

Problems of Kazakhs Resettlement to Altay Region (Russian Federation)

Bibiziya Kalshabayeva¹, Yernur Rakhimov² and Ainur Beysegulova³

*Kazakh National University named after Al-Farabi, Republic of Kazakhstan,
Almaty, Al-Farabi AVE., 71, 050038*

E-mail: ¹<kalshabaeva_b@mail.ru>, ²<yernur_rakhimov@mail.ru>

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ABSTRACT The focus of the present paper is the history of resettlement; the reasons and ways the Kazakh population migrat migration to Altay Republic of Russian Federation. This paper is based on field work results and materials that were collected during scientific expedition to Altay in 2013. Researches used and analyzed materials from various sources (archival, literary, scientific, and oral), to clarify the clan-tribal composition of Kazakh population in the region that was studied. Comparative analysis along with other scientific methods was used in the research of the present problem. The researchers also identified peculiarities of the resettlement processes and ethnic demographic indicators for local Kazakhs. The researchers traced the beginning of Kazakh resettlement to mountainous Altay that started in the second half of the nineteenth century. The initial resettlement of the Kazakhs to these lands was triggered by ethno-political changes that happened in the region. Those changes were caused by foreign politics of the Russian and Chinese empires which significantly contributed unto Kazakh migration.

INTRODUCTION

The research on the ethnic history, cultural features and the processes of adaptation to Kazakhstan's realities by repatriates and Kazakh Diaspora representatives was conducted under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Science, Kazakhstan Republic (KR) fundamental research projects. Since 2012, participants of the project organized scientific expeditions and trips to study Kazakh Diaspora in Turkey, Central Asia, and Kazakh repatriates situation in their native lands. In 2013, one of these trips was also organized to the Republic of Altay in Russian Federation (RF).

The aim of the present research is to reveal the history and reasons that led to Kazakh migration, specific features of resettlement, qualitative indicators and ethnic/ cultural peculiarities of the Kazakhs living in the region of Russian Altay.

The first data concerning Kazakhs of mountainous Altay appeared in the works of the nineteenth century scholars. For instance, famous Russian turkologist, Radlov was the first to inform on Altay baptized Kazakhs. He informed that these people were living along the banks of Sarasa (Sarisy) river, the fact explained by the previous migration of local Kazakhs from the region of Bykhtarma river (Radlov 1989). Russian scientist Shmyrlo organized expedition to explore

this region at the end of the nineteenth century. He finally described a path from Gorny Altay station (Ulala), until Kosh-Agash along with the local people's mode of life (Shmyrlo 1898). Grumm-Grzhimailo also devoted some part of his work to the description of the Altay Kazakhs' history (Grumm-Grzhimailo 1926). A. Samoilovich, another Russian researcher of the Central Asian region, tried to make a detailed explanation of the Kazakh resettlement into the territory of mountainous, Altay (Samoilovich 1930). Konovalov's work on Kazakh ethnic formation in Southern Altay was published in 1986. He argued that "Kazakh people living in Southern Altay are characterized by certain specific features of the material, spiritual, cultural life and language. All these features were the results of natural and geographic influence that are alien to ethnic environment, and ethnic isolation of the Kazakhs" (Konovalov 1986). The problems of ethnic history, resettlement, cultural specifics and ethnic identity were researched by well-known Russian ethnographer Oktyabrskaya (Oktyabrskaya 2005). Studies of the Kazakh population in connections with other regional ethnic groups such as Altay people, Tuleuts, and Russians are represented on a separate page in the research field. A number of the Russian scholars, particularly Vainshtein and Zinoviev touched the issues of Kazakh cultural contacts with local ethnics (Vainshtein 1980; Zinoviev 1997).

Significant information was received from local citizens who provided a necessary background on issues of keeping traditional culture, by Altay local ethnics. These people are citizens of Kosh-Agash village, Auelkhan Zhatkanbayev, and Pioner Muhtasyrov, citizens of Zhana-Aul village, Kabdy Asanuly and Kabas Imantayuly (Zhatkanbayev et al. 2013).

Objectives of the Study

The object of research is the Kazakh Diaspora in Altay Republic which represents specific Kazakh ethnic group, in Russian Federation. Formation of the Kazakh Diaspora in the researched region was closely connected to major historical events of eighteenth – the beginning of the nineteenth century, mostly politics of tsarist Russian and Qing Empire in Central Asian region.

