

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
OF
THE MONGOL-TURKIC
PASTORAL NOMADS.

BY

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FOREWORD

The study of the social organization of Mongol and Turkic peoples is the product of research conducted with the support of the Far Eastern Institute (now the Far Eastern and Russian Institute) of the University of Washington, and of the Russian Research Center, Harvard University. Later aid of the Bureau of Social Science Research, then of American University, Washington, and of the Human Relations Area Files, New Haven, contributed materially to the eventual book. It was possible to travel in the area and discuss with local specialists during the final stages of the writing.

Over the years of its composition, a number of people have generously aided in clarifying difficult points of methodological, cultural historical and philological analysis. Although their number is too great for individual thanks my gratitude is extended to all of them. A few names are outstanding: N. N. Poppe, Meyer Fortes, Paul Kirchhoff and D. B. Shimkin. Antoine Mostaert and Louis Schram made available their knowledge of the Ordos Mongols and the Monguor respectively.

The transliteration system was not solved in a unitary and comprehensive fashion: for non-Latin alphabets, various systems were used. Since there is no standardization in the transliteration of the Altaic languages, a simplified version of the current systems has been applied: regarding Ordos and Monguor, Mostaert; Buryat and Khalkha, Poppe; Kalmuk, Ramstedt; Kazakh, the current Soviet system. In Russian transliteration, the system in use at the Library of Congress, Washington, has been applied, but without diacritical marks and ligatures. It is hoped that no grievous phonemic solecisms have been committed.

American University,
Washington.
July 1960.

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INTRODUCTION

This work is an essay in cultural history. Works in cultural history deal with the life of peoples across time. Like most other essays in cultural history this one begins with the premise that cultural history is the history of the totality of the tradition of a people. Social organization is an element of culture; it has been regarded as the structural element of culture by Meyer Fortes. Just as other elements of culture, social organization has its history. Ruth Benedict has pointed out that it has the advantage of greater precision in definition of terms than other aspects of culture, with the possible exception of linguistics. However, there are too few attempts at the study of social organization across time. Perhaps this is because the textual sources of the history of organization of most human societies has too little time depth; and where the sources have sufficient time depth, measured in centuries, it is chiefly the philologist who has recorded the historical processes of change. His medium is not that of the social anthropologist; indeed the two media are usually anti-thetic to each other.

Social organization, withal its neglect in cultural history, provides an excellent basis for its composition. It has terminological precision; and it is to a limited extent a deductive discipline, so that the data can be controlled, tested for internal logical consistency. Moreover, the organization of a society has its own content, as kinship and clan or corporate structure; with this structure all or nearly all other elements of culture are related: religion, law, economy, education, art. Therefore, in addition to the value of its intrinsic study, it is a convenient table of organization of all the cultural elements. This expository simplicity cannot be attributed to any other cultural element, with the exception of the economy. A not unimportant advantage to be gained by our study is in the field of comparative work, where precision is needed.

The Turko-Mongol world occupies a place with few partners in the matter of social organization. It is rare to find a cultural entity, such as the nomadic pastoralists of the Asian steppes, who have a record of fifteen centuries or more of recorded history of social organization, that is, with enough recorded detail to compose such a history. They have two chief qualifications of interest to the present study: the history of their social organization covers many centuries in sufficient detail; and they have maintained a kin-based society down to the early twentieth century, when the record and the method for its analysis was developed to the height at which it could elucidate both the contemporary and the earliest eras.

This work is a study of the kinship systems and related social structures of a number of peoples: Ordos Mongols of Inner Mongolia, Buryats of the Lake Baikal region, Kazakhs of Western Turkestan, Kalmuks of the lower Volga, and Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier. The Kazakh chapter has an introductory passage in which the social organization of the Orkhon-Yenisei Turks (sixth-eighth centuries AD) is explored in the light of the later Turkic organization. The Ordos chapter has an introductory passage in which the organization of Mongol society at the time of Chingis Khan and thereafter is explored in the light of later developments. In other chapters, the analysis is carried as far back as the record permits. The ethnographic present is the period from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, during which descriptive criteria are satisfied.

In general, these peoples have lived traditionally by the products of herds of horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and camels; they have had little direct dependence upon agriculture. The communities of herding families move with their herds in fixed annual rounds from winter to summer pastures; they are the classical examples of pastoral nomadism. The Monguors are an exception to this pattern; in recent centuries they have adopted agriculture as their basic livelihood.

The environment of these peoples is the interior of Asia, a vast, arid region extending from the lowlands north of the Caspian Sea in the west to the Great Khingan Range of Manchuria in the east. The region varies in physiographic type from forest-steppe to true steppe to semi-desert to desert. Except on the margins and in oases and valleys enclaved within the zone, the rainfall is inadequate to sustain an agricultural economy without the aids of water conserv-

ancy. The arid zone extends west to the Caucasus and south to the Iranian desert. Physiographic processes prevail throughout the region which distinguish it as Interior Asia. The chief of these processes is the drainage pattern. The region from the Caucasus and the Caspian to Manchuria is Interior Asia, that part of a far greater zone of aridity which has only interior drainage. The water courses end in deserts and inland lakes and seas; they do not reach the oceans of the world. The implications of the difference in drainage for communication and the possibility of agriculture are obvious and great.

The peoples under study share a common environment and economy. They are linguistically related: all are members of the Altaic language stock, a grouping composed of the Mongolic, Turkic, Manchu-Tungusic and Korean families. The Kazakhs are Turkic speakers, the rest of the peoples examined in this book are Mongolic. The linguistic patterns of the peoples are such that the terminology of kinship relations has a readily ascertainable common genesis, and in addition, possesses a number of terms which have been later borrowed from one group to another with minimal disturbance of the underlying patterns of language and kinship.

The steppe peoples have a common history. They have participated in a series of empires and state formations, the traditions of which are still vivid in the memories of the peoples throughout the region, even after many centuries. The common economic and mobility pattern has had a long duration. Peoples identifiable as Turkic and Mongol can be shown by Chinese, Persian, and latterly their own records to have been pastoral nomads over a period of at least two and a half millenia. By the direct evidence of their own texts, the social organization and terminology have been in use for at least one and a half millenia. By inference, it is far older.

The historical, economic, and linguistic commonalities of the steppe peoples, within the common environmental frame, together present a picture of a shared cultural development. One of the arguments of this work is that the social organization of these peoples is an expression of their cultural interrelatedness; and at the same time the social organization has established a framework which sustains the cultural tradition. Other aspects of the social organization than the system of kinship, notably the political organization and the organization of production, will be developed in order to put

the kinship pattern in perspective within the larger social order.

Implied here is a conception of social organization in double harness. The uniform organization of the steppe pastoralists is an expression of the common tradition, and at once supports and maintains it; the supportive role is a function of the organization. To conceive of the organization as divorced from function is a mechanistic view of the study of society: ascertainment of structural features cannot be an end in itself. The failure to examine the function of a social structure is an artificial extrapolation, a blinding to one set of meanings. While this is asserted as a generality in the study of society, the set of functional meanings of the structural system in the steppe societies of Asia has particular importance.

The existing set of kin relations is an expression on the contemporary plane of a set of genealogical lines of the steppe nomads. The genealogies have been devised by the peoples who profess them in accordance with a common set of principles, of which the peoples in question are keenly aware. At crucial points in the genealogies, the names of common ancestors — male — are evoked. Shared genealogies, and shared principles of descent by which they have been formulated, affirm the consciousness of a common cultural tradition of various Altaic peoples of the Asian steppes.

The social organization, and the kinship system within it, of these peoples is in one sense a single and homogeneous one. In another sense, there is a set of closely related systems, with a common origin, and distinctive variations. One of the tasks of this work is to parse out the uniformities and the variations in structure. The principles are shared; variations exist in detail. For the most part, the variations have taken the form of differences in the referents of kinship terms, extensions of meaning to include broader ranges of kin, or narrowing of referents. Relationships vary as the terms. For example, a term for father's sister in one society is extended to include father's sister's daughter in another. Out of the process of widening and narrowing the range of referents of terms, variations in the system of relations are produced. Fundamentally, the systems retain their uniform character, and the variations upon the fundamental uniformity can be traced to unitary changes in one term and one relation or another.

There has been a considerable controversy over the primary ele-

ment of kinship, whether it is the term of the relationship designated by the term. This controversy is in large measure a verbal one. The term and the relationship designated are here taken to be coordinate expressions of one and the same social phenomenon. Each term and relationship implies a set of behavioral patterns in economic life, in the law, in religious activity, and in other aspects of the culture. In following the widening arcs of relations connected with the kinship terms, the correlations lose precision of meaning, and ultimately are coordinate only in the sense that parts within the social whole are related.

