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## KAZAKH TRADITIONAL CLOTHING COMPLEX: COMPOSITION, HISTORY OF FORMATION (from the fund of the Central State museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan)

Clothing, reflecting the centuries-old history of the people, has a special place in its material culture. It reflects the aesthetic ideals of the people, their way of life, and social equivalents. Changing under the influence of new economic and political conditions of life, the clothing of nomads steadfastly retains a number of ancient features in forms, details of cut and jewelry, the identification of which is material for studying the specific history of the ancient Kazakh people and its culture.

The article considers traditional Kazakh clothing from the collection of the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan as one of the basic components of the subsistence (life support) system of the ethnic group. The issues of the composition, history of formation and geography of acquisition of the collections of traditional Kazakh clothes of the ethnographic fund of the Central State Museum (CSM RK) are considered, since the problem of constant replenishment of the funds of ethnographic collections in domestic museums is an urgent scientific and scientific-practical problem.

The authors developed a typology of clothing in accordance with seasonal, age and gender, anthropomorphic principles, and socio-symbolic and regional features. Based on the materials of the above museum, the authors revealed that the work of replenishing the funds is carried out on the basis of donation and acquisition by ethnographic expeditions and persons organized to study special topics, and that the geography of their acquisition is formed from almost all regions of Kazakhstan and neighboring countries.

**Key words:** Central State museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan, collection of traditional clothing, subsistence system, composition of clothing, geography of accumulation, typology.

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### Қазақтың дәстүрлі киім-кешек кешені: құрамы, қалыптасу тарихы (Қазақстан Республикасы Мемлекеттік Орталық музейі қорынан)

Халықтың сан ғасырлық тарихын бейнелейтін киім-кешек халықтың материалдық мәдениетін айқындауда ерекше орын алады. Онда халықтың эстетикалық жағынан болсын, әлеуметтік тұрғысынан болсын халықтың өмір салты бейнеленген. Экономикалық және саяси өзгерістер қаншалықты өмір сүру салтында өз ерекшеліктерімен екшеленсе де, көшпелілердің киім-кешегі тұрмыстық және шаруашылық қолданыста құрылымдық жағынан болсын, стильдік ерекшелік тұрғысынан болсын өзінің этникалық мәнді пошымын жоғалтпай, бүгінгі күні байырғы қазақ халқының тарихы мен мәдениетін зерттеуде маңызды дерек көзіне айналып отыр.

Мақалада Қазақстан Республикасы Мемлекеттік Орталық музейінің этнографиялық қорындағы қазақтың байырғы тіршілік қамы жүйесі компоненттерінің бірі – киім-кешек коллекциясының құрамы, қалыптасу тарихы және жинақталу географиясы мәселелері қарастырылады. Себебі, ерекше екіп айтар болсақ, отандық музейлердегі этнографиялық коллекцияның қорын үнемі толықтырып отыру мәселесі өзекті ғылыми әрі ғылыми-практикалық мәселе болып табылады.

Киім-кешектің жастық және жыныстық, антропоморфтық принциптері мен әлеуметтік-символикалық және аймақтық ерекшеліктері бойынша типологиясы жасалынды. Сондай-ақ авторлар жоғарыда көрсетілген музейдің жинақтау жұмыстары арнайы тақырыптарды зерттеу үшін ұйымдастырылған этнографиялық экспедициялар мен тұлғалардың сыйға тартуы және сатып алу негізінде жүзеге асырылып отырғанын және олардың жинақталу географиясы Қазақстанның барлық дерлік аймағынан және жақын шетел елдерінен жинақталғаны туралы анықтады.

**Түйін сөздер:** Қазақстан Республикасы Мемлекеттік Орталық музейі, дәстүрлі киім-кешек коллекциясы, тіршілік қаму жүйесі, киім-кешек құрамы, жинақталу географиясы, типология.

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### **Коллекция традиционной казахской одежды: состав, история становления (из фондов Центрального Государственного музея Республики Казахстан)**

Одежда, отражающая многовековую историю народа, занимает особое место в его материальной культуре. В ней находят отражение эстетические идеалы народа, его образ жизни, социальные эквиваленты. Изменяясь под влиянием новых экономических и политических условий жизни, одежда кочевников стойко сохраняет ряд древних черт в формах, деталях покроя и украшений, выявление которых представляет материал для изучения конкретной истории казахского народа и его культуры.

В статье рассматривается традиционная одежда казахов из фондов Центрального государственного музея Республики Казахстан как одного из базовых компонентов системы жизнеобеспечения этноса. Рассматриваются вопросы состава, истории формирования и географии комплектования коллекций традиционной одежды казахов этнографического фонда Центрального государственного музея (ЦГМ РК), поскольку проблема постоянного пополнения фондов этнографических коллекций в отечественных музеях является актуальной научной и научно-практической проблемой.

Авторы разработали типологию одежды в соответствии с сезонными, возрастными и половыми, антропоморфными принципами и социально-символическими и региональными особенностями. Основываясь на материалах указанного выше музея, авторы выявили, что работы пополнения фондов осуществляются на основе дарения и приобретения этнографическими экспедициями и лицами, организованными для изучения специальных тем, и что география их комплектования складывается практически из всех регионов Казахстана и стран ближнего зарубежья.

**Ключевые слова:** Центральный государственный музей Республики Казахстан, коллекция традиционной одежды, система жизнеобеспечения, состав одежды, география комплектования, типология.

## **Introduction**

The object of the proposed article is a complex of ancient Kazakh clothes. It is part of the Kazakh subsistence (life supporting) system (or culture) of housing, shelter, furniture, utensils, food system, public education, including, in particular, folk medicine and ethnoveterinary (Kultura zhizneobespecheniya i etnos, 1983; Alimbay, Arginbayev, Mukanov, 1998). It should be noted that Kazakh clothing, both in terms of its composition and function of subsistence, as well as the above components of the nomadic subsistence system, is more adapted to the harsh climatic and landscape requirements of Central Asia, especially arid and subarid regions. This difference is distinguished, first of all, by the typological structure of each of the components of the clothes, such as shape, form and technology (methods) of manufacture. This is because that subsistence system was formed and developed as one of the most important and unique components of the economic and cultural type of nomads. According to the logic of the outstanding Russian scientist Vaynshteyn, the radical formation of the economic and cultural type of the nomads of Central Asia at the

classical level, dating back to the Iron Age, ended in the early Turkic period – VI-IX centuries (Vaynshteyn, 1991: 283-290). Thus, we can say with confidence that during this period, a classical type of subsistence system of nomads of Central Asia was formed, including a complex of clothing of ecological significance and typological features. In addition to the vital and aesthetic function of each of the components of the clothing complex, especially outerwear, it also played a symbolic function, reflecting the social status, gender and age characteristics of certain members of society. Some patterns of clothing, such as shamanic clothing, sal and sery clothing, also had ritual, symbolic and regulatory meanings in various ritual, ceremonial and legal activities related to the life cycle and even customary law. At the same time, each of the components of the subsistence system, including, of course, the clothing complex, as a component of tangible and intangible culture in the traditional Kazakh environment, serves as a unique ethnic identity in the field of interethnic relations.

*Relevance.* The fund of the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan (hereinafter referred to as the CSM RK) contains a total of 371

types of clothing, the chronological range of which covers the period from the XVIII to the XX centuries. It is clear that this collection, which consists of rare historical and cultural values in terms of the above-mentioned variety of functions of clothing, provides an immeasurable opportunity to both systematically study and effectively promote the life and culture of the Kazakh people. That is, the ethnographic museum collection plays an important role in the promotion and preservation of national culture. Their importance continues to grow, especially since traditional cultural objects are no longer used in everyday life. This study is devoted to museum artifacts that are preserved today as national values, on the one hand, in the field of comprehensive promotion of Kazakh cultural traditions, on the other hand, which are significant in the study of the history of the Kazakh people, especially before the October Revolution, including the genesis of the nomadic way of life and subsistence strategies. From this point of view, it is important to take into account the significance of the above-mentioned features of the complex of ancient Kazakh clothes in methodological and practical activities in the process of attribution, passportization, research, storage and promotion of various samples of clothing in the funds and exhibition complexes of domestic museums.

At the same time, another important aspect is that the issue of regular replenishment of the fund of ethnographic collections in domestic museums is an urgent scientific and scientific-practical problem.

The article considers one of the components of the ancient Kazakh system of life in the ethnographic fund of the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan – clothing collections, its composition and the history of its formation and the geography of accumulation.

The purpose of the work is to systematize the function and composition of clothing, to study the history of the formation of national costumes and the geography of their accumulation in the museum fund.

*Methodology of the problem.* During the study of the problem were studied scientific data, data that provide information on the patterns and types of national costumes in the museum. The following methods were used during scientific evaluation: scientific analysis of published media data on the issue, historical and analytical analysis. Also, based on these materials, as a prerequisite for the effective use of the method of typological systematization in the study of clothing collections of the museum fund, the main attention was paid to the traditional Kazakh seasonal environment, as well as socio-sym-

bolic, anthropomorphic, regional features and age and gender characteristics of people. These features of clothing use can also be considered as the fundamental principles of typological systematization.

*Research and historiography.* Research works and information about Kazakh traditional national clothes can often be found in the works of travelers, collectors and artists. Museum collections, ethnographic literature and works of artists are important data in the study of clothing of the XIX-XX centuries. In the works of P.S. Pallas, I.G. Georgi, A.I. Levshin were depicted Kazakh women's and men's clothes. It is also important to mention the works of the famous artist N.G. Khludov, whose works showed the solemn and everyday life of the Kazakhs (Khludov, 2003). Khludov's works are now stored in the fund of the Central State museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Also, it is important to mention the studies of P.S. Pallas, about the clothes of the Orenburg Kazakhs, and I.G. Georgy's work, who gave a general description of the women's and men's clothes of the north-eastern Kazakhs. Levshin's work also describes the Kazakh traditional hats and shoes and provides information about using different materials during the sewing depending on social status of people (Levshin, 1996). A German scientist familiar with Kazakh ethnography, R. Karutz provided valuable information about the unique elements of clothing that are not preserved today in among the Kazakh society (Karutz, 1911).

