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**MODERN WESTERN LITERATURE ABOUT
KAZAKH LIFE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION**

This article is devoted to the process of studying Kazakhstan in the USA, complex research of ideas, stereotypes and mode of thinking which have formed about Kazakh people abroad. The process of studying other aspects of social and economic life of pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan continues in modern Western literature. Materials about Middle Asia and Kazakhstan, having been published in western literature, were generalized in substantial works of A. Hudson, E. Bekon, V. Ryazanovskiy, L. Krader and others. K.L. Esmagambetov wrote about American scientist M. Danlop, who described the story of Hazar Kaganate. For that time, these researches made a significant contribution into Western oriental studies. Achievements, gaps and methodological limitedness of bourgeois historic and ethnographic sciences in studying the problem of Kazakh national ethnogenesis were reflected in general research carried out by Indiana University Professor Laurence Krader. The author concentrates upon the information contained in Russian records about Kazakhs, bringing various view points of pre-revolutionary and Soviet authors on problem of etymology and ethnic content of the word "Kazakh."

Key words: western literature about Kazakh, Kazakh life, A. Hudson, E. Bekon, V. Ryazanovskiy, L. Krader.

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Заманауи батыс әдебиеті Қазақстанның революцияға дейінгі өмірі жайында

Ұсынылған мақалада Қазақстанның АҚШ-та оқу үрдісіне, шетелде қазақ халқына қатысты дамыған идеяларды, стереотиптерді және ойлау тәсілдерін жан-жақты зерттеуге арналған. Қазіргі батыс әдебиетінде революцияға дейінгі Қазақстанның әлеуметтік-экономикалық өмірінің басқа аспектілерін зерттеу үдерісі жалғасуда. Орталық Азия мен Қазақстанның халықтарына арналған батыс әдебиетінің материалдары А. Гудсон, Э. Бекон, В. Рязановский, Л. Крадер және т.б. жұмыстарында жинақталған. Есмағамбетов Хазар қағанатының тарихын сипаттаған америкалық ғалым М. Данлоп туралы жазды. Сол кездегі бұл зерттеулер шетелдік шығыс зерттеулерге маңызды үлес қосты. Буржуаздық тарихи-этнографиялық ғылымдардың жетістіктері, кемшіліктері мен әдіснамалық шектеулері қазақ халқының этногенезі Үнді университетінің профессоры Лоуренс Крадердің жалпылама зерттеулерінде көрініс тапты. Автор орыс хроникасы туралы қазақ халқына қатысты жаңалықтарға назар аударады, ол «қазақ» сөзінің этимологиясы мен этникалық мазмұнына қатысты революцияға дейінгі және кеңестік авторлардың әр түрлі мысалдарын келтіреді.

Түйін сөздер: батыс әдебиеті, қазақ халқы, қазақ өмірі, А. Хадсон, Э. Бэкон, В. Рязановским, Л. Крадер.

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Современная западная литература о жизни дореволюционного Казахстана

Предлагаемая статья посвящена процессу изучения Казахстана в США, комплексному изучению идей, стереотипов и образа мыслей, сложившихся о казахском народе за рубежом. В современной западной литературе продолжается процесс изучения и других аспектов социально-экономической жизни дореволюционного Казахстана. Материалы западной литературы о народах Средней Азии и Казахстана были обобщены в обстоятельной работе А. Хадсона, Э. Бэкон, В. Рязановским, Л. Крадер и др. К.Л. Есмагамбетов пишет об американском ученом М. Данлопе, который изложил историю Хазарского каганата. По тому времени эти исследования явились значительным вкладом в зарубежное востоковедение. Достижения, пробелы и методологическая ограниченность буржуазной исторической и этнографической наук в изучении проблем этногенеза казахского народа получили отражение в обобщающих исследованиях профессора Индианского университета Лоуренса Крадера. Автор обращает внимание на известия русских летописей о казахах, он приводит разные точки дореволюционных и советских авторов по проблеме этимологии и этнического содержания слова «казах».

Ключевые слова: западная литература о казахах, казахская жизнь, А. Хадсон, Э. Бэкон, В. Рязановским, Л. Крадер.

Introduction

Materials about Middle Asia and Kazakhstan, having been published in western literature, were generalized in substantial works of B. Dave (2007) confirm this fact; Theodore R. Weeks (1996); Adeeb Khalid (1998); Jane Burbank and David Ransel, eds. (1998); Robert P. Geraci (2001); Geraci and Khodarkovsky, eds. (2001); Paul W. Werth (2002). Important studies of Russia as an empire had emerged, of course, beforehand: on the steppe and Central Asia, see Thomas G. Winner (1958); Richard A. Pierce (1960); Edward Allworth, ed., (1967).

