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**MATERIAL CULTURE
OF THE KAZAKHS OF UZBEKISTAN**

The article is devoted to the material culture of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan, who find themselves outside the ethnic homeland. Special attention is paid to the issues of preserving the originality of the traditional culture and the ethnographic peculiarities prevailing in the foreign environment. On the basis of the study of special literature and fieldwork materials, it was revealed that both the continuity of the traditional economy, material culture, and their changes under the influence of local conditions were preserved, which is manifested in the peculiarities of the dwelling, clothing, the traditional food system, etc.

The traditional clothes of the Kazakhs reflected national elements of local ethnic groups such as «chapan», which is tied with a belt scarf, a traditional headdress «skullcap», etc. as well as in the dwelling buildings of the Kazakhs, it was noticeable that all residential and household buildings were turned into the courtyard with windows and doors, open aivans, vineyards, and 'tapchanes' characteristic of the Uzbek peoples.

Key words: Kazakhs of Uzbekistan, dwellings, traditional clothing, material culture, food.

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Ўзбекстан қазақтарының материалдық мәдениеті

Мақала өз Отанынан тыс жерде өмір сүріп жатқан Өзбекстандағы қазақ ирреденттерінің дәстүрлі материалдық мәдениетіне арналады. Зерттеулер мен ел арасынан жиналған материалдар негізінде қазақтардың материалдық мәдениетінде ұлттық болмысымызды айқындайтын дәстүрлі элементтердің сақталуы мен бөгде ортаның ықпалдастығы нәтижесінде қазақ тұрмысына этноэволюциялық жолмен енген материалдық мәдениет элементтері: баспана, киім, тағамындағы ерекшеліктері жайлы мәлімделеді.

Бөгде ортада өмір сүріп отырған қазақтардың қоныстану жоспарлары, баспана ерекшеліктері, ұлттық киім үлгілері мен ас, тағамдану мәдениетіндегі дәстүрліліктің сақталуы мен жергілікті ортадан қабылдаған мәдениет элементтерін саралағанда қазақ мәдениетінде жергілікті ортаның ықпалы сөз болады. Қазақтардың дәстүрлі киімдерінде өзбек халқының шапанының сыртына ақ орамал байлап, ұлттық тақиялары «тюбетейкаларды» киюі, дәстүрлі баспаналардың есік, терезесінің көшеге қаратып салынуы, аулаға жүзім, бау-бақшаның егілуі, тапшандар мен айвандардың болуы қазақ халқының материалдық мәдениетіне өзге этностың элементтерінің ерекшелігінің көрініс табуы жайлы баяндалады.

Түйін сөздер: Өзбекстан қазақтары, баспана, дәстүрлі киім, материалдық мәдениет, ас тағам.

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Материальная культура казахов Узбекистана

Статья посвящена материальной культуре казахов Узбекистана, оказавшихся за пределами этнической родины. Особое внимание уделяется вопросам сохранения самобытности традиционной культуры и этнографическим особенностям, сложившимся в инонациональной среде. На основе исследования специальной литературы и материалов полевых работ был выявлен факт как сохранения преемственности традиционного хозяйства, материальной культуры, так и их изменения под воздействием местных условий, что проявляется в особенностях жилища, одежды, системы традиционного питания и др.

В традиционной одежде казахов отразились национальные элементы местных этносов, как, например, «чапан», который подвязывается поясным платком, традиционный головной убор «тюбетейка» и т.д., а также в постройках жилищ у казахов было заметно то, что все жилые и хозяйственные постройки окнами и дверями были обращены во двор, открытые айваны, виноградники, тапчаны которых характерны для узбекских народов.

Ключевые слова: казахи Узбекистана, жилище, традиционная одежда, материальная культура, пища.