The Kazakhs have been living on the territory of modern Altay republic over two hundred years. Their closest neighbors are Tuleuts, Altay people and Russians. The main area of the settlement is Kosh-Agash region where Kazakhs are keeping their native language, specific culture and also have formed a unique ethnic group with strong ethnic self-consciousness. The main reason to explain this phenomenon is compact character of their settlement, preventing them from blending with the local population. Another important factor is the population of Kosh-Agash where majority of the Kazakhs belong to.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

Methods of research. This paper is based on materials collected from archives and libraries of Barnaul (Altay region RF) and field works of the historic-ethnographic expedition, organized in 2013. The administrative centre of Kosh-Agash region became the main place for collecting data due to significant number of Kazakhs living in this area. Prioritized part of the expedition work were surveys, ethnic and sociological where questionnaires were used alongside with interviews of the local population. This information became the basis for further definition of the main stages, reasons of migration, and the cultural needs of Kazakhs in Altay region. Participants of the project used comparative-historical analysis in comparing special literature and

results of the field works. Thus, main stages and periods of Kazakhs resettlement in Russia were defined on the basis of the field work and statistical data that were also collected. This part of the study covered mainly compact and disperse settlement of Kazakhs in this region.

This research was made with general scientific principles of historicism, by comparative and experimental analysis of system. Also, in the methodological arena researches of ethnical pitches, inter-disciplinary principles of research and also complex analysis of population and resettlement of Kazakhs into observed regions were used. For instance, historical comparative analysis was used for the identification of the Kazakh population, the research also defined factors that determined social-political, economic factors for ethnic group change. The method of correlation analysis was used for systemizing and categorizing of the particular selection, specific political, social-economic factors which show resettlement of Kazakhs to Mountain Altay, during the preparation of this material, published that archeological sources were also used.

The researchers have conducted comparative analysis of the materials which were published by E. Shmurlo, A.N. Saimolovich, I.V. Oktyabrskaya, and manuscripts of A.Zh. Zhatkanbayev. Field materials which were collected during the trip to Altay Republic in 2013, are considered to be more important for understanding the roots of the problem. Complex usage of applied researches, ethnographic fields materials, historic-comparative methods, all helped us to formulate the ways of resettlement of Kazakh clans to the Mountain Altay, particular features of settlement, and also their relations with local ethnic groups (Teleuts and Russians).

Kazakh Diaspora Formation in the Altay Republic

Kosh-Agash region of Altay Republic is part of the Russian Federation. This region is situated in the area trans-bordering with China, Mongolia, and Kazakhstan. Kosh-Agash district also has a common border with Russian federal regions such as Ust-Koksin, Ondugay and Ulugay districts in Altay region. The eastern part of Kosh-Agash is bordering with Tyva Republic. The territory of the region is estimated as 20,000 hectares or 19,862 square meters. thus, comprising 21.3 percent of the Altay Republic territory.

Kazakhs are estimated as 60 percent out of Altay population (Zhatkanbayev, Informer).

Russian anthropologist, Oktyabrskaya points out that, "Kazakhs in Kosh-Agash region is estimated as 10,200 people that are 53.4 percent out the whole population, while only 1,250 Kazakhs are living in the capital of Altay republic. The share of the Kazakhs in Altay capital is estimated as 2.2 percent (Oktyabrskay 2011). Kazakhs occupy the third position among the other ethnic groups that populated Altay Republic, after Russians and Altay ethnics. About 80 percent of all Kazakhs in Kosg-Agash region are living in five settlements: Kosh-Agash, Tebeler, Zhana-Aul, Jazator, Kelengit-Sortogoy; about 15 percent of the Kazakhs are citizens of villages Turata Ust-Kan region, while the last 5 percent are inhabitants of different districts in mountainous Altay (Oktyabrskay 1997). Zhatkanbayev devoted his manuscript to the history of the region, and provided the following information, "Kazakhs were migrating to Kosh-Agash region by two ways: the first led from Kazakhstan to Chu valley and the second one started from Mongolia and followed through Kyzylkezen, Khalkuttu" (Zhatkanbayev, Informer 2013).

Circumstances which forced Kazakhs to leave their native lands are explained by political, economic and social hardships in Kazakh khanate. In 1750-70s tsarist Russia finished construction of the new military forts and fortresses with stationed garrisons. These actions by the Russians significantly limited traditional migration routes of local Kazakhs which later led to the economic decline. Thus, Russia occupied the most favorable pastures and wintering places for living. The Russian colonial expansion in this Central Asian region faced hostile reaction from the side of Qing Chinese dynasty. However, domestic problems of the Chinese empire became the main obstacle for their plans to start the colonization of Altay region. Consequently, these clashes between regional actors provided some space for Kazakh tribes Naiman and Kerey (Middle Zhuz) to start migration to Southern Altay (Shumurlo 1898).

Officially, Mountainous Altay was sphere of Qing China influence. This fact explains why Kazakh repatriates were formally citizens of the Chinese empire. However, the citizenship was granted on paper. Qing authorities were quite positive towards the Kazakhs migration, due to the initial politics towards migrants which can be described as "long lasso and free tie-ups".

