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## **SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF TRADITIONAL SOCIETY**

This article surveys the social stratification of traditional society. It is noted that the nature of social stratification was influenced by the nomadic way of life and the collectivism, community psychology, and ancestral ownership of the land intrinsic to nomadic civilization. The author concludes that the social differentiation of traditional society had a complex structure and represented an open type of social stratification. Despite traditionalism, society was dynamic; individuals could advance in the social sphere, changing their position and status. Traditional society, which was founded upon patriarchal and tribal traditions, was focused primarily on the preservation of the existing social structure and way of life which had prevailed for many centuries, and was permeated with the ideology of unity and solidarity of the race. The article reveals the dominating conservatism in lifestyle, style of thought, and the preservation of stereotypes present in Kazakh society. Blood relations were the foundational principle for the existence of society, and collective psychology largely dominated public consciousness.

**Key words:** tradition, stratification, structure, society.

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### **Дәстүрлі қоғамның әлеуметтік құрылымы және әлеуметтік стратификациясы**

Мақалада дәстүрлі қоғамның әлеуметтік санаттарға бөліну ерекшеліктері қарастырылады. Әлеуметтік стратификациядағы номадтық цивилизацияға тән көшпелі өмір сүру дәстүрінің ықпалы, оның ішінде қауымдық психология, ұжымдық, рулық меншік түрі жан-жақты талданады. Автор дәстүрлі қоғамның күрделі сипатына талдау жасап, әлеуметтік дифференциацияның ашық түрі болуын көрсетеді. Дәстүрлілікке қарамастан қоғам ішіндегі индивидтер еркін қозғалыста болып, әлеуметтік кеңістікте өздерінің статусын және орнын алмастыруға мүмкіндігі болды. Дәстүрлі қоғамның әлеуметтік құрылымы ғасырлар бойы қалыптасқан қоғамдық қатынастарды, өмір сүру тіршілігі мен бірлік идеологиясын сақтап қалуға бағытталды. Дәстүрлі қоғамның ерекше көрінісі ретінде қазақ қоғамының консерватизмі, индивид арасындағы қатынаста әлеуметтік шығу тегін баса назарға алу көрініс тапты. Туыстық қатынас және қауымдық психология дәстүрлі қоғамға тән құбылыс ретінде түсіндіріледі.

**Түйін сөздер:** дәстүр, стратификация, структура, социум.

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### **Социальная структура и социальная стратификация традиционного общества**

В данной статье рассматривается социальная стратификация традиционного общества. Отмечается, что на характер социальной стратификации влиял кочевой образ жизни и

присущая номадской цивилизации общинная психология, коллективизм, родовая собственность на землю. Автор приходит к выводу, что социальная дифференциация традиционного общества имела сложную структуру и представляла собой открытый тип социальной стратификации. Несмотря на традиционализм, общество было динамичным, индивиды могли перемещаться в социальном пространстве, меняя свое социальное положение и статус. Традиционное общество, основанное на патриархальных, родоплеменных традициях, было ориентировано в первую очередь на сохранение сложившегося общественного уклада и образа жизни, господствовавшего в течение многих столетий, пронизанное идеологией единства рода и родовой солидарности. Раскрывается консерватизм в образе жизни, стиле мышления, сохранение социальных стереотипов, которые во взаимоотношениях между людьми были доминантами в казахском социуме. В основе бытия общества лежал принцип кровнородственных отношений, в общественном сознании в целом доминировала общинная психология.

**Ключевые слова:** традиция, стратификация, структура, социум.

## Introduction

Society does not appear as something homogeneous and monolithic, but as something internally dissected into different social groups, stratas and communities of people. All of them are in a state of objectively conditioned connections and relations between each other – socio-economic, political, spiritual. Moreover, only within the framework of these connections and relations they can exist, and manifest themselves in the society. This determines the integrity of society, its functioning as a single social organism. The social structure of society is the complex of connections and relations into which social groups and communities come together regarding to economic, social, political and other conditions of their life activity. The objectives of the work are to reveal the concept of social structure and social stratification, to define the features of the stratification processes of traditional society. Interaction usually leads to the formation of new social relations. The latter can be represented as relatively stable and independent links between individuals and social groups.