Introduction

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

We are well aware of the historic events which forced our compatriots became alienated from the motherland. It happened due to the hardship of the XVII-XVIIIth century: Zhongar invasion and enduring Russian imperialism (imperial and administrative influence over the traditional Kazakh settlements, occupation of fertile Kazakh

lands and the Tsar's Decree in 1916) in the XIX-XXth centuries. Moreover, those people were confronted with the political and economic crises in 1917-1918, succeeding social-political situations, forced collectivization, famine and other adversities in the country. Describing those hard times of the Kazakhs in one of his speech, President N.A. Nazarbayev has mentioned: 'Social trials of the XXth century had forced the Kazakhs flee the homeland. Unfortunately, no one can detail the cause of ruthless decade of the XXth century that was full of grief and tragedy; they know nothing about the fate of the deceased between Iran and China or refugees who desperately escaped the revolution and civil war heading for safer places through the deserts, iced peaks of the Ala-Tau and Pamir mountains. No one can describe under what conditions the ancestors of those 5.5 million Kazakhs had lived, how they had survived and what they had witnessed' (Nazarbayev, 1999: 140). Thus, the Kazakh diaspora and irredentists sprang into existence due to the short-sighted policy conducted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and local high rank officials of that time. Focusing on their difficult life, President N.A. Nazarbayev said: 'We had been persecuted in the land of our ancestors. Thousands of our fellow citizens had perished; the survivors had to flee the country. The fact that we had lost 2.2 million of 6 million people including those courageous and loved ones, who were victims of the repressive regime, is grief-stricken and a serious blemish on bolshevism' (Nazarbayev, 1996:8).

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

Material Culture

Settlement

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

Larger sedentary communities were situated close to the towns, markets and the cotton plants. The closer they approached towards the mountains and steppes, the smaller and rarer they became. Approximately 16-61% of the communities in Fergana were small sedentary communities with less than 100 population, while the communities with 100-500 population made up 43-51%; 9-23% of them had 500-1000 population and other 0,5-18% had more than 1000 population. 42-50% of Kazakh communities had 100-500 population, 49-50% had 500 populations, 62% of kurama kishlaks had 100-500 population and only 11% had 1000 residents in Bukhara, Khorezm, Uzbekistan and Turkistan ACSR (Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan,

383 fund.,166 document P.103). According to the structure of the economics, geographical position, methods of economics, territory and population, there were widely developed villages in the intensive agricultural locations, while there were small villages in middle and semi-nomadic regions and extensive agricultural locations (Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, P-1 fund.,706 document P.104). Moreover, there were only 3 largest villages of the Kazakhs in Tashkent uyezd which had only 3000 population and 18 villages with 2000 population. On the contrary, there were 198 sparsely populated communities which had 400 population, 78 communities with 200 population and 38 communities with 400-500 population (Proceedings of the National Census of 1920, 1923). As far as the temporary communities were concerned, the Kazakhs were settled in groups. This kind of settlement was typical to the Kazakh clans such as baiys, buzaushy, balta, konyrat, ramadan and sirgeli which resided in Angren, Middle Shyrshyq, Parkent and Shyrshyq (Materials of Census of the Uzbek SSR in 1926, 1927: 159). Today's collective farms inhabited by the Kazakhs were created in the places where the clans had had their winter and summer camps. For example, Kanly village, which was situated around Troitsky, had been the winter camp of the representatives of kanly, while Azadbash village had been shanyshkyly's summer camp, and Darkhan village had served darkhan's winter camp. Sparsely populated Kazakh communities had existed until the 50s of the last century. Since 1960, like their Uzbek comrades, Kazakh people have been living in the houses surrounded by high walls (Zilina,1989:195).

Types of permanent and temporary dwellings

As the facts present, semi nomadic and settled Kazakhs in Uzbekistan had lived in permanent dwellings. Until the end of the XIXth century and 30-40s of the XXth century, they had lived in the houses made of turf. It was carved out of the very turfy land, cut into bricks and got drained. Then its surface was turned upside down, put on each other to build up the walls of the house. The houses made of turf had no basement, they were built like boxes. They mainly consisted of two rooms. The log supporting the roof was called 'khary' by the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan, while the Turkmen called it 'yeshek arkasy' (a donkey's back) (Zholdasbayev, 1996). Before covering the roof of the house, the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan conducted a ceremony of 'kary koterer' (lifting the log) and gave a shapan or a kerchief to a person who would do it. As soon as the log was placed, it was riveted with the beams on

the both sides. The beams were covered first with the bushes or cane then plastered with clay. The roof of the house would be of convex shape (thickness of it is 30-35 cm). The inner and outer sides of the house were smeared with thatch or dung mixed clay mortar. Such dwellings had existed in Uzbekistan until the 60s of the last century (Vostrov, 1961).