After 1830s, with the strengthening of foreign interference into Chinese affairs and outbreak of the "opium wars" which was accompanied with the rise of domestic troubles, the Qing dynasty was eager to solve all bordering issues including delimitation of the populated territories with Russian empire quickly.

Chinese side realized certain measures to end border conflicts and to promote regulation of the states' borders. Finally, this process became effective after signing of Chuguchak treaty in 1864 and foundation of Beijing-Peterburg treaties in 1881. Russian-Chinese agreements set up the borders of two neighboring states were anyway limited by time pressure. Thus, the Kazakhs who were migrating from one country to another were suggested to choose their citizenship, in order to fix the place of permanent living, within the period defined by the Russian and Chinese authorities (Grumm-Grzhimailo 1926).

These geo-political games of great powers turned round Kazakhs to people permanent migration. For instance, Kazakhs of Kerei tribe who were migrating to the south of the Mountainous Altay in 1865, finally settled on the territory of neighboring Mongolia.

By Zhatkanbayev's findings, "Kazakhs of Naiman tribe now living in Altay Republic, had come from Mongolia through the access route of Kyzylkezen and Kalkhatta to Southern Altay and also, that Kazakhs that migrated from Eastern Kazakhstan (districts of Katonkaragay and Markakol). The latter came here through Chingystay, Arshatty routes and plateau Ukok (Zhatkanbayev, Informer 2013).

Russian scholar Shmyrlo indicated that in the second half of the nineteenth century from Upper Irtysh region, Mongolia and China started a mass migration to the lands of Southern Altay (that is, territory of Kosh-Agash region in the Altay Republic). As long as two hundred years, these lands were being used by Kazakhs of Byhtarma district in Ust-Kamenogorsk as wintering houses. Repatriates got agreement of local Tulengut tribes to rent these pastures. Thus, migration of Kazakhs into Chu valley lasted over a decade" (Shmurlo 1898).

However, the Russian colonial administration did not appreciate the emergence of numerous Moslem Kazakhs, into Mountainous Altay, This migration led to the certain obstacles on the way of colonial administrators to promote its politics. For instance, in 1880, a missionary depart-

ment to start the construction of Christian churches here was founded. Part of Kazakhs was baptized, and this fact was proved by historical sources. In 1872 in Kosh-Agash 32 baptized Kazakhs out of 114 Christians were counted, 29 Christian marriages were conducted between Kazakhs and Russians. Also, 12 Kazakhs out of 24 people that passed on to glory were buried in Orthodox cemetery (Oktyabrskaya 2005).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was no any mosque on the territory of modern Ulagansk and Kosh-Agash, while the researchers observed six orthodox churches (Shmurlo 1898). The reason behind Kazakhs transition to Christianity demands additional studies, while it should also be mentioned as ethnocultural specifics of Kazakhs in Southern Altay.

Kazakhs as other ethnics in the region also experienced difficulties with the double taxation and land claims of both empires. The beginning of mass resettlement of Kazakhs to Chuya steppe of Mountain Altay, can be dated as early as 1880s. The openness of borders created favorable conditions for free movement of the population. Many times, Kazakhs went to China, escaping Russian oppression, and after certain time came back to their former houses. These Kazakhs became known as Kosh-Agash or Chuya Kazakhs. A search of pastures for the sustenance of cattle breeding was one more reason for Kazakh resettlement. Repressive politics of the colonial administration also led Kazakhs to lose their dwellings and pastures. All these factors resulted to the worsening of economic and social situation that forced people to search for new pastures. Therefore, the constant migration of Kazakh tribes is explained by this particular necessity. Not surprisingly, the Kazakhs located in the Chinese Altay became the object of attack by "krasnorogie". Due to these attacks, they lost part of their cattle and pastures and were forced to come back to Shingistay and Arshatty. Also in the Southern Altay, most fertile lands were seized by the Russian Kazakhs for their own agricultural needs. Therefore, migrant Kazakhs were forced out from this region. However, the "free lands" could be used only by Karatay Kazakhs from Nyman tribe. They settled in such sites as Halkhutta, Ukok Plateau, Dzhazator, Zerlykol, Ayula, Chaganburgysyn, Darkhatta, Karatal, Karashatk (Zhatkanbayev, Informer 2013).

Resettlement of Kazakhs on the territory of Mountain Altai continued at the beginning of

the twentieth century. This movement was caused by new politics of Dzhalam Oyrats. Aspirations of Oyrats to oust other ethnic groups in Kobda District of Mongolia were explained by plans to create the independent state. Oyrats began to take away the cattle and property belonging to the Kazakhs. The Kazakhs that were oppressed ran to the Russian border. The local Russians who were not interested in strengthening of Kazakhs migration to Russian lands, wished for the eviction of Kazakhs back to Mongolia. The Kazakhs who had not settled in Mountain Altay later moved to East Kazakhstan and Tomsk province.