Books by Alfred E. Hudson "Kazak Social Structure", employee of Cornell University (Hudson, 1938), Elizabeth Bekon, "Central Asians under Russian rule. A study in Culture change" (Bekon, 1965) were dedicated to studying Kazakh society's social structure before the revolution. A. Hudson and E. Bekon's works cover a vast circle of issues, including history and ethnography of Kazakh people. The author touches upon the issues concerning organization of Kazakh families, inheritance law of Kazakhs, gap between the rich and the poor and concealed form of exploitation, housing, food, marriage customs and ceremonies.

Main body

A. Hudson's book contains the following chapters: "History of Kazak," "Nature of Kazak Social Groups," "Kazak Social Groups in Relation

to Economic Life," "The Family and Marriage," "Class Stratification," "Political Groupings," and "Inter-group Relations." Hudson idealized pre-revolutionary Kazakh society having noted only its "patriarchal" character, and omitting the existing social contradictions.

Attempts to justify "patriarchal" character of Kazakh society have been undertaken by Indiana University Professor, Valentin Ryazanovskiy. In his book "Customary Law of Siberian Nomadic Tribes" (Ryazanovskiy, 1965) in chapter "Kyrgyz Legal Customs" Ryazanovskiy wrote: "the main source of Kyrgyz right is steppe's customs... Its basis is the patriarchal family order; administrative and judicial proceedings were based on family principles." The author analyzes Tauke Khan's code of laws, imperial judicial procedures; lists clans of three Kazakh Zhuzes and specifies number of Kazakhs.

Achievements, gaps and methodological limitedness of bourgeois historic and ethnographic sciences in studying the problem of Kazakh national ethnogenesis were reflected in general research carried out by Indiana University Professor Laurence Krader. In the course of studying public relationships in pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan, he pays primary attention to patriarchic principles, viability of clannish and tribal institutions. One of his first works was called "Ethnonyms of Kazakh (Krader, 1962)." Bringing various view points of pre-revolutionary and Soviet authors on problem of etymology and ethnic content of the word "Kazakh," the author concentrates upon the information

contained in Russian records about Kazakhs. After this work, Krader completed his research initiated and supported by the Far-Eastern and Russian Institute of the Washington University and Russian Research Center under the Harvard University. In the process of collecting materials, the author visited Kazakhstan and obtained specialists' consultations. His work is called "Social Organization of the Mongol-Turkic Pastoral Nomads (Krader, 1963)." "The main objective of this research is to demonstrate economic and ecological regions where social and political organization of nomadic societies developed following ones and the same principles." In his other work "Peoples of Central Asia (Krader, 1963)," L. Krader examined formation of Kazakh ethnos, gave a geographic description of Kazakh lands, and exposed some issue of Kazakhstan's history until 1917 on the basis of works written by pre-revolutionary and Soviet authors. He used compositions of C. Valihanov and V.V. Velyaminova-Zernova, as well as A. Samoylovich to study the issue of Kazakh's ethnogenesis. Krader also published the article about principles and organizational structure of Asian steppes nomads-cattle-breeders. In all the above-mentioned publications Krader included special chapters about Kazakhs where he described formation of ethnic territory, times and reasons of separation into three Zhuzes, myths about the origin of Turkic people (Krader, 1955).

According to Nikolas Ryazanovskiy, Professor of the Californian University (Berkeley), the reasons of accession of Central Asian territory to Russia lie "in Russian national features (Ryazanovskiy, 1952)." American sociologist and historian David T. Lindgren noted: «Weakness in resistance which Russians met here before revolution is relative, was explained by poorly developed national consciousness of the Central Asian people, and also that they were pacified by some improvement by the Russian administration of their financial position – streamlining of systems of land rent and the taxation, creation of a transport and communication network, adjustment of medical care» (Lindgren, 1979).

Empire remains a hot topic among historians of Russia and Eurasia. Studies over the last decade have pointed to the transformative force of imperial expansion and the colonial encounter both along the borderlands of the Russian state and in the metropole. Two major developments facilitated the importance of studying Russia as an empire. First, the collapse of the Soviet Union not only opened the eyes of scholars of the region to continued repression of non-Russian nationalities but opened the doors of regional archives and libraries to foreigners. At

the same time the explosive field of colonial studies appeared, inspired by Edward Said's seminal text. Even if Said and other colonial theorists convinced of the centrality of empire building to the politics and culture of Great Britain and France remained ambivalent on the application of their conclusions to Russia, numerous scholars working on the Russian borderlands clearly saw the parallels between their subjects and those invoked in studies of West European empires. Empire, in fact, as numerous scholars have argued, played an even more important role in Russia than elsewhere in Europe, for it was through the acquisition of territories from the 16th to the 20th centuries that Russians sought to overcome their sense of political weakness and marginality and to prove their always-fragile status as a truly "European" state.