The system of social relations in the Kazakh society is expressed through military-potestas structures that were previously formed in the steppe territory. In this system, there was a division into social groups based on genealogical principles. The social structure of the Kazakh society relied on generic relations, which determined legal advantages. Power relations in the Kazakh society were also determined by the origin of tribes and dynasties. In the Khan's time, the existence of an organized hierarchical structure was an integral part of the Kazakh society. In Kazakh society, in addition to the economic advantages of some individuals, political activity and legal status were also taken into account.

## Methodology and sources

Studying of social phenomena and processes must be based on the principles of historicism. This means that, firstly, all social phenomena and processes are considered as systems having a certain internal structure; secondly, the process of their functioning and development is studied; thirdly, specific changes and patterns of their transition from one qualitative state to another are revealed. The most common and complex social system is society, and its elements are people whose social activities are determined by the specific social status they occupy, the social functions they perform, the social norms and values adopted in the system, and individual qualities. The social system can be represented in three aspects. The first aspect – as a set of individuals, at the basis of interaction of which underlie one or another general circumstances; the second – as a hierarchy of social positions that occupy the personalities involved in the activities of this system, and the social functions that they perform on the basis of social positions; the third – as a set of norms and values that determine the nature and content of the behavior of the elements of a given system. The first aspect is connected with the concept of social community, the second with the notion of social organization and the third with the concept of culture. Thus, the social system acts as an organic unity of the three sides – social community, social organization and culture. Here we consider the social structure and stratification.

## Social groups and categories of the Kazakh society

It is necessary to abandon the point of view common in many researches that the social structure of Kazakh society was not simple. In the Kazakh society, social groups mutually complemented

each other, performing certain functions. Because their social characteristics were determined by legislative norms. Among them, there were different groups of economic dependence. Despite this, the legal advantages in the rules of each group were clearly observed. A distinctive feature of the social division of Kazakh society was the differentiation of individuals into those who call themselves «ak suyek» and «kara suyek». «Ak suyek» – is a closed social group, depending on the origin. This category consists of a *tore*, *sayida* and *kozha*. They were determined by political and legal features in the structure of public relations. Formation of the term «ak suyek» in the Kazakh society can be attributed to the first years of the history of the Kazakh Khanate.

The members of the open social group of individuals «kara suyek» in the Kazakh society included *biys*, *batyrs* and *aksakals*. Their activities in society were determined by a legal aspect. The genealogical principle has not been realized here. To join this social group could be possible based on the personal qualities of a member of society. In the Kazakh community, there was a dependent social group. In many studies, Kazakhs, not belonging to the descendants of the Genghizids, were called «kara suyek», «commoners», «karasha». In fact, all these names were not characteristics of the Kazakh community.

Since the time of the historical formation of the Kazakh state, the power was in the hands of the descendants of Genghis Khan, along the line of the Djuchids. The attitude to power in the nomadic Kazakh society, including state power, is distinguished by ideological transparency and purity. Denial of the authority of the descendants of Genghis Khan was considered as discourtesy in the Kazakh society. In the Kazakh society they were called «Tore». The *tore* is the rulers of the Kazakh society, who led their ancestry from Genghis Khan, and were not the part of the tribal structure of the tribe of the Kazakh community. Descendants of Genghis Khan Descendants were called «Tore» or «Sultans». «Sultan» originally meant the notion of domination, ruler, and the state. The first person who was called «Sultan» was the ruler of the state in the Ottoman Empire. There is an opinion that in Kazakhstan and Central Asia the term «sultan» referred to each representative descendant of Genghis in the XV century. The term «oglan» or «tore» was used for each of the descendants of Genghis, along with the name «sultan», although they were not in power. V.V. Radlov points out that the name «tore» in the ancient Turkic language, means the prince. In ancient Uighur language this