Information about clothing can also be found in the works of I.V. Zakharova, who studied the life of the Zhetysu Kazakhs, and V. Vostrov, who studied the traditions of western Kazakhs. (Vostrov, 1956; 1972).

It is no coincidence that the published monograph of I. V. Zakharova and R. D. Khodzhaeva "Kazakh national clothing (XIX – beginning XX century)" is considered a great work in historiography to study this topic. This monograph is particularly valuable as a comprehensive and systematic study of the composition of Kazakh clothing, some typological features, as well as the vital function and aesthetics of the main models of clothing in connection with seasonal (periodic) use (Zakharova, Khodzhaeva, 1964).

At the same time, the works of Kh. A. Argynbayev (Argynbayev, 1987), A. Kh. Margulan (Margulan, 1986), U. Zhanibekov (Zhanibekov, 1990; Zhanibekov, 1996) describe Kazakh national clothing, the technology of their manufacture, as well as the peculiarities of clothing patterns of various social groups in the traditional Kazakh environment.

At present time, along with cameral processing, systematization, and attribution of museum items, the museum's researchers attach great importance to the cataloging of museum collections. One of them is the artistically designed scientific catalog of the series of ethnographic collections of the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan, dedicated to the collection of traditional Kazakh clothing (Kazakhtyn dasturly kiim-keshegi, 2009). Published under the scientific supervision and editorship of Nursan Alimbay, this work covers a wide variety of types and types of traditional Kazakh clothing, which is the exclusive collection of the funds and expositions of the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

A large scientific article by Nursan Alimbay and B. Kakabayev was also published, who studied and investigated the collection of Kazakh women's kimeshes on the base of this museum collection. The article discusses such fundamental issues of kimeshek as ecology, species, subsistence and ritual function, as well as regional features (Alimbay, Kakabayev, 2019).

In the works of the Central State Museum, several articles related to clothing were also published. The semantics of the use of feathers and skins of birds in traditional Kazakh clothing were considered by B. Kakabayev, and the peculiarities and changes in the national costume of the Kazakh people was written by M. Yegizbayeva (Yegizbayeva, 2016), articles on the topic of zhaulyk and oramal, attribution of saukele which were written on the basis of the CSM RK fund's were published in the works of T. Kartayeva and R. Shoybekov (Kartayeva, Shoybekov, 2017; Kartayeva, 2019).

In addition, scientific and popular scientific articles of researchers have been published in international, republic academic and special publications, in the materials of scientific conferences organized at various levels.

However, as the historiographical analysis shows, there was no special study of ancient traditional Kazakh clothing in domestic museums, especially in the fund of the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan. However, the research that has been conducted to date on the issue under consideration is certainly valuable because it can be a significant value material, both theoretically and in terms of the factual issue, for a thorough study of the topic.

### **Function and composition of clothes**

The originality of the traditional national clothing of the Kazakh people can be explained in terms

of the identity of the nomadic economic and cultural type, adapted over the centuries to the climatic and landscape zones of the arid and subarid region of Central Asia. Because, this clothing complex was formed as an integral component of the subsistence system of nomadic life. Consequently, the types of clothing formed in a harsh continental climate are distinguished by protection from winter cold, summer heat and are well adapted to the peculiarities of a nomadic lifestyle.

Therefore, "Kazakh traditional clothing adapted to the dominant features of the natural environment, which differed with a single form, served as an integral part of the mechanism of organizing nomadic life and performed the function of appropriate subsistence in a strict ecological environment" (Alimbay, 2019: 274). From the point of view of this logic, the Kazakh traditional clothing represents a strategy of adaptation of nomads to the extremely harsh requirements of the ecological environment and, in connection with this fact, served as a kind of evidence to the ethnic identity of the people. (Kazakhtyn etnografiyalyk kategoriylar..., 2017, V.3.: 266). The clothing has many other functions. For example, clothing is characterized by symbolic functions that reflect the material status of members of society, their social and official status, gender and age. That is, traditional clothing "... is distinguished by aesthetic, magical, age-related and social activities, which means moral-ceremonial, ritual, professional, class and profession, which reflect the occupation, religious position, ethnic identity of the people." (Kazakhtyn dasturly kiim-keshegi..., 2009: 7). At the same time, clothing also served as a kind of regulatory function in the sphere of exchange relations in the nomadic environment.

