].

A.V.Kaulbars [*Kaulbars A.V., 1881*], I.Geyer [*Geyer I.I., 1908*], K.Palen [*Palen K.K. 1910*], I.Ibragimov [*Ibragimov S.K., 1960*] and Khoroshkhin [*Horoshhin A.P. 1876*] focused on the economics, main occupation, ethnic composition and relationships of the Kazakhs living in Khiya khanate, as well as topographical characteristics of the region. N.A.Aristov [*Aristov N.A. 1897*] analyzed the origin of Kazakh kins in his research ‘Notes about the ethnic composition of the Turkic tribes, their national traits and numbers’. By the way, his research is still of particular significance.

There are plenty of ethnographic materials about the Kazakh families. They were written in the second half of the XIXth century and at the beginning of the XXth century. For instance, A.Divayev [*Divayev A.A. 1889*] had issued more than 130 research works about the Kazakh spiritual development and ethnography. Particularly, he highlighted the customs and traditions related to the life, marriage, upbringing and child raising issues of the Kazakhs. Apart from it, he also gave some interesting facts about superstitions related to animal husbandry, common diseases of cattle and their treatment.

N.I.Grodekov’s research is of great importance in analyzing the history and ethnography of the Kazakhs living in Uzbekistan [*Grodekov N.I., 1889*]. Giving more detailed description about the life, cultural features and customs of the Kazakhs living in Tashkent uyezd, he compared them with the life of the Kirgiz and Uzbek peoples.

After the scrutinized analysis of the Russian and Western scholars’ perceptions about the ethnic history of the Kazakhs and ethnography, A.Levshin presents his point of view in the research, which consists of 3 parts and is still considered a valuable source [*Levshin A.I. 1832*].

Specialist in agricultural sector, V.I.Masalsky’s work is also worth mentioning, in which he gave more valuable information about the geographical position and historical ethnography of Turkestan region as well as about the Kazakhs in Central Asia [*Masalskoe Vol.I., 1913*]. Moreover, he provided more detailed facts about the economy and social life of the region. But, he wrote nothing about crop-field cultivation of the Kazakhs.

In general, one can get enough information about the traditional economic life of the Kazakhs from ‘Studies in economic life of the Turkestan Republic’ [Essays on the economic..., 1921] and ‘Materials on land use of indigenous nomadic population of Golodnoi steppe and surrounding areas of Khojent and Zhyzak uyezds of Samarkand oblast’ [*Materials on Land of native..., 1914*]. The latter dealt with the accommodation issues of the Kazakhs and their

ancestral composition. It said that *konirat* lived in Iri zhar volost of Tashkent uyezd, while *ramadan* and *kerderi* inhabited in Khojent and Zhyzak uyezds. There are also some books, which were published in the earliest Soviet period, entirely about the crop-field cultivation and cattle-raising issues of the Kazakhs. They are: ‘Agriculture in Turkestan krai. Compiled by A.I.Shakhnazarov’ [*Shakhnazarov A.I., 1908*], ‘Reports on the Syrdaria economic conference. 1921-1922’ [*Report of the Meeting of the Syrdaria..., 1925*] and ‘Materials of the expedition commission of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Characteristics of the agricultural sector in Adai uyezd. Research of 1926. Issue VI.’ [*Materials of commissions research..., 1926*]. Moreover, these works deliver some useful information about the relationships of the local people, links between the Kazakhs and Turkmen, their mutual interests, and statistical data of the nomadic and sedentary people, the amount of land and the livestock they had, the sort of plant they grew and the type of business they did.

N.L.Korzhenevski’s [*Korzeniowski N.L., 1922*] and N.I.Balashev [*Balashov N.I., 1925*] described the historical and geographical position of the Turkistan region and its ethnic composition. They focused on the fact that the Kazakhs from Zengiata and Niyazbek volosts had claimed for these very regions to be returned to Kazakhstan during the delimitation process, and also they informed us of the creation of Kazakh-populated Kenimeq district in Bukhara. Moreover, they gave some information about the amount of land use per oblasts and uyezds emphasizing its reduction in 1917 compared to 1915. They also mentioned the fact that sheep and horse had a big role in Kazakhs’ life.

The following sources had a pile of very useful information based on annual statistics about the territory, population, ethnic composition, lifestyle and culture of the people in Central Asia. They are: ‘Overview of Syrdarya oblast for 1885, 1888, 1901, 1906, etc.’, ‘Overview of Fergana oblast for 1881, 1884, 1891, 1895, etc’, ‘Overview of Semirechinsk oblast for 1883, 1886, 1896, etc’, ‘Overview of Zakaspiski oblast for 1883, 1884, 1892, 1893, 1895, etc’.

Generally, we can see a huge amount of valuable statistical data on the history, ethnography, demography and economics of the Kazakhs in ‘Turkestan Bulletin’. Nowadays, one can find 555- volume ‘Turkestan collection’ in rare books fund of Nauai Central library in Tashkent. It is also very rich in materials about the Kazakhs, their traditions and cultures.

Apart from them, ‘Materials on zoning issues of Uzbekistan’ [*Materials on the zoning of Uzbekistan, 1926*], N.B.Arkipov’s ‘Republics of Central Asia’ [*Arkipov N.B., 1930*] and I.I.Zarubin’s ‘The list of nationalities in Turkestan krai’ [*Zarubin I.I., 1925*] are also of considerable significance in making the research into the Kazakhs of Central Asia.

T.A.Zhdanko wrote about the results and importance of the 1924-1926 national-state delimitation in Central Asia in his work ‘National-state delimitation and the process of ethnic

development of Central Asia population' [*Zhdanko T.A., 1967*], as well as X.T.Tursynov did also touch upon this topic in his 'Formation of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic' [*Tursynov H.T., 1957*].

During the Soviet Union, it was U.X.Shalekenov who had made a wide research into the subject of the Kazakh diaspora. His research called 'Kazakhs of Amudarya. Interrelations of the Karakalpak population in the XVIII-XXth centuries' [*Shalekenov W.H., 1966*], which is based on the archive materials and steppe research, is of great importance in learning the history and ethnographic characteristics of the Karakalpak population. A well-known scholar, historian U.X.Shalekenov deeply looked into the historical roots of the Karakalpak Kazakhs' accomodation, number of population, ancestral composition, their main occupations and trades, family relationships and social status. So-called research works 'The formation of multinational population of Kazakhstan and North Kirgizia (last quarter of the XVIII th-60s of XIX)' and 'Multinational population of Kazakhstan and Kirgizia in the era of capitalism', written by N.E.Bekmakhanova [*Bekmakhanov N.E., 1980., 1986*], are devoted to the historical demographics of the Kazakhs in Kazakhstan, Central Asia and West Siberia.

S.K.Kamalov's work [***51*], which was published in Tashkent in 1968, interpreted the relations of Khiya Kazakhs and Kara-Kalpaks with Russia, and described the struggle of local population against the Khiya khanate.

X.Salimov's "Population in Central Asia" [*Salimov H., 1975*], K.Shaniyazov's "Main branches of cattle-raising in the pre-revolution period of Uzbekistan" [*Economic -cultural traditions..., 1975*], I.Mulyadzhanov's two books "Population of the Uzbek SSR" and "Demographic development in the Uzbek SSR" [*Mulyadzhanov I., 1989*] are about the population in Uzbekistan, their ethnic composition and some of their economic and social problems. They gave a detailed description of social and economic situations in the Soviet Uzbekistan and analyzed the demographic dynamics of the nation and ethnic groups in the country. Similarly, L.P. Maksakova also focused on the same topic in her research 'Demographic development tendencies in Uzbekistan' [*Maksakova L.P., 1986*].

Some more important and valuable information about Turkmenistan's Kazakhs can be found in Sh.Kadirov's 'Population in Turkmenistan: history and present time' [*Kadyrov S., 1986*] and A.Orazov's 'Economy and culture of the north-western Turkmenistan population in the XIX-XX th centuries' [*Orazov A., 1972*]. N.A.Akhmadiev's work [*Akhmadiev N.A., 1982*] presented some interesting facts about the Kazakhs in Tajikistan.

We've also referred to the works of the local historians related to the Kazakh-Uzbek relations [*Maduanov S., 1990*], for example, S.Maduanov & M.Shalekenov 'History of Turkestan peoples' interrelations in the XVIII-XXth centuries' [*Maduanov S.M., Shalekenov*

M.U. , 2000] and U.Kh.Shalekenov & M.U.Shalekenov ‘History and ethnology of the Amudarya and Syrdarya people in the XVIII-XXth centuries’ [*Shalekenov W.H., Shalekenov M.U., 2003*]. All of them focused on the historical background of the Amudarya and Syrdarya population, their ethnography, economic issues including their interactions and interrelations. Besides, K.I.Kobylandin’s article about the demographic situation of the Kazakhs living in Uzbekistan [*Herald. Ser. East, 2008*] and his co-work with G.M.Mendikulova ‘The history and current development of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan’ [*Kobilandin K.I., Mendikulova G.M., 2009*] were really important in revealing some facts about the history of ‘irredentists’ or ‘diaspora’ of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan, their growth and reasons of their accomodation.

The question of ‘Kazakh diaspora’ became an important item on the agenda of the governments as well as of scholars only after gaining the independence in 1991. The best solutions concerning the question of ‘the Kazakh diaspora’ were made during the World Kurultai of the Kazakhs. Since its foundation, this association has assembled the Kazakhs from all parts of the world and become a research center of the Kazakh diaspora issues.

Furthermore, A.V.Konovalov analyzed the ethnographic features and location of the Altai Kazakhs in his work ‘Kazakhs of South Altai: (Problems of ethnic groups)’ [*Konovalov A.V. 1986*]; M.T.Tatimov ‘Kazakh world (What’s the number of the Kazakhs?)’ [*Tatimov M., 1993*] and G.M.Mendikulova [*Mendikulova G.M., 1997*] made a great effort in researching the historical-social situations and number of the Kazakh diaspora. The latter, paying much attention to the historical background of the Kazakhs living abroad, tried to make an analysis of the terms ‘irredentists’ and ‘diaspora’. Some scholars are directly concerned about the history and ethnography of the Kazakhs living abroad and conducted serious research works on them. For instance, they are: Z.Khinayatuli’s ‘Kazakhs in Mongolia’ [*Kinayatovich Z., 2001*], N.Mukhamedkhanuly’s ‘History of Kazakh-Chinese relations in the XVIII-XXth centuries (1860-1920)’ [*Muxamedxanuly N., 2001*], D.B.Yeskekbayev’s ‘The Kazakh diaspora: its present and future’ [*Eskekbaev D.B. , 2003*] and D.Khatran’s ‘Traditional food system of the Kazakhs in Mongolia’ [*Katran D., 1996*]. Under the supervision of S.E.Azhigali, the head of Ethnography, Ethnology and Anthropology Department of the Institute of History and Ethnology after Sh.Yalikhonov, a group of scholars have made some significant expeditions to Mongolia and China. Consequently, Kazakh Scientific-research Institute of culture and art has issued a collection of scientific articles “Research into the Kazakh diaspora culture” [*To understand the culture..., 2004*]. Z.E.Kabuldinov wrote about the Kazakhs living in Russia [*Kabuldinov R., 2009*], and some oversea periodicals [*Canadian Slavonic..., 1975., Central Asia and the World ..., 1994*] also regularly report about the Kazakhs in Central Asia.

Sources of the research In analyzing the demographic situation of the Kazakhs and their growth dynamics since the time of the Russian colonization, we've used the following important sources: 'Materials for statistics of Turkestan krai. Annual. Issue-I. Spb., 1872-76', 'Materials for statistics of Turkestan krai. Annual. Issue- V. Spb., 1879', 'Materials for statistics of Turkestan krai. Annual. Issue-IV. Spb., 1880', 'Materials of the All-Russian Census, 1897', 'Statistical Annual 1917-1923. Ed. by D.P.Krasnovsky', 'Economic plan of Turkrepublic for 1923-1924, Tashkent 1923', 'Materials of the All-Russian Census, 1917, 1920', 'Materials of the Census in Uzbek SSR, 1926', 'All-Soviet Census for 1926, 1936, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989', 'Statistics Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan' 'Migration of the population', 'Census results of 1999, and many other materials of Statistic Agencies of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kirgizstan.

The second part of the source contains the materials of the World Kurultai of the Kazakhs (1992-2012), the Kazakh diaspora, national resolutions on migration issues and statistical materials of the Migration Agency.

The third part of the source consists of the materials collected from the Kazakh-populated villages of Tashkent, Zhyzak, Syrdarya and Nauai oblasts during the 1990-1993th and Kirgizstan, Uzbekistan, Karakalpakstan and Turkmenistan during in 1999-2003 and 2004-2013. All the facts about the Kazakhs' accomodations in the abovementioned areas, their ancestral composition, economics, social status, family relations, customs and traditions were collected from more than 150 informants. They were piled up being measured against the local people's traditional cultures.

The facts obtained from the Central State archive funds of Uzbekistan P-1, 12, 17, 20, 25, 34, 86, 90, the Central State archive funds of Kirgizstan 20, 105, 847, the Central State archive materials of Turkmenistan and materials from 555-volume "Turkestan collection", which is in rare books Fund of the Central library in Tashkent, are of great significance in doing the research. For example, the State archive of Uzbekistan P.39 (a confidential document) [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan P.39, list 2, Case#454, P.20-24*], concerning the upper volosts of Tashkent uyezd says about the delimitation: 'Under the consideration of the Special Committees of the Cenrtal-Asian Bureau of the CCRCP(Central Committee of Russian Communist Party) and Likvidkom, it has become clear that the main cause for the discords between the Kirgiz-Kazakhs and Uzbeks is the fate of Kaunshy, the first station, which lies sothward of Tashkent along the Central Asia railway in the vicinity of the above-mentioned 6 Kyrgyz Zachirchiq townships that had been given to the Uzbeks (with a population of 59 200). This station is a part of a rural community, Kaunshy (Kirgiz). Transferring it to Kirgiz people would have cut Tashkent from a single train line from the rest of the Uzbek territory and through

Haldarminsk rural society (also Kirgiz) would tie the corridor, geographically Kirrespublika with Zachirchiqsk volosts’.

Research methodology is based on the contemporary complex research methods which adjoin to theoretical and practical approaches. In carrying out the research work, we’ve guided the basic theoretical principles of historical sciences such as: finding necessary sources and relying on historical cognition to characterize these sources, referring to authentic historical facts to investigate the past events and situations, relying on real historical actions in analysing the formation of social structures and using versetality in cognition and link between the past and present. In the course of research, we’ve also applied many other universal research methods such as analysis, synthesis, historical systematization, historical and chronological comparisons. Accordingly, the ethnic and ethno-cultural practices and processes of the Kazakhs in Central Asia have been compared and logically arranged.

Practical importance of the research Practical outcomes of the research such as the issues related to the location of the Kazakhs, their historical, demographic, cultural and economic features, lifestyle and family relations will enable to implement strategies of foreign policy of the country and realize certain programs on ethnic and ethno-cultural development in the space of Central Asia. Moreover, the main topic of the research *the Kazakh diaspora* can be taught as an elective course in educational institutions or just be used by researchers and teachers. The conceptions and conclusions of the research may be guided in resolving certain issues of international relations.

1 ETHNIC HISTORY OF THE KAZAKHS IN CENTRAL ASIA

1.1 Administrative-regional historical division of Central Asia

According to some data and research of the pre-Soviet period, the territory of Central Asia was called the Turkistan krai. To occupy that krai was one of the main challenges of the Russian Tsar. It was very convenient for them to rule the people who were separated into several administrative and regional divisions. As a result of such policy, the territories of Central Asian countries and Kazakhstan were divided into governorships and oblasts, uyezds and some others within them. Since that time, the name 'Turkistan' politically was used only for those regions which belonged to Turkistan governor-general.

First, the Soviet period researches demonstrated Central Asian countries as the oblasts of the mainland of Asia which border on the USSR, i.e. an area covering the Caspian sea in the west up to China in the east, and stretching from Iran and Afganistan in the south and to the Aral-Irtysk watershed in the north; secondly, the territories covered by current independent countries such as Uzbekistan, Kara kalpak autonomy, Kirgizstan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan [*Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 1974*].

Many scholars were really interested in historical-geographical position, border issues and population of Turkistan krai. One of them was V.Masalsky. He wrote: 'Turkistan extended from the Caspian Sea in the west to the Chinese frontier in the east, and from Russia in the north to the borders of Persia and Afghanistan in the south. The land occupying 1731sq.km consisted of Turkistan, Zakaspi, Samarkand, Syrdarya, Fergana, Zhetisy oblasts and two Central Asian khanates Khiya and Bukhara [*Masalskoe V.I., 1913, P.131*]. Geographical regions that are mentioned in the research show the territories of current Central Asian countries and South East Kazakhstan.

Totally ignoring the interests of the local people, the Tsarist government conducted its own administrative territorial policy in the region. In 1867, Turkistan governor-general was established in the conquered territories. It covered Syrdarya, Zhetisu, Zakaspi, Fergana and Samarkand oblasts. That time the area of Turkistan occupied 1.731.090 sq km (including 238.000 sq km of Bukhara, Khiya khanates) [*Masalskoe V.I., 1913, P.343*]. [*Materials on the zoning of Turkestan..., 1922, P.343*].

Central Asian countries under the Russian empire were subject to three administrative divisions: Turkistan governor-general, Bukhara and Khiya khanates. Administratively, Turkistan governor-general consisted of Zhetisu, Syrdarya, Fergana, Samarkand (Samarkand oblast was formed of Zarafshan okrug in 1887) and Zakaspi oblasts. Khiya and Bukhara khanates were

under the governor's control. Syrdarya oblast consisted of Turkistan and Kokhan khanates, while Zhetisu covered the territories of Sergiopol, Kapal, Alatau okrug of Semei oblast and a part of Turkistan.

In 1868, the land taken from Bukhara was handed to Zarafshan okrug, and in 1887, it was reformed as Samarkand oblast [*Korzeniowski N.L., 1922, P 20*]. Emerged from Khiya khanate in 1873, which was located on the left bank of the Amudarya River, Amudarya region became a part of Syrdarya oblast in 1887. Khulzha district, which was subject to the governor-general until 1871-1881, was handed to China. Fergana oblast was formed by the southern part of Kokhan khanate which entirely joined Russia in 1876. In 1882, Zhetisu became a member of the newly-formed Steppe governor-generalship since the then administrative bodies didn't provide any concrete national administration in the territory of Central Asia. For instance, territorial-administrative regions of present Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kirgizstan equally belonged to Zhetisu and Syrdarya oblasts. Moreover, Verny (Almaty), Tokmak (Bishkek) and Issyk-Kul (Przhevalsk) were in Zhetisu oblast while some localities of current Kazakhstan including Tashkent and Khojent uyezds of Uzbekistan belonged to Syrdarya oblast. During the 1870-1905th, the territories and frontiers of some uyezds had frequently changed. However, such changes didn't influence the ethno-political and cultural life of Turkistan population.

From the administrative point of view, the territory of Turkestan was subject to different political administrative divisions. For example, in the second half of the XIXth century, one part of the territory was subject to Khiya and Bukhara khanates, while the other part was under the control of Kaspi region (Zakaspi) of Turkistan governor-generalship. That oblast formed a part of current Mangystau region and Turkmenistan territory. Zakaspi oblast was established in 1882 and joined Turkistan governor-generalship in 1891. It became a new administrative region of Turkistan. In the second part of the XIXth century, it enlarged its territory with West Turkmenistan, Ahalsk, Atek, Tedzhen, Merv and Pendin oasis [*Kadyrov S., 1986, P12*]. The land, population, lifestyle and culture of the newly-formed administrative regions were constantly changing. The following Table presents the population rate and territory of Turkistan governor-generalship in 1880 [*Materials on the zoning of Turkestan..., 1922, P.18*].

Table 1 –Population rate and territory of Turkistan governor-generalship

	Territory/sq.mile	Population rate	Territory %	Population %
Zhetisu	6,936	716200	33,6	22,7

Syrdarya	8334	1,153170	40.4	36,6
Fergana	1770	689836	8.6	21,9
Zarafshan	466	328620	2.2	10,4
Amudarya	1920	133630	9,3	4,2
Khulzha	1224	130230	5,9	4,2
Total	20,650	3,151680	100	100

According to data, Syrdarya oblast takes a leading position in population rate and territory, while Fergana prevails in density of population. Moreover, we can see the Kazakhs were greatly populated in Syrdarya and Zhetisy oblasts.

All oblasts excluding Zakaspi (administration) were ruled by governors. The authority was exercised by the management hierarchy: oblasts, uyezds, volosts and villages. Under such ruling system, Zhetisu was divided into 6 uyezds: Verny, Zharkent, Khapal, Lepsi, Pishpek and Przhevalsk; Syrdarya had 5 uyezds: Tashkent, Aulieata, Perovsk, Shimkent and Amudarya section; Fergana consisted of 5 uyezds: Skobelov (former Marshan), Andizhan, Khokan, Namangan, Osh and Pamir; Samarkand oblast had Samarkand Zhyzak, Khojent and Khattakorgan uyezds; and Zakaspi oblast consisted of Askhabad, Krasnovodsk, Mangyshlak, Tejen and Merv uyezds [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan.*, 39 fund. - 2 list. - 20-24 p.]. Each oblast had its own administrative body with a range of commitments and management rights. Such administrative division of Turkistan krai shed light on the main aim of the Russian imperialists who pursued the policy of splitting the local people.

Each uyezd was divided into volosts (1000-2000 homes) and villages (100-200 homes). This kind of division was much convenient to take under control and destroy family (ancestral) relations of the Kazakhs. Ancestral separations of the Kazakhs were legally prohibited as it seemed impossible and dangerous to control them in a mass. Sedentary people were ruled by aksakals (old respected people), while nomads were administered by volosts. Compared to sedentary people, the number of the uyezds prevailed in the communities where there were more nomads.

During the 1899-1917th, big administrative bodies of Turkistan region weren't confronted with considerable changes. However, the frontier issues hadn't been touched either by the Tsarist Russia or Soviet government in its first years of formation. Though, in some parts, the border was marked by the pastures and winter camps, there were many people who illegally had passed across it. There are historical facts and documents which show that such violations caused frequent conflicts between the people. Thus, local administrative ruling system of Tsarist Russia,

which pursued the policy ‘separate and rule Central Asia’, was not able to define the ethnic territory of the people who lived in Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Following the October Revolution, the Soviet government first started the designation of rayon (district) in 1920, according to which, Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Bukhara People’s Soviet Republic and Khorezm People’s Soviet Republic sprang into existence. The localities founded by the Russian tsar remained unchanged; only a new Amudarya oblast that consisted of 2 uyezds including former administrative bodies and several new uyezds (Golodnostep, Turkistan, Naryn and Uratobe and etc.) had been reformed [*All of Central Asia...*, 1926., P. 24]. In 1923, the department, which was set up by the decision of Bukhara People’s Soviet Republic committee, functioned as a center of the Kazakhs in the region. It was a very important decision because the Kazakhs occupied the most western parts of Kermenin and Nurata including Bukhara and Karshy vilayets [*Koblandin K.I. //Herald of the National Academy...*, 2008. -№5., P. 64].

On August 7, in 1921, with the decision of the Central Executive Committee of Turkistan ASSR, Council Zakaspi was reformed as Turkmenistan oblast. Chairman of the Commission for Turkmenistan oblast G.I.Karpov offered a new project of reforming Turkmenistan. Until the national delimitation, the territory of the Turkmen was scattered. For instance, 43,2 % of their land was in the territory of Turkistan ASSR, 28,9% lied in Khorezm People’s Republic and other 27,9% was in Bukhara People’s Republic [*Oraev N.,1983.,P.25*]. Besides, there were some changes regarding the border of Mangyshlak uyezd.

Peculiarities of the physical-geographical position of Turkistan, its economic structure, varied land and cattle-raising issues and its relations with Russia necessitated the economic subdivision of the region. In the earliest years of the Soviet government, former administrative uyezds were reformed as okrugs. According to it, Pishpek okrug covered Pishpek, Karakol, Naryn uyezds of Zhetysu oblast and 12 volosts of Aulieata uyezd of Syrdarya oblast (territory-145700sq km, population-410800), and Amudarya okrug included whole Amudarya oblast (territory-113000 sq km, population-148000) while Turkmen oblast joined Turkmen okrug (territory-353200sq km, population-332400) [*All of Central Asia, 1926., P. 32*].

Shatkal volost of Namangan uyezd, Shardara volost of Zhyzak uyezd and Tashkent, Myrzashol uyezds entered the re-formed Tashkent okrug (territory-39200 sq.km. population-635900).

On July 4, 1918, the People’s Commissariat of Turkistan Republic issued a decree of forming Golodno-steppe uyezd entailing Iri-zhar, Uralsk, Khojent and Koktobe volost of Zhyzak uyezd. Later, being renamed Myrzashol, it entered Syrdarya oblast [*Материалы*

Всероссийской переписи 1920 года., 1923, P.32]. Khokhan okrug (territory-41000 sq km, population-100000) consisted of all Khokhan and Namangan uyezds as well as northern part (7 volosts) of Khojent uyezd of Samarkand. As for Samarkand okrug, it covered 7 volosts of Khojent uyezd, 1 volost of Zhyzak, 1 volost of south Myrzashol and all the rest part of Samarkand oblast [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan.,34 fund .,2 list, P.12*]. Pamir district,having the land of 57000 sq km and 22000 people, consisted of today's Tajikistan territory [*Материалы Всероссийской переписи 1920 года., 1926., P. 9*].

Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajik Autonomous Republic, Kirgiz and Kara-Kalpak Autonomous oblasts were founded as a result of the national demarcation of Central Asia. Kazakh districts within the Turkistan Republic joined the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Thus, the map of all Central Asian countries had been remade. Former Bukhara and Khorezm Republics became part of abovementioned republics and oblasts.

Republic of Uzbekistan covers the territories of Kattakorgan, Khojent and Zhyzak (6 volosts of Zhyzak given to Kazakhstan) uyezds of Samarkand oblast of former Turkistan Republic and Samarkand (excluding 3 volosts given to Tajikistan); Tashkent uyezd (except 10 volosts were handed to Kazakhstan) of Syrdarya oblast and one part of Myrzashol uyezd; uyezds of Fergana and Khokhan (except 2 nomadic volosts); Andizhan (except 7 volosts given to Kirgizstan); Namangan (not including 10 volosts handed to Kirgizstan); Fergana (4 nonvolost); excluding Bulakbashy and Manek volosts of Osh uyezd. Thus, in 1924, the territory of the Uzbek SSR was about 326,8 thousand sq.km (today it is 447,4 sq km); according to the 1926 census, its population was 4 621000 and it reached 14 474000 population in 1977. In 1924, Uzbek SSR consisted of 7 oblasts, 23 uyezds and Tajik ASSR. Today, Uzbekistan has 11 oblasts, 134 districts, 82 cities including Kara-Kalpak Autonomy. Such velayats of Bukhara Republic as Bukhara Kerminin, Nurata, Karshy, Shakhizyab, Guzar, Baisyn and Sary-Asy (except Karatau tuman and Kerif tuman of Sharab) had joined Uzbekistan, as a result of which it gained 570000 communities and 3731146 people. 2583751 of them were Uzbeks, 81862 - Kazakhs,595004-Tajiks, 150308 - Russians and 229887 of other nationalities [*Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, 1972.,P.47*]. Kara-Kalpak Autonomous oblast was mainly made up of Shymbay, Khojeli, Shumanay (Yanikala), Konyrat, Khorezm and Shurakhan uyezds of Amudarya oblast. It had a population of 229136 people [*Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, 1972.,P.48*].

Zoning process was in a temp during the national-state delimitation of Central Asia in 1923-1924. With the decision of the Central Executive Committee of Turkistan ASSR, on August 7, 1921, Zakaspi oblast was reformed as Turkmen oblast.

Further, on March 20, 1924, with unanimous decision of Communist Party of Khorezm People's Socialist Republic (KPSR), Turkmen oblast and its center Tashauyz and Chardzhau oblast of Bukhara People's Republic were founded in October, 1923. It consisted of Chardzhau and Kerkin velayats. In 1924, Turkmen National Bureau completely demarcated the territories of a future republic, according to which Turkmen SSR was divided into 5 okrugs: Poltoratsk (7 districts), Merv(8 districts), Chardzhau (4 districts), Kerki (5 districts) and Tashauz (5 districts).

On 27 October, 1924, Turkmen SSR was established. It covered the areas of Turkmen oblast (Tedjen, Krasnovodsk, Merv and Poltoratsk) of Turkistan ASSR, Tashauz okrug (kone Urgenish, Tash auz, Parsyn and Takhta districts) of Khorezm Republic and Kerki and Chardzhau okrugs (Leninsk, Farabsk, Sayat, Burdalik, Deinau, Khalach, Khadja-Abad, Kyzyl-Ayak, Kerki and Kesher districts) of Bukhara [*Materials on the zoning of Turkestan., 1922.,P. 60*]. Moreover, it linked Khojaly fortress located in the bordering parts of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, western parts of Kipshak such as Mangyt, Klyshniasbay, Yalchanchaktobe, Gurlen, Ambar, Manaka and northern part of Khazovat. Besides, Pitnyukov fortress of Khorezm, Dargon ata, Tuiemoyn of Turkmenistan rayon, and the banks of Amudarya in Sadovar also became a part of the republic. Its population reached 900000 (80,9 % -Turkmen, 8,6 % -Uzbek and 4,5 % Russian). The foundation of the Turkmen SSR resulted in the union of all Turkmen lands. With the decision of Turkmen SSR Revcom, on December 4, 1924, Turkmen oblast was divided into 2 okrugs (Poltaratsk and Merv), and the rest part into 3 okrugs (Chardzhou, Kerki and Tashauz). Thus, zoning process of the republic came to its final end in the beginning of the 1930th [*Materials on the zoning of Turkestan., 1922., P. 62*].

Tajik Autonomy consisted of a part of Korgantobe and Sary Assy velayats, Duysenbi, Kulyabi and Garm velayats of Bukhara Republic, eastern part of Samarkand oblast (Upper Zarafshan rayon), western part of Pamir, Oroshar volost of Sarysu rayon and one part of Vakhon volost. The population was 599714 (65,4 %-Tajik, 32,1 % - Uzbek, 2,2 % -Kirgiz) [*Chetyrkin V.M., 1958., P. 44*].

Karakol uyezd, Naryn, a part of Pishpek (7 volosts including Pishpek city), 14 mountainous volosts of Aulieata uyezd of Syrdarya oblast, one part of Andizhan (10 volosts), 9 volosts of Namangan, 4 volosts of Fergana, 2 volosts of Khokhan, 2 volosts of Osh uyezd and the whole east part of Pamir rayon became part of Kirgiz Autonomous oblast. Its population was about 798770 (505775-Kirgiz, 123133-Uzbek, 14324-Kazakh,135892-Russian and 19646 of other nationalities).

Capital cities of the founded republics were: Uzbekistan –Samarkand, Turkmenistan – Poltaratsk, Kirgizstan – Pishpek, Tajikistan –Dushanbe and Kara-Kalpak– Tortkul. Until 1934, Kara-Kalpak Autonomous oblast was in the part of Kazakhstan.

Akmeshit uyezd of Syrdarya oblast of former Turkistan, 24 volosts of Aulieata uyezd, Kazaly, Irizhar and Slavyan volosts of Myrzashol, a part of Tashkent, Zhausogym, Ushtobe, Altyn, Zhetysu, Sharapkhana, Akhzhar, Ushtamgaly, Alexandr, Koshkorgan and 10 Bolat volosts, Turkistan, Shymkent, Almaty uyezd of Zhetysu, Zharkent, Lepsi, 3 volosts of Pishpek (Georgievsk, Zachui,Karakunuz), Taldykorgan, 6 volosts of Zhyzak uyezd of Samarkand (Kyzylkum, Akkorgan, Fistaltau, Koktobe, Shardara, Korgantobe became part of Kazakhstan.

About 1 485125 citizens of Turkistan ASSR had moved to Kazakhstan. Moreover, out of total 1.745,4000 sq km land subject to delimitation 685, 9000 sq km, which accommodated 1.468.724 people, was handed to Kazakhstan. Tashkazakh uyezd was established within the territory of Kazakhstan including some regions of Tashkent, Myrzashol and Zhyzak uyezds. Initially, its center was in Kokterek, then in Chicherino, and on September 12, 1926, moved to Saryagash. But, on 17 January, 1928, Tashkazakh uyezd broke up, and its volosts formed Syrdarya rayon, Bogarnaya okrug and Keles, Karatas rayons. Irizhar volost belonged to Kyzylkum rayon, while Akzhar volost did to Karatas. Besides, there emerged Kazakh congregated Shyrshyq and Bostandyk rayons [*Handbook of administrative-territorial division of Kazakhstan, 1969.,P.163*].

Thus, countries separated into administrative regions like Uzbekistan, Kirgizstan, Tajikstan, Turkmenstan were called Middle Asian republics. However, since January 1993, following the Tashkent summit of five independent states, they and Kazakhstan politically was renamed into Central Asia.

In conclusion, the national-state demarcation of Central Asian countries during the 1924-1926th had defined ethnic-territorial administrations. Frequent changes with the borders of the volosts misled the people about their own volosts and village numbers. During the 1920-1924, the northern part of Kirgizstan carried out the process of enlargement of the volosts. This confused the people even more while separating one village from the other as well as the volosts. At that time, the number of volosts reached 500, it was obvious that due to some problems and difficulties their numbers got fallen. It was caused by the famine of the 1917-1918, severe consequences of basmachi, fear of the Soviet government, fleeing the country and other reasons.

Characterizing the administrative divisions of Central Asian republics during the Soviet Union, we can make the following conclusion. Like Tsarist government's succession, administrative and regional divisions in the earliest period of the Soviet government were characterized such as oblasts, uyezds and volosts. Only after the period of 1920, oblasts were

divided into okrugs, then into rayons. There wasn't concrete statistics of those subdivided localities and population; there were no demarked borders between nomadic villages. Absence of borders and scattered population did cause real difficulties in the administrative division issues of the regions. The fact that some populated volosts were forcefully joined (ignoring their economic interests) other volosts showed inadequate system of the administration.

Thus, we can dare say that due to such behavior of incompetent administrative bodies in Central Asian countries, the number of the minorities in the republics got increased and gradually turned into the diaspora.

1.2 Formation and development of the Kazakh diaspora and irredentists in Central Asia

The majority of the Kazakhs of Central Asia dwell in Uzbekistan many of whom are considered to live in their motherland. As a result of the state-territorial demarcation of Central Asian countries during the 1924-1926, some localities, where the Kazakhs dwelt, became part of Uzbekistan. As some scholars suggest, victims of such political regime may be called irredentists [Mendikulova G.M., 2006. P.14]. The Kazakhs, who had remained on the other side of the frontier during the demarcation process in Uzbekistan, make this group. Moreover, the Kazakh diaspora was completed with those who had crossed the border for different historical, political and economic reasons as well as on labor migration. If we dwell on the formation and development of the diaspora and irredentists, the Kazakhs who live in the north-eastern part of Uzbekistan (Tashkent, Syrdarya and Zhyzhak oblasts) consider their localities a part of their motherland. The tribes of Central Asian countries and Kazakhstan had been closely tied up with each other from the ancient times making a tribal conglomeration of two nations. The presence of *uysin*, *kanly*, *zhair*, *kipshak* and some other clans in both Kazakhs and Uzbeks is a vivid example of it.

Certainly, we don't refute the existence of ancient tribes in the Kazakhs' history. *Kanly* tribes, who occupied middle and lower parts of Syrdarya during the IV-III.B.C., were one of the main driving forces in the development of the Kazakhs. In relation with this, V.V.Vostrov and M.S.Mukanov pointed out: 'We don't deny the interrelationship between ancient and today's *kanly* tribes, and in fact, they played a significant role in political and ethnic life of Central Asian countries and Kazakhstan's people. In the second half of the XIXth century, there were about 1650 families that belonged to this tribe in Tashkent uyezd [Vostrov V.V., Mukanov M.S., 1968.P.32]. Moreover, K.Shanyazov also mentioned the fact that in 1970 and 1980th of the XIXth century, *kanly* had made 1650 families in Nyazbek, Toitobe and Akzhar volosts. He said: 'The pressure exerted by *karluk* and *oguz* tribes as well as the Arabs in the 70s of the VIIIth century ceased the existence of independent union of *kanly* tribes who were residing in the mean

flow of the Syrdarya. Thus, one part of them had to move to the right bank of the Syrdarya and joined the Kazakhs and Kara-Kalpaks, while the other became a part of the Uzbek settlements [Shaniyazov K.K., 1972. P.92]. So, there is no doubt that the *kanly* populations dwelling around today's Tashkent have something in common with the abovementioned 'kanly' tribes. As a matter of fact, the localities of *kanly* in some volosts have resemblance to those ones where *kanly* tribes had lived. For example, two villages in Nyazbek volost are named after the *kanly* clan; *Kyzyl kanly* is in Koshkorgan volost, *Zhylkash* and *Babo* (babzhy –B.K.) *kanly* are in Bolat volost, and *Aitmysh kanly* is situated in Akzhar volost. According to today's administrative-regional division, all these villages belong to Middle Shyrshyq, Upper Shyrshyq and New way districts of Tashkent oblast. Nowadays, in those areas, one can meet 'village of Kanly' or 'Kanly Street'.

In the V-XVIIth centuries, *dulat* tribes were one of the basic ethnic components in the development of the Kazakhs. There is enough information in historical archives that these tribes were of great significance during the 200 years of the Kazakhs reign in Tashkent, however, being unable to share the power, they (*Botpai*, *Zhanys*, *Sikhym* and *Shymyr*), handed it to Uzbek citizen, Zhuniskozha. During the reign of Tauekel khan, Tashkent had been under the control of the Kazakhs for about 200 years (1598-1798). Annually in autumn, the Kazakh judges used to assemble in Kultobe near the Angren River next to Tauke khan's residence and deliberated different issues of the people. The assembly lasted for several months. The phrase we use nowadays 'Everyday assemble in Kultobe' is said to be derived from that event. Moreover, there is sufficient evidence that *zhair* and *shanyshkyly* tribes had also resided in those areas. Thus, the predominant part of the Kazakhs in north-east Uzbekistan makes local Kazakhs who still live in their motherland, while the other is composed of those who have gone for political reasons.

A.I.Levshin wrote: 'In 1723, when Kaldan-Seren conquered Turkistan, Tashkent and Sairam, he subdued some parts of Uly juz (Senior Juz) and Orta zhuz (Middle Juz), as a result of which the rest part of Uly juz and only a few parts of Middle juz Kazakhs had to move to Khojent and the other part of Middle juz to Samarkand, while one part of Kishi zhuz (Junior juz) to Khiya and Bukhara' [Levshin A.I., 1832., P.167].

The Kazakhs had much suffered from the famine caused by the ruthless Zhongar invasion, as a result of which they had to move toward the Bukhara and Khiya khanates. Some historical researchers present some facts about it: '... One part of Orta juz had moved to Bukhara and became part of it, while another part of Kishi juz had moved to Khiya [The history of the peoples of Uzbekistan, 1947., P.222]. This very situation in the country caused the split of the political unity of Orta and Kishi jus. The defeat over the Zhongars not only rescued from a dangerous

enemy, but also it enabled Kazakh people to enlarge their territory. As for the Khiya khanate, it struggled to take an advantage of the economy of Kishi juz keeping the Syrdarya River dependent on them.

From the history, we know that until 1739, Tashkent had been ruled by Zholbarys khan and Toleby. Even after the assassination of Zholbarys khan, the latter conducted his policy collecting the taxes. His ruling ceased during Kosekby (he might have been Kalden Seren's ruler or namesake) [*Levshin A.I., 1832., P.173*]. Until the beginning of the XX th century, all small towns situated between Tashkent and Turkistan belonged to the Kazakhs. Kazakhs of Uly juz moving around Tashkent were said not to have changed their accommodations [*Levshin A.I., 1832., P.176*]. Moreover, some ancestral graves including Toleby's mausoleum 'Karlygash by' do prove that Tashkent region is closely connected with the Kazakhs.

The Kazakhs, who live in Balkan region (former Krasnovodsk uyezd) of Turkmenistan neighboring with Mangystau, also say that they have been dwelling in that area along with the Turkmen people. Again, we'd like to point out that it was the Zhongar invasion which forced many of our compatriots to leave the motherland and became part of another country. Departure of many Kazakhs to Karakalpakstan and Turkmenistan approximately started during that difficult period. There are some evident facts which are presented by the Kazakhs whose ancestors had witnessed the situation. They show the authenticity of it. According to it, they had lived along with the Turkmen and Kara-Kalpak peoples in perfect harmony. As for Beketov, the accommodation of the Kazakhs in Kara-Kalpak region started in the XVIIIth century, and their movement to Khorezm was provoked by the Zhongar invasion of Syrdarya areas in 1723 [*Beketov B.1992.,P.128*]. Y.K.Shalekenov provides a detailed description of earlier accommodations of the Kazakhs in Khorezm. For instance, he gives evident facts about it: in 1827, a leader of *shomishli* clan Asau Barakov was under the Khiya khanate; expecting a great assistance of Kazakh feudal lords in strengthening the throne, Khiya khanate provided them with lands; *tabyn* were given the lands in Shumanai and Kyatzhargan [*Shalekenov W.H., 1966., P.41*].

The following archive document writes about the entry of a part of the Kazakhs into the Khiya khanate: 'The khan of Khiya had subdued about 27000 Kazakh families. 10000 of them were from *alimyly*, 7000 *zhetiru* and 8000 *baiuly* [*Ivanov P.P., 1940, P.13*].

Besides, regular raids of the Tsarist Russia on the Kazakh lands forced the Kazakhs to move into the Khiya khanate. Yesset Kotibarov with his clan and a part of *aday* clan, who had moved inwards the khanates, were vivid examples of that historic event. According to the materials about the Russian Army campaigns, in 1839, the nomads (*adays*) on the east coast of the Caspian

Sea, like the Turkmen, completely became part of the Khiya khanate. Thus, the Turkmen and Kazakhs, who had led a nomadic life and lived on the east coast of the Caspian Sea and Amudarya River, became subject to the Khiya khanate [Shalekenov W.H., 1966., P.44]. Some residents of that area do present materials that prove their long existence on those lands. For instance, Yelemessov Zhaksymurat said that his ancestors had taken part in the Kenessary rising, and following its defeat they decided to stay among the Uzbek population [I II].

Moreover, sharp drop in migration levels in the north and scanty pastures in Mangystau made a part of *aday* clans subdue to the Khiya khanate. The impact of the Khiya khanate on *aday* Kazakhs took place at the end of the XVIIIth century. In her research M.S.Tursynova wrote about the Kishi juz Kazakhs who went under the rule of Khiya khanate: ‘*Shekti* clan of the Kazakhs went under the rule of Khiya khanate in 1822. The khanate nominated *starshyns* (senior officers) to collect taxes and eventually increased them. In 1851, in the khanate, the amount of *adai* families reached 1000 [Beketov B., 1992, P.18]. The Khiya khanate made all efforts to prevent the Kazakhs from going back home. They had built Kurgancha fortress on the Daukara hollow delegating Yakutbay and other 500 people to control the Kazakhs. Moreover, some other *aday* representatives had left Mangyshlak for the winter camps of the Kendirli Gulf, while others moved toward Khiya, Bukhara and Turkmen territories. From 1870 till the October Revolution, nearly 710 000 *aday* families including other clans the Kishi juz got settled in Khiya khanate [Orenburg state county archive, 6 fund., P.363].

Following the accession of the right bank of the Amudarya River to Russia, a part of the Kazakhs and Kara-kalpaks moved to the left bank i.e. the Khiya khanate. The Amudarya sector, which was established on the right bank, was divided into Shurakhan and Shymbay sub-sectors; there were 7 volosts in the first, while the latter had 12. According to the facts of 1874, there were 20 000 Kazakhs in Shymbay [Shalekenov W.H.,1966., P.41]. As the materials of the Office for migration demonstrate, 45.5% of 33509 officially registered ownerships in the Amudarya sector accounted for the Kara-kalpaks, 24.6% Kazakhs and 21.6% Uzbeks, and etc [Materials of survey nomadic and sedentary...,1915., P.128]. Particularly, *karasakal* clan of *alimuly* made 312 ownerships in Konyrat and Daukara volosts of Shymbay sector; *karakesek* clan -50 in Daukara and Kokkul volosts; *kete* clan – 15 in Daukara; 1270 in Tamdy; *tortkara* clan - 348 in Nukus, Taldyk, Zhanabazar, Daukara and Kokkol; *shekti* clan -1031 in Beshyabsk, Kegeili, Nukus, Taldyk and Daukara; *shomekey* clan in Konyrat volost of Shymbay district, and 951 in Bibazar and Mynbulak volosts of Shurakhan district; 23 *alasha* clan only in Konyrat volost, *tabyn* clan in Kegeili, Konyrat, Nukus, Taldyk and Kokkul volosts; 947 in Bibazar volost of Shurakhan district; only 3 *kereit* ownerships; 119 *tama* clan; 1115 mixed clans of *alimuly* and

tabyn; 1380 ownerships of unknown clan of Kazakhs; 128 *-tore* clan; 65-Kirgiz; so, all in all, there were 8227 Kazakh ownerships founded [Shalekenov W.H., 1966., P. 64].

Though *aday* representatives had moved to the downward of the Amudarya, due to the lack of pastures, they had to pass to the Bukhara khanate. For example, in 1875, Zhanibek bi with other 5 000 families had moved to Badakhshan, Tesiktas and Kundyz [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund., P.11]. M.S.Tursynova provided some statistical information about this event: ‘In 1893, approximately 483 *aday* and *tabyn* families sold their sheep and bought camels, so, through the Khiya khanate they gradually moved to Bukhara upward the Amudarya River. Such frequent movements of the people didn’t appeal to the Russian government in Orenburg, so, in order to stop migration process, they decided not to render any assistance to those who were moving from one khanate to another. However, such measures couldn’t stop the Kazakhs except for the Amudarya waters in spring and summer. Only, those who couldn’t bear the oppression of the Khan’s spies had to return back. In order to keep them, one family from each village was left on bail’ [Tatimov M.,1992.,P.134]. As we see, during the Zhongar invasion, mainly, the representatives of Orta and Kishi jus moved to Central Asia, while Uly juz Kazakhs stayed in their motherland.

The migration process of the Kazakhs didn’t stop even in the end of the XIXth century. They had been moving not only to Bukhara and Khiya khanates, but also to some territories of Turkmenistan. Particularly, the fact that some Mangystau Kazakhs had joined the Turkmen tribes was written by M.S.Tursynova: ‘In 1873, *baimbet* and *kyrykhmylykh* clans of *aday* moved to the Turkmen pastures such as Zhangak and Kukirti, then to the Balkhan mountains, Uzboi; 10 years later, the representatives of *Turkmen aday* clan went to the Goklanku well, the Bekarslan mountains further to Uzboi. In the 90s of the XIX th century, Krasnovodsk uyezd annually received about 2 000 *aday* families of who mainly remained there. In 1894, having 2890 families, the 4th Aday volost was established. On November 5, 1894, military governor Maksimovich with the representative of Zakaspi oblast had demarcated the border between Mangystau and Krasnovodsk uyezds [Tursynova M.S.,1977.,P.135].

It is known from the history that until 1915, Russian muzhiks (peasants), who had moved to Kazakhstan and Central Asian countries, seized the most fertile lands of the Kazakhs. The Kazakhs deprived of vast pastures had to witness ‘sarytaban urkinshilik’ tragedy. As M.Tatimov considers, due to such situation in the country, about 200 000 nomads had emigrated to China and Mongolia [Tatimov M., 1992. P.83], however, some other sources say that some of them, being confronted with famine, headed for Kokan, Andizhan and Bukhara regions [Eastern

Review, 1889., P.13]. So, all these above-mentioned facts are about the history of the Kazakhs' settlement in Central Asia.

In conclusion, we can say that the Uly juz Kazakhs, who live on north east of today's Uzbekistan, are indigenous people. As a matter of fact, some of them, for example, *kanly*, *dulat*, *sirgeli* and other clans can be linked to the tribes of ancient Kazakhs and Uzbeks, while the others are said to have settled there for different political reasons. For example, Zhongar invasion in the Syrdarya regions hastened Orta and Kishi juz Kazakhs' migration to Khiya and Bukhara. Moreover, being oppressed by the ruthless power and suffering from the lack of pastures, they had to move towards Bukhara; in the 20s of the XIXth century, Khiya khanate had subdued 25 000 Kazakhs. Also, the facts that the Russians flocked to Kazakhstan and seized the most fertile lands following the Stolypyn regime, made the Kazakhs leave their own motherland.

1.2.1 The Kazakh diaspora developed in Central Asia during the Soviet Union

The migration of the Kazakhs to the inward regions of Uzbekistan was not connected only with the political situation but also with their some basic needs. For example, in one of the archival documents it was written about the Kazakhs who went on labor migration to Shol-dala (Myrzashol) between 1920-1924: 'Korezm Kazakhs and Kara-kalpaks moved toward the north-west part of Korezm oblast, while Kyzylkum Kazakhs rushed to the steppes adjoining to Karakul and Bukara oasis, majority of whom were shepherds and dockers. The migration of Kazakhs from Bukhara and Karakul towards the west caused discontent with the settled Uzbek shepherds about the pastures. Thus, the Kazakhs gradually had reached the unoccupied pastures of Karshyga, Central Bukhara and Baisyn rayons, even the Korgan tobe vilayats of South Tajikistan. The distribution of the Kazakhs to those rayons, on the one hand, was connected with the quality of the pastures, on the other hand, with their growing desire to be employed to the industries neighboring the oasis. Besides, there one could see all residents of one village as well as all family members working in irrigation or railroad building sites' [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund., P.349*]. Further, one more document presented the following information: 'Like the nomads, 70 000 of 86 000 Konyrats of Central Bukhara spent the winters in the steppes, and went up to the mountains in spring and in summer, sometimes they even reached the pastures of the Alps. Apart from them, there were 6.5000 *saray* (unknown clan – K.B), 5.5 000 *khatagan*, more than 1 000 *yuz* and 90 000 nomadic Uzbeks there' [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan such as R-1 fund., P.351*]. However, one more historical document shows the fact that the Kazakhs lived in a range of vilayats such as Kermenin, Nurata and Karshy. They were 160 000 in Kermenin, 100 000 in Karshy, 100 000 in Guzar, 80 000 in

Bukhara and 5 000 in Nurata [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, P-5 fund., P.7*].

The Kazakh diaspora in Kirgizstan consists either of those who failed to pass to China during the 1916 risings and October Revolution as well as the collectivization period and famine, or those who had already returned back from China and got settled there after the relaxation period in the motherland. In fact, in the end of the XIXth century, looking for better pastures, about 10-15 families from Karagandy left their place with their close relatives. As a result of the ‘Kirgiz rising’, which took place in Zhetisu oblast, in 1916, many Kirgiz population had to flee the country looking for asylums in the neighboring countries including China. Particularly, they were from Karakol and Naryn okrugs (former uyezds). It was written in one of the archives: ‘... the whole Karakol uyezd, more than half of 5 volosts of Naryn, Sarybagysh volost of Pishpek uyezd, and a majority part of Shansy and Tykovsk had escaped to China. Besides, there were many Kazakhs from Almaty, Zharkent, Lepsi and Khapal uyezds. Totally, their number reached 100 000 people’ [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kirgizstan , 847., P.136*]. Moreover, in the 1917-1918th, being scared of the partisans’ terror and property confiscation, the people again fled to China. However, their life was more miserable there. As envoy Saltanayev said, about 600 people had to exchange their family members for a piece of bread. 500 of them were debtors. Many Kazakh women had married to the Chinese regarding them as Dungen Muslims, but when they admitted their mistake it was too late, because their husbands cut their tongues off. Worse of all, the Chinese married their under-age daughters or kept them in the brothels [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kirgizstan , 847., P.137*]. The Soviet government was asked to financially assist them in returning back [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 17 fund., P.136*]. It took them a long time to come back. Only in 1917, during the 1921-1922 land reforms, it seemed to go a bit faster. Nevertheless, approximately 2300 families had remained there. Having witnessed such tragedies, some segments of the Kazakhs got settled in the territories of Kirgizstan, especially near Bishkek and Ystykkol. Some informants focused on the fact they had fled to China, later, being afraid of returning home, they remained in the abovementioned regions; they were also so contended with the moneyed Kirgiz comrades who helped them to survive giving sheep and lands [II III]. The following verse describes their home-sickness:

I am Argyn Abylan from Akshi,
I’m the last to survive, unfortunately.
I’ve lost everybody in my family,
However, I’m grateful to Allah for this pity.

I am Kazakh from aday karsan,
Inhabited in a pretty Saryarka land.
Proud of my Koppai grandad
Who ruled 22 volosts of Karkara land.
Farewell to Saryarka, my motherland,
God knows if I'll see you or not.

However, I wish I could come back![III].

(Composed by Baimaganbetov Abylan, born in 1907, from argyn-karsen clan, Baimaganbetov Yelisbai Abylanuly, Sokuluk rayon, Akhzhol village).

Moreover, the formation of the Kazakh diaspora in Central Asia was much more triggered by the national-territorial demarcation policy of Central Asia during the 1924-1926th. It was not an easy policy for the neighboring countries which had shared the pastures for donkey's years. While demarcation process related to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kirgizstan, there were endless conflicts between them.

As we have mentioned above, one segment of the Kazakhs are considered as irredentists, while the other makes the diaspora. In 1924, the total population of newly-formed Uzbekistan accounted for 3 963285 people, including 1 319498 in Bukhara, 320023-Khorezm and 170682 in disputed regions [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, 86 fund., P.431]. One part of Tashkent and Myrzashol, which is located in the south east part of Syrdarya oblast (Turkistan Republic), and disputed Zengiata and Nyazbek volosts went under the rule of Uzbekistan. Besides, in Bukhara, Kenimekh rayon, which was set up with a massive amount of Kazakhs, was controlled by the Central government [*Balashov N.I.6 1925., P.5*]. The Kazakhs of Bukhara Soviet People's Republic (BSPR) asked the RKP (b) (Russian Communist Party, (b) – Bolshevik) Political Bureau of CC (Central Committee), USSR, CEC (Chairman of Central Executive Committee) M.I.Kalinin, CEC members of the BSPR and Kazakh delegates of BSPR with request to create Kazakh Autonomous oblast [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, P-5 fund.,P.41*]. Their request was deliberated at the Kirgiz (Kazakh –B.K) regional committee of RCP (b). In relation to this matter, K.I.Khobylandin has given evident facts based on the archive materials: ‘The members of Kirgiz regional committee (Kazregcom- K.B.) of the RCP claimed for better living conditions of the Kazakhs, granting them a separate Autonomous oblast from Bukhara region, providing equal relations between Bukhara Kazakhs and Republic of Uzbekistan, preserving national identity of the Kazakhs and stopping assimilation of the Kazakhs [*Koblandin K.I., //Herald of the National Academy...,2008*]. Unfortunately, due to

incorrect calculations of F.Khodjayev, Chairman of People's commissariat of Bukhara Republic, which showed that only 40 000 Kazakhs lived in the BSPR, it was possible to create only one rayon (Kenimekh) [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, P-30 fund. P.42*]. On 24 October, 1924, following the demarcation process of Central Asian Soviet republics, the BSPR had joined newly-formed the USSR (Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic). Thus, the Kazakhs remaining in Uzbekistan during that period and the others living in today's Tashkent, Myrzashol and Syrdarya oblasts make irredentists, while those who reside in Bukhara, Khorezm and Fergana form the Kazakh diaspora. A part of the Kazakhs resisting such administrative divisions, expressed their anxiety to join Kazakhstan.

For instance, in the course of the demarcation process between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, there were disputes concerning Bolat, Zengiata and Nyazbek volosts of Tashkent. As a matter of fact, in spite Tashkent city was inhabited by the Uzbeks, it was mainly surrounded by the abovementioned volosts: Nyazbek in the north east, Bolat in the west and Zengiata in the south. All these three volosts are situated westward of the Shyrshyq River, and eastward, on the other side of the Shyrshyq there are six sedentary Kazakh volosts containing rice-producing districts. Those 6 sedentary Kazakh volosts were handed to Uzbekistan as a compensation for the Uzbeks who had moved into Kazakhstan and their fertile lands left behind [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 39 fund., P.20*]. The Kazakhs of those regions claimed Tashkent, one of the big centers of USSR, and Shyrshyq including its volosts to go under the rule of Kazakhstan. In order to get it, the Kazakhs thought that it'd be wise if the border of Kazakhstan got approached as close as possible to the territory of the city, then, to divide Tashkent, surrounded by the Kazakh ownerships, into different Uzbek segments. But, the Uzbeks regarded that separating 18 500 Uzbeks (including minorities) of Tashkent and its uyezds from Uzbekistan would have contradicted the national demarcation [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 39 fund., P.20*].

Later, it became clear that similar disputes, which were settled by the Liquidation Committee (Liquidcom) and Special committee of Central Asian Bureau (CCRCP), took place due to the fate of Kazakh-populated Kauynshy station (59 200 people), too. This station was a rural community of the Kazakhs. If the station had been handed to Kazakhstan, Tashkent would have been separated from the Uzbek territory by the only rail line. By gaining the station, the Kazakhs intended to create Central Kauynshy uyezd that would unite all Tashkent Kazakhs. Weighing up all possible matters, the Commission made its decision. If that station were handed to the Kazakhs, Tashkent would be encircled by the Kazakh territory as a result of what Tashkent either would have to join Kazakhstan's territory or declare itself as a self-governing city. Of

course, it would have caused a lot of problems, that's why, the handover of Kauynshy station to Kazakhstan was considered economically as well as politically ineffective to Uzbekistan [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 39 fund., P.20*]. Following such opinions, the government made a final decision: 'On July 24, 1925, with the decision of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, Tashkent city with all its adjoining volosts, entire Nyazbek volost, the rural community in north east part of Nyazbek, Troytsk, Kensai, Bolat, Zengiata, Kauynshy and Kaldarma including all their lands and irrigation farms are to be handed to the Uzbek Soviet Republic' [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 39 fund., P.20*]. According to the conducted research and information of the Liquidation Commission, the area and border of every volost was defined. For instance, the total number of ownerships in Nyazbek volost reached 6265 including 3575 Uzbek, 1906 Kazakh, 679 Russian and 5 of other nationalities. 1217 of those 6265 ownerships went under the rule of Kazakhstan including 919 Kazakh, 200 Russian, and 72 Uzbek. As for the Uzbekistan's share, it gained 3603 Uzbek, 987 Kazakh and 453 Russian ownerships, totally 5048 [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, P-1 fund.,P.20*]. As the facts show, the number of ownerships handed to Kazakhstan is several times less than (72) those given to Uzbekistan (987).

Bolat volost had had 7273 ownerships including 2803 Uzbek, 4464 Kazakh and 6 Russian. 4826 of them were passed to Kazakhstan (3968 Kazakh, 858 Uzbek), and 2447 of them to Uzbekistan (1730 Uzbek, 717 Kazakh) [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, P-1 fund., P.20*]. There were 6939 ownerships in Zengiata volost (4169 Uzbek, 2650 Kazakh and 120 Russian); 2985 of them were handed to Kazakhstan (1783 Kazakh, 1082 Uzbek and 120 Russian); Uzbekistan gained 3954 of them (3097 Uzbek and 857 Kazakh) [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, P-1 fund., 706 document P.21*]. Analyzing from the statistical point of view, one can see that the number of the Kazakh ownerships (2561) handed to Uzbekistan is considerably more than the Uzbek ownerships (2062) gained by Kazakhstan. Here, we should highlight some outstanding Kazakh statesmen such as S.Khodjanov, S.Asfendyarov and others who made every effort to protect the interests of the Kazakhs in the course of abovementioned conflicts. For example, the total number of the ownerships in all 3 volosts made 20 477 (10 547 Uzbek, 9020 Kazakh, 810 Russian and 100 not included in ownership). As the Commission member S.Manzhara had suggested, 8790 Uzbek and 3718 Kazakh ownerships were expected to be given to Uzbekistan, while 3638 Kazakh and 1880 Uzbek ownerships were to Kazakhstan [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, P-1 fund., 704 document P.18*]. However, his statement was rejected by S.Asfendyarov who insisted on Kazakhstan's gaining 2012 Uzbek and Uzbekistan's 2561 Kazakh ownerships. Thus, he offered to decrease the

number of Kazakh ownerships handed to Uzbekistan to 1157 [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, R-1 fund., 721 document. P.20*]. As a result, the dispute was settled in favor of S.Asfendiyarov: instead of recommended Manzharov's 3718 Kazakh ownerships only 2561 were handed to Uzbekistan.

With the decision of the Presidium of the Central Asian Liquidation Commission of March 17, 1925, and №11 protocol of the session of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR as well as the resolution July 5, 1925 of the Presidium of the Central Executive Commission of the USSR, the problem of 3 disputed districts of Tashkent and Shurakhan uyezd was finally resolved: 1. Zengiata volost including all its irrigation farms as well as Kauynshy and Khaldarma rural communities became a part of the UZSSR (Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic). 2. Rural communities of Bolat volost such as Kensai, Khiovan, Chuvashi, Yaueldi were handed to Uzbekistan, while Kokterek market to was given to Kazakhstan. 3. Nyazbek volost entirely became a part of Uzbekistan. In accordance with the administrative division appendix of 10 mile-map introduced by the Presidium of the Central Asian Commission on March 17, 1925, the boundaries of Central Asian countries were marked and defined [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, P-1 fund., 706 document P.63*]. Thus, on March 27, 1926, the commission of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR had finished its activities related to the demarcation of Central Asian countries. As a result of demarcation process, 41 localities of Zhyzak, Kattakorgan oblasts and Khojent uyezd, 24 counties of Tashkent and Myrzashol uyezds, 70 volosts of Andizhan, Kokhan, Namangan and Fergana uyezds and 7 rural communities formed the Republic of Uzbekistan. Kazakhstan obtained 9 volosts of Tashkent uyezd, 2 volosts of Myrzashol uyezd and 6 nomadic volosts of Zhyzak uyezd of Samarkand oblast. Mainly, they were Kazakh-populated villages located in adjacent regions of today's Uzbekistan. Nevertheless, a majority part of the Kazakhs (according to some statistics, about 1-1,5mln) in those disputed areas live hand in hand with Uzbek comrades, now.

On April 6, 1929, the national-state demarcation commission weighed up the issues of minorities and united regions at the session of the Presidium of the CEC of the UZSSR, and issued the following statement: 1. In Upper Shyrshyq district of Tashkent - 82% Kazakhs, united in Angren okrug of Tashkent (72.3%), Kenimekh district – Kazakh and Kara-kalpak (26.2% Kazakhs of 41.7%); United regions: Middle Shyrshyq of Tashkent - Kazakh-Uzbek (33.8% Kazakhs of 44.4%); 3. Tashkent okrug including urban village Pskent - united-uzbek (44.2% united, 39,4% Uzbek); 4. Myrzashol okrug – Russian-Uzbek (39,1% Uzbek, 43.6% Russian); 5. Korgan-Tepe okrug of Andizhan – Uzbek, Kirgiz (48,1% Uzbek, 39,5% Kirgiz); 6. Markhamad okrug of Andizhan – Turk-Uzbek (38,9% Turk, 35,2% Uzbek); 7. Fergana okrug including

Fergana city –Uzbek-Tajik (45,1% Uzbek, 26,9% Tajik) [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, R-86 fund ., 5266 document P.6*].

As a result of the ethnic-territorial demarcation, today's Kirgizstan, initially, was formed as an Autonomous oblast. It consisted of Karakol, Naryn uyesdz, one part of Pishpek city and 7 volosts, 14 volosts of mountainous region of Aulieata of Syrdarya oblast, 10 volosts of Andizhan (Uzbekistan), 9 volosts of Namangan, 4 volosts of Fergana, 2 volosts of Kokhan uyezd, all volosts of Osh uyezd (except 2 volosts), and the whole eastern part of Pamir region. According to the then statistics, its territory was about 1 95735 sq.km, the population reached 7 98770 people (505775 Kirgiz, 123133 Uzbek, 14324 Kazakh, 135892 Russian and 19646 other nationalities) [*All of Central Asia, 1926., P.100*]. From this we can see that the Kazakhs are relatively fewer in Kirgizstan than in other neighboring countries. It shows the fact that the boundaries of the countries have been defined very effectively, taking into account the interests of the both sides. However, the Kazakhs of this region differ from the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan in moving, accomodating and developing, because the geographical and historical situation of these two countries was effectively utilized in realizing the demarcation process. Later, the boundaries were inspected again, and under the supervision of N.I.Zelensky, Chairman of the Division Commission, the both sides finally marked and defined their borders. From the Kazakh government, S.Mendeshov, S.Kozhanov, A.Sergaziev and T.Zhugrenov were the experts on Syrdarya and Zhetisu oblasts. Despite the unanimous decision of the both sides, there were requests from the Kazakh part asking for reconsideration of the border issues, regarding some particular pastures. To define the boundaries of the pastures such as Susamyr, Khanzhailau, Karkara and Kokoirak, N.Burayev paid an official visit to Kazakhstan. Thus, on March 17, 1925, according to the decision of Central Asia Liquidcom, these pastures remained common territories of Kazakhstan and Kirgizstan; they were able to sign a treaty to use them [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, R-1 fund ., 706 document P.63*].

In the 1924-26th, related to the use of Susamyr canyon, the two sides had signed a treaty. The explanatory note to the draft says: 'Susamyr canyon was located in the north of Kirgiz Autonomous oblast. Just before the Revolution (1917), the shepherds of Aulieata uyezd used to come to the canyon. As it was situated far from the Kazakh winter camps, in order to get there, the shepherds had to go through two big ridges (Aleksandrovsk and Talas) and 2 volosts. Using the canyon was not effective and unprofitable for the shepherds except those who had more than 1000 sheep, in other words, for cattle-dealers. Their number was about 50. Some hired herdsmen and cowmen were also moving with them. From the earliest time, the population of 3 okrugs of the KAO, particularly, 4 volosts of Talas region, 5 enlarged volosts of Ketpentobe of Zhalalabad

okrug and Aulieata uyezd had been using the Susamyr canyon' [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, R-1 fund .,707 document P.94*]. According to the information of Zhandosov's expedition made in 1924, nearly 11 035 ownerships of the KAR were said to be moving around the Susamyr canyon.

On September 27, 1926, the document signed by Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (ACEC) M.Kalinin and acting Secretary of ACEC S.Asfendyarov presents the following information: 'Susamyr, Kyryk Airek, Shelek and Karkara pastures would remain under the common use of the shepherds of both Kazakh ASSR and Kirgiz Autonomous Oblast. In order to control and regulate the equal use of these pastures, it'd be better to invite an envoy from the KazASSR and provide the management group' [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kirgizstan, 21 fund., 5 document P.25*]. Following this event, on May 3, 1927, the All-Union Central Executive Committee decided Susamyr and other pastures to join Kirgizstan.

The agreement concluded between two sides regarding the pastures touched upon the following points:

1) Not to pay for the cattle that are used for work;

2) Give permission to the Kazakh merchants to enter the territory of the pasture and meat-packing plants;

3) To exempt the Kazakhs from travel payments;

4) Shepherds of both sides pay the same amount of money for the use of Susamyr [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kirgizstan, 21 fund., P.88*]. These facts show us that the boundaries between the countries were not defined, but equally divided.

Regarding the Karkara pasture, on September 16, 1929, the People's Commissariat of KirASSR made a decision which was based on the resolution of the Central administrative Commission. In the course of the demarcation process and after it, they consulted the map that was demonstrated in P.P.Rumyantsev's 'Zharkent uyezd' published in 1912. Therefore, it was necessary to establish a new commission with the members of Karkara regional executive committee and other representatives who were interested in it [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kirgizstan, 21 fund., P.92*]. On February 21, 1928, the demarcation commission held a meeting in Frunze, where the Kazakh representatives such as S.Aryngazynov, a land agent from Aulieata, K.Berdyshev participated. At the meeting, chairman of the commission Shneider and S.Aryngazynov announced their inability to define the boundaries of the Kanzhailau canyon. In fact, they had no concrete information about the canyon's legal owners. Whom did it belong to (due to winter season)? Therefore, the question remained open until May 1, 1928, but, K.Berdishev and his Kirgiz counterpart Chukin were delegated to settle it until June 1.

Meanwhile, S.Aryngazynov engaged in the problem of Groznoye village. He focused on the fact that the Kazakhs would be deprived of their pastures in case the border issues of Groznoye village remained unchanged. In accordance with the agreement, the border reached the southern part of Groznoye and passed westward 100 sazhen distances away from Kirgiz ploughed lands. But, Beshagash and Grodekovo villages in Kirgizstan were withdrawn. The appropriate document was signed by Chairman of the Commission Shneider, the Kazakh representative S.Aryngazynov and Tokbayev [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kirgizstan, 21 fund., P.39*]. But, the fate of Kanzhailau was not as good as expected: ‘The decision made by the Presidium of the All-Union Central Executive Committee was correct, Kazakhstan’s request for the canyon was groundless’ September 27, 1926 (Protocol №73 §21) and July 28, 1928 (Protocol №67 §26) [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kirgizstan, 21 fund., P.40*]. In one of the documents relating to that demarcation process, it was written: ‘The border that was defined between Kazakhstan and Kirgizstan Autonomous Oblast by the Central Asian Liquidation Committee, first of all, entirely satisfied the Kazakhs’ interests. None of the Kazakh-populated localities entered the territory of Kirgizstan. On the contrary, some Kirgiz settlements remained in the territory of Kazakhstan. They were villages in the upper part of the Pskem River (North-east part of Aleksandrovsk volost of Tashkent uyezd. It is now situated in Bostandyk, Uzbekistan –B.K.), in the Shatkal River Basin (Tashkent uyezd, Karamoinak and Ushkorgan in Koshkorgan volost), and along the Kurat-ata river (Kuragat volost of Aulieata uyezd). As soon as Aulieata and Merke, the two big centers, had gone under the rule of Kazakhstan, the idea of creating political and economic center of the Kirgiz failed. Thus, Aleksandrovsk, which was situated along the Talas river, became a center. In order to develop Upper Talas regions, which had been handed to Kirgizstan and to preserve the irrigation systems there, some villages in lower parts of Aleksandrovsk had joined Kirgizstan, too. National composition of Ushkorgan volost, which was created in that place, was different. According to the 1920 census, there were 5 Uzbek, 2 Dungun, 1 Tatar, 1 Shalakazakh in 9 localities’ [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, R-1 fund ., P.100*]. Though the demarcation process of the ethnic territory between Kazakhstan and Kirgizstan was considered effective for the Kazakhs, there were some Kazakhs who asked staying in Kirgizstan. We can see it from the next piece of information: ‘We came to Atbashy of Pishpek uyezd from former Akmola and Karkara uyezds 40 years ago. We are former cattlemen. According to the Land Code, who ploughs the land he should own it. We’ve decided not to move anywhere. So, we ask you to leave the land to us and hand it to Kirgizstan Autonomous Oblast’ [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kirgizstan, 21 fund., P. 102-102a*]. During the demarcation process, that village of the Argyn settlers, virtually, belonged to

the Georgievsk regional executive committee of KazASSR. Interestingly, 42 *argyn* families wanted to join Kirgizstan and asked for Kirgiz citizenship and loans.

To satisfy their needs, on September 2, 1929, land agent Kozlov, agronomist Peredireyev and hydraulic engineer Yudin proposed a project for the division of land. It said: ‘According to the initial calculation, there were 183 people in 44 Kazakh ownerships in the community. In fact, the territory they own occupies 600 hectare of land that covers the meadows and pastures between Kamys and Vasilevsk villages near the tributary of the Chui River. In accordance with their request made on 25 March-23 April, 1929, the national land commissariat of Kirgizstan (decree №1598 from August 3, 1929) and the Council of Kirgizstan national commissariat (June 10, 1929) decided to give the land of the community to Chui Kendir sovkhov (state farm). On September 16, 1929, with the № 48 - 21003 decision of the land agency of the national land commissariat, they were accommodated in ‘koktey and ‘kuzeu’ (pastures for spring and autumn seasons). The *argyn* guys didn’t raise any objection to the seized areas; on the contrary, they asked to be compensated with the Kirgiz lands. Thus, the land agency commission decided to allocate *argyn* community the following territories:

1. To join former *argyn* community of Kendir sovkhov to Kirgiz ASSR;
2. To transfer the *argyn* community including all its 42 ownerships to Kirgizstan, and, by their will, administratively attach them to Alameddin region;
3. To give long-term loans, and, according to №52 decree of the ACEC July 16, 1926, to render assistance and privileges to the vulnerable population [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kirgizstan, 21 fund., P. 69,72,78,79*].

In resolving this issue, the ethnic-state territory defined in the 1924-1926th was deliberated again, as a result of what the Kazakhs in Kirgizstan increased by 200 people. Moreover, one segment of the Kazakhs living in Kirgizstan makes those who failed to flee to China during the collectivization process and had to stay there. For instance, Kaliev Bugybai, Madibekuly Bolekbai and others say that they moved to Naryn from Karagandy with the intention of going further, but being unable to do so, they had to settle around Bishkek. The Kazakhs living in the outskirts of today’s Bishkek such as *Manas, Altybarak, Priozernoye* and *Razdolnoye* are the direct descendants of those *argyn* communities. Some of the local people suppose that their ancestors had come to that region 100-150 years ago (corresponds to the arrival of *argyn* – B.K.), while the others say their forefathers had stayed there following the collectivization in the country. Thus, the ethnic-territorial demarcation process between Kazakhstan and Kirgizstan carried on during the 1924-1929th; despite the joint ownerships of the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, the disputed pastures such as Susamyr, Kanzhailau, Karkara and some others were settled in favor of Kirgizstan. It was explained by two main reasons: first, absence of the Kazakhs during the

population census in those disputed areas, because it was conducted in winter season; second, those areas were located farther from the Kazakh-populated communities [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kirgizstan, 21 fund., P. 10*]. Due to such circumstances, in 1926, the number of the Kazakhs in Kirgizstan was 14 324, but in 1927 it declined to 1766 [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kirgizstan, 21 fund., P. 6*]. However, the demarcation process between these two countries was conducted more effectively and favorably than that one between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

As far as the demarcation process between the Turkmen and Kazakhstan is concerned, it started in the 20s of the XXth century. Since *aday* and *yomuds* lived very close to each other, they had endless conflicts relating to the land and cattle rustlings.

Thus, it was one of the urgent problems in the earliest period of the Soviet Union to be solved. To regulate such conflicts in the region, *aday*, *tabyn* and *shekti* representatives of Kizhi juz adopted a resolution on creating an organ of the Soviet government, in which it was written: ‘1. To join 2 *aday* volosts of Mangyshlak and Krasnovodsk uyezds and create a special *Aday* uyezd. 2. To include *aday*, *tabyn* and other migrant communities as well as north west part of Mangyshlak and Krasnovodsk uyezds, which are located in the north of Temir uyezd, to Kirvoenrevcom (Kirgiz military revolution committee). 3. To create the first organ of the Soviet government to administer political, economic and national issues. 4. To make Oyul fort as a temporary center of the uyezd and to transfer it to Kopa near the Sagyz Mosque after establishing the permanent government [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 39 fund., P.50*]. Thus, in 1920, Aday uyezd was established. It consisted of all volosts (except 1 Turkmen volost) of Mangyshlak uyezd of Zakaspi oblast, 10 volosts (except Aday volosts and Dogyztai) of Temir uyezd of Ural oblast and Guriev uyezd [*Commission of the USSR Academy..., 1928. P.50*].

One of the characteristic features of the Kazakh administrative system in Central Asia was that each volost consisted of the representatives of the same clan. For instance, Ulysai volost was composed of 3000 *tabyn* ownerships, as well as there were 4 administrative communities and 2 volosts consisting of *tama* and *kurke* clans. The 6th *aday* volost, which was under Krasnovodsk until 1920, having 5 administrative communities with 1000 ownerships, became a part of Aday uyezd. Besides, other 200 *aday* ownerships forever settled in Krasnovodsk. In fact, 733 ownerships of 5 administrative communities of the 7th Aday volost stretched the edge of Krasnovodsk uyezd. Those areas were mainly inhabited by *suindik* and *kosay* clans. In 1920, 68% of all ownerships had been migrating in Konyrat [*Commission of the USSR Academy..., 1928. P.50*]. As we see from the document, the entry of Aday uyezd, which was founded with

an aim to populate Aday Kazakhs, to Kazakhstan was a significant point in the history of the country. The number of the Kazakhs living abroad increased due to the fact that many of them had remained in bordering regions of Turkmenistan, Kara-kalpak and as well as in the 2nd, 5th and 7th Aday volosts.

The conflicts between two nations had been settled peacefully, as much as possible. However, the disagreements related to the pastures were inevitable. In general, the Mangystau Kazakhs herded the sheep towards Turkmen oblast through Krasnovodsk uyezd along the east road of Karabugaz. The Kazakhs of Torgai and Ural used to come to that place, too. In accordance with №181 decree, on December 9, 1921, in Krasnovodsk, the Turkmen commission of the ACEC and local Turk commission made an important decision: 1. With the decision of the committee, neighboring Kazakhs could go there with their cattle. 2. They could use the wells with the permission of the well owners. 3. To obey the Turkmen laws. 4. To pay taxes for using the land. 5. Not to damage green meadows [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 12 fund., P.39*]. These must have been the measures taken to avoid any kind of hostilities between the Kazakhs and Turkmen and let them equally use the pastures.

In 1917, a vast majority of the Kazakhs had got settled in Krasnovodsk along the railway of Central Asia. In 1930, the Turkmen government and Aday Revcom (revolution committee) concluded a treaty restricting the Kazakhs to move towards the south, because there were constant clashes between the two nations in north border regions of Krasnovodsk [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, R-1 fund. 721 document., P.314*]. Thus, compared to other Republics, taking into account the interests of the two countries, the Kazakh-Turkmen demarcation process didn't bring many changes. That's why there are no serious border conflicts between the countries, yet. However, one part of the Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan and Turkmenistan makes those who came there during the years of great famine. The Kazakhs in Turkmenistan are the descendents of those either who stayed in the favorite pastures unwilling to go anywhere or who arrived for political or economic reasons in the 50-60s of the XXth century.

The border problems were on the agenda of the Soviet government, too. Particularly, it was connected with Uzbek-Kazakh borders. In 1942, referring to the fact that Tashkent was irrigated by the North canal, the Uzbek government asked for 34 000 hectare lands of Saryagash region of Kazakhstan. The Kazakh government partly satisfied their needs and agreed to lease them 6 397 hectare lands for 3 years period. It covered: 1. 2051 hectare lands of the 1st May and Kurama kolkhoz (collective farms) of Saryagash district; 2. All in all, 4346 hectare lands of Keless district: Birlesu -145, K.Marx -920, Voroshilov -670, Untustyk – 335, Kyzyl Asker -636 and GZF-1640 [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 90 fund., P.37*]. Unfortunately,

there is still no fact whether they've been returned back or not. Besides, the following document collects some evidence that the Kazakh SSR, in 1947, provided some industries of Tashkent city and its outskirts with irrigated lands. It says: 'The resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbekistan SSR on joining the lands along the Tashkent Canal to the industries of Tashkent city: 1. In accordance with the appendix №1-1089, to join some lands (that were not used, but irrigated since 1942) of Zhanazhol and Tashkent communities to the industries. 2. In accordance with the 1947 resolution appendix №2, to leave 843 hectares of lands, which were temporarily given to Uzbekistan and currently being irrigated by them, in the territory of Uzbekistan'. It was signed by Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbekistan SSR P.Kabanov [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 90 fund., P.39*]. So, the area that once united a big group of the Kazakhs is a subject of Uzbekistan, now.

Another segment of the Kazakhs residing in Uzbekistan is composed of the settlers of the rented communities (50-60s of the XXs century). Adil-Bek Khaba, a well-known journalist presents some facts about it: 'In general, in 1924-1971, nearly 5.1 mln hectare land (not including Kara-kalpak) of Kazakhstan was handed over to Uzbekistan. The Uzbek government strived to own the 329 hectares of lands which were obtained from the border regions for temporary use in 1930 and with the resolution of Supreme Council of the USSR realized their plan. Thus, former Kazakh communities such as Kyzyl sharualar (840 000 hectares), Udarnik (104 000 hectares), Nurata, Kyzylsha, and Kirov (180 000 hectares), Konzavod (76/17 000 hectares), and about 381 000 hectares of Zaomin, Zhyzak, Myrzashol districts are Uzbekistan's territories, now' [*Young Alash., March 28., 2000*].

But, Uzbekistan kept on asking the lease of the Kazakh lands. On the pretext of increasing the cotton production by 4200 tons, and referring to the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Central Committee of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) on 'further development of cotton-raising in the UzSSR in 1954 – 1958' as well as resorting to nepotistic actions, the then Uzbek officials Sh.Rashidov, N.Mukhitdinov and A.Nyazov wrote a letter to their Kazakh counterparts N.Ondasynov, E.Taibekov and P.Ponomorenko. They asked to get the following territories:

- 1) 95 000 hectares of the land from Maktaral and Khyzylkum districts;
- 2) 329 000 hectares of the land that was given to Uzbekistan in 1937, for temporary use;
- 3) The whole territory of Bostandyk region (522, 6000 hectares). Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR K.Voroshilov signed the document stating the entire Bostandyk district and one part of Golodnaya steppe to be handed to the Uzbek SSR [*Bulletin of the Supreme Council, 1963*].

On January 21, 1956, the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR decided to transfer Bostandyk district and one part of Myrzashol to Uzbekistan. The decree said: ‘... taking into account the close economic, territorial, cultural ties between Bostandyk district in south Kazakhstan and Uzbek SSR, and, in accordance with Article 14 Section ‘d’ of the USSR Constitution and Article 16 of the KazSSR Constitution, to transfer the following lands to Uzbekistan: excluding the pastures of Bostandyk district that are used by Zhambyl and South Kazakhstan farmers, Bostandyk district itself, 95 000 hectares of the Myrzashol Canal area, and 329 hectares of the lands given to Uzbekistan for temporary use in 1936-1937. The document was signed by Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR Zh.Tashenov and Secretary of the Presidium A.Amreyev’ [*Bulletin of the Supreme Soviet, 1956.*].

It is worth mentioning a strong objection of Zh.Shayakhmetov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, and Zh.Tashenov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR, to the pressure of the central government power. However, it was impossible not to obey their order. Let’s have a look at the statement made by K.Arystanbekov, one of the witnesses of that bitter historical event: ‘Despite the fact, that on June 1, 1955, Commission members Zh.Tashenov, M.Beisebayev, S.Daulenov, A.Morozov, V.Gogosov and V.Sheremetyev agreed to transfer some areas of Maktaral to Uzbekistan, but their rejection to give Bostandyk district was completely ignored by the Central government. So, Bostandyk district with its vast and most fertile lands and about 370 000 sheep was handed to Uzbekistan’ [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 215 fund., 181 document, 33 p.*]. Thus, those areas became part of Uzbekistan. But, as soon as the lease time had expired, Sh.Rashidov, being scared of the constant claims of the people, returned some rented lands of Maktaral and Zhetisai regions. ‘However, some Kazakh ownership remained there. For instance, premium astrakhan plant ‘Shymkorgan’ with its astrakhans and territory was given to the Uzbeks. Moreover, 418 hectares of the lands taken from Bostandyk district also had belonged to Kazakhstan’ –said K.Arystanbekov, one of the Commission members. Further, on March 15, 1956, with unanimous decision of the State Commissions of the two sides, the fate of Bostandyk district and one part of Betpakdala of the Kazakh SSR was finally decided. Paragraph №1 of the Commission stated: ‘In accordance with decree №133 on making partial amendments into the regulations of Kazakh-Uzbek borders, 418 000 hectares of the land of Bostandyk district enlisted in the appendix of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, on February 13, 1956, is transferred to the Uzbek SSR. The protocol had been signed by the Kazakh officials R.B.Baigaliev, Kh.Arystanbekov, N.X.Zabekhansky, K.R.Ospanov, V.A.Sheremetyev, and from Uzbek side, L.A.Abdurakhmanov, B.G.Myrzabekov, M.Ismukhamedov, N.I.Mangutov and M.N.Kunyiavsky. Moreover, the decree of the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR stated: ‘to

transfer 418 000 hectares lands of 539 000-hectar Bostandyk district to Uzbekistan, and to leave the 121 000-hectar pasture to South Kazakhstan and Zhambyl oblasts [*Murat Bekei // Young Alash., 2002., March 26.*]. The Uzbek government was able to realize all their ambitious strategy thanks to their compatriot N.Mukhitdinov, a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR who lived in Moscow. With his further intentions, in 1963, January 26, with the decree of the Supreme Council of the Kazakh SSR, 1150 000 hectares of lands from Kyzylorda oblast became a part of Uzbekistan, too. After that, in 1963, April 16, the boundaries of the two countries were defined. However, in 1971, some parts of the abovementioned lands were returned back. Still, Kazakhstan's 10 farms had remained in the territory of Uzbekistan, where the Uzbeks set up their 5 districts and 50 farms. In 1963, September 19, according to the amendments made into the regulations of the boundaries of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, districts such as Myrzashol, Arnasai and Dostyk were handed to Uzbekistan [*Bulletin of the Supreme..., 1963*]. Evidence for this information is as follows: in 1962-1963, in accordance with the decree of the Presidiums of the Supreme Council of both countries and the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, '... totally, 959 hectares of lands from Pakhtaral, Kirov districts and from Kyzylkum, Shymkorgan rural communities of Shymkent oblast as well as 1154 hectares of pastures, and 1150 hectares of lands from Kyzylorda oblast, which has been temporarily owned by Uzbekistan, are transferred to Uzbekistan[Murat Bekei //*Young Alash., 2002., March 26.*]. In 1962, 404, 1 000 hectares of Kirov district, 0,1000 hectares of Saryagash district, 17,1000 hectares of Keless district, and, in 1963, entire Pakhtaral (153,6000 hectares) and Kirovsk districts (805,2000 hectares) including 1554,3000 hectares of Frunze and Kyzylkum massives were given to Uzbekistan [*Bulletin of the Supreme...,1963, P.191*]. Thus, our compatriots were confronted with the biggest crises of their life, and reluctantly left their native land for Uzbekistan. As a result of such bitter historical moments, the Kazakh diaspora emerged. However, in 1970th, one part of Kirov, Zhetisai and Pakhtaral districts were returned back to Kazakhstan. In general, in 1956-1963, Uzbekistan had gained 187 8000 hectares of Kazakh lands [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kirgizstan, 847 fund., P. 91*].

The history of the Kazakh settlement in Tajikistan was mainly associated with the collectivization process. As the stories say, the settlers first arrived at Gazli (Bukhara) in 1928, later, after the Russian occupation (during the Soviet government), opposing to their son's joining the army, majority of them had moved to the rural communities of Afghanistan and Tajikistan (Korgantobe). In Pashrabad of October district they formed 11 collective farms, and all of them were *aday*representatives. Each clan formed a separate collective farm, for example, the representatives of *alasha*, *sherkesh*, *koskulak*, *kunanarys* and *balykshy* lived in one farm,

while *aday* in the other farm. Each farm had about 60-80 hectares land and 40-80 families. The Kazakhs lived in Korgantobe, Parkhar and Kulyab oblasts, too. As Akhmet Kalenov says, in 1960, as soon as the Tajiks from the mountainous regions had moved to the valleys, the Kazakhs also started to move to Uzbekistan and other places. Moreover, there are the Kazakhs in Central Asia who went on labor migration. For example, during that period, 19 925 people migrated to Uzbek SSR, 3511 to Tajikistan, and 2712 to Turkmenistan from Kazakhstan. Besides, 634 people went to Mary oblast, 104 people went to Tashauyz and other 890 left for Chardzhou [Bulletin of the Supreme..., 1963., P.61].

As the facts collected from the residents during 2002-2003 say, a part of Kazakh people living in Turkmenistan is the descendents of those who fled the country during the collectivization and famine of the 1929-1930. In 1932, 30 families left Beiney district of Mangystau for Takhta community of Turkmenistan. One of them Abat Nurgaliev (born in 1926) said that they had been wholly robbed (22 camels, 4 horses) while they were moving. Having 15 people in the family, his family accompanied other 5 ownerships. In 1937, after they had been nicknamed as *bai*, *kulak* (rich people), they moved to Shabad district of Uzbekistan and worked as a woodcutter. In 1947, they came back to Tashauyz. And, in 1960, after D.A.Kunayev's appeal ('Kazakhs, return home!'), they came back to Ak altyn and Dostyk communities (former Kazakh lands) of Gagarin district (Uzbekistan) to dig the Canal. Its left side belonged to the Kazakhs and the right side to the Uzbeks. But, according to the agreement signed by 7 people during the reign of Khruchev in 1963, some Kazakh lands had been leased by Uzbekistan until 1990. These lands were not returned back to Kazakhstan until 2002, so 280 families moved to Kazakhstan from Gagarin. All in all, 750 families came back from Turkmenistan. Later, 1500 families from Koneurgenish and Tashauyz, 250 from Kone and 150 from Takhta settled there (this was told by the informants) [IV].

In conclusion, the history of the Kazakh settlement can be divided into several stages. Some compatriots living in Central Asia are the descendents of those who remained there due to the demarcation process between the countries conducted in 1924. So, the first wave of the Kazakhs separated from the native land took place in 1924-1926, during the ethnic-regional demarcation of Central Asian countries. The second wave makes the victims of the famine of the 1932-1933 and maladministration of the central government. Mainly, the number of the Kazakhs living in the neighboring countries increased due to the political developments of the XXth century, collectivization, famine, political persecutions and other economic hardships in the country. Particularly, first, the Kazakhs (*naiman*, *konyrat* and *kipshak*) moved from Central Kazakhstan and Kyzylorda to Kokhan then remained in the regions of Tashkent; another part of them (*argyn*) got settled in the outskirts Bishkek city; *alimuly* Kazakhs of Kishi juz in Mary and Ashkhabad of

Turkmenistan came from Kazaly and Karmakshy, while *ausa*, *tabyn* and *tama* moved from Aktobe to Turkmenistan. The third wave makes the Kazakhs who were residents of the lands which were primarily leased then handed to Uzbekistan in the period of 1942-1947 and 1956-1963.

2 ETHNODEMOGRAPHY, ANSECTRAL COMPOSITION AND SETTLEMENT OF CENTRAL ASIAN KAZAKHS

2.1 Kazakhs in Uzbekistan and Karakalpakstan

Uly juz Kazakhs make up a big part of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan. Majority of them live in their motherland, but, due to the national-territorial demarcation of Central Asian countries, they are regarded as ‘irredentists’. The Kazakhs of Tashkent, Syrdarya and Zhyzak oblasts belong to this category of people. Apart from the irredentists, there are the diaspora of the Kazakhs who have migrated there for various political, historical reasons.

Today’s Tashkent oblast is an ethnic center of Uly juz Kazakhs such as *kanly*, *uisin*, *shanyshkili*, *sirgeli*, *oimauyt*, *darkhan*, *katagan kanly*, *dulat* and others. According to N.A.Aristov, ‘*Kanly* tribes kept on moving towards the south-west for centuries, and, finally, got settled with their present relatives, *shanyshkili* in Syrdarya and Shyrshyq regions. Having preserved their settlements in middle Syrdarya, they played a great role in the development of Central Asia and Kazakhstan peoples as well as their political and ethnic life’ [Aristov N.A., 1897., P.76]. Moreover, S.P.Pashino wrote in his work: ‘The bank of the Shyrshyq River had been inhabited by *kanly* and *shanyshkili* clans of the Kazakhs [Pashino P.I., 1868., P.123]. *Shanyshkili* make up a great part of the Kazakhs of Tashkent oblast. Their early settlement in middle Syrdarya was also described by A.Levshin [Levshin A.I., 1832., P.9]. There are different opinions about the origin of *shanyshkili*. Describing them, an anthropologist of that time P.Pashino said: ‘the skull of *shanyshkili*, who resided along the Shyrshyq River, had a resemblance to the oval skull of Uzbek people.’ At that time, the localities of *shanyshkili* clan stretched from Shyrshyq region to Karatas village of Kazygurt in today’s South Kazakhstan. The pastures of about 1000 families were in Kazygurt, and winter camps were on the other side of the Shyrshyq. Kushyk Tokbayev was their leader [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 215 fund. P.54]. At present, *sarsek*, *karakalpak*, *karatukym*, *kara buka*, *aganai*, *sanyrau*, *korpik* and *darkhan* within *shanyshkili* clan are still living around the Shyrshyq with their close relatives.

Sirgeli are dwelling near Tashkent city. Information about their early settlement in this region was given in one of the old writings of Ruzbikhan: ‘The *sirgeli* had lived in the middle of the Syrdarya. They used to come from Yedil (Volga) to Syrdarya winter camps [Ibragimov S.K // New materials on ancient, 1960., P.144]. These facts prove that *sirgeli* had been residing there since the XV-XVIth century. Moreover, the facts piled up by the local people show that *sirgeli* had lived in that region all year round. N.A.Aristov has also focused on the migration of about

7 000 *sirgeli* population around the Syrdarya [Aristov N.A, 1897., P.76]. In fact, there is a community called Sirgeli in the territory of Tashkent city.

Similarly, as M.Tynyshbayev presented, the settlement of the *zhalaïr* in Uzbekistan had taken place in the XIII-XIVth centuries: ‘One part of *zhalaïr*, which had been quartered during the Zhingizkhan rule, got militarily equipped near the Shyrshyq and Angren Rivers, being known as ‘Zhalair orda’. Besides, *balgaly* of *zhalaïr* had lived in that area since the Shagataï reign (1370). A bigger part of them moved towards the Chui River, while other poverty-stricken part had to stay in Angren [Tynyshpaev M.. 2007., P.8]. If we make analysis of these facts, today’s *zhalaïr* might have derived from the innumerable *zhalaïr* stock, which had lived along with Mawarannahr and Mongolstan people in the XVth century. Nowadays, there is Zhalair Street in Tashkent, a range of Zhalair mausoleum in the east of Shyrshyq, and some communities after Balgaly of *zhalaïr* clan.

Apart from the abovementioned clans, there are representatives of *ysty*, *zhany*s, *sikhym* and *botpai* of *dulat* in Uzbekistan. It is obvious that these Uly juz Kazakhs had also dwelt in Tashkent outskirts. Dulat had ruled Tashkent city for nearly two centuries; but, due to some disagreements among the clan representatives, they handed it to Uzbek Zhunis, by the end of the XVIIIth century. Initially, Zhunis had the authority only over Sheikhtower of Tashkent city, but, a bit later, after gaining much power, he forced *dulat* to move towards Shymkent uyezd. Mainly, Tashkent region is inhabited by *saryuisin*, *tarakty*, *ysty*, *oïmauyt*, *oshakty*, *shymyr* and *zhany*s of Uly juz [Overview of the Syr Darya, 1886., P.318]. The fact, that all of them had lived, grown and developed in that area, can be directly proved by the ancestral mausoleums, particularly, Tole bi mausoleum and the community named after his relative Kybray batyr. Kazakhs of Uly juz, predominantly, had dwelt in Tashkent region, while Kishi juz were living in Bukhara, Nawai, Samarkand and Zhyzak oblasts.

Prominent scholar, K.Sh.Shanyazov wrote about *kipshaks* who were the core consolidation of the Kazakh people: ‘In the XVI-XVIIIth centuries, after the migration from the Kazakh lands to Maverennahr and Khorezm, some *kipshaks* had assimilated with the local population (Uzbek) and the others with the people of the Syrdarya region [Shaniyazov K.K., 1972., P.81]. Moreover, they got settled in the town of Shyrshyq, in *kipshak* community located in 15-20 km from Tashkent, and Bukhara, Fergana, Syrdarya and Zhyzak oblasts. Some of their descendants connected the arrival of their ancestors with the consequences of great famine years (1932-1933).

Apart from *kipshaks* in Tashkent, there are some *argyn* clans such as *atygai*, *altai*, *tarakty*, *kanzhygaly*, *basenteen* and *naiman’s akbura*, *sadyr*, and *konyrat’s orazkeldi*, *tokbolat*,

kulshygash clans in Khojent. As M.Tynyshbayev wrote: ‘Descendants of *kerei(ashamaily)* and *argyn(kanzhygaly)*, who had remained there during the Barak khan invasion, did live near Tashkent’ [Tynyshpaev M., 1926., P.10]. Some of them who came from *argyn* stock confirm that their ancestors had been residing in the region from their fourth to seventh generations, while the others link their ancestors’ arrival with the historical events of 1721-1723.

The following document says about the settlement of *naiman* in Zhana zhol district of today’s Tashkent and Bukhara oblasts: ‘In the XVth century, during the break-up of the nomadic Uzbek government in Central Asia, one part of *naiman* population went to Mavernnahr with Sheibani khan, and they played a significant role in the development of the Uzbekistan population’ [Shaibani-name, 1949., P. 4]. Generally, it is known that, by end of the XIVth and the beginning of the XVth centuries, the tribes under the Uzbek khan consisted of the Kazakh and Uzbek tribes. As the facts collected from the people say, vast majority of their ancestors had been indigenous population of that region.

The history of *konyrat*, who mainly live in Uzbekistan’s Zhyzak, Syrdarya oblasts and in Bukhara and Tashkent regions, is also connected with the abovementioned historical developments. As Sh.Yalikhonov pointed out: ‘Under the Yali khan reign (the first quarter of the XIXth century), one part of *konyrat*, which had been separated from the Orta juz, was migrating near today’s Bukhara, Kokhan and Tashkent, and, majority of them were wandering along the Talas river and Karatau environs [Valykhonov Sh., // Selected works, 1985., P.108]. *Kotenshi* and *koktinuly* clans of *konyrat* are largely spread in today’s Uzbekistan region.

Kishi juz Kazakhs are mainly populated in Bukhara, Nauai, Kashkadarya and Kara-kalpak autonomous oblasts. They are: *alimuly*, *baiuly*, *tabyn*, *tama*, *ramadan* and *zhagalbaily* clans of Kishi juz [Overview of the Syr Darya, 1886., P.318]. Their history is associated with the generations of the Tauekel khan who had conquered Tashkent, Turkistan and Samarkand in the XVIth century. However, it is mainly related with the most tragic Zhongar invasion ‘Akhtaban shubyryndy, alka kol sulama’. In fact, inner migration of the Kazakhs to Central Asia is directly connected with the hardships of the Zhongar invasion. Describing that hard time, A.I.Levshin said: ‘In 1723, the zhongars conquered Tashkent, Turkistan and Sairam. Being oppressed by three parties, the Kazakhs had to move towards the south; the rest part of the Uly juz and Orta juz Kazakhs left for Kodjent; a part of Kishi juz and Orta zhuz Kazakhs headed for Samarkand, Khiya and Bukhara; the Kazakhs, who had moved to Tashkent under the rule of Kaldan Seren, remained there [Levshin A.I., 1832., P.166]. M.Tynyshpaev also wrote about it: ‘During the Zhongar invasion, in 1723, some Orta juz and Kishi juz Kazakhs gradually marched up to the Shyrshyq River [Tynyshpaev M., 2007., P.8]. Popular scholars, such as V.V.Vostrov and

M.S.Mukhanov wrote that Orta juz Kazakhs had moved from Ulytau region to Syrdarya, and some of them had been migrating in South Kazakhstan, Atbasar and Torgai steppes [Vostrov V.V., Mukanov M.S., 1968., P.64]. Moreover, in his work, Levshin also gave evident facts about the Kazakhs' life in Andizhan, Kashgar, Kokhan khanate and Kishi Bukhara of today's Uzbekistan [25 30, P.140]. The history of some Kishi and Orta juz Kazakhs' settlement in Uzbekistan is also connected with the collectivization and great famine of the 1932th. For instance, *naiman* who live in Akhangeran, Angren, Khybrai districts of Tashkent oblast and in the town of Shyrshyq can be a vivid example of it.

L.A.Mayev, a Russian scholar, wrote about the settlement and origin of the Kazakhs and local people of Central Asia: 'Kazakh clans are interrelated with the 92 bauly Uzbekgenerations; they occupy the land from Irtysh to Amu-darya and Ural, Alatau and Tian-Shan, Kasghar and Davan. Those who are called *naiman*, *konyrat* and *kanly* have settled in the upper and lower parts of Amudarya, middle part of Syrdarya and one part of Zerafshan. *Tama* and *kara-kalpaks* dwelt along Zerafshan, the lower part of Usturt and Amudarya. *Kipshak*, *myn*, *yuz*, *kyrk*, *zhalaïr* lived in Zarafshan, Uratobe and Dizakh (might be Zhyzak)while *konirat*, *alshyn*, *argyn*, *kanly*, *kereit*, *ramadan* and *tabyn* clans lived in Zerafshan valley, Shyrshyq and Syrdarya. *Kenegez* and *mangyt* were in Kashkadarya and Zerafshan' [Materials for statistics Turkestan...,1879., P.325]. In fact, as the people say, some of the abovementioned clans such as *kanly*, *kereit*, *ramadan* and *argyn* live together either in one community or street near the town of Shyrshyq.

In his work, M.A.Terentiev focused on the fact that the Shyrshyq volost and Keless valleys had been occupied by the Kazakhs: 'Only *shanyshkili* had passed across the Shyrshyq River. The closer you approach Angren, the fewer Kazakhs you meet [Terent'ev M.A.,1906.,P.73]. A.I.Maksheev wrote about the settlement and ancestral composition of the Kazakhs: 'The Kazakhs didn't stay long in the places except Ystykkol, Tokmak (Kirgiz-populated), Zhyzak, Khodjent and Tashkent; they had been moving around different uyezds and Bukhara communities. Since Bukhara was under the great influence of Russia, the Kazakhs coming from it were not included in the population census. There were 8255 Kazakh families in Tashkent uyezd. They were: 890 - *konyrat* of Uly juz (*konyrat* belongs to Orta juz, it is a mistake – K.B), 330-*bestamgaly*, 380-*dulat*, 1410-*sirgeli*, 2000-*shanyshkili*, 1650-*kanly*; from Orta juz: 350-*argyn*, 115-*naiman*, 100-*kipshak*; from Kishi juz: 610-*ramadan*, 420-*kara-kalpak* [Maksheyev A.I.,1856., P.45]. In general, the Kazakhs lived in the north part of Tashkent uyezd, Keless valley, the watershed of Shyrshyq and Keless as well as in south volosts of Shyrshyq. Uly juz Kazakhs prevailed there since it was their native land.

Now, we'd like to present the number of the Kazakh families in the volosts of Tashkent uyezd:

1) Irizhar Shardara2840	9) Zhaleltobe1140
2) Zhetisuiek2113	10) Shynaz 1089
3) Nyazbek 1784	11) Akhzhar 914
4) Zengi ata 1549	12) Toitope870
5) Altyn 1471	13) Taibota748
6) Zhausogym 1266	14) Khoshkorgan 718
7) Bolat 1244	15) Aleksandrovsk 568
8) Khytai tobe1205	16) Maidantal380
	17) Osman ata360

The first seven and the 10th and 11th volosts belonged to the Shyrshyq basin, making up 20 259 families. There were 291 Kazakh families in Karasu and Angren Basins [*Terent'ev M.A., 1874., P.73*]. The facts show that the Kazakhs were mainly populated in the Keless and Shyrshyq Basins.

According to the statistics made in the 1920th, the Kazakhs and Kirgiz were described as one nation. But, it is obvious that the Kazakhs made up the predominant part of the Kirgiz-Kazakh population in Tashkent uyezd. All-Russian population census, which was conducted in 1920, showed: 'The Kazakhs live in all volosts of the Keless Basin of Tashkent uyezd, except Zhausogym, Angren, Aleksandrovsk, Kosh-korgan and Toitobe. They also live in Azadbash, Kizil su, Kizil tam, Khodjakent, Shymbalyk and even in Tashkent city. Mainly, they live in rural communities; only every 27 of 1000 Kazakhs prefer life in the city [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 39 fund. P.50*]. About 77%-91.5% of the population of the Keless Basin, Zhaleltobe, Khytaitobe and Maidantal volosts of the Shyrshyq Basin made the Kazakhs; 51%-62% of Gaib ata, Koshkorgan and Toitobe volosts made up of the Kazakhs; the most populated volost of Angren basin was Osman ata; its village Pskent got 26,5% of Kazakhs; 3%-11% of the population in Akkorgan, Boke and Kanzhygaly were the Kazakhs; there were no Kazakhs in other 4 volosts [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 39 fund. P.51*].

In general, the Kazakhs making up 13,5% of all population in Central Asia, dwelt in Zhetisu and Syrdarya oblasts. In Zhetisu, they accounted for 48,5% of the whole population, while in Syrdarya it was about 59,3%. Moreover, it was 12,8% in Zhyzak uyezd, 22,1% in Amudarya oblast, 7,9% in north part of Krasnovodsk uyezd, and 3,4% in Khorezm. 49 700 united people lived in the south east of Tashkent uyezd along the Angren River.

Before the national demarcation process, the poverty-stricken segment of the Kazakhs of the neighboring nomadic communities had flocked to today's cotton-raising districts of Uzbekistan. That's why the national composition of the population in those districts became much more complicated compared to Fergana, which became a part of Uzbekistan in 1924. In the 1920-1934th, thousands of Kirgiz-Kazakh families headed for Shol-Dala (Golodnoi steppe). After the national demarcation, in accordance with the development of cotton production in every new-created state, the migration of the sedentary population had stopped. However, Khorezm Kazakhs and Kara-kalpaks moved towards the north west of Khorezm oblast, while a part of Kyzylkum Kazakhs went to the steppes adjoining to Karakol and Bukara Oases [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 12 fund. P.350*].

In 1925, the Kazakhs lived in the following districts of Tashkent okrug: Kensai (Bolot) and Nyazbek volosts of Tashkent district, and, northern communities of Zengi ata volost such as Koperbalsk-Chash-tepe, Nogai korgan and Koilyk. The territory was about 999 sq.ml, with 61 709 population (Uzbek-70,4%, Kazakh-22,7 %) and 12 887 ownerships. The population in rural communities of Zhana zhol, Shynaz, Zengiata, Kauynshy, Nyazbai and Stalin was 34 427 (Uzbek-56,3 %, Kazakh-39,3 %), and the number of the ownerships reached 6838. The people led a sedentary lifestyle. Though the population of the district of Zhogary Shyrshyq that composed of Kytaitobe and Zhaleltobe volosts was completely nomadic (Kazakhs-90,5 %, Uzbek- 5%), in spring seasons, 22 % of them had to move to fresh pastures. Further, the district of Middle Shyrshyq consisted of entire Toi-tobe volost, Shurakhan rural community, Zhaleltobe, Khazan, Akhty, Zhangyl, Berdy-Gulyan, Beg-Temir and Gaib-ata volosts including some rural communities such as Yana-Sheikh, Yak-Kutai, Osman-ata, Tashsai, Kyzylbulakh and Kashabad. The territory of the region covered 413 sq km with 5112 ownerships; its population was about 21 001 people (29.1 %,- Uzbek, 44,1%-Kazakh and 24,8 %-other nationalities). The nomadic population accounted for 8,8%. Lower Shyrshyq occupied the land of 479 sq km with 37,8% of Uzbek, 44,9% Kazakh and 15,6% Russian population. There were a few Kazakhs in other regions [*Materials on the zoning of Uzbekistan, 1923., P.25*].

In general, there were 591 Kazakhs in 142 ownerships of Boke district of Tashkent; 1010 Kazakhs were in 241ownerships of Altyn volost; 2523 Kazakhs were in 628 Shynaz's ownerships; 2111 Kazakhs were in 531 Akzhar's ownerships; 2112 Kazakhs were in 495 ownerships of Ushtamgaly and 1225 Kazakhs were in 329 ownerships of Toitobe volost. There were different numbers of Kazakh, Kazakh-Kirgiz and Uzbek communities in different parts of the country. For example, in Shymbai-38 Kazakh communities, in Shurakhan – 11 Kazakh communities, in Zhyzak-11Kazakh and 400 Uzbek communities, in Khattakorgan - 694 Uzbek and 2 Kazakh communities, in Samarkand – 3 Kazakh communities, in Khodjent -77 Kazakh-

Kirgiz and 113 Uzbek communities, in Myrzashol – 30 Uzbek and 12 Kazakh-Kirgiz communities, in Tashkent – 150 Uzbek and 378 Kazakh-Kirgiz communities. In fact, 98% of the so-called Kazakh-Kirgiz communities consisted of the Kazakhs, but, 80-85% of the Kirgiz-Kazakh ownerships in Fergana oblast made up of the Kirgiz people (in Andijan- 140, in Namangan- 52, in Osh- 138, in Fergana- 135) [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 34 fund. P.63*].

The Kazakhs of Bukhara People's Soviet Republic were mainly populated in Kermenin, Nurata and the west part of Karshin viayets as well as in one part of Bukhara. For instance, there were 160 000 Kazakhs in Kermenin, 100 000 Kazakhs in Karshy and Guzar, and 80 000 Kazakhs in Bukhara, 5 000 Kazakhs in Nurata [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 5 fund. P.7*]. The population of Fergana oblast was ethnically diverse, so there were Doshkana Sarts, nomadic Kirgiz, Dungans, Kipshaks, Gypsy and Jews. So, in 1895, the population rate was about 1.045655 people, which had increased to 53936 people, compared to the previous year [125 184, P.10]. M.V.Lavrov wrote that majority of the population had been Kirgiz, however, there were few Kazakhs: 'In Samarkand, the Kirgiz-Kazakhs made up 7% of the population [*Lavrov M.V., 1916., P.20*].

In the middle of the XIXth century, about 1000 *aday* families living in Konyrat, Kone Urganish, Khodjeli, Guirlen and Buzdai canyon of Khiya khanate used to pay some kind of religious taxes to the khanate (40 camels, 5 horses, 40 sheep [*Tursynova M.S., 1977., P.19*]. There were 5000 families or just 25000 Kazakhs on the left bank of the Amudarya. But, according to the statistics of Hirschfield and Galkin, only 17610 people had lived in Kone Urganish and Khojeli of Khiya khanate. The Kazakhs in Kara-kalpak had lived along with the Kara-kalpaks in Shymbai, Rakhmanberdi bi market and Daukara canyon. There were few Kazakh families and 2-3 shops in a small fort of Kyshkala [*Materials for statistics Turkestan..., 1876., P.231*].

Y.K.Shalekenov wrote about the history of the Kazakhs' settlement in Kara-kalpakstan, the region and ancestral composition: 'Mohamed-Rakhym, the khan of Khiya had subdued 27 000 Kazakhs including 10 000 *alimuly*, 7000 *zhetiru* and 8000 *baiuly*. In the end of the XVIIIth century, some neighboring territories of the Khiyua khanate were inhabited by *alimuly's kharasakhal, tortkhara, shekti* and *aday* of *baiuly* as well as *zhetiru's kereit*. Generally, *tabyn, tama, teleu, ramazan* clans of the *zhetiru* tribe, all *alimuly*, and *alasha, taz, aday, zhappas* clans of the *baiuly* tribe lived very friendly with the people of Khorezm oasis. *Baiuly* lived between Ural and Yembi as well as in the east part of the Caspian Sea while the *aday* resided in Mangyshlak peninsula. *Kereit, tortkhara, kharasakhal* and *kishi (small) shekti* wintered in Kuandarya and Zhanadarya basins while *ulken (great) shekti* settled on the west part of the Aral

Sea stretching to Konyrat. Nearly 10 000 *aday* families had lived in Usturt and Mangyshlak’ [38 48, P.19]. *Shomekei* clan of *alimuly* and a few *alasha* clan of *baiuly* dwelt in Tamdy and Minbulak volosts of Kara-kalpak. They made up the majority part of the Minbulak, Tamdy, Daukara and Kokkul population, and, Bibazar, Nukus and Konirat volosts as well as one part of Taldyk and Naupir volosts. Moreover, 20 000 Kazakhs living in 12 volosts of Shymbai made up 22% of the population, while 32,8% accounted for Shurakhan village [Andrianov B.V., 1958., P.94]. More substantial information about the Kazakhs’ settlement in Shymbai was given in A.V.Cowlbars’s work. The settlement of *tortkhara* and *shekti* clans extended from Kuanyshzharma to Khylyshkala. Occupying the territory from Kylyshkala to the Daukara River, Kazakhs lived towards the east, along the Zhanadarya. As the researcher said, those areas were dwelt by different Kazakh clans (300-*tortkhara*, 600-*shekti*, 300-*karasakal*, 100-*shomekei* of *alimuly* tribes and 40 *baiuly* tribes). The Kazakh clans such as *shomekei*, *kereit*, *tore* and *tabyn* were found in all volosts [Shalekenov W.H., 1966., P.60]. Thus, as for the statistics made in 1873, there were 52 665 Kazakhs in Amudarya region. But, according to the census of population conducted in 1897, 26,5% of them lived in Amudarya, while 3,4% lived in Khiya khanate [Hirschfeld and Galkin, 1903., P.61]. At that time, *aday* and *alasha* clans of *baiuly* lived in Koneurgenish, a small part of them i.e. 1550 families (7750 people) stayed near Konyrat and Khodjeli Rivers; 800 families of (4000 people) *alimuly* tribe settled in Konyrat bektigi; 1200 families (6000 people) of *tabyn* dwelt in Khojeli; all in all, 71 750 Kazakhs inhabited in the khanate [Hirschfeld and Galkin., 1903., P.74]. There were 8605 Kazakh ownerships in Amudarya region: 4680 *alim* families (28 080 people), 2810 *baiuly* families (16 860 people), 1120 *tabyn* families (6720 people); other 3520 Kazakh ownerships resided in Khiya khanate [Shalekenov W.H., 1966., P.62]. According to R.Kosbergenov, who also researched the ethnic composition of the Khiya khanate, there were 17 610 Kazakhs including 7875 in Kone Urganish, 3900 in Khodjeli and 5835 in Konyrat [Kosbergenov R.K., 1958., P.215]. All these facts show that the Kazakhs had been migrating in the territory of neighboring Karakalpakstan. They still live in Takhtakopir, Moinak and Khodjeli districts of Karakalpakstan.

In conclusion, the ancestral composition of the Kazakhs living in Uzbekistan is really diverse: a predominant part of the Kazakhs living near Tashkent makes up the clans of Uly juz such as *kanly*, *shanyshkili*, *uisin*, *sirgeli*, *zhalaiyr*, *oshakty*, *darkhan* and the representatives of Orta juz and Kishi juz; *konyrat* clans occupy Zhyzak and Syrdarya oblasts, while Bukhara region is popular with both Kishi and Orta juz clans.

2.2 Kazakhs in Turkmenistan

Kazakh people lived next to Turkmen people in Krasnovodsk uyezd of Turkmenistan, that's why the region was confronted with the problems of creating Kazakhs' own volosts. One of the documents concerning the settlement of the Kazakhs stated: 'Kazakhs were scattered all over Krasnovodsk. There were 5-6 Kazakh villages forming about 150 families. Some of the Kazakhs worked along the railway of the Kazanzhyk station. The other settlement of the Kazakhs extended to the northwest of Kara Bugaz (Black bay) opposite Krasnovodsk and the shores of the Caspian Sea. But these places haven't been deeply researched. Many of the Krasnovodsk's Kazakhs used to move from Mangyshlak uyezd to Karabugaz or vice versa at the same season of the year. The third group of the Kazakhs lived in the border of Krasnovodsk and Mangyshlak. They came from Mangystau uyezd for a definite period. The number of their villages was unknown. They were situated in 150-200 km distance from the border. As the Kazakhs scattered all over Krasnovodsk, without the orders of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) and TurCEC (Turkmenistan Central Executive Commission), it was very difficult to create Kazakh volosts. Only it was possible to happen in the territory of Shinek volost [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 20 fund. P.109*]. As we see, Krasnovodsk was one of the favorite places of the Kazakhs from the ancient times, where they had close relations with their Turkmen comrades. However, there were constant conflicts between them regarding the pastures that they had to share. For example, the clashes near the boundaries of Balkhash mountains, Uzbai and Turkmen communities on Karabugaz bay were connected with the followings: a) destruction of the Turkmen pastures by the Kazakh sheep and cattle-rustling during the migration; b) the settlement of the Kazakhs from Ural and Torgai oblasts in the areas of Turkmen shepherds and possession of their cattle [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 20 fund. P.143*].

M.Tursynova wrote about the earlier migration of the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan and Karakalpakstan, i.e. in the Khiya khanate: 'Aday of Kishi juz had lived in Mangystau, Bozaly, the west part of Usturt, along the Sagyz, Embi, and Oil rivers as well as in the Mugajar mountains to the Or river. In the middle of the XIXth century, majority of the Kazakhs in west part of North Turkmenistan khanate didn't lead a sedentary life. As soon as the fall came, they moved from the Usturt to Kone Urgenish and Khojeli and lived with Turkmen-Yomuds and Choudories. By the end of the XIXth century, a part of the Kazakhs, who had no cattle, owned Kone Urgenish. At that time, there were 15 700 Turkmen, 7875 Kazakhs (only a half of the Turkmen), and 3610 Uzbek in Kone Urgenish [*Vasilieva G.P., 1969., P.39*].

Moreover, *aday* and Turkmen-Yomuds occupied a large territory of Astrabad, which had been a Persian province and former Mangyshlak yuezd [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 20 fund. P.184*].

From the Aleksandrovsk port to the south of Karabugaz, there were 268 families of *khodja*, *abdal* and *igdyr* clans of Turkmen. The northern part of the port was neither inhabited by the Kazakhs nor Turkmen. Many of the residents of the region were nomadic Kazakhs. However, the region was a home for 37 Kazakh families who used to come to fishing from Mangyshlak and Raiymberdi volosts [*Review of Trans-Caspian region, 1893., P.91*].

According to the All-Russian general census conducted in 1897, the territory of Zakaspi oblast made 486.668,2 sq.km; the Turkmen made up 65,2% of the population, while Kazakh people did 19,30%, i.e. 66 700 of 382 487 people were the Kazakhs [*Explanatory text to a series of "Turkestan, 1909., P.42*]. Even after the Russian invasion, some of them used to graze their cattle on the pastures that were familiar to them from the early times. In fact, it was difficult to say whether those pastures belonged to the Kazakhs or Yomud-Turkmen, because they used to settle there where the land was fertile.

The demarcation of the ethnic territory of the Kazakh-Turkmen population in 1924-1926 had a considerable influence upon the growth of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkmenistan. In the course of zoning process, there were problems relating to the disputed territories between Kazakh people and Turkmen. The Executive Committee of Krasnovodsk asked to create Yomud Uyezd composed of Yomud-Turkmen tribes, the Kazakhs, on the contrary, claimed for establishing Kazakh uyezd. There are enough archive materials and researches about the clashes between these two people [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 12 fund. P.43*].

The conflicts were mainly triggered by the shared pastures and wells. In one of the archives, it is written: 'In the last attacks on the Kazakhs, the Turkmen seized 200 camels, 18 000 sheep, 25 horses and 6 women, and killed 4 people' [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 36 fund. P.113*]. *Aday* and Turkmen Yomuds occupied the land adjoining to the east part of the Caspian Sea. They had been moving around the former Mangyshlak uyezd, Krasnovodsk and Chikishlyar districts as well as one part of the Persian province Astrabad. For their convenience, the Kazakhs lived towards the south, along the railroads of Krasnovodsk, while the Turkmen Yomuds were located northward of Karabugaz and Kenderli and took up fishing. As *aday* Kazakh lived far from their republic as well as economically separated from it, the system and direction of their main occupation resembled the Yomuds'. In winters, they had to use Turkmen's wells and pastures [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 20 fund. P.186*].

The Russian government also tried to settle the disputes between these two nations by delimitating the borders and even fining those who illegally crossed them. However, the both sides seemed to ignore their rules. Therefore, they forced out each other by owning the lands.

In 1917, a group of Kazakhs settled along the railways of Central Asia towards Krasnovodsk and further eastward. In the work, they were more flexible than the Turkmen. They worked almost in all the industrial fields of the Caspian Sea: oil, salt and fishery. Sometimes, they delivered saksaul (a plant used as fuel) to the railroads. It was the Kazakhs who were first employed as railroad workers in Turkistan. According to the statistics of 1917-1923, there were 2304 Kazakhs in Turkmen oblast, of whom 63 lived in the city, 22 along the railway and the rest 2219 in the villages. In Merv, they were 813 of which 17 lived in the city, the rest in the villages. Besides, 103 of 150 Kazakhs in Poltaratsk lived in the villages, while there were only 12 of them in Tedjen [*Statistical Yearbook 1917-1923., 1924., P.46*]. However, Kazakh people made up 7,9% of the population in north Krasnovodsk, and 3,4% in Khorezm.

According to the census made in 1917, in Krasnovodsk uyezd, the nomads had made 18 937 people, but, in 1920, it decreased to 15 964. The total population in the uyezd was about 30417 people. The drop in population was caused by the political events and intensified internal migration problems. For example, the Kazakhs, who had been forced out of Krasnovodsk were populated in the port of Aleksandrovsk, while the Turkmen reached the Forty eighth well slowly moving southward. Only 50 Kazakh families of Bekes group remained in Krasnovodsk [*Materials on the zoning of Uzbekistan, 1926.,P.12*].

It is known that North Turkmenistan was under the Khiya khanate, and, in 1924, it joined Khorezm People's Republic. Only 3,4% of the Kazakhs along with the Uzbeks of the north bank of the Amudarya lived in the central regions of the khanate. Until 1963, the districts of North Turkmenistan had formed Tashauyz oblast. 25, 5 000 Kazakhs in the region were in the third place after the Uzbeks (84 000) and Turkmen (165 000) [*Abramson S., 1964., P.37*]. Nowadays, majority of the Kazakhs live in neighboring regions of Balkhan (former Krasnovodsk). 55% of the population of Bekdash, community bordering with Kazakhstan, are the Kazakhs. Moreover, the number of the Kazakhs in Aktash, Nebittau, Koshoba, Kyzyl-Khya, Khuli-Mayak, Jebel and Ufra is considerably high. Besides, approximately 33 000 Kazakhs are living in Doshoguz vilayet that borders on Kara-kalpak. Also, there are the Kazakhs in Akhal, Lebap and Maryi valeyets. 3500 Kazakhs reside in the capital city of Turkmenistan, Ashkhabad [*Bekdesinov A.// Gold cradle, 2002., P.48*]. The informant Kuan Tilektes says that the Kazakhs lived in Shardzhou, Bairamaly and Mary vilayets, and they were mainly populated along the railways. For example, 70% of the population of Tazhen station was *aday* Kazakhs [V], so it was

called 'Kazakh farm'. Many of them went there to work in the industries, but the Kazakhs of Bairamaly, Mary, Shardzhou and Krasnovodsk were mainly engaged in cattle breeding. The Kazakhs in Turkmenistan are the descendents of *aday* clan such as *tabysh*, *begei*, *shegen*, *kharash*, *shalbar*, *balykhshy*, *kyrykmylyk*, *koskulak*, *zhary*, *yeskeldi*, *sugir* and a few *alim* and *tabyn*. There are only few Orta juz and Kishi juz representatives in Turkmenistan. The average number of the Kazakhs in rural communities is about 1000-2000 people. About the settlement of the Kazakhs it is written: 'The nomads in Central Asia make up 10%, in Kirgizstan – 60%, Turkmenistan – 25%, and too small portion in Uzbekistan. Nomads of Kazakh-Kirgiz society had been moving all year round in Kenimekh, Fergana, Samarkand regions of Uzbekistan and Korgantobe, Gari, Mountainous Badakhshan of Tajikstan. Some of them were wintering in Pamir, Karakum and Kyzylkum, while the others looked for the watery places and wells' [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, P-1 fund. P.100-101].

2.3 Kazakh people in Kirgizstan and other ethnic groups in Central Asia

The Kazakhs of the region under the research were mainly populated with their clans in Bishkek city and around Alameddin, Sokuluk, Talas, Shu and Ystykkol. There were 556 ownerships with 2477 Kazakhs in Prigorodny volost of Pishpek uyezd, 4 in Naryn and 48 in Pishpek [*Statistical Yearbook 1917-1923, 1924., P.63*].

The archive about the Kazakhs of Naryn region says: 'During the population census in Naryn oblast conducted in 1905, May 5, Lyutin got injured, as a result of the Kazakhs' protests. Though the Kazakhs didn't endanger the society, their behavior could disgrace the Russian government; therefore, they had to be deported to Akmola' [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, 1 fund. P.9].

Similarly, the settlement of the Kazakhs in Ystykkol region is described: 'It is very convenient to live around Aksu of Yssykkol region, but there are no choices in Zauke except the Kazakh fields. The Kazakhs are mainly moving between Aksu and Topai'.

When we went to Kirgizstan on business trip in 2002, Deputy Chairman of 'Kazakh national cultural center', Moldabyev Beisekhan said: 'One part of the Kazakhs, who had migrated from Karkara, went back to their Motherland in 1958-1960, and the others assimilated with Kirgiz people'. This process influences the growth of the Kazakhs.

According to the national census conducted in 1999, there were 42 657 Kazakhs in Kirgizstan (facts from the Committee of the Statistics of the KR). At that time the Kazakhs were mostly populated in such regions as Alameddin, Manas, Priozyornoye, Altybarak, and, there were a few of them in Bishkek, Tokmok, Talas, Shu, as well as in Tyan-Shan and Ystykkol.

As for the ancestral composition of the Kazakhs in Kirgizstan, there are predominantly *saryuisin* and *dulat* clans of Uly juz and *argyn* of Orta juz. Uly juz Kazakhs still live on the territory of their ancestors in Shu and Talas regions. *Argyn* tribes of Orta juz, as we've mentioned already, mainly make those who came to the region in different periods of time for different political reasons. The Kazakhs in Kirgizstan live together with their blood relatives. For example, the descendants of *temeshbai* live separately in Manas, *kerei* who came from Semey live in the same street; only *zhautik* group of *argyn* are in Ozyornoye, while *shubyrtpaly* and *meramsopy* groups live together in another community. There are fewer Kazakhs in Kirgizstan than in other republics of Central Asia. Some of them make those who've remained on the territory of their ancestors, while the others are the descendents of those who fled to China during the political riots in the country, and, in 1920-1921, being unable to return back, they settled in Kirgizstan.

However, many *karakesek argyn* are said to have gone there during the famine. As aksakal (old man) Abdibayev Kasen said: 'It happened in 1931-1932. As soon as we heard about the arrival of our *karakesek* relatives to Kirgizstan, we decided to meet them. Unfortunately, as a result of endurable hunger many of them died of starvation on the way to us. In general, the Kazakhs who had settled in Kirgizstan earlier didn't suffer from the famine a lot, and the collectivisation process was different from the one which took place in Kazakhstan (Abdibayev Manas, born in 1918, Argyn, from Manas) For example, as the informants say, during the famine, the Kazakhs were deprived of everything they had in the yard, while the Kirgiz population had something to live on. The village of Akhzhai in Sokuluk district was inhabited by the *argyn* who sheltered it during the collectivization process. There are about 100 *argyn* and 5-6 *uisin* families. More *argyn* along with 150 *uisin* families live in the community of Manas. *Argyn*, *tobykty* and few *uakh* of Orta juz live in Ushkyn, Alty barak and Yangi pakhta, while a predominant part of *uisin* and some *argyn* live in Komyshevka. Besides, Orta juz groups reside in the district of Kant (Yssykata). Kazakhs are densely populated in the abovementioned communities. But, in Ystykkol, they live a bit scattered and got assimilated with Kirgiz people. Moreover, the Kazakhs also live in Karabalta, Kaiyndy, Uskun communities (bordering on Kazakhstan) of Biovodsk. About 20-30 families of *tarakty*, *uisin* and *kirgiz* live near the Horse plant of Bishkek, while some representatives of *zhautik* are in Ozyornoye and Prigorodnoye. (Madibekuly Bolekbay, 61 years old, Tarakty, from Aktai village of Sokuluk district)

Other ethnographic groups. Apart from the abovementioned groups, there are also other ethnic groups such as 'kurama' (united) and 'shalaKazakh'. According to the research results made in the XIXth century, these groups included Kazakh representatives. For instance, some of the united ethnic groups living in Angren of Tashkent uyezd are said to have come from

Kazakh stock. Besides, the kurama groups are regarded as the offspring of the Kazakh-Sart marriages, but they are unaware of their background. The following research says: ‘600 years ago, the Kazakhs in Angren began to live in the villages transferring to sedentary lifestyle. As they’d forgotten their ethnic origin, they were called ‘kurama people’. They led a sedentary life and lived hand in hand with the local people. In appearance, they looked quite different from the Kazakh and Uzbek people’ [Terent'ev M.A., 1874., P.73]. Moreover, there are other opinions about the existence of them. They might have emerged as a result of not only Kazakh-Uzbek blood mixture; social interrelations might have had a great impact on them. I.I.Zarubin considers that their emergence goes back to the first half of the XVIIIth century, and they emerged as a result of very strong ties between the Kazakhs and sedentary Turkic population. Some of them were close to the Kazakhs, while the others were to Sarts. For example, at that time, about 500 kurama groups living in Babadarkhan volost of Namangan uyezd considered themselves Uzbek people. In 1917, except Tashkent, their number reached 52 335 people in other regions, and it dropped to 49 697 people in 1920. They also lived in Ural volost of Khojent uyezd [Zarubin I.I., 1925.,P.12]. As A.I.Maksheev says: ‘100 years ago, kurama groups came out of the nomadic three Juz representatives of the Kazakhs. The poverty-stricken part of them lived next to the Sart and took up field-crop cultivation. Their close relations with the Sarts and Uzbek formed the heterogeneous people. Their final unity ended 50 years ago. According to the facts, the united people mainly consisted of *alshyn*, *kerderi*, *zhagalbaily*, *kereit* and *teley* groups of the Tashkent Kazakhs[Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund. P.2,9]. Their ancestral division had been preserved until the end of the XIXth century. Thus, the facts and research presented above show that the kurama people were mainly composed of the offspring of Kazakh or Kazakh-Uzbek people. In fact, the Kazakhs predominated among those united groups, because the expedition materials made in 1991-1993 demonstrated that their anthropological features, language and everyday life were much more similar to the Kazakhs than the Uzbek people. In the following archive, it was written: ‘Turdybayev, a shalaKazakh (half Kazakh) from Nyazbek volost made a complaint against a sart from Sibzar region of Tashkent disputing for the land [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund. P.5].

In fact, long-lasting close relations between Kazakh, Uzbek and Kirgiz formed the ethnic group of half Kazakh, united group, yuz and others. Nowadays, ‘shalaKazakhs’ live in Almaty oblast and around Bishkek city. During the expedition to Almaty oblast in 1998 and visit to the Kazakhs in Kirgizstan in 2000-2001, shala Kazakhs told us that they had come from Kazakh stock, and approximately, in the end of the XIXth century and in the beginning of the XXth

century, they emerged as a result of their ancestors' marriage with the Uzbek merchants. In the course of the research, we've also noticed some resemblances between them and Kazakhs.

Moreover, *yuz* tribe of the Uzbek might have come from Kazakh-Kirgiz stock. The letter written to Rotmistr Polyudov, police-officer of Shatkhal district was about the disputed pastures on the borders of Tashkent and Namangan uyezds: 'The yuz of Zhyzakh and Kodjent uyezds are illegally entering the pastures of the canyon. Unusual types of the nomads in red greatcoat and turban look like the invaders with a very stern look. Last year they also impudently entered the pastures, but, being scared of their manners no one could dare to file complaint against them. According to the court decision made by the 2nd district of Namangan uyezd from the 1st of July, 1910, there wasn't any robbery of yuz Kirgiz, and the Kirgiz people of Canyon prevented attacks of yuz Kirgiz [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, p-1 fund. P.15]. As we see, they are also considered to belong to Kazakh-Kirgiz tribe. Besides, one more ethnographic group whose language, culture and anthropological features resemble the Kazakhs live on the territory of Uzbekistan and Tajikstan. This group is called 'lakhai'.

To cut a long story short, a group of Uly juz and Kishi juz Kazakhs living in Uzbekistan make 'irredientists', while the representatives of Orta juz and Kishi juz who went there for various political reasons form the Kazakh 'diaspora'. The Kazakhs in Tajikstan are the descendents of Kishi juz Kazakhs who remained there while migrating to Afghanistan and Iran. Kishi juz Kazakhs who lived in a neighborhood make the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan. The Kazakhs in Kirgizstan are the progeny of *argyn*, *tobykty* groups of Uly juz and Orta juz that remained there while moving to China.

2.4 Growth rate of the Kazakhs in Central Asia between the 60s of the XIXth century and 1917

After the colonization of Central Asian countries, in order to control the local people to its favor, the Tsar's government focused particularly on their ethnic features, ancestral composition, as well as their settlement issues. Since all the facts about the population was directly connected with the taxes collected from them, the Russian government counted up the nomadic and half nomadic population every three years. In order to avoid paying taxes, the people tried to reduce the number of the people in the families as well as the number of the homes. On the contrary, during the volost elections, since its amount played a great role they had to increase them. For instance, in order to nominate their people for the volost, each group of the clan tried to show as more homes as possible. Moreover, during the census, the focus was on the number of the homes but not the people, so, only, approximately 4-5 people in each family were counted. However, those facts bore no relation to reality.

In the second half of the XIXth century, Kazakh and Kirgiz people (according to the census, they were given as a whole) accounted for 48% of the population in Turkistan region (78% in Zhetysu, 62% in Syrdarya, 29% in Amu darya, more than 17% in Fergana, and 0,2% in Zarafshan [*Kostenko F., 1880., P.132*].

The Sarts who lived in the south uyezds of Syrdarya oblast and entire Fergana oblast as well as in Zerafshan made up 22% of the population, while the sedentary population's share was 44%, and the Uzbek accounted for 6% of it [*Materials for statistics Turkestan..., 1876., P.16*]. As it is shown, the Kazakhs made a predominant part of the population in Syrdarya oblast of Turkistan region. But, one should pay attention to the fact that in many statistics made before the census in 1926, the Kirgiz and Kazakh people were regarded as one nation 'Kigriz'. During the Russian colonization, the Kazakhs were called 'Kirgiz', while the Kirgiz were named 'Karakirgiz'. For instance, in the 70s of the XIXth century, there were 51 1840 Kirgiz-Kazakh (including both of them) in Zhetisu oblast. If we subtract the amount of the Kirgiz living in Yssykkol and Tokmak uyezds from this, we'll get a total number of the Kazakhs (Vernen, Khapal and Sergiopol are the Kazakh uyezds). So, we can say that 341613 of abovementioned 511840 people were the Kazakhs' [*Materials for statistics of Turkestan region, 1872., P.27*]. This gives us a bit distinct information about these two people.

According to the first census of the Russian Organization Committee made in 1868, there were 144970 Kazakhs only in the regions of Toitobe, Angren of Tashkent uyezd and along the Shyrshyq River. Besides, there were 77301 mixed people, 34636 Uzbek, 11634 Tajik there [*Notes of the Imperial Russian geographical society, 1874.*]. From the facts we see the predominance of the Kazakhs in Tashkent uyezd. But, they don't include the urban population. According to the statistics of the 1870s, there were 74848 Kazakhs in Tashkent city and 24685 Sarts in the uyezds (no statistics about the Uzbek population in urban area); there were 261 Kazakhs in the city and 102625 were in the uyezds (less than 42345 people compared to 1868); 57855 united people (less than people compared to 1868); besides, 8380 Tajik, 2040 Uzbek (less than 32596 people compared to 1868 i.e. 91%). As for Kodjent, it had 46200 Tajik, 5815 Uzbek, 4280 Kazakh, and, 33600 Sart, while 11200 Kazakhs were in Zhyzak. No information was given about the other nationalities [*Statistical information on the Syr Darya region, 1871., P.4*]. Though there wasn't a considerable gap between the two census periods, one can notice a sharp drop in the rate of Kazakh, Uzbek and united populations. For example, in 1868-1870, in Tashkent uyezd including the city, the number of the Kazakhs decreased to 43345 and the united people to 19446. Such drop in the amount may be connected either with their nomadic lifestyle (inaccurate information about them as they move from one place to another) or

they were counted as other nations. At that time, the amount of the Uzbek and Sart living in the city and uyezds reached 101573 people. The urban sart population accounted for 70% of them, and, a predominant part of the Kazakhs lived in Tashkent uyezd (former Kurama uyezd). Here we should mention that until the demarcation process of the 1924, the territories of Saryagash and Karatas districts of South Kazakhstan oblast were under the control of Tashkent uyezd. As for Fergana oblast, there were 344023 Sart, 11580 Tajik, 19852 Uzbek, 7060 Kara-kalpak, 70107 Kipshak, 126006 Kazakh-Kirgiz and others; 132138 Sart, 67862 Tajik, 140154 Uzbek, 695 Kirgiz-Kazakh lived in Zerafshan; 5 sart, 110 tajik, 16195 Uzbek, 51710 Kara-kalpak, 5860 Turkmen and 31385 Kazakh-Kirgiz were in Amudarya region [*Materials for statistics of Turkestan region, 1876.,P.14*]. As we see, the majority of the population in Fergana was the Kipshaks who still lived as a separate ethnic group keeping their unity. But K.Shanyazov wrote about the fact that later some of them had joined the Uzbek population. The Kirgiz were mainly populated in Fergana while the Kazakhs preferred Amudarya region. In this region the amount of the Kazakhs were in the second place after the Kara-kalpak. Analyzing these facts, we've noticed that the number of the Kazakhs was almost equal to the total number of the Uzbek and Sart. It means that the Kazakhs were greatly populated in Tashkent uyezd and shared the area with the indigenous people.

As for the ethnic composition of first established oblasts in Turkistan Governor-Generalship, the Kazakhs largely lived in Zhetisu, Syrdarya, Amudarya; the Kirgiz dwelt in Zhetisu, Fergana, Zerafshan, while the Uzbek resided in Tashkent uyezd, Fergana, Zerafshan and a few in Amudarya; the Turkmen were in Zakaspi oblast and rarely in Amydarya region. The following Table presents the ethnic composition of the people in these oblasts [*Materials for statistics Turkestan region, 1876., P.127*].

Table 8 – Ethnic composition of the people in Turkistan region

Oblasts	Russian	Tatar	Sart	Tajik	Uzbek	Kara-kalpak	Kipshak	Turkmen	Kirgiz - Kazakh	Kurama	Montolian
Syrdarya	8477	4321	210774	57841	25771	-	-	-	709370	71301	3
Fergana	1229	-	334073	11580	19852	7060	70107	-	126006	-	182
Zerafshan	3838	-	132138	67862	140154	-	-	-	126006	-	182
Amudarya	1184	10	5	110	16195	51710	-	5860	31385	-	-

Total	14728	43 31	676990	1373 93	201972	58770	7010 7	5860	99276 7	71301	367
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As we see from the Table, there were 992767 Kazakhs and 878962 Uzbeks including Sart people.

The all-Russian census conducted in 1897 played an important role in getting more constructive statistics on the people in Turkistan region. According to this census, it became clear that there were 794815 Kazakhs in Zhetisu oblast, 952061 in Syrdarya, 63091 in Samarkand, 74225 in Zakaspi oblast; so, totally the Kirgiz-Kazakh amounted to 1.884192 people [Overview of Zakaspiisky region, 1895., P.38]. If we subtract 279 000 Zhetisu Kirgiz and 50 000 Syrdarya Kirgiz from this amount, the Kazakhs make 1565192. Besides, if we add 17000 Khiuya Kazakhs (except Bukhara) to it, the Kazakhs will be about 1 582 192 people [Proceedings of the National Census, 1899., P.58]. Moreover, in the statistics, the Kazakhs might have been counted as the Turkic people. So, if we add 142630 Turkic people of Tashkent uyezd, the rate of the Kazakhs will relatively increase.

The percentage rate of the Kirgiz-Kazakh: Zakaspi oblast -19,30%, Samarkand – 7,2%, Fergana-12,8%, Syrdarya- 64,4%, Zhetisu-80,5% [Explanatory text to a series of "Turkestan, 1909., P.46]. The predominance of the Kazakh, Uzbek and Sart population in Turkistan region is shown in the next Table [Masalskoe Vol.I., 1913., P.360].

Table 9 – ethnic composition of the oblasts in Turkistan region in 1897, (%)

Population	Zhetisu	Syrdarya	Fergana	Samarkand	Zakaspi
Russian	9,66	3,04	0,62	1,62	8,70
Kazakh and Kirgiz	80,46	64,40	12,82	7,33	19,41
Sart	1,51	9,76	50,18	2,10	0,20
Uigur	5,67	-	-	-	0,11
Uzbek	-	4,34	9,78	59,01	0,12
Turk	-	10,73	16,61	2,32	-
Kara-kalpak	-	6,31	0,70	-	-
Kipshak	-	-	0,48	-	-
Turkmen	-	0,38	-	-	65,01
Tajik	-	0,40	7,25	26,78	-

Tatar	0,85	0,36	0,05	-	0,92
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As we see from the Table, the share of the Kazakhs compared to the other peoples of Turkistan region is considerably high.

Due to the inequality of the regional-administrative territories of Turkistan nations, there were many arguments about the inconsistencies in the 1897 All-Russian census of population. The census didn't cover even the areas of Khiua and Bukhara khanates. Moreover, trying to avoid paying taxes, the nomadic population gave wrong information about themselves.

During the 60-90s of the XIX century, the demographic situation of the Kazakhs was more stable, but, N.E.Bekmakhanova, the prominent scholar, pointed out a slight drop in the number of the Kazakhs under the Russian empire in 1897-1917. During the 1897-1925, it decreased to 33 %. As the scholar analyzed, the growth rate of the Kazakhs dropped due to some factors such as droughts, famine, infectious diseases and etc., but not the Kazakhs fled the country. Moreover, the deprivation of fertile lands and lack of medical aid also caused the decline in the amount of the people. The population of Kazakhstan and Central Asia decreased to 4061, 3000 from 4753, 8000 over that period; natural growth of the Kazakhs also reduced to 2,30% from 2,69% [Bekmakhanova N.E., 1980., P.178].

In conclusion, different sources provide different statistical information about the ethnic composition of the people of Turkistan region before the Soviet period. However, there were more Kazakhs in Syrdarya and Zhetisu oblasts. On the one hand, as the people gave incorrect information about their background, more than 140 000 people were counted as the Turkic population; on the other hand, it was a challenge to get a total number of the nomadic people. Furthermore, the Russian occupation of the Kazakh pastures in 1915-1916th, the Revolution and Civil war and some other events had a great negative influence upon the growth of the Kazakhs.

2.5 Ethno-demographic situation of the Kazakh diaspora in Central Asia during the Soviet period

It was very important for the Soviet government to know about the ethnic and quantitative composition of the peoples of Central Asia. Their demographic situation was so essential to define the ethnic territories and plan the economics. N.I.Balashov presented the following facts about the territories and population of Central Asian countries in the early period of the Soviet government [Balashov N.I., 1925., P.112].

Table 14 – Ethnic composition of the peoples in the early period of the Soviet government

	The Republic of Turkistan	The Republic of Bukhara	The Republic of Khorezm	Total	%
Uzbek	2,347,490	975,570	391,800	3,714,860	44,6
Tajik	437,660	802,630	-	1,240,250	14,8
Kazakh	1,097,680	-	23,000	1,120,680	13,5
Turkmen	266,670	174,140	174,140	625,010	7,5
Kirgiz	607,550	7,000	-	614,550	7,4
Russian	540,670	-	-	540,670	6,5
Kara-kalpak	77,820	-	34,200	112,020	1,3
Other peoples	288,910	70,180	7,640	366,730	4,4
Total	5,664,450	2,029,520	640,840	8,334,810	100%

As it is demonstrated in the Table, in the early times of the Soviet government the territories of the Central Asian countries were divided into three administrative regions. The number of the Kazakh and Kirgiz people was given separately, and the Kazakhs were mainly populated in the Republics of Turkistan and Khorezm.

Moreover, in 1917, there were 156,879 Kazakhs and 88,510 Uzbeks in Tashkent uyezd; 290,69 Kazakhs and 123,597 Uzbeks were in Zhyzjak; 10,318 Kazakhs and 66,328 Uzbeks were in Khojent; 195,899 Kazakhs and 65,591 Kirgiz were in Aulieata; 49,362 Kazakhs and 93,074 Kara-kalpaks in Amudarya; 73,089 Kazakhs and 40,670 Turkmen were in Mangystau; 23,000 Kazakhs, 184,200 Turkmen and 397,000 Uzbeks and 34,200 Kara-kalpak were in the territory of former Khiua khanate. According to the statistics of that period, despite the political situation in the country, the Kazakhs were more than the current number of the Uzbeks in Taskent uyezd (not including the city). But we should keep in mind that some volosts of Tashkent uyezd had joined Kazakhstan in 1924-1926. Similarly, some communities of Aulieta and Mangystau uyezds had gone under the control of Kirgizstan and Turkmenistan.

In accordance with the state plan of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic), in the early years of the Soviet government when the whole area was being divided into separate economic regions and oblasts, the state borders of Central Asian countries were not defined yet. Until the demarcation of the borders, all residents of the area considered themselves indigenous peoples. The representatives of Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirgiz and Turkmen lived together almost in all okrugs of the Republic of Turkistan. For instance, Pishpek, Kharakol and Naryn uyezds of Zhetisu oblast and 12 volosts of Aulieata uyezd of Syrdarya oblast belonged to the

okrug of Pishpek. That okrug was inhabited by 41% Kirgiz, 28,9% Russian, 23,3% Kazakh and 3,2% Uzbek population. Today's Amudarya oblast was under the Amudarya okrug and it had 39,1% Karakalpak, 30,4% Uzbek, 22,1% Kazakh and 3,5% Turkmen populations. Turkmen okrug consisted of entire Turkmen oblast and housed 78,2% Turkmen, 9% Russian, 5,5% Persian, 1% Kazakh and 2,9% Bukhara Jews and Uzbek residents, while Samarkand okrug mainly accommodated the Uzbek, Tajik and only 1,7% Kazakh-Kirgiz population. Tashkent okrug consisted of all parts of Tashkent and Myrzashol uyezds, and the volosts of Shatkhal and Shardara. 44% of the population were the Uzbek, 25,6% Kazakh, 12,8% Russian, 7,9% kurama, 2,2% Tajik and 1,9% Kirgiz [*Chetyrkin V.M. , 1958., P.24*]. The presented data show that the local peoples of Central Asia such as the Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirgiz, Kara-kalpak, Turkmen and Tajiks lived together in the region of Turkistan.

The Kazakhs living in the three republics of Central Asia, which had been formed by the Soviet government (19,3% in Turkistan ACSR, 1,5% in Bukhara Soviet People's Republic and 3,5% in Khorezm Soviet People's Republic) made up the minor ethnic groups. Some territories of the mentioned regions witnessed certain changes during the demarcation process of the 1924, as a result of what the Kazakhs living on the borders became 'Uzbekistan Kazakhs', 'Kirgizstan Kazakhs' and 'Turkmenistan Kazakhs'. Nowadays, the majority of the Kazakhs live in the bordering areas of the country. It is worth to point out, that the Kazakhs tried to keep the orders of ancestry when they got settled. The communities of Tashkent oblast such as 'Darkhan', 'Oshakhty', 'Sirgeli', 'Argyn' and 'Kipshak' can be vivid examples of it. Though the representatives of one clan are not living in those communities (they're mixed already-B.K.), they make up either a part of them or the whole street.

According to the census of manufacturing industries conducted in 1920, there were 5 664 500 people in the Republic of Turkistan [*Orazov A.,1972.,P.42*]. In his work N.R.Mullyadjanov wrote: 'In 1920, there were 5 221963 people in Turkistan ASSR: 2050755 Uzbeks (39,3%), 1091925 Kazakhs (20,8%), 522292 Kirgiz (10,0%), 399912 Tajiks (7,7%), 266681 Turkmens(5,1%), 75334 Karakalpaks (1,4%) and 536671 Russians (10,3%) [*Mulyadzhanov I., 1989., P.96*].

According to the census of the population made in 1920, the ethnic composition of the people in Syrdarya oblast was as follows [*Proceedings of the National ...,1923., P.41*]:

Kazakhs	606015 (46,3 %)
Uzbek- sarts	370166 (28,3 %)
Russians	167086 (12,9 %)
Karakirgiz	57841 (4,5 %)

Kurama 49697 (3,8 %)

Tajik 15367 (1,2 %)

Tatars 8053 (0,61%)

Thus, there were 463 Kirgiz-Kazakhs, 283 Sart Uzbeks, 80 Russians, 47 Ukrainians, 45 Karakirgiz, 38 kurama, 12 Tajiks, 6 Tatars and 3 Karakalpaks per thousand people [*Administrative division of the Syr-Darya...*, 1921., P.9]. Moreover, a part of the Kazakhs settled near the wells of the Kyzylkum deserts, in the northwest of Syrdarya oblast, Samarkand, and in the north of Amudarya as well as the southern part of Usturt deserts (north of Krasnovodsk uyezd). The settled Kazakh people were populated on the right bank of the Syrdarya, Angren, Shyrshyq and Keless as well as along the lower part of the Amudarya. Only 31700 Kazakhs (3% of all the Kazakhs) lived in the urban areas. After them in the third place there were Kirgiz 607 600 (10,7%), 266700 Turkmens (4,7%), Karakalpaks (77800), kurama (42500), as well as 42500 Kipshaks and 437700 Tajiks were in Fergana oblast [*Statistical Yearbook 1917-1923., 1924.P.45*]. The number of the kurama and kipshaks decreased, and some of them were registered as Uzbeks. However, there were few Kazakhs in the regions of Fergana, Andizhan, Khokan, Namangan, Osh and Pamir.

According to the census conducted in 1920, there were 159738 Kazakhs (47,3%), 8295 Kirgiz (0,4%), 52808 United (15,3%) and 91632 Uzbek-Sarts in Tashkent uyezd (not including the city). Tashkent city accommodated 3992 Kazakhs and 152506 Uzbeks [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 69 fund. P.14-16.; Shevyakova A.I., 2000*]. As the census results showed, the number of the Uzbek population had doubled (267924 people-45,7%) [*Koblandin K.I. //Herald of the National Academy...*, 2008.]. In our opinion, the Uzbek-Sarts were also included in the census, because the number of the Uzbeks didn't reach 100 000 according to the abovegiven data. In the course of the census, the local Uzbek authorities intentionally registered the 'kurama' as Uzbek [215, P.26]. As M.Tynyshpayev interprets, the 'kurama' was composed of the representatives of different clans of three Kazakh juz. They were registered as 'kurama' in fear of being deprived of their lands during the census of agriculture conducted in 1920 [*Tynyshpaev M., 1926., P.10*].

The Kazakhs made up 27% of Desert steppe uyezd / Shol dala (Golodnostep), nearly a half of Slavyan, 14% of Romanov, 85 of Spasen, and 1% of Syrdarya volost populations. In 1922, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR created a commission for the study of the tribal composition of the peoples of Russia. As a result of that study, there were 270680 Kazakhs in the region. There were 22485 of them in Samarkhand oblast and Khojent, other 9218 of them were in Myrzashol, 151443 Kazakhs were in Tashkent uyezd and 3279 Kazakhs were in Turkmenistan

(including the cities) [*Statistical Yearbook 1917-1923, 1924.,P.57*]. We'd like to focus on the fact that during the 1924 demarcation process, the Kazakhs of some volosts of Tashkent and Pishpek uyezds had entered Kazakhstan [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 86 fund. P.39-41*].

In the earliest years of the Soviet government, the Kirgiz Autonomous oblast (no information about the territory) had housed totally 732015 people: approximately 506013 Kirgiz, 95009 Russians, 91375 Uzbeks and 38826 other nationalities, but no information was given about the Kazakhs. They either might have been included in the list of other peoples or two nations were given as a whole. As for Kara-kalpak autonomous oblast, 21 3236 (93,7%) of its total 22 9136 population lived in the rural areas, and its ethnic composition was as follows: 36,1% - Kara-kalpaks, 30,4% Uzbeks, 22,1% Kazakhs and 8,4% other nationalities [*All of Central Asia, 1926*].

According to the facts of Central Administration of Statistics of the country, there were 914 558 people in Turkmenistan, and 814682 of them lived in rural areas. The population density was 2.49 people per square kilometer. Its territory covered a land of 418 529 square kilometers. The ethnic composition looked like as follows: 79,9% or 714072 Turkmen (78,1% acc.to archives), 9,8% or 102543 Uzbeks (11,2% acc.to archives), 0,4% Kazakhs (3060 or 0,8% acc.to archives) and 5,8% Russians [*Union Population Census of 1926, 1927., P.91*]. As we see, there are some disparities between the information of the statistics and archives.

The developments that took place at that time were directly connected with the state-territorial demarcation of the 1924-1926th years in Central Asian countries. The territories of today's Uzbekistan were part of Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (TASSR), Bukhara People's Soviet Republic (BPSR) and Khorezm People's Soviet Republic (KPSR), but after the 1924 demarcation, the countries of Central Asia became autonomous [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund. 710 document*]. As a result of the demarcation, Tashkent region, a densely populated part of Syrdraya oblast transferred to Uzbekistan, while the steppe-lands remained in the territory of Kazakhstan. The Kazakhs lived almost in all the parts of Uzbekistan except Surkhandarya region [*Materials on the zoning of Turkestan, 1922.*]. It can be seen from the next Table:

Table 19 – Ethnic composition of the people in the oblasts (%)

Oblasts	Uzbeks	Tajiks	Kirgiz	Kazakhs	Russians

Zerafshan	75	10,4	-	0,5	1,2
Kenimekh	16,9	-	-	77,7	-
Kashkadarya	83,8	9,4	-	0,3	-
Samarkand	74,3	14,6	-	0,3	4,3
Tashkent	57,7	1,8	2	15,5	19,9
Fergana	72,2	12,9	5,7	0,6	1,8
Khorezm	97,7	-	-	0,6	0,4
Total	72,2	10,8	2,5	3,2	4,3

In general, a newly created Uzbek SSR covered a land of 181836 km², with 3911 000 population. The density was 21.2 people per 1 km², but it was 12.7 in Fergana and 34,7 in Tashkent oblast [*All of Central Asia, 1926., P.384*]. But one more document says: ‘There are 5359278 people in Uzbekistan, 3426013 of whom are the Uzbeks (73,2%), 130405 Kazakhs (2,8%), 920225 Kirgiz, 169065 Russians (3,6%) and 513809 Tajiks (11%)’ [*Kobylandin K.I. Kazakhs in Uzbekistan, 2008.*].

In the earlier years of the Soviet government, the Kazakhs made up 77,7% of the population in Khodjent okrug and Kenimekh district, and 15,5% in Tashkent. Besides, 90,5% of the population in Upper Shyrshyq district of Tashkent okrug made up the Kazakhs. The population of Middle Shyrshyq consisted of 44,1% of Kazakhs, 24% of kurama and 29,1% of Uzbeks, while in Lower Shyrshyq there were the Kazakhs (45%), Uzbeks(38%) and kurama(17%). As for Angren, it had the kurama (83,3%), Kazakhs and Uzbeks [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund., 325 document P.30*]. The population of Pskent district of Tashkent okrug was composed of 42% Uzbeks including kurama and other nationalities. According to the statistics of the 1923-1924 years, the share of the Kazakhs in small towns was as follows: Khiya (0,5%), Gurlen (0,5%), Zhana Urgenish (0,4%), Khanki(0,3%), Khazaraspan(0,2%), Tashkent city(0,6%), Myrzashol(0,1%), Khauynshy(4,8%), Ursat(0,1%) and Chernyaev(0,2%) [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund., 325 document P.31*].

During the censuses of the 1917-1926, Turkic-language people, kurama, Kipshak and Arab peoples in Fergana valley were counted separate nations. In 1926, their number reached 62.5 000 people, but in the same year, more than 53 000 Kurama population became ‘Uzbeks’, and more than 33 000 Kipshaks were assimilated. As Sh.I.Inogamov wrote, ‘In 1950, the Kipshaks were completely assimilated with the Uzbeks. The drop in number of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan is directly connected with the same process, too’ [*Union Population Census of 1926.,1928.,P.28*].

The famine and epidemic of the 1921th had a great influence on the natural and mechanical movement of the people. It resulted in the economic collapse. On the one hand, the situation in the country was deteriorated by the flock of the Russians to the region, on the other hand, by the return of the Kazakh refugees from China (1925-1926). For instance, within 4 months, the total number of the refugees reached 824 (in Kazakhstan-517 and in Kirgizstan-307). According to Committee Chairman of Governor Kuderbayev's information, from June till December in 1925, 372 people of 67 Kazakh families, 363 people of 65 Kirgiz families, 653 people of 184 Uigur families and some others had been evacuated. 8 people of 4 families who returned to Pishpek okrug during March 23 and June 1 were the Kazakhs. Meanwhile, 6 Kazakhs returned to Almaty, 5 to Karakul uyezd and 112 to Uzbekistan. Between November 1, 1925 and January 1, 1926, 591 Kazakhs came back from China, 8 to the KAO, and 5 more Kazakhs returned back during March 23-April [Central State Archive of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, 847 fund., 27 document P.128-129]. Moreover, the censuses conducted until the 1926 had statistical facts about shalaKazakhs, an offspring of Kazakh-Uzbek or Kazakh and other nationalities marriages. There were 469 shala Kazakhs in Aulieata at that time. Their descendents named themselves 'shala Kazakhs'; however, in Kirgizstan they were registered as 'Kirgiz', while in Almaty they regard themselves 'Kazakhs'. Thus, they also influence the number of the Kazakhs.

82,8% of all the Kazakhs living in the countries of Central Asia are populated in Uzbekistan(according to the census of the 1970). They are in the fourth place by population. In 1926, 106980 Kazakhs made Uzbekistan's population. This number increased year by year: 305,400(4,8%) in 1939; 342692(4,2%) in 1959; 476310 in 1970; 620136 in 1979; 808227 in 1989; 990022 in 2000 [Results of the All-Union Census of 1959, 1962., P.236]. 93,2% of them were populated in Kara-kalpak, Tashkent, Zhyzak, Nauai and Syrdarya regions.

Table 25 – The population rate in the oblasts of Uzbekistan

In the oblasts	Uzbeks	Tajiks	Russians	Kazakhs	Kirgiz
Bukhara	913782-73,7%	121118	84299	21190	-
In urban areas	56059	3620	47121	2541	-
In rural areas	857723	117498	37178	18649	-
Samarkand	754352-73,8%	59723	100710	12478	7318
In urban areas	61247	20374	67105	928	52
In rural areas	693105	39349	33605	11549	7066
Tashkent	525513-42,3%	27071	361552	128456	3707
In urban areas	229751	6236	283383	12551	451
In rural areas	295762	20835	78159	115905	3256
Tashkent city	220983-37%	4758	248602	8677	-

Fergana	146987-75%	109223	142519	6014	77701
In urban areas	202425	23780	94490	1281	1039
In rural areas	1262562	85443	48029	11568	76662
	Uzbeks	Russians	Kazakhs	Turkmen	Kara-kalpak
Khorezm	306408-89%	13282-	7601	3101-069	
In urban areas	24703	2,2%	387	46	
In rural areas	7430	7430	7214	3055	
		5852			
Kara-kalpak ASSR	116054-24,7	24969	129677-	23259-4,9	158615-
In urban areas	10161	15426	27%	333	33,8
In rural areas	105893	9543	15517	22926	6272
			114160		149343

So, in Uzbekistan, the most Kazakh-populated areas were Tashkent oblast and Kara-kalpak ASSR with total 314093 people.

In 1965, the number of births in Uzbekistan was 355 000, and in 1976, it reached 503,5 000 [*The population of Central Asia, 1985., P.42*]. The number of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan in 1979 was 620136, in 1989 it reached 808227 and 990022 in 2000 [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund., P.107*]. As for the Kazakhs in Kirgizstan, they were 1127 in Naryn okrug and 47651 were in Pishpek during the 1917-1923th [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund., 1390 document P.45*]. In 1924-1926, Kirgiz Autonomous oblast occupied a land of 195735 km² with 834 000 population. The population of Pishpek okrug of the Kirgiz Autonomous Oblast consisted of the Kazakhs(4,6%), Kirgiz(44,8%), Uzbeks(4,2%), Russians(41,4%), while Karakul-Naryn was composed of the Kazakhs(1,8%), Kirgiz(71,8%) and Uzbeks(2,3%). No Kazakhs lived in the rest two okrugs, Zhalalabad and Osh [*All of Central Asia, 1926., P.650*]. As we see from the All Union census conducted in 1926, the population rate of Kirgizstan had been fluctuating. In fact, in 1926, the population of the country increased to 13,7 000 compared to the pre-revolution period index and made up 1001,6 000 people. They were the Kirgiz (66,6%), Russians(11,7%), Uzbeks(11%) and Kazakhs(0,2%). According to the census made the same year, the Kazakhs made only 1766 people [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund., 324 document, P.109*]. Besides, 22,7 000 residents of Kirgizstan lived outside of the country, and 13,8 000 of them moved to Kazakhstan [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund., 111 document, P.10*]. During 1926-1936, the population of Kirgizstan increased to 456,5 000. Including the immigrants, an average annual growth made 3,9%. It was three times more than it had been in the pre-revolution period. For example, an average growth of Kirgizstan was 1,1%, including the Russians(13,3%), Uzbeks (3,1%), Ukrainians(9,5%), Germans (14,4%), Tatars (25,6%), Kazakhs(104,5%)? and Tajiks

(25%) [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan*, 105 fund., P.109]. However, the population rate in Kirgizstan was considerably high in 1939-1947. For instance, it was about 1458213 people in 1939, but in 1947, it reached 1540,3 000, i.e. increased to 80 000 people [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan*, 105 fund., P.104]. It kept on growing in the succeeding years, too (1739 4000 in 1951, and 1895 8000 in 1956). The number of urban population did also grow. Particularly, Frunze city was a vivid example: in 1926 - 36, 6000; in 1939 - 94,6000; in 1940 -104,5000; in 1947 - 132,6000; in 1950 -156,7000 and in 1956 – 190,5%. According to the statistics, we see the dynamic growth of the population [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan*, 105 fund., P.104]. In 1970, the total population of the Kirgiz Soviet Socialist Republic was 1 458213 people of whom 270086 lived in the cities and 1 188127 (85%) lived in the rural areas. By the number of people, the Kazakhs ranked fifth (23925people-1,6%). In 1989, that amount had reached 37318, and in 1999, it was 42657; 19039 of them lived in the cities [*The Population Of Kyrgyzstan, 2000.,P.72*].

The explanatory letter about the appointment of the representation of the Central Statistical Administration (CSA) of the USSR in Central Asia from July 19, 1925, had stated: ‘Until now there is insufficient statistical information about the population and about the cattle they keep and the crop fields they plough. The figures presented by the local government bodies of the republics were quite different. The disparities are between 100 000 and millions (high inconsistencies in numbers). The first reason, of course, is connected with the fact that the censuses haven’t covered the regions of Bukhara and Khorezm. As for the Republic of Turkistan, only the nomadic Kirgiz districts had been registered either the whole uyezd or oblast had not been embraced by the censuses conducted in the 1917-1920th. Moreover, due to the 1916 unrest in the region, the KAO hadn’t been thoroughly studied during the census of the 1917, and all parts of Fergana oblast were not included in the official count of the population because of invasions. The same mistakes might have been made during the succeeding census (1926)of the population [*all-Union population census of 1937 Summary, 1991*].

Sh.Kadyrov interpreted the population growth in Turkmenistan: ‘According to the words of demographer M.K.Kharakhanov, the number of the Turkmen living in the bordering regions of Turkmenistan (not including Khiuya and Bukhara) until it entered the Russian empire had made about 690 000 people. 45 years later, in accordance with the census made in 1926, it reached 720 000; but all of them were not Turkmen. In fact, some of them were the Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Russians’ [*Kadyrov S., 1986., P.13*]. However, in 1880-1926, the population had increased to 30 000 people. The growth process had occurred before the revolution. On the contrary, it dropped in the post revolution period. Of course, it was caused by the complicated

military situation, the destruction of the economy, the famine consequences, epidemics and other tragic outcomes of the political events of 1917-1920. In 1918, the isolation of Turkmenistan from the transported bread products of Russia and Siberia resulted in a sharp rise in price of products to 7-10 times. The drop in number of other nationalities was associated with the migration processes of the 1917. For instance, considerable job cuts in oil, salt and fishing industries of Krasnovodsk uyezd had a great influence on the immigrants. The statistical information about that period was not accurate. Though the census made in 1926 was of demographic character, it was not detailed. The territories, where the Kazakhs and Yomuds lived, were known as the least densely populated areas. For example, the density was 0,3 person per 1 km² in Mangyshlak uyezd, while it was 0,4 person per 1km² in Krasnovodsk. The number of the nomadic Yomuds in Ashkhabad region was about 350000 people. According to the statistics of the 1917, the Kazakhs made up 18937 of the population; in 1920 they were 15964; in 1923, there were 30417 Kazakhs in Krasnovodsk uyezd, while there were 100236 in Aday uyezd [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 20 fund., 5 document, P.185*].

As for the census of 1939, the Turkmen SSR had a population of 1251888 of whom 416264(33%) lived in the cities and 835619 preferred rural life. The Turkmen made up 741488 (59,2%) people of the total population, Russians 232924(18,6%), Uzbeks 107451(8,6%). The Kazakhs were in the fourth place 61397 (4,9%) of whom 26105 lived in the cities and 355292 in the villages [*The economy of the Turkmen Soviet..., 1985.,P.73*]. Compared to the statistics of the 1926-1939s, the population had increased to 254 000.

According to the census of 1939, there were 883966 Tajiks, 353478 Uzbeks, 134916 Russians, 27968 Kirgiz and 12712 Kazakhs in Tajikistan [*Population of the Republic of Tajikistan, 2000., P.75*]. The Kazakhs in Tajikistan returned back after the political unrest in the country. The following table lists the number of the Kazakhs [*Population of the Republic of Tajikistan, 2000., P.155*]. The period of 1959-1970 was very productive in population growth. During that period, the population rate increased to 45,3% making up 11 800 people [*The population of Central Asia, 1985., P.122*]. General picture of the natural growth, number of the population and birth/death rate of the Uzbekistan population is outlined in the next Table [*Mendikulova G.M., 2006., P.123*].

Table 27 – Number of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan according to the statistics of 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989

	Kazakhs	Uzbeks	Russians	Turkic-speaking
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				peoples
1939	305416/4,8%	4081096	727331	-
1959	342692	5038068	1092462	652388
1970	476310	7724361	1473461	885405
1979	620136	10569007	1665658	1046719
1989	808227	14142475	1653478	1174331
1999	979058	19101870	1172551	-

Analyzing the figures in the Table, we can see that during 1939-1979s, the number of the Kazakhs had doubled. In 1979-1989, it increased approximately to 28%-30%, and in the following decade (1989-1999) it was about 15%-17%. In 1989, 751635 of 808227 Kazakhs in Uzbekistan considered the Kazakh language their mother tongue [Ata-Mirzaev O. Genshtke V., Murtazaeva R., Saliev A., 2002., P.110].

Nowadays, the Kazakhs live in 12 oblasts of Uzbekistan. They are more populated in some regions of the country: Tashkent oblast (266365), outskirts of Tashkent city (30607), Zhyzak (49146), Syrdarya (22260), Bukhara oblast (91126), Samarkand (8185), Fergana (14155), Khashkhadarya (1857), Namangan (775), Surkhandarya (3164), Khorezm (14155) and etc. So, in 1989, there were 808227 Kazakhs in Uzbekistan [State Committee of the Uzbek SSR..., 1990]. Thus, the growth rate of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan during 1939-1999s had been constantly increasing. First of all, it was connected with the natural growth of the people, and secondly, with the abovementioned mechanical migration processes [The population of Central Asia, 1985., P.190].

In general, during the period of 1959-1979, the growth rate of the population increased to 50% throughout the country. The same rate was in Central Asian countries (in CIS countries) as well as in Kazakhstan. I.Mullyadzhonov described the growth of the population in Uzbekistan: 'As soon as Uzbekistan became an autonomous republic in 1924, there were considerable changes in its population rate. Undoubtedly, it happened under the positive influences of the progressive developments, stable regime of production and migration relations. During that time, the population had grown to 14 768000, and in the beginning of 1987s it made 19 026000 people. In other words, the population growth was 4.5 times more (2,4% in average annual). In fact, among the countries of Central Asia, Uzbekistan ranks first in population growth rate and in absolute growth. The systematic growth of the population of Central Asian countries is mainly associated with a rapid increase of natural growth. Besides, obtaining new lands and natural

resources as well as building new industrial manufactures had dramatically advanced the mechanical movement of the people in the countries of Central Asia. Various censuses that had been conducted about the peoples of Central Asia showed considerable changes in their language, ethnic composition and number of the peoples. Many ethnic minorities of Central Asia had assimilated into the big ethnic societies that were close and similar to them.

In 1926, the population of the Uzbek SSR was about 4 609 000 people, and it reached 21 million people in 1991. By that time the Tajik population had increased 4.5 times more [Saliev A., 1991., P.23].

According to the information of the Kazakh national cultural center in Uzbekistan, the number of the Kazakhs is about 1.3 mln. They are mainly populated in Tashkent oblast, Tamdy, Kenimekh, Ushkuduk and Kara-Kalpakstan (home for 90% of the Kazakhs). At present time, there are more than 140 cultural centers operating in Uzbekistan. They are located in Tashkent, Syrdarya, Zhyzakh, Nauai, Khorezm, Kara-kalpakstan and function directly in cooperation with 25 districts of the country.

As the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Uzbekistan stated, in 2007, there were 521 schools with the Kazakh classes in Karakalpakstan, Zhyzakh, Tashkent, Nauai and Syrdarya oblasts. The number of schoolchildren is 102372 [Mendikulova G. Atantaeva, K., Kobylandin K.// Bulletin of National Academy, 2008., P.101].

In accordance with the information of the State Committee on statistics of Uzbekistan from January 1, 2006, the number of the Kazakhs in the country as follows: Tashkent oblast - 341.380(13,8%), Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Republic 341.084, Nauai oblast – 60312, Tashkent city – 45839, Zhyzakh oblast-44934, Bukhara oblast - 20895, Syrdarya oblast -19438, Khorezm oblast – 13554, Samarkand oblast - 5041, Surkhandarya oblast - 2392, Khashkadarya oblast - 1840, Fergana oblast -968, Namangan oblast-819, Andijan oblast –699[245, P.81-91]. The biggest part of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan is in Kara-Kalpakstan (24,8%), Tashkent oblast – (13,7%), Nauai oblast – (10,2%), Syrdarya oblast – (10,2%) and as well as Zhyzakh oblast – (6,6%). In fact, 90% of all Kazakhs are in Tashkent oblast [Kobylandin K.I. //Bulletin of National Academy..., 2008.] Analyzing these statistical facts, we can notice that the number of the Kazakhs in today's Uzbekistan has gradually grown thanks to the natural growth of the Kazakhs as well as internal and inter-republic migration processes.

3 SOME PECIULARITIES IN TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS OF THE KAZAKHS IN CENTRAL ASIA

The characteristics of traditional economic and cultural type of Central Asian countries

The territory of Central Asia i.e. Turkistan was about 1 6000 000 sq km (acc.to some statistics 1 800 000). About 6 000 000 desyatin (old Russian land measure, equivalent to 1.09 hectares) of land was ploughed, 2/3 or 4 000 000 desyatin of land was the irrigated, and the rest 1/3 or 2 000 000 desyatin was unwatered land [34, P.46]. The following facts about Turkistan region said: ‘... approximately 100 000000 desyatin of land was very suitable for field-crop cultivation [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 29 fund., 1612 document, P.67], while other 41 000 000 desyatin was handy for the pastures of the nomads [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 29 fund., 2045 document, P.16-19]. In 1922, the scale of the irrigated land in the countries of Central Asia decreased to 50%, but in 1923 it started to grow.

3.1 Crop farming and its peculiarities

Crop farming was one of the basic economics of the indigenous Kazakh people of Central Asia. It can be verified by a numerous archives, archeological and historical-ethnographic items. For instance, one document says: ‘The banks of the big rivers such as Amudarya and Syrdarya were very convenient for the crop farming. Therefore, the Kazakhs who resided on the both sides of the rivers had good opportunities for planting and harvesting corn crops’ [Turkestan Gazette, 1895].

As they engaged in crop fielding, majority of the Kazakhs of Syrdarya oblast were semi sedentary people. The number of the total sedentary Kazakhs was higher in the communities where there were the Uzbeks, Sarts and Tajiks. Though the Kazakhs had limited arable lands, crop cultivation was the main source of their life. The Kazakhs who lived in the steppes and mountainous areas had their own ploughed lands. Both the rich and poor engaged in crop farming. Their crop fields covered only some desyatin of land, particularly in the winter camps. In case they failed in crop farming and had poor harvest, they eventually took up pasture-raised livestock. The group between the sedentary and nomadic societies was called semi nomadic. The next document wrote about it: ‘...Tashkent’skurama people, Samarkand’s Uzbeks, the representatives of different clans of semi sedentary Kazakhs, yuz, khyrykh khytai, naiman and other semi sedentary peoples belonged to semi nomads’ [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 34 fund., 421 document, P.65].

The shift from nomadic to sedentary lifestyle of the Kazakhs began with the arrival of the Russians to Central Asia. It is written: ‘There were some sedentary Kirgiz (Kazakh-Kirgiz) societies in the kishlaks (village in Central Asia) of Fergana oblast as well as sedentary kuramain Tashkent uyezd. Moreover, there was a sedentary Kazakh village in Tortkul volost of Samarkand uyezd. Nowadays, crop farming is the main source of wealth of the Kazakhs’ [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 25 fund., 1717 document, P.211*]. As the archive documents demonstrated, the Kazakhs were divided into the following groups according to their life style and types of economics:

The Kazakh group which engaged in crop farming and livestock possessed 8 desyatin of land.

The group which raised livestock and planted the crops had only 4 desyatin of land and 19arm animals.

The ownerships that raised livestock had 24 farm animals and 3 desyatin of land. There were the Kazakh-Kirgiz residents among them. These facts show that the Kazakhs engaged in field crop cultivation and animal husbandry.

It is worth mentioning that the land, which had been occupied by the Russian imperialists, was withdrawn and given back to those Kazakhs who had fled from the country in the early years of the Soviet government. They had to flee for some political reasons and remained landless when came back. They were accommodated in the villages of the migrants and stanitsas (large Cossack villages).

The nomads who desired to shift to sedentary life style were provided with a single rule of land ownership. As a result of it, they got collective ownership of land. This can be seen from the document below:

Those, who were persecuted by the Tsar’s government or deprived of the lands after the events of the 1916-1918, would get their lands back.

The territories occupied by the migrants (Russians) would be shared among the nomadic population.

Material assistance in the form of state loans or funds would be rendered to penniless and needy nomads to run their business [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 29 fund., 2221 document, P.90*].

In general, the resolution on land reforms, which was adopted at the 9th Congress of the Soviets, was a new page in the land history of Turkistan. One of the vivid results of land reforms was the withdrawal of the lands that had been seized by the Russians:

1. In Zhetisu oblast peasant-kulaks were evicted from 17 villages including 83 communities, 20 farmsteads and 95 pastures. Overall, 5631 ownerships were removed and 133482 desyatin of land was withdrawn.

2. In Syrdarya oblast 27 villages, 12 farmsteads and 35 private lands, totally 835 communities were removed, and 25620 desyatin of land was withdrawn.

3. In Fergana oblast kulak ownerships were removed from 41 villages, 144 farmsteads and 17 communities. Totally, 1618 private land ownerships were removed and 48 229 desyatin of land was returned to the government.

4. Approximately 25 000 desyatin of land was taken from Murgab (Merv uyezd of Turkmen oblast) [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 29 fund., 2239 document, P.20*].

Overall, 151 villages, 175 farmsteads, 95 pastures and 35 private land ownerships of Turkistan republic were handed to the nation's land fund. Nearly 8084 Russian ownerships were relocated to other Russian settlements as a result of what the land fund gained 232 331 desyatin of land. Its 163 066 desyatin part was given to the Kazakhs who had shifted to sedentary lifestyle. It accommodated 8523 ownerships. Other 25089 desyatin of land which accommodated 3017 ownerships was given to the sedentary Uzbek population. Nomadic Kazakh and Kirgiz populations got 20300 desyatin of land accomodating 1232 ownerships, while the Russian peasants possessed 418 desyatin of land having 54 ownerships. One more 13723 desyatin of land was given to the migration sector, and different government agencies possessed 1161 desyatin of land [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 25 fund., 1717 document, P.192*]. As we see, in conformity with the land reforms regulation, the land, which had been occupied in the early years of the revolution, was withdrawn.

First of all, the land registration department accommodated the local people (mainly Kazakhs) who had been persecuted by the events of the 1916 and the migrants from Fergana as well as landless farm-laborers, second, the farmers, and third, semi nomadic and nomadic Kazakh and Kirgiz population. Thus, 117 families were placed in Tashkent uyezd [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 29 fund., 2221 document, P.90*]. For example, 35110 desyatin of land was allocated to the Kazakhs who had shifted to sedentary lifestyle in Tashkent uyezd. Landless people were given 334 desyatin of land; 67145 desyatin of land was allocated in order to accommodate the population of the villages, communities and volosts [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 382 fund., 64 document, P.16*]. In shifting to sedentary life in Myrzashol (Golodnostep), the nomads had to hand over 500 000 desyatin of land they'd owned [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 29 fund., 2239 document, P.20*]. According to the information of the Central Statistical Agency, Turkistan Republic possessed

nearly 153 024 459 desyatin of land. In general, 77 314 869 desyatin of it had been used for agricultural purposes, 167 035 desyatin had belonged to urban areas, and the rest 75 542 555 desyatin had covered the deserts, steppes and forests. In fact, 69 998 942 desyatin of agricultural lands were owned by the Kirgiz (Kazakh-B.K.) population [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 382 fund. P.7*]. Such kind of land reforms motivated the local people to greatly engage in field crop cultivation.

In the end of the XIXth century, the crop fields of the Kazakhs consisted of the scattered and empty lands. Unwilling to dig the trenches, they preferred to move to easily irrigated places. Despite the fact that only poverty-stricken stratum of the Kazakhs engaged in crop farming, the profit was gained by the wealthy people. The farmers used to live in winter camps located at a distance of 5-10 km, and they moved back to the field when the fieldwork started. That's why they considered planting crops as seasonal work [*Overview of the Syr-Darya..., 1890., P.105*].

The crop fields of Turkistan region were irrigated by the river water pumped through pipes. In order to irrigate the field, each community dug trenches for the river water to flow on. For example, the representatives of indigenous *alasha* clan had built their own trench called 'alshyn' on the right bank of Shurakhan canal. Similarly, each clan had had its own trench. The water was divided by 'trench aksakals'. Mirabs and trench aksakals were responsible for the conditions of the canals and trenches [*Shalekenov W.H., 1966., P.110*]. Thanks to the warm climate in the sedentary districts of Turkistan region, they had two seasons of harvest. Summer harvest mainly consisted of rice and maize products. Autumn wheat or barleycorn used to ripen in the end of May. As soon as they were harvested, on the same field the second planting process started. Usually, it contained planting of mach, millet, carrot, sesame, poppy or lentil that were gathered in autumn. Besides, the people had planted cotton and clover.

The Kazakhs, who live in Kara-kalpakstan today, raised barleycorn, millet, wheat and oats. According to the statistics of the 1859th, 4000 ownerships engaged in crop farming, i.e. approximately 2 people from one family, each of whom possessed 3 desyatin of land; thus, 24000 desyatin of land per 8000 people [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 382 fund. P.16*].

Apart from the cereals, the Kazakhs had grown garden vegetables such as melon, watermelon, onion, carrot and beetroot. Those Kazakhs who resided on the right bank of the Amudarya had opportunities to use the great water sources such as Shurakhan, Khanyab, Khuanyshzharma, Kegeili and Daukhara. The crop farming was based on man-made irrigation system. In the XIXth century, the center of crop farming of the Kazakhs was the lowland of Daukhara. The farmers had designed different types of irrigation system. A.V.Kaulbars, who

visited the Lowland of Daukhara in 1873, wrote about it: ‘... because of huge variety of irrigation, rice-raising is rather popular in the region. Except the rice field, I’ve seen the fields of millet and wheat. There are more barley corn and wheat at the local markets compared to Kylyshkala market. It proves that the plant of these cereals is prevailing here. And they are planted along the trenches and on the dry lands’ [*Shalekenov W.H., 1966., P.96*].

The ownerships in Amudarya volost of Syrdarya oblast were also occupied in field crop cultivation in 1912-1913. Particularly, in the village of Shymbay 14522 of 22639 ownerships belonged to the Karakalpak and other 6824 belonged to the Kazakh population. There were 10870 ownerships in the community of Shurakhan: 736 Karakalpak ownerships, 1403 Kazakh ownerships and 6150 Uzbek ownerships. Amudarya region had 33509 farming ownerships: 15258 of them were owned by the Karakalpak, 8227 by the Kazakh and 7241 by the Uzbek population [*Shalekenov W.H., 1966., P.101*].

After the wheat was harvested, the field was tilled 8 times for the rice to be planted. The rice field was kept at half meter water level for 8 days. Each harrowed square of land was planted with rice seeds. As soon as the rice germinated, the watering process ceased for 3 days. When it got warmed, it was again flooded 5 meter high for 20 days. Then it wasn’t watered for 3 days again. After that it would be kept in meter level water for 20 days more [Kostenko F., 1880.,P.19]. The main cereal of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan was red rice. They were predominantly planted on the wetlands and along the rivers of Angren, Shyrshyq and Arys. Rice crop was in the fifth place in Central Asia. In 1917, rice field had occupied 67700 desyatin of land in Shyrshyq, Angren and Tashkent uyezds, 28635 desyatin of land in Samarkand and 27250 desyatin in Andizhan. However, in 1920, the rice fields decreased to 32000 desyatin of land in Central Asia [*Balashov N.I. Economic geography..., 1924., P.22*].

In general, methods of rice planting were described in the materials collected from the residents of Syrdarya oblast. It said: ‘Before planting, the rice seed is damped; as soon as it germinates, it is kept in water until 40 days. Then it is flooded and started to grow. Watering stops only ten days before reaping it. It takes a month to ripe. If 7 pood (old Russian measure of weight, equivalent to 16.38 kg) is per one desyatina of land, it will yield 10-20 pood of rice’ [*Overview of the Syr-Darya, 1890.*]. Since millet was one of the favourite foods of the Kazakhs, it also played a big role in economics. According to the facts of 1915, in Tashkent uyezd 2922 desyatin of land was sown with millet [*Essays on the economic life of Turkestan region...,1921., P.72*]. About 3 pood of millet was required per one desyatin of land. It had 3 types: white millet, red millet and Chakan millet. The latter type is very high-yielding and cooked fast. There are some facts that it was possible to get 16 pood of production, while 100pood of production was

taken from a desyatin of land [Kostenko F., 1880., P.19]. Small type of millet *kunak* was also grown of what home-brewed drink *boza* was prepared. Planting season for millet and *kunak* was favored between May or mid June. It takes 6 months for maize to grow and ripe. Garden vegetables were planted in the next order: melon, water-melon, pumpkin, as well as onions, carrots, potatoes, cabbage, beetroot, and etc [Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund. P.178]. As it has been mentioned above, the Kazakhs, who had mastered in growing rice, took up cotton-raising. U.K.Shalekenov mentioned that the Kazakhs in Kara-kalpakstan had produced the cotton until the October Revolution [Shalekenov W.H., 1966., P.104]. Cotton industry had wide popularity in Bukhara. 2000 000 of 3 000000 pood cotton that was produced throughout Central Asia belonged to Bukhara. Moreover, cotton rising developed in Fergana, Zerafshan, Khodjent and Kurama regions [Kostenko F., 1880., P.34]. For example, in 1900, the cotton plants had covered 25000 desyatin of land in Tashkent [Geyer I.I., 1901., P.183], later, in 1917, 17% of the land of Tashkent uyezd and 3% of Zhyzak were occupied for cotton plants [Abramson S., 1964.]. As the materials collected in 1990-1993 from the local population show, the Kazakhs had also grown yellow cotton to satisfy some of their basic needs. It was obtained by dyeing the cotton seed with the blood of the slaughtered sheep [Kostenko F., 1880., P.34]. The Kazakhs in Kirgizstan developed the crop field cultivation much later. The representatives of *uisin* were predominantly involved in agricultural business, while *argyn* population started it only in 1970-1980. The fact that they had produced black wheat, clover and some vegetables was described by B.Madibekuly (He is 61, *argyn*, from Akhzhol village). In 1924, 59, 7 000 of 2154000 desyatin of land was unwatered. The main reservoirs of Kirgiz autonomy were Shu, Naryn and Karadarya. According to the information of 1924, the number of agricultural holdings had reached 145 000.

The wells had played a big role in the life of the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan. Thus, in 1899, the total number of the wells in the region was about 4168 [Central State Archive of the Turkmen Republic, 1 fund., 7806 document, P.703]. M.Tursynova wrote about the wells that were owned by the Kazakhs: ‘794 of 1169 wells were the property of 77 bi of *alty ru*, 291 were owned by *togyz ru*, and only 54 wells belonged to *aday* and Turkmen. As the collected materials say, only 9 subclans of 27 *aday* were able to possess the wells. The rest 18 subclans had been moving along with the bi (rich and influential people). The wells were situated on the fertile valley, that’s why the pastures around them were also owned by the *bies* [Tursynova M.S., 1977., P.16]. The fact that the Kazakhs engaged in crop cultivation was also given in one of the documents: ‘In the spring of 1895, there were about 100 poverty-stricken Kazakh families around Eir valley that was situated at a distance of 165 kilometers from Aleksandrovsk. They ploughed the land and

planted barleycorn and wheat. The land yielded more than they had expected. A year later, 889 families worked on the unwatered plants. 2819 desyatin of lands in Karatau, Aktau, Aleksandrovsk and Akshunkyr were cultivated, and they yielded 9387 pood of winter crops and 2494 pood of summer crops: 13598 pood of barleywheat, 15862 pood of millet, 117 pood of kunak, 5679 pood of maize, 962 melons and 1696 pumpkins. 65435 pood of different plants were planted on the irrigated lands [*Tursynova M.S., 1977., P.136*].

As the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan engaged in crop farming only to satisfy their needs, this type of occupation wasn't so popular with them. However, they tried to plant more garden vegetables, particularly, melon, watermelon, cucumbers, tomatoes and others. According to the local traditions, they started the planting season with slaughtering sheep and reciting some verses of Quran, and finished it with giving alms to poverty-stricken population [VI].

Some superstitions related to the economics are still being kept by the Kazakh diaspora in Central Asia. They hold deeply to their traditional religious practices, based on ancestor's worship. For example, during the crop-growing season, they always pray to so-called 'Dikhan Baba' (great grandfather of farmers). Moreover, they pray to 'Qyzyr or Qydyr baba' who was associated with wealth and prosperity. They wanted the first day of the harvest to fall on 'lucky' days. Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday were usually counted as lucky ones. Even the day when they ploughed the land also started with slaughtering sheep and reciting Quran's verses. Researcher J. Karmysheva described this event in her work: 'Before ploughing the land, one of the respected aksakals' of the kinship prepared 'kos kozhe' (a traditional dish) and brought it to the hilly place, and gathered all the aksakals of the village. After they eat up their dish, the senior farmer announces that they'll start to plough the land following day. The aksakals give their blessings to the farmers saying 'May God bless you all! May Dikhan Baba help you and support you!' [*Karmysheva J., 2005., P.102*].

Apart from it, maybe under the influence of the settled population of Central Asia, the farmers began their farming work after being washed in the rivers and dressing clean clothes. They never kept drinking water close to the threshing floor, because they believed it would frighten Qydyr ata. Moreover, they never shouted at a dog wandering in the threshing floor, and they never killed a snake which was found inside the house - on the contrary, they poured milk on it and let it go safe, as the snake was associated with success. The people considered that *Qydyr ata* or *Dikhan baba* visited them in the image of snakes or dogs. If the snake was of white color, it was certainly Qydyr ata or Dikhan baba visiting him. Accordingly, they strongly believed it and expected the coming year to be fruitful with rich harvest and convenient weather.

People's superstitious beliefs did continue after the harvest season. Praying to Dikhan baba, the farm owner took a bowl full of grain and seeded it in a distance. G.P. Snesarev wrote about it:

‘the Kazakhs called it ‘akhula’ (Uzbek and Tajik called it ‘hakhula’, translated from the Arabic as ‘God’s portion’); according to the materials collected from the population, it was regarded as the portion of the vulnerable groups in the society, accordingly it was distributed to them’ [Snesarev G.P., 1982.,P.221]. Even the water distributor took his portion and paid up for his service. Besides, there was another ‘tradition’ which was believed to bring more success to the farmers. The farmer slaughtered sheep, took its blood and smeared it on the crop and the threshing floor. The blood should be absorbed by the field, that’s why all the tools such as spades, shovels, pitchforks and even besoms were also blood smeared. It was understood as getting the blessings of God. According to the materials collected from the Kazakhs living in Tashkent, the local people used to prepare so-called dish *khalim* (porridge of *alim*) using the meat of slaughtered animal and purified wheat. The table laid in honor of Dikhan baba was called saskhor (chashkhor in Uzbek) and it assembled all relatives, neighbors and friends to express their gratitude to God.

In general, the crop cultivation culture of the Kazakh diaspora in Central Asia was directly connected with the culture of the local population. In fact, the Kazakhs had engaged in crop farming in the early times. They were much more involved in planting ‘white crops’. No one denies the impact of the local people on the development of the crop farming. The fact that the Kazakhs experienced in growing ‘american’ cotton is a vivid example of it. Moreover, they cultivated unwatered lands as well as irrigated lands.

3.2 Cattle breeding

Until the October revolution, cattle-raising mainly had focused on breeding horses, sheep, goats and camels.

Sheep was an important domesticated mammal in Uzbekistan’s animal husbandry. They were kept for their milk, wool and as well as meat. The rich people had thousands of sheep in their livestock.

The pastures were owned by ‘yelbegi’, and they had control over the pastures to prevent any possible conflicts between the neighboring nomadic communities. The Kyzylkum Kazakhs were initially involved in raising karakul (astrakhan) and fat-tailed sheep. Karakul was raised on the territory of Bukhara. The most widespread types of sheep were Kazakh sheep and a hybrid between Kazakh sheep and Gissar sheep, and Gissar-Hissory. Fat-tailed sheep that weighed 3-4, 2/1 pood (53-55 kg pure weight) were very popular with their endurance in the territories of Turkistan Republic. Karakul sheep were raised in the districts of Pendin and Samarkand of Turkmen oblast [Balashov N.I., 1925., P.38]. Kostenko has presented the statistical information about the livestock of the uyezds and oblasts in the second half of the XIXth century. The total

amount of the livestock that Kurama uyezd had had was about 4 669 142. Its 28343 head of cattle belonged to Shyrshyq region: 3177 horses, 11329 cattle and 12000 sheep. Moreover, 2 116193 were in Khodjent region, 31 547864 were in Syrdarya oblast, 1 357450 were in Samarkand, 9 992000 were in Khattakorgan uyezd, 856635 were in Pedjekent, 3206085 were in Zerafshan, 12 818129 were in Fergana, and 2970 448 were in Amudarya [*Uzbekistan. 1967., P.138*].

The nomads didn't know about the preparation of cattle feed. The grass was too small to reap in the countries of Central Asia. That's why they used to grow clover for winter cattle feed. The Kazakhs kept sheep, horses, cattle, camel, the settled population had asses, and semi-nomads kept goats [*Agriculture of Kazakhstan, 2006.,*]. The Kirgiz people in Fergana and Alayed raised yak (Mongolian oxen) and used it as a means of transportation [*Turkestan statements., 1904., February 2.*]. In Khiya khanate, subclans of tabyn such as shomishli and aday, and the Kazakhs in the communities of Koneurgenish, Shumanai and Konyrat engaged in cattle breeding, too. Kyzylkum Kazakhs in Bukhara raised sheep, goat, horse and camel. I. Falk described it as follows: 'Horses were the most favorite cattle for the Kazakhs. The family who had about 50 horses was regarded rich. Except the aristocrats, there were also ordinary Kazakhs who were able to keep 1000-2000 horses. Brindled horses of Orta juz were highly appreciated by the Bukharan population. There were about 5000-10000 horses in the herds of the wealthy people' [*Overview of the Syr-Darya, 1896., P.124*]. The Kazakhs raised cows a bit later. The poor people preferred cows to other animals, as their productivity was higher. Cows are said to have come to the Syrdarya Kazakhs from the Karakalpaks, while they came to the Kazakhs in Shu region from Kalmak people. Silk goats were rarely raised. They were similar to Tibetan goats but they were a bit stronger and bigger [*Kostenko F., 1880., P.91*].

There are several types of the horses such as Argymak (thoroughbred horse), Uzbek, Karabaiyr, Khokhan and Kazakh. 1. The Argymak is a hybrid of Turkmen and Arab horses. It differs from the others with its height, beautiful broad back, and slightly raised tail, long and thin legs. It is a horse breed from Turkmenistan and kept only by the rich people. 2. The Uzbek is smaller and less beautiful than the Argymak; its legs are a bit thinner, but it is good for riding. 3. The Karabaiyr is a hybrid of argymak and the Kazakh horse whose legs are short, chest is wide and pelvis is strong. It is considered very strong and enduring. 4. The Khokhan is a hybrid of Kazakh and Uzbek horses. It is counted as the strongest type in Central Asia and used for transporting heavy freight. 5. The most widespread horse in Turkistan okrug was the Kazakh horse. It is a middle-sized animal with straight front legs, wide chest and strong ribs and soft fat surrounding tail. With its ambling gaits it can cover 8 km in an hour. However, the Kazakh horse

had an inclination to sickness [*Masalskoe V.I., 1913., P.491*]. In 1895, the number of the horses was about 68300 in Tashkent uyezd, and 14100 were in the city. This number considerably increased in 1912: 113385 horses were in the uyezd and 10276 were in the city. The horse breeding mainly developed in Bostandyk, Zhanabazar districts of Tashkent oblast; 40% of this occupation was handled in Samarkand and Tashkent oblasts [*Overview of the Syr-Darya region..., 1896*]. Moreover, the Kazakh horses were widely spread throughout Central Asia. They could climb high mountains with the luggage on the back. They could cover 100 km of distance without eating and drinking. Besides, there are horses of different types such as karabaiyr, tekelik and yomud [*Arkhipov N.B.,1930., P.101*].

440 000 of 500 000 camels of Turkistan region were in Syrdarya oblast, 25 000 of them were in Fergana and 35 000 of them were in Samarkand [*Overview of the Syr-Darya..., 1889.,*]. The Kazakhs and Turkmen had kept the camels for transportation, while the Kara-kalpaks used them for ring and cotton cleaning machines. Camels were widely developed in the steppes of Kysylkum, Usturt and Amudarya. There were 104450 camels in Khorezm oasis, 13100 were in Amudarya and 91350 in Khiuya khanate [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund., 2 document P.22*]. There were two types of camels in Turkistan region: the Arabian camel, also called dromedary, which has one hump, and the Bactrian camel, which has two humps. The latter was predominantly raised in Karakalpakstan, and the first type was bred by the Turkmen. Dromedary camels were not resistant to cold, so they are bred in southern parts. The Kazakhs used to get Dromedary-Bactrian hybrid camels. The hybrid process was held in winter and lasted for 11-13 months. Such camels could lift 10-18 pood of weight. They were strong enough until they reached 15, and they lived only 25 years. However, in case they were not used for transporting heavy loads, they could live up to 45 years. The camels were brought to Central Asiaby the Arabs[273, P.16]. With the loads on their back they could cover 50 km per hour, but in summer it is about 25 km. They don't like wet weather. In Tashkent they cost 50-80 Uzbek ruble [*Kostenko F.,1880., P.134*]. According to A.Divayev, the feed of the camel was divided into two types: 'white plant' and 'sour plant'. Wheatgrass, clover and feather-grass were regarded as 'white plants', while leaves of haloxylon, camel thorn, tamarisk, bush, dzhida, oxytropis and pigweed were counted as 'sour plant' [*Economic and cultural traditions..., 1975., P.40*].

Severe winters and jute had a great negative impact on animal husbandry. For example, the following archive is about the letter to Ministry of Defence. It informed about the deteriorating situation in Zhausogym volost of Tashkent uyezd. As it said, 'during the 1-15 of January in 1900, the community had lost its 1210 cattle. As a result of huge snowfall the cattle were not

able to find grass to eat. Horses were miscarrying. The number of sheep and goats decreased to 5349, of the cattle (horses, camels and cows) fell to 1651 in the volosts of Zhausogym, Altyn and Bolat. So, the local people ask you to give 3000 ruble loans to get feed for the cattle. In fact, since February 1, 1900, Tashkent uyezd had lost its 338 camels, 1258 horses, 763 cows, 6506 sheep, 644 goats, 95 asses; in the second half of February, the number had doubled: 12027 sheep, 733 camels, 2250 horses, 1337 cows, 267 asses and 1253 goats' [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 1 fund., 2 document P.22*].

If to see this in percentage, 35,5% of cattle, 21,1% horses, and 22,3% sheep and goats had reduced. The famine of 1917-1918 had destroyed the entire communities and cattle farms [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 29 fund., 1071 document*]. For instance, in 1917 there had been 41.6 cattle per ownership, but, it was only 17.5 in 1920. The cattle of the settled population decreased twice while the nomads lost more than them. The reduction of the cattle in 1917-1918 was connected with the famine and with the people's fear of the Soviet government to keep cattle. The impact of the revolution spread on the people and the livestock. The loss of it was much higher than the people's. For instance, the number of the horses decreased from 2224000 to 666, the cattle reduced from 23995 to 1104, the camels' number fell from 815 to 241 and sheep and goats's decreased from 17029 to 4870 [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 34 fund., 421 document P.28*].

The Kazakhs in Turkmenistan generally engaged in cattle-raising. Having developed nomadic extensive grazing, they kept sheep, camels and horses. According to the facts, in 1917, about 63,6% of the population were nomads. There were 14,9 cattle per one ownership. Establishing economic relations, the Turkmen (yomud) and Kazakhs had shared some pastures and wells (near bordering Krasnovodsk and Mangyshlak uyezds). The Kazakhs, who lived in that area, were cut off from their motherland as well as had no ties with it in economic sphere. Thus, they were significantly influenced by the yomuds [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 20 fund., 6 document P.186*].

As there was no access to the waters, *aday* population had to move from one place to another in search of wells. Of course, it took them a long time to get there. The longest way they had to go was about 1000 km. However, their pastures had no borders. The one who arrived at the pasture had the right to own it. Such situations caused conflicts between the people. That's why especially in summer they made all their effort to keep the pastures. The main types of animal husbandry of *aday* were Dromedary camels and sheep. They also had a so-called *aday* type horse. But there were a few of them there. Camels were used as means of transportation [*Review of the Trans-Caspian, 1909.*] The Kazakhs in Zakaspi oblast are mainly located

northward of Krasnovodsk uyezd and southward of Karabugaz bay as well as in Mangyshlak. Their economics focused only on animal husbandry. According to their social situations, the population was divided into four groups: 1. The rich who had 100 horses, 20 camels and 500 sheep; 2. The people who possessed about 10-100 horses, 10-20 camels and 100-300 sheep; 3. The people who owned 5-10 horses, 10 camels and 100 sheep; 4. The poor [*Review of the Trans-Caspian, 1909.*]. Nowadays, wealthy population of the region have 100 sheep, 50-60 goats, 7-10 cows and 1-2 camels, while the poor have 10-15 sheep and 1-2 cows. However, as Khuan Tilektes says, many Kazakhs in Turkmenistan are pretty wealthy. Apart from animal husbandry, they also took up gardening and silk raising. Sheep and goats were the main animals in their economics as well as camels. They kept the cattle to satisfy some of their needs. It was well developed around Merv where there was much water and cane. There were different kinds of sheep in Zakaspi oblast: 1. Kazakh sheep with fat tail whose meat was tasty and solid; it weighed 30 pood; 2. Steppe and mountain sheep with low quality wool; 3. Horch sheep with fat tail and yellow wool of average quality. These kinds of sheep were found in Tekin and Tejen uyezds [*Review of the Trans-Caspian, 1909, P.84.*]. Orazov also wrote about the Kazakhs who had bred sheep which were in a high demand with fat tails and tasty meat. He also mentioned that in the end of the XIXth century saradja and astrakhan sheep were brought from Merv and Ahal. Today, Astrakhan sheep and goats along with Kazakh sheep are very popular in the region. The Kazakhs of Khyzylkum generally preferred to stay next to their summer and winter wells situated in the western and north-western parts of Khyzylkum. In summers, the Kazakhs in Amudarya took their sheep out into the summer pastures. Only new calved and working cattle remained in the village. Until the arrival of the Russians to the region, the Kazakhs didn't know about the cattle feeding.

The settled Kazakhs had used different types of places to live in such as 'bastyrma', 'seiskhana', 'kamys tole shertek', 'zhertole', 'azbarkora', 'kalmakqora' and others. The poor people kept their cattle in the basements, and other owners kept them in the yards that were made of canes. There were 2778 close and open yards in the district of Daukhara and 12 in Khyzylkum [*Shalekenov W.H., 1966., P.118*].

As we have mentioned before, the Kazakhs were a bit superstitious people. They had a number of superstitious beliefs related to cattle-breeding. Before moving to the winter either to summer camps, the poor made special bread and recited some verses of Quran, and before moving to the pastures in spring, they made a fire between the houses and forced the cattle go through it. It meant that they had driven demons out of domestic dwellings and they were very confident of having a lucky time [*Economic and cultural traditions ..., 1975.*]. Turkmen people were also

superstitious. They also had made a fire close to their house and shot a gun, and went through the fire together with their cattle and properties. They called it 'alas etmek' (driving demons out). After this kind of procedure they felt safe and sound. As soon as they cut the wool from sheep, all people who did it wash up their hands in one dish. They poured the water, which they had used, on the flock. It is understood to keep their master's wealth and prevent him from bankruptcy [Orazov A., 1972., P.72]. Sheep mating process was also closely associated with some kinds of traditions, and it was planned to take place on Wednesdays and Thursdays. Childless women were prohibited to take part in sheep mating. Apart from this, there were very strange beliefs among the population. The people believed if the shepherds got washed, it would negatively affect the sheep weight i.e they would have thin sheep season; more interestingly, if the shepherd cut off his nails, the flock was endangered wolf attacks. When the cows gave birth to twins, one of the calves was presented to someone. However, the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan never gave the cattle away until they had produced more [IX].

As for veterinary, the people had their own ways of treating their domesticated animals. They kept sick horses in the water to the liver and fed them adding some salty supplements. The treatment took place at night. In case the cattle fell sick, the housewife frightened them with her knickers or turned one sheep upside down, or buried it, or slaughtered it and threw it onto the road [The Kyrgyzs // Turkestan statements, 1906]. The livestock generally suffered from anthrax, gastro intestinal diseases, glanders, distomatoz, pulmonary diseases, foot-and-mouth diseases, scabies, fascioliasis and others. When the cattle fell ill with anthrax, the Kazakhs marked the affected area with the help of heated iron and, using the knife, made a cross on it. Then they removed it sprinkling some salt on it. They used liquorice or cigarettes to cure glanders [X]. In general, such rites connected with animal husbandry are still being kept among the Kazakhs who live in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan.

3.3 Additional occupations

Additional occupations along with traditional economics play a significant role in the life of the Kazakhs. Central Asian Kazakhs took up hunting, bird hunting, fishing and manufacturing. According to the geographical position of the population, these types of trades were not equally developed throughout the region. For instance, mountainous and woody areas of Tashkent such as Bostandyk, Upper Shyrshyq, Akhangeran, Angren and Pskent were popular with hunting, bird hunting, while the banks of the Shyrshyq and Keless rivers were suitable for fishing development. Until the 30s of the XXth century, environs of Chimgan and Aksak ata and other hilly and woody areas had been rich in various animals. Animal images on the rocks of the

Abylkas (Chimgan) mountains are the vivid examples of the early development of hunting in the region. Akylbekov Kulman was a very well-known sparrow-hawk in the village of ‘Shaksham’ of Bostandyk district. Nowadays his son is developing this type of hunting [XI].

Hunting with an eagle was a widely spread and developed occupation in Turkistan region. Kazakh people showed a special respect for eagles and considered them a reliable partner of a real gentleman. On the second day after the snow fell, they took an eagle and went for fox hunting. Sh.M.Ibragimov has written about the fact that eagles fly too high looking for animals, and, but sometimes, if they fail in hunting, they pose a threat to their masters [*Ibragimov Sh. Essays..., 2007., P.11*]. In general, pheasants, wild geese, swine, cormorants, black grouse and others were hunted in Turkistan region. The areas under our research were popular with their adventurous sparrow-hawks. With the help of the eagles, falcons and hawks people had caught more eatable birds such as pheasants and goose. Mainly they set traps, nets and snares for catching them. Actually, they used two types of traps: quadrangular traps and round traps. Mainly they had caught the birds using a piece of meat or corns. Birds can be trapped easily when they land to get it. In comparison with the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, the Uzbek population had preferred falcons to eagles and hawks. Those people also had some kinds of rites related to bird hunting and caring for birds. Generally, such rites are associated with the primeval religious magical beliefs of the people. Since they had a strong belief that a man would turn into white falcons after his death, they never killed falcons [*Ibragimov Sh. Essays..., 2007., P.36*]. Moreover, they had a belief that demons would never come to the house that kept eagles, and when the eagle shook out, demons were said to be driven out from the house. Females and teenagers were prohibited to cross the birds’ way. Even the masters would mourn the loss of their devoted hunting eagles. Having wrapped in a white cloth, they buried them in the mountains next to the nests of the other birds. The Kazakhs in Central Asia use the wings, tails, feathers, head skin, hoof and feet as a talisman. They are hung on the wall felts or put under the pillow of the infants. They believe that sacred birds would protect people from various evil spirits [VII]. There are several similarities between the Central Asian Kazakhs and the local population in keeping the rites and beliefs connected with the hunting birds themselves. For example, if a sparrow-hawk visits somebody’s house with his bird, the host will put a bundle of owl feathers on the eagle’s shoulders. This type of rite is common for the Kazakh and Kirgiz people. According to the Kazakh traditions, a frightened man prayed with an eagle on his head, while the Uzbeks used falcons instead of eagles. Moreover, eagles were also used to reduce birth pains. They were brought in the house and shown to a woman in childbirth.

When an eagle or its baby was brought home for the first time, family members threw sweets onto them. The same ritual took place before the first hunting. If someone likes and gets other person's hunting bird for free, he should give its master something valuable. Eagle's wool is never trampled. It is a good treatment from bad headaches. People who love hunting are generally inclined to pursue give-and-take policy. For instance, if you spot on your relatives' or friends' hunting bird, you'll go or send someone for it. Somehow, he will give it to you, if he doesn't, you have to break off relations with that man. In general, such favor should be done in summer season.

In the end of the XIXth century, the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan had mainly hunted for fox, bear, wild boar, wild goat, saiga, marten, wild cat, pheasants, snow leopard, tiger, ibex and others. The hunters used greyhounds for catching foxes, wolves and corsacs. It took them a week to prepare for hunting. The dogs were fed with dairy products, soup and some other light food. The hunters went in groups keeping a kilometer of distance from each other. They caught wolves, foxes and corsacs using with the help of whips or greyhounds. Pheasants were shot down. The furs of the trapped animals were highly valued [*Falk I., 1999*]. Utebayev Nur, a popular hunter in Mangystau told us about one of the widespread methods of trapping animals. To drive out the animals from the den, he lit the old stuff near the den's entrance and let the smoke go into it. Then he locked the den and waited for the animal come out from it. Thus a choking animal would pop up from the den. Sometimes he caught wild boars and wolves riding a horse and beating them with a huge stick. Larger animals such as a tiger, ibex and deer were usually caught by persistent pursuits of the hunters. They were surrounded and chased into the previously prepared yards or dug holes. Hunting usually took place in late autumn or winter. As soon as the snow falls, mountain animals are supposed to come down.

Hunting has been one of the early occupations of our ancestors. However, it was not so popular with all the Kazakhs. Moreover, we have to admit that this type of occupation is not a source of economics; on the contrary, it is a kind of entertainment. In general, hunting has been realized with the help of various guns, dogs, traps and by the other stuff. Hunting for wild boars was a different story. The hunters dug the earth and made a hole in the form of a big bottle and covered it with grass. It was a kind of trap for greater animals. They also used greyhounds and traps to catch foxes, martens and lynxes. The wolves were usually beaten or hunted by birds [*Kostenko F., 1880*]. Hunting was also very associated with a number of rites, religious rituals and superstitious beliefs among the Kazakhs. For example, according to the sharia, only the meat of the hunted animals was regarded "eatable" or 'halal'. The meat of the hunted animals was allowed to be consumed only if the animals were caught by domesticated dogs either birds. As they believed, the domesticated animals were the animals which didn't eat the meat of the

animals they had caught. That was to happen three times. Domesticated birds were the birds which had flown far and returned to their masters. That was also to happen three times. Thus, the hunting without domesticated animals in Turkistan region was considered not 'halal'. That's why the animals caught by the domesticated animals had to be slaughtered before the use. Otherwise, it was regarded 'haram' [XIII]. Moreover, the dog or the bird shouldn't attack the animals without their master's orders; otherwise, the meat of such animals was also counted 'haram', because the hunting dog or bird might have merely wanted to satisfy its own needs, but not their master's. According to the words of the hunter from Turkmenistan, it was obvious: '...if the dog, which is chasing after the victim, catches it long after his master's orders 'catch it', the meat of that animal is 'halal'; in case several hunters simultaneously shout at the dog 'catch it', no matter who is the master of the dog, the first who shouts first will get the hunted animal' [XIV]. Moreover, if any undomesticated animal, whether it is a dog or a bird turns out among the hunting domesticated animals, the meat of the hunted animal of that day is considered 'haram'. However, the master of the domesticated animals goes to hunting praying to Allah and reciting some verses of Quran, the meat of that hunted animal is considered 'halal', despite undomesticated animals' joining them [XV]. Some publications of the XIXth century wrote: '...before taking aim at an animal during the hunting, it is advised to pray to Allah. As soon as the animal is shot down, the hunter should run up towards and get it before his dog or bird, and must slaughter it, otherwise the meat won't be 'halal'. If the animal is not slaughtered or beaten to death, its meat is 'haram'. The part of the animal torn off during the shooting is also 'haram'. If an animal is shot down by one hunter but is caught by another one, the latter should give it to the first hunter' [*Nature and hunting. – 1891., P.63*].

The Kazakhs were the lovers of fox, corsak, rabbit, pheasants as well as koulan hunting. The hospitable Kazakh people treated their respected guests to very tasty and solid meat of koulans. Moreover, they used its fat for medical purposes. The fat was a very effective treatment for rheumatism. Those who suffered from eye diseases were offered to eat its lever. Besides, there was a strong belief among the people that the meat of the coulan would give them much energy and strength.

In general, as the materials collected from the local population showed, the hunters had also had a number of rites and beliefs related to various features of the animals. Some animals were not allowed to be shot down or even to be hunted. For example, a single-horn saiga or a swine were regarded 'sacred' animals, so hunting for them was prohibited. Hunting for sacred animals was believed to bring misfortune. Apart from them, hunting for brown bear, mountain sheep, deer, roe deer was not allowed, too [XVI]. In connection with it, we'd like to present you

an adventurous story of one hunter. Once upon a time there was a poor man named Khal-Nazar. He was from *bagys* clan. He had been a hunter all his life. However, as he got old he had to quit hunting. His sudden decision was directly connected with some kind of widespread rites in the country. Kazakh and Kirgiz population had a very strange belief associated with hunting. If a wild goat lifted its one leg before falling down after it was shot, that goat was considered the thousandth victim of the hunter. Khal-Nazar recalled his last hunting and remembered the dying wild goat lifting its three legs. He realized that he had killed three thousands of wild goats and was scared of further hunting for them [XVII].

In general, it was not good to hunt massively or do it just for entertaining. Moreover, the people thought that each sacred place had its 'owners' who took care of their territory and animals. Then Kazaks had had some traditions as well as procedures related to hunting. For example, a passer-by was not allowed to take away or steal the animal trapped by someone. Even if he had to do so, he was expected to leave some money or something near the trap, or, he should visit the house of the hunter informing him about it and give something to him as gratitude. If he took the trap away with him, it was considered much worse than theft.

As we have mentioned before, there were very many religious beliefs associated with the hunters and their activities. Many of them have been practiced since primeval times. For example, if an animal leaves droppings, or a horse yawns, or it stumbles, all of them are supposed to influence the hunting to succeed or fail. Females are not allowed to cross the hunters's way. Methods of hunting and prices for animals were strictly regulated by the customary laws of the Kazakhs. For example, an eagle's newborn child would belong to a person who was the owner of the land where the nest was made. No one except him was eligible to have it. If someone found another person's running eagle and kept it for seven days before it was founded, it would be automatically considered his bird. But, if he kept it not longer than seven days and its master found it, he should return the bird to his master. If a person intentionally killed an eagle, he had to pay as much as the price of the eagle. In fact, the cost of the eagle was as expensive as a male camel's [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 383 fund.,166 document P.16*].

The hunters were expected to present their first hunted animals to elder people of the kinship or the village. Otherwise, the hunter was considered an 'ill-bred' person. However, the hunter himself should keep front upper part of the animal. The rest parts of the animal would be divided according to the number of the people who were supposed to get it. But, the first hunted animal of a teenager shouldn't be presented to anyone. Otherwise, he was believed to have bad luck in hunting or in his life.

Fishing One of the additional occupations of the Kazakhs was fishing. It was mainly popular with the poverty-stricken population in the Caspian area. Since fish products were not predominant in the cuisine of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan and Kirgizstan, they took up fishing only in the years of great depression. Kirgiz aksakal Kaliev Bugybai said: ‘Our ancestors hadn’t known fishing until a Russian guy called Ylyia taught them in 1928. All families in the village had fishing nets. They had prepared smoked fish and sold them or exchanged for grains or flour.’ The Kazakhs used to catch fish using pitchforks or trapping them in the canes [Overview Materials-Darya, 1886., P.84]. Also, they had used different instruments such as hooks made of bones or nets made of camel’s wool and handmade boats. However, all of those instruments were not available to everybody, so they had to do fishing with their hands. Kazakh people living in Uzbekistan had long cone pitchforks made of cane. When they went fishing with those instruments, they made a pond in one part of the river and dug a small trench in it. The pitchforks were hidden in the trench. They caught the fish that were beaten to pitchforks. Besides, the method of catching fish with the help of nets, which were made of cotton and kenaf, was very popular [Hirschfeld and Galkin., 1903., P.192]. According to the stories of the older people, during the 1932th famine, fishing industry was significantly developed next to the Shyrshyq, Angren and Keless rivers. New groups of nomadic population got involved in fishing. They were Turkmen aday in Bozashy, Kazakh and Turkmen nomadic population in Raiymberdi and Turkmen volosts. In 1905, all in all 223 families engaged in fishing throughout the 3 volosts. They had 235 fishing rods, 6 boats, 9320 herring nets and 80 yetlik [Tursynova M.S., 1977., P.154].

As far as the Kazakhs in Khorezm were concerned, bordering on the Kara-kalpak population in the basins of Syrdarya and Zhanadarya, they had engaged in fishing a bit earlier. In fact, poverty-stricken part of the population had survived thanks to fishing. Moreover, the Kazakhs living around the Aral Sea and Syrdarya were also involved in fishing [Features of the natives...//Nature and hunting, 1891.,P.16]. Fishing had been popular among the clans of *alimuly* tribe until they came to Khorezm. They had lived on the east and west coasts of the Aral Sea and Zhanadarya basin. The Daukara and Konyrat Kazakhs did also take up fishing. There were fish markets in Konyrat, Shymbai and Khylyshkhala [Nazarevskiy O.R., 1964].

In general, the main occupations of the Kazakhs were cattle breeding and agriculture. However, under the various climate conditions, they had to do additional occupations. The hunting, which had been primarily associated with people’s hobby, gradually became a serious source of nutrition; there are many facts about the hunters who made a great contribution to the survival of the entire village residents. As we see, the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan had paved the

way for salt industry and fishing, while the Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan had developed different methods of fishing.

4 MATERIAL CULTURE

4.1 Settlement

The accommodation of the people who engaged in cattle-raising both in the mountainous areas, deserts and steppes were differently located. Their dwellings were set on hilly places since those areas were considered convenient for gardening and cotton-raising. Moreover, they were built up constructively, and occupied a large territory. Some Kazakh-populated villages in the deserts of Turkmenistan were situated not far from the wells. The population was not high in the mountainous regions. Animal husbandry was the main occupation of the people. That's why many of the villages were located along the rivers or close to the waters.

Depending on the types of the economic structures, the size of the villages varied from place to place. Until the 40-50s of the XXth century, the total number of the villages was significantly miscalculated by the local administration. As we know from the 1920 population census, the amount of the villages was estimated by the administrative divisions, but not by the economic divisions. For example, 6 of the 596 nomadic administrative villages in Syrdarya oblast were located in Tashkent. There were 478 people per one administrative community, but it was about 704 people in Aulieata [*Proceedings of the National Census of 1920., 1923., P.13*]. In Tashkent uyezd, there were more settled localities which had 200-300 population as well as localities with 300-500 population. Those localities were mainly inhabited by Kazakh people. Besides, there were 56 localities which had 1000-2000 population. Many of them were inhabited by Uzbek people [*Proceedings of the National Census of 1920., 1923., P.16*]. Karakalpaks and Kazakhs began to lead sedentary lifestyle in the regions of Amudarya. According to the 1912-1913 study of the migration department, there were 14788 permanent settlements, 51713 ownerships, 27439 yurts (felt dwellings) in the sedentary districts of Amudarya, and there were 3337 ownerships and 3251 yurts in Daukara district [*Materials of survey nomadic..., 1915., P.145*].

Larger sedentary communities were situated close to the towns, markets and the cotton plants. The closer they approached towards the mountains and steppes, the smaller and rarer they became. Approximately 16-61% of the communities in Fergana were small sedentary communities with less than 100 population, while the communities with 100-500 population made up 43-51%; 9-23% of them had 500-1000 population and other 0,5-18% had more than 1000 population. The communities which had only 100 residents in Tajikistan made up 61%, Krasnovodsk (Turkmenistan) - 52%, in Poltaratsk - 37%, in Merv – 30%, but, there were no communities with more than 400 population in the region [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, P-1 fund., 704 document P.105*].

Pamir had only one kishlak with 100 people, the number of the communities which had 100-500 population was prevailing there. In Tejen region it was about 65%. Kazakh communities having less than 300 populations made up 56%. Uzbek kishlaks with less than 100 populations made up 8-9% in Turkistan ACSR.

42-50% of Kazakh communities had 100-500 population, 49-50% had 500 populations, 62% of kurama kishlaks had 100-500 population and only 11% had 1000 residents in Bukhara, Khorezm, Uzbekistan and Turkistan ACSR [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 383 fund., 166 document P.103*]. Kazakh and Turkmen communities in the nomadic regions of Turkmenistan were grouped according to their clan origin. They lived in small villages. Some villages merged since they had only 200 people. 92% of them were Kazakh, 52% - Kirgiz and 80% Turkmen villages. It is worth mentioning that the ownerships were not like the villages of administrative type. According to the information of the local administration, Kazakh villages with 100-500 population made up 20%. In Kirgizstan, there were 24 villages with less than 100 populations, 38 villages with 100-250 population, 26 villages with 250-500 population, while the villages with 500-1000 population made up 10%. According to the structure of the economics, geographical position, methods of economics, territory and population, there were widely developed villages in the intensive agricultural locations, while there were small villages in middle and semi-nomadic regions and extensive agricultural locations [*Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, P-1 fund., 706 document P.104*]. Moreover, there were only 3 largest villages of the Kazakhs in Tashkent uyezd which had only 3000 population and 18 villages with 2000 population. On the contrary, there were 198 sparsely populated communities which had 400 population, 78 communities with 200 population and 38 communities with 400-500 population [*Proceedings of the National Census of 1920., 1923*]. As far as the temporary communities were concerned, the Kazakhs were settled in groups. This kind of settlement was typical to the Kazakh clans such as *baiys*, *buzaushy*, *balta*, *konyrat*, *ramadan* and *sirgeli* which resided in Angren, Middle Shyrshyq, Parkent and Shyrshyq [*Materials of Census of the Uzbek SSR in 1926, 1927., P.159*]. Today's collective farms inhabited by the Kazakhs were created in the places where the clans had had their winter and summer camps. For example, Kanly village, which was situated around Troitsky, had been the winter camp of the representatives of *kanly*, while Azadbash village had been *shanyshkyly*'s summer camp, and Darkhan village had served *darkhan*'s winter camp. Sparsely populated Kazakh communities had existed until the 50s of the last century. Since 1960, like their Uzbek comrades, Kazakh people have been living in the houses surrounded by high walls [*Zilina A.I., 1989., P.195*].

4.1 Types of permanent and temporary dwellings

As the facts present, semi nomadic and settled Kazakhs in Uzbekistan had lived in permanent dwellings. Until the end of the XIXth century and 30-40s of the XXth century, they had lived in the houses made of turf. It was carved out of the very turfy land, cut into bricks and got drained. Then its surface was turned upside down, put on each other to build up the walls of the house. The houses made of turf had no basement, they were built like boxes. They mainly consisted of two rooms. The log supporting the roof was called 'khary' by the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan, while the Turkmen called it 'yeshek arkasy' (a donkey's back) [*Zholdasbayev S., 1996*]. Before covering the roof of the house, the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan conducted a ceremony of 'kary koterer' (lifting the log) and gave a shapan or a kerchief to a person who would do it. As soon as the log was placed, it was riveted with the beams on the both sides. The beams were covered first with the bushes or cane then plastered with clay. The roof of the house would be of convex shape (thickness of it is 30-35 cm). The inner and outer sides of the house were smeared with thatch or dung mixed clay mortar. Such dwellings had existed in Uzbekistan until the 60s of the last century [*Vostrov V.V., 1961*].

Moreover, the Kazakhs had used the methods the Central Asian and Yedil populations in building clay houses [*Rudenko S.I., 1955., P.237*]. First, they mixed the thatch with the clay and shaped bricks, then placed those bricks in a row. The following day the next row of bricks were laid on the top of the previous one, thus the house would be built up. Such kinds of houses usually consisted of two rooms and a corridor. They were owned by the richer families in the volosts of Zhaleltobe, Khoshkorgan, Gaibata and Toitobe of Tashkent uyezd in the second half of the XIXth century [*Proceedings of the National Census of 1920., 1923. P.39*].

In the end of the XIXth century and in the beginning of the XXth century, the Kazakhs predominantly used pahsa for the construction of the yards, later they used it to build up a house. L.F. Kostenko wrote about it in his work: 'Sedentary populations (Uzbek, Kazakh and Karakalpak) had built clay houses. The beams with some props were tied up together below the level of the ground and were filled with clay mortar. As soon as the walls of the house were built up, logs and beams were laid on the roof. They were covered with canes and plastered with clay. The windows of the house looked into the yard. Large and small niches were carved out on the walls of the house' [*Kostenko L.F., 1880.*]. Under the great influence of the local Uzbek people, since the 30s of the XXth century, the Kazakhs had developed the construction of the houses according to 'pahsa' method. This method of constructing houses usually started in July. The houses were built with a foundation on solid soil. First, the ground where the house was supposed to be built would be leveled. Then a hole was made inside of it. The basement was

usually poured in two pieces: a layer of thatch and clay. Such type of construction of houses needed a well-produced brick; that's why the loam made for them should be kept for 1-2 days. Specially prepared brick moulds of 50-60 cm x 30 cm size were laid on the foundation. Then the ready loam was poured into them and properly pressed on. The process would go on and on until the walls of the house reached 3 meters high. The roof was covered with the wood and ground; finally, it would be plastered. Inner and outer sides of the house were leveled and plastered. Such kinds of houses were built up quickly and counted warmer than the other types of the houses [Yuferov V.I., 1910.]. The Kazakhs living in Takhtakopir, Beruni, Tortkul and Kojeli had built the houses according to such methods. The architecture and design of their houses were very similar to the Uzbeks' [Shalekenov W.H. , 1966.]. The building of the houses made of molded raw bricks began in the 40-50s of the XXth century. The wealthier stratum of the society had used raw bricks of 30x30cm size for their house construction. Raw bricks of 35x40 cm size were usually made of the loam molded in special wooden forms.

Very old types of dwellings of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan were zhertole or mud huts, and a shack or hovel. Of course, poor population had lived in such dwellings. Those dwellings had also played a significant role in the life of the Kazakhs in Kara-Kalpakstan. To make a mud hut, they dug the ground about 1-1,5 meter deep in quadrangular shape. They put a stove in the middle of it. Such kinds of stoves had been kept as the temporary housing (huts, shacks). Mud huts and hovels were regarded as permanent accommodation of the indigenous people [Argynbaev H.A. *Historical and cultural communication...*,2007]. As A.N.Glukhov described, such types of accommodations had belonged to small families of Central Asia who engaged in seasonal activities [Glukhov A.N., 1972.,P.101]. The residents of Uzbekistan had lived in the same dwellings whose walls were of 60-70 cm thick. They built up their shacks under the method of pakhsa using loam, thatch and cane. One of the informants talked about the mud huts in Kirgizstan which had existed until the 1950s: '... in order to build up a mud hut one should dig a soil one meter deep and pour the loam mixed with thatch, then the molded bricks were laid in a vertical position. As soon as the walls were built up, they would place the logs and cover them with branches and straw. The straw was also covered with 0,5 meter soil and plastered with clay mortar. Such houses had only one room, but a stove called 'beskudyk' would divide it'.

To make a cabin, the people picked up a bundle of wood sticks, turned their thick ends down and penetrated them down into the soil. Then their top ends were tied up together and horizontally bound with thin, flexible branches and covered with felt.

The population in the areas of the Shyrshyq and Syr had built and lived in thatched dwellings, because those areas were rich in those plants. Such dwellings were called 'shom' in

Karakalpakstan. In accordance with this, U.K.Shalekenov wrote: ‘The people in Moinaq had used thatch (shom) for construction purposes. 2-2.5 meter high thatch was fastened to wooden frames. To build up the walls of it, approximately 25-30 cm part of the thatch should be dug in and horizontally bound. Then its inner and outer parts were plastered with clay mortar [Shalekenov W.H. , 1966., P. 222.]. In Central Asia, such kind of thatched dwellings had been mainly used for the economic needs of the Kazakhs [Tatimov M., 1993.].

As time passed, considerable changes took place in the housing issues of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan. Since the 20s of the XXth century the people began to live in the houses where there were two rooms adjoined through a corridor. The local people called them ‘korzhyn tam’. One of the rooms was a sitting-room (like in Uzbek, at that time there were a lot names of places such as ‘mekmonkhana’, ‘askhana’ and ‘atkhana’); the others were a dining-room and a bedroom [XXII]. The people had had a very convenient but strange method of heating the house. In one of the rooms they made a large hole of 30-40 cm deep, filled it with hot coals and covered with a table. Then they sat around the table and got warmed up. This kind of method had come from the settled Uzbek population. But it is not used now.

The houses, which had been built before 1970s, had the niches carved out on the walls. They had been used by the Kazakh, Uzbek peoples since the early times. They had served as bookshelves, dressers and bedshelves. Such kinds of niches are found in many Kazakh families until now [XXIII].

The most widespread type of dwelling among the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan is an ‘aivan’ (open verandah) built up of brick walls. In the past aivans had facads into the courtyard and windowless walls faced the street and adjoined to the house. Nowadays they are built separately in the yard [Argynbaev H.A. *Historical and cultural...*, 2007. P.139]. Bolohonas (superstructure) were built on the roof of the house and served as a sitting-room, but now they are used as a storehouse. In the yard under the trees, the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan also have the supa a square platform made of clay where the family gathers for its meals and the evening tea. Thus, the main dwellings of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan were different houses and verandahs. Most of the dwellings had no front entrances. If somebody wanted to enter the house it was necessary to pass through a gate which led into an outer courtyard. Since the 30s of the XXth century, the elements of such house constructions have already become a part of today’s Kazakhs in Uzbekistan.

There were different old types of dwellings in Turkmen villages: ‘moveable dwelling’, ‘chatma’, ‘mud hut’ and ‘tam-saklya’. The Kazakhs in Turkmenistan had ‘zhulam ui’. It was a light round house covered with felt. Richer population of the country had lived in the mud houses, while the poor had to live in chatma. The houses were of 6, 2 or 4 sazhen in width and 3

sazhen in height. They looked like a haycock. They were very convenient and flexible for the nomads who were moving from one place to another. Almost all members of rich Kazakh families including their servants, even domestic animals had owned such dwellings, while a group of poor families had to share them. The population was varied from village to village. Approximately there were 10-100 dwellings in each of them. In fact, there were differences between chatma and huts. Chatma was a moveable dwelling which was made of branches and covered with felt and straw, while huts were made of sticks and thatch plastered with a clay mortar. Both of them were smaller than moveable felt dwellings. Huts were round, but chatmas were oval. The Kazakhs also had lived in 'tam', the house that was made of loam with flat roofs. Having been built of raw bricks with flat roof and windows looking into the yard, they had a big resemblance to the houses of the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan. Like the Kazakhs, the Turkmen population had also used moveable felt dwellings. Moreover, they had lived in chatma-shalash made of straws and plastered with clay mortar [Durdyev G.K., 2001.]. Interior design of the houses depended on the culture and lifestyle of the families. There were niches of different size and shapes carved out on the walls. They served as dressers [Kalshabaeva B.K., 2011.].

Types of moveable dwellings/yurts

Until the middle of the XIX-XXth centuries, the yurts were the main dwellings of the Kazakhs who lived in the volosts of Zhausogym, Altyn, Irizhar and Maidantal volosts of Tashkent uyezd. They were usually built next to the houses. It was draughty in them in summer. M.S.Andreev wrote about his ethnographic trip to Samarkand oblast made in 1921: 'The Kazakhs of Zhyzak, Samarkhand and Khattakorgan uyezds had preferred the yurts to mud huts, but only rich families could afford them' [Andreev M.S., 1924., P.124]. Naiman Kazakhs, who engaged in animal husbandry, had used the yurts until the middle of the 1970s. It was mentioned in one of K.Sh. Shaniyazov's works: 'It was possible to see the yurts, particularly, around the Kurama mountains (in the east part of it), and in the areas close to the Tashkent-Khohan mainline in summer [Shaniyazov K.K., 1972.]. The yurts were divided into two types, 'black' and 'white'. The latter was particularly owned by the wealthy Kazakhs. Nowadays the yurts are still found in North Turkmenistan, but they serve as summer sleeping rooms. Besides, they are very comfortable during the big family holidays such as wedding parties or some other family gatherings. White yurts are included in the list of a bride's dowry. 'Ak otau' (a house for newlyweds) made of white felt was popular among *konyrat* and *karluk* [Shaniyazov K.S., 1964., P.97], Korezm Uzbeks [Zadyhina K.D., 1952] and Kazakhs [Fielstrup F.A., 1926.]. Some

Uzbeks and Kipshaks had covered black yurts with white cloths. However, 1-2 years later the cloths got used up. That's why it was much better to use yurts made of white felt.

The yurts of the population of Central Asian countries and Turkic speaking countries had some resemblances to each other. The structure of the yurts, the methods of building them, names of their components and some other elements were similar. Such similarities in the cultures of Central Asian countries and Kazakhstan's peoples show that they have something in common with their ethno-genetic origin. However, each of them has preserved own national peculiarities in housing, clothes and food culture. For example the yurts the Kazakhs had used were a bit different from the yurts of other peoples of Central Asia. They had had more sophisticated wooden parts of the yurts such as shanyrak (upper part of a yurt), kerege (frames which stand on the ground and fasten to uyk) and uyk (special curved sticks on which shanyrak holds). Since they were very portable, convenient and flexible, the people could use them until the recent times. Both the Kazakhs living in Uzbekistan and Uzbeks used yellow willow to make wooden components (kerege, uyk, shanyrak and door) of the yurts. The Kazakhs painted those components in ochre and red, while the Uzbeks didn't [Makovetsky L., 1893.]. They got red paints mixing the blood of slaughtered sheep and its squeeze lever [Argynbaev H., Zakharov I.V., 1961.]. The number of the uyk of the ancient semi-nomadic Uzbeks reached about 70 pieces [Culture and life of Kazakh..., 1967], while the Kazakhs used 200 uyks to build up 12 foot diameter white yurts [Karmysheva B.K., 1954.]. Both the Kazakhs and Uzbeks had used 'boira' (made of sandy reed) to prevent their furniture from getting damaged. They were very comfortable in summer when it was windy [Karmysheva B.K., 1954.]. The roof of the yurts were usually covered with uzik (felt covering the roof of the yurt) and tundik (tetragonal felt closing the upper opening of the yurt), and the yurt was wrapped with boira.

The people in Khorezm oasis had used 4 types of yurts: karakalpak, kazakh, turkmen and uzbek. Though they were similar in structure, they varied concerning some elements. Like the Karakalpak people, the Kazakhs residing on the banks of the Amudarya had predominantly used sandy reeds in making yurts. They protected them from sunlight and heat. N.Haruzin mentioned in his work about the similarities and differences between the dwellings and lifestyle of the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan and local Turkmen population. As he said, the yurts of the Turkmen were just copies of the Kazakh yurts. Moreover, the Kazakhs had more advantages over the local people in possessing furniture in quantity and quality [Kharuzin N., 2007.]. As for the differences between the yurts of the Kazakhs and Karakalpaks was concerned, U.K.Shalekenov said: 'The yurts of the Karakalpak peoples were based on semi-nomadic lifestyle, they had thin and durable uyk, and high cone shanyrak, while the Kazakhs used semi-circled shanyrak and

curved uyk. Besides, there were some differences in the structures of the kerege and materials they had used' [*Shalekenov W.H. , 1966., P. 211.*]

There were definite fixed room layout rules in the houses. The place in front of the door was called 'tor'(a place for guests) [*Levshin A.I., 1832.P.20*]. The left side of the house (close to corridor) was a landlord's room, and a bit down there was a kitchen. The right side of the tor was a children's room, and next to it there was the place for a harness. The house was usually divided as 'yesi1k zhak' (close to door) and 'oshak zhai' (a kitchen).

4.2 Features of national clothes

In general, national clothes of any people are associated with their lifestyle and mainly depend on the climate of the country. The style of the clothes of the Kazakhs and peoples of other Central Asian countries had undergone considerable changes in their historical development. The Kazakhs in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan try to get dressed in accordance with their age. Traditional elements in today's clothes are found in the clothes of 70-80 year-old people. For example, men are still wearing shirts with steadfast collar and 2-3 buttons. Besides, in the beginning of the XXth century, there were dresses with folded collar and open chest with laces or designed with a pattern either buttoned. The Kazakh men had mainly worn steadfast collar shirts, while the women preferred maxi dresses with open chest and long sleeves. They were similar to Uzbek *kuinak-yaktak* dresses [*Shaniyazov K.K., 1972.*]. Those dresses were so popular in the regions of Zerafshan and Fergana, and had been long kept by the Uzbek mullahs of Tashkent oblast until the middle of the XIXth century. Yaktak with a steadfast triangular collar was worn untucked. The shirts of the Kazakhs had buttons, while the shirts of the Uzbeks had laces. That was the only difference between them [*Shaniyazov K.K., 1972.*]. Such maxi shirts with long sleeves and folded collar were worn by the Kazakhs in Amudarya region. In Zerafshan, the Kipshak and Uzbeks called steadfast collar shirts 'Kazakh shirt', while the Amudarya Kazakhs called it 'Tatar-collar shirts' [*Shalekenov W.H. , 1966., P. 201.*].

The Kazakhs in Turkmenistan did also wear coat-like shirts with steadfast or wide-folded collar. Kazakh women in Central Asia had worn rich-colored clothes made of cotton, silk, velvet and shining fabrics. Their tastes differed in accordance with their age and other things. Young girls wore rich-colored red clothes, while young women preferred blue colored clothes. Elder people considered it embarrassing to wear red colored clothes. The Uzbeks wore blue-colored clothes, while the Kurama wore green-colored clothes on mournings [*Sukharev O.A., 1982.*]. Like this, the Kazakhs in the upper part of Shyrshyq and in the areas of Pskent and Boke had

worn blue kerchiefs on the day of mourning. But the dress made of silk wasn't considered a mourning dress, because silk was regarded as 'sacred' fabric and never worn on naked body. Young women and girls of Orta juz had preferred pleated waist, double-hem dresses, while middle-aged women, until the 20-30s of the last century, had worn dresses with steadfast collar, long sleeves and wide hem. That very model was very common for both nations. However, the dress of Uzbek women was longer and of different shape on chest. The dress of the girls was mainly designed with a pattern, and either laced or buttoned [Abdullayev T.A., Hasanov S.A., 1978].

Until the end of the XIXth century, folded collar and pleated waist dresses were popular, but at the beginning of the XXth century, under the influence of the European style, chest pleated dresses and Uzbek-style dresses became fashionable.

In the north of Kirgizstan dresses were usually of white color, and their chests were designed with a pattern. R.Karuts described the clothes of the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan and said: 'The women wore long floral dresses with open chest and a quilted scarf on the waist. They were worn for special occasions. Moreover, there were a few expensive shapans of oriental style made of camel's wool [Karutts R., 1910].

Kazakh national clothes reflected ancient traditions of Kazakhs and their national experience of employment. In addition, it was possible to determine the social status of a person by a traditional costume. Kazakh people used traditional materials for the manufacture of clothing. In Central Asia, men's national clothes consisted of a shirt, wide trousers and outerwear. Important details of the costume were the leather and fabric belts. Spacious long robe - shapan was one of the main items of clothing. Shapan was sewn from both thin and thick fabrics of different colors, but one-color and dark colors were more popular. It was made of wool or cotton in cold weather. Unlike everyday shapan, smart shapan was made of velvet, adorned with gold embroidery. This gown was a mandatory part of the wardrobe of rich Kazakhs. One of the wide spread kamzol (jacket) was nymsha. Nymsha made of sheepskin has been worn until now. It can be long or short, warm and light.

Under the influence of the local population, Kazakh people in Amudarya region had worn a bit different clothes. For instance, imitating the urban Uzbeks, rich Kazakhs wore turban, bukhara and khiua shapan. In the 70s of the XIXth century, A.P.Khoroshkhin wrote about such changes in the life of the Kazakhs: 'The traditions, customs and languages of the Kyzylkum Kazakhs are the same, but there are some differences in the way they get dressed. For example, those who live close to Khiya wear Turkmen headdress, while the Kazakhs neighboring the Uzbeks wear turbans' [Horoshhin A.P., 1876.]. Shapan was a wide spread clothing of the Kazakhs.

L.F.Kostenko commented on it: ‘Kazakh people wore clothes made of silk or cotton; rich people wore long shapans made of velvet and wide trousers. Rich people wore shapan on the shirts, while the poor wore it on naked body’[13, 17,P.338]. The daily clothes of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan and Kara-kalpakstan were light cotton shapans. Kazakhs of Tashkent uyezd wore blue-colored shapans, while Karakalpakstan’s Kazakhs wore brown shapans. Light shapans were covered with velvet and sewn lining inside. They were usually worn in summer, while cotton shapans were worn in cold seasons. Kazakhs in Turkmenistan wore white coarse calico shirt, leather trousers, bukhara or khiyua shapans; the poor wore cotton shapans, while the rich preferred silk shapans and beshmet [222, 301, P.53].

Apart from these clothes, they also had worn the clothes made of different animals’ skins and wool. They always valued animals’ skins and fur. They sewed fur coats (tons) of skins and fur coats (shashes) of fur-bearing animals’ fur. Overcoats were made of skins and fur of either wild or domesticated animals. Accordingly, the clothes were called: zhanat ton – a fur coat made of raccoon fur, kara tulki ton - a fur coat made of silver fox fur, kamshat borik - a fur-cap made of beaver, bota ton - a fur coat made of young camel skin, zhargak ton - a fur coat made of colt skin, etc. They were designed with national ornaments, decorated with coral beads, covered with gold and precious stones or adorned with gold embroidery. But only rich people could afford such clothes. In Uzbekistan ‘ton’ (outer wear) was usually made of sheep’s skin. Its front, hem and edges of the sleeves were decorated with national ornaments and velvet. Today ‘ishik’ (fur coats) are rarely met in Uzbekistan. Ton was made of dyed skins of wolf and sheep. To dye them, the people used the paint of pomegranate peel and got yellow color [214,311,P.106].

In winter, the people wore sheepskin or wolf-skin ton. Female population had also worn shapans, jersey and ishik. They were covered with expensive cloths. Such clothes had been used until the 50s of the XXth century. Women’s outwear clothes were quilted and of rich tones. Young Kirgiz and Kazakh girls in North Kokhan had worn yellow-colored dresses made of unpolished horse skins; the tail of the horse was attached to the back of the head just for beauty[223,327,p 273].

Like the Uzbeks, Kazakhs had also 2-3 meter long coarse calico belts around their waist. Middle-aged people used kerchiefs instead of belts. Rich people had used silver belts.

As for the head wear of the Kazakhs was concerned, they mainly had worn tyubeteyka, borik (a cap with ear-flaps), malakai (also a cap) and caps made of white felt. However, they predominantly had used the caps with ear-flaps covered with different fabrics and winter caps such as tymak (cuff) and malakai made of animal skin[224,328,P.123]. Most of them were made of fox skins, but only rich people afforded them, and the poor wore sheepskin caps [318,P.51].

In general, middle-aged men and young men had worn a dome shaped borik made of different fabrics. Its domelike top was shaped separately and sewn to borik. Lower part of borik was covered with skin of animals such as musk-rat or marten, and accordingly, they were called 'musquash' borik or 'marten borik'. The Kazakhs in Kara-kalpakstan had used skins of astrakhan sheep, foxes and musk-rats to sew borik, and poor people had worn sheepskin warm hats. Tuybeteyka served as a everyday headwear of Uzbekistani Kazakhs. It was also a dome shaped cap seamed in the back. Besides, the people also used triangle top tyubeteyka. In the 40-50s of the XXth century, it was fashionable to wear kerchiefs on tyubeteyka. Old people preferred to wear turban on tuybeteyka. As for the Kazakhs, turban was worn only by old people or mullah; however, it was popular among middle-aged and even young Uzbek men. A newly married young Uzbek man used to wear a turban during the first month of his marriage[78,138, P.258]. Kazakh people in Turkmenistan had worn cone shaped caps made of felt or animal skins and covered with tough fabrics[222, 301, P. 43]. In summer, men used to wear felt caps, and in winter, they wore skin covered caps with ear flips.

Before the reign of the Soviet government, in Central Asia, young Kazakh girls and women had worn hats and tyubeteyka decorated with coral beads and fur stripe and covered with gold and precious stones. 'Saukele' was a bridal headwear in the shape of a cone up to 70 cm. It was sewn of felt, covered with silk, velvet or cloth [225,329, P.208]. It was possible to determine a bride's social status by her headwear. If the hat was decorated with coral beads and the fur stripe, so the bride was from an ordinary family, but if saukele was covered with gold and precious stones, it was clear that the bride was from a wealthy family. Saukele was worn until the women gave a birth to 1-2 children. Middle-aged women usually had worn embroidered kimeshek (a national head wear). In Kirgizstan this type of head wear had been worn until the 70s of the XXth century. Kirgiz people called it 'yelechek'. Each clan had its own type of kimeshek. However, both Kazakh and Kirgiz women had worn a similar long kimeshek with triangle back [219,324, P.51]. Different precious stones used by both Kazakh and Kirgiz peoples would prove that they had shared common cultural values. According to Zh.Tokhtabayeva, they had the same head wears but called them differently. For example, Kazakhs called 'saukele', while Kirgiz people named it 'shokyulo'. They used precious stones such as silver, gold, brilliant, coral beads and various brooches to attach to saukele. Besides, their hairpins and other hair accessories 'shash kap', 'sholpy', 'alkha' and 'tumarsha' were decorated with similar ornaments and patterns[226,76, P.313]. Since the 20s of the XXth century, kerchiefs of different size and shawls of different color had gained popularity. These kerchiefs were folded on the diagonal and tied around the head. They are still being worn by older women, but women under

70 wear kerchiefs of a smaller size taking the two ends tied at the back of the head. Kazakh women in Karakalpakstan wore a white kerchief tying its ends on forehead or around the head. Old women wore kimeshek which covered their head, chest, shoulders and back. The front of it had patterned jiyek (edge) around the face. Some women wore shawls on kimeshek, while Karakalpak women tied up their head with a colored large 'bas oramal' (kerchief) [38, 48, P.233].

Women in Turkmenistan had usually worn shawls made of long white fabrics. Like turbans, the shawl was tied around the head, and its one end would be on the waist. Shawls were considered as outdoor clothes; women wear kerchiefs of a smaller size taking the two ends tied at the back of the head; young girls wore floral red colored kerchiefs, while women used white kerchiefs and tied them like turbans[14,18, P.30]. At home, both Kazakh and Turkmen girls wore red kerchiefs and women wore white or brown kerchiefs[222,301,P.23]. A definite color would prevail in a definite nation's life. For example, aday and Turkmen preferred red color. The trousers that men had worn were made of animal skin, velvet or wool fabrics. Some old people still wear quilted trousers.

In the second half of the XIXth century, Kazakhs in Central Asia had worn usual shoes. More fashionable shoes that the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan had worn were 'saptama etik'(high boots with felt socks). They were generally tighter around the leg shaft and ankle than at the top with turned-up toes and heels. Such shoes were made of skins of animals such as ox and horse. Apart from them, there were shoes made of wood and of goat skins, and rubber overshoes for dairy workers[13,17, P.338]. The shoes made of leather were also popular at that time. They were usually made of head skin of cattle or camel's neck skin[226,304, P.42]. Not only Kazakhs but also kipshaks of Zerafshan had worn leather boots with wide turned-up toes which were dyed to brown or blue colors. Kazakh people called it 'kebis' (Asian shoes). Nogai people wore red leather high shoes. Kazakh and Uzbek people had worn the same shoes, but they called them differently. For example, 'saptama etik' of Kazakh people was called 'mukki' by Uzbeks, though they used the same materials and method to make them. Daily shoes of the women were leather 'masi' (shoes) and kebis. As time had passed, they began to use rubber shoes. As for young girls, they had worn high-heeled shoes. Rich women wore leather shoes and kebis decorated with patterns and silver ornaments[227,330,P.272]. Nowadays, they wear more trendy shoes; however, old people still prefer kebis-galosh to manufactured foot wear.

Peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, who had shared common ethnic and cultural features, have much in common with each other in dressing, modeling, sewing and choosing colors and fabrics. For example, until the beginning of the XXth century, all of them had worn

the clothes with wide and long hems, the shoulders with short sleeves and white shirts. Besides, they had the same names for some elements of the clothes and desire for different patterns and precious stones to decorate the clothes[228,331,P.79]. Despite the fact that in the end of the XIXth and beginning of the XXth century the Kazakhs had preserved their national clothes, some changes were brought to the way the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan got dressed in the 50-60-s of the XXth century (tyubeteyka, shapan and others). Except the Kazakhs living in the eastern part of Tashauyz, middle-aged and old women of all the parts of Turkmenistan were able to preserve their own national traditional clothes. There are many similarities rather than differences between the material cultures of Kazakh and Kirgiz peoples. Those similarities are particularly seen in the lifestyle of the peoples living in the north and northwest areas (Talas) of the country. They had yurts with similar shapes and construction, the same components of yurts and internal elements, and even their clothes and precious stones attached to them were alike.

4.3 Characteristics of food culture

Until the beginning of the XXth century, dairy products and meat products had prevailed in the Kazakh cuisine. However, with the development of agricultural sectors in some regions and cities, people began to consume more vegetables and fruits. Since the middle of the XXth century, under the influence of Uzbek and Tajik population, considerable changes took place in Kazakh cuisine. As a result of it, some traditional foods of Uzbek became a part of Kazakh cuisine. In connection with this, L.P.Potapov wrote: ‘... there were few flour products in the cuisine of nomadic Kazakh people, but then they used various types of dairy and meat products [229,332,P.79].

Since the beginning of the XXth century, Kazakh people had tried to cook different grain foods; thus, they used wheat flour, millet flour, maize flour and sometimes barley flour for cooking. It was poor people who mainly used grain foods for cooking. They baked various kinds of bread such as ‘katyrma’, ‘patir’, ‘taba’, ‘tandyr’, ‘zhukpa nan’ and bauyrsak[230, 294, P.72]. To bake katyrma, dough was kneaded and rolled round. Then it was baked in kazan (cauldron). It was usually round and thin. Taba nan was thicker than katyrma and baked in special cast-iron pans, while tandyr nan was baked in special tandyr stove. Tandyr was the main stove of the people in summer kitchen. It was installed in the yard under the shed and had a narrowed mouth of cylinder form. Tandyr was hand-made by the handicraft method. Clay, water, sand, sheep or camel wool and skilful hands of a master were the simple secret of making the wonder-stove. First, the master should knead some clay mixing it with some dumps of a goat or horse and let it settle for three days. Only after that, clay stove forming started. Sun heat was very important as tandyr was dried out for a week in the sun without burning. Tandyr nan was baked by means of

the heat going from the hot stove walls and came out not roasted, stewed or boiled. It had no fat surplus and preserved all natural juices at the same time. Before using the stove people burned dry brushwood, small firewood or cotton stems. The firewood was added and the flame was kept until the inner side would be red-hot. Nowadays tandyr nan is still in great demand. As it was not traditional, Orta juz Kazakhs preferred taba nan to tandyr nan. Apart from them, kattama and zhukpa nan were largely baked for special occasions and family parties. Like dough for beshbarmak (Kazakh meat noodles), kattama dough was rolled round, re-kneaded and greased with oil on both sides, then baked in boiling fat [78, 138, P.274]. The method of baking zhukpa nan was similar to kattama's. But its dough was prepared of milk and water, and baked in cauldron without being oiled. Those types of bread had been widespread since the 50-60s of the XXth century. Kazakhs in Turkmenistan used to bake 'zagara nan' made of maize flour [XXVI].

One of the popular dishes of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan is naryn. It is pasta dish made with fresh hand-rolled noodles and horse meat. Naryn can be served as a cold pasta dish or as a hot noodle soup. Homemade pasta is rolled very thinly and cut into strips 1–2 mm in width and 50-70mm in length. It is also prepared like dough for beshbarmak, but it is greased to prevent its gluing together. The noodles are cooked in plain boiling water or often in a broth of horse meat. Horse meat is then shredded into the pasta and naryn is served on a lagan (12" plate) decorated with slices of horse meat sausage (kazy). Kazakhs in Turkmenistan cook local traditional dish 'dugrama' which is similar to naryn. Fresh mutton, onion and bread are the only ingredients

needed to make dograma. The first thing to be done is to bake chorek. Bread for dograma must be special. The paste is kneaded without yeast. Flat round bread for dograma differs from common bread baked for daily use. Mutton of average fat must be boiled thoroughly so that meat is easily separated from the bones. The rest of the process of preparing dograma is a collective creation of the whole family or sometimes, invited neighbors (if the big number of people is to be served). Bread is crumbled up into small pieces manually. Onion is sliced into small pieces and mixed with crumbled up bread. The ratio of ingredients may be different, but, as a rule, two thirds of the mixture is bread and one third is equal proportions of onion and meat. The deep bowl is half filled with mixture of bread, meat and onion. The hot mutton bouillon is poured into it [XXVII]. Like dograma, 'nan salma' was also one of the frequent cooked dishes of the Kazakhs. After being boiled the pasta would be covered with fried meat and onions. Kazakhs of Orta juz called it 'nan salma', while Uzbeks and Uly juz Kazakhs called 'shylpyldak'. It was named 'mai kulshe' by Zarafshan population. Besides, there were dishes such as samsa, orama and hanum which stuffed with ground meat and carrots, topped with a pepper sauce.

Kyzylkum Kazakhs used to cook 'kara bylamyk' (black mash). It was a mixture of flour and tail-fat. As I. Falk wrote: '... 'kuyrmash' is made of wheat and fat (it might be oat flour –

K.B.K.), the people rarely consume fish and animals[194, 270, P.132]. Wheat, millet and rice soups are of great significance in the life of Central Asian Kazakhs until now. They are good to slake thirst. Ground millet mixed with hot milk is called 'sut bortpe'. Millet mixed with homemade butter and pressed is called 'zhanshyma tary'. Oat flour is not popular today. However, one can find different kinds of oat flour and homemade butter, cottage cheese, shubat (camel's milk) and curds on dastarkhan of the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan.

Kazakhs in Uzbekistan had widely used solid soup called 'atala kozhe'. It was made of flour added to meat bullion or water. This type of dish was also cooked by Uzbek people. Atala was usually made of wheat or maize flour. Kazakh people ate it with airan (kefir), while the Uzbeks added some fried onions to it [230 333, P.10]. Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan had prepared mash using some meat products and millet. One more delicious food they had frequently used was 'tary sok'(mixture of millet, homemade butter and sugar).

Moreover, beans were also used in Kazakh cuisine. People prepared mash dishes such as 'mastava', 'mashava' and 'mash'. 'Mash kurish' is a thickened soup made of meat, mash and rice, and thinner soup made of the same ingredients including peas is called 'mashava', while mastava is prepared thinner and added some airan.

Since the 50-60s of the XXth century, plov had become a main dish cooked for special occasions. A.K.Ganes wrote about the fact that the Kazakhs had cooked plov without carrots early in the XIXth century[231,334, P. 99]. Plov prepared for big parties contained a good deal of mutton as well as meat of other cattle, because mutton was supposed to divide into pieces.

As I.Falk supposed, the main dish of Kazakh people was mutton. As a rule, mutton was used for everyday cooking, while kazy and zhaya(horse flesh) were served to honored guests. Large intestine of the horse was cut off, properly salted and kept. It was cooled and served separately from the main dish [194, 270, P.132].

In his work A.I.Shahnazarov mentioned that Kazakh people had practiced the tradition of sogym (slaughtering cattle for winter); sogym was divided between some families. Until the middle of the XXth century, Kazakh people slaughtered the cattle, salted its meat and smoked it over the stove or hang it up in the cool room of the house [232,335 326P]. One more tradition of the Kazakhs was parting the meat before serving to guests. They were arranged in the following order: thigh bone, shinbone, large shinbone and radial bone. The guests were also served to a sheep's head along with the pastern, shins and entrails. Similar procedure of serving the meat is also practiced among Uzbek people. Meat serving in Turkmenistan was described by our informant Khuan Tilektes: '... a son-in-law is served to breastbone, a girl is served to shinbone, tailbone or femoral bone, and a son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's mother is served to shoulder

blade bone or jawbone. Radial bone is served to old people; thigh bone and head is served to a son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's father'[XXYI]. Playing an important role in food culture of the Kazakhs, this tradition was also practiced and preserved among the Kazakhs in Kirgizstan and Turkmenistan. As they had few horses, they slaughtered camel, cow, and sheep, and prepared from their meat 'buzhy shuzhyk' (horse meat sausage). It was made of such ingredients as horse meat, salt and pepper which fed into a sausage casing and allowed to dry for several weeks. It could be more or less spicy; it was fairly salty and had a high fat content. In general, plov was a main dish for special occasions and family gatherings [XXYI].

All dishes prepared from dairy products were usually boiled. It was typical to all Kazakhs. In accordance with this, F.A.Fielstrup wrote in his work: 'The nomads of Asian steppes who engaged in animal husbandry differed from the Europeans in drinking only boiled milk [233,337, P.264]. The milk of cow, sheep and goat was mixed up and boiled. When it cooled down, it was added some airan to get katyk (thick soured milk). Homemade butter was taken from katyk. For this, katyk was shaken up in a special cask made of mulberry. It would be shaken up until the butter would come out on the top of it. There are two types of airan: one is made by adding some water and salt into katyk, the other is a butterless katyk. Kazakh people and Uzbeks had the same methods of making airan and the same names for them. As soon as airan is boiled up, it will be poured into a special sack and kept until it gets thickened. The remaining substance is called suzbe(cotton cheese). Curds are made of suzbe. One of the dairy foods of Kazakhs was irimshik. It was made of sour milk boiled in cauldron. In some parts of the region, particularly, in Kazakhstan and Altai, the people had two types of irimshik, white and reddish. White irimshik is a mixture of boiling milk and airan (boiling time is about 15-20 minutes); getting reddish irimshik needs the same ingredients taking more time to boil (4-5 hours). They were stored in a vessel made of sheep's belly [233,337, P.177].

Kymyz is one of the favorite drinks of the semi nomadic Kazakhs of Uzbekistan. To get kymyz, they poured saumal (horse's fresh milk) into torsyk (a leather vessel) adding some ferment. During the next 24 hours, they kept shaking it with a special stick until it got ready [234,338, P.125]. In the end of the XXth century, *naiman*, who resided in the villages of Kyzyl tu and Azadbash of Bostandyk district of Tashkent oblast as well as Kybrai and Angren districts, had used this drink. As A.Divayev wrote: 'At the end of the XIXth century, Kazakhs in Turkistan region mixed camel milk with cow milk and got a drink similar to kymyz' [235, 339, P.26]. Kymyran (horse's airan) was found in *aday* families who had moved from Turkmenistan to Zhyzak and Syrdarya oblasts. In general, today's Kazakh families do use milk, katyk, airan, curds and homemade butter from dairy products; however, it is typical in the villages that

engaged in cattle breeding. One more important drink of Central Asian Kazakhs was salkyn kozhe (a cold drink made of grains). It was prepared by boiling curds and flour or irimshik and flour. It was served cold. Being good to slake thirst, it was in a great demand, particularly, in Russian bazaars, as I.Falk said [194, 270, P.132].

In the XIXth century, Kazakh people had prepared ‘kospa’ adding butter and sugar to irimshik. It was normally considered as sweets served to tea. It was prepared like zhent (food which is made of ground millet and butter). According to the stories collected from the people, Kazakhs didn’t know a lot about zhent. As Geir I.I. described it, ‘Kazakhs of Turkistan region made sweets like fried cookies for which they used yellow irimshik, butter, sugar and raisins’ [18, 22, P.133].

Kazakhs in Turkmenistan used camel milk for drinking. Turkmen people called it ‘chal’ [207, 300, P.11]. Besides, a Turkmen dish ‘yumutrka’ made of eggs was prepared by both Khorezm Uzbeks and Kazakhs [XXVI]. R.Karuts wrote about the foods of the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan: ‘... being so brave and adaptable to any type of the environment, Kazakh people could influence the lifestyle of Turkmen people. It was Kazakhs who taught Turkmen people to prepare kymyz, because that kind of drink was not used either in south or east of the country. Even Turkmen mullahs didn’t drink kymyz. It is a kind of substantial food for Kazakhs in Mangyshlak, while Turkmen people consider it as a drink for slaking thirst.

Main products of the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan were also meat and milk. They used boiled meat products and soured milk products. In general, vast majority of their dishes were very similar to their neighbors’ cuisine (Uzbek and Azerbaijan). Apart from meat and milk, they had grain made foods. Bread was divided into daily, festive and traditional. The national traditional dish ‘sumalak kozhe’ that they prepared for Nauryz holiday had a resemblance to the Uzbeks’ [222, 301, P.10].

When their dairy cows gave birth, Kazakhs of Central Asia had a tradition of inviting old people for uyz kozhe (soup made of cow colostrum); they prayed to Allah and thanked him for giving them all; this tradition is still kept in many areas.

Generally, until the end of the XIXth century and 30s of the XXth century, despite the preservation of own traditional clothing, food, housing and settlements, the Kazakhs to some extent had been subject to local influence. For example, the house they had built just slightly differed from the houses of the local population. Moreover, location of the houses, construction of the yards, having gardens, furniture and niches and etc. were the result of the people’s cultural interaction.

4.4 Handicraft

Lifestyle, handicraft and ethno-cultural legacy of the people are closely connected with their economic and cultural characteristics. Whenever it was necessary and wherever they lived, Kazakh people were masters of fur production, felting production, knitting, bone carving and woodworking. L.N.Gumilyev wrote: 'Unique culture of Kazakh people has its roots in very early period. However, we know a little about their history. Their culture is not less developed than the settled people's culture, but some of the objects of their material culturesuch as felt, leather and wood are ill-preserved [236, 316, P.5]. All components of the yurt and home accessories were decorated with beautiful ornaments. Surprisingly, all of them were handmade, just a creation of Kazakh women. One of the handicraft masterpieces of Kazakhs in Uzbekistan was a colorful cover knitted of sandy thatch. The sandy thatch was trimmed with wool threads dyed to different colors and beautiful thin silk threads. Such covers were hung on the kerege of the yurts inside. Besides, from thick canes they also knitted shi (a special stand) for felting. In some regions, such stands are still in use for felting or covering summer aivans or yards. Sheep's wool played a great role in Kazakhs' everyday life. People used its meat first of all for cooking; they used their skin to make clothes and shoes; they knitted not only clothes from their wool also many other things such as felt, tekemet (koshma), syrmak (quilt koshma), carpet, abdire kap (a trunk), wood trunk for dishes, strip, mat, overcoat, cap, and valenki(felt boots) and others. Among them tekemet, mats, carpet, socks and lasso are still being used in some areas. They used tail wool to make lasso strong [237, 317, P.113]. There were different types of mats: 'bukhar alasha', 'terme alasha' and 'kakpa alasha'. In accordance with knitting method, they were called differently. Bukhar alasha was knitted using a huge number of colors and ornaments according to bukhari method. Kakpa alasha was knitted with cotton threads but without warp [230, 294, P.109]. Similar mats were called 'bukary' in Kirgizstan and 'gadjadi' in Uzbekistan [238, 318, P47]. In fact, zoomorphic and geometrical ornaments prevailed on them.

Kazakhs living next to the Turkmen population were involved in carpeting production. Carpeting was one of the widespread handicrafts of Turkmenistan Kazakhs, while Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan were producing felts, wall felts, alasha, baskur bau (a string for kerege), felt pillow (not used in other areas) and others. In general, both carpets and felt products of the Kazakhs were decorated with national traditional ornaments such as *koshkar muyiz*, *karga tyrnak*, *synar muyiz*, *kos muyiz*, *bota koz*, *kus kanat*, *koi tis* and etc.t For making carpet, tekemet and alasha Kazakh people used the wool of sheep which was cut off in autumn. Their tekemet and felt were known for their density and durability. In one of his works Federov wrote about the fact that annually Kazakh people had produced nearly 20 000 tekemets. Besides, they also

knitted scarfs, shawls and gloves from goat wool and ton from sheepskin. These goods were sold in Astrakhan[207, 300.]

As for material culture of Kirgizstan, it had quite different tribal structure including its own local features. To make felt, Kazakhs in Talas took raw wool straight off the sheep, dyed white-colored wool to different colors, assembled raw wool. They made felt by matting, condensing and pressing it together. Besides, they also had developed the practice of applying various fabrics and national ornaments on the felt (according to resident of Manas village, Kassenova Azharkul, born in 1928). National ornaments of Kirgiz were very similar to the ornaments of Central Asian countries and Kazakh ornaments. For instance, Kazakhs had also practiced designing ornaments such as crest, hornlike and wavy black and others [239, 320, P.81]. There were two methods of felting tekemet. In order to have a rich-colored tekemet, Kazakhs of Uly juz would apply dyed wisps of the fibre after undyed base felt got pressed, but Orta juz Kazakhs would apply dyed wisps of the fibre on the felt which didn't stick together yet. Today, felting tekemet is not as popular as it was in the past. And, making syrmak hasn't developed since the 50th of the XXth century. They were replaced by small wall carpets made of embroidered black velvet[240, 321, P.81]. Application is one of the widespread designing methods of Kazakhs of the region under research. Tekemet is popular among *naiman* of Angren and Kybrai districts. The end of the XIXth and beginning of the XXth centuries was a period of carpet making in some regions such as Shynaz, Altyn, Aktobe, Zhausogym, Ablyk, Akkorgan and Myrzashol. People of these regions had mainly made 1x2 and 3x4 area rugs. They were also applied with different shapes and colors. The ornaments applied in the middle of them were called differently.

Leather production in Kazakh handicraft was the main achievement of the people. First, the skin was removed from the animal and kept in salted milk for 5-6 days. After getting dried, it was muffed and kept in smoke to prevent its dampness. Then it was muffed again, trimmed inside and rubbed with chalk in order to get a special type of leather. Then chalk stone powder was poured on it and continually blended together. It takes 7-10 days to be kept in this condition. Then it was washed up in the trench. After it was placed in a special container, mixed up with thickened barley flour and kept for another 24 hours. Then it was hewed, put into hot water and brewed with wild plant taryp. The blending process of it would last for other 4-6 days and rubbed with salt again. At the final stage, it was greased with tail fat[241, 329,P.79]. When all procedures were over, the skin was used for making ton, ishik, shoes and other clothes.

5 CHARACTERISTICS OF FAMILY TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS

In general, patriarchal relations were prevailing in the families of Central Asia and Kazakhstan peoples. In Central Asia, until the mid of the XXth century, there was a big patriarchal family consisting of several other families which had relative ties with each other. Moreover, until the 50-60s of the XXth century, one could see rather big families, so-called extended families that consisted of 20-30 people including parents, their married and unmarried children and their grandchildren. Economic problems of such big Uzbek families who shared the same yard were usually regulated by the parents, despite the fact that those families lived separately. Similar Kazakh families were also met in the regions where they lived in neighborhood with Uzbek and Turkmen peoples. During the ethnographic research, it became apparent that such Kazakh families were mostly located in the communities of Tashkent oblast such as Kybrai, Troitsk, Boke, Parkent and Zhana bazaar[XVIII]. All problems related to the family economics are reviewed and settled by the biggest family members. In Central Asia, it was typical for 2-3 and more families to live in the same yard; however, in case there were no dividing fences between their houses, they felt it shameful to have separate household expenses. They shared their benefits and costs, and it was administered only by senior members of the family[242, 347, P.405]. In general, parental authority played a great role in vast majority of Muslim families in Central Asia. Such extended families were also found in Kirgiz society. A.S.Kochkunov mentioned that in Kirgizstan nuclear families had consisted of 5-6 people, while extended family members reached 30-40 people [243, 350, P.13].

As for Turkmen people, there were big families (Turkmen people call them yrysgy bir) as well as separate small families in the country. Big families mainly had engaged in cattle raising, constructing houses and organizing different family gatherings. Due to some economic and social needs, they had existed until recent times. The increase of nuclear families was connected with the 1925-1927 land reforms which provided the families with definite shares of land. That land reform contributed to the increase of nuclear families[XXVIII].

K.Argynbayev wrote that since the beginning of the XXth century, Kazakh families had belonged to a nuclear type of a family which consisted of parents and their unmarried children [244, 71, P.25]. Generally, according to the research of many scholars, the growth of nuclear families in Central Asia started in the end of the XIXth century. It was explained by a more grounded reason: greater expansion of livestock caused the family members some difficulties in raising them. So, with the approval of senior members of the family, several small families were set up and began to run their nuclear-based households. In some densely populated areas of Central Asian countries, it was customary for Kazakh families that one of the married children would stay with the parents. He should live with his parents until his younger brother married. Otherwise he was publicly criticized and accused of his behavior. The power of the head of family, who provided actual support and maintenance, was unlimited in all types of the family. However, after he passed away, all responsibilities would be handed to his eldest son. In fact, parents' house was called *kara shanyrak* or *ulken ui* (a place from which the descent group came) and considered sacred and blessed for all its descendants. A father or the eldest son to some extent could have an influence on other family members who already had lived separately, even sometimes could lobby them. Though they didn't live together and had separate households, their parents' house was like a council. All problems were solved there together; they asked for advice; they supported each other; they obeyed the elder siblings and respected each other's opinions. Among the people it was strongly believed that respect for *kara shanyrak* was as equal as respect for ancestral spirit. In the course of the research, we've noticed that most of the married children, who have separate households, prefer to live not far from their parents.

5.1 Similarities and differences in marriage/wedding traditions and family relations

Development stages of the traditions and customs of the Kazakh people related to marriage and weddings were thoroughly described in the research works conducted before and after the Soviet government: N.I.Grodekov [245, 351], A.Divayev[246, 352], N.A. Kislyakov[247, 353], Kh.A.Argynbayev[244, 354], M.Bikzhanova and others [248, 355]. According to the results of the researches, though the customs and traditions of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the beginning of the XIX-XXth differed from each other in some points, the gist was the same. It was inevitable as those peoples had been living in a neighborhood sharing common origins, history and language. Such similarities in historical development and geographical position had shaped some common cultural elements. However, along with similarities there were enough characteristics which provided the differences between these peoples.

In early times, marriages were held by the direct influence of the parents. Young people got married by the decision of their parents. Their parents' choice and agreement were more

important than anything. No one did count young people's feelings and opinion. Surprisingly, engagement issues between the families could be settled either before or not long after the birth of a child. Accordingly, so-called 'bel khuda' and 'besik khuda' engagements were so popular among the Kazakhs of Central Asia. In fact, such engagements were held between the families which tried to keep ties with a definite circle of people. They might be remote relatives, old friends, acquaintances or neighbors. *Bel khuda* engagement process took place between the families of expectant parents who had mutual interests and had a desire for further close relations with each other. *Besik kuda* engagement was held after the birth of children between the families who had the same intentions. N.A.Kislyakov wrote that such types of engagements had been realized by Uzbek, Kirgiz and Turkmen population, too[247, 353, P.87]. Besides, O.S.Artykbayev wrote an article where he compared traditional marriages of Kazakh and Uzbek peoples. It said: 'Like Uzbek people, Kazakhs who lived around Tashkent had developed the tradition of *bel kuda* and *besik kuda*. As they assumed, it was not necessary to pay a bride-money. However, if a groom kidnapped his belkuda-engaged bride until the wedding day, he had to pay more bride-money'[249, 315, 334].

According to the materials collected from the local population of the region under research, in earlier times, among the Kazakhs in Kirgizstan if *bel kuda* engagement took place, they didn't have to pay any bride-money[XXIX]. Kazakhs in Uzbekistan called *bel kuda* as '*karyn kuda*' or '*kursak kuda*'[XXX], while those in Turkmenistan and Karakalpakstan called it '*akhtai kuda*', i.e. an engagement held before their children's birth [XXXI]. However, nowadays this type of engagement is rarely arranged. Young people despite their engagement in a cradle (being an infant), when they grew up, they might fall in love another person and get married him/her. Thus, many parents may talk about the engagement of their children when they are still young, but, they'll not complain to each other in case their plans fail. One more interesting fact provided by the informants is the following: in order to verify their *besik kuda* engagement, Kazakhs in Kara-kalpakstan used to get their babies and let them bite each other's ear[XXXII]. It was believed to connect their life in future. Despite exogamy marriage is typical to the Kazakhs of Central Asian republics, marriages between people, who have relative ties with each other such as cousins or nephews, have been taking place for the last 10-20 years. In accordance with this, referring to the materials collected from the local people, O.S.Artykbayev wrote: 'Exogamy marriages were held in Tashkent. However, by the end of the XXth century, marriages of close relatives such as 'bole' (children of female siblings), *nagashy* (a mother's relative) and *zhien* (a child of your sister) became frequent. Certainly, it was the result of strong influence of Uzbek people[249, 315, P.125]. As we see, marriages between close relatives were not prohibited in

Uzbek families. However, one of the unique Kazakh traditions related to marriages, which is still very actual, the marriage between relatives up to the seventh generation is prohibited. Such taboo helps to prevent blood mixing and consequently, benefit to the health of future offspring.

Traditionally, sequence of the ceremonies and rituals related to marriages of Kazakhs in Central Asia is described in the following way: any wedding ceremony in the Kazakh society is anticipated by kudalyk (matchmaking). Before the wedding, *zhaushy* (matchmakers) comes to a bride's house. Their task is to agree with the closest relatives of a bride on her marriage. As this task is of great significance, it is delegated to a person who is rather communicative and smart. During courtship, a father of the bride receives gifts that serve as a deposit. Nowadays the term *zhaushy* is rarely used. In his research into Atyrau and Mangystau Kazakhs, U. Kydyralin noted: 'We haven't heard that the word *zhaushy* is used to name a matchmaker, particularly, in the regions of Mangystau and Atyrau. Rather, we call him *khabarshy* i.e. someone who would inform the bride's parents about the intentions of the groom's parents' [250, 358, 159]. However, Kazakhs in Kirgizstan also used the word *zhaushy*, while indigenious Kirgiz people called it 'zhuuchy'. It consisted of the groom's parents, his brother and other 1-2 respected relatives [251, 359, 201].

Marrying their children, Kazakhs in Turkmenistan paid a special attention to the social welfare and number of the relatives of the bride (people who they were going to set close ties). The settlement of marriage and engagement issues mainly depended on the decision of the parents. There were usually 3-4 people who took part in matchmaking process. Sometimes they had to come to the bride's house more than 2 and 3 times [XXXIII]. However, according to the materials obtained by the informants, since the second half of the XXth century young men seemed to have got some freedom in marriage. But, in case he was not sympathized by the bride's parents and relatives because of his bad manners or behavior, the marriage was hardly held [XXXIV]. As soon as the kudalyk was over, the bride was trained to housekeeping. The next stage of matchmaking ceremony was *kyz uzatu* (sendoff of the bride). It may take place in 6-12 months after the kudalyk. In the evening before the *kyz uzatu*, matchmakers would come to the bride's house again. Number of visitors should not be even (5-7). Early in the morning, the bride with matchmakers would be sent to the groom's house.

Much earlier, Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan had married according to national traditions and customs, but since 70-80s of the XXth century bride kidnapping became popular. They also had *bel kuda* and *besik kuda* engagements. Kazakhs in Central Asia prohibited the marriage between relatives up to 7-12 generations (exogamy marriage) [252, 360, 23]. However, in 60-70s of the XXth century, like in Uzbekistan, under the influence of local Karakalpak people,

endogamy marriage got expanded. It was normal for the children of female siblings and cousins to get married.

As the time has passed, traditions also have changed. For example, among the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan, if a bride's father agrees with the terms of the zhaushy, he divides a piece of bread into four parts to express his good intention. It was called *nan uzuornan syndyru* which approved the kudalyk. As bread was considered a very sacred food, it was believed impossible to break an oath to the loaf.

Recently it has become fashionable to go to a bride's house with an aim to make some pre-wedding arrangements and give presents to the bride. It can be a gold ring or earrings. This tradition is mainly realized by a group of female relatives of the groom. Though its mission is the same, but is called differently. For instance, it is called 'monshak tagar' or 'syrga salar' by Kazakhs in Uzbekistan, while Kazakhs in Kirgizstan call it 'khargy bau' or 'uki tagar'. In some other parts of Kazakhstan, it is also called 'uki tagar' or 'syrga salar'. Kirgiz people call it 'tobek shygyu' (torge shygy), a day when aksakals of the kinship assemble and make decisions related to the wedding[251, 359, 170]. During such assembly they witness nan syndary tradition and give their blessings to the young people. The two sides exchange gifts. Besides, they take the most important decisions related to the marriage. First of all, they determine the amount of bride-money and expenses of a bride's dowry; they set a date for the wedding and kyz uzatu and other problems of the ceremony. These traditions are still being kept in Kazakh families of Central Asia with some modernized elements. For example, instead of sending zhaushy, the groom's parents may arrange a meeting with the bride's parents and settle all questions connecting the marriage. Due to some current economic difficulties in the country, the number of the people in kudalyk has decreased. It consisted of about 9-11 people in Uzbekistan, while it might include 15-25 people in some parts of Kirgizstan, Karakalpakstan and Turkmenistan. In general, the number of people in kudalyk should be odd (from 3 to 11). But some archives show that in ancient times that number of them was about 20-30 people[252, 366, 7].

According to the words of another informant, the kudalyk was composed of only 10-15 men in Turkmenistan and called 'kuda toi' (a party of groom-bride's parents and relatives). During this visit, some gift-giving traditions take place. A groom's parents give 'sut akhy' (a gift given to a bride's mother to express gratitude for raising her) to a bride's mother including a carpet-covered camel and camel foal and a cow and calf as 'bride-money'[XXX]. A bit earlier, all the guests who accompanied the bride's parents were given valuable gifts, but today they have to be contented with whatever they get, except the bride's parents. Moreover, there are other gifts such as earrings for a bride and 'ilu' and 'sut akhy' which demonstrate their respect for the ancestors who already passed away. While the groom's parents are leaving the bride's house, they are also

given korzhy (a small bag) which contains some kinds of gifts such as meat, rings, fabrics, bracelet, kerchief and etc. These gifts are supposed to be distributed to a groom's relatives, neighbors and friends[XXXVI].

There are a number of interesting beliefs and traditions related to the arrival of kuda (parents and relatives of the bride/groom). Before the kuda arrives, the groom's relatives make a hole at the entrance and cover it with a rug. Treading on it one of their guests falls down, and at this moment a hostess runs up to him and applies flour over his face. This tradition is called 'un zhagu' (applying flour). It is widely practiced in the southern parts of Kazakhstan and Kazakh-populated regions of Uzbekistan. Un zhagu associates the bright future of the newlyweds as well as their parents. Trapping new guests at the entrance is arranged for fun. Apart from them, there are many other interesting moments which are directly connected with money. During the kudalyk, before sheep slaughtering, the guests are expected to pay some amount of money and a shirt. Besides, when the guests sit to dine, some parts of their clothes is sewn to korpeshe (a traditional form of Central Asian textile, which serves a dual function of mattress and blanket in the tents of nomads). The guests have to pay for being unstitched. As for a bride's sister-in-laws, they also take an active part in realizing some rituals such as 'entikpe', 'zhyrtys', 'koltyk suyer', 'tundik ashar', 'aksakal shapan', 'sandyk salar', 'padnos salu' and others [LXIII]. This list will go on and on. Moreover, they demonstrate different types of dish and clothes specially made for the groom, and somehow demanding money for this service. Though some old traditions such as 'it yryldar' and 'kempir oldi' are forgotten by Orta juz Kazakhs of Kirgizstan, they are still practiced by Uly juz Kazakhs. Even if all ceremonies are over, the hosts are still able to harness every moment of the event. For example, they invite the guests to yurts to see how a bucket full of meat come down from shanirak and ask money for it.

When the guests are leaving, they are also given some kind of gifts, sweets, foods and etc. It is called 'kuda kalta'. Apart from it, some domesticated animals such as sheep, horse, cow or camel will also be given. They are usually expected to be used for the wedding party.

One of the signs of successful kudalyk is serving new guests to 'kuiryk-bauyr'. Preparation of 'kuiryk-bauyr' - a delicious dish from the liver and broad tail fat - also testifies to the successful completion of courtship. This tradition is still actual and of a great importance in Kazakh society. Nowadays, only there is a slight change with its ingredients: a sliced liver is served with airan. Two sides want their relations to be close, soft and warm[XXXVII]. Kuiryk-bauyr is served to the relatives of both sides[252360]. This tradition is like the procedure of ratification; it approves all decisions taken during kudalyk ceremony. Like the local population, Kazakhs in Kirgizstan do call this tradition 'konek salar' [XXXVIII]. According to the words of

the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan and Karakalpakstan, earlier, kudalyk was approved by drinking arteries of the sheep (today's 'bayuzdau kuda' practiced in some parts of Kazakhstan might have come out of this). A. Bikzhanova did also mention in her research that this very tradition had been practiced until Islam arrived[248, 355, P.16]. If any side broke promise after all procedures including kuiryk-bauyr had been passed, that side had to pay a three togyz (27 pieces of fabrics) fine. If it happened for the groom's fault, he had to compensate the bride's relatives for all expenses. If the bride made up her mind after the kudalyk, her parents had to pay a 27 cattle fine and return the bride-money back to the groom's parents[253, 356, P.57].

Usually bride-money payment was realized in cattle as cattle were a primary symbol of wealth in Kazakh society. However, people living in the regions adjacent to cities (Tashkent, Turkistan etc.), where trade and commerce were developed, could exchange their cattle for money and pay the bride-price in the form of money. Later the practice of paying bride-price included both cattle and some amount of money[254, 367, 2 п.]. A.Divayev wrote about it: 'The highest bride-price of Kazakhs in Syrdarya reached 8 mares with foals, 13 horses and 9 camels'[255, 368, P.15]. In fact, the amount of the bride-price depended on the social status of the families. For example, as it was written in A.Levshin's work: 'Poor people were able to give only 5-6 sheep, while rich people could pay much higher price for the bride. It fluctuated between 200 horses and 500-1000 sheep including other valuable properties, even sometimes they afforded to pay for the bride's servants. The price for a bride would get higher if she was the third or fourth wife'[25, 30, P.98]. I.I.Ibragimov, who researched family customs and traditions of Kazakhs in the XIXth century a lot, stated: '... rich people paid 57 or 47 cattle for bride-money, while poor people paid 17 cattle'[256, 369, P.128]. As L.F.Kostenko, who wrote a lot about Turkistan region, mentioned: 'The cost of the bride-money that Kazakhs paid depended on the social condition of the groom. In general, it was about 120, 60 and 40 sheep. For example, the bride-money of rich people may include 9 camels, even 1-2 slaves, while poor people could give 1-2 camels, a horse or a cow, sometimes sheep and a goat. Usually it was delegated to a reliable person to deliver the bride-money. He was given 80 or 60 sheep instead of 120, or 27 instead of 40 sheep[13, 17, 350]. The reason of it was very simple and grounded. He was believed to get offspring of these animals. From the collected materials we've learned that Beruni Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan have been also practicing this tradition, and they give nothing more than they've agreed[XXXIX]. The method of calculating the animals with their possible offspring is also practiced in other regions, too. For example, it happened with Turkmen people who did also reduce either the amount of money or the number of animals[45, 60, 88]. The cost of the bride-money among poor population was about 12-17 sheep. However, they mainly preferred to give money instead of

domesticated animals. Due to some economic changes and social welfare of the people, the size and the form of the bride-price had also changed. For example, in 90s of the XXth century, rich Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan were able to give 400 000-500 000 Uzbek sum, while poor people afforded to pay 200 000-300 000 Uzbek sum. Bride-price was called ‘at’ (a horse’s price) there [XL]. But the cost of the bride-price had reached 2-3 cattle or 1 000 000-1,5 000 000 Uzbek sum in the end of the XXth century. [249, 315, P.127]. As we see, due to the social welfare of Kazakh people of Central Asia, the bride-money varied in size. In earlier times, after the half of the bride-price was paid, the groom used to visit the bride’s house as often as possible to deliver the rest part of it.

The local people had a great influence on the Kazakhs’ everyday life. Since the 60th of the XXth century, like their Uzbek comrades, Kazakhs in Uzbekistan have developed the tradition ‘Tashkentke tusiru’. They arrive in Tashkent, a capital city, with a bride and buy all necessary clothes for her. Moreover, they buy clothes for her sisters and sister-in-laws who are accompanying her[LX]. However, Orta juz Kazakhs are unaware of this tradition.

If the bride died before the wedding took place, her younger sister or niece or cousin had to replace her. In this case the groom’s parents should add 1-2 camels to the bride-price. It was called ‘baldyz price’. If the bride’s sister was underage, her father would invite the groom giving him some gifts and ask him to wait until she reached adulthood. If the groom was not able to wait for her adulthood, half of the bride-money would be returned back and the rest would remain in the bride’s home. In case the bride had no sisters or she died before the wedding took place, all bride-money should be returned back[XLI]. If something tragic happened with the groom, with the approval of his relatives the bride was to marry one of his brothers. In this case nothing would be added to the bride-price. However, if there wasn’t any candidate in the groom’s family to marry her, the bride-money would be returned back except one mate with a foal[XLI].

The size and components of the bride-price have undergone considerable changes since the 30-40s of the XXth century. There was one more gift added to it, and it was called ‘nemere at’. It was given either to the bride’s father or grandfather. It was known as ‘aga aty’ (a brother’s horse) in Uzbekistan and South Kazakhstan. It was a gift given in the form of a horse or money (cost of a horse). If a man, who was divorced or whose wife had died, was going to marry a young girl, except the bride-price he was to pay some more extra money. If a young divorced woman was getting married, only half of the bride-money was paid and betashar toi (a traditional performance of a song of instructions and wishes to a bride) was not held.

Whenever the bride-price was given and whatever was given, it should cover the expenses of the bride's dowry. Generally, the bride-money was expected to be spent on the basic needs of the newlyweds. However, today's bride-money can't cover all expenses of the bride's dowry. That's why most Kazakhs in Uzbekistan make some mutual agreements with each other before the wedding. These agreements are based on the principle of 'almas'(not to take) and 'bermes' (not to give). The bride's side has decided to exclude everything from the bride's dowry except some blankets. Two sides prefer to wish a long happy life to their children and decide to develop their close relations without any gift-giving traditions.

In a bit earlier times, the bride wouldn't arrive at her husband's house until his parents paid all bride-money. If they couldn't give it on time, the groom had to go to the bride's house and work for 1-2 years for compensation. This kind of tradition was practiced by Uzbeks, too[XLII].

Apart from the bride-money, one of the gifts, which were given during the kyz uzatu, was called 'ilu'. Ilu is dedicated to the ancestors who had passed away (a kind of respect for ancestral spirit). It was believed that their ancestors would bless the newlyweds. Earlier, ilu consisted of 1-7 camels or 5-6 sheep, but now it can contain 5-6 pieces of different fabrics or some overcoats. Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan give a carpet or sheep[XLIII]. 'Ily' is given by both sides when they visit each other's house for the first time. It will be distributed to their relatives. According to the words of Togyzbayeva Zhanat from Turkmenistan, during one of the kudalyk in 1998, the bride-money was about 20 million manat (money) and all of her relatives were given carpets for ilu.

K.Argynbayev described ilu and sut akhy: '...it goes without saying that sut akhy and ilu are special gifts to the bride's house and mother'[257, 371, P.249].

L.F.Ballyuzak also wrote that the cost of sut aky of the Kazakhs was 1-7 camels [258, 372, 79]. Kazakhs in Uzbekistan considered sut akhy as a gift given to express a gratitude to a mother for the bride's education and upbringing. Besides, there was 'ata kushi' which was given to the bride's father. But it was not as big as sut akhy. In this region, sut akhy and ilu were regarded as compulsory gifts and given only to a bride's relatives. The cost of today's sut akhy is a cow with a foal, the cost of ilu is a carpet or sheep, and 'olitiri' costs sheep. Sut akhy was also widely practiced by Osh Kazakhs in Kirgizstan[XLIV]. Moreover, there is one more gift-giving tradition called 'el kade' (in some areas it is called 'koptin kadesi'). This type of gift is distributed to the older people of the community. It usually contains shapan or tyubetyka in Uzbekistan.

One of the old customs of Central Asian Kazakhs was 'toi maly', animals which were slaughtered for the kyz uzatu party. Prominent scholar K.Argynbayev said that the number of toi maly had reached 20-70 horses[257, 371, 242]. But nowadays it is about one or two cows. Apart

from the *toi maly*, Kazakhs in Uzbekistan gave to a bride's family 30-40 liters of cooking oil and 50 kg rice for *plov* (a traditional dish prepared for wedding party) and 100 kg cotton for making handmade blankets, while Kirgizstan Kazakhs gave sheep, alcohol drinks and sweets. Only Kirgizstan's and Russia's Kazakhs used alcohol drinks. Turkmenistan Kazakhs didn't know anything about *toi maly*.

In the 60s and 80s of the XXth century, bride kidnapping was very popular in the regions under the research. A number of abovementioned customs and traditions caused real difficulties to some lower strata of the society. In order to reduce them, bride kidnapping (with the consent of a bride) began to be widely practiced. As soon as the bride's relatives were informed of her being kidnapped, 7-8 of them came to the groom's house to find out whether the marriage wasn't against her will. If all went smoothly, a range of customs related to marriage would take place. If the bride had no complaints on her marriage (bride kidnapping was arranged beforehand), it would be easy for both sides. Then as a rule, a group of the groom's relatives would go to the bride's house with gifts to apologize for the 'misbehavior' of their son. In some areas, they are called 'khabarshy' (one who informs of news), in Kirgizstan they are called 'ashu basar' (to calm down). As soon as the bride's parents were informed of the fact that it was their daughter's decision, they would feel relieved. The procedure of necessary customs and traditions were mutually discussed. Sometimes the two sides may decide to practice 'almas' and 'bermes', which ends up only with giving some blankets to the bride [LXXIV]. When they come to a wedding party, they may bring some clothes and *tosek-oryn* (a set of blankets) [XLV].

Some main elements of Kazakh customs and traditions are practiced during the wedding party of such married people. However, according to the social status of the families, the number of them has considerably reduced.

One of the characteristics of the customs and traditions related to marriage of the Kazakhs in Kirgizstan was 'kuyeu tabak' (a groom's bowl) of a groom for a bride's sister-in-law. He put 30-100 m very expensive fabric into it. Until the 70s of the XXth century, the fabric was tied up around her (sister-in-law's) waist and other women (also sisters-in-law) would untie it and pass around. Moreover, coming to the bride's house, he (a groom) would put a piece of soap, perfume, kerchief or some other jewellery into his pocket for younger sisters of the bride [XLVI]. These traditions are still being practiced in all Kazakh-populated regions. Karakalpak people and Kazakhs call it 'kol karau' (searching). Besides, the groom's gift will include 2-3 *togyz*, coats and some fabrics. The groom's sisters-in-law do also take gifts from the bride's relatives. In some areas, the groom's shoes are hidden by the bride's younger sisters and asked money for return [XLVII].

Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan and Turkmenistan try to hold kyz uzatu party on Wednesdays or Thursdays. On the groom's side, the groom himself, his friend, his sister-in-law and one more respected person (a groom's brother or uncle) go to the party. This time the main gift they will give is a coat or a carpet. The groom does not arrive at the bride's house with those who are accompanying him except his friend. He stays with his friend not far from the bride's house. His relatives inform the people of the groom's arrival. A group of young women and girls rush towards him. They meet him with shashu (throwing some sweets onto his face). As a rule, they search for his pocket and get what they find there. Before he steps in his in-law's house, three times he puts his hands on the threshold and three times on his head. To drive away evil spirits, they get flames of fire and turn around his head. This ritual is associated with pre-Islam beliefs, and practiced by a number of Central Asian peoples. Karakalpak people call it 'ot atlau'. As soon as the groom comes in, he hangs on his ilu. Entering each room, he fulfils some rituals such as 'esik kagar' and 'korpeshe salar', and he passes around his gifts to the bride's sisters-in-law. In the community Shomanai 'korpeshe salar' is performed by his bride's brother-in-law[XLYIII]. The tradition 'esik ashar' (a groom's first visit to the bride's house) is held 1-2 weeks before the kyz uzatu. During this visit, he also performs some rituals. It is also like a small party. It gives one more opportunity to the bride's sisters-in-law to make some money. They carry out some more traditions such as kyz korseter (to show a bride), kol ustatar (a groom takes a bride's hands), kuyeu tabak, it yryldar and etc. Such kinds of traditions had been practiced until the 70s of the XXth century[247, 353, 107].

In Kirgizstan, the bride wears saukele and sits among her relatives in the yurt. It is called 'takhya saidy'. Being outside the yurt, the groom should take a longer stick and tie a kerchief to it. With this stick he should move the bride's saukele. Her sisters-in-law will get the kerchief. The future of their marriage is assumed by how he has moved the saukele[258, 373, 50].

According to the stories of the population of the region under research, their ancestors had practiced the tradition of uryu baru. The first official visit of a groom to a bride's house was called 'uryu baru', accordingly, the bride's relatives called it 'uryu kelu', and the party organized in honor of it was called 'uryu toi'. Uryu toi was not so popular among Kazakh people. Kazakhs living in Bukhara and Nawai districts of Uzbekistan had 'kalyndyk oinay' which is similar to the previous tradition. In accordance with it, the groom and bride could see each other until the bride-price was completely paid off[XLIX]. Uryu kelu was usually arranged after the kudalyk and a half part of the bride-price was given. The aim of uryu kelu was to get more information about the bride. As a rule, after the engagement, the bride's parents wouldn't allow her out. That's why uryu kelu took place at the evening parties when the bride could go with her friends.

In general, this very tradition was practiced in all Central Asian countries. Uzbek people called it 'hallih zhuru', Kirgiz people called it 'kyuilee boruu', and kara-kalpak called it 'kuielep zhuru'[149, 315, 127]. During his visit, the groom was received at the bride's neighbors or relatives. While stepping in, both the bride and groom put oil onto fire. It was one of the signs that the ancestors of these people had been fire worshippers. It was widely practiced by Kazakh as well as Uzbek people[259, 374, 107]. The bride's sisters-in-law met the groom and got some gifts (perfume, soap, hanger chief, fabrics, and sweets)for their service; it was called 'entikpe'. There were many other interesting moments which were beneficial for the sisters-in-law of the bride. One of them was the following: they took a boy with them to meet the groom and asked him to give them 'shaptyrma' gift. Otherwise the groom was threatened to be peed by the boy[L].

Nowadays, the gifts delivered by the groom are called 'kuyeu korzhyn'. It contains korimdik (a gift) for the bride's sister, a dress for her sister-in-law, kyz kashar, 20-30 m fabrics and 5 meter white cotton fabric. Kyz kashar is given in the form of one sheep. It is given to one of the relatives of the bride who is hosting kyz uzatu party. As for 5 meter white fabrics, its one end is tied to something and stretched along the dining table. After the reading of some verses of Quran, it is cut into pieces and passed around. The silk fabrics are also quartered and distributed. When the groom comes after the bride, he performs 'kuyeu kirgizer' (entering the house). He hides the gift (which guarantees his pass) outside. Young girls and women search and find it and let him in a neighbor's house. This tradition is also popular among the Kirgiz people. They call it 'uydjany'[258, 373, 50].

In the regions of Orta Shyrshyq, the bride was sent off early [LI]. Though uryu baru was primarily aimed to have close relations with a bride, they were strictly forbidden to have intimate relations before they got married[259, 376, 42]. Very many research works conducted in the end of the XVIIIth century and in the first half of the XIXth century were dedicated directly to this problem[260, 377, 197]. In relation with this, parents of the groom and bride married them during the kyz uzatu party. This was also practiced by Uzbek people. Even the groom used to stay at the bride's house for three days and livewith her without being met by anyone. But his tradition is not in use now[13, 17, P.357].

Many guests including all the relatives of the bride and neighbors are invited to kyz uzatu. Each of them makes own contribution to the bride's dowry. They give her different clothes or something important for household needs. In earlier times, in order to invite guests to kyz uzatu as well as to give a chance to a bride to say 'good bye' to her relatives, Kazakh people used to send the bride with her friends to travel around the community. This tradition was greatly

practiced by Turkmen people. The bride used to ride a horse and set out to invite the guests [207, 300, P.15]. As for the Kazakhs in Kirgizstan, they used to send the bride to such a 'trip' with her two sisters-in-law. Her relatives would gladly receive her and give their gifts. Similar traditions are still being practiced by the Kazakhs in Kara-kalpakstan and Turkmenistan. Before the bride's sendoff, her parents allow her to make a sightseeing tour of the country. In order to raise her spirit, the whole trip will be videoed and ended with entertaining programs [LII].

Kazakh people were famous for recitals dedicated to various types of national holidays and special occasions. For example, 'zhar-zhar' (a special song performed at the wedding party) and 'synsymba'/'synsu'(a song performed during kyz uzatu) are still performed by Kazakh people. One of the oldest 'synsymba', which was recorded in 1998 by 71 year-old Kyszhan Dosankyzy from Gazli city of Bukhara oblast, is as follows[LIII]

The water of the river would get polluted

If you made the cattle pass over it.

I'm forced to marry someone man with money,

As my father has been obsessed with it.

Could my bridemoney make him rich?

Would we have ever a concensus to reach?

I was so happy at home, mom,

Having time with some fun.

It's time to say 'good bye',

In the hope of coming soon.

My dear sister, my shining sun

We had time, we had fun.

I love you so much, my dear

I'd be willing to see you come.

Apart from the bride, synsymba was also recited by the bride's sisters and sisters-in-law who got some gifts for it. Also synsymba was performed by the bride and her mother[LIV].

The bride:

Girls have less power than the boys

Moreover, they make much more noise.

If I had been a son born to you,

You would have let me as I please.

The bride's mother:

We're sending the daughter to the people,
Exchanging her happiness for more cattle.
When I think about her life and future
Feel unable of holding the kettle.

(It was written by Zhylybayeva Patima in 1993)

It is worth mentioning that this oldest type of Kazakh tradition was much more practiced by the Kazakhs who lived in Bukhara and Nauai rather than the Kazakhs living in northeast of Uzbekistan. The Kazakhs in Bukhara and Nauai regions were able to retain their traditions and cultural values thanks to their homogeneous settlement. However, it was quite different in sparsely Kazakh-populated areas. The Kazakhs had been greatly influenced by the local population there.

Synsu is still performed by Kazakh people in Karakalpakstan[LV]. For example:

You were a little girl having fun
Playing with other kids under sun.
How pity when you have to marry someone
Smiling and serving meals to everyone.

Young men made her much nervous:

You are like a small button,
But you are thinner than the needle.

You are too young and silly,

How will you marry, pardon?

Such kind of synsu is usually devoted to the girls who are getting married against their will. Synsyma and zhar-zhar were rarely practiced among the Kazakhs of Kirgizstan. Usually these recitals were recorded by old people and performed by young people just for fun. In relation with this, we'd like to present some types of synsu and zhar-zhar that have been recorded by 92 year-old Maken Abisheva from Bishkek [LVI].

Synsyma:

How it is hard to leave you

My sweet home, my dear friends...

I'm more depressed today

Thinking of a forthcoming day.

My dear sister, little star,

I'll be with you

Wherever you are![LVII].

However, young people are not aware of such traditional recitals.

As soon as the bride and groom reached eighteen years old, the groom with his friends visited the bride's house with his special gifts. He would be met with shashu (throwing sweets onto him) of the most affectionate woman of the village. When he came to take the bride with him, he would be accompanied by two senior people and his friend. But in Karakalpakstan, seven or more people were supposed to accompany him (odd number is compulsory). He was also received by the bride's sisters-in-law and friends. He was expected to pass around some gifts to them, so his pocket was filled with coins, combs, mirrors and etc. He was served to 'tos' (breastbone of sheep) by the bride's sister-in-law. It was called 'tos tartar'. Again he was 'to pay' something for such service. The relatives of the bride on her mother's side would host a party for his arrival, too. The party was called 'kyz kashar'. Moreover, it would be a good chance for newlyweds to talk to each other. The hostess would give some presents to the bride. By the end of the party she would arrange some more wedding traditions. One of them was 'toi bastar'. *Toi bastar* is singing songs for the newlyweds. It was sung by a male representative of each clan. They would be awarded to some gifts for a beautiful song. Next morning after kyz kashar, the people would gather for 'kyz konakasy'(a special dinner). The groom would attend it and get the blessings of bride's father or grandfather. Then the bride would leave the house. She would be sent off by 10-15 young women. The sendoff ended with 'kyz korisu' (to hug the bride saying 'good bye'[LXIV]).

The bride:

I felt myself as a sweet girl

But now make my hair curl.

Cause I have to say good bye,

Leaving my home with a heartbelt sigh.

Saying these words, she would leave her parents' home.

Getting up early in the morning,

Going to bed very late

Will be my routine very soon.

However, it will be less hard

Than feeling not at home.

To her sister-in-law:

I wore a dress of white colour,

Played with kids without fear.

Good bye my dear sister-in-law,

Being blessed by Allah!

The bride's mother:

I wish you long life,

Happy and full of joy!

- the bride will leave her house with her friends.

The bride would unreservedly wear traditional clothes, red kerchief and red velvet beshpet (a long jacket). Her face would be covered for the groom's relatives not to see. While she was stepping out of her house, she was advised not to look back.

Her mother would accompany her and also bring some gifts for the groom's relatives, including ilu devoted to his deceased ancestors. Moreover, she would bring presents to all siblings of the groom as well as his parents, grandparents, close relatives, all old people of the village and neighbors. After all procedures related to her visit have been made, she must be seen off by her son-in-law. It must be a respect of the groom for his mother-in-law. This tradition is widely practiced among Kishi juz Kazakhs of Turkmenistan and Kara-kalpakstan[LXXVII].

There are many similarities between the marriage customs, family relations, kyz uzatu traditions and wedding parties of Kazakh and Kirgiz people. Though they are called differently, their meaning and importance is the same. Both of them practice the tradition of 'selling' the bride. The bride's brothers place her on the carpet with her friends and bring to the room where the groom's relatives are sitting and ask money for her. For example, 82 year-old Zikhash Torekhanova from Kara-kalpakstan told us that she also had been placed on the carpet with her younger sisters before leaving her parents' house[LVIII]. The same tradition was said to be practiced by Kishi juz and Orta juz Kazakhs, too. There were some other customs when the groom carried the bride and placed her on the horse. The bride was accompanied only by women. Several years ago, kyz uzatu lasted for a number of days, and the first night of the newlyweds was spent at the bride's house. There was no doubt that it happened due to the influence of local Uzbek people. But today everything has changed. In Karakalpakstan and Turkmenistan, the groom's relatives don't stay long at the bride's house when they come after the bride. They take part in kyz uzatu and go home as soon as possible. In Kara-kalpakstan and Turkmenistan, the bride and the groom sit in different cars. According to ancient traditions, they are separated so until the bride officially becomes his wife.

All Kazakh wedding parties start with toi bastar. Those, who start singing first, will get prizes. Usually toi bastar begins with popular recitals or poems of local poets. If it is started by a poet, he will vary them praising the host and hostess. Kazakhs in Tashkent are used to reciting the following toi bastar:

Let's start our wedding with 'Bismillah'

May everyone be blessed by Allah!

People, eat, drink and enjoy the party

I'll devote my first 'toi bastar' song to all of you! [LIX].

Moreover, some other songs will be performed by local singers to make the party fun.

Kelin tusiru(meeting/receiving the daughter-in-law). The daughter-in-law is met by her female in-law, grandmother, sisters-in-law and sisters. In Turkmenistan, one of the groom's sisters-in-law comes up to the bride, puts her red kerchief off and replaces it by a white one. She may get the bride's red kerchief. (The brides in Turkmenistan are still dressed in national costumes). Like the groom, first, the bride is also supposed to enter one of the neighbors' or relatives' homes. Then her mother-in-law comes in with bread in her hands. The bread symbolizes her friendly intentions and warm relations to the bride. She comes up to her and kisses on her face.

Today many things have changed. Before the wedding party starts, the newlyweds go sightseeing in the city. When the wedding motorcade approaches the village, a group of children will stand in a line to stop it. The groom's sister-in-law will give sweets, coins or some foods to them. One more tradition that came from the local people and practiced by the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan is to meet the newlyweds with bread. Besides, before the bride steps into the groom's house, she is cleared with flames of fire. Then she is placed on the sheep's skin and asked to pour some oil onto fire, and then she puts her hands on the fire and cleans herself. This ritual is believed to drive evil away. It is practically followed by all Kazakh people of Central Asia. However, pouring oil on fire varies from country to country[LXI].

For instance, as Zhamal Togyzbayeva says, this ritual takes place after betashar. (In many regions it takes place before the bride steps in the house). This ritual takes place behind a screen made of white fabrics. It is called *shymyldyk*. After the ritual finishes, the fabrics will be given to women. Like the groom, the bride also puts her head on the threshold three times. This is typical to Kara-kalpak people[259, 376, P. 167]. The bride enters the house with the right foot and bows three times. The first of them is devoted to the deceased, and the last two are for the groom's parents.

Wedding parties in Turkmenistan are usually arranged at the beginning of the month. A.T.Toleubayev wrote that the people of Siberia and North also had celebrated wedding parties in the same period of time[261, 71, P.126]. The reason of it is explained by definite superstitions. Some people thought that newlyweds wouldn't have children if there was no moon in the sky. Besides, among the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan there is a strong belief called 'zholbarys shildesi'(a

tiger's summer). As they know, a tiger gives a birth to a child every thirteen years, and if the marriage date falls on this season, it is believed that newlyweds will not have children[LXII]. These kinds of interpretation may be associated with interrelations of the nature with the people's activities and animal life.

Some other gift-giving procedures also take place during the wedding. They are: tundik ashar, aksakal shapan, entikpe, zhyrtys akely and etc. The bride will get all necessary household equipments. Besides, she will get a camel with foal.

As we have mentioned before, one of the features of the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan is that the groom must see the women, who have accompanied the bride, off to their village. The bride was not allowed to visit her parents until she gave a birth to a child. But now it has changed. Young Kazakhs in Turkmen don't prefer to get married to local Turkmen people. They go to parties together, work together, but are hardly influenced by them. The brides in Kazakh families are supposed to call the groom's siblings with different names. It is considered a respect for them. For example, she calls the youngest son in the family 'Shyrak' or 'Yerkebala' or Yerkezhan (the youngest girl) and etc. This tradition is also well known in many Kazakh-populated areas of Central Asia.

There were very many traditions and customs practiced by the Kazakhs. But some of them are forgotten now. One of them was a ceremony held during the first arrival of the bride. The bride wasn't let in her in-law's house until some ceremonies including betashar (showing the bride to people) took place. This was largely practiced by the Kazakhs around Shyrshyq region. In some areas, the bride was supposed to come to in-law's house on foot... Women get a ring, bracelet, soap, kerchief and etc. out of the bride's pocket. They don't feed the bride at the groom's house until betashar took place. So, she was received at the neighbors' house and fed there. Certainly, the hostess would get a certain amount of money for it from the groom. However, as the recent practice shows, in order not to disturb the neighbors, they meet the bride at the groom's house. During the betashar, two honorable women of the kinship would stand on both sides of the bride, and the bride would stand on the sheep's skin. After she shows respect to her groom's family, the veil was lifted and the bride received a kiss from her mother-in-law. The mother-in-law then put a white scarf on her head to symbolize her marital status and then welcome her into the groom's family.

In Karakalpakstan, the bride will wear three kerchiefs during the betashar. The first red kerchief symbolizes her purity, the second white symbolizes her marital status, and the third white symbolizes her future old age[LXV].

Kazakhs in Turkmenistan put on white kerchiefs on saukele. A bit earlier, during the betashar, the bride stood on sheep's skin, but nowadays, rich people use different rugs instead of

sheepskin. What is the reason of using sheep's skin under the bride's feet? Kazakh people are very superstitious, so they want their bride to be as calm as sheep and as soft as its skin. The character and behavior of women who hold the bride on both sides were also very important. In order to get this position, they are to have many children and good dignity. Sisters-in-law of the groom and bride used to hold her, but nowadays, groom's sisters-in-law have replaced them. While the betashar, the bride should face south east direction. The person who reveals her face will tie 3 or 5 kerchiefs (odd numbers are compulsory) to each other and finally to a long branch. Why is the branch? Like the branch of the tree, she is expected to grow and grow[LXVI].

Betasharis one of the significant wedding ceremonies of Kazakh people. The man who will reveal the bride's face is given a list of the groom's relatives. He is supposed to use their social status, character, appearance and names and compose so called 'poem' [LXVII]. For example,

There is a man among us
Born with a birth mark on his chin.
He is brave and smart
Please, make a bow to him.
Try to respect your spouse
Don't be greedy and lazy, please.
Get contended with what you've got
Never say 'we get nothing' or 'not'!
Be respected by all people
Help their issues to settle.
Be ready to any sudden,
Try to be a fortune, not a burden![LXYIII].

The groom's parents put the box in the middle. All people whose names have been mentioned should put money into it. Almost all residents of the community are invited to betashar. Though betashar is also popular ceremony of Kazakhs in Kirgizstan, Kirgiz people don't know about it.

The following is an extract from the betashar poems of the Kazakhs in Kirgizstan:

Try to please everyone
Don't leave anything undone.
In case snapped by in-laws
Avoid complaining to parents.

The bride should bow to all people whose names have been called out. After the betashar, the man who has held it will reveal the bride's face and get his payment for his service[LXIX]. In

Karakalpakstan, during the betashar, the bride is first given some advice then introduced to the groom's relatives. The next extract is a vivid example of it:

Be strong and brave, kelinshek, (a young daughter-in-law)

Don't get tired and lazy, kelinshek,

Be a reliable person, kelinshek,

Avoid frivolous amusements, kelinshek,

Have an observant mind, kelinshek,

Resist the longing to speak a lot, kelinshek,

Don't be revengeful and mean, kelinshek,

Help your in-laws and respect, kelinshek,

Keeping in mind 'life is like a boomerang', kelinshek.

Then the bride will be introduced to the groom's siblings and close relatives. As soon as their names are pronounced, the bride will bow to them. Bowing is a sign of showing respect.

Ylu juz, Orta juz and Kishi juz

Are the sons of three dads.

Gathering here to see us.

Betashar is a Kazakh toi,

A good chance to have joy.

People coming to see you

Kelinshek, please, bow to me.

Your spouse is as happy as a kid,

Feeling himself so fit.

It is high time, kelinshek

For you to make acquainted.

Each guest is characterized according to his/her profession, occupation and manners[LXXI]. The man reveals the bride's face and asks for 'korimdik' (money given for seeing the bride). In Turkmenistan, korimdik will be distributed to women later. When the betashar is over, old people of the family will bless the young people and wish good luck to their life.

'Bismillahirrahmanirrahim',

May Allah bless you!

Be happy and healthy,

Much contented and wealthy.

Let your dreams come true,

And the sky bright and blue.

Try to enhance your family prestige,

Having a happy long marriage - [LXXII].

After the blessings, the bride goes round the house in clockwise and her saukele or red kerchief is replaced by a white kerchief. It is performed by the groom's sister-in-law on his mother's side. She will get something for her service. If the bride is from alim clan of Kishi juz, her parents will not go to the wedding party except her sisters and sisters-in-law. It is obligatory for the bride's relatives to give her valuable gifts (golden earrings, a ring or necklace). The groom is also given a big gift. Not a man but a woman reveals the bride's face in Uzbekistan. It is called 'bet koru'[247, 353, P.113]. First of all, the groom's mother gives the bride some gifts, and then other female relatives also visit her with gifts. This tradition is now very popular among the Kazakhs who live next to Uzbek people. After the betashar, the bride will serve all guests to tea. This ceremony is called 'drinking the bride's tea'. It is widely practiced by aday clan in Turkmenistan and by Kazakh people in Bukhara, Nawai and Kashkadarya. The Kazakhs of some regions of Central Asia prefer not to embarrass the young bride, so they postpone this until she gets used to the family. After the wedding party, the two sides invite each other. It is called 'kudalyk'. The culminating point of kudaluk is gift-giving. Apart from the abovementioned wedding ceremonies and gifts of Central Asian peoples, there is one more tradition which is called 'takhya kadesi'. The bride is treated to sheep's tail, while the groom gets breastbone. As we see both of the bones are fat parts of the sheep; the parents wish their children to be comfortably off. The fact that the bride gets up early and bows to her husband's parents and to other members of the family every morning is one of the established traditions.

If a bride is kidnapped, two smart people on the groom's side will be sent to her parents to inform about it and apologize for the behavior of the young people. Of course, depending on their social status, they take some gifts with them including 'oli'tiri' (sheep). A.T. Toleubayev has written: 'Since 'oli-tiri' is dedicated to the deceased relatives of the bride, it is instantly slaughtered and served to aksakals of the village'[261, 72, P.30]. K.Argynbayev has also mentioned about it in his work[244, 71, 189]. Oli-tiri is also followed by Kazakh people in Kirgizstan. Apart from it, they pay money to the bride's parents (from 10 000 to 35000-40 000 tenge). According to the words of Bugybai Kaliev, the amount of money paid by *argyn* for this purpose was more than the amount of *uisin* clan's. Besides, they give some sweets and alcohol drinks. Kirgiz people call it 'kuldyk urdyk' (begging). In Uzbekistan, after being informed of their daughter's marriage, her parents send 4-5 people (her brothers and sisters-in-law) to the groom's house. In Kirgizstan, if they know the groom's family, they find it unnecessary to go there, but in Uzbekistan and South Kazakhstan it isn't so. They consider this visit compulsory, as

it will bring bad reputation to their daughter. (People may think that she has been a burden on her family). If their daughter has no complaints, they'll stay and have a dinner party with their new relatives and return home with some gifts. Otherwise, they'll take the girl with them and go home. These people are called 'kugynshylar' (trackers). Kugynshylar do also exist in Karakalpakstan, but they act a bit differently from the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan. As they think, kugynshylyk has been derived from Karakalpak population. To clear out the situation, 2-3 sisters-in-law go after their kidnapped girl. Kazakhs in Kara-kalpakstan call it 'tap' (find smb). They just go there to find out whether everything is ok with her, i.e. if she is forced to marriage or not. After they are gone, second kugynshy group will arrive. They dine together with their new relatives, talk on different topics, get entertained and get some gifts before the departure. If they are not given any gifts, they'll not feel contended with the hospitality of them; sometimes, such receptions may prevent a wedding party. The groom's relatives go to the bride's parents asking permission to host a wedding party. The list of the gifts will be made. If only the gifts are promised, they can get permission for a wedding. In 3-4 weeks after the marriage, the bride's relatives visit her new family. They bring all necessary clothes for her. In Uzbekistan, it is performed by a group of people (the bride's sisters-in-law and sisters), while in Kirgizstan, this group contains male and female relatives of the bride. All of them will get gifts and enjoy their visit[LXXIII]. After it, the two sides invite each other for 'kudalyk' dinner. However, due to some economic difficulties, the groom's side invites them to the wedding. The bride's parents bring the bride's dowry at the wedding. As we see, under the current conditions, some requirements and responsibilities of engagement process have decreased.

After the wedding, the bride is invited to the groom's relatives. It is called 'ui korseter' (to see the relatives' home). In Karakalpakstan, it is called 'otka shakyr'. The bride goes there with a gift, usually, she takes something from her dowry. Besides, there is one more tradition called 'onir salu'. Middle-aged women of the kinship give the bride a gift (some clothes or owl's feather)[LXXV].

It is obligatory for Kazakh people to make a dowry for the daughter who is getting married. As I.G.Andreev and G.I.Spassky describe [262, 375, P. 44], it used to contain ak otau (a white yurt), a horse with silver equine harness, a gun, a bow, clothes, blankets and some accoutrements of the nomadic lifestyle[263, 378, 196]. Since the 20s of the XXth century, it has undergone some changes and reduced to presenting clothes, blankets and a horse or a cow. Kazakhs in Uzbekistan made blankets not only for the bride, but also for the groom's parents. It has come from Uzbek people. G.Zagryazhesky wrote that in the second half of the XIXth century, the amount of dowries and kyz uzatu was equal to the amount of bride-money in the south parts of

Kazakhstan[264, 379, P.162]. N.I.Grodekov did also mention about giving some examples of it [245, 351, P.83]. Today, the bride will be provided with all household needs including 30 dresses and kerchiefs, overcoats and some livestock. The bride's dowry is still of a great significance; as soon as it is prepared, sisters-in-law of the bride will show it to the groom's relatives and ask for korimdik.

As the materials collected from the local population show, the bride's dowry is demonstrated to the people and assessed by them. Those who have seen it will give baigazy (money given for seeing a new thing) for it. The dowry of the Karakalpak Kazakhs consists of seven objects such as seven blankets, three pillows, three rugs and etc.

Now, let's dwell upon the gifts which are given by the groom's side in Central Asia.

'Sut akhy' is a gift for the bride's mother. It may be a camel or a horse. Rich people used to give 10 camels, while poor people could afford only 40-ruble sheep.

'Baldyz korimdik' is a gift/money for the bride's younger sister.

'Zhengetai' is a gift/money for matchmakers.

'Saukele baigazysy' is a gift/money for the woman who shows the bride's saukele.

'Otau zhabar' is a gift/money for the woman who helps the bride about her otau.

'Yentikpe' is a gift/money for those who meet the groom.

'At bailar' is a gift for those who tether the groom's horse. It is usually 3 or 9 pieces of fabrics. Women will share them.

'Tosek salar' is a gift for those who make a bed for the newlyweds. Besides there are other types of gifts such as shymyldyk bailar, kol ustatar, shash sipatar, it yryldar, bakan alymdyk, moiyn tastar, kyz koterer, kempir oldi, kuiey attandyrar, kyz kashar and etc. [LXXVI]

The religious part of the wedding ceremony of Central Asian Kazakhs is called Neke qiyu. Earlier it took place at the house of the bride, but now it is performed after the wedding at the house of the groom. In general, the wedding process may take many weeks and even months to complete. The Neke qiyu is a small portion of the whole, and usually takes about a half an hour to complete. It usually takes place in the evening of the day the bride is shown to her groom's family *betashar*. After several hours a mullah arrives to perform the *Neke qiyu*. Even though the *betashar* is performed outside in the garden in the presence of many relatives and friends, *Neke qiyu* is performed inside with close relatives only. When this ceremony is done, the couple must go and register their marriage at the state registry office. After the Neke qiyu is completed, the couple will have a neke night. Until the bride's virginity is checked, the bride's relatives are not allowed to return home. If the bride is 'impure', they will be insulted and sent back. In Takhtakopir district of Karakalpakstan, the purity of the bride is known only for the couple and the woman who's made the bed for them. However, in the regions of Uzbekistan and

Turkmenistan, the couple's sisters-in-law will tell everybody and even show them their bed sheets and ask *suyinshi* (money for good news) for it. It is called 'ak zhauluktyn syry' (the secret of a white kerchief). Some research works show that *neke qiyu* was not practiced by all Kazakhs[245, 351, P.79]. As this tradition emerged with the arrival of Islam, many Kazakhs were unaware of it. During the Soviet times, in many regions of Kazakhstan, families were set up without *neke qiyu* ceremony, but Kazakhs in Uzbekistan didn't let the couple spend a night until they had *neke qiyu*. This tradition has been practiced and strictly followed since very early times. For example, N.I.Grodekov wrote in his book: 'Weddings of the Kazakhs in Tashkent take place only after the *neke qiyu* ceremony. Mullah who performs this ceremony will be paid for his service'[301, 351, P.69]. As the results of the ethnographic expedition to Zhetisy oblast show, due to the persecutions of Islam in the country, many of the 60-75 year-old Kazakh couples didn't have *neke qiyu* ceremony. However, the situation is quite different with the families of Central Asian Kazakhs. There is hardly a family found which is set up without *neke qiyu*.

Earlier, *neke qiyu* took place at the house of the bride, but now it is performed at the house of the groom. It started in the first quarter of the XXth century. By the end of the wedding, a mullah and a group of *aksakals* get together in one of the rooms of the house. The bride and the groom are placed in the middle of the room. The mullah and the couple sit facing one another. Two witnesses (the groom's friends) are invited to take part in the ceremony. They are supposed to convey the couple all the words of the mullah. The mullah briefly recites some verses from the Quran and asks the couple to confess the faith of Islam. First, the mullah asks the names of the couple's parents and gets the couple's consent. Then he hands them a bowl of holy water to drink. Some silver coins, sugar and salt are put into that water. Silver symbolizes purity and cleanliness. Putting coins and silver rings into *neke* water is still practiced by the Kazakhs of Central Asia and South Kazakhstan regions. In accordance with this, prominent ethnographer, R.Mustafina wrote: 'Coins dropped into the water will be 'charged' by the mullah's words. Both the groom and the bride should drink it. The witnesses drink the rest of it and get the coins. From the words of the other informants, the water is drunk by all participating people and the coins will be given to children[265, 380, P.36].

Putting silver coins into water stands for their virtuous and respectable future, while sugar and salt symbolize their happy marriage. In Karakalpakstan, the couple put their wedding rings into that water. People believe, whoever breaks marriage after drinking *neke* water, he/she will be severely punished by God[244,71, P.25].

Mixed marriages i.e. between Kazakh and Uzbek peoples used to happen due to some life circumstances of the families. I.Anchikov gave some facts about such cases in his work. 'Once, a

Kazakh man, who lived in Urgenish, seriously fell ill. He searched for good healers everywhere. He was ready to give everything for his recovery. Fortunately, a good healer of Uzbek nationality promised to help him. The sick man promised the healer to give his daughter to marry. As he recovered soon, he had to keep his word. Despite his daughter's strong protests, who tried to make a suicide, he had to marry her to the healer...'.

Since Kazakh and Uzbek populations had close ties in trade and commerce, there were many cases when Kazakh families experienced difficulty in paying off their debts. In such situations they had to settle their debts marrying their daughters to Uzbek merchants. However, it wasn't common practice of all nations[266, 381, P.14].

At present time, mixed marriages of the Kazakhs of Amudarya are widely spread in Konyrat, Kojeli, Shymbai, Karaozek, Takhtakopir and Moinak districts of Middle Nukus. As A.E.Bizhanova shows in her research, karakalpak-uzbek, karakalpak-kazakh and uzbek-kazakh marriages are frequently met in northwest regions of Karakalpakstan, particularly, in Konyrat, Shumanai and Kojeli. Moreover, uzbek-kazakh and karakalpak-kazakh marriages are increasing in Beruni, Tortkul and Ellikkala[267, 382, P.14].

Apart from ethnical consolidation, multinational countries have to experience ethnical assimilation. Mixed marriages have a great influence on assimilation process to rise, because offspring of the mixed marriages make a choice between parents. Thus, under the influence of his family environment, a child who was born to either kazakh-karakalpak or kazakh-uzbek mixed families couldn't be considered Kazakh. Moreover, the territorial accommodation of the people also plays a particular role in defining their ethnical development. For example, scattering or amassing accommodation of the people affects the ethnical process. Marriages of the Kazakhs with other nations are frequently taking place in the regions where they live very close with the local population. Recent marriages between Kazakh and Kirgiz families can be a vivid example of this matter.

Kazakhs in Turkmenistan and Karakalpakstan practice the tradition of 'torkindeu'. This tradition is rarely followed nowadays. After the birth of each child, the married daughter of the family comes to her parents' home with her husband and asks for something valuable. Young Kazakh women of Central Asia give nicknames to her husband's siblings and close relatives. They never shake hands with elder people when they greet, instead they bow to them. In some areas of Karakalpakstan, bowing to elder people may be ignored by young women after they've given a birth to 2-3 children, but it is still performed by middle-aged women. They bow to older women of the kinship.

According to the census of the 1999th, the amount of mixed marriages in Kirgizstan is as follows: Kirgiz-Kazakh marriage - 5179, Kazakh-Kirgiz marriage - 3212, Kazakh-Russian marriage - 438, Russian-Kazakh marriage -184, [268, 383].

Until the 1950-1960s of the XXth century, not a mixed marriage, even the marriage between the representatives of *uisin* and *argyn* was very rare. All of them preferred to set families with clan members. Kasen Abdibayev told us about his life story on this matter. He was born in 1918, from Manas. His grandmother had been of Kirgiz nationality, but she sent her grown-up children to Shet district in Central Kazakhstan. After they got married, they returned back with their offspring. Despite her own nationality, she didn't want her children to marry Kirgiz [LXXVIII].

Today, every second marriage in Kirgizstan is mixed. In general, the number of mixed marriages is relatively high in this country; particularly, the marriage of Kazakh and other nationalities is prevailing. The research made by A.S.Kochkunov says: 'we've examined 34 mixed marriage families. 28 of them live in Orgochor sovkhov. 14 of them are Kazakh-Kirgiz, 3 of them are -Uzbek-Kirgiz and 2 of them are Kirgiz-Kalmak'[243, 350, P.22].

Moreover, the number of marriages of Kazakhs with other nationalities is also prevailing. When we made a tour in the country, every Kazakh family had a daughter-in-law of Kirgiz nationality or a son-in-law of Kirgiz nationality. If this tendency goes on, then in a definite period of time, the future generation of our fellow citizens in Kirgizstan will become relatives derived from mixed marriages.

In the course of the research, we also noticed the preponderance of Kirgiz guys have married Kazakh girls. It was explained for the lack of Kazakh guys in the region.

High natural growth of the local people of Central Asia depends on family relations and marriage matters. High rate of woman marriages and high birth rate in Central Asia determines the number of the population[158, 236, P.18].

In conclusion, the existence of huge patriarchal features in Kazakh families who live in the regions under research demonstrates typical characteristics of the Kazakh lifestyle. Moreover, until the mid of the XXth century, very many national wedding traditions and ceremonies had been kept in the region. However, as the time passed, they were greatly influenced by the local people's traditions and customs, particularly related to weddings.

5.2. Some ethnographic characteristics of pregnancy and upbringing

The birth of a baby is a greathappiness for a family. Turkic-speaking peoples have a number of traditions associated with pregnancy, the birth of a child and his upbringing. In fact,

happiness of young people depends on the birth of a child in the family. There are many traditions, rites and customs directly related to a child's birth, upbringing and adulthood. Parents are supposed to play a great role in the formation of his character and personality. In general, traditions of Kazakhs and peoples of Central Asia concerning upbringing of a child are very similar. However, despite the influence of various cultures, the Kazakhs were able to maintain national traditions and values.

Kazakh people had always paid much attention to the continuation of the generation. So, before the engagement, they drew considerable attention to the social status of the future in-laws and their kinship. There is a good but very acute Kazakh proverb about the role of the children in the family. If to interpret, it means 'A childless house is like a grave'. So, there are many superstitions and rites for a daughter-in-law who is entering her in-laws' home for the first time. All of them are connected with her future maternal responsibilities. For example, a young daughter-in-law behind *shymdyk* was given a baby to hasten the birth of her own baby. Or, they served her to abomasum of the first cattle which was slaughtered for the wedding. The bed of the newlyweds first was used by a boy (if they like to have a boy) or by a girl (if they'd like a girl). It was popular among the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan. Sisters-in-law of the daughter-in-law made a doll-baby wrapped in the scarf and sold it to the groom's relatives in Turkmenistan and in Karakalpakstan. All these rites purely came out of good intentions of the newlyweds' relatives: to make them have a baby as soon as possible. Moreover, there was a strong belief that if a young pregnant woman was given abomasum of newly slaughtered cattle, her baby would be a boy [269, 384, 254P]. Residents of the village of districts are still following such kind of rite.

From the earliest time, a pregnant daughter-in-law was shown a special care and attention, because the birth of the first child was very important. If he was born healthy, the others were expected to be fine, too. For that reason, Kazakhs in Turkmenistan gave much attention to how long their expectant daughter-in-law slept, what she ate and how she felt (LXXIX). In general, Kazakh people had forbidden their young daughters-in-law to go out alone and bareheaded, bring water from the well in the evening, going to funerals, and etc. If her husband was not at home, her mother-in-law or little sister-in-law should stay with her at night. Kazakh people think that pregnant women could be easily affected by demons, which very negatively influence her baby, too. In relation with this, as a well-known ethnographer K. Argynbayev wrote, people used to hang different 'protective' staff such as a wolf fang, a gun, a beak of an eagle on the wall of the daughter-in-law's room. They were supposed to prevent her from different dangerous situations (257, 371, P.87). Such kind of rites were common for the Kazakhs of Central Asia.

Apart from them, Kazakhs in Uzbekistan clear the room with the plant 'adyraspan', and hang it somewhere in the room. Though these rites trace their origins back to early times, the

smoke of adyraspan is believed to drive away demon, and a sick person will recover soon if he smells it. In the region, not only Kazakhs but other nationalities and people also believe the magic power of it and wear medallions, talismans, kozmonshak (beads) and other different things of triangle shape. They contain various 'ingredients' (salt, pepper, plants and etc.). People suppose these things protect them from different troubles. Besides, all of them were 'charged' by a mullah's blessings. According to Kazakh beliefs, they would protect a young daughter-in-law from an evil eye.

Moreover, the materials collected from the Kazakhs of Turkmenistan and Karakalpakstan specify that childless families or the families whose children die at the very early age used to worship to 'karakus' (a black bird). As people thought, 'karakus' would keep and protect the mother and her child. Therefore, childless families were advised to keep karakus as a pet. The Kazakhs, particularly living in the regions of Konyrat, Takhtakopir (Turkmenistan and Karakalpakstan) still adhere to this custom. In Turkmenistan, if the bird dies, it is wrapped in a white cloth and kept until the child could talk and ask 'What is it?' In case they couldn't find a bird, its image was modeled and hung on the wall (LXXXII). However, it was differently interpreted by Kazakh people. As ethnographer A.T. Toleubaev explains, a woman who frequently lost a child was believed to have 'karakus', and whenever she gave a birth to a child that 'karakus' would take it away. So, to they had to take some precautions to avert the next tragedy of the expected mothers, and they resorted to different rituals and rites (261, .72, 214P). Worshipping 'karakus' was practiced by konyrat, and in Turkmenistan, people used 'karakus' not only to save a baby's life but also to protect from the enemies. When the pregnancy of the daughter-in-law was confirmed, sisters-in-law of her husband would inform her mother-in-law of good news. As soon as they got good news, they would invite their relatives and neighbours to a party 'kursakshashu', devoted to this event. Their guests try to prepare the favourite food of the pregnant woman. Such tradition is not so widespread in Central Asia, but Kazakhs, particularly representatives of Uly juz and Kazakhs in Uzbekistan used to celebrate this event. Thanks to the appetite of the daughter-in-law and her taste for food, Kazakh people could predict the sex of a future child. For example, if the pregnant woman liked some meat of wild animals, a boy was supposed to be born. He was expected to be a brave and courageous man. If the woman ate more sweets, that would be a girl.

There was an adventurous story about it among the Kazakh people. The mother of prominent Kazakh batyrs (heroes) Orak and Mamai, Karaulek said that she had eaten the meat of a lion when she was pregnant with them [LXXXIII].

To prevent a miscarriage, more experienced and careful mothers-in-law tied up the hem of the daughter-in-law's dress. 3 months before the childbirth, average birth labour started. With an

intention to have a lovely baby, the daughter-in-law was bathed in the lake. And 2 months before the childbirth, she wasn't allowed to take any sharp objects (a knife, scissors, etc) to prevent the birth of a premature baby. When there was a month left before the birth, she was forbidden to work with either a needle or a thread. They were afraid of miscarriage. As experienced women said, if it was a girl it would move around in the left, and if it was a boy, it would move around in the right (LXXXIV).

Moreover, such customs as 'kursakshashu' and 'zharyskazan' which accelerate the childbirth are still known. As soon as at the daughter-in-law's fights began, the women of the kinship put some meat into the saucepan and held so-called competition 'zharys kazan'. As they thought, the baby would compete with them to arrive first, i.e. until the dish was cooked. Moreover, they wanted the baby to be born during the mealtime. The mother-in-law would get out all tasty food and lay the table. For such occasion, Kazakhs living in Kirgizstan fried the corn, while those in Uzbekistan prepared plov or beshbarmak. In her study, Bekzhanova specifies some methods which positively influence and accelerate the childbirth: to dissolve hear of a woman in childbirth, to untie, to unbutton the clothes, and etc. (248, 355, 20P). In Turkmenistan and Karakalpakstan, women used to put oil into fire when the fights began, or using 'adyraspan', they drove demons away from her (269, 384, 21P.). Childless women or women whose children often died were not allowed to take part in the childbirth (270, 385, P.25). In case of emergency, i.e. when the childbirth was so difficult and the woman was in danger, a mullah was sent for. He was believed to drive demon away and ease the birth (271, 386, P.47). This kind of things may happen nowadays, too. If the woman was not able to give a birth herself, physically strong women had to aid her. Such method of childbirth has been described by K. Argynbaev in detail. Those women sat around her and morally and physically helped her to end up with the birth as soon as possible. They held on tight the woman's waist and pulled it down until the child came out. Moreover, skilled grandmothers, taking a risk, had to act to avoid a breech birth (244, 354, P.89). Those methods were used by the peoples of Central Asia such as Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Turkmen, etc. I.S. Kolbasenko highly appreciated the method of 'pulling the waist' of woman in birth which was helpful and less dangerous to both a child and mother (271, 386, P.49). However, in case the abovementioned method gave no results, they brought a horse to the yard. The horse was considered a sacred animal, so it could also contribute to driving demons away from the household dwellings as well as from the woman in birth. Sometimes, a man had to take part in the childbirth in order to make it soon. He came up to the woman in birth and with the hem of his shapan would touch her and say 'come on, come on' (272, 387, P.386). There were many other rites related to the childbirth in Karakalpakstan. For example, they attached piece of cotton pads to the corners of the room. If they dropped as soon as they were attached, childbirth

was expected to be fast and easy. Tajiks in Bukhara did also believe and follow such rites. Whoever entered the room during that process, his clothes were torn off in order to ease the delivery. In the south regions of Khoresm, adyraspan and salt played a significant role during the childbirth. Also, people in Central Asia used to put a knife, an onion or garlic and pepper under the pillow of the daughter-in-law (LXXXV).

The pregnant woman was forbidden to eat fish and the meat of a wild goat and camel. They were supposed to do much harm to the health of a baby, while the meat of a camel was assumed to contribute prolonged pregnancy till 12 months (273, 388, P.317). Nevertheless, as a camel was counted one of the sacred animals of the Kazakhs, the pregnant woman was advised to pass under the camel for 3 times. It was written in A. Troitskaya's work (, 274, 389 P.330). It prevented the miscarriage. This tradition gained a big popularity in the regions of Turkmenistan and Karakalpakstan, where the people engaged in camel breeding. Even if there was no camel in the community, it was modeled or drawn on the ground, and the woman was asked to step over it (LXXX).

Pregnant woman was prohibited to step over the rope and to knit. It prevented the umbilical cord wrapping around the baby's neck. Besides, the pregnant should not say to cats and dogs 'Get away!' until the baby inside moves around. Otherwise, the child would be born invalid (LXXXI).

Due to the lack of hospitals and to some other economic situations, until the mid of the XXth century, young women had to give birth at home. As soon as contractions started, the most skilled and experienced women were invited. Women who had lost a number of children and childless women were strictly sent out of the room. Only the women who frequently took part in the childbirth were let in. As Bekzhanova described it in her work, 'A big pole was set on the left side of the threshold, and a multi-colored cord was tied to the kerege of the yurt. During the contractions, either a man or unmarried and childless woman wasn't let in. The person who cut the umbilical cord should be respectful and have many children; later she would become the baby's 'God mom'. She was supposed to help the baby's family around the house as well as render financial assistance until the young mother could handle herself. Usually Kazakhs dug the newborn placenta far away from the community, while Kazakhs in Beruni dug them under the fruit trees. If they wanted the next baby to be a girl, they dug it with a doll or with something else which belonged to girls [248, 355 P.20]. As Bekzhanova wrote, Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan used to dig the equipments (a knife, a needle, etc) used for cutting the umbilical cord of the kid, a part of a umbilical cord and newborn placenta along with a corn of maize or millet on the threshold or on left side of the entrance (267, 382, P.27). Some other customs and ceremonies connected with wedding, the birth of a child and the funeral were held on that side of the yurt. Kazakhs in Tashauz kept a part of the umbilical cord in the pocket of the kid to 40 days after the birth. In

some regions, it was attached to a baby's cradle. And, in the district of Gurlen, the umbilical cord of the kid was kept in warm water and given to the kid to lick it. Then it was used as a tincture for stomachache (273, 388, P.31). In Khiua, it was put into homemade butter and used to smear the baby, and then it was kept until the next childbirth in the family. To protect a child from evil eyes and malicious spirits, his parents put nails and wings of wild birds, a mirror and hairbrushes under his pillow.

The concept 'God mom' was typical to Kazakhs, too. Her duties were rather difficult since she had to slaughter the sheep, which was called 'kalzha', and take care of the infant as well as his mother. She would keep in touch with that family even when the child grew up. She would become a very close friend of the family to rely on. 'Godmom' was carefully chosen; she should be an affectionate and respected person, because people believed that the baby would resemble her/his godmother in character as well as in behaviour.

The first clothes of the baby were called 'it koilek'. Kazakhs paid much attention to it. For the first time, the baby was bathed in utensils for feeding dogs, which was filled with silver coins and jewellery. It was poured out by a little boy. Why were utensils for feeding dogs used? His parents wanted him to be strong and patient like a dog, and then to protect him from an evil eye. He was washed in the water with silver coins, to be rich and successful.

40 days after the birth, the baby was washed up in 40-spoon warm water. It was called 'kyrkynanshygaru'. On that day, his it koilek was put off, wrapped up some sweets and hung on the dog's neck. To get the sweets, children would chase after it [LXXXVI]. Sometimes the sweets were tied to the neck of a little child and he was asked to walk like a dog. This ritual means that the dog would protect the baby. Usually, the ceremony of 'kurkynan shygaru' for a boy took place until 40 days after his birth, while it might happen much later with a girl. The difference between the times of the ceremony was connected with bridemoney. The boy's parents would like to pay less bridemoney, while the girl's parents would have more.

To this ceremony only few people were invited. They were usually the senior female members of the kinship and a few of their neighbors. The eldest of them was honored to wash up the baby. They put some silver coins, a bracelet or a ringlet into the water. In some regions, they put 40 droppings of the sheep into the basin wishing the baby wealthy life. Young parents would delegate someone to cut off the baby's hair. He or she might be a close friend of the family. The baby's hair was never thrown away. Instead it was wrapped in a cloth and attached to his clothes [268, 383, P.57]. It was believed to protect the child from an evil eye. His nails were dug under the ground. His hair and nails were regarded sacred and kept until he grew up [XCVI]. Kazakhs living in the area of Konyrat put more silver coins, gold and silver bracelets into the 'kyrkynan shygaru' water to get more bridemoney if it was a girl; on the contrary, if it was a boy, in order

to decrease bridemoney, they put less things into the water. Sometimes they put some salt into it, which they could later use for healing purposes. The Kazakhs living in the city of Nukus didn't pour out that water. Instead they used it for several times to wash up the baby. Such tradition occurred in Uzbekistan [XC]. In Kyrgyzstan, the baby was not shown to anyone except his relatives until he was 40 days. Only then the child should visit 40 homes. It was strictly observed by Kazakhs in Uzbekistan [248, 355, P.20].

During such ceremony, Kazakhs of Central Asia used to put money into the palm of the baby before cutting off his nails. Earlier, people put tail fat into the baby's palm, but nowadays, it was replaced by money. People expect the child to be rich. Those people who provided such different services were given gifts by his parents. In some regions, people organized parties devoted to 'sash toi' or 'kekil toi' i.e. in honor of his first being hairdressed. For example, in Uzbekistan and Karakalpakstan, the people invited the hairdresser. As O. Ospanova and B. Kamalashuly wrote, similar customs and traditions related to a baby's haircut were also held in Mongolia. He said: 'A baby's haircut is one of the popular events in Mongolia. All villagers were invited for a big meal, and one of the eldest aksakals was asked to start the haircut of the baby. One by one, the guests would take part in the process. Wishing a long life to the baby, each of them would cut a bunch of his hair and hand him various gifts' [274, 390, 236]. Childless parents or the families who constantly suffer from different illnesses in Khorezm used to take the hair to the grave. They prayed to their ancestor's spirit. In the area of Zhanaryk, the hair of the child was kept until his marriage and given to his wife as talisman. As soon as the baby's hair and nails were cut off, his grandmother on his mother's side would visit and give money wrapped in a white cloth. The girl's hair was cut off until she reached 5, and then she was not allowed to. Later, her hair was plaited with the wool of the camel. It was like a talisman. The boys' remained hair wasn't cut until his sundet toi (circumcision). His hair was cut by his mother's relatives [LXXXV III]. As soon as the baby grew up, his cradle would be kept in a safer place since it was considered sacred, too. The first child born to a young Kazakh family was regarded the child of a grandmother and grandfather, so he was not allowed to say 'mum' either 'dad' to his parents [C].

In Central Asian countries, until 40 days of the childbirth, the child including his parents were considered vulnerable and the period dangerous. Thus, they were protected against possible dangers using different religious and magical methods. For example, during that period, at night, they kept the light on. The child wasn't left alone one, and even if it happened, they put a knife and bread under his pillow. Besides in order to protect him from an evil eye, the same rites took place. Well-known ethnographer – archeologist S.E. Azhigali in his book gave a full description of these rites and customs. For example, the materials collected on Almaty region have shown,

that 'local people hide a knife under the pillow of a child. Also, they used various medallions for them to wear. For this reason, they hang on the headboard of the cradle such things as claws of a bear, an eagle or a wolf fang. To attach a bundle of owl feathers to the child's *tuybeteykawas* is also very common among the region's people. But, talismans of triangular shape were met very seldom' [275, 391, P.44]. These facts show that wherever Kazakh people lived, they shared the same traditional cultures. However, Kazakhs in Central Asia had been subject to some local influences. Using *adyraspan* (heather is used in Kazakhstan), salt, pepper and some other stuff to protect from different evils is one of the differences among them.

To honour the visit of a baby and his mother, people held 'shildehana'. It is still in practice. As soon as the baby arrived, his family arranged a big holiday, invited many guests, prepared various food, etc. In Uzbekistan, the baby and his mother were not allowed to go out either to meet guests before the baby was 40 days. Today people do not distinguish 'shildehana', 'besikkesalu' and 'kyrkynanshygaru'. In some regions, all of these traditions were strictly kept and held like a big party. During 'shildehana' all followed. It was sometimes called 'shashu toi'[LXXXVII]. When the baby cut his top teeth, one more 'tis shygar' party was held. Women of the kinship gathered and threw fried maize onto the baby wishing good luck to his life[LXXXIX].

After the woman arrived with her baby, her relatives, close friends or neighbors served her to 'kalzha'. It was the meat of newly slaughtered sheep. They took care of the young mother preparing her favourite dish and pleasing her as possible as they could. They helped her to wash the baby and tidy up in the house. The baby was washed every day until he was 40 days old. They washed him up one day using soup the next day using salt. The salt was supposed to prevent and heal all possible skin problems and make the baby physically strong.

The cradle played and still plays a great role in upbringing of Muslim people. It was called 'besik' in Kazakh, so, the first time the baby was put into the cradle was called 'besikke salu'. It was a big event in the life of both a child and his parents. I.S.Kolbasenko wrote: 'In the *thueyzd* of Tokmak, it was called 'beshik' in the Kirgiz language or 'besik'. One of the advantages of Kazakh besik was its flexibility; it didn't cause any trouble to anyone during the journeys; it was very convenient to carry it wherever and whenever people moved. It could be attached to the horse or put in front of the woman who was on the horse. She could easily give a child the breast sitting on the horse. It had all conveniences for a child including 'toilet'. It was warm, safe and very comfortable in Kazakh besik. In fact, children of nomadic people, particularly of Kazakh, hadn't suffered from any skin diseases thanks to besik. However, there were some disadvantages of it. The baby was tied up for a long time in the besik, and in winter, it was stuffy in it. Nevertheless, besik was a home for a child until he was a year old, sometimes a bit more[271,

386]. Surprisingly, nowadays, Kazakhs living in Kirgizstando not use besik at all. On the contrary, in Uzbekistan besik is considered one of the important presents for the first child made by his grandparents (on his mother's side). Some similarities between Kazakh and Uzbek peoples' traditions related to besik go back to the 70s of the last century. The Kazakhs living in Tajikistan have no idea about this custom [XC].

Since they don't use besik for a child, Kazakhs in Kirgizstan are limited to gift-giving [XCI]. In Uzbekistan, apart from besik, a mother of the daughter-in-law is to bring cattle, 20 kg of rice, frying oil, some gifts to family members of her son-in-law and some other products. Moreover, she buys all necessary clothes for her daughter and grandchild. Women, who accompany her, will also go there with their different gifts for the baby (a child's bed, toys, etc). The total number of women who will go to this event is about 30-40. In general, it is like a big party. They dance, sing songs and give gifts. Interestingly, they also bring different tasty foods and gifts there. This tradition has been recently practiced under the influence of local Uzbek people. The strange thing is that the female in-law hires Uzbek pipers to accompany them, and as they approach the house they dance to Uzbek music. Before entering the house, they dance for 1-2 hours in the yard. The host side will slaughter the sheep brought by the guests and prepare a big meal and invite many guests. Earlier, men were not invited to such parties, however, since the recent times they also could attend 'besiksalu' party'. But they sit separately from women. The reason that they were not invited was connected with some superstitious beliefs of the people. As it was mentioned before, the sheep slaughtered for the party was brought by the daughter-in-law's parents. So, 'kalzha' should be eaten only by women. At this time, the neckbone and legs of the sheep were eaten only by the mother of the baby. It was also associated with some superstitions. They wanted the baby to grow fast and walk as soon as possible. The room of the baby was lit the whole day and night until the baby was 40 days old [XCII].

There were some differences in the traditions and customs related to 'besik party' among the Kazakhs living in different regions of Central Asia. For example, in Karakalpakstan, people hang sweets on the roof of the house, where there was the party going on. It meant that the family was having a besik party[XCIII]. Before putting the baby into the besik, with the smoke of adyraspan it was 'cleared' of evil eyes and malicious spirits. As soon as the baby was placed into it, it was covered with seven different things: a blanket, shapan, ton, whip, equine harness and some other stuff. Each of them had a significant role in a child's life. Ton and shapan meant his faithfulness and loyalty to his nation, while other equipments meant his bravery and courage [244, 71, 96]. Nowadays, Kazakhs in Uzbekistan cover the besik with sweets wishing him a happy and successful life, and also use warm clothes wishing him a good sleep. In Turkmenistan, Kazakh people cover the besik with the clothes of well-known people wishing the baby to look like them.

However, in Kirgizstan, Kazakhs are ill-informed about this tradition. They simply give a gift to a woman who has carried out this function (putting the baby into besik). Kirgiz people use 9 things to cover the besik, while Tajiks use 7 [276, 392, 149]. After the baby was placed in the besik, an old woman holds the besik and giving her blessings, wishes good luck to the baby. Earlier, a young mum holding besik bowed to the guests. It was a kind of expressing gratitude to God for having a sweet baby. Similar traditions related to besik party were followed in all regions of Central Asia [274, 389, 149]. Depending on their status and age, all guests were allocated gifts of various size and value.

One more very interesting part of besik party was 'tyshty ma'. Through the hole, which was under the besik, used for 'toilet' of a child, women threw sweets and asked 'tyshty ma?' The sweets were passed around the guests and children. Kazakhs in Bukhara used to practice some traditions which included 'sell and buy' operation. It was performed in the form of a role play. One woman would 'sell' the baby, while the hostess would 'buy' it [XCV].

One Kirgiz tradition which became common to Kazakhs in Kirgizstan was a visit of the child to his mother's parents and had his hair cut. It took place when he reached three years old, and considered to be obligatory. His grandparents would give him a big present for it. Moreover, Kazakhs had a tradition of giving one of the livestock to a child who visited them for the first time [XCVIII]. It was called 'basire'. Some parents would leave a bunch of hair on the back of the child's head. It was called 'aidar shash'. They cut it off only when the child was circumcised. It was dugged in case the person died. When the child was cutting a tooth, his mother used to sew a special apron – 'suluk' or 'silekei'. It was made of the remnants of different fabrics. The child wore it until he was 3-4 years old.

One of the ceremonies that took place in the early age of a child is 'tusaukeser'. The feet of a child, who made his first steps, were tied up with a motley string. A small bell was attached to the string. Then a person who had been chosen by the child's parents would cut off the string. The string was believed to protect him from an evil eye, while the bell would make him popular [XCIX]. A childless woman was advised to visit the families where there were many children and collect cotton remnants and sew a child's apron. They were very sure that would unreservedly help her [C].

Very early traditions such as 'kuiiryk botqa' and 'bauyrayak' related to the child's growth and upbringing have been already forgotten. The ceremony 'tusaukeser' was held when the kid only started to walk. It occurred when he was about 9-12 months old. This tradition was believed to stimulate the child to walk. In Turkmenistan and Karakalpakstan, particularly women were chosen to carry out tusau keser tradition since females were considered to have gentle character and strong abilities. They got special gifts for the service they provided. Many years ago,

children used to go through the legs of an old woman of Kanly tribe. They were believed to be happy and rule the country [244, 71, P.327].

Since the recent years, Kazakhs in Kirgizstan have been making some variations with this tradition. The child's parents organize a marathon for group of children, and the one who reaches the finish first will be honoured to cut the string off. Residents of Manas village Kaliev Bugybai and Balabekova Maru [CII] say that this tradition has come from the local Kirgiz people. Earlier, Kazakh people had used the sheep's intestine instead of a string. It was supposed to bring success to a child. In some regions of Karakalpakstan, 'koz monshak' (beads which are believed to protect from an evil eye) replace the string, while in Kirgizstan a red ribbon is used instead. It is believed to make the child walk beautiful [CIII]. In some regions, different sweets were put between the feet of a child. Other children should run up and get distributed them. In Karakalpakstan, the child stood on the sheepskin covered with a white cloth wishing him a successful life. As soon as the child entered the room, he would face the guests, and the performer of tusau keser would say 'Bissimillahirrahmanirrahim, it's not me, it's our our Bibibatima mother, let her support us and make us strong'. Then a child was accompanied by her to walk around the room. The child's parents would make a party devoted to this event. It was called 'ayak toi'. To protect the child from an evil eye, different stuff would be attached to his clothes. As soon as he started to walk, his mother would sew a bundle of owl feathers on his headwear or pin on talisman.

Circumcision is one of the most important traditions of Muslim people. Besides, it is the duty of all Muslim parents. Turkmen children are circumcised at the age of 6-8, while it happens with Kazakh at the age of 7-12. This very important mission is entrusted to a skilled mullah. He removes the skin covering the tip of the penis and hangs it outside the yurt [277, 393, 130]. This event is also of great importance for the child's parents and relatives. Accordingly, there are many customs related to circumcision. For example, women are not allowed to be with the child during this process, or a childless woman is advised to eat that removed skin. Moreover, in Central Asia, this event is considered sacred as circumcision is a certified sunnah for men. A party held on this occasion is called sundet toi. It was celebrated as luxuriantly as wedding or kyz uzaty party. Uzbeks pay equal attention to wedding and sundet toi. The celebration of sundet toi of the Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan and Uzbekistan is very similar. The boy's relatives (his mother's relatives) make a special blanket, clothes as well as valuable gifts for him. Kazakhs in Kirgizstan don't pay much attention to this event; however, the boy's mother's relatives make some gifts for him. In the south west areas of Central Asia, it is considered to be a very important moment in a boy's life, so, it is a good reason for parents to arrange a big party and invite very many guests and entertain them. A circumcised boy will get very many gifts as well as a lot of

money. Unlike the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan's Kazakhs know a little about the traditions associated with this event. There is little information about the rites carried out by the circumcised boy's grandparents (on his mother's side) [CVI].

In Kirgizstan, during the *sundet toi*, the circumcised boy is put on a horse and solemnly rides in front of the guests, the latter are expected to hand him money. The horse is usually a gift of his mother's parents. They'll get a similar gift on their departure. The horse is trimmed and decorated specially for the party. It is called 'tai zhasau'. Its saddle bags are filled with sweets, drinks and foods. They are allocated by women who have met the boy. The hostess will make various presents to highly respected guests and give shapans to elder ones. The party is sometimes accompanied by different national games such as baige and kokpar(buzkashi). Certainly, it depends on the social status of the family. In fact, every other Kazakh family in Uzbekistan arranges such a big party and takes it for granted, while few Kazakhs in Kirgizstan are able to do so due to their social conditions. Kokpar has been well developed in Bostandyk district of Tashkent oblast. Kokpar is one of the oldest national games of Kazakh people. It (literally 'goat bashing' in Turkic, buz is Turkic for 'goat' and 'kashi' means bashing) is the sport in which horse-mounted players attempt to drag a goat carcass toward a goal. As people said, 7 horses and about 10 camels were bet on during one of the weddings in the region [CVIII]. Wrestling is also popular in the region. Kazakh people considered Wednesday a lucky day, so, they used to hold the party only that day. A. Bikzhanova has written about it in her work [248, 355, P.16]. However, nowadays they try to have them in summer on Fridays or Saturdays. After the wedding or after any other parties, the host family will invite those people who've helped them with the party arrangements. They express their gratitude to them for their great contribution and serve them to dinner. It is called 'kudaya shukir' (in Bukhara region).

In many areas, issues related to wedding parties or other big family gatherings are thoroughly deliberated by the members of the kinship, close friends and neighbors. It is called 'maslikhat'. Women talk about the food, venue and gift-giving, while men will discuss the expenses, the number of guests and some other issues. Two people are delegated to hold the party. The hostess will distribute *tuybeteyka* for men and aprons for women. Thanks to such kind of friendly atmosphere, the host family won't get much troubled about the arrangements of the party [278, 394, 256]. Aksamals are also invited to the *toi*. Early in the morning of the wedding day, women prepare delicious foods, receive guests and entertain them. People dance, sing songs and eat foods specially prepared for the party. The most talented guests get presents, sometimes money. Relatives and close friends of the family give a good deal of gifts to the hostess. Accordingly, she is also expected to give them something valuable to be remembered by the party.

In general, traditions and customs related to childbirth and upbringing play a great part in people's life. Kazakh people try to educate their children to respect the elder and help the younger. Unfortunately, there is one problem still unsettled by and common to all Kazakhs living abroad. It is the problem of the Kazakh language. Kazakh children do not know their mothertongue under certain circumstances (absence of Kazakh language schools, on the contrary, abundance of Russian language schools).

It's become obvious from the collected materials, that there are many similarities between the traditions and customs related to the childbirth and upbringing of the Kazakhs living in different regions of Central Asia. Though the Kazakh diaspora in the abovementioned countries of Central Asia seem to be keeping some national traditions and customs associated with the birth and education of children, as we see, some elements of them have changed and some of them have been subject to the influence of local population. Such ethnographic distinctions and features of the Kazakhs in Central Asia require serious research.

5.3 Funeral and post-funeral rituals and peculiarities of Kazakh nation

Death of people and funeral features characterize the tribe or the nation. The funeral procedures mainly depend on the deceased's social status, his authority and wealth. In accordance with this, every nation tries to organize the funeral in pursuance of customs and traditions. Kazakhs in Uzbekistan call corpse 'mayit'.

From early times, the last wishes and desires of the sick are called 'arazdasu', meanwhile, Kazakhs in Turkmenistan call it 'swearing time'. Wherever and whenever the sick is going to die, people invite mullah who calls sick's iman, gives him iman water and prays for his soul. Kazakh people were afraid of dying without these prayers.

After a person has passed away, Kazakhs in Uzbekistan give him "meyram water" (wash and put him on his right side) and put him on his right side. Famous scientists and researchers S.Azhigali and N.Baigabatov commented on it: 'one of the important actions taken before the funeral is washing the deceased – ritual of meyram water. It is done before mullah arrives'[280, 396, P.189]. If the deceased dies in winter, people cover his body with cloth to prevent it from getting cold and being alone. And, according to the words of the informants, Kazakhs in Turkmenistan put some ground tied in the cloth near the heart of the deceased. [CIX]. Famous ethnographer Y.Kydyralin wrote in his article that this ritual was peculiar not only to Kazakhs in Turkmenistan, also it was common in the west parts of Kazakhstan region[281, 397, P.167]. It means that 'a person is supposed to be with ground'. According to Kazakhs in Uzbekistan, putting deceased on his right side is called 'to bring up'[CX]. Wealthy people place the body of

the deceased in a separate place or a special room. If the body is placed inside the house, they put grass under the body and ice, if it is hot outside. The day of his death is called 'shildekhana'.

At night, the deceased's relatives stay with 'him' and praise him, tell all good virtues of his character and manner, thus they save him from demon, while aksakals sit in another room with other close people of the deceased and pray for his soul. It is practiced by Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan. At least one person sits with a candle near the body till it is given to the earth. This ritual is common for Kirgiz people, too. They sit near the deceased and cry, and make tasbih 1000-2000 times, even 71 thousand times[CXI]. When a person dies, it is believed that he has gone to calm world, that's why it is advised to say 'he is gone'.

People in Central Asia organize funeral of the deceased till the afternoon if he dies in the morning [176, 398, P.125]. This ritual is still being followed by Uzbeks. Also Uly juz Kazakhs keep this ritual, too. Usually Kazakhs keep dead body for 1-2 days until the deceased's relatives arrive for the funeral. Kazakhs in Turkmenistan keep dead body for 3 days. Ritual of not cutting the sheep for funeral, if the dead is young, is being kept till now. Cutting the sheep and cooking on mourning day is prohibited in Hodjeli, Beruni in Karakalpakstan and in Tashkent. But not all regions follow it. For example, people in Turkmenistan and North Karakalpakstan cut the sheep and cook konakasi (meal for visitors)[253, 356]. Kazakhs of Kishi juz call this meal "kara asi". The reason of not cooking at the deceased's home is explained by aksakals that after Hazrat Izrael (death angel) has taken the soul of the deceased, his home is in blood. Thus, the concept of not eating on mourning day is interpreted [245, 351, P.257]. Usually the deceased's relatives and neighbors bring meals to his home. This tradition is still followed by the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan. If a dead person is old, visitors are invited to his home. G.P.Snesarev wrote that Central Asian traditions like 'sitting near the body and waiting', 'not giving meal' were kept by Uzbeks in Khorezm and local people in Tashkent, and he related this tradition with zorostrism [278, 394, P.138]. Abdibayev Kasen wrote that in Uzbekistan regaling visitors were hosted by the neighbors of the deceased, while Kazakhs in Kirgizstan slaughtered two horses for the meal of that day[CXII]. Although Kazakh and Kyrgyz traditions and customs are similar, there are some differences in funeral rituals. Kyrgyz people used to give salty water to crying visitors (bitter kills bitterness) to calm them down. This ritual has been kept for a long period of time (since the USSR), but now it takes place very rarely. In the period of the USSR, this ritual was followed by the Kazakhs too, but now it is prohibited because of renewed religious position[CXIII]. Also, nowadays there are some rituals like covering the mirror, windows and TV with black cloth.

A.Divayev focused on three things that symbolized the mourners of Kazakh nation: 1) If a 60 year-old man dies, his wife doesn't wear black clothes, and relatives of the deceased distribute shapans (Kazakh coats) to elder people, and scarfs to youngsters. If a woman dies, her relatives distribute zhyrtys – a part of fabric. 2) If a 30-40 year-old man dies, his wife wears black clothes and dissolves her hair. Black fabric is tied to the top of the spear to express the mourning of the house. When the tribe moved to another place, the girls and women wore black clothes, held that spear and cried saying zhoktau (a song devoted to the deceased). The deceased's horse was covered with a black cloth and his tail was tied. It would last one year. 3) If a 20-25 year-old man dies, his wife wears a red shawl, and red fabric was tied to the top of the spear. The deceased's horse was covered with a black cloth and his clothes were placed on the saddle. A year later, all his clothes were burned and relatives gave a year meal [283, 399, P.5]. According to the rituals of the Kazakhs in Tashkent, the women, whose husband died, wore blue clothes, and if her children died, she wore a white shawl [245, 351, P.125]. In some regions, mourners wore green color clothes. But, if the clothes were made of silk, they wouldn't be considered mourning clothes. This custom was held by the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan, especially among Kazakhs of Orta juz who lived very close with the local people in the 50s of the XXth century. Green-colored mourning dresses were widely spread among Kyrgyz people, too. The following information about this ritual is given in the Kyrgyz language: 'The deceased's wife wears a black dress and black shawl, his mother, sisters and daughters wear blue or green dresses and green shawls. His brothers and sons wear tons'[284, 400, P.125]. Usually this procedure was held by women. Old women wear blue or black shawls and dresses. A woman, whose brother or sister died, used to wear a blue dress and a white shawl. If the dress is torn, sewing is prohibited. According to information gathered by Kazakhs in Turkmenistan, women, whose husband died, used to wear blue dresses and red shawls [285, 349, P.23]. Earlier, among the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan, a woman, whose husband died, used to cover her face with a shawl. Generally, according to Kazakh traditions, if a man died at the age over 60, then his wife hadn't to wear black clothes.

According to Central Asian Kazakhs, during the mourning of a young person, his relatives tied red cloth over their waists and cried holding sticks. This custom was followed by Kazakh of Uly juz, South Kazakhstan and Zhyzak region. But nowadays *naiman* in Uzbekistan, Bukhara and Nauai and Kishi juz Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan don't approve men's crying during the funeral. Only women cry loud. In the regions under the research, zhoktau still exists. Zhoktau is performed till the 7th day after the funeral. It was also said a year later, while meeting those who didn't come to funeral. However, Kazakhs in Takhtakopyr in Karakalpakstan performed

zhoktau when a dead body was being taken from the home. Generally zhoktau is said by relatives' daughters and wife. If zhoktau isn't performed, other people may laugh at them saying that the deceased had nobody who would say zhoktau for him, so, some Kazakhs had to learn verses of zhoktau by heart [286, 401]. In N.Katonov's work it is written: '...women in the village used to dissolve hair of the wife and daughters of the deceased, and 7 days later, they plaited them again [287, 402, P.23]. This custom is still followed by Kishi juz Kazakhs of alim tribe in Bukhara, Nauai in Uzbekistan. Generally, Kazakhs say zhoktau three times a day till 40 days past after the death of a person. The meaning of zhoktau as follows:

Morning zhoktau:

Is it a new morning
Is it a bar full of honey?
Give me your honey to taste
Give me your hand to touch

Afternoon zhoktau:

Afternoon after the moon
Bird is flying soon
In the middle of the noon
It is difficult to lose you

Evening zhoktau:

It is already evening?
Why don't you come?
My soul is full of bitter,
My heart is full of danger.
Will fire in my heart disappear?
Will my soul come back?

Such three times zhoktau was said[CXIV].

Washing the body before the funeral was accepted like washing all sins of him. Earlier, one representative of different kinships took a part in the process, but now only very close people and relatives of the deceased wash the body. It is called 'suyekke kiru'. Selection of these people is also an important moment. As for Orta juz Kazakhs, they pay attention to the seniority of a person, while Uly juz Kazakhs refer to his age and blood relations to the deceased. Odd number of people should take part in washing. Among Central Asian Kazakhs, this number was between 5, 7, 9 including mullah, neighbors and relatives of the deceased. Kazakhs in Turkmenistan didn't allow zhien (children of female siblings of the deceased) and nagashi (relatives of the deceased's mother) to wash the body, because they were supposed to laugh at the body if it had

any scars or some other defect on the body. Constant jokes between nagashi–zhien might have contributed to the development of such interpretations. The main role in washing the body is played by mullah or kozha. First of all, arms and hands of the deceased are washed. People who wash the body touch the lips of the deceased with cotton, wash his face and push his stomach. If something dirty comes out of the body, then they wash it again. After all, they wash the right, left and top of the body three times, all in all, they wash it nine times. Then they dry the body and put on his kebin [CXV].

Kebin for men requires 15-20 metres, for women 20-25 metres of white cloth. Because, kebin is sewed in 3 parts for men –inner part is sewed for all long with the holes in front and on two shoulders, second under the navel, third from head to the foot, the body is bunched in two places. For women shawl is sewed. Special gloves for people who wash are sewed. Because of the fear that sins of the deceased would pass to those who wash him, special gloves are sewed for washing the body. Dead body is sent off with his leg.[288,P.27] Uzbeks and other kurama people hire special people to wash the body. Uzbeks prepare clothes to give to those who've washed the body. Those, who wash the head of the deceased, receive a hat, shawl, and those, who have washed his legs, receive boots, etc. Kazakh in Kirgizstan bring clothes to elder people. Gathered clothes are given to parents. It is called 'mushe'. According to information gathered from the local Kirgiztani Kazakhs, when old people die, their clothes are hung up and given to the visitors. Nowadays, clothes are given only to close relatives. In Karakalpastan, the relatives of the deceased choose the person to wash the body. This person should be from the kinship of the deceased. When a woman died, only her relatives took part in washing her body [289, 403, P.124]. In Turkmenistan, when an old man dies at the age of 80, his relatives give 'sardar shapan' to 12 old men. Orta juz Kazakhs in Uzbekistan give shapans to the parents. It is called 'ata shapani'. Giving clothes of the deceased was connected with the belief that deceased wouldn't be naked in another world. People, who took clothes for washing the body of the deceased, didn't take them home, they left them somewhere till the morning, and left things till stars were seen on the sky. Clothes of the deceased were passed around to his relatives to be remembered by. The term 'smell' is connected with it.

If the neck of the deceased seems to be weak(dangles) while being carried out, his relatives immediately hammer the nail on the entrance in order to avert another death. This is called securing the death.

There was another ritual of transferring the deceased's sins to another one, which was held during the funeral. It was called 'dauir ainaldyru'. Also it was called 'pidiya'. It was like buying the sins of the deceased. This ritual is still followed by the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan and

Kirgizstan. Kazakhs in Zhetisu call this ritual 'dair, iskat'[286, 401, P.11]. Kazakhs pay money or give cattle for pidiya, while Kirgiz people give foods or grains or tableware. Dair or pidiya is essential in Tajikistan. It is held as follows: the body and 1/8 part of his wealth is put to the center. It may be his money or any fabrics, etc. They think that someone must take his sins. Earlier, those, who decided to take his sins, were supposed to get his wealth. Nowadays everything is performed by mullah[CXVI]. (Ulmeken Duisenova, born in 1935, from Korgantobe region, Kolkhozabad). During the 'dair ainaldiru' ritual held by Kazakhs in Karakalpastan and Turkmenistan, a son or relative of the deceased and two mullahs, holding fiber and cloth with money, stand near the coffin. Also there were 5-6 people who were holding a plate with silver on the rice. They were considered the witnesses. Mullah asked the people if the deceased had had loans. Mullah would take the cloth with money and say that he would take all the sins of the deceased, his unread namazs, 30 days of Ramadan, and repeat it as many times as the age of the deceased. Other mullah with the fiber would turn it as many times as the age of the deceased. This ritual is also followed by the Tajiks. It was written by N.S.Babayeva: 'Like in other Central Asian regions, Kulyab region also held the ritual of taking the deceased's sins. But it was held before washing the body. Sadaka was given, a plate with grain and salt. And those who washed the body took the cloth or clothes of the deceased' [290, 404, P.64].

Kazakhs in Takhtakopir place the body in the yurt, 5-6 mullahs sit outside it with the plate of grain that is covered with cloth, gun, and one side of fabric is tied to the yurt, another side is tied to a person who'll receive sins of the deceased. The ritual of covering the plate of the rice with the cloth was also practiced by Uzbeks. A cattle is kept for the meal. It is given to mullah, and the money is divided between 5-6 witnesses. Grain and shapan are also given to the mullah; the gun stays at home[CXVII]. After it, 15-20 people make praise and zhanaza is held. Body is put on the coffin.

The whole village of the Kazakh and Karakalpak people in Khorezm had a shared coffin[289, 403, P.509]. If a person died very old, people threw coins onto his body with hopes to have successful and happy time after his death. Some people thought that a dead person would take away all happiness with him. In order to avoid it, they took bread and whirled with it deceased's head. They practiced some other different rituals which were common among Central Asian Kazakhs. When body is being taken from home, his waist is put on the entrance of the home three times; it is done because they want the deceased not to be informed of what's going on in his house. Central Asian Kazakhs handed out zhyrtys and money when a man died (handing out money still exists in Turkmenistan); they handed out zhyrtys, fabric and needles when a woman died (Uly juz Kazakhs). Everywhere, zhyrtys and money are handed out. 10-20

som is handed out in Kirgizstan. Handing out fabrics and needles means that the dead woman may need them in another world. Uly juz Kazakhs splash water after the deceased, while Uzbeks throw stones after him. It was believed to end up with misfortune [CXIX].

With the belief that the spirits of the deceased would attend, the Kazakhs in Konyrat village of Karakalpakstan used to leave a new blanket and pillow at the graves [CXVIII]. But nowadays they bring them to the mosque.

The Kazakhs mainly keep funeral rites that are a mixture of Muslim customs with pre-Islamic beliefs. Mainly the relatives and neighbors of the deceased take part in the funeral ceremonies; they place the deceased in a special room, wash and wrap in a white shroud; or place him into a separate yurt specially put up for this event and do not leave him or her unattended for a single minute until the burial. Those who gather for the funeral pray under the guidance of a mullah. The women bemoan the deceased. The mourners bring the deceased to the cemetery on special stretchers; after further prayers, they lower the body into the grave and bury it. Among the Kazakhs, as among many other Eastern peoples, women are not allowed at the cemetery. After interment, ablutions are enacted at home and the clothing of the deceased is distributed to funeral participants; refreshments are prepared for all. Near the yurt of the deceased they set up a spear with a mourning flag, which is red if the deceased is a young person, black if middle-aged, and white if elderly. They do not remove this spear throughout the period of mourning - that is, the whole year. Funeral meals for the deceased are held on the third, seventh, and fortieth days. Kazakhs observe the first anniversary funeral feast especially solemnly with as many people as possible coming together. For this day, they slaughter the favorite horse of the deceased, whose mane and tail they had shaved on the day of its master's death. They also slaughter a good deal of other livestock for the feast.

This funeral event is celebrated quite ceremonially; many people gather -representatives come from various tribes and clans, sometimes several hundred people. For this reason, they set up many additional yurts and organize equestrian races, the victors receiving rich prizes. At present the Kazakhs are attempting to preserve all customs and ceremonies associated with the funeral rites.

The Kazakhs set up domed monuments on the graves, frequently mausoleums of stone, adobe bricks, and clay. The simpler graves are made of clay or brick fences in a rectangular shape, or sometimes simply a pile of stones with a pole to which they attach bundles of horse hair. They also make sacrifices at the graves, laying bones of animals on them.

The dead's face disposed on the West, a chin's tied up and the body covered with a clean cloth, and the body surrounded with a tent. The body should be in the house within one-three days, and close relatives guard at a body with lighted lanterns. Everyone who has come to present

condolences, should pass in a room, take dead's left and express their condolences to his relatives.

On the seventh day after the funeral, relatives of the deceased assemble and hold zhetisi (7 days). The next commemoration is held on the fortieth day and in a year.

No matter under what circumstances a person dies, coffin's head is turned toward the north, and ground is digged till the chest. But, Kazakhs in Beruni region put the coffin on the ground and buried it. Orta jus Kazakhs bury the body in 'lakatkor', Uly juz Kazakhs bury it in 'zharmakabir'. After they bury the body, making 40 steps from the grave, stop and again make praise. Then they return back to the deceased's home meet his family members again.

Especially commemorative solemnities are held on the seventh day (zhetisi), fortieth day (khyrkhy), and hundredth day (zhuzi) after the funeral. Besides, there is one more (zhyly) held a year later. The deceased's family members and relatives get together and invite many other guests to the event. The horse is slaughtered for a special big meal. Depending on the age of the deceased, this commemoration may vary. If he died very old, the event may be accompanied by the competitions of akyns in commemoration of him. However, sometimes it may seem rather strange. After the end of the day, the wife of the deceased removes her white shawl and daughters put off their black clothes.

Earlier, when the funeral was over, the yurt, where the deceased had been kept, was replaced. The place, where the deceased was washed, was digged up or branches were burned on it. Then a white cloth was tied to the pike and left near the yurt for one year [286, 401]. It shows that the family is mourning the loss of its head. Nowadays, as a yurt isn't built for the deceased, the room where he had rested is cleaned, and seeds of grain are scattered everywhere in the hope of having luck and success after his life. Kazakhs in Tashkent and South Kazakhstan cover this place with blankets and receive the visitors. Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan clean the house as well as the place in the hope of averting any tragic event. However, in some regions, the home of the deceased isn't cleaned until 40 days after the funeral. Because, they think the soul of the deceased remains at home. Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan and Turkmenistan lighten 7 candles until 7 days and 40 candles until 40 days. They do it so to make the ground where the deceased is buried light. A. Divayev wrote that it had been one of the oldest Kazakh rituals: '...40 candles were lit for 40 days, on the 7th day sadaka was handed out. The visitors made praise for the soul of the deceased' [283, 399, P.15]. As some informants explained, people do it so, because they think that the deceased's soul comes to his home and tries to make it light. Kazakh in Takhtakopir also lit candles on the grave. This ritual is followed by the Karakalpaks. There was another ritual called 'turlau'. People used to make a doll which looked like the deceased and put on her the deceased's clothes. The carpet, which the body of the deceased was wrapped, was

hung for 3 days in Karakalpakstan, while Kazakhs in Turkmenistan kept it for a day. It was called 'seeing the stars'. It was one of the methods of driving demons away[CXX].

Kazakhs in some regions of Uzbekistan follow 3rd, 7th, 20th, 40th and 100th day rituals. On the mourning day 'zhanaza asi' was given (Kazakhs in Turkmenistan and from West Kazakhstan call it 'karasi'). Then such events as 'zhetisi', 'khyrkhy', 'zhyly' were also held in commemoration of the deceased. On Thursdays and Fridays, the family of the deceased make 'zheti nan' (seven fried bread) and prepare a special dish reciting some verses of Quran. Generally, Kazakhs pay more attention to 'zhetisi', 'khyrkhy', 'zhyly', but 'ushi' and 'zhirmasy' are not common. Kazakhs in Uzbekistan used to give 'ushi' and 'zhirmasy' until the 70s of the XXth century. Nowadays, this ritual may be peculiar to the Kazakhs of Boke and Pskent regions where there are many Uzbeks. On the day of 'ushi', clothes of the deceased are distributed to those who have washed the body. Earlier, old clothes of the deceased were given, but nowadays only new clothes are used. Before distributing the clothes of an old woman, Kazakhs of Konyrat tribe used to show them to all visitors. It was done in order to show the wealth of the deceased. The 'ushi' is held in 3 days after the funeral, because people think the soul of the deceased will leave them within this period. For this day cattle is slaughtered, and all relatives and neighbors are invited to the meal. People also think that the soul of the deceased returns home for the first time after 7 days and give 'zhetisi' to visitors. 'Khyrkhy' is held on the eve of the 40th day after funeral, and paid more attention than 'zhetisi'. Kazakhs believe that the soul of the deceased visits his home until the 40th day, and then he will not do.

In many regions, people set a memorial to the deceased on his grave. Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan pay much more attention to 'khyrkhy' and slaughter a horse and put its head into the grave. On this day, the horse that will be slaughtered for the event is selected. Usually, it is the deceased's own horse. The tail of the horse is cut off. The blankets are usually arranged in a vertical order in Kazakh yurts. On the day of mourning, one aksakal knocks these blankets down in the deceased's home; it means that this home will be mourning the whole year, so, there is no need to tidy up there'[CXXI]. The spirit of the deceased is believed to arrive at his house in 99 days after the funeral, so his relatives hold his 'zhuzi'. Many people are invited to this event. As we've mentioned before, 'ushi', 'zhirmasy' and 'zhuzi' are not common to all Kazakhs. A.T. Toleubayev wrote in his work that all these rituals were connected with archaic beliefs of the people [261, 72]. 'Zhuzi' is still held by Kizhi juz Kazakhs. On the 100th day, the deceased's wife is allowed by the aksakal, who's destroyed it, to put the blankets back. He will knock them down again, and then other women put them back. Several years after 'zhyly' is held, so-called 'as beru' ritual has become popular among wealthy people. It takes place sometimes by people who are willing to show their wealth. Kuran okitu is also called 'iyisberu'.

But, according to financial status of the deceased's relatives, they may give a big meal on the day of the funeral inviting several neighbors and relatives. It is connected with current economic problems of the people.

Kazakhs in Kirgizstan have only 'zhetisi', 'khyrkhy' and 'zhyly'. Nowadays, under certain circumstances, as soon as the body is buried, the relatives of the deceased slaughter the sheep and treat the visitors to a special meal. Thus, on that day they hold 'zhetisi' (Kasen Abdibayev, was born in 1918, argin, from Manas village).

Kazakhs in Turkmenistan dig the ground till the chest, put the coffin and put some ground on the coffin and then put the slab and again put ground on it to bury. The grave is shaped in the form of square with dome. Famous archeologist and ethnographer S.E. Azhigali wrote that long relationships between Turkmens and Kazakhs influenced the rituals and customs of Caspian people: 'The Kazakhs and Turkmens in Northeast Caspian region developed similar types of gravestones - the mausoleum with the helmet and domes, gravestones like 'koytas', 'koshkartas' and etc. Moreover, they had similarities in realities of nomadic life such as arms depicted on monuments. There were also similarities in generic signs that were on the gravestones of *aday* and *salar*' [275, 391, P.33]. From the scientist's work we notice that there are similarities in funeral rituals of Kazakh and Turkmens. Each tribe of Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan and Turkmenistan had its own graves. Graves are made of iron, ground or stone. Rich people make graves from bricks. Nowadays symbols that show deceased's talent and profession are drawn on the memorials. For example, *saukele* is drawn on the memorial of a young woman, while scissors or jewellery is drawn on the memorial of a needlewoman. Sword, *dombyra* are drawn on the memorial of men. [CXXII].

To sum up, funeral rituals as well as family traditions are common for all Central Asia countries. The main reason of it is that all of them are Muslim peoples who strictly follow the Sharia law. Most similarities are noticed in mourning clothes, grave constructions, cleaning process of the deceased's home and etc. The graves of Kazakh people in Turkmenistan are very similar to the graves of all Muslim peoples such as Kirgiz, Turk, Uygur, Dungan and others.

CONCLUSION

Our compatriots living in different countries of Central Asia had suffered a lot in the period of historical development. Kazakhs, being an ethnical nation in Central Asia, had lived with other nations like Uzbek, Kirgiz, Turkmen since the ancient times. Having conquered Central Asian countries with an intention to oppose them to each other, the Russian government divided Kazakh regions into several parts; Turkistan region was divided into governors, regions, uyezds and villages. Dividing one region into other several governors or merging them with another governor had negative influence on the life of the local people. For example, to some extent it destroyed the established system of economics in the region. Moreover, those administrative districts couldn't define national territories of the nations which had been living in neighborhood. The administrative regions established by the Russian government didn't meet the people's interests; on the contrary, they contributed to the conflicts between different tribes in the region.

Administrative-regional divisions during the early period of the Soviet Union were like the continuation of the divisions of the Tsar's government: regions, uyezds and volosts. Lack of the definite borders between the volosts and scattered settlements complicated the process of regional division. Concerning the history of the Kazakhs living in Central Asia, there are sufficient evident facts which prove that Uly jus Kazakhs had been indigenous people of North Uzbekistan until the reign of the Soviet Union. Moreover, there is enough evident information

that *kanly*, *dulat*, *syrgeli*, *zhalayir*, and other Kazakh tribes had lived in those areas. Nowadays, we connect them with the nations that were part of Uzbeks and Kazakhs who lived there. The fact that there are many villages like ‘village of kanly’, ‘village of balgaly’ shows the connection of their grandfathers with the ancient tribes. *Aday* Kazakhs, who lived along with Turkmen people in Krasnovodsk of Turkmenistan, make up an ‘irredent’ group of Kazakhs abroad. There are evident written facts about it.

The destiny of another group of Kazakhs living abroad is connected with different historical developments. For example, after the occupation of the regions by Zhongars in Syrdaryamade Orta and Kishi juz Kazakhs move to the inner regions of Central Asia such as Khiya and Bukhara. Also, they had to move there due to the tortures of the khanates and lack of pastures for cattle breeding. Khan of Khiya conquered 25000 Kazakhs in the 20s of the XIXth century. Moreover, following the Stolypyn reform of the Tsar’s government, very many Russian citizens flocked to the region and took away fertile lands of the local people. It also necessitated Kazakhs’ moving to other places.

One of the reasons that many Kazakhs had to flee from the country was connected with the Revolution of the 1916 as well as Russian occupation of their fertile pastures. We are well aware of the historic events which forced our compatriots became alienated from the motherland. It happened due to the hardship of the XVII-XVIIIth century: Zhongar invasion and enduring Russian imperialism (imperial and administrative influence over the traditional Kazakh settlements, occupation of fertile Kazakh lands and the Tsar’s Decree in 1916) in the XIX-XXth centuries. Moreover, those people were confronted with the political and economic crises in 1917-1918, succeeding social-political situations, forced collectivization, famine and other adversities in the country. More than 100 thousands of Kazakhs moved to China. As time passed, moving to Bukhara and Samarkand regions got enlarged, the main aim of what was to cross to Iran and Afganistan. A group of Kazakhs, returning back from China to Kazakhstan in 1921-1922, had to stay in Kirgizstan for the fear of further persecutions in the motherland. Thus, they contributed to the number of the Kazakh diaspora in Kirgizstan. During the ethnical demarcation of the southwest territories of Central Asia in 1924-1926, 42 *argyn* families requested to stay in Kirgizstan.

One of the main reasons that the Kazakhs had left their motherland was connected with the ethnical-territorial demarcation process of Central Asian countries in 1924-1926. This process defined the ethno-territorial area of Central Asian peoples who had shared common ethno-genetic features. As a result of this process, new autonomous areas such as the SSR of Uzbekistan, the SSR of Kirgiz(Kazakhstan), the SSR of Turkmenistan, the SSR of Kirgizstan, Tajikstan (initially a part of Uzbekistan) and Karakalpakstan (a part of Kazakhstan

until 1930) were founded. One of the reasons that a part of Kazakh lands remained in Uzbekistan was connected with some economic issues between the countries. Some territories of Saryagash and Keles were rented by Uzbekistan peasants in 1942-1947. Another reason was that Bostandyk, Shyrshyq and Myrzashol regions of Kazakhstan were leased by the Uzbek government in 1950-1960. Thus, the history of the Kazakh settlement during the Soviet period can be divided into several stages:

1. Departing of the Kazakhs from their motherland during the 1924-1926 was connected with the territorial demarcation in Central Asia.
2. National disaster connected with maladministration of the government during the collectivization and famine in 1932-1933.
3. Leasing of Kazakh lands by Uzbeks in 1942-1947.
4. Kazakhs along with those leased lands became part of Kazakhstan in 1956-1960.

As far as the traditional occupation of Central Asian Kazakhs is concerned, they engaged in cattle breeding and field-crop cultivation since the early times of their development. They cultivated different types of grain, red sort of rice and millet. Also they cultivated garden vegetables as well as cotton. People in Bostandyk, Boke and Shatkal regions of Uzbekistan produced Kazakh sheep and astrakhan (karakul) sheep. Also they bred horses and camels. Nowadays number of camels has diminished, but Kazakhs in Turkmenistan still grow them. According to the history, Kazakhs in Turkmenistan ran salt business, while Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan took up fishing. As far as the material culture of the Kazakhs in those areas, they had greatly expanded and mixed during the Soviet Union. Their shelters, clothes and style of cooking prove it.

It's become obvious from the collected materials, that there are many similarities between the traditions and customs related to the childbirth and upbringing of the Kazakhs living in different regions of Central Asia. Though the Kazakh diaspora in some countries of Central Asia seem to be keeping some national traditions and customs associated with the birth and education of children, as we see, some elements of them have changed and some of them have been subject to the influence of local population. Kazakh people in Central Asia had specific traditions and customs concerning wedding, childbirth and upbringing, although they had been affected by the local people's customs. It is extremely apparent by the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan. Kazakhs in Turkmenistan, who've preserved their national customs and traditions, have many things in common with the Kazakhs in Mangistau. Kazakhs in Kirgizstan follow mixed traditions and customs of two nations developing good relations between two nations in Central Asia. There are many similarities in funeral rituals of all nations living in Central Asia. The reason of

this is that Muslims adhere to sharia's law. Moreover, mourning clothes, grave constructions and cleaning process of the deceased's home are also very common to all Central Asian peoples.

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