The number of the Kazakh farmers who were located in the Chuya Valley and became Russian citizens in 1900 was estimated as 110. In 1907 there were around 150 farms. According to the Ongudaysky forest area data (1912) there were 446 farms of Kazakhs in the settlements of Chuya, Dzhazator, Halkhutta and Joint stock company-Alakhi, among them were 199 Chingyz Kazakhs and 247 Kazakhs from Nayman, Sargaldak clan. The Kazakhs who now settled in Chuya steppe began to demand for the creation of their own volosts (Shmurlo 1898).

Kazakh volost was created in 1912-1913 on the bank of river, Chuya that was populated by 672 people, among them 462 from Nayman (clan Sargaldak), the other 210 Kazakhs from Katon-Karagaya (Zhatkanbayev, Informer 2013).

Thus, at the end of the nineteenth - beginning of the twentieth centuries two Kazakh volosts were formed in Chuya steppe. The first Chuskaya volost occupied lands along Darkhatta and Chaganburgysyn rivers; the second Chuskaya volost occupied area along rivers Chuya and Duzdatkh. These volosts were located on lands that belonged to Teleuts before. Kazakhs migrants began to exploit these pastures and winterings by bribing local Teleut zaisan (ruler). They paid 50-100 rubles to solve these issues (Zhatkanbayev, Informer 2013). First Chuya volost was headed by zaisan Sama, the second Chuya volost was headed by the Teleut zaisan named Ochurzhap.

According to spoken legends of Kazakh people, the first Kazakh settled to Chuya Steppe was a person named, Kyranbai. He with his two wives and big family came to Zaisan Sama, and started to work as a herdsman of Sarlyks. Exactly, Kyranbai showed the land of Zaisan Sama to his sons Bekbau, Balyk and Nazar from the clan

Kuljabay. His kinsmen were searching for better living conditions (Saimolovich 1930). Also, by stories of Aksakals Minat and Duysenur told in 1880, Kazakh people under the leadership of Abdoldy Kaldekeuly from the clan Kuljabay, resettled in Chuy steppe. Before they crossed passes of Zhumaly, Chaganburgysyn and Darhatty. Nevertheless, some reliable sources indicated that descendants of Bekbau, Balyk and Nazar are precisely the first from Kazakh people who occupied Chuy Steppe (Muhtasyrov, Informer 2013).

Modern Kazakhs of Kosh-Agash are mainly descendants of Tohtamys Mynalyuly from clan Daulet, and Atshabara Kukaiuly from clan Samai and also from clan Zhetyhen. The exaption are r Kazakhs from clan Kerei and Kazakhs from Shoga clan Uak tribe that were settled in Southern Altay (Konovalov 1986). Also, Kazakhs from the Zhetygen clans are inhabiting this area. The settlement of Kazakh people on Altay Mountain was held in two ways: first from Eastern Kazakhstan (regions Semey, Uskaman, Shyngystai); second, from the territory of China to Mongolia. Representatives of the second group are descendants of Bekbau and Abdolly Kaldekeuly, from clan Sargaldak (Imantaiuly Informer). Mainly, the Kazakhs that were settled here were the representatives of Sargaldak and Samai clans, from Naiman tribe.

In 1898 Russian scholar, Shmurlo organized expedition from Ulaly to Kosh-Agash and conducted reconnaissance of the area. Thus, he writes on "Ukok and Halhutta – free cabinet's land. Now, Kazakhs from Shyngystai district Ust-Kamenogorsk County started grazing their cattle on these lands. In plateau Ukok, we see autumn grassland of 11 Kazakh families from the clan Daulet, in Biteu Kanase, 20 families from the clan Sargaldak, in Halhutte, 18 Kazakh families from the clan Daulet. All the 49 families spend winter in the valley of Ak-Alaha river. Another group of Kazakhs places their summer pasture in Zerlykol, Zhazatore, Zhumaly. Their winter things were retained in the Valley of Chui River and Darhatty, further to the East from the border of Semipalatinsk province" (Shmurlo 1898).

Pennsylvania University scholars restored the process of Kazakh settlement in the Mountainous Altay, using genetic methods. Comparing the genes of the local Kazakhs and Kazakhs from Mongolia, American scientists traced close relations between Kazakhs that populated two re-

gions of Central Asia (Dulik et al. 2011). Results of the research were published in PLoS One journal.