word has the same meaning. In the classification of the *tore* and the study of their history, a special place is occupied by the work of Kurbangali Khalidi. In his valuable work titled «Tavarikh-i hamsa-i Sharki» (Five stories of the East), published in 1910, Kazakh khans are also called the *tore* white banner and red banner. In addition, in this work several options are given about the origin of this name. At one time the word «tore» was the name of the code of laws of Genghis Khan, and then it became the name for his descendants. He further explains that the word «tore» is translated from the Persian language as «punishments by rods». Since the *tore* were exempted from all forms of punishment, according to Kazakh traditional law, their privilege was to decide the form of punishment. The privileges of the *tore* in the social life of the Kazakhs extended not only in the sphere of the traditions of the nomadic population, but also in the area of steppe etiquette. In the XVII-XVIII centuries *tore* was used to refer executives, including officials, and members of the judiciary. In general, the term *tore* in the Turkic tribes means the most honorable place in the house. The Turks called «tore» descendants of Genghis Khan.

The sultans implemented state control and leadership of the *ulus*. Based on this, every respected sultan took control of the *ulus* in his own hands. The power granted the Sultan the military and political right to own pastures and water wells. Each sultan did not inherit the administration of the *ulus* and the command of the army.

The right to choose the sultan of the *ulus* was only with the khan. The legalized forms of punishment for crimes for all social groups of society differed significantly from the punishment of the sultans and the descendants of Genghis Khan as a whole. Thereby, «Zheti zhargy» says that «for killing khans or sultans, it is necessary to pay *kun* as for killing seven people for each», «for slandering the sultans and *kozha* it is necessary to pay nine *ayyps*.» The unevenness of punishments, prescribed in the law and applied to the members of society, depended on the place and role in society. The Sultans were not held accountable. Another advantage of the sultans in front of other members of the society was that they were exempt from physical punishment and the judgment of the *biys*.

The descendants of Genghis could only be punished by the khan or the higher sultans. The subordinates of the sultans did not have the right to call them by name. The advantage of the sultans was that they were respected by putting them on white felt especially at public gatherings and other

celebrations. Thus, according to «Zheti Zhargy», the «tore» is a social group of the Kazakh society. In «Zheti Zhargy» special conditions for sultans were noted, for example, the size of the cost of kuna for the death of the Sultan is set seven times as much as the cost of a simple Kazakh. Another evidence of the privileges of the Sultans is that they were exempt from paying taxes, according to the law of Tauke Khan, and the obligatory for all free Kazakhs. For example, every armed member of society (except the sultans) must pay the Khan and the rulers of the people a tax of 20 percent of all their property each year. However, despite all the existing privileges, the political power of the khan depended on representatives of the steppe ruling elite. In the Kazakh society, the sultans differed in their legal status. Together with this, their legal advantages were transferred from generation to generation. Political rights of sultans: the exercise of state power; participation in local government; possession of the ulus lands. Some problems of the internal life of the Kazakh Khanate are still unknown to us. For example, there is no information about where the sultans studied. In the sources there is a small amount of information showing that the Kazakh sultans had an education. Fazlallah ibn Ruzbihan Isfahani left in his work «Notes of the Bukhara Visitor» interesting information that part of the Kazakh aristocracy is giving its children to schools. There are no sources of information about the degree of education of the Kazakh sultans. But Hafiz-i Tanysh says that in some sources, it is said that Shygai Khan composed poems, and the people remember, in the memory of the people Tauke Khan remained not only a batyr, but also had the ability to skillfully oratory. Sources show the numerous descendants of Genghis Khan in the Kazakh steppes. In the records of Muhammad Avaz it is said about the arrival of Taukel Khan and 120 Kazakh sultans. According to the stories of Kadyrgali Jalairi, the Kazakh sultans had many wives and children. For example, it is known that Shigai Khan had thirteen children; in the oral history of the Kazakhs people named the names of eight children of Tauke Khan.

Another group that belongs to the «asyl suyek» of the Kazakh society is «kozha». Kozha, occupied a special place in the Kazakh society, but their actions in the system of power were concentrated in the settled areas of the Kazakh land. Since they were representatives of religion, they occupied a special place in the spiritual life of the Kazakhs. They engaged in medical matters, were the keepers of the basic principles of Islam.

Their dominance in power was particularly

strong in the settled countries of Central Asia. For example, from Eastern Turkistan to Zhangir Khan came ambassador Zhunis kozha. Kozha lived in the south of Kazakhstan, on the shore of the Syrdarya, in border areas with the countries of Central Asia. This excerpt proves that the power of the kozha in the cities of Turkestan was special: «Turkestan is an old metropolitan city. Sarts live there. This city is governed. The kozha lives in the lower part of Sirdary.»

In researches, representatives of this social group of the Kazakh society were called «asyl syek». Now, through a brief description of the origin of the kozha, you can determine the time of their penetration into the Kazakh society and the implementation of spiritual activities. They come to the territory of modern Central Asia and Kazakhstan among the first Arabs to spread the Islamic religion. The influence of Arab campaigns to South Kazakhstan and Zhetysu, which began in the first half of the VIII century, left a trace in the ethnic, social and religious-cultural processes in this territory. As a result of the spread by the Arabs of the Muslim religion in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, subethnic groups – kozha appeared. In comparison with sayids, the kozha does not have a single origin. Kozha in the territory of Kazakhstan is the descendants of Azireth Ali, Aziret Omar and Aziret Abubakir. The spread of the Muslim religion in the territory of Kazakhstan is closely connected with the names of Iskak Baba (South-Kazakhstan oblast, Baba Ata in the territory of Sozak aul), Abdirahim Bab (Aulie Ata in Taraz) and Abdijamil Bab (Syrdaria region), Korasan Ata in ancient Uzgent. «Kozha» is not only a subethnic group among the Kazakhs, but it can be regarded as a social group. Their special right in the Kazakh society is clearly marked in the «Zheti Zhargy». The articles of «Zheti Zhargy» determined the benefits that were given to the kozha. The third article of this code states that «if someone kills the kozha, he will pay for each kun of seven people,» or «if someone insults the skin, let him pay with livestock», if they inflict beatings, he should pay ninefold ayyp. The kozha for centuries kept their social group closed, not accepting anyone from the side. They wanted to avoid marital relations from outside. This was also preserved until the end of the twentieth century in the densely populated areas of Kazakhstan, where the kozha lived.

Kozha were exempt from taxes and only the power of the sultans was spread over them. Among the steppe Kazakhs, the kozha did not have political power. In the early XIX century, they began to manage the Kazakh clans. In general, the general

legal advantage of kozha among the Kazakhs did not strengthen their authority in political power. The main reason for this is directly related to the traditional life of the Kazakh society. On the territory of Kazakhstan, their power was spread unevenly, depending on the region, so they can be defined as a socio-territorial group. In the cities of Turkestan, the kozha had political power. Here they owned the land, ruled the city and were social groups that had other statuses. As in all of Central Asia, the influence of the Muslim clergy on urban and settled life is based on the high role of religious leaders in this region. The Muslim clergy persuaded the rulers to support a new contender for power in the region, and the local population obey their ruler. Each of the new rulers, was it the Uzbek khan or the Kazakh khan, received a charter confirming the right to the waqf's lands. In Turkestan, there was a large number of irrigated fertile land given to the waqf areas, which was the reason for the existence of large landowners. They did not pay taxes, buying waqf's land from the local religious clergy; sometimes they received them in the form of a reward from the khans. The landed property of the Muslim clergy influenced the formation of private property in the Turkestan region. Therefore, the social impact of the kozha here was special. On the one hand, they were rulers, landowners, and were included in other categories of society.

In the Muslim world, descendants from the daughter of Prophet Muhammad Fatima and the fourth Caliph Ali were called Sayids. Sayids, in comparison with the Khojas had a higher status before them, and were connected by marriage to the ruling dynasties. Sayids, equated in the minds of Muslims to the saints. For Muslims, they represented an example of religiosity. They did not apply the death penalty. They were advisers to the supreme rulers of the state. When Islam was proclaimed the state religion, the Sayids entered the struggle for power. According to the information from «Muntahab at-Tavarikh-Muini» Mahmud Sayid criticized the actions of Aziz Khan of Altyn Orda and pointed out the right way for him. Attention was paid to his move with his family in the first quarter of the 18th century from Turkestan to Western Kazakhstan, following Abulkhair Khan. There were made an analysis regarding the status of the sayids in the Kazakh society. Sayids took wives of girls from any group of society, but did not seek to marry their daughters for representatives of other social groups. The reason was that the husband immediately acquired all the rights and privileges inherent to the Sayids, no matter what social group

he came from. The descendants of Genghis, in order to strengthen their power, in some cases, forcibly took the daughters of the Sayids as wives, adding the «sayid» to their titles, sacred to the Muslim world. The Sayids, unlike the kozha, were considered descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, therefore according to the norms of customary law they possessed the highest rights and occupied a special place in the society.

In the late middle ages, a group appeared in Kazakh society that came to power through the principles of open meritocracy. These included biys, batyrs, zhyrau, myrza, aksakals. They were considered a political and social group of the Kazakh society. This period stands out because along with the aristocratic descendants of Genghis Khan, the steppe rulers of the Kazakh community received access to power.

The social stratification in Kazakh society was influenced by the division of the khan's power in the XVII-XVIII centuries. Representatives of the steppe elite sought to gain political power. A significant group of the steppe elite became «biys». The origins of the social group of biys take their beginning from the Turkic period in the territory of Desht-i Kipchak. The appearance of the term «biy» signified the changed name of the Turkic word «bek». In Turkic the word «bek» also refers to the concept as Mongolian noyon, the Arabian-Persian «emir». This term also occurs in some Turkic peoples who were formerly part of the Golden Horde. In this regard, it should be noted that the Uzbek Khan (1312-1340) gave the noyon Turkic name «bek» to distinguish those who accepted the Muslim religion. «Biy» and «beks» were a fairly large stratum of society. A similar meaning of the term «biy» with the concept of «bek» was also noted by V.V. Barthold. «Such hakids or beks, speaking the Kazakh biys, obeyed the khans and ataliks.» The place of biys in the Kazakh society depended on their personal qualities, this is noted by Valikhanov: «To become a biy, he took part in the oratorical art competition and had to demonstrate knowledge of the law before the Kazakh people.» At the same time, Valikhanov points out that the position of the biys in the Kazakh society was not inferior to the descendants of Genghis Khan. Biys were the leaders of their families and tribes. As a result of the practice of solving various social problems, they created a reputation for themselves.

In connection with the origin of the name «Biy» you can quote the records of D.Andre: the meaning of the word «biy» in the Kyrgyz language does not have any meaning. According to the Horde's citizens, «biy» – takes second place in power after

the Khan, as it was a letter in the Arabic alphabet.» The internal situation in the Khanate at the end of the XVII century – the beginning of the XVIII century during the reign of Tauke Khan is characterized by the strengthening of the authority of biys and batyrs as an opposition force against the Sultans to stop the process of fragmentation. Usually the biys were part of the people's council, and often influenced the policy of the khans. At the end of the XVII century – the beginning of the XVIII century, the «biys» headed the clan, supported the khan's power, served as judges and, if necessary, headed the embassies. For example, it should be noted that Kaz Dauusty Kazybek, Shakshakuly Janybek were ambassadors to the Kalmyks, and the embassy to the Russian land was headed by Kabay biy. A characteristic feature of the Kazakh biys was that they perfectly mastered the oratorical art or classical allegory. In his work L. Balliusek highly appreciates the status of «Biy»: «Biy is not only a living legend of his people and a lawyer who knows the law, but he was an eloquent politician who knows the language well and quickly finds the right words, is familiar with life and the traditions of his people.» In the XVIII century in the Khanate between the biys and the sultans strengthened the struggle for political power. During this period biys dominated as a social group, along with khans, as regulating legal and economic relations. «Biy» along with the khans and sultans decided cases, participated in the profit section. The «Biys' Council» had a state status, since internal and external political decisions were made with the approval of the «Biys' Council», and it was also the highest judicial body that was formed in accordance with the traditional nomadic way of life. The emergence of edifying words is directly connected with the Kazakh consciousness and influenced the norms of customary law. In fact, the decision of the judges in the Kazakh society is preceded by a precedent, and these decisions were recognized by the people, and were also adopted and evaluated as a law. Proof of this, the adoption on the council of biys of the law ««Zheti Zhargy»».

In the middle ages the term «Myrza» is often encountered. This term was introduced after the unification of Kazakh and some Nogai tribes. Tausha mergen reports in his response that Sary and Keldey, sent as ambassadors to Russian land, had the title of «Myrza». Meanwhile, in oral historiography, we find that the name «Myrza» in the Kazakh family is usually used for honorable people.

In the external and internal political conditions of the Kazakh Khanate in the XVI-XVII centuries, the role of the social group of «batyrs» is growing.

The defensive function in the Khanate belonged to the Batyrs. The sultans and khans could have the title of «batyrs». The concept of «batyr» and their way of life was often used in the folklore of Kazakhs.

In this period, this concept became the name of a social group of society, and was used in a specific historical section. Batyrs in the khan's council played an important role. There is a lot of information about the batyrs after the Kazakh-Dzungarian battles. Batyrs were often the leaders of clans. They were part of the embassies.

In Soviet historiography, «Biy» is the designation of the post, and «batyr» is the designation of the status. There is no doubt that the term batyr was used not only as a social status, but also in everyday life. According to information from sources of the XIX century, the burial ceremony of the batyrs differed from the others. Batyrs existed in the Turkic and Mongolian period, but for the most part they did not have any other power in the society, except for that which their personal qualities give them. You can learn about the role of batyrs in society through epic works of nomads.

Batyrs can be considered as a social group from the time of the Kazakh Khanate. This is confirmed by information about the availability of private property for livestock. In the period under consideration, the favorable economic situation of biys and batyrs is determined by the large number of cattle, while the absence of their own land plots. The institute of the batyrdom dates back to ancient times. Initially, «batyr» meant a brave man, a hero who challenges a rival before the battle. This honorary title was conferred by the khans for personal courage during battles or valiant leadership of military operations. «Batyrs» were the mainstay of nomadic society.

One of the features of the nomadic society is that the khans should have been not only rulers, but also batyrs. That is why the stability of the Khan's power was guaranteed by his success in the battles. To become a strong ruler of the nomadic Kazakh society, courage and braveness were required. Therefore, the authority of Kazakh khans increased with the manifestation of heroism. This is confirmed by the words of A.I. Levshin that in the XVIII century Kazakhs from their khans «demanded to be heroes» (Levshin A, 1996: 656).

The unifying power of the Khanate is the batyrs, without which it could not exist. Khan was the commander of the troops during the war.

Thus, in the Kazakh society, along with the descendants of Genghis Khan, the social elite – the «steppe elite» – formed social groups «biys», «batyrs» and «myrza».

The most numerous in the Kazakh society were Bais. The origin of the term «bai» in Kazakh society, orientalist-turkologists refer to the word «bek», «bey», «beg». But «Biy» and «Bai» had different social significance. It is very difficult to view the concept of «bai» as a social group. Since its general common name is widespread. Many Kazakhs, Uzbek, Uighurs, Turkmens, Tatars, consider the term «bai» as the husband, and «katyn» as the wife. Until today, among the Turkic peoples, in the conversation with people, the addition of the word «bai» to its name has been preserved. Researchers point out that the «bai» social group was formed in the XIX century. But in folklore there are legends, where the bais are shown as the owners of wealth.

V.V. Barthold notes that the Muslim author Juvaini shows the social status of the Karakitay Vizier as Mahmud Bai. Ibn Ruzbihan refers to the bais as «influential person» with a large number of livestock and property, including a «house on wheels». For the steppe inhabitants cattle was the main source of wealth (Bartold V, 1963: 64). In Russian studies of the XIX century, it is said that Kazakhs considered wealth as herds of horses, flocks of sheep or a livestock of cattle. In fact, all exchange transactions, taxes, payment of value, honors associated with customs-traditions in the Kazakh society were carried out by livestock. In the nomadic Kazakhs society, rich people made up a significant part of population. However, it should be noted that the bais were among sultans, biys, batyrs and among ordinary nomads. Undoubtedly, the wealth of material wealth provided great advantages of being in society, but was not a guarantor of gaining the power. For example, the Sultan could economically be poor, but enjoy all the legal privileges that he had under his social group.

A special social group with political power in the Kazakh community is «aksakals». According to medieval data, the elders occupied an important role in the political life of the Kazakh society. In most cases it was shown that they solved the problems of the relationship between clans. By definition of V.V. Barthold, «aksakals» are «persons who, in fact, do not have certain legal powers, enjoying respect for their age, wealth, and former merits.»

We want to draw attention to the fact that the social division of Kazakh society into categories gives them rights depending on the person's age. When studying the internal structure of Kazakh society, it clearly defines the direction of social classification.

Nomadic cattlemen did not belong to the «aristocracy» group. In the sources there is the term

«karachu», which was used in two meanings: to denote commoners and the population of the state, not belonging to the khanate clan. Often met the name «karashy» in the Kazakh language coincides with the Mongolian word «khorachu». The free nomad had property in the form of cattle. They could express their will, carry out military service. The term «bukara» was often used by the Uzbek and Kirghiz peoples. We do not know the true meaning of this term, whether it was used to refer to the notion of «people».

According to the data of Russian ambassadors, Kazakhs under Tauke Khan were familiar with agriculture, and lived in cities. In the Kazakh horde there are more than 32 cities, and the people living there grew wheat, barley, millet, and blacksmiths lived in these cities. The economic situation led the free nomads to the fact that they were separated from the nomadic way of life, and began to develop lands and engage in trade. In this case, urban residents made a significant contribution to the development of trade. The household of the Kazakh people did not have a single economy because of geographical factors. The culture of sedentary agriculture in the settlements of the southern regions of Kazakhstan, including in the Turkestan region, was widely developed. It should be noted that in some settlements of the Syrdarya region certain types of economic activity were not clearly defined.

The basic elements of the Kazakh society of the XVII-XVIII centuries allow to correctly identify a group of famous people (biys, batyrs, etc.), and there is no classification among ordinary Kazakhs. In «Jeti Zhargy» there are no articles about the common people, there is information related to the classification of the population. In fact, in the middle of the XVIII century in the works of Russian researchers it can be clearly seen that the bottoms of Kazakh society are divided. These components are jataks, who have their own households, but did not have the opportunity to roam and went to sedentary households. In historiography, the term refers to the XIX century. However, it is clear that, from the interpretations of the historian B.B. Kumekov, who wrote that in the IX-X centuries, among the Kimaks, there were jataks («yatuks»).

A group of Kazakhs who could not have their own household were called «konsy» (poor). S. Tolybekov notes that the «konsy» in the nomadic society spread in the early XX century (Tolibeikov S, 1971: 321). In translation from the Turkic language, «konsy» meant a subordinate person. «Konsy» cannot be defined as a social group in

the XVII-XVIII centuries. The term «konsy» also has the meaning of «housing in a new place». In the XIX century a social group was singled out, which engaged in agriculture (konsy, jatak), unlike all nomadic Kazakh communities. The cultivation of agriculture formed a new type of ownership of land. Land use was achieved through an agreement between the landowner and the farmer.

Another social group in the Kazakh society can be considered as «tolenguts». The initial designation of the word «tolengut» is the people of military service with the Khan and the Sultan. Their earlier function consisted in protecting the sultans in their own detachment. They were forced to abandon their tribal and military tamga. Sh. Valikhanov attributed them to the dependent category. The Sultans held armed force from trusted tolengutes. The Tolengutes were dependent on their aristocrats; they were always ready to defend them.

At the end of the XVII – beginning of the XVIII century on the Kazakh land there were two ways of conducting trade exchange. Initially, from ancient times, the sale of its products to the countries of Central Asia: cattle, meat, wool, as well as captives. The second trade route was closely connected with the Russian government. The growth of trade relations contributed to the social classification of Kazakh society. In the nomadic Kazakh society there were «aristocracy», «common people», «rich and poor» and kul-kun (male and female slaves), deprived of their liberty. The concept of «kul» is encountered even before the formation of the Kazakh nation. The main proof of this is the existence of this term in ancient sources. Since the formation of the Kazakh Khanate, the kul (slaves) were in the Kazakh society. Their appearance can be traced by historical legends, epic poems and proverbs. For example, according to the latest research in the epic poem «Koblandy batyr», the term «slave» is repeated 13 times, «poor» 6 times, «commoner» 3 times, «nuker» 8 times. Since ancient times, «slaves» was a group of people without the will. During the Kazakh Khanate, the Kazakhs themselves were not slaves. The Kalmyks and Russians, who were captured during the wars, fell into the slavery. They cared for livestock, melted lead and prepared ammunition. Therefore, the Russian government tried to return the prisoners. The main purpose of the embassy Vasily Kobyakov 1692-1695, Fedor Skibin in 1694 was the return of prisoners. The Kazakhs had the right to add to the kalym and to give the bought or captured slaves.

However, the Kazakhs did not made their own people «slaves». This would be a manifestation of disrespect for their people, as evidenced by a passage from Kraft's work. It is difficult to determine the extent of the spread of slavery in the Kazakh society, but their position and status is revealed by the code of laws «Zhety Zhargy». They are represented as a group that did not have any rights. The owner was responsible for their actions. The slave became the property of his master. Since the use of slave labor in the Kazakh society was ineffective, they were sold or exchanged mainly in the markets in Bukhara and Khiva for profit.

### Conclusion

Thus, the social structure of the traditional Kazakh society was not unified. In this society, we clearly see the social structure that reflects grouping in the first place in accordance with the genealogical principles, secondly, the legal and third characteristics of the individual. They conflicted for centuries. Among the free nomads there was also a classification. The nature of this classification was different. They differed from the genealogical social groups of the Kazakh society.

Social structure means the objective division of society into separate strata, groups, different in their social position, in their relation to the mode of production. This is a stable connection of elements in the social system.

Among many types of social communities, such as the family, the labor collective, groups of joint leisure activities, as well as various socio-territorial communities, are of particular importance in terms of influence on performance.

Stratification – inequality in income, power, prestige and education, arose together with the birth of human society. Social stratification – social doctrine of the structure of society.

The concept of social stratification includes the division of society into groups, stratas and classes, depending on their social and economic situation. Stratification arose simultaneously with the birth of human society. Social stratification is characterized by mobility, volatility, as it depends on social mobility, that is, the movement of people from one country or class to another. All these parameters existed in the Kazakh society.

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