The study of the kinship systems of the steppe nomads will be at once chronological and typological: thus cultural history is embedded in the substance of the work. The time and place of the notation of given structures and their transformations will be set down. The typological study lies to hand at every turn in the study of kinship. Such is the regularity of usage of kinship terminology that the synchronic representativeness of each usage is well assured and a typology of terms is readily established.

Time has two meanings: one of them is objective, for these peoples have their written histories, and events of their history are historical in the sense that a written record is historical; the other is mythopoeic, nonobjective, for they have their own folk versions, both naive and sophisticated, of their past. The objective record is outside the social process, and whether the historian is a Mongol or a Turk, a Persian or a Chinese, it remains outside the folk history or tradition. The mythopoeic enters into the social and historical process and helps to shape it. Thus, a myth of common ancestry shared by two peoples actually joins them into a larger cultural unity and involves members of each in mutual rights and duties. The two separate historical dimensions flow together. The folk history creates objective history which then records the combinations and separations of peoples and their interaction.

The methods contained in Eggen's work on the kinship and ceremonial systems of the western Pueblos and Murdock's *Social Structure* should be related to the present study. Eggen's study of social organization is a comparative one; he constructs a system of common features and treats them as variants of one system. This is one of the purposes of the present work. Murdock has provided a

setting for the study of the internal evolution of kinship systems. This is another of the intents of this work.

Firth reserves the concept of social organization for concrete activities, including those in which the "existing structural principles" of a society are applied. In a related manner, Lévi-Strauss has developed the view that social structure is an abstraction made from the materials of the study of society, i.e., the social relations. The same view has been developed by Fortes, who argues against the reduction of social structure to concrete social reality, and proposes that social structure is an abstraction derived from comparison and inference.¹

The object of the polemics of Lévi-Strauss and Fortes is the conception of Radcliffe-Brown which provides that social structure denotes an actually existing network of social relations. Far-reaching epistemological problems are touched upon in these controversies, perhaps the most important being the identity of thought and social reality, or the distinctiveness of the two. If social reality exists as thought, then it is of a different order from abstractions – the typologies mentioned above – about the reality. The structure of the kinship relations of a society is an abstraction made from one order of social reality, namely, the ties of descent and marriage. Lévi-Strauss had distinguished between the subjective model of social structure given by native informants and objective models of ethnologists.²

In keeping with this view, if a concept such as the Omaha system of cousin terminology is applied, e.g., among the Kalmuks, it is not to be inferred that a set of relations observed among the Omaha tribe of North America conforms to those of the Kalmuks. Relationships of cooperation, or respect, or aggression, which exist among cousins in one society are not to be imputed to another merely because the terminological systems coincide in broad outlines. The Omaha cousin classification refers to the notation that ego's father's brother's child is terminologically differentiated from his father's sister's child, and both are distinct from his mother's sister's child and mother's brother's child; and these are in turn differentiated from each other. This system further refers to the notation that father's

¹ Eggan, 1950; Firth, *Elements*, 1951; Murdock, 1949; Lévi-Strauss, 1949; Fortes, 1949; Krader, 1955, *Principles and Structures*; Krader, 1955, *Ecology*.

² Radcliffe-Brown, 1952; Lévi-Strauss, 1953.

sisters's child and sister's child are terminologically identified, as are mother's brother and mother's brother's child; and that a number of societies have these features of kinship nomenclature in common. Little is to be inferred about the inheritance pattern of Omaha in general, or the religious or joking relations in reference to any given society.³

The Omaha cousin system, apart from its presence in the Omaha society, is an abstract conception whose concrete realization in terms of specific behavior patterns in one society may differ from, or again conform in detail with, those of another with the identical system of nomenclature. Moreover, nothing is implied as to the common genesis of the Omaha system in general. Systems are transformed from one to another over time. Relations implied by one system may be compounded of different elements and antecedents, whereby the evolution of the Omaha system on the North American plains and on the Asian steppes are separate and distinct. The mode of evolution of specific kinship systems is at issue. Lowie and Murdock consider that Omaha as a kinship type or system was developed by a different route than that followed by Kazakhs, Kalmuks, or Uzbeks where it has lately been identified.

This work was effectively completed in 1953. In the interim, a number of studies relevant to the kinship systems of the pastoral nomads of Interior Asia have appeared. In addition, an Inter-University Travel Grant enabled me to travel through various parts of steppeland Asia, particularly in its western parts, from the Volga through Kazakhstan as far as Samarkand and Tashkent in Uzbekistan in the fall of 1956. At that time I was able to observe, however briefly, the life of the peoples who occupy the western parts of the area dealt with in this book. During the same trip it was possible to discuss matters of common interest with Russian anthropologists.

Since this work was first set down, B. O. Dolgikh and S. A. Tokarev have contributed to the early history of the Buryats, and a volume devoted to the history of the Buryats has appeared. Louis M. J. Schram has published two more volumes on the Monguors of Kansu. A number of studies of Kazakh society have appeared. These various contributions have in many ways extended and deepened our knowledge of the steppe societies. They have affirmed rather than

³ Murdock, *op. cit.*; Ol'derogge, 1958.

given grounds for altering the interpretations developed in the present work.⁴

There are several matters of theoretical interest which have arisen. The first of these is the relation of ego to the maternal kin, especially the mother's brother and the mother's brother's child. This relationship is subject to considerable variation among the peoples of the steppe. It is among the most unstable of all the kinship relations among these societies. At times the relationship disappears entirely. Thus, for example, among the Ordos Mongols, the relationship between mother's brother's child and father's sister's child is not mutual. Mother's brother's child is called by a generalized term of matrilineal kinship, *nagatša*; there is no term for father's sister's child. The relationship is not to be considered as mutual, therefore. According to the *Dictionnaire Ordos-Français* of Antoine Mostaert the father's sister's son is not considered as kin.⁵

This is a rare phenomenon in the world of kinship, but is understandable in terms of the system of the Ordos Mongols. The father's sister has married away from her natal family. As we shall see, the rule of marriage is that of exogamy, and residence upon marriage is patrilocal. The bride joins her husband and his father. The bride's brother has a kinship relation with her, and his son has one as well. But his son has no actual relation with his father's sister's son. And the Ordos Mongols do not apply a term to this non-existent specific relationship.

While the vast preponderance of kinship relations have some kind of mutual terminological relationship, there is none in this case. The fact of non-reciprocity in terminology between ego and father's sister's child among the Ordos Mongols sets off the virtual universality of reciprocity in kinship terms and relations. Such reciprocity follows from the generally symmetrical nature of kinship relations. But not all relations are symmetrical. The reason for this instance of non-reciprocity given in the preceding passage is offered as no more than a plausible explanation. The fact of the non-reciprocity remains, and stands opposed to the general principle of symmetry and reciprocity in kinship terms and relations. Hereafter, kinship analysis

⁴ Dolgikh, B. O., 1953; Tokarev, S. A., 1953; Khaptaev, P. T., et al., 1954, *Istoriia*; Schram, Louis M. J., 1954-1957, *Monguor pts. I-II*.

⁵ Mostaert, 1941-1944.

will have to reckon with the theoretical possibility of non-reciprocal relations in any kinship system.

A second matter of general interest has developed in the interim. A study of the kinship system of the Kungrad Uzbeks has been made over to me by its author, L. P. Potapov, director of the Ethnographic Museum of Leningrad, whose cooperativeness is herewith acknowledged. His study, done over thirty years ago, has not been available in this country to date. Potapov's kinship list clearly shows a structure of a type already ascertained among the Kalmuks and the Kazakhs. Uzbeks and Kazakhs are Turkic peoples, Kalmuks are not. The Kazakh system reveals particularities of nomenclature which share etymologies with the Kalmuk: for example, maternal uncle is called *nagasy ata* in Kazakh, and *naxtsaxa* in Kalmuk. Mother's brother is *tagay* in Uzbek, an etymologically unrelated term. The structure of the common system of kinship is shown in Kazakh, Kalmuk and Uzbek by the semantic referents of the terms, while derivation of the term for the given relation varies. A recently published account of the Uzbeks of the delta region of the Amu-Darya by K. L. Zadykhina includes a kinship list which conforms in general outline with that of Potapov.⁶

A third point concerns the form of the clan and the general process of clan formation. The clan is a body of unilineal kin: kin who are related by descent in either the matriline or the patriline, and in either case to the exclusion of the other. In addition, the clan is a definite entity, with a distinctive membership, a common territory, a set of functions which take the form of a common polity with a leader, and a religious cult. In this sense, the clan is a corporate group of involuntary association: membership in the corporation is established not by election but by birth and adoption. Hence membership is a "natural" right, and not a right of free choice. This distinction constitutes an emendation of the theory of corporate groups which has been advanced in the anthropological literature in recent years.