The combination of genetic data with archeological, linguistic and climatic records helped scholars to create a map of resettlement of Kazakh population to regions during geographical expansion. Scholars pointed out that in nineteen 19th and twenteen 20th centuries, Kazakh people migrated from Tsinsizai (China), and at the end, they spread to the north of Altay Mountains in West Mongolia and to the South Russia. Sources showed that these Kazakh people came from Middle Zhus, while some migrating people came out from East (from the territory of Mongolia–auth) (Dulik et al. 2011).

Settlement and Dynamics of Kazakh Growth in the Altay Republic

Though most of the sources contained evidences that first migration could be dated as early as 1865-1870s, there are other versions of these processes. Migration movement to the territory of mountainous Altay lasted until the 1930s. Zhatkanbayev in his manuscript wrote that, in 1927 Minat Shamov and Duisenur arrived at Kosh-Agash. They informed that their ancestors came from China 54 years ago, thus their migration can be referred to 1873. Later, Kazakhs from the clan's Karatai, Samai and Karakey from Naiman tribe joined them. This information fits to 1873s results. Ten years later, Kazakh people started to settle to Halhuttu, Ukok, Zhazator, Zhumaly, Ayuty, further to Darhatty, Chaganburgysyn, Karatal, Tebeler, Karashat. This settlement to the territory of Mountain Altay refers to 1883. Information of Kuljabai aul inhabitants at Chuy Valley relates to 1982s according to nuncupative or verbal information (Zhatkanbaev Informer 2013). This information supports our suggestion that Kazaks from the territory of China also settled to the Mountain Altay, along with those who came from Kazakhstan and Mongolia.

Saimolovich in his work pointed out that according to the data of informer Duseynur and Minat in the years 1905-1914, Teleut district ruler, Aky Baydahanuly was appointed as a representative of the region populated by Kazakh people (Saimolovich 1930).

Also, we have found information that in 1908, due to the soliciting of the Kazakh people, the governor of the province allowed them to nomadize on the left bank of Chui River. Teleuts

were granted rights to nomadize on the right bank. In 1912 Russian government granted Kazakh people land to live and nomadize (Tomsk Archive RF). In connection with above said it's necessary to point out that land distribution was conducted by strict rules, so most of the petitions were answered negatively. This fact explained why so many complains along with soliciting and proclamations are stored in the archives. This statement can be supported by using the report of the Second Chuy Province clan steward to captain, Biyskogo Hozuchastka, dated by 1900. This report contained information that people of Abdolda Sargaldakov, Zaisan of the region, and Kazakh people of Semipalatinsk and Ust-Kaminogorsk counties and also of Chuy Province, had already lived on the territory of the province for 15 years. Three years ago, (1887- auth.) they had written collective letter to the governor of Manarshe to liberate them from citizenship" (Notes of West Siberian branch 1898).

This request was signed by 262 people. Local pastures were comfortable for cattle breeding, open and spacious; that's why Kazakh people had no desire to return to their native lands. Kazakh people in Altay region were engaged exclusively in cattle breeding, sometimes in hauling production of horses and camels. They didn't have any documents. 110 Kazakh families resided under supremacy of Abdoldy Sargaldakov. Correspondingly, 94 Kazakh families were living in the Shyngystai County of the province and in the Ashtabar Kuikaly County, there were 54 families. These people earlier had lived in Zhazator and Ukoke, later they had relocated to the Halhutta. These Kazakh people had numerous conflicts with local population. Locals had asked authorities many times to move nomadic people to their native lands, but all requests were unattended to.

Muhtasyrov, informer, provided the following data: At night we had passed the locality Darhatty which was the property of the Russian government to a place where we can be lodging for the night which was only seven kilometres away. All the way long, we were impressed by the wealth of the local people, and everywhere there grazed thousands of sheep and horses. Kazakhs from the clan Kuljabai lived here (Muhtasyrov, Informer 2013). They lived in the Russian territory. However, they were considered citizens of China. Earlier, their ancestors settled in Shyngystai and Arshatty, 30 years, in 1865-1866,

when the above-mentioned lands were part of Qing Empire, Kazaks oppressed by local authorities were forced to nomadize in the region Kobdy, in Mongolia. 15 years later, in 1880, they came to Mountain Altay where they created First and the Second Chui Province. However, later on, the local citizens of Teleuts refused Kazakh people to get lands for rent which caused some tension between them. Due to fear of losing cattle, the Kazakh people from the Kuljabai clan in 1887 officially requested the tsarist government to grant Russian residency. Kazakhs didn't receive an answer, and so far didn't get citizenship of Empire. Documents of Kazakh people were kept at offices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Konovalov 1986).