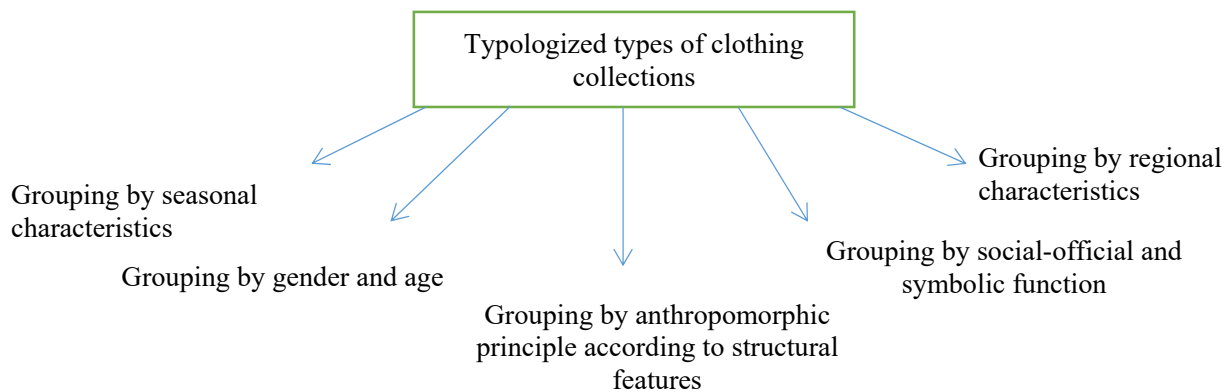
The conclusion follows from the above: "the history of nomadic clothing is a special category of data, which combines a variety of socio-anthropological, cultural-anthropological, ethnographic, economic, and even socio-geographical information on a particular issue" (Kazakhtyn dasturly kiim-keshegi..., 2009: 8).

Depending on the variety of functions of these clothes, we decided to group their collections in domestic museums into the following typological categories.

As a rule, in the traditional Kazakh environment, the seasons are divided into two major periods: "summer" and "winter". Depending on this fact, the seasonal use of clothing is divided into winter and summer (Zakharova, Khodzhaeva, 1964: 40). "Summer" clothing is used from April to September

of the year. And “winter” clothing includes types of clothing worn in October-March. Obviously, here it is necessary to take into account the climatic dominant features of the natural environment. For example, in the northern, North-Eastern, and western regions of Kazakhstan, the “winter” period lasts longer than in the southern regions. Therefore, the duration of winter clothing in these regions is significantly longer than in the southern, South-Eastern and eastern regions of Kazakhstan. And in these regions, where the weather is cool, there will be a lot of “winter” types of clothing. For example, in these regions, especially for long-term use of outerwear and hats, such as shapan, shekpen, ton, ishik, kupi, zhadagay, camzol, beshpet, keudeshe, tymak, borik, kalpak, malakai and others. On the contrary, in the southern and southwestern regions of the Kazakh region, even in the winter months, there was a very rare use of heat-insulating clothing made from the skins of animals and domestic animals,

such as ishik, warm kupi, fox fur tymak. In addition, there were clothes that were used throughout the year. As an example, we can mention sulyk and zhalbagai. The latter is also called dalbagai, dalbay, bashlyk, kulpara. The length of the sulyk is below the knee, with a plug-in sleeve, turn-down or open collar, and the hem is usually wide. Some of them had a hood (kulpara) over their heads (Kazakhtyn etnografyalyk kategoriyalar...,2017, V.5.: 200). The headdress, also called a zhalbagai, was made of thick or thin white felt, like a tymak. Their shapes are similar to each other. It is a special type of headdress with a wide, abundant shape, worn directly on the outside of the headdress, covering the shoulders, protecting them from rain and wind. Due to the above-mentioned features of the material and style, in the traditional Kazakh environment, this hat was used for twelve months of the year in unfavorable weather conditions of each season. (Kazakhtyn dasturly kiim-keshegi, 2009: 19).



National clothing, regardless of nationality, is primarily classified as male and female clothing, depending on the gender characteristics of members of society. On the basis of this typological principle, in the great work of I. V. Zakharova and R. D. Khodzhaeva on the national clothing of Kazakhs, there are also two special chapters devoted to the study of the gender characteristics of nomadic clothing («men’s clothing, headdresses and footwear») and «women’s clothing, headdresses and footwear») (Zakharova, Khodzhaeva, 1964). At the same time, within the framework of this principle, researchers propose the following classification: a) children’s, infant’s clothing; b) girls and boys’ clothes; b) bride and groom’s clothes; c) middle-aged women and men’s clothing; d) clothes for the elderly.

According to U. Zhanibekov, an outstanding public figure and statesman, as well as a well-known

researcher of national ethnic culture, in the traditional Kazakh environment, middle-class Kazakhs wore the following six types of clothing. These are, light outerwear and body garments: zheide, koilek (dress), dambal; outerwear: beshmet (beshpent), shekpen and trousers (shalbar,sym), refilled in boots (Zhanibekov, 1990: 152). Here, the author probably referred to the main types of clothing worn by men in the warm period of twelve months of the year in the traditional Kazakh environment. According to the author, among the types of clothing, trousers (shalbar,sym) are also mentioned, which are refilled in boots. And in the traditional Kazakh environment, it was very rare to put trousers in shoes in the cold months of the year, if not related to economic, ritual events or travel conditions. Therefore, in this case, the author, as already mentioned, referred only to the composition of basic clothing, which was in

everyday use of men. This is the reason why the author continues to focus on the types of clothing worn by nomads, depending on each seasonal feature of the year. According to the author, on a winter day, men wore fur coat (ton), tymak and boots (saptama etik). In most cases, instead of a fur coat, they were also worn kupi, quilted outerwear from camel's or lamb's wool lining and soft shekpen made from camel's wool. The author also gave information about the cloak kebenek, which was not preserved in these days and went out of use (Zhanibekov, 1990: 158).

In fact, the material of the researchers, especially the variety of traditional clothing in the fund of the CSM of RK, which is mentioned in the article, clearly shows that the composition of clothing of Kazakhs was much more extensive. As an example, there are different models of the same outerwear in the collection of the museum. As mentioned above, outerwear of different age categories of men, women and children, included in the scientific catalog "Kazakh traditional clothing", published in 2009 by CSM of RK, is characterized by a variety of its composition. As an example of this argument, below is information about several models of outerwear from the collection of the Central Museum. They are beshpent, kamzol (kazhekey, kazekey), shapan, shekpen, zhadagay, kupi, ton, there were several types of ton (kamka ton, sensen ton, wolf ton, sholak ton, eltyry ton) daky, ishik (sensen ishik, pushpak ishik, tulki ishik, bota ishik, kaskyr ishik, mamyk ishik, karakul ishik, ektyry ishik). These outerwear are collected in the funds of this museum from all regions of Kazakhstan.

The most common types of men's clothing are shapan, ishik, beshpet, shalbar (trousers), zheyde (shirts), dambal and masy, saptama etik (boots). And the main items of women's clothing were dresses, ishkoilek (underwear), kamzol, kokyrekshe, beldeyshe, beshpets, kebis and masi (boots). Among the headdresses there were such types as saukeye, borik, kimeshek, zhaulik, kundyk, zhelek, shali, kasaba, takiya (Zakharova, Khodzhaeva, 1964: 145).

The appearance and seasonal clothing of children is not much different from adult clothing. When a child was born, he puts on a shirt called an "itkoylek", which was sewn out so that it would not sink into the body. The main clothing of Kazakh children is a zheide (shirt), dambal, shalbar, boots, beshpet, shapan, malakai, kulakshyn. Children's clothing is decorated with age-appropriate ornaments. In addition, according to the ritual, in order to protect children from evil spirits and the bad eyes, owl (uki)

feathers were chained to the takiya and amulets were sewn onto clothes.

One of the main features of the clothes of young girls, they wore puffy dresses, double-breasted dresses, decorated beshpets, kamzols. They dressed takiya chained of owl (uki) feathers and decorated masi. Girls wore borik, sometimes decorated shyty (Zakharova, Khodzhaeva, 1964: 81).

Young men and youth in the Kazakh environment were dressed in a shapan made of velvet fabric and fastened with a fabric belt. On their feet were ordinary boots and boots with heels. There was an embroidered takiya on their head. As needed, young people put takya with uki on their heads.

The headdress fulfilled a symbolic function reflecting the social, gender and age characteristics of a woman. The female subject, depending on the periods of youth, wore the following types of headdresses. Takiya, kasaba – girl period, saukeye – bride period, zhelek – period before the birth of a child, kimeshek – period of birth of a child, zhaulyk – the authoritative period of a woman who was an old woman (Zakharova, Khodzhaeva, 1964: 103-129).

Therefore, "these types of headdresses are symbols of the corresponding stages of a woman's life. And the fact that a woman uses the headdresses from the above-mentioned age means that she has the status of an honorary mother of a family with a lot of experience that can "round" the household.» (Kartayeva, Kabdoldina, 2019: 175).

The peculiarities of the decoration of clothes in the traditional Kazakh environment were directly related to a person's material status, social position, gender and age category. The decoration of clothing was especially based on the age characteristics of a person. The embroidery of young people's clothing was more decorated, and the embroidery of older people's clothing was more paired.

Depending on the specifics of the structure of this clothing, the scientific literature has developed a classification based on the "anthromorphic" principle based on its composition: 1) headdresses; 2)outerwear; 3)body garment; 4)footwear. It is impossible not to mention the illustrated scientific catalog created under the guidance of the director of the museum, ethnologist-scientist Nursan Alimbay, written on the anthromorphic principle of this traditional Kazakh clothes (Kazakhtyn dasturly kiim-keshegi, 2009). In this catalog, a total of 371 types of clothing of museum value are grouped and scientifically described, covering the chronological framework of the museum's collections from the XVIII to the XX centuries. In addition to detailed

descriptions of their manufacture, format, and sewing techniques, data related to items (time of manufacture, place, master, material, and manufacturing technique), as well as the necessary color photos are provided.

“The cognitive significance of classification and systematization of types and difference of clothing on the principle of “anthromorphic” is that it allows us to know the general ethnic, gender, age, stratification, regional, and time characteristics of each type of clothing”, says Nursan Alimbay, a well-known ethnographer, scientist (Kazakhtyn dasturly kim-keshegi, 2009: 9).

Traditional Kazakh clothing includes headdresses – murak, boryk, tymak, takiya, kalpak, malakai, kasaba, kimeshek, zhaulyk, zhelek, saukele, and other types; body garment – dress, ishkoilek, zheide, dambal; outerwear – shapan, shekpen, ton, ishik, kupi, kamzol, beshpet, keudeshe. And footwear includes etyk, masi, kebys, pyrna and etc.

It also shows that the culture of clothing in the traditional Kazakh environment, its ethnically distinctive aesthetic essence, reflects the socio-official and symbolic functions of clothing. Khans and tore, simple peasants in everyday life used common outerwear adapted to the harsh climatic and landscape zones of the arid and sub-arid regions. However, despite the fact that there are no strong differences in the style and technology of making outerwear, their appearance, such as decoration, fabric, showed the social status of the owner. Representatives of the steppe aristocracy (aksuuek), when sewing or buying clothes, paid great attention to rich, elegant, colorful elements of clothing, expensive fabrics and silk threads, and collared clothing. Therefore, the khans and sultans were immediately distinguished in the nomadic environment and respected accordingly (Yerofeyeva, 2014: 644).

The clothes of khans and sultans were made of velvet, masat, and embossed silk and kamshat, susar, and beaver skins were used for decoration. In addition, outerwear, such as the shapan at ceremonial events, was made of beautiful fabrics, decorated with various precious stones, ornaments, which testified to the institutional and social status of its owner in society (Yerofeyeva, 2014: 644). The clothes of ordinary nomads used in everyday life and household were based on the immediate need for a life-support system, and therefore were distinguished by their simplicity in the manufacture and use of material, the form.

The social status, position, and material status of a person can be particularly clearly seen in the process

of using headdresses. For example, the headdress of the Sultan made of black fox, covered with white silk or white velvet, had a symbolic meaning, indicating his origin from the tore family (Yerofeyeva, 2014: 656). «Murak was worn in the Kazakh environment by officials, khans and tore families, such as sultans, and from about 40-50-ies of the 19th century-Bi» (Alimbay, 2019: 277). One of the murak (KP 530) of the XIX century is preserved in the fund of the CSM of RK. Its owner was Sultan Baimukhamed Aishuakov. murak is made of pink, purple and green velvet, has a high pointed tip and a wide hem. A thread pattern is embroidered from the tip to the hem. Another murak (KP 499) of that century is preserved in the museum's funds. Its patterns are covered with bright yellow cloth brocade, high tip, wide hem. The ceiling was covered with Red Velvet, and the hem was covered with yellow velvet. Metal plaques are placed in each place.

In addition, such headdresses as takiya, saukele, zhelek, oramal, kimeshek, zhaulyk, worn on a woman's head, performed a symbolic function, reflecting social status and age characteristics. The above data was about it. In this regard, the headdress also performed a ritual function. For example, “Sary zhaulyk” was part of the black cost sent to support the wife of a man who died at the hands of a man throughout the year. “Sary zhaulyk” was a mourning clothes of a widow. As already noted, the symbolic meaning of the black value is associated with the ritual-symbolic function of this process, which should indicate a ritual state that “turned yellow” from the grief of a woman in trouble» (Kazakhtyn etnografiyalyk kategoriyalar..., 2017, V.5.: 165).

A typology of clothing is also formed based on regional characteristics. At the end of the XIX-beginning of the XX century, depending on the regional characteristics of uniforms, they are grouped into three main regions: Western, southern and North-Eastern (this includes the entire territory of Central Kazakhstan). These complexly grouped zones also coincide with the zones of territorial settlement of three zhuzes (West – Kishy (junior) zhuz, South – Uly (senior) zhuz, North-East – Orta (middle) zhuz). Each of the three main complexes partially differs in features that are typical only for a small local area (Zakharova, Khodzhaeva, 1964: 146).

In Western Kazakhstan, Kazakhs are distinguished by elegant headdresses. For example, one of the types of men's headdresses – kalpak, which was rare in these regions in the 19th century, and in the 20th century fell out of use altogether. (Zakharova, Khodzhaeva, 1964: 146). If you look

at the geography of the acquisition of kalpaks stored in the museum's collections, we did not meet the kalpaks characteristic of this region. But there are kulpara (KP 9756/7, 9756/8), sewn from dense or thin fabric or white felt, characteristic only for this region. In General, the clothing of Kazakh girls in the Western region differs from other regions in the abundance of jewelry and special elegance. There is evidence that the kasaba worn by girls from this region is extremely rare in other regions of Kazakhstan. However, taking into account the geographical accumulation of receipts to the museum fund, there is information that they came from the regions of Almaty (KP 4077 B), Central (KP 3706) and Western Kazakhstan (KP 504).

In southern Kazakhstan, women and men most often wore kamzols with short sleeves, knitted from camel wool yarn, with a soft top, in summer – a shapan, in winter – a felt kebenek. Shapans of Zhetysu and southern Kazakhs are mostly striped, curly, with long sleeves and more decorative. On the collar of the women's kamzol of the Southern region, along the seam at the waist, were decorated

with silver tenge beads. In the Zhetysu region, such tenge beads were decorated in two rows, in other regions the kamzol is decorated with fringe, belt fringe (Zakharova, Khodzhaeva, 1964: 88 ).

The types of tymak, although the general type is one, are determined by differences in accordance with regional natural features. While in Northern Kazakhstan, the back part of the tymak almost completely covers the back, the tymak of the southern region becomes thinner and lighter. Features of the geographical location are also observed the influence of representatives of other neighboring nationalities (in the ethno-contact zone). For example, women's clothing in Western Kazakhstan shows the influence of neighboring Tatar, Bashkir, and Turkmen outfits. And the Kazakhs of the southern region have the influence of Uzbek clothing.

In conclusion, according to the above features and functions performed, the clothing complex was grouped as follows and a typological type was developed. Their typological type, defining features, and description are shown in the table below (table 1).

Table 1

Grouping and typology type	Determining characteristic	Characteristic that defines the grouping conditions
Grouping by seasonal characteristics	«summer» « and «winter»	the climatic dominant features of the natural environment were taken into account. Due to seasonal use, there are some categories of outerwear, headdress and footwear.
Grouping by gender and age	gender and age characteristics	a) children's, infant's clothing; b) girls and boys' clothes; b) bride and groom's clothes; c) middle-aged women and men's clothing; d) clothes for the elderly.
Grouping by anthropomorphic principle according to structural features	according to the anthropomorphic principle	Classification, systematization of clothing according to the «anthromorphic» principle, which allows you to know the general ethnic, gender, age, stratification, regional, and time characteristics of each type and species of clothing
Grouping by social-official and symbolic function	demonstration of social-official and symbolic, ritual functions of clothing	Clothing complex that reflects a person's social status, position, and financial condition. In particular, types of clothing for everyday life and household use, at formal and wedding gatherings, and clothing that reflects social and official status.
Grouping by regional characteristics	Depending on the features of the geographical location	Similarities and differences (ethnic identity) of clothing that appear depending on the geographical location, and clothing that reflects the influence of representatives of other neighboring nationalities (in the ethno-contact zone).

### History of formation of the clothing collection and geographical accumulation

History of the formation the clothing collection of Central Museum can be divided into "Orenburg" and "Almaty" stages. According to the data, the number of clothes collected from "Orenburg"

stage contains only 8 items. The remaining 363 items refer to "Almaty" stage. That is, the majority of this collection came together after the twenties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – after the moving of the capital of Kazakhstan from Orenburg to Kyzylorda and later to Almaty (Kazakhtyn dasturly kiim-keshegi, 2009: 8).



The total number of clothing collections is 371. In general, it is not surprising that such values are found in small quantities both from the scientific-cognitive and from the cultural -historical point of view. According to Nursan Alimbay's estimations, in the process of creating a scientific catalog "Kazakh traditional clothing" the total amount of Kazakh garment, currently exhibited in domestic museums, including CSM of the RK, and also in foreign (mainly, in Russian, partly in English and German) museums composes approximately altogether 450-530 items (Kazakhtyn dasturly kiim-keshegi, 2009: 14).

Zakharova I. V. and Khodzhaeva R. D. explained this by the fact that Kazakhs, who were under the influence of economic, cultural, political and ideological influences due to the penetration of Russian capitalism into the Kazakh steppe, were consumed factory clothing. As a result, home-made fabrics were supplanted (Zakharova, Khodzhaeva, 1964: 32). The second reason for this, says Nursan Alimbay, a large amount of the elite type and nomads garments spices' which were kept in domestic conditions (festive, ritual and ceremonial) were cruelly destroyed, for the confiscation of the property from the major feudal lords (Kazakhtyn dasturly kiim-keshegi, 2009: 14).

The work of Uzbekali Zhanibekov also notes that the development of commodity production in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the strengthening of economic and cultural relations with neighboring peoples, especially in connection with the large-scale migration of Russians, Ukrainians, Germans, Tatars and other peoples to Kazakhstan, had an impact on Kazakh life, especially on national clothing. He noted that "due to the fact that it was possible to buy ready-made underwear from shirts to coats, there was a decrease in the production of home-made clothes, and in many places this profession has completely disappeared", it means that traditional clothing was beginning to fall out of use. (Zhanibekov, 1996: 20).

That is why it is so important to preserve and study traditional clothing, which is stored in such small quantities. For example, the accumulation of national clothing by ethnographic means, that is, field expeditions, is a rare phenomenon today. Because they are out of use and have not been preserved. The museum's collection includes clothing mostly in chronological order from the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries.

After the Great Patriotic War, the expedition of 1947 in the Abay district of Semey, a large collection of clothing and handicrafts were collected. In 1957, the Central Museum of the Kazakh SSR or-

ganized six expeditions covering the regions of the Republic. These expeditions covered the southern, Northern, Central and Western regions of Kazakhstan. As a result, the museum's exhibit had been replenished with more than 600 new items that can show Kazakh crafts and clothing of the XX century.

In 1970, 1979, the ethnographic expedition of the museum visited Kegen and Narynkol of Almaty region, and in 1975, it collected beautiful samples of traditional Kazakh national clothing, especially Kazakh national headdresses, from the people of Taldykorgan region. In 1971, expeditions were made to the East Kazakhstan region, and in 1986-to the Ural of the West Kazakhstan region. In 1987, was made an ethnographic expedition to Turkmenistan, as a result of which was collected samples of ancient national and household clothing from the Kazakhs of Turkmenistan. In 1988-1989, on the basis of the expedition to the Kyzylorda region, the number of exhibits in the museum's clothing fund increased. In order to collect ethnographic materials, the next expedition in 2009 was in the Xinjiang Autonomous region of China, where several samples of Kazakh clothing were collected in the museum fund (Ashimova, 2011: 155).

If we show the dynamics of the receipt of clothing in the Museum Fund on the anthropomorphic principle, in the period from 1923 to 1928, according to the "Orenburg" stage, that is, headdress – 1, outerwear – 3, body garment – 2, footwear – 2. Data from previous years have not been saved. From the "Almaty" stage to the Great Patriotic War period, the museum received 8 storage units for headdress, 18 for outerwear, 6 for body garment, 11 for footwear. During the Great Patriotic War, the museum Fund received only 1 item of clothing collection. Other collections of clothing from the Museum's fund were replenished as a result of various research projects and expeditions.

If we focus on the geography of completing these collections of clothing, we can say that they are collected from almost all regions of Kazakhstan. In particular, Akmola region (Koytas village, Kyzyltu district, Oktyabrsky District), Aktobe region (Karachaganak, Shalkar), Almaty region (Taldykorgan, Alakol district, Koktuma village, Saryozek station, Kapal district, Panfilov district, Enbekshikazakh district, Zhambyl district, Kegen district, Kurty district, Kaskelen district, Narynkol district, Talgar district, Uyghur district, Shelek district), Almaty, Atyrau, West Kazakhstan region (Bokey Orda district, Oral, Karatobe District), Zhambyl region (Sverdlov District, Talas district), Karagandy, Central Kazakhstan, Kyzylorda region (Aral District,

Syrdarya district, Shieli District), Mangystau region (Zhanaozen), South Kazakhstan region (Shymkent, Turkestan, Shoulder), Pavlodar region (Aksu district, Bayanaul district, Lebyazhye District), North Kazakhstan region, East Kazakhstan region (Semey, Abay district, Abyraly district, Kokpekty district, Makanchi district, Shar district, Shubartau district, Zaisan district, Tarbagatai district, Markakol district).

There are also collections of clothes were collected during the ethnographic expedition from Karakalpakstan (Nukus, Khojeili district, Shymbai), Kyrgyzstan, China (Barkol, Tarbagataisky district, Kuldzha), Mongolia (Bayan-Ulgeysky district), Russia (Omsk, Orenburg, Saratov, Altai Territory, Chelyabinsk Region), Turkmenistan (Krasnovodsk) and other settlements.

Traditional Kazakh clothing retains its characteristic features and today is increasingly gaining scientific and educational significance. It should be noted, however, that the collection of traditional clothing stored in such a unique but small quantity, unfortunately, does not stand up to criticism. Concerning the integrity of the saved items in the CSM of RK, as in other museums of the republic, firstly in the garment collections, it is hardly satisfactory conditions. As a result of that the domestic museums can't provide the minimal requirements for the

elementary technological equipments and devices, which guarantee the suitable temperature light and humidity conditions of the exposition halls (Kazakhtyn dasturly kiim-keshegi, 2009: 14).

## Conclusion

The material culture of the Kazakh people was formed over the centuries, absorbing the traditions of their ancestors and the characteristic features of their lifestyle. The nomadic way of life of our people could not but affect the formation of its traditional clothing. Museums have a special place in the revival of such a forgotten culture, traditions and customs of our people. The article describes the functions and composition of clothing, the problems of its typology according to seasonal, age and gender, antropomorphic principles and socio-symbolic and regional characteristics. Collection works were carried out on the basis of donations and redemption by ethnographic expeditions and individuals organized to study special topics. As for the geography of the collection of clothing collections, it was found that they were collected from almost all regions of Kazakhstan and neighboring countries, in particular, Russia, Turkmenistan, The People's Republic of China, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan.

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