Descent line is a relational concept. It has sometimes been proposed that traces of earlier matrilineal practice are to be detected in current patrilineally organized societies, the evidence for such traces being the female sex of the founder of the line. In a uniliny,

⁶ Potapov, L. P., 1930; Zadykhina, K. L., 1952.

however, it is the sex of the offspring by whom the descent is reckoned which is decisive. This must be the same as that of the parent in the uniliny. However, there are special circumstances whereby the founder of the line may be of opposite sex, genetrix of a patriline; such special circumstances bear upon the consideration that the founder of a line may be a mythical and not a living person. The most immediate ancestor may also be of opposite sex from that of the line in general. There are cases in which the mother's patriline rather than the father's is operative. However, the determination of the character of a uniliny depends on relationships within the descent line, and not on the sex of the representative at the beginning or at the end of it.

The clan formation of the steppe nomads is based on a rigorous application of the principle of patrilineal descent; the clansmen are a body of agnatic kin. The right of clan membership among the steppe nomads is expressed by the maintenance of genealogies. By this means the time dimension is introduced into the web of society; and the unit of time is the generation count, as Fortes has shown. The Monguors are an exception: the group unit (sib) on the plane below that of the totality of Monguor society is the group which bears the name of an ancestor in common. The name is inherited in the male line. The number of generations which have possessed this name is irrelevant; all that need be known is the "family" name of the father which passes to the son.

The steppe nomads have a political system composed of a hierarchy of corporate groups, from the extended family to the confederation of clans. A common genealogy, or a segment thereof, is shared by all members of the corporate group. The Monguors have a totally different political system: they are part of the Chinese polity. The steppe nomads have a system of ranked collateral lines, ranked by order of birth and descent; this is foreign to the Monguors. The system of ranked collateral lines is a proper part of the nomadic kinship and political order; it plays no role among the Monguor. I propose that the Monguor system be known as a named sib, in contradistinction to the genealogical clan of the nomadic peoples. The idea of a named sib conforms to features outlined thirty years ago by Robert Lowie in his work, *Primitive Society*. The genealogically defined clan corresponds to the unit defined by Kirchhoff as such;

the named sib corresponds to the equalitarian clan in his usage.⁷

A distinction in principle exists between a clan founded on genealogy and a sib founded on the transmission of a name. In the case of the Monguors, the named sib succeeds the genealogical clan in time, and is a response to conditions which appear late in steppe history. For example, the transformation in principle from genealogical to named basis is to be noted among the Kalmuks in the twentieth century. The clan in general is to be regarded as a response of a kinship-based society to problems of increasingly complex political organization.

The equalitarian clan of Kirchhoff (sib in the present terminology) exists in Melanesia and elsewhere. The unilateral, exogamous, equalitarian sib emerged in Monguor society during recent centuries out of a past history of collaterally ranked descent lines. Up to the time of the Manchu dynasty (seventeenth century) the Monguor had a social formation in which the political functions were located within the society; after the rise of the Manchu power in China, the Monguors lost their political identity. The clan ceased at this time to be a socio-political unit, and became a consanguineal unit pure. The resulting sib now became a unit of the political administration of the Chinese empire. In form it became one with the Chinese (Han) sib, while performing a political function which the Han sib did not. Thus, there are at least two paths to one and the same type of social formation. This is a familiar situation, in view of the history of bilateral organization of western civilization. In these cases, the collaterally ranked, genealogically supported clan has given up traditional political functions. The present book is an exploration of the clan as a socio-political entity.

When the present study was first written, the viewpoint of the great Turkologist Wilhelm Radloff was adopted in regarding the kinship system of the Kazakhs and the Kirgiz as one. Since then, enough evidence has been adduced to show that they differ in significant details. Therefore, only the Kazakh system has been presented; the Kirgiz are referred to only in passing: Uzbek and Karakalpak kinship terminology are mentioned on occasion in the concluding chapter. These Central Asian Turkic kinship systems have a strong family resemblance to Kazakh, but differ in detail.

⁷ Lowie, 1920; Kirchhoff, 1958, Principles.

Each of the substantive chapters, other than the introduction and the conclusions, deals with a separate people. In general, the organization of each of the substantive chapters is the same: the development of the social system in its socio-historical context is given; then follows a section on the functioning of the system in the family life, economy, polity, law; finally, there is a systematic analysis of each of the set of kin terms. In every case, the history of the consanguineal and affinal systems is presented in sequence by century or other historical period.

The chief burden of the studies undertaken in this book is to demonstrate how, within the economic and ecological context of the pastoral nomadic societies, the social and political organization of the entire group has developed over time in a closely related manner, subject to the same governing principles. Variations on the fundamental system may be attributed to local events or the evolvement in one society or in one part of the steppe of some particular phase or aspect of the entire system. For example, the Monguor are now farmers and have been subject to intensive but localized Chinese acculturation over centuries; the Buryats were subject to a Tsarist tax in furs, the *yasak*. These are particular trends which contributed to local variations on the fundamental system. On the other hand, the system of consanguineal terms has developed in one direction among the Buryats and Khalkha Mongols, which may be traced through the unfolding of a particular pattern in inheritance, the position of women and marriage right, the avunculate and cousin terminology. The Kazakhs and Kalmuks have evolved in another direction, a trend which may be traced in the evolvement of the same diagnostic traits. The Ordos and Chahar Mongols evolved in yet a third direction.

While each chapter conforms to a general pattern of exposition, attention of the reader is directed to certain particularities in each. The Ordos chapter contains materials regarding myth in relation to history; the Kalmuk and Monguor chapters contain materials regarding the development of the genealogical clan into a patronymic sib (or from a collaterally ranked clan into an equalitarian clan). The Buryat chapter presents materials on a new category of kinship, which has been identified with that people. Because of the diagnostic features it processes, it establishes a separate category, comparable to Hawaiian or Iroquois.

CHAPTER I

ORDOS MONGOLS

INTRODUCTION

The Ordos Mongols, unlike the majority of the nomadic peoples of Asia, have long been set off from their neighbors by sharply delimited borders. Their country is bounded on three sides by the great bend in the middle course of the Yellow River when it sharply breaks its generally eastward course to flow north, then east, and then south before picking up its original course to the coastal plain and the Gulf of Pei-Chih-Li. To the south, the country of the Ordos Mongols is set off by an artificial feature which is nevertheless as impressive as the natural frontier of the great river: this artifact is the Great Wall of China.

The Great Wall is as much a physical barrier to movement as it is the mark of a great climatic and geographic change: for it corresponds roughly to the northwesternmost limit of monsoon China, marking that region off from the climatic zone of steppe and desert and the edge of the Inner Asian plateau. The arid regime of the Ordos country, coupled with Manchu administrative policy, kept Chinese colonization and population pressure down.¹ Thus, although the Ordos Mongols were not far removed from the centers of Chinese population, and were in fact close to some of the greatest centers of pressure to outward expansion, they maintained a pastoral economy down to the middle of the twentieth century.

Such an absolute statement cannot stand without qualification. There is no fixed boundary between Chinese and Mongol cultures; on the contrary, when Cressey studied the region in the 1920's, the Chinese were pressing in from the east and south, occupying the best

¹ Cressey, *Pioneer Settlement*, 273; Grenard, *Haute Asie*, 245-246. The point regarding monsoons was noticed by Tafel. Cf. Verbrugge, 41.

CHAPTER IV

KAZAKHS

The Kazakhs are Turkic-speaking pastoralists whose domain extends from the Caspian Sea in the west to the Chinese border in the east. They also live in western Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, territories contiguous to Kazakhstan. While they number among the largest of the Turkic groups, their size has decreased. In 1926 they numbered four millions; by 1959 they had been reduced to 3.6 millions. In the interim they had been sedentarized by the Soviet regime, and no longer practice nomadic pastoralism. They still maintain herds of complex composition, but from a fixed village base. Their pastoralism is transhumant, and not nomadic. The present description traces certain continuous features of social organization from the Orkhon-Yenisei period. However, the ethnographic present refers to the seventeenth century down to the 1920's, but not beyond. Their neighbors to the west for three centuries have been the Kalmuks of the Volga, while to the east dwell Uygur Turks, western Mongols of Sinkiang, and the Khalkha Mongols of Outer Mongolia. To the south of their territory lie great salt inland seas: the Caspian and Aral, and Lake Balkhash in the east. Stretching between these seas with their surrounding salt marshes are the vast stretches of desert and semi-desert, bearing characteristic names: the Kara-Kum or Black Sands, the Bet-Pak-Dala or Hungry Steppe. Much more favorable for human and animal existence is life along the rivers which run into the seas: the Ural and Emba which empty into the Caspian; the Syr-Darya (Jaxartes of the ancients) which flows into the Aral; the Ili which flows into Balkhash. In addition, there are the mountain streams in the east, and a number of other streams with interior drainage whose headwaters are in the eastern Urals.¹ Much of this territory has been for some time given over to agriculture; where

¹ Berg, 111-124.

natural conditions are neither too arid, nor wet enough to support agriculture, the Kazakh domain continues to support a pastoral economy, now sedentarized. However industrialization and urbanization have also changed Kazakhstan and the Kazakh. As a result of the large-scale introduction of agriculture in the virgin lands of the north, and industry elsewhere, the Kazakhs are no longer the majority of the population of their territory.