The intersection of Russian imperialism and the pastoralism of the steppe nomads provides a particularly useful lens to view motivations and processes of empire and their impact on politics and economics, society, and culture. Empire building on the steppe followed a long period during which tribes emerging from the region had held control over Moscow through the Golden Horde. Charles J. Halperin (Halperin, 1987) and Donald Ostrowski have noted the influences, cultural as well as political, of the tribes on the Slavic principedoms of the era (Ostrowski, 1998). From the 16th century onward, therefore, as power in the region shifted increasingly to the Muscovite state, Michael Khodarkovsky argues that Russian leaders employed steppe peoples as a gauge against which they judged their rising power, their identity as conquerors, and increasingly, their "civilization."

On the one hand, new works on colonialism seek not only to give a voice, and agency, to the colonized but to explore the wider significance of their role in shaping the colonial encounter and the ideology and practices of empire itself. As such, not only can the colonized engage and manipulate a colonial system, but they can alter its very foundations. More recent work has questioned the dichotomy of colonizer and colonized, as the workings of empire, for example, often favored native elites over poor settlers. On the other hand, scholars want not to minimize the destructive power of the conquerors. European colonialism was an extremely violent process, and brutal military force remained the ultimate arbiter of disputes between agents of empire and those they subjugated. A continued willingness to resort to violence to overcome resistance and subdue rebellions at any cost demonstrated the centrality of empire to both the image and practice of rule

in European empires, particularly in Russia. Taken together, these recent studies of empire on the steppe demonstrate its manifold effects on people and institutions from the tsar and central policy makers in St. Petersburg to pastoral Kyrgyz nomads in the Tien-Shan mountains.

In the middle of the 19th century some Kazakhs began to receive Russian-style education. It was from this group that the first modern Kazakh intellectuals appeared. They included the well-known scholar Shoqan Valikhanov, the famous pedagogue Ibrahim Altynsarin, and some intellectuals who worked for *Dala Walayatynyng Gazeti* (a newspaper of the Governor-Generalship of the Steppe). Their activities were multi-faceted, but one noteworthy aspect was that they zealously collected pieces of oral literature. The collection of oral literature was a part of a phenomenon that Peter Burke calls the “discovery of the people,” (Burke, 1978) which, in my view, can be interpreted as both the “discovery of the folk” and the “discovery of the nation.” By collecting pieces of oral literature and other kinds of folk culture, intellectuals rediscovered and defined the peculiarities of the Kazakhs and confirmed their devotion to a single Kazakh community which included both intellectuals and the masses.

In the 19th century Kazakh intellectuals were small in number. They were scattered on the vast steppe and lacked regular contact with each other, which Lewis Coser regarded as an essential condition for the intellectual vocation to become socially feasible (Coser, 1965). Media through which they could have an influence on ordinary people were also limited. By the beginning of the 20th century, however, with the spread of both Russian and Muslim systems of education, intellectuals increased and became a social stratum which was strong enough to organize social, cultural and political movements.

During the Soviet period, three individual Kazakhs - Chokan Valikhanov, Ibrahim Altynsarin, and Abai Kunanbaev - were regarded as the pillars, or ‘democratic-enlighteners’, of the nineteenth-century Kazakh intelligentsia. Martha Olcott referred to them as the leading ‘secular elite’, influenced by

Russian liberal exiles as well as Western literature (Olcott, 1987).

Results

Even as Russians proclaimed their military and cultural superiority over steppe nomads, they recognized the legacy and continuing power of tribal leaders to shape the practices and politics of empire in Central Eurasia. Steppe peoples, meanwhile, as Virginia Martin and Chinara Ryskulbekovna Israilova-Khar'ekhuzen argue, sought to exploit the machinery of colonial rule and adapt new practices of empire to their own cultures in the face of tsarist administrators and, subsequently, waves of Slavic colonists.

The book Steven Sabol “Russian Colonization and Genesis of Kazakh National Consciousness” (Sabol, 2003) has shown that Kazakh society was governed by its nomadic culture and evolving in its internal and external relations. The nineteenth and twentieth century intelligentsia conceptualized Kazakh national identity around the unifying cultural and social symbols of the Kazakhs nomadic pastoral past. To accomplish this the Kazakh intelligentsia had to overcome centuries of traditional social structure whose principal sources of strength and history relied upon smaller units of identity than any specific national persona. Aul, clan, and zhuz designations, though all Kazakh, were inherently stronger loci of identity. Keeping these symbols and their functions within Kazakh society in mind, it is necessary next to examine the Kazakh-Russian relationship and its effect upon the Kazakh economy, culture, and society. Paralleling this relationship is the growth of the Kazakh intelligentsia, which undertook the complex effort to define the Kazakh national identity.

Foreigners’ information about Kazakhstan, contained in publications of the specified historians, is fragmentary. No source contains a full overview and characteristics of this literature. The first such attempt is presented in Soviet historiography in K. L. Esmagambetov’s works (Esmagambetov, 1979).

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