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

In the end of the XIXth century and in the beginning of the XXth century, the Kazakhs predominantly used pahsa for the construction of the yards, later they used it to build up a house. L.F. Kostenko wrote about it in his work: 'Sedentary populations (Uzbek, Kazakh and Kara-kalpak) had built clay houses. The beams with some props were tied up together below the level of the ground and were filled with clay mortar. As soon as the walls of the house were built up, logs and beams were laid on the roof. They were covered with canes and plastered with clay. The windows of the house looked into the yard. Large and small niches were carved out on the walls of the house' (Kostenko, 1880). Under the great influence of the local Uzbek people, since the 30s of the XXth century, the Kazakhs had developed the construction of the houses according to 'pahsa' method. This method of constructing houses usually started in July. The houses were built with a foundation on solid soil. First, the ground where the house was supposed to be built would be leveled. Then a hole was made inside of it. The basement was usually poured in two pieces: a layer of thatch and clay. Such type of construction of houses needed a well-produced brick; that's why the loam made for them should be kept for 1-2 days. Specially prepared brick moulds of 50-60 cm x 30 cm size were laid on the foundation. Then the ready loam was poured into them and properly pressed on. The process would go on and on until the walls of the house reached 3 meters high. The roof was covered with the wood and ground; finally, it would be plastered. Inner and outer sides of the house were leveled and plastered. Such kinds of houses were

built up quickly and counted warmer than the other types of the houses (Yuferov, 1910). The Kazakhs living in Takhtakopir, Beruni, Tortkul and Kojeli had built the houses according to such methods. The architecture and design of their houses were very similar to the Uzbeks' (Shalekenov, 1966). The building of the houses made of molded raw bricks began in the 40-50s of the XXth century. The wealthier stratum of the society had used raw bricks of 30x30cm size for their house construction. Raw bricks of 35x40 cm size were usually made of the loam molded in special wooden forms.

Very old types of dwellings of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan were zhertole or mud huts, and a shack or hovel. Of course, poor population had lived in such dwellings. Those dwellings had also played a significant role in the life of the Kazakhs in Kara-Kalpakstan. To make a mud hut, they dug the ground about 1-1,5 meter deep in quadrangular shape. They put a stove in the middle of it. Such kinds of stoves had been kept as the temporary housing (huts, shacks). Mud huts and hovels were regarded as permanent accommodation of the indigenous people (Argynbaev H.A. Historical and cultural communication..., 2007). As A.N. Glukhov described, such types of accommodations had belonged to small families of Central Asia who engaged in seasonal activities (Gluhov, 1972:101). The residents of Uzbekistan had lived in the same dwellings whose walls were of 60-70 cm thick. They built up their shacks under the method of pakhsa using loam, thatch and cane.

The population in the areas of the Shyrshyq and Syr had built and lived in thatched dwellings, because those areas were rich in those plants. Such dwellings were called 'shom' in Karakalpakstan. In accordance with this, U.K. Shalekenov wrote: 'The people in Moinaq had used thatch (shom) for construction purposes. 2-2.5 meter high thatch was fastened to wooden frames. To build up the walls of it, approximately 25-30 cm part of the thatch should be dug in and horizontally bound. Then its inner and outer parts were plastered with clay mortar (Shalekenov, 1966: 222). In Central Asia, such kind of thatched dwellings had been mainly used for the economic needs of the Kazakhs (Tatimov, 1993).

The people had had a very convenient but strange method of heating the house. In one of the rooms they made a large hole of 30-40 cm deep, filled it with hot coals and covered with a table. Then they sat around the table and got warmed up. This kind of method had come from the settled Uzbek population. But it is not used now.

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

Types of moveable dwellings/yurts

Until the middle of the XIX-XXth centuries, the yurts were the main dwellings of the Kazakhs who lived in the volosts of Zhausogym, Altyn, Irizhar and Maidantal volosts of Tashkent uyezd. They were usually built next to the houses. It was draughty in them in summer. M.S. Andreev wrote about his ethnographic trip to Samarkand oblast made in 1921: 'The Kazakhs of Zhyzak, Samarkand and Khattakorgan uyezds had preferred the yurts to mud huts, but only rich families could afford them' (Andreev, 1924:124). The yurts were divided into two types, 'black' and 'white'. The latter was particularly owned by the wealthy Kazakhs.

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

The yurts of the population of Central Asian countries and Turkic speaking countries had some resemblances to each other. The structure of the yurts, the methods of building them, names of their components and some other elements were similar. Such similarities in the cultures of Central Asian countries and Kazakhstan's peoples show that they have something in common with their ethno-genetic origin. However, each of them has preserved own national peculiarities in housing, clothes and food culture. For example the yurts the Kazakhs had used were a bit different from the yurts of other peoples of Central Asia. They had had more sophisticated wooden parts of the yurts such as shanyrak (upper part of a yurt), kerege (frames which stand on the ground and fasten to uyk) and uyk (special curved

sticks on which shanyrak holds). Since they were very portable, convenient and flexible, the people could use them until the recent times. Both the Kazakhs living in Uzbekistan and Uzbeks used yellow willow to make wooden components (kerege, uyk, shanyrak and door) of the yurts. The Kazakhs painted those components in ochre and red, while the Uzbeks didn't (Makovetsky, 1893). They got red paints mixing the blood of slaughtered sheep and its squeeze lever (Argynbaev, Zakharov, 1961). The number of the uyk of the ancient semi-nomadic Uzbeks reached about 70 pieces (Culture and life of Kazakh..., 1967), while the Kazakhs used 200 uyks to build up 12 foot diameter white yurts (Karmysheva, 1954). Both the Kazakhs and Uzbeks had used 'boira' (made of sandy reed) to prevent their furniture from getting damaged. They were very comfortable in summer when it was windy (Karmysheva, 1954). The roof of the yurts were usually covered with uzik (felt covering the roof of the yurt) and tundik (tetragonal felt closing the upper opening of the yurt), and the yurt was wrapped with boira.

The people in Khorezm oasis had used 4 types of yurts: karakalpak, kazakh, turkmen and uzbek. Though they were similar in structure, they varied concerning some elements. Like the Karakalpak people, the Kazakhs residing on the banks of the Amudarya had predominantly used sandy reeds in making yurts. They protected them from sunlight and heat

Features of national clothes

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

collar was worn untucked. The shirts of the Kazakhs had buttons, while the shirts of the Uzbeks had laces. That was the only difference between them (Shaniyazov, 1972). Such maxi shirts with long sleeves and folded collar were worn by the Kazakhs in Amudarya region. In Zerafshan, the Kipshak and Uzbeks called steadfast collar shirts 'Kazakh shirt', while the Amudarya Kazakhs called it 'Tatar-collar shirts' (Shalekenov, 1966: 201).

The Uzbeks wore blue-colored clothes, while the Kurama wore green-colored clothes on mournings (Sukharev, 1982). Like this, the Kazakhs in the upper part of Shyrshyq and in the areas of Pskent and Boke had worn blue kerchiefs on the day of mourning. But the dress made of silk wasn't considered a mourning dress, because silk was regarded as 'sacred' fabric and never worn on naked body. Young women and girls of Orta juz had preferred pleated waist, double-hem dresses, while middle-aged women, until the 20-30s of the last century, had worn dresses with steadfast collar, long sleeves and wide hem. That very model was very common for both nations. However, the dress of Uzbek women was longer and of different shape on chest. The dress of the girls was mainly designed with a pattern, and either laced or buttoned (Abdullayev, Hasanov, 1978).

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

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

Under the influence of the local population, Kazakh people in Amudarya region had worn a bit different clothes. For instance, imitating the

urban Uzbeks, rich Kazakhs wore turban, bukhar and khiua shapan. In the 70s of the XIXth century, A.P.Khoroshkhin wrote about such changes in the life of the Kazakhs: 'The traditions, customs and languages of the Kyzylkum Kazakhs are the same, but there are some differences in the way they get dressed. For example, those who live close to Khiya wear Turkmen headdress, while the Kazakhs neighboring the Uzbeks wear turbans' (Horoshhin, 1876.). Shapan was a wide spread clothing of the Kazakhs. L.F.Kostenko commented on it: 'Kazakh people wore clothes made of silk or cotton; rich people wore long shapans made of velvet and wide trousers. Rich people wore shapan on the shirts, while the poor wore it on naked body' (Kostenko, 188: 338). The daily clothes of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan and Kara-kalpakstan were light cotton shapans. Kazakhs of Tashkent uyezd wore blue-colored shapans, while Karakalpakstan's Kazakhs wore brown shapans. Light shapans were covered with velvet and sewn lining inside. They were usually worn in summer, while cotton shapans were worn in cold seasons (Fedorov, 1853: 53).

Apart from these clothes, they also had worn the clothes made of different animals' skins and wool. They always valued animals' skins and fur. They sewed fur coats (tons) of skins and fur coats (shashes) of fur-bearing animals' fur. Overcoats were made of skins and fur of either wild or domesticated animals. Accordingly, the clothes were called: zhanat ton – a fur coat made of raccoon fur, kara tulki ton – a fur coat made of silver fox fur, kamshat borik – a fur-cap made of beaver, bota ton – a fur coat made of young camel skin, zhargak ton – a fur coat made of colt skin, etc. They were designed with national ornaments, decorated with coral beads, covered with gold and precious stones or adorned with gold embroidery. But only rich people could afford such clothes. In Uzbekistan 'ton' (outer wear) was usually made of sheep's kin. Its front, hem and edges of the sleeves were decorated with national ornaments and velvet. Today 'ishik' (fur coats) are rarely met in Uzbekistan. Ton was made of dyed skins of wolf and sheep. To dye them, the people used the paint of pomegranate peel and got yellow color (New archeological and ethnographical..., 1961: 106).

In winter, the people wore sheepskin or wolf-skin ton. Female population had also worn shapans, jersey and ishik. They were covered with expensive cloths. Such clothes had been used until the 50s of the XXth century. Women's outerwear clothes were quilted and of rich tones. (Vamberi, 1868: 273).

Like the Uzbeks, Kazakhs had also 2-3 meter long coarse calico belts around their waist. Middle-

aged people used kerchiefs instead of belts. Rich people had used silver belts.

As for the head wear of the Kazakhs was concerned, they mainly had worn tyubetyka, borik (a cap with ear-flaps), malakai (also a cap) and caps made of white felt. However, they predominantly had used the caps with ear-flaps covered with different fabrics and winter caps such as tymak (cuff) and malakai made of animal skin (Kostenko, 1880: 123).

In general, middle-aged men and young men had worn a dome shaped borik made of different fabrics. Its domelike top was shaped separately and sewn to borik. Lower part of borik was covered with skin of animals such as musk-rat or marten, and accordingly, they were called 'musquash' borik or 'marten borik'. The Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan had used skins of astrakhan sheep, foxes and musk-rats to sew borik, and poor people had worn sheepskin warm hats. Tuybeteyka served as a everyday headwear of Uzbekistani Kazakhs. It was also a dome shaped cap seamed in the back. Besides, the people also used triangle top tyubetyka. In the 40-50s of the XXth century, it was fashionable to wear kerchiefs on tyubetyka. Old people preferred to wear turban on tuybeteyka. As for the Kazakhs, turban was worn only by old people or mullah; however, it was popular among middle-aged and even young Uzbek men. A newly married young Uzbek man used to wear a turban during the first month of his marriage (Shaniyazov, 1972: 258).

In the second half of the XIXth century, Kazakhs in Central Asia had worn usual shoes. More fashionable shoes that the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan had worn were 'saptama etik' (high boots with felt socks). They were generally tighter around the leg shaft and ankle than at the top with turned-up toes and heels. Such shoes were made of skins of animals such as ox and horse. Apart from them, there were shoes made of wood and of goat skins, and rubber overshoes for dairy workers (Kostenko, 1880: 338). The shoes made of leather were also popular at that time. They were usually made of head skin of cattle or camel's neck skin (Traditional clothes of the peoples..., 1989: 42). Not only Kazakhs but also kipshaks of Zerafshan had worn leather boots with wide turned-up toes which were dyed to brown or blue colors. Kazakh people called it 'kebis' (Asian shoes). Nogai people wore red leather high shoes. Kazakh and Uzbek people had worn the same shoes, but they called them differently. For example, 'saptama etik' of Kazakh people was called 'mukki' by Uzbeks, though they used the same materials and method to make them. Daily shoes of the women were leather 'masi' (shoes) and kebis. As time

had passed, they began to use rubber shoes. As for young girls, they had worn high-heeled shoes. Rich women wore leather shoes and kebis decorated with patterns and silver ornaments (Zakharov, Khodjaeva 1964: 272). Nowadays, they wear more trendy shoes; however, old people still prefer kebis-galosh to manufactured foot wear.

Characteristics of food culture

Until the beginning of the XXth century, dairy products and meat products had prevailed in the Kazakh cuisine. However, with the development of agricultural sectors in some regions and cities, people began to consume more vegetables and fruits. Since the middle of the XXth century, under the influence of Uzbek and Tajik population, considerable changes took place in Kazakh cuisine. As a result of it, some traditional foods of Uzbek became a part of Kazakh cuisine. In connection with this, L.P. Potapov wrote: '... there were few flour products in the cuisine of nomadic Kazakh people, but then they used various types of dairy and meat products (Potapov, 1949: 79).

Since the beginning of the XXth century, Kazakh people had tried to cook different grain foods; thus, they used wheat flour, millet flour, maize flour and sometimes barley flour for cooking. It was poor people who mainly used grain foods for cooking. They baked various kinds of bread such as 'katyrma', 'patir', 'taba', 'tandyr', 'zhukpa nan' and bauyrsak (Zilina, 1966: 72). To bake katyrma, dough was kneaded and rolled round. Then it was baked in kazan (cauldron). It was usually round and thin. Taba nan was thicker than katyrma and baked in special cast-iron pans, while tandyr nan was baked in special tandyr stove. Tandyr was the main stove of the people in summer kitchen. It was installed in the yard under the shed and had a narrowed mouth of cylinder form. Tandyr was hand-made by the handicraft method. Clay, water, sand, sheep or camel wool and skilful hands of a master were the simple secret of making the wonder-stove. First, the master should knead some clay mixing it with some dumps of a goat or horse and let it settle for three days. Only after that, clay stove forming started. Sun heat was very important as tandyr was dried out for a week in the sun without burning. Tandyr nan was baked by means of the heat going from the hot stove walls and came out not roasted, stewed or boiled. It had no fat surplus and preserved all natural juices at the same time. Before using the stove people burned dry brushwood, small firewood or cotton stems. The firewood was added and the flame was kept until the inner side would be red-hot. Nowadays tandyr nan is still in great demand. As it was not traditional, Orta

juz Kazakhs preferred taba nan to tandyr nan. Apart from them, kattama and zhukpa nan were largely baked for special occasions and family parties. Like dough for beshbarmak (Kazakh meat noodles), kattama dough was rolled round, re-kneaded and greased with oil on both sides, then baked in boiling fat (Shaniyazov, 1972: 274).

One of the popular dishes of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan is naryn. It is pasta dish made with fresh hand-rolled noodles and horse meat. Naryn can be served as a cold pasta dish or as a hot noodle soup. Homemade pasta is rolled very thinly and cut into strips 1–2 mm in width and 50–70 mm in length. It is also prepared like dough for beshbarmak, but it is greased to prevent its gluing together. The noodles are cooked in plain boiling water or often in a broth of horse meat. Horse meat is then shredded into the pasta and naryn is served on a lagan decorated with slices of horse meat sausage (kazy). Like dograma, ‘nan salma’ was also one of the frequent cooked dishes of the Kazakhs. After being boiled the pasta would be covered with fried meat and onions. Kazakhs of Orta juz called it ‘nan salma’, while Uzbeks and Uly juz Kazakhs called ‘shylpyldak’. It was named ‘mai kulshe’ by Zarafshan population. Besides, there were dishes such as samsa, orama and hanum which stuffed with ground meat and carrots, topped with a pepper sauce.

Kyzylkum Kazakhs used to cook ‘kara bylamyk’ (black mash). It was a mixture of flour and tail-fat. As I. Falk wrote: ‘... ‘kuyrmash’ is made of wheat and fat (it might be oat flour – K.B.K.), the people rarely consume fish and animals (Falk, 199: 132). Wheat, millet and rice soups are of great significance in the life of Central Asian Kazakhs until now. They are good to slake thirst. Ground millet mixed with hot milk is called ‘sut bortpe’. Millet mixed with homemade butter and pressed is called ‘zhanshyma tary’. Oat flour is not popular today. However, one can find different kinds of oat flour and homemade butter, cottage cheese, shubat (camel’s milk) and curds on dastarkhan of the Kazakhs in Turkmenistan.

Kazakhs in Uzbekistan had widely used solid soup called ‘atala kozhe’. It was made of flour added to meat bullion or water. This type of dish was also cooked by Uzbek people. Atala was usually made of wheat or maize flour. Kazakh people ate it with airan (kefir), while the Uzbeks added some fried onions to it (Zilina, 1966: 10). Kazakhs in Karakalpakstan had prepared mash using some meat products and millet. One more delicious food they had frequently used was ‘tary sok’ (mixture of millet, homemade butter and sugar).

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

Since the 50–60s of the XXth century, plov had become a main dish cooked for special occasions. A.K. Ganes wrote about the fact that the Kazakhs had cooked plov without carrots early in the XIXth century (Gaines, 1897: 99). Plov prepared for big parties contained a good deal of mutton as well as meat of other cattle, because mutton was supposed to divide into pieces.

As I. Falk supposed, the main dish of Kazakh people was mutton. As a rule, mutton was used for everyday cooking, while kazy and zhaya (horse flesh) were served to honored guests. Large intestine of the horse was cut off, properly salted and kept. It was cooled and served separately from the main dish (Falk, 1999: 132).

In his work A.I. Shahnazarov mentioned that Kazakh people had practiced the tradition of sogym (slaughtering cattle for winter); sogym was divided between some families. Until the middle of the XXth century, Kazakh people slaughtered the cattle, salted its meat and smoked it over the stove or hang it up in the cool room of the house (Shahnazarov, 1908: 326). One more tradition of the Kazakhs was parting the meat before serving to guests. They were arranged in the following order: thigh bone, shinbone, large shinbone and radial bone. The guests were also served to a sheep’s head along with the pastern, shins and entrails. Similar procedure of serving the meat is also practiced among Uzbek people.

All dishes prepared from dairy products were usually boiled. It was typical to all Kazakhs. In accordance with this, F.A. Fielstrup wrote in his work: ‘The nomads of Asian steppes who engaged in animal husbandry differed from the Europeans in drinking only boiled milk (Fielstrup, 1930: 264). The milk of cow, sheep and goat was mixed up and boiled. When it cooled down, it was added some airan to get katyk (thick soured milk). Homemade butter was taken from katyk. For this, katyk was shaken up in a special cask made of mulberry. It would be shaken up until the butter would come out on the top of it. There are two types of airan: one is made by adding some water and salt into katyk, the other is a butterless katyk. Kazakh people and Uzbeks had the same methods of making airan and the same names for them. As soon as airan is boiled

up, it will be poured into a special sack and kept until it gets thickened. The remaining substance is called suzbe(cotton cheese). Curds are made of suzbe. One of the dairy foods of Kazakhs was irimshik. It was made of sour milk boiled in cauldron. In some parts of the region, particularly, in Kazakhstan and Altai, the people had two types of irimshik, white and reddish. White irimshik is a mixture of boiling milk and airan (boiling time is about 15-20 minutes); getting reddish irimshik needs the same ingredients taking more time to boil (4-5 hours). They were stored in a vessel made of sheep's belly (Fielstrup, 1930: 177).

Kymyz is one of the favorite drinks of the semi nomadic Kazakhs of Uzbekistan. To get kymyz, they poured saumal (horse's fresh milk) into torsyk (a leather vessel) adding some ferment. During the next 24 hours, they kept shaking it with a special stick until it got ready.

In the end of the XXth century, naiman, who resided in the villages of Kyzyl tu and Azadbash of Bostandyk district of Tashkent oblast as well as Kybrai and Angren districts, had used this drink. As A. Divayev wrote: 'At the end of the XIXth century, Kazakhs in Turkistan region mixed camel milk with cow milk and got a drink similar to kymyz' (Divayev, 1998:26).

When their dairy cows gave birth, Kazakhs of Central Asia had a tradition of inviting old people for uyz kozhe (soup made of cow colostrum); they prayed to Allah and thanked him for giving them all; this tradition is still kept in many areas. Generally, until the end of the XIXth century and 30s of the

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

Conclusion

Exploring the material culture of the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan, we conclude that at the end of the XIX and early XX centuries national traditional cultures were preserved in settlements, dwellings, clothing and food, but also traditional elements of local populations were found. For example, in straw dwellings it was very similar to Uzbek. As well as the face of the house, they looked outside, there were gardens in all the houses, as they were distributed in Uzbek families, furniture in the rooms was put up like in local ones. From the middle of the twentieth century, the Kazakhs of Uzbekistan multiplied balconies. In clothes, especially in light outerwear (chapans) for men, the place of the buttons was tied with a white belt material, there were long shirts blooming on top of the trousers, and Uzbek caps (tubeteika) wore a lot of clothes. And women mostly dressed in a dress with Uzbek silk patterns, shawls were also tied up like local peoples. In the food place the meat was consumed a lot mainly vegetables and greens. Food from bread was prepared like Uzbeks in a tandyr oven.

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