Zaisan Kuljabaetsev made a list of people who desired to receive Russian residency in the area supervised by Abdoldy Kaldekeuly from clan Sargaldak, so all people had last names as Sargaldakov. In 1893, was made a list with 77 families composed of 105 men and 124 women. Later on, three more families joined them. In total, a number of Kazakhs families who wished to accept Russian citizenship reached 80. All of them were inhabitants of the steppes Darhatty, Zhazator Valley River, Zhumaly and shores of the lake Zerlykol. Their winterings were located in Darhatty Valley River. These winterings belonged to 30 families, and on the bank of river Chaganburgsyn lived other 50 families. These counties were divided into separate provinces where they had full rights of autonomy. Kuljabai Kazakhs did not know the administrative separation, and they lived by rules of tribal society. No one had rights to appoint the ruler of the province. Only kinsmen had right to choose their leader. The present leader Abdolda Sargaldakov was elected when he reached 21 years, and until now, he has been lead Kazakhs for 20 years (Muhtasyrov Informer 2013). Kazakhs from the clan Kuljabai don't plow land; they spend the winter in their dwellings (yurtas), they don't build timber houses. They keep cattle grazing all year round and that's why they are not engaged in mowing. All the wealth of their clan is estimating as : 2500 horses, 15000 sheep. Cattle traders of Biisk and Ust-Kamenagorsk made all year-round purchase from them till they had 2000 sheep left, however, they don't buy horses. The price of sheep is 2 rubles, but horse is 20 rubles as Shmurlo writes (Shmurlo 1898).

Nomadism of Kazakh people became a challenge for local Russian and Altay population.

They were not happy with this fact, and consequently sent numerous complaints concerning Kazakhs to the Russian authorities. For instance, in the letter written to Tomsk governor, the commander Mountain Altay County on January 27, 1908, mention that, local Teleuts disagree with the settlement of Kazakhs from clan Sargaldak in their territories. They complained that Kazakh people occupied the best lands of Chui Valley, while Teleuts were forced to move to the forests. Secondly, Kazakh people were actively involved in barymta and robbery. Kazakh people nomadized on the territory of Teleuts, in Chui province. The Kazakhs also pay 500 rubles year-round to the authorities of Second Chui province for using their land. Clan leaders of First Chui Valley are going to raise the issue on eviction of Kazakhs from the Teleut territory” (Notes of West Siberian Branch 1898).

Also from this document is clear that Kosh-Agash Kazakhs appeared in the Chui Valley in 1880, but their citizenship was granted only in 1902. Until 1908 they didn't have right to live and to use the land for monetary use. Request of Kazakh people on the division of their land was answered only on July 30, 1908, when, according to the decree of the governor, Kazakh people received rights to populate left bank of Chui river, while Teleuts were granted the right bank of the river. In 1912, land commission allocated land for 672 Kazakhs. This figure reflects the total number of Kazakh people that populated Chui Valley. The researchers need to mention that until 1928 lands of Zhazator were part of Kazakh ASSR, but later on, all territories situated to on the east of Ukok were given to the Republic of Altay. Nevertheless, the county Zhazator was under the administration of Kazakhstan. The first school in the village was built in 1928, by KazASSR government (Bersinbaev, Informer 2013).

By the information provided by Auelhan Zhatkambayev, his grandfather was the chairman of the village council in the 1930s, while before, the lands of Zhazator- Ukok were part of Shyngystai Province of Semipalatinsk County which was under the governorship of Omsk. Before the revolution 1917 these places were granted to Kazakh Tohtamys Munaluly by decree of the Russian tsar. In 1928, Russian Federation decided to transfer these lands to the Kazakh Republic according to land measuring. Consequently, they were US-Koksa lands which Russians traditionally called Fykalka, while Ka-

zaks called them Bekalka. In exchange Kazakhstan granted to Russia lands of Zhazator – Ukok in Oirat Autonomy province

As Zhatkanbayev informed, Shairtakzhy Abdoldauly did a great work on the conversion of the Second Chui Valley County into Kazakhstan County. Starting from 1911, he wrote letters of request to Tsarist administration in order to get these lands as pasture and wintering for Kazakhs (Zhatkanbayev, Informer 2013). During these years, Kazakhs and Teleuts were involved in numerous conflicts over wintering lands and pastures. Since the early years of Abdoldauly, he actively participated in the processes of solving tribal conflicts, while he also demonstrated the best features of a clan leader. In 1924, he sent a letter on behalf of Kazakhs of Kosh-Agash to the Kazakh Republic government where he explained the desire of his clan to move back to their native lands. In his letter, he wrote about 90 Kazakh families who had left Altay for Kazakhstan where he asked to grant them lands.

Kazakhstan government decided to provide Kosh-Agash Kazakhs lands on Ukok plateau. However, in 1928 part of the plateau was returned to Russian Federation and Kazakhs again were living out of their motherland. Since this time Kazakhs have populated Kosh-Agash region in Altay Republic. The Kazakhs that were discouraged decided, that “they will not move to Shyngystai” and instead returned to Chuy steppe. Since that time until 1991, Kazakhs of region Kosh-Agash are citizens of Altay Republic (Zhatkambayev, Informer 2013).

In general, the researches can agree with Russian scientist Konovalov that “long time lasted isolation from main ethnic group, alien environment, including natural and geographical conditions that defined the peculiarities of Kosh-Agash Kazakhs” (Konovalov 1986) that Kosh-Agash Kazakhs represent a case of unique ethnic group embedded during centuries into certain circumstances.

The Resettlement of Kazakh People in the Altay Republic from History

Several versions exist on when and who first settled in the region of Kosh-Agash, but in general, all sources confirmed the opinions that resettlement started in 1865-1870. Resettlement of Kazakh people to the lands of Altay Mountain continued until the 1930s. Auelhan Zhatkanbaev-

mentioned in his manuscript: "in 1927 to Kosh-Agash came Kazakhs Minat Shamov and Duy-senur who announced that their ancestors resettled this land" (Zhatkanbaev, Informer 2013).

Kazakh leaders always requested from the representatives of Tsar administration to found an independent Kazakh province. At this period there were a lot of disputes concerning lands, pastures, and barymta between Kazakhs and Teleuts. Andoldauly from his early ages had participated in the litigations, and was positively characterized due to the fairness and firmness of his position. Kazakhs from the tribe Kerei highly appreciated the service of Shaken and called him "chief of Naimans".

Konovalov stated that "during their hundred years sojourn in conditions which detached from the main ethical array, specific natural geographical conditions, alien environment affected the establishment of special pecuniary which differentiated culture and lifestyle of Kosh-Agash Kazakhs. He also identified the range of ethical feature which segregates this group of people from north-eastern Kazakhs" (Konovalov 1986). The researchers can suppose that Kosh-Agash Kazakhs have created a peculiar group of Kazakh people during the hundred years, with a distinctive history, lifestyle and culture.

As prominent Russian scientist Remnev wrote, one of the most important features of the regional powers functioning in Asian Russia at the end of nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, was the absence of a clear facet between domestic and foreign politics. Consequently, it led to incompleteness of state borders delimitation. State borders in Asian environment had some specific features of frontier. First, feasibility created serious obstacle in fixing the borders. For a long time, as in a case of Russian-Chinese relations trans-bordering areas that represented buffer zone, were dominantly populated by sparse nomadic population (Remnev 2015).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

While conducting this research scholars have found the reasons and defined the steps of resettlement of Kazakh people to the territory of modern Altay Republic. Resettlement of Kosh-Agash Kazakhs started in the second half of nineteenth century, from the regions of Upper Priir-tyschia, added by migration from bordering provinces of Mongolia and China.

Studies of pre-revolutionary literature and statistical materials helped us to clarify some problems of resettled Kazakh population. According to the data of Shmurlo in 1893, in Kosh-Agash region were living 1129 Kazakh families. If each family consisted of 4 members, then, the total number of Kazakhs can be counted as 576 people (Shmurlo 1898). Archeological materials of 1912 show that the number of Kazakh people rose to 672 (Tomsk Archive RF). Samoylovich indicated that in 1927 Kazakh population of in Kosh-Agash reached 2408 people, and 1233 out of them were men, and 1175 were women (Saimolovich 1930). In general, according to the latest statistical data, the number of Kazakh people who lived in Kosh-Agash is constantly increasing. So, in 1959 there lived 3575 Kazakhs, in 1970 - 6006 Kazakhs, in 1979 - 7253, in 1989 - 8882, in 2002 - 9517, and finally, in 2010, this number increased to 10019 people (Materials of Statistical Department Kosh-Agash Province 2013).

Besides that, Kazakhs were settled in the cities and counties of neighboring Altay. According to the data of the last census held in Russia, 980 Kazakhs were living in Barnaul city, in Rubezhovskoe, the number of Kazakhs was counted as 262, in Slavgorode, 2313, in Yarovoe - 61, in Aley region - 26, in Blagoveshensko region - 597, in the Burlinsk region - 1542, in the Volchihinsk region - 165, in the Egorevsk region - 191, in the Kulundinsk region - 558, in the Mihailovsk region - 1488, in the Uglovsk region - 711, in the Khabarovsk region - 129 Kazakhs (Materials of Statistical Department Kosh-Agash Province). It is worthy to mention that the dynamics of Kazakh population growth in the Altay Republic and Altayski Krai depends on the social-economic and political situation in Russia.

Comparison of the statistical data concerning regional Kazakhs led to the conclusion that the number of Kazakhs is gradually growing. Anyway, the dynamics of this process is not significant. This situation can be explained by the strengthening of Kazakhs assimilation to local culture due to social and economic policy of Russian authorities. Kazakhstan Republic is also playing an important role in the migration processes launching a new state repatriates program. This state program became an impetus for many Kazakhs to return to native land.

Some scholars see Kazakh migration to Altay as the consequences of Russian tsarist colo-

nial resettlement politics (Oktaybrskay), while Samoilovich stressed the role of Chinese factor. He on the other hand insists that all these migration processes were the results of Qing foreign politics due to Kazakh-Chinese citizenship. Konovalov points out that resettlement was caused by limited amount of pastures for Kazakhs in Ust-Kamenogorsk County. Due to opening of "free lands" opportunities in Altay, many Kazakh families decided to migrate to China and Russia. On the contrary, the researchers think that all these factors became the ground for the massive migration of Kazakhs to mountainous Altay, since the eighteenth century.

Research Outcomes

1 Causes and Chronology History in the Formation of Kazakh Diaspora in the Altay Republic: The resettlement movements of Kazakhs to Altay Mountain (Present Republic of Altay) started in the middle of the eighteenth century. The reasons for resettlement were: tough colonization policy of Russia in the regions, the construction of fortresses lines in the borders, location of army and punitive detachments. As a result, Kazakhs lost their cattle, wintering pastures and traditional routes of cattle grazing. Consequently the land issues became the most acute problem. All these factors pushed people to find new lands for resettlement. Also, that resettlement of Kazakh people to Altay Mountains was not only from East Kazakhstan, but also from Mongolia and China, while it continued until the second decade of twentieth century.

2 Special Features of Resettlement of Kazakh People: In the second half of nineteenth century, Kazakh people from Mongolia resettled to the territory of Kyzylkezen and Halhutta. Opposite, Kazakhs from Naiman tribe started to settle from the territory of Eastern Kazakhstan (regions Katon-Karagay and Markakol) and through mountain badges, Shyngystai and Arshatty they passed to Mountain Altay to Chui Valley.

3 Issues on the Measuring Land in Settled Territories: The first stages of resettlement to the Mountain Altay where Teleuts and Altay people lived, were tolerable. However, the fast growing number of population and robbery of Kazakh people did not please Teleuts. Altay and Teleuts did not want to endure the land rent and even started to demand the expulsion of Kaza-

khs from their lands. In such tough situation Kazakhs were able to create their own province and grazed cattle on the banks of the Chui River, due to the activity of Kazakh people, such as Abdolda Sargaldakov, and other leaders. In 1924-1928 part of the Ukok lands was transferred to Kazakh ASSR, but later returned to the Altay Republic. Due to this situation, Kazakh people decided to return to the native lands to Chui Valley.

4 Further Destiny of Altay Republic Kazakhs: Starting from 1928 until now, Kazakh people represents a compact group living in the territory of Kos-Agash region in the Altay Republic. During the famine of 1931-1933 in Kazakhstan, the population of the region increased because of new migrants. Thousands of the Kazakh people run away to Siberia, China and Mongolia in order to survive, as most historical sources indicate. Nowadays, Kazakhs from the Altay Republic still maintain friendly relationships with the Kazakhs in Mongolia and Eastern Kazakhstan.

CONCLUSION

Kazakhs living in the territory of Kazakhstan, including kinsmen from the Altay Republic are considered significant part of Kazakh nation. Studying resettlement, culture of foreign Kazakhs and their modern political and social-economic situation is considered one of the most acute historical and ethnological problems of science in Kazakhstan.

Researched work led to the following outcomes:

1. Showed causes of massive migration of Kazakh population to present Altay Republic of Russian Federation.
2. Determined the resettlement lands of Kazakh people on the territory of Mountain Altay.
3. Showed the level and character of ethnical contacts with local population of the region (Teleuts, Altay people, Russians).

Finally, the researches can state that massive resettlement of Kazakhs to Chui Steppe was realized in 1870-1880. The settlers came not only from East Kazakhstan, but also was from Mongolia and China. Analysis of various sources and materials led to the conclusion that new Kazakh ethnic group was formed in the Altay Republic, so called Kosh-Agash Kazakhs. This phenomenon was caused by ethno-political processes in the region, connected with geopolitical moves

of regional powers, Russia and China during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Kazakh Diaspora abroad is facing the problem of assimilation, particularly in Russian Federation. In order to keep traditional ethnic culture, we suggest the following recommendations:

- In every urban or rural centre where Kazakhs represent the majority, it is necessary to open a "Cultural Centre" where people could be able to study Kazakh language, traditions, and so on.
- The Kazakhstan Republic should organize scientific expeditions to those centres to study how to keep traditional ethnic culture, to research assimilation processes peculiarities
- In order to realize a state program for repatriates (Elge Oralu) we need to support such activities as agitation, assistance in the process of re-migration, organization of special representatives' trips to Kazakhstan regions where repatriates could settle in future.

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