The name *Kazakh* is derivative of the Turkic word for masterless man, freebooter, according to one etymology. This refers to the reputation enjoyed by these steppe nomads among their neighbors.² A second name is applied to them, Kazakh-Kirgiz; Kirgiz is derived from the Turkic words for 40, *kyrk*, and daughter, *kiz*. The ethnonym *Kazakh* appears late in Central Asian history, after the Mongol period, that is after the fourteenth century. On the other hand, the term *Kirgiz* appears early; in the region of the upper Yenisei and along the Orkhon during the sixth-eighth centuries, a Turkic people bearing this name is reported in the contemporary indigenous records, the runic inscriptions of the Orkhon and Yenisei Turks.³ Much confusion arose during the nineteenth century regarding the question of exactly which people which name referred to. We know that there was no direct cultural connection between the eighth century Kirgiz and those who later bore that name; the Kirgiz were absorbed into the empire of Chingis Khan during the twelfth-fourteenth centuries, and while some of the later Turks of the group of this name were and undoubtedly are the biological descendants in a generalized way of the earlier Kirgiz, nevertheless the historical continuity was disrupted by the Mongol conquests and redistribution of the peoples of Central Asia. In the following era the culture of the Kazakhs, Kirgiz, Uzbeks, down to the Soviet period, was formed. This culture, particularly that of the Kazakhs, will be analyzed here. The following is the ethnonymic picture as it is generally depicted at present: the Kazakhs are the basic inhabitants of the region formerly known as Kazakhstan, now known as the Kazakh SSR. The Kirgiz were sometimes referred to for the purposes of ethnic differentiation as the Kara-Kirgiz or

² Radloff, *Opyt Slovaria*, s.v., and W. Barthold, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. Cf. Auezov, et al., *Istoriia*, I, 143-144. Auezov considers the etymological question to be unresolved.

³ Cf. Radloff, *Alttürkische Inschriften der Mongolei*; V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, 1896; Thomsen, *Turcica*, 1916.

Black Kirgiz, sometimes as the Dikokamenny Kirgiz (Wild Mountain Kirgiz); the Burut is also used for them. They are centered for the most part in what was at one time called Kirgizstan, now more or less coincident with the Kirgiz SSR.⁴ A few of them inhabit Kazakhstan and Sinkiang.

The basic difficulty which gave rise to the underlying problem of identification has been in part resolved by the absorption of these peoples into the Russian empire, and the assignment of territorial boundaries, seats of government, and official names, by administrative decree. Behind this solution imposed from without, however, lies a veritable ethnological problem: disregarding the occurrence of the ethnonym Kirgiz in the first millennium A.D., there remains the question whether those who bear that name in the post-Chingiside era, during the past six centuries, are of a common origin or not. Radloff, Grigor'ev, Veliaminov-Zernov, Ibragimov, and P. Semenov are all of the opinion that the "Kirgiz", both Kazakh-Kirgiz and Kara-Kirgiz, are of mixed origin.⁵ On the other hand, Kharuzin has maintained that they are one people who have ramified into many descent groups,⁶ and Aristov shares Kharuzin's view.⁷ It should be added that such is the belief of some of the Kirgiz themselves. The problem of Kazakh origin is relatively simple by comparison.

The cultural history of Asia is by its nature conducive to raising problems of this sort. The central feature of Kazakh social structure is the lineage, the genealogical record of clan and tribal origin traced in the agnatic line. These pastoralists have a highly developed historical sense, and strong folk traditions in the matter of their origins and descent. On the other hand, for considerable periods of their history they have had their own script and records, and surrounding them have been other highly literate and record-keeping cultures. Thus we have two separate historical streams: the objective history, which tells us that a Kirgiz group formed part of Chingis

⁴ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 406 ff. Aristov, *Zametki*, 350 ff. and 394 ff. Debets has recently reviewed the question of the origin of the Kirgiz: the Mongoloid elements in their physical type outweigh the Europeoid. This, however, makes no determinant contribution to their cultural origins, which is here the issue. Cf. Debets, *Trudy Kirgizskoi Ekspeditsii*, I, 1956, 3-17.

⁵ Radloff, *Obraztsy*, III; Kharuzin, *K Voprosu*, 89.

⁶ Kharuzin, *op. cit.*, 89.

⁷ Aristov, *Zametki*, 350 ff; Aristov, *Opyt Vviasneniia*, 391 ff.

Khan's empire, that the hordes of the Kazakhs were united under Khan Tauke in 1698; on the other hand there is folk history – the mythical history which Fortes has called the native history which counterfeits history.⁸ However, mythical history is not entirely counterfeit.

The mythical history divides itself into two. There is first of all the grand myth, the universal myth, which according to one of their ownmen of letters, Abulgazi Ba'adur Khan, states that the great ancestor, Turk, had two sons, one named Tatar, and the other Mongol.⁹ This myth further affirms the descent of all Turkic peoples from a primal ancestor in the direct male line; this ancestor bears the eponym of the Turkic peoples generally. Abulgazi Bagadur Khan gratuitously adds the Mongol genealogy to the Turkic, making it the junior line. Second, one of his sons is Tatar, the other Mongol. Thus, the Mongols are assigned an eponymous ancestry in analogous fashion to the Turkic; the Mongols have of course a parallel myth, but one which is more flattering to themselves. The slight to the Mongols in this myth is that they are made into a junior line to the Turkic line, even as the son is junior to his father. Descent is traced in Abulgazi's account even further back, to Noah by way of Japhet,¹⁰ and thence integrated into the Biblical and Koranic genealogies: the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirgiz, Turkmens are all Islamic peoples.

The second mythical tradition is specific to the Kirgiz and Kazakhs, and supplies them as such with a common genealogy and origin. It is to this tradition that Kharuzin and Aristov have reference when they assert the common origin of the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. Fortes in a recent statement has demonstrated the role of a genealogy as a kind of origin myth in a unilineal descent group, of which the Kazakhs and Kirgiz are examples.¹¹ These genealogies supply a charter for the descent group, the charter supplying the foundation for Fortes' theory of the unilineal descent group as a corporate struc-

⁸ Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship*, xi and 26; cf. also Evans-Pritchard's concept of structural time in Nuer, 1940, 94 ff.

⁹ Abulgazi Ba'adur Khan, ch. 2.

¹⁰ *Idem*; cf. Bichurin, I, 222 (260). A genealogy tracing common descent with all the Turkic peoples of Turkestan has been set down by Girshfeld and Galkin. It was recorded among the Karakalpaks at the end of the nineteenth century. Cf. Zhdanko, *Ocherki Karakalpakov*, 107.

¹¹ Fortes, *Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups*, 25.

ture. To make this theory applicable to the Kazakhs, Kirgiz, as well as to other Asiatic pastoral societies, it need only be added that all descent lines, from the maximal, or Turkdom as a whole, to lesser descent lines, such as the Kirgiz, and still lesser, such as clans, lineages within clans, and even extended families, all bear certain marks of corporate structure, such as the genealogical charter. However, a clarification is necessary: the mythical nature of the charter lies only in the larger corporate entities: the clan, the nation (Kazakh), or the Turks as a whole. The lesser structures or descent groups, such as the lineage or the extended family, lack this mythological component. The clan and the nation, being larger, require longer genealogies, whose more distant reaches are lost in obscurity, and this obscurity which itself is part and parcel of the myth, supplies its needed extra-historical context, and removes it from the domain of verifiable human experience. The genealogy becomes mythical by its very scope: one must believe it to accept it, and one accepts the myth to the extent that one accepts membership in the group. The myth does not, in this sense, counterfeit history; rather, it transcends history, and the genealogy in thus supplying the substance of the myth transcends history in its own fashion, for it has also transcended itself.

Turkmen savants, such as Abulgazi, or the brilliant nineteenth century Kazakh scholar, Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, understood the working of the two types of temporal sequence and their mutual relations very well. Valikhanov demonstrates his knowledge of objective history and its interpretation, and his control of the meaning of the principle of descent. He describes the principle of descent as patrilineal, and seniority within a number of patrilineally related groups as governed by the principle of primogeniture. These principles have, both in his conception as well as in that which is proposed here, "a completely genealogical significance. For this reason, the mode of relationship between hordes, and lineages within a horde among themselves correspond to the law of blood brotherhood, and the relationship of lineage to its horde is the relation of a son to the father in the case of the senior line of the horde."¹² That is, hordes act as persons, lineages act as persons, senior lineages are as father to filial junior lineages, mutually ranked according to the principle of primogeniture operating among the founders. In the same

¹² Valikhanov, 286.

passage, Valikhanov finds operative among lineages and hordes the relationship of uncle to nephew, the significance of which will be left to later discussion of cognatic relationships. It is interesting, although not by itself decisive, that another characteristic of corporate structures, their status as persons, is also implied by Valikhanov.¹³ It is not decisive because evidently Valikhanov is consistently arguing by analogy from relationships within the family, such as fraternal, filial, paternal, avuncular-nepotal, in order to account for relationships among descent groups. But it is consistent with the total picture that such an analogy is available, and in fact necessary for the Kazakh philosopher to account for his system of social relations.

Mention has already been made of the hordes of the Kazakhs. It is possible to conceive of their structure as timeless and abstract as Valikhanov does, analyzing in these terms the operation of their structural principles. But objective historical data also exist in regard to their evolution down to the middle of the nineteenth century, and these data supply a new and valuable dimension for their comprehension.

THE ORKHON-YENISEI TURKS

During the sixth-eighth centuries, various Turkic peoples inhabited the steppes of northern Mongolia, along the Orkhon River, and the upper Yenisei River. Two sets of data record the social life of these peoples, one indigenous, being their own inscriptions, and the other external, being the contemporary Chinese sources.

The combined record is sparse, even though eked out from separate historical traditions. Our aim, however, is not to give a complete picture of Turkic society in the first millennium A.D., but to establish the existence at that early time of certain features of the society which have either remained constant over the centuries, or have been transformed in explicable fashion.

¹³ Lévi-Strauss in his article, *Social Structure*, discusses the use of native as opposed to scientific models of the social structure of a society. Valikhanov affords an instance of a native model with a significant advantage, that he has described a conceptual scheme which integrates family, lineage, and other relations. The five Confucian relations likewise are called to mind as examples of native models of this order. Valikhanov was considerably more sophisticated than an unlettered Kazakh. Nevertheless, he here represents the native rather than scientific model.

In broad outline, these nations along the Orkhon and Yenisei rivers were composed of confederations of peoples (or clans or lineages), the leader of which was a Turkic people (or clan or lineage), but which might and often did include non-Turks, including Mongols or proto-Mongols, and certain other unidentifiable Altaic-speaking peoples.¹⁴ At the head of a confederation was a Khan, and directly below him in social rank was the estate of the *buiruk*, or the inner *buiruk*, the combined civil and military lieutenants of the Khan; then followed in rank the estate of the lower nobility. Still lower in rank were the common people, and finally the slaves, but whether the commoners were still further subdivided into payers of tribute and service and those freed of tribute and service is not clear.¹⁵

Descent among these peoples was traced through the father. At least one of the component descent lines had a mythological genealogy; a passage in a Chinese chronicle reads, "Garde-du-corps are called Fu li [Büre] which in Mongol means wolf, signifying that they remember their origin from a wolf."¹⁶ Several centuries later, the *Secret History* of the Mongols attributes an identical origin to Chingis Khan, descent from a bluish-colored wolf.¹⁷ The garde-du-corps is a well-known phenomenon of these Turkic and Mongol Khans over the centuries, and usually it formed a common descent group unto itself with a mythical ancestry. Above all, such a descent group had a special hereditary function, to defend the person of the Khan and his court. In fact, the Chinese chronicle says of these nomads that all had hereditary functions;¹⁸ this is in a certain sense true because status and occupation were for the most part inherited. The court, the defenders, the immediate entourage or retinue, formed the Ordo, whence the English word, horde. The structural features, which are at the same time cultural traits, shared with other, later Altaic peoples

¹⁴ Bichurin, *Sobranie*, I, 229 (268).

¹⁵ Barthold, *Die Historische Bedeutung*, 6-8; Radloff, *Alltürkische Inschriften der Mongolei*, Neue Folge, 152. Cf. also Malov, 374. Barthold holds that because the Turkic people is mentioned as the leader of a tribal confederation, we have a survival of primitive democracy. Nevertheless, while the Turks were members of a clan confederation, they were still led by a Khan and by a hereditary – and service – nobility.

¹⁶ Bichurin, I, 229 (269).

¹⁷ *Secret History*, paragraph 1.

¹⁸ Bichurin, I, 229.

are the wolf ancestor, the patrilineage descended from him, the retinue or garde-du-corps as a hereditary unit.

Turning to the kinship system proper, we find only a few, but these few highly significant, statements. One of the most important of these is the following: "On the death of the father, the elder brothers, and the paternal uncles, [they, the juniors] marry the stepmothers, [elder] sisters-in-law and fathers' brothers' wives."¹⁹ The practice of the junior levirate, we may infer from this passage, was combined with the inheritance of widowed stepmothers (father's co-wives: ego's own mother was excluded from the number of eligible widows in the levirate), and widows of paternal uncles; in a word, widows of senior kinsmen in the paternal line were inherited in marriage by junior kinsmen.

Ego, let us say, is a younger son. He inherits his elder brothers' wives, wives of his father other than his own mother, and the wives of his father's brothers. From this we may infer polygyny, since unmistakable reference is made to the father's wife other than the mother. The elder brother enjoys a great deal of respect and prestige; in terms of the junior levirate he is upgraded a generation from the viewpoint of his younger brother, and in a symmetrical fashion, elder brother's wife is upgraded to the generation of stepmother and aunt. This set of practices, moreover, is intercalated with the principles of patrilineal descent and the reckoning of ranked collateral lines following from the principle of primogeniture, or in general, of differential inheritance. It is probable that the family authority was patriarchal, that the rule of residence was patrilocal, and that the family was an extended family. These are inferences drawn from the fact that for the son, the father's wives and father's brother's wives were to be treated in like manner when the latter became widowed.

The form of authority was patriarchal, but within this context the rights of women were explicitly defined: on the death of the husband, and failing her remarriage, the widow, among the upper stratum, at least, was charged with raising her minor sons.²⁰ The position of the woman was probably reinforced by the fact that she had given birth to sons. But the following minimal inference can be drawn: a noble widow who had borne male issue enjoyed the right to hold her hus-

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 229-230.

²⁰ Barthold, *Historische Bedeutung*, 14-15.

band's estate in trust for her minor children until they came of age.

An important trait in marriage practice was the functioning of the go-between in the negotiations with the kin of the girl. There is a striking relationship between funerary ceremonials and marriage arrangements: on the day of a burial, men and women gather at the grave; if a girl pleases a man, he sends a go-between to her kin, and the kin rarely refuse.²¹ Further data on the position of women may be drawn from their criminal law: "For putting out an eye, one has to give a daughter, and if there is no daughter, one has to give the property of the wife."²² From this we may infer that prior to marriage the female was a chattel, but that after marriage her status changed considerably. The status of an unmarried daughter may be defined as that of a chattel, since her person could be made over in payment of a fine. The property attributed to her on marriage (which her husband disposes of in payment of the fine) is presumably her dowry. Unfortunately, nothing is said of the bridewealth or *kalym*.

As for the organization of the household economy, there was a clear division of labor by sex which Barthold has formulated as follows: "The pasture-lands and hunting grounds belong to the men; in the tent, even in the Ordo of the Khan, the women rules."²³ In regard to pasturelands, these Turkic peoples, and those others who lived with them, herded sheep, horses, cattle and camels. Of the animals later reported, only the goat, the yak, and the cattle-yak crossbreed are missing.

A few kinship terms and their meanings may be gleaned from the inscriptions. The following are the terms for male consanguineal kin:²⁴

The term for ancestor is *äčü apa*, a binome formed of the terms for grandfather, *apa*, and for father, *äčü*. An alternative form for father is *akan*. Uncle (father's brother) is *ači*; this is also the term for elder brother. Younger brother is *ini*. The term for son is *ogul*; the term for grandson is *tat*. On the other hand, there is a term *aty* for son's son, which is also the term for brother's son.²⁵

²¹ Bichurin, I, 230.

²² *Idem*.

²³ Barthold, *Historische Bedeutung*, 15.

²⁴ Radloff, *Alttürkische Inschriften*, passim; V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, passim; Malov, *Vocabulary*.

²⁵ Only in Malov, s.v., is this meaning.

Female consanguineal kin terms are: *ögä*, mother; *äkä*, elder sister, aunt; *kyz*, daughter; *siñli*, younger daughter, younger sister. A collective term for female kin is *injigün*.

Affinal kin terms are: *kadyn*, spouse's father; *käliñün*, wife's kin; *kälin*, son's wife; *küdegü*, daughter's husband.

General or collective kin terms are: *kün*, family; *arkagun*, family, kin; *el*, clan? tribe?; *ulus*, clan? tribe?; *baga*, division of the people. One of the most important features observable in the terminology at this early date is the term for lineage, *söñük*, literally, bone.

(A most significant gap in the kinship nomenclature listed above is the terms for maternal kin. However, two possibilities are directly excluded, bifurcate merging and generation terminology. The system is either lineal or bifurcate collateral, and inferring back from later data, probably bifurcate collateral. Another of the important gaps is the lack of cousin terms.) The paternal descent line is traced over five generations, two ascending, ego's own, and two descending. From the evidence available a characteristic generation upgrading may be observed: there is a single term designating elder brother and father's brother; there is a single term for elder sister and for aunt (father's sister?).²⁶ In both these cases elder siblings are classified with kin in the next ascending generation. Again, younger daughter and younger sister bear a common term;²⁷ here the daughter is raised a generation; this may also be regarded as a common term for close junior female kin, independent of which generation they belong to relative to ego.

The term for lineage, literally bone, is a metaphoric usage which has a long history and wide distribution in Asia, and which Lévi-Strauss has traced in ancient China and ancient India, throughout the Altaic world, and in northeastern Siberia.²⁸ It occurs sometimes in conjunction with the metaphoric reference to maternal kin as kin in the flesh, but sometimes not. However, a sure point in Altaic kinship history is the continuous usage of the term for bone in its various forms to designate a patrilineage, or alternatively, the sum of kinsmen related to ego through his father.

A feature of great theoretical significance is the change of status

²⁶ Cf. also Barthold, *Historische Bedeutung*, 15.

²⁷ Only in Radloff, *Opyt Slovaria*, s.v.

²⁸ Lévi-Strauss, *Structures Élémentaires*, 462-463.

of the woman on marriage. The fact that she obtains a dowry on marriage is but a part of the meaning of the change. Just as important is the fact that a married woman has a great increase in right and status: she cannot be disposed of in payment of a fine. When she has borne a male child, her rights increase even further, because if she should be widowed while her son is not yet of age, she has the right to hold her husband's estate in trust for him. Finally, there is an indirect inference that the marriage is by no means a contract of sale, that the woman is not bought. But if a contractual relationship can be read into the marriage, it is rather in the form of contract for the services of the woman to bear a son. At best this is an analogy, and must be understood only in this sense.²⁹ With the analogical provision in mind we may regard the life-cycle of the Altaic woman as proceeding through the following stages: until marriage her legal personality is of the lowest order; she is almost without rights. On marriage, however, she obtains a number of rights: rights over her dower property, rights relative to the conduct of the inner affairs of the household – within the tent, as Barthold has put it. On the birth of a son she attains an even higher set of rights and status of a woman of her estate, among them the right to hold the family property in trust should her husband die leaving her only minor sons.

The available evidence indicates little more on the subject of kinship relations among these early Turks. The data relative to the kinship systems have been set forth, and some of their implications traced through in their political, legal, and economic aspects. This is the most that can be said at this point regarding the functioning, that is to say, the social correlates of the kinship system and the kinship terminology. The sparse, almost skeletal picture, is significant, however, not only for its intrinsic message, but also because its features supply us with a certain historic depth, and may be examined in their workings in greater detail in later, more fully recorded eras of Turkic social history. There are features which point to later Omaha, Buryat and Ordos systems in the Orkhon and Yenisei texts.

These early Turks moved westward, partly under Chinese pressure, for they had long been a source of trouble for the Chinese. The

²⁹ Cf. Radcliffe-Brown, *African Systems*, 11-12. The otherwise closely and carefully reasoned presentation of this problem by Radcliffe-Brown can be defended only if it is understood in an analogical sense.

latter took some pains to familiarize themselves with the nomadic steppe-dwellers in order the better to control and pacify them; the Chinese attitude was that of a civilizer rather than a conqueror, in Gobineau's fine distinction. The concern of the Chinese caused them to record much of what we know today of these peoples. The Turks themselves in moving westward gave up their indigenous writing because they now entered the world of Islam, and encountered a new literary and historical tradition. The period of the first Islamic contact was followed by successive waves of empire-building, the Chingids and the Timurids. Data for kinship and social analysis during this period are difficult to extract from the record because the fine shades of difference in social structure between the Turks and the Mongols are not reflected in the documents of the period or even later; our sieve is too coarse. We obtain a few hints, such as those from Turkic and Mongol dictionaries of the period,³⁰ but these are insufficient for our purposes.

THE KAZAKHS³¹

The earliest historical records of the Kazakhs appear in the fifteenth century, prior to which date they are said by Howorth to have formed part of the Uzbek domain.³² However, this is not an exact account. Auevov has attributed the formation of the Kazakh nation to the fifteenth century. The term Kazakh at the beginning of that century had no ethnonymic significance. By the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the following century, the process of formation of the people and the attribution of the name was completed. The Uzbeks at this time were also in the process of forming a people. The Uzbek Khanate came into being in the first half of the fifteenth century; the term, Uzbek, referring to the nomads of the Kipchak steppe, is encountered at the end of the fourteenth—beginning of the fifteenth centuries in Persian sources. These nomads included elements who later became part of the Kazakh people.³³

³⁰ Carl Brockelmann, *Mahmud al-Kašgari*; Poppe, *Muqadimat*.

³¹ The Kazakhs and the Kirgiz will be referred to as such in keeping with current usage.

³² Howorth, II, pt. 2, 6.

³³ Auevov, *Istoriia*, I, 139 ff; Tolstov, *Istoriia*, I, 373-375.

The Kazakhs appear as one people a century later, and their present division into three hordes (*jüz*, literally hundred) dates only from the seventeenth century; however, the senior of these hordes, the Great Horde (*ulu jüz*) dates from the sixteenth century. Even after the Kazakhs had formed three separate hordes, they were united from time to time under mighty Khans, such as Khan Tauke in 1698.³⁴ But at the beginning of the eighteenth century the three hordes were definitively separated.

During their occupation of the steppes of Turkestan the Kazakhs have been at a constant state of war with the Kalmuks,³⁵ but they have interacted with Kalmuks, or the western Mongols generally, on other levels as well: they also intermarried with them, and some of the implications of this will be taken up below.

The Kazakhs in toto combined to form the second most numerous Turkic population in the world³⁶ at the end of the nineteenth century; this demographic position was maintained until the early 1930's, when they were sedentarized. It is no longer the case. Levshin, whose data were gathered about the year 1830, reported the following population for the Kazakhs: they had a combined total in all the hordes of about 400,000 tents or families, which was to be multiplied according to him by five or six individuals per family or tent, making a total population of two to 2.4 millions.³⁷ The latter figure must be questioned, because few serious writers on the Kazakhs estimate more than five per conjugal family, that is, three children. Aristov estimates for one of the hordes an average of four to five people per conjugal family, which seems more reasonable. Von Hellwald likewise implies an average of four per tent.³⁸ Radloff puts the total Kazakh population during the 1870's at about two million, or at about the same figure as the lower (and more credible) estimate of Levshin a half century earlier.³⁹ Kostenko published a report on Central Asia in 1871 and in it gave a figure of 2.5 million for the Kazakhs,⁴⁰ which allows for some natural increase. So much for the

³⁴ Barthold, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. *Kazak*.

³⁵ Spuler, 355-357.

³⁶ Aristov, *Zametki*, 350.

³⁷ Levchine, 300.

³⁸ Aristov, *loc. cit.*; Hellwald, 20.

³⁹ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 235.

⁴⁰ Kostenko, 31.

more or less impressionistic estimates. In the census of 1897, there were approximately 4.08 million Kazakhs registered,⁴¹ while in the 1926 census there were four million,⁴² thus yielding a static picture during a 30-year period, according to the sources, in which formal census-taking techniques were applied. In a more general way, we may derive a rate of net increase of 100 percent per century, which is not unthinkable; nevertheless it must be noted that there is a vast disparity between the accuracy of the nineteenth century figures prior to the 1897 census, and those of the 1897 and 1926 censuses.

The Kazakhs were divided during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into three hordes or chief administrative-political units which were independent of each other from the beginning of the eighteenth century; these are known as the Great Horde, the Middle Horde, and the Little Horde. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, after the flight of the Kalmuks from the Volga steppes to western China, the territory left free to the east of the Volga was given into the hands of Khan Bukei of the Little Horde. In making this move, under the protection of the Russian government, Khan Bukei formed the Bukei or Inner Horde. Thus, during the nineteenth century there were effectively four hordes of the Kazakhs. The move by Bukei took place during the years 1801-1802, and his followers numbered about 7000 tents.⁴³ There is evidence of considerable movement in the western steppe in this period, since it is also reported that shortly before, some 3200 tents or families of the Kazakhs had submitted to the Russians by crossing the Irtysh and settling there.⁴⁴ Again, many of those who had followed Khan Bukei in 1801 retreated across the Ural River and fled the Russians, rejoining the Little Horde, because a rumor had spread among them that the Russians wished to settle them in fixed localities.⁴⁵

From this we get a picture of constant reshuffling of alignments and the formation of new groupings. There were special forces at work to cause these movements during the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, namely, the freeing of a great expanse of favorable steppe country by the flight of the Kalmuks,

⁴¹ Klements, *Kirgizy*, 143.

⁴² Lorimer, 58.

⁴³ Levchine, 299-300.

⁴⁴ Kostenko, 30.

⁴⁵ Levchine, 300.

and also the increasing role of Russia in the steppe. Nevertheless it would be false to assume that migrations and alignments such as these were limited to this period. Except during periods of domination by a single great center, such as Chingis Khan or Imperial and Soviet Russia, the peoples of the steppe were constantly in flux. Pressure from the Chinese or from local neighbors, local wars, droughts, frosts, floods, epidemics of man and/or beasts, in any combination could compel a pastoral group to move to a new locality. These are migrations in the strict sense of the term, total displacement of habitat, and are sharply to be distinguished from the normal yearly round of nomadic movement which was a more or less constant phenomenon. Details might vary, but the general readiness of the nomads to move is a constant. Above all, it is important to note that motivation to migrate in one case is ascribed to the fear of being forced to settle down.

KAZAKH CLAN AND LINEAGE: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

It will be recalled that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Kazakhs were united into one nation, with relatively well-recognized boundaries, under a single ruler. Even though the three component hordes had already been formed during this period, their separation in fact took place only in the eighteenth century. The resulting triple division was not fixed and permanent. First we note the separation again of the Inner Horde. Various tribes and clans were continually leaving and rejoining different hordes. According to Valikhanov, the Little Horde itself was formed by splitting off from the others, probably during the sixteenth century. Thus according to local tradition, the Great and the Middle Hordes are the senior divisions.⁴⁶ This tradition supplies us with a datum regarding the dual organization of the steppe societies, which is a recurrent pattern.

Again there was much internal movement, as an instance of which the following may be cited: elements of the Kangly, Chaichkly, and Kereit clans of the Great Horde separated from that horde in the seventeenth century, and nomadized together with the Kongrad clan of the Middle Horde down through the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ The

⁴⁶ Valikhanov, 290.

process of combination and recombination was not restricted to movements inside the Kazakh hordes, which also combined with non-Kazakh Turkic groups of the steppe, but the pattern was different. The clans were groups which usually bore the name of an eponymous ancestor, or recreated the name of an illustrious Turkic or Mongol group of the past days of glory. In both instances, whether through reference to an individual (mythical or actual) or to a group, the consciousness of unity over the course of history, and its affirmation were asserted. An unmistakable symbol was given to a Turkic clan or people; its unity, real or fictive, mythological or historical, was established by tradition. Certain names, primarily the most glorious, recur again and again, among the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, and Kirgiz, which formed a small reservoir continually tapped. Clans bearing common names recognize an affinity with each other regardless of whether they belong to the same Turkic people or not.

The relationship established by bearing the name of a common ancestor, or of a previous group of common descent, was a weak one, but was related to certain rights of admission of combination with the distant kinsmen. Thus, for example, a clan of the Great Horde, the Kereit, separated from the Kazakh federation and joined an Uzbek group which bore the name of Kereit. A small portion later returned to the Kazakhs, but this time established itself in the Little Horde. Those who made the move to join the Little Horde were thereupon given a fictive genealogy tracing descent from the eponymous founder of the Karakat clan in the Little Horde.

Movement in a contrary sense, that of Turkic non-Kazakhs into the Kazakh society, also is recorded, and embodies the identical features. Thus a group of the Kirgiz joined the Atygai clan of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs, gradually merged with it, and became a lineage of that clan. In order to obtain the genealogical right to membership in that clan, the newcomers now traced their ancestry back to one of the 12 sons of Daut, who was the founder of the Atygai.⁴⁸ The author of this record was a native Kazakh, in the Russian service in the nineteenth century, and was a reliable recorder of

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 286.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 291.

his traditions. Noteworthy is the assertion of the right to clan membership by genealogical reckoning, real or fictive.

The clans had either eponymous founders, or they had names which harked back to the Chingiside era. Valikhanov draws the following implication: inasmuch as membership in any horde was based on ancestry, the union of the whole has a genealogical significance. The instances of Chingiside ancestry are not of the same order as the indigenous ones, therefore,⁴⁹ for they are properly speaking fictitious; the others may or may not be.

The direct patrilineal descendants of the Kazakhs who formed the original confederation are attributed by Valikhanov's account to the Little Horde.⁵⁰ However, the Little Horde was not the senior member of the confederation of hordes; the Great Horde was earlier, or senior. But the Kazakh tradition reported by Valikhanov must be accepted as a primary datum. Therefore the attribution of the origination of the entire Kazakh confederation in the Little Horde depends on the application of another principle to legitimize the senior position of the Little Horde among the other hordes. The legitimizing principle according to which they sought to realign the objective historical reality known to at least some Kazakhs is that of ultimogeniture. The Mongol law, according to Valikhanov, was still regarded as being in force through transmission via Khan Tauke (reigned 1680-1718). This law decreed that the right of succession to the father's status and to his residuary possessions went to the youngest son or to the youngest male family member; so Valikhanov claimed.⁵¹ N.B.: we are in possession both of the Mongol law code – the Great Yassa of Chingis Khan – and of the code transmitted by Khan Tauke. The provisions of these codes relative to the inheritance of the father's seniority in no way corresponds to the version given here by Valikhanov. On the contrary, while the principle of ultimogeniture applied to the residual corporeal properties of the father and a special title, which was not necessarily that of the father unless he too was the youngest son, his youngest son did not inherit his offices, rank, titles, social position, and other incorporeal properties.⁵²

⁴⁹ *Idem.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 292.

⁵¹ *Idem.*

⁵² Riasanovsky, *Customary Laws*, 7 ff; *ibid.*, *Fundamental Principles*, 83 ff.

The important thing, however, is not the actual facts, namely the content of the codes and decrees, but what the nineteenth century Kazakh believed them to have been, and what he chose to make of them in the interests of establishing a social order, a ranking of the hordes, corresponding to other considerations. And in order to legitimize the realization of those other considerations, by assigning the priority to the founders of the Little Horde, a fiction was applied. First, there is the fiction that the Little Horde was the senior horde by virtue of the direct patrilineal descent of its nobility from the original Kazakh nobility. Second, there is the fiction of ultimogeniture, which, as a principle for the establishment of seniority, was imputed to law codes despite the fact that the principle in this form is nonexistent.

The clans which composed the hordes were common descent groups, whose structure was analogous to the corporation.⁵³ The clan's charter of incorporation is the genealogy, which may be real or fictive, that is, assigned to newcomers added to the clan, to one of its composite lineages. These genealogies were handed down by oral tradition and formed part of a larger set of oral traditions embodying the myths which gave expression to the unity of the group. It is not to be expected that these oral traditions would have the accuracy of written history. Quite the contrary, they might vary in every detail from each other as reported by two different Kazakhs, and this would still not alter in the least their validity as genealogies, for these genealogies are first of all clan myths which make no claim to objective historical reference.

As an instance of this, portions of two Kazakh genealogies which trace the ancestry of a famous Kazakh Khan, Abul Haïr, are given. This Khan led a portion of the Little Horde over to the Russians in 1730. The two genealogies are simply lineages of 10 generations excerpted from much longer ones; the genealogy given in the left column was devised by a local Kazakh official named Dikambai-batyr

⁵³ Fortes' exposition of the corporate character of the lineage is in turn applied to the clan, for the same principles are at work: the corporation is a person; the corporation never dies (Henry Maine); it has rules of membership and admission to membership (Weber); and it has a center and delegation of authority (Weber). The last criterion is more applicable to the clan than the lineage. Fortes, *Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups*, 17-41.

in the 1870's;⁵⁴ that in the right column was taken down from the oral report of another Kazakh, Alikhan Bukeikhan, 50 years later, in the 1920's.⁵⁵

I Kerim	I Urus (1361-1376)
II Tuigash	II Kui-Ruchuk (1396)
III Kurenbai	III Barak
IV Djalyntuz	IV Djanibek
V Bab-kasym	V Usak
VI Er-bulantai	VI Bula-kai-kuian
VII Sabaz-batyr	VII Ai-Chuwak
VIII Er-djomart	VIII Irysh
IX Alpyspek	IX Adja
X Abul-Hair	X Abul-Hair (1730)

The two genealogies were collected 50 years apart and in different parts of the steppe. They both purport to give the ancestry of the famous khan, who had lived a century and a half and two centuries respectively before the two genealogies were taken down. Nevertheless, it is interesting that these two tables differ entirely in detail with the possible exception of the names in the fourth ascending generation, Er-bulantai and Bula-kai-kuian. The earlier genealogy is interesting for its slight Koranic cast: the 10 generations listed by Aristov are but a segment of a genealogy which descends 54 generations from Adam to Abul-Hair. Adam's descendants in the eleventh and twelfth generations are Noah (Nuh) and Japhet (Yapyz). Abraham and Isaac are also listed, but few other particulars correspond; for example, Ishmael is not named.⁵⁶ The genealogy given by Chuloshnikov, on the contrary, mounts 19 generations to Chingis Khan, and has no trace of the Koran or Islam. Most of the people mentioned are actual historical figures whose dates are ascertainable, and there is reason to believe that Chuloshnikov improved upon the original by reference to historical works.

The genealogy recorded by Aristov is an actual one, that of the head of the Botpay clan of the Great Horde during the last third of the nineteenth century. The prestige of Abul-Hair was so great that according to this genealogy he was magnified as the founder and

⁵⁴ Aristov, *Opyt Vyasneniia*, 394-395, note 2.

⁵⁵ Chuloshnikov, appended genealogy.

⁵⁶ Aristov, *op. cit.*, 394.

head of all three hordes, and his line was reckoned through 14 generations to Botpay, the head of a clan in the nineteenth century. Abul-Hair becomes a mythical figure in this genealogical account, although he is a known historical personage; we know, in fact, he was not the founder of the Kazakh hordes. Similarly, he is known to have flourished around the year 1730, and is not separated by 14 generations from the Kazakhs of the 1860's, for this would imply an average of 10 years per generation. There is another interesting feature of this genealogy of Botpay: the descent line of that clan head is traced through the generations in direct senior patrilineal succession from Abul-Hair, making the head of the Botpay clan senior of all clans, whether in the Great Horde or among the Kazakhs generally.⁵⁷ Compare this with the version given by Valikhanov, wherein seniority is assigned to the Little Horde, but on an entirely different principle. In the account of Dikambai-batyr in the 1870's, the validation of the Botpay claim to seniority is based upon a genealogy of a line of eldest sons; on the contrary, Valikhanov's claim to validation is based upon a principle of ultimogeniture. Because of the exigencies of the inheritance and succession pattern, both claims were possible in the nineteenth century. But because of the exigencies of history, specifically, the disunity and lack of rapport among the various segments of Kazakh society, the contradictory claims could never be settled, or even brought face to face.

This very lack of agreement, however, is indicative of a point whose significance cannot be stressed too greatly. These genealogies, which were expounded by a learned man or leader, or a combination of both, are not objective history; they serve quite different ends. They were expounded to the Kazakhs in order to supply the people with the expression of their mutual relatedness and their existence and unity as a group. If this genealogy is accepted by neighboring clans and related in turn to their own, then the members of all the clans involved have a point of departure in establishing inter-clan relations, involving rights of precedence, recognition of the degree of seniority and attendant prestige, and so forth. Moreover, the fact of acceptance of a clan's genealogy by related clans means the implied acceptance of an even greater genealogy which integrates and helps to form the greater unity among a number of clans. The genealogy is

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 395-396.

a charter which is expansive and contractive, depending on the demands made of it, the size of the groups, and the degree of consanguineal distance between the groups. And it is the charter whereby groups incorporate themselves into smaller or larger social bodies.

These are groups in which the oral tradition predominates. The learned elder who expounds their genealogy to his followers and kinsmen has not invented it; he learned it from his father, who learned it from his. The oral tradition is the means whereby the genealogy is transmitted; the oral tradition is the larger genre, the repository of the integrative forces of Kazakh and Mongol, that is, nomad social life generally. The oral tradition includes more than the genealogy alone; it includes, for example, the folk epic of the Turks and the Mongols. In order to understand what the oral tradition, genealogical and folk epic, is, one might look to see where it is not. It does not exist in Chinese society, which has other means than those of the Altaic-speakers of the steppe to establish and express its existence and social unity.

The population of the Botpay clan was reckoned on the basis of 2465 tents or families, a total of some 10,000-12,000 individuals. It was composed of two major or maximal lineages, the Kудaykul, totalling 743 tents, and the Chagatay, totalling 1722 tents. The Kудaykul was in turn composed of three sublineages, the Bish-Imsuk, 315 tents; the Alym-Djanys, 221 tents; and the Siirchi, 207 tents. The Chagatay was composed of six minor or sublineages: the Isenbay, 275 tents; the Djankoilyk, 330 tents; the Asan-Taylak, 537 tents; the Akcha-Kodjay, 385 tents; the Biidas, 80 tents; and the Kuralash, 115 tents.⁵⁸ The total configuration is more or less the same as that of another clan of the Great Horde, the Seikym clan, which was composed of four major lineages ranging in size from 150 to 625 families.⁵⁹ Both the Botpay and the Seikym inhabited the easternmost portion of the steppe of the Great Horde, in the region of the Ala-Tau Mountains, close to the Chinese border, and they formed two of the four clans which together comprised the Dulat division of the Great Horde.⁶⁰

Under normal conditions, such were the limits within which line-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 395.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 396.

⁶⁰ Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 368.

age size and clan size tended to vary. In the following decades, the region was conquered and absorbed by the Russians under General Kaufman. A marked tendency to increase the size of the basic group now set in. Radloff records figures for the administrative units that replaced the clans at the end of the nineteenth century, which, although corresponding roughly with them, are in most instances significantly greater. In size, the clans of the Great Horde were now distributed as follows: eight of them contained between 330 and 890 families or tents; 12 comprised between 1050 and 3500 families; three were between 5650 and 12,000 families strong.⁶¹ In the intervening decades, the Russians had set up a system of administrative divisions which reorganized to some extent the pattern of life of the Kazakhs. Moreover, at this time there was some increase in agriculture among them. As of the turn of the century there was an acceleration in the development of farming among them, and a tendency to turn from a nomadic to a settled life.⁶²

CLAN AND LINEAGE OF THE GREAT HORDE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Great Horde was situated farthest from European Russia, oc-

⁶¹ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 238-240.

⁶² Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, 375. "Some of the Kirgiz have taken up agriculture, raising grain in their winter quarters on artificially irrigated land. This tendency has undergone in recent times a greater and greater development, effecting the transformation of the Kazakhs into a settled life, turning them from nomadic pastoralists into settled farmers." This was written in 1913, and relates to the preceding decades. In the 1920's the Kazakhs still retained considerable pastoralism, but had transferred to a major extent to a mixed pastoral-agricultural economy or had gone over entirely to agriculture. Cf. Sakharov; Kharuzin, *Bukeev Orda*, Column 47. The process of transformation as indicated by the above sources is only an incomplete one. The Kazakhs for centuries had had a minor amount of agriculture, undertaken by women, the poor dependents of the wealthy, and slaves, while their major subsistence was based on herding. Some Kazakhs had gone over to agriculture entirely in the early period. They usually joined neighboring Turkic communities in doing so, Uzbek or Uygur. The very process of change from herding to farming at the end of the nineteenth century had itself taken on a different character under the Russian rule. Now the Kazakhs began to till the soil in larger numbers, whole communities undertaking agriculture as their major subsistence basis; they no longer gave up their identity as Kazakhs in making the transition. Cf. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 222-230.

cupying the steppe between the Ala-Tau Mountains and the Syr-Darya River, to the south of Lake Balkhash, and extending into Chinese Turkestan as well. Its territory was the greatest of the hordes, but its population was the smallest during the nineteenth century.⁶³ Their total number is estimated at about 110,000 families, or about 400,000-500,000 individuals in the last third of the nineteenth century.⁶⁴

In the structure of the Great Horde there are traces of a dual organization, a division into an eastern and a western wing. The eastern wing was in turn divided into two subdivisions, which were together comprised of seven clans. The western wing was further subdivided directly into 10 clans.⁶⁵ It would be difficult to justify the term moiety in connection with the two wings, so the more neutral theoretical concept of dual organization, only traces of which are detectable, will be used. In his analysis of the moiety, Lowie attributes the principle of exogamy to this unit.⁶⁶ There is no evidence of moiety exogamy among the Kazakhs. However, a more important reason for the choice of the neutral term, dual organization, is the lack of any distinctive functions of the two great divisions. Dichotomies within the steppe society occur sporadically, and reflect a mode of organization in the imperial past of these peoples: army corps or wings were usually in pairs. But the principle of dual organization has a kinship referent in the sense that members of one wing regard themselves as more closely related to each other, and are related to the other wing only insofar as the entire unit of society is united by a common mythical genealogy, and hence by a common kinship bone.

An identical situation is found among the Kirgiz, who are divided into two: the *On* (right) division, and the *Sol* (left) division. These two groupings are not equally numerous; the *On* or right is much greater than the *Sol* or left. They are variously organized internally; the *On* is further subdivided into six groupings, the *Sