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**ВЕСТНИК**

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**STUDY OF SOME SUBETHNIC  
AND GENEALOGICAL GROUPS OF KAZAKHS  
IN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY  
(XVIII – EARLY XX CENTURY)**

**Abstract.** In article the analysis of works of the Russian researchers devoted to a research of subethnic and genealogical groups of Kazakhs during a specified period of time is given. The author pays attention to ethnographic features of separate groups of the Kazakh population, in particular, of so-called "shala-Kazakh". Features and factors of formation of the specified groups as a part of Kazakhs are shown. Processes of entry into the structure of the Kazakh people of a part of Karakalpaks, Uzbeks, Kalmyks and other foreign-language groups of the population are considered. The paper also draws attention to the peculiarities of the study by Russian authors of sub-ethnic and genealogical groups of Kazakhs. In particular, we are talking about the appearance of the first special works on individual genealogical groups, for example, tolengut. The author also dwells on the assessment of the contribution of individual Russian scholars to the study of the indicated topic.

**Keywords:** ethnography and ethnic history of Kazakhs, subethnic group, genealogical group, «Qojalar», Tóleńgit, Tóre, Noğai and other groups of Kazakhs, «shala-Kazakhs», Kataghans, Russian ethnography.

**Introduction.** An analysis of the historiographic aspects of the topic under study is a necessary element of any research. This allows you to identify achievements and problems at the previous stages of research, as well as to draw a definite result and outline the future prospects of a topic for the future.

This topic also relates to the main directions of domestic and foreign policy of the modern Kazakh state. Note that historical science in this case plays a decisive role, forming the basic principles and positions in relation to our own national history, the interpretation of its individual events and historical personalities from the position of an independent state.

The purpose of this article is to make a historiographic analysis of literature on sub-ethnic and genealogical groups within the Kazakh people during the Modern times period.

**Methods.** In the analysis of materials and their scientific interpretation, we used the following research methods: analysis, synthesis, comparison, diachronic.

At present, in ethnological science, the concepts of an ethnographic and ethnic (sub-ethnic) group are used to analyze individual groups within an ethnic group. The ethnographic group is distinguished by some local features of the traditional everyday culture highlighted by researchers, but at the same time it does not recognize itself as a special group and does not possess self-awareness. An ethnic (sub-ethnic) group is part of an ethnos, but it has not only the characteristics of a traditional culture, but is aware of its difference from the rest of the ethnos. The indicated groups as part of an ethnos are formed in different ways (territorial separation of a part of an ethnos, remnants of the former tribal division, incomplete process of assimilation of a nation or its part, special social (ethno-social, ethno-confessional) status of a part of the population) [1].

Such groups took place in the Kazakh ethnos. Russian researchers, travelers, and military men who visited Kazakhstan in the 18th – 19th centuries, in addition to the traditional clan associations (ru, zhuz), identified special groups of population who are referred to in the literature as “estates”, “sub-ethnic

groups”, “clans”, etc. The existence of such groups did not violate the ethnic unity of the Kazakh people. So, V.V. Radlov wrote: “although the names of the clans very clearly indicate that the Kaysak Kyrgyz (Kazakhs. – *authors*) were formed from a motley conglomerate of various Turkic tribes mixed with Mongolian and even Samoyed tribes, it should be noted that in the sociopolitical and linguistic sense, all the Kirghiz (Kazakhs. – *authors*) on the vast stretch of their distribution have merged and melted so closely that we can rightly call them a single people, since they are generally aware the unity of their people and their inseparable general community” [2, 111].

**Results.** A focused study of various regions of Kazakhstan, the ethnography of the Kazakhs, including sub-ethnic and genealogical groups in the Kazakh population began in the XVIII century. since the beginning of the subjugation of the Kazakh lands of the Russian Empire. The Russian military and administrative authorities organized expeditions, trips to the Kazakh steppe in order to collect various information (resettlement, life, customs and rites of the Kazakhs, climate, flora and fauna, etc.). During such events, significant material related to our topic was collected.

In 1762, the work of the geographer, historian and regional history researcher P.I. Rychkov (1712–1777) “The Orenburg topography, that is, a detailed description of the Orenburg province” (Rychkov, 1762). In his work P.I. Rychkov, among other things, mentions the patrimonial units of the Kazakhs of the Middle and Younger Zhuzes [3] and also dwells on the origin of the Kazakh genealogical group of the population under the name “Qozha”. In his opinion, the Qozha came from the “Hagarians who came to Turkestan” and who are “revered as saints” as the descendants of Muhammad, moreover, “from such Hojjas to this day in the Turkestan great mosque there is a coffin of one according to their law for the saint revered, who is called Hojja Akhmet” [3, 1762: 20].

In 1771, “Daily Notes of the Captain Nikolai Rychkov’s Travel to the Kirgiz-Kaisak Steppe in 1771” [4], in which the observations and thoughts of the traveler and geographer, the son of P.I. Rychkov, N.P. Rychkov (1746–1798), relating to our topic. So, N.P. Rychkov also mentions in his notes the genealogical group “Kozha”. In particular, he writes: “The Kirghizes (Kazakhs. – *authors*) ... do not have their own priests, but instead in the autumn they are visited by Hojjas, Akhuns and Mullahs who come from Tashkent, Turkistan and Khiva. They enrich them with every kind of cattle, and those people enriched with the forgery of their holiness return within their fatherland” [4, 1771: 26].

In the same work of N. P. Rychkov, we see one of the first references to the inclusion of part of the Nogais in the Kazakh ethnic group, when the Nogais “began to wander along the steppes with their wives, increasing their kin from time to time more... However, now they are generally called Kirghiz-Kaisaks; and this new name is more common between their people than the ancient one” [4, 1771: 32–33].

In 1773, the work of a naturalist, traveler P.S. Pallas (1741–1811) “Traveling to different provinces of the Russian Empire” [5], in which, in addition to other things, there is information on the ethnography of the Kazakh people in the aspect that interests us. So, P.S. Pallas gives a brief description of the representatives of Tore and Qozha: “Those who have a large number of subordinates are called khans and sultans. There are also other ranks subordinated to them, namely: noblemen, named bu (bi); the venerable people of the old generation Hojja and others called Murza” [5, 1773: 578–579]. In the descriptions of P.S. Pallas we meet the mention of the Nogai topic: “The outpost of Saraichik or Sarachikovka is located near Yaik on the eastern side of the moat left from the formerly populous Tatar city of Sarachik. I do not intend to repeat here what is being told about the fate of this Nagai city and the resettlement of its inhabitants to present-day Khiva, but I will only give a brief description of the remnants there” [5, 1773: 578–610].

In 1799, the work of the ethnographer, traveler I.G. Georgi (1729–1802) “Description of all the peoples living in the Russian state. Their worldly rites, customs, clothes, dwellings, exercises, fun, religions and other memorable things” [6], the second part of which was devoted to “the peoples of the Tatar tribe”, that is, the Turkic-speaking peoples. Part of the material is devoted directly to the Kazakhs (“On the Kirghiz”), which, he notes, “are also known under the name of the Kazakh horde”. Based on the legends of the Kazakhs, I.N. Georgi writes that they are “descendants of the Crimean Khan Kundugur, therefore, they are Nogai by nature” [6, 1773: 119].

In 1830, a large six-part work of the military S.S. Bronevsky (1786–1858) “On the Kirghiz Kaisaks of the Middle Horde” [7, 8, 9, 10, 11] was published. It is worth noting that, as far as one can judge, these parts are not thematically separated from each other: each of the parts is a continuation of the previous one.

In the first part [7]. S.B. Bronevsky considers several issues, including the question of veneration of “Kozha” in the Kazakh society: “Khans and sultans consider Turkestan to be their homeland: Bukey’s grandfather and father owned Turkestan. The Bukey clan is still worshiping Azret or all the same Turkestan, where the righteous Azretis kept, according to legend he is God’s saint and Batyr. The Bukey’s family ..., takes the bodies of the departed ancestors there for burial despite the remoteness” [7, 1830: 413–414].

Of great interest to us in the framework of our topic is the second part of S.B. Bronevsky’s writing [8]. Here we see references to the barymta, in which khans and their tolenguts took part [8, 1830: 80]. S.B. Bronevsky notes the complex ethnic composition of the Tolenguts, which consisted of “Karakalpaks, Bukhara, Tashkent habitants and Kalmyks captivated by the ancestors” [8, 1830: 83]. The author dwells on tolenguts in more detail in the paragraph “On Telenguts or Slaves”. He characterizes them as “a class of servants among the Soltans and Kirghiz”, reports that in addition to the above-mentioned peoples and population groups, the Bashkirs were also part of the Tolenguts [8, 1830: 96].

In his work S.B. Bronevsky especially dwells on the characterization of “Qozha”: one of the paragraphs of the considered part of the author’s notes is called “On Khozhas, who are in the Kirghiz Steppe” [Ibid.: 93–94]. S.B. Bronevsky writes that the Qozha “originate from the Prophet Mohammed and the first preachers of his law, hailing from the Uzbeks, Tashkent and Bukhara people, and since they are pious, they take spiritual positions and they are especially respected” [Ibid.: 93].

In the third part of his work in the paragraph “On the various Asians who live in the Middle Horde” [9], S. B. Bronevsky speaks of Kazakhs who came from Central Asia and East Turkestan, who moved to the Kazakh lands “by the invitation of the Kirghiz (Kazakh. – *authors*) sultans ... on condition that they stay with them forever” [9, 1830: 162].

In the fifth part [10], in the paragraph “Spiritual rites”, S. B. Bronevsky only briefly mentions the genealogical group “Qozha” among the Kazakhs in connection with Islam: “Kirghiz-Kaisaks, although they practice the laws of Mohammed, are ignorant of it; the Akhuns, Mullahs, and Hojjas are kept in volosts” [10, 1830: 95].

The sixth part of the work of S. B. Bronevsky [11] contains approximately half of the ethnographic material (funerals, weddings, etc.). Here we find a small mention of the inclusion of a certain part of the Kalmyks into the Kazakhs [11, 1830: 215]. Among other things, S.B. Bronevsky also considers the “Nogai” issue in connection with his mention of the ruins of three cities in Central Kazakhstan [11, 1830: 251–252].

In the materials of S. B. Bronevsky, the genealogical group “Qozha” also appears in the provisions of the common law of the Kazakhs. So, “if anyone hurts Hojja or Mullah, it is believed that the offender paid a fine of 27 pieces of different livestock, including one camel, and if there is nothing to pay, then one of his thumbs must be cut off, but if Hojja is the instigator himself, then he loses the right of action” and others [11, 1830: 263–264].

In 1832, the “Description of the Kirghiz-Cossack or Kyrgyz-Kaisak Hordes and Steppes” [12, 13, 14] of the historian, ethnographer, statesman A.I. Levshin (1798–1879), which consisted of several parts, and in which some information was given on the subject of interest to us. In the first part [12] A.I. Levshin, considering the paths leading from “from the Saraichik fortress to Khiva” through the isthmus between the Caspian and Aral Seas, calls one of the paths “the ancient Nogai road”, which leads “from the Saraichik fortress to the remains of ancient Urgench” [12, 1832: 180, 290].

In the second part of his work [13], A.I. Levshin notes that some Kazakhs consider themselves descendants of immigrants from the Crimea, and “the reason for their resettlement in the present lands was a quarrel that arose between the sons of the Crimean Khan Kundugur after his death” [13, 1832: 24–25].

In the third part [14]. A.I. Levshin again returns to the Nogai topic. So, according to him, in addition to Kazakh cemeteries in the steppes, there are many other cemeteries; according to A.I. Levshin, the Kazakhs “attributed (these cemeteries) to the Nogais, who once lived in this country”: “The Nogai graves are tall, vast and often consist of huge mounds of such stones, which were transported from afar” [14, 1832: 114].

A.I. Levshin also addresses the issue of the groups “Tore”, “Qozha” and “Tolengit” among the Kazakhs. He notes that “whoever kills the Sultan or Hojja, he pays the relatives of the killed the kun (fine) for 7 people. The insult of the Sultan or Hojja in words is punishable by a fine of 9 pieces of cattle, and for beating them – 27 pieces of cattle” [14, 1832: 170].



As for the Tolenguts, A.I. Levshin points to a clear difference between the Tolenguts and slaves (kuls). In particular, firstly, the Tolenguts “belong to the common people”, and the kuls “consist of captured Russians, Persians, Kalmyks, etc.” and “do not belong to the Kirghiz (Kazakh. – *authors*) tribes”, but, secondly, the Tolenguts enjoy the same rights with them (ordinary Kazakhs. – *authors*), and the kul “are treated as a commodity or thing” [14, 1832: 12–13].

In 1848 the multi-volume Military Statistical Review of the Russian Empire was published [15, 16]. This Review paid some to the Kazakh lands. In particular, the 14th volume (in two parts) was devoted to Western Kazakhstan. In the first part of this volume, territories to the west of the Ural river were examined. In this part, representatives of the Nogaik in are mentioned, as their horse herds were driven in mud by the storm in 1825 [15, 1848: 5].

In addition, there is a brief mention of the tolenguts: “Telenguts constitute a special branch not belonging to any kin, and they are workers of other Kirghiz (Kazakhs. – *authors*), 400 families” [15, 1848: 12].

The second part of the 14th volume of the Military Statistical Survey of the Russian Empire mentions some toponyms associated with the Qozha group at Kazakhs: “From the side of Karatamak, at the top of the Khojanyn-Sai ravine ...” [16, 1848: 13], “Khoja-Kul in the valley of the Kauljurriver... It is not big and the depth is not more than 5–6 feet ” [16, 1848: 64]. We also note that the “Qozha” in the indicated part of the publication is also mentioned in the genealogical traditions of the Kazakhs of the Younger Zhuz. So, according to the compilers of the edition, the founder of the Younger Zhuz was Alshyn: “Three kins originate from his three sons Alim, Kadyr-Khuja and Karakartysh, the 1st is the ancestor of Alimuly, the 2nd – Bayuly, from the 3rd – Semirodsky” [16, 1848: 76].

In the considered part of the edition, a list of tribal units of the Kazakhs of Western Kazakhstan is given, among which the “Tolenguts” (60 family) and Kozha (528 family) are mentioned. In particular, the summer migrations of the Tolenguts were in the territory near the Ural line. At the same time, the Tolenguts wandered “together with the heirs of the khans of Aichuvak and Nurali” [16, List...].

As for the Qozha, they are listed as the Ak-Khujinsk subdivision of Jagabailik in. Their summer territories were “at the Ilguar and Baguta rivers”, and their winter ones “at the Korig river, against the Syrtinskaya, Uvalskaya and Kyzyl villages” [Ibid.].

In the same year, the work of Colonel General Staff I.F. Blaramberg (1800–1878) “Lands of the Kirghiz Kaisaks of the Inner and Trans-Ural Horde” [17]. This paper discusses the history, population, economy, climate of Western Kazakhstan, and pays attention to the resettlement of tribal associations of Kazakhs in this part of the country. In particular, Kuyas units, Kazakhs kulaks, Uysuns and Kostamgaly of the Nogaikin, as indicated, spend winter in the upper part of Ryn Sands, and in the summer they roam within the Saratov province. Sultans and Kozha (200 families) are also mentioned, and with respect to the Tolenguts (400 families) it is said that they “constitute a special division not belonging to any kin, and they are the workers of other Kirghiz (Kazakhs. – *authors*)” [17, 2001: 20]. The name Qozha is also present in the name of Lake Khoja-Kul in the east of Mugodzhar [17, 2001: 99]. They also appear in the legends of the Kazakhs about the origin of the clans of the Younger Zhuz. So, according to one of the legends mentioned by I.F. Blaramberg of, the first ancestor of the Younger Zhuz was Tulkaz-Alchin, who had three sons: Alim-Chuman, Kadyr-Khuja and Karakashysh or Kart-Kazak [17, 2001: 124, 125, 145].

When characterizing the Kazakh lands east of the Ural River, in particular on Ustyurt, I.F. Blaramberg mentions deep wells carved in loose limestone by the Nogais, as the Kazakhs informed him, although Blaramberg notices at the same time, this “name is indefinite, meaning generally all the Tatar-Mongol tribes of former times” [Ibid., 48]. Nugai is also mentioned as a subdivision of the Karasakal clan (in the Syr Darya region), as well as Berish clan [17, 2001: 116, 121].

In 1848, N. Troitsky published the article, “A Look at the Inner Kirghiz Horde” [18]. It again briefly mentions the tribal units of the Kazakhs living west of the Ural river. In particular, in addition to the traditional clans of the Younger Zhuz of the Kazakhs, “telenguts who generally servants of the khans and sultans in the Kirghiz (Kazakhs. – *authors*) hordes” are mentioned, “several dozen *kibitka* of the Hajji kin, who are honored by other Kirghiz (Kazakh. – *authors*) because of their origin”, as well as “the Nogaikin that originate from the twenty-five Nogai families that came to Abulkhayir Khan one hundred years ago” [18, 2001: 75].

In 1851, A. Evreinov's article, “The Internal, or Bukey, Kirghiz Kazakh Horde,” was published [19]. A. Evreinov turns to the study of the tribe composition of the Kazakhs. In this case, among other Kazakh

clans, there draws the attention the Istekunit, a part of Kita clan, the Nogaikin (200 families), consisting of four divisions: Kuyas, Kustamgaly, Kazankulak, Uysyun, Telengut clan without divisions [19, 2001: 60–61]. In this case, the kin Nogai is indicated by the author among those kins in which “almost everyone is rich” [19, 2001: 76].

In 1853 A. Tereshchenko's article “Traces of Desht-Kipchak and Inner Kirghiz-kaisat Horde” [20] was published. In his work, the author briefly describes the history of the formation of the Bokeev khanate, some customs of the Kazakhs, lists the tribal associations of the Kazakhs, describes the Tolenguts as “servants of khans and sultans”, mentions “several dozen kibits of the Khoja family”, Nogais, who “joined Abul-Khair” [20, 2001: 166]. The author also mentions in the area of lake Baskunchak karakalpaks, near which the Kazakhs settled, as well as “Trukhmen, Tatars tungurov, Tatars kundrov and part of the Kalmyks”.

In 1859 the work “Essays of the Trans-Ural steppe and the Inner or Bukeyev Horde” [21] was published. In this work, in addition to the sultans, there are mentions of telenguts: “The so-called Telen-guts, servants of the former khans and sultans, belong to the common people” [21, 2001: 104].

In 1859, E. Ostrovsky's article “A Trip to the Inner Kyrgyz-Kaisak Horde for Veterinary Purpose” was published [22]. As the name of the work shows, its focus on the topic was completely different, but, nevertheless, it contains brief information about the patrimonial units of the Kazakhs: “Kyrgyz (Kazakhs. – *authors*) are divided into generations, generations into genera, controlled by individual patriarchs from the Sultans. There are 16 genera in the internal horde, among which are Nogai, Tulengut, and also “Sultan and Khoji” [22, 2001: 44].

Ch. Ch. Valikhanov addressed in his works to class and genealogical groups as a part of the Kazakh people. In particular, in “Remarks on the third part of the description of the Kirghiz-Cossack hordes [A.I. Levshin]” Ch.Ch. Valikhanov emphasizes the privileged position of kozha in Kazakh society: Kaisaks (Kazakhs. – *authors*) khozhas do not belong to the white bone, but respect them on an equal basis with the sultans as spiritual persons, strict performers of Sharia regulations, and as descendants of the prophet [23, 1984: 198]. Mention of Kozha is also contained in the work of Ch. Valikhanov, devoted to the forms of Kazakh folk poetry [24, 1984: 280-286].

Question about khozha Valikhanov also considering the “Status Altyshar or six eastern cities of China province of Nan-Lu (Minor Bukhari) in 1858 – 1859” [25]. In particular, he notes that “Turkestan Khojis, they belong, like Kashgar, to a pure breed of Seids, i.e. come from Fatima. These Khojis live in the city of Turkestan, or Azret, and are distributed among the Kyrgyz (Kazakhs. – *authors*)” [25, 1985: 182].

The Nogai question is considered by Ch.Ch. Valikhanov also in the work “Legends and legends of the Great Kirghiz-Kaisak Horde” [26]. In particular, in his opinion, the word Nogai should be considered more broadly as “the General name of [steppe] nomadic Tatars”, which has been used since the adoption of Islam in the Golden Horde in the reign of Uzbek Khan by Muslims “in relation to the ulus for their predilections to ancient beliefs and old customs” [26, 1984: 276]. This same thought Ch.Ch. Valikhanov conducts in his work “Essays of Dzungaria” [27, 1985: 349].

In the article «Ablai» [28]. Ch.Ch. Valikhanov speaks about the circumstances of the part of the Kyrgyz people joining the Kazakh people. In particular, talking about the battle of Khan Ablai with the Kirghiz “near the Kyzylsu and Shamsi rivers flowing into the Chu”, he further writes the following: “Ablai returned to Kokshetau, his beloved nomad, close to the Siberian line, burdened with prey, and prisoners brought by him, were so numerous that now their descendants comprise two volosts called Yana and Bai-Kirghiz (that is, new and rich Kirghiz)” [28, 1985: 115]. Here, Ch.Ch. Valikhanov says that in 1774, at the request of the Uysunov elders, Ablai gave his son Adil to manage them, “having built a town on the Talas River that he inhabited by hardworking Karakalpaks” [28, 1985: 115]. The Kyrgyz element in the composition of the Kazakh people is considered by Ch.Ch. Valikhanov in the article «Kyrgyz Genealogy» [29].

Valuable information on subethnic and genealogical groups of the Kazakh population of the 1860s are contained in the work of V. Radlov (1837–1918) “From Siberia” [2]. Thus, speaking about the population of Semei, V.V. Radlov notes a group of ethnically mixed population, consisting of immigrants from Tashkent, runaways and deserters. This group of the population became a part of the Kazakh ethnos: “These people received permission to register as Chala-Kazakh (half-Kirgiz) (half-Kazakhs. – *authors*), and thus others became semi-Kyrgyz, not knowing a word in Kyrgyz (in Kazakhs. – *authors*)” [2, 1989: 73].

In addition, V.V. Radlov pays some attention to the characteristics of the population group called “Kurama”, settled “between Tashkent and Khojend” and suggests that “Kurama is a mixture of Kyrgyz (Kazakhs. – *authors*) and Uzbeks” [2, 1989: 10]. The value of the information given by V.V. Radlov is that he clearly indicates the ethnic composition of the “kurama” (“jalair, teleu, tama, jagalbayly and tarakly”), which finds analogies in the tribal composition of the Kazakhs.

In his work, V.V. Radlov also gives a characteristic of Tolenguts. They are characterized by him as “former serfs and slaves of the Sultan”: many decades ago they were released, legally they are no different from the rest of the Kazakhs, but nevertheless, they try to roam next to their former Sultan and retain the name tolengut (tölongýt) [2, 1989: 347]. In the specified work of V.V. Radlov besides tulenguts three more groups of the Kazakh population which the author designates as “serf of sultans” are mentioned, namely: “karakalpak, tyuryukpen, kangdy”. True, V.V. Radlov does not give any of their characteristics, but he limited only to mentioning their names. He also cites some statistics. In particular, in Kazaly district of the Turkestan General-governorship, he noted 525 families of khozha-kirey (in the area for all genera were 17680 families), in the Perovsky district 700 families of khozha and 150 families of Kara-Kalpak, marked them as belonging to the Middle Zhuz of Kazakhs. In total, there were 26645 families in Perovsky district [2, 1989: 113].

In 1889, there was written a book by N. Grodekov “Kirghiz and Kara-Kirghiz of Syrdarya region” [30], where some of parts of the material are related to our topic. Particularly, in the work of N. Grodekov there is information about the genealogical group of “Qozha” tribe. The author wrote: “the “Qozha” are considered descendants of the companions of the prophet, and the “sayyids”, who are few among the Kirghiz, descendants of Hussein's son, Imam Zeinulabuddin, and there fore the best of he “Khojas” [30, 189: 5].

From the work of N. Grodekov there are clearly seen applications with the design nation of tribal units of the Kazakhs of three «zhuzes» with the indication of their battle cries “U’ran”, in which the word «Qozha» occurs. Also given are the images of the tamgas of “Qozha» and “Tore” [30, 189: 299].

N. Grodekov not by passed “Tolengut” clan. In particular, he wrote that the “Tolenguts” were *jigits* from the poor, who served the prisons and were a dopted by them. Previously, they served because of the all of men of property (enchi), because of “Kalym” and generally because of food. After receiving “kalym” or “enchi”, they continued to serve their masters, from which they had differentin comes. Former Tolengut serve and now, but for a fee” [30, 189: 6].

Mentioned in the work of N. Grodekov and a group of so-called “Shala-Kazakhs”, which the author defines as “semi- Kazakhs, settled Kirghiz” [30, 189: 100].

In 1891 in Astrakhan published book which called “Inner Kyrgyz Horde (Brief statistical essay)” [31], which contains information abouts ub ethnic and genealogical groups among the Kazakhs living between the Volga and Ural (Yaik) rivers. There are also data on the tribal composition of the Kazakhs to the West of the Ural river. In addition to the traditional tribal divisions of the Younger Zhuz (Kete, Kerderi, Aday, Alshyn, etc.), the genera “Sultan, Khojin... and Tolengut” are al some ntioned. The authors of the essay note: “as part of the Kyrgyz (Kazakh. – *authors*) population are also listed as separate genera, Karakalpaks and Nogais” [31? 1891: 4].

In 1891, the Imperial Academy of Sciences published he work “Notes about peoples and lands of Central Asia” [32] on the results of translator of a separate Siberian corps F. Nazarov, who travelled to Kokand in 1813–1814. In the notes there are indirect indications of the existence of the Kazakhs had a special relationship to the skin. Thus, here ports that on the steep shore of the lake is the Kazakh cemetery, where over the graves built “wooden four-cornered tomb stones”, while the author notes that some devout Kazakhs in the summer take away the bodies of rich relatives are taken to Turkestan, there to “bury the graves of their saints” [32, 1891: 13–14].

In the same work, we see indirect indications about the entry into the Kazakh people of certain representatives of the Kalmyk ethnic group. In particular, speaking about horse racing after a certain time after the funeral of a rich noble Kazakh, F. Nazarov writes: “the first horse too ver take was appointed as a reward 75 horses and 7 “Kalmyks”...” [32, 1891: 17].

By the end of the XIX century, there were began to be published special indexes of publications on the designated area, including the study of subethnic and genealogical groups of the Kazakh population of the Russian Empire. Thus, in 1891, the famous researcher of the traditional culture of the Kazakhs A. Haruzin developed an index that included a list of articles and other works on the history and Ethnography of the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz from 1734 to 1891 [33].

In 1894, the work of the famous researcher N. Aristov. (1847–1910) “Experience of clarification of ethnic structure of Kirghiz-Kaysaks of the Big Horde and Karakirgiz on the basis of genealogical legends and data on existing patrimonial divisions” and belonging to the “Kangly” tribe and to the “Dulat” tribe, having accepted into its environment parts of the Kara-Kyrgyz families and preserved its singularity “Kara-Kyrgyz” generation “Sary-Uysun” [34, 1894: 465].

In the work of N. Aristov there are brief information about the Katagans [34, 1894: 405]. He also notes the presence in one of the genera of Zhalaïr (according to 1865) of two generic divisions: Khoja-Nazar-Maida and Khoja-Nazar-Appak [34, 1894: 407].

In 1902, F. Zobnin who wrote a research article “On the question of slaves and Tolenguts in the Kyrgyz steppe” [35] the author specifically raises the question of the origin and features of Tolenguts. As a result of his research in the Eastern and South-Eastern regions of Kazakhstan, including conversations with Kazakhs, F. Zobnin comes to a number of conclusions about the origin of Tolenguts and the history of origins their name [35, 1902: 27–30, 32, 34–36].

In the XIX century. Russian scientists collect and publish some folklore materials collected by them among the Kazakhs, which refers to the special position of the “Tore” among the Kazakhs. Thus, one of the Kazakh Proverbs recorded by N. Pantusov in Zhetysay says: “Toresiz elden it jaqsy” – “a Dog is better than the people who have no “Tore” [36]. “Tore” are also found in the “Collection of Kyrgyz Proverbs” which was written by V. Katarinsky: “«Tasta tamyr joq, Torede bayyr joq” – “the stone has no roots, the Sultan or “Tore” has no relatives (for the just there are no friends or relatives)”, etc. [37]. From the materials of I. Laptev’s work “Materials on the Kazak-Kirghiz language” we can see the mention of “Qozha” true meaning “master” “The Son in the father, the servant Lord” [38, 1900: 4].

By the beginning of the XX century, additionally to individual articles published generalizing works on the history, geography, Ethnography of certain localities and regions of the Russian Empire. Thus, in 1903 was published the 18th volume of the publication “Russia: a complete geographical description of our Fatherland. Table and travel book for Russian people” [39]. In this book under the title “Kyrgyz land”, in which the authors noted that «the ancient Sultan families (Valikhan, Ablay, Bukey, etc.) and “Hadji” (descendants of Mohammed), although considered secular and spiritual aristocracy, but especially do not enjoy privileges: their influence on the people becomes insignificant” [39].

The authors also note the process of changing the position of so-called “Tolengut” at the end of the 1850’s, So if “Tolengut” seen as “a special kind of voluntary slavery”, that after this time, who were moving to the position of “free Kirghiz” (Kazakhs. – *authors*) [39, 1903: 216].

In 1913, the 19th volume (Turkestan region) of the publication “Russia: a complete geographical description of our Fatherland. Table and travel book” [40]. This volume mentions the Qozha (“Qozha»), who “descend from the first followers of Mohammed” [40, 1913: 377]. In addition, the publication notes the complex ethnic composition of certain groups of the population (“mixed ethnographic types”), in particular, “Kurama” [40, 1913: 377].

In the same period, Russian researchers continue to study the characteristics of individual groups of the Kazakh population. Thus, in 1908, the work of A. A. Kaufman “The Russian community. In the process of its origin and growth” [41], consist informations about “Tolenguts” do not have mowing, which are in the sole use of the sultans [41, 1908: 73].

**Discussions.** Generally, Russian researchers have made a great contribution to the study of subethnic and genealogical groups of the Kazakh people. The articles of Russian researchers from XVIII century, till early XX century are characterized as a encyclopaedism: their articles and books, as a rule, contain information on almost all sides of the traditional culture of the Kazakh people, including our topic.

As it seems to us, in the study of subethnic and genealogical groups of the Kazakh population by Russian researchers of the XVIII – early XX century, there are may be possible to distinguish two stages: the stage of the initial accumulation of ethnographic material, including information on subethnic and genealogical groups of the Kazakh population (works of P. Rychkov, P. Pallas, etc.) – the period of the XVIII – mid XIX century. The second stage covers the period around the middle of the XIX century. and is primarily associated with the scientific research of A. Haruzin, N. Aristov.

The most important from this is a scientific article by F. Zobnin, which we mention edit above. It should be noted that this work is some what knocked out from among other works. If in the works of A. Haruzin and N. Aristov we see the analysis of individual scientific problems, but within the framework

of generalized works (these works simultaneously considered generalized geographical, ethnographic, historical and other aspects), the article of F. Zobnin is devoted to a specific topic and it is within the framework of a separate article.

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**РЕСЕЙДІҢ РЕВОЛЮЦИЯҒА ДЕЙІНГІ ТАРИХНАМАСЫНДАҒЫ  
ҚАЗАҚТАРДЫҢ СУБЭТНИКАЛЫҚ ЖӘНЕ ГЕНЕАЛОГИЯЛЫҚ ТОПТАРЫН ЗЕРТТЕУ  
(XVIII – XX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ БАСЫ)**

**Аннотация.** Мақалада қазақтардың субэтникалық және генеалогиялық топтарын зерттеуге арналған ресей зерттеушілерінің көрсетілген мерзім ішіндегі еңбектеріне талдау беріледі. Автор қазақ халқының, дәлірек айтқанда «шала қазақтар» деген, жекелеген топтарының этнографиялық ерекшеліктеріне назар аударады. Қазақтардың көрсетілген топтарының қалыптасуындағы өзгешелік пен факторлар көрсетіледі. Қазақ халқының құрамына қарақалпақ, өзбек, қалмақ және басқа да өзге тілді халықтардың бір бөлігінің кіріуі қаралады.

**Түйін сөздер:** қазақтардың этнографиясы мен этникалық тарихы, субэтникалық топ, генеалогиялық топ, қазақтардың «қожалар», толентгіттер, төрелер, ноғайлар және басқа да топтары, «шала қазақтар», катағандар, Ресей этнографиясы.

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**ИЗУЧЕНИЕ НЕКОТОРЫХ СУБЭТНИЧЕСКИХ И ГЕНЕАЛОГИЧЕСКИХ ГРУПП КАЗАХОВ  
В ДОРЕВОЛЮЦИОННОЙ РОССИЙСКОЙ ИСТОРИОГРАФИИ (XVIII – НАЧАЛО XX ВВ.)**

**Аннотация.** В статье дается анализ работ российских исследователей, посвященных исследованию субэтнических и генеалогических групп казахов в обозначенный период времени. Автор обращает внимание на этнографические особенности субэтнических групп казахского населения, в частности, т.н. «шала-казахов». Показаны особенности и факторы формирования указанных групп в составе казахов. Рассматриваются процессы вхождения в состав казахского народа части каракалпаков, узбеков, калмыков и других иноязычных групп населения.

**Ключевые слова:** этнография и этническая история казахов, субэтническая группа, генеалогическая группа, «кожа», толентгуты, торе, ногаи и другие группы казахов, «шала-казахи», катаганы, российская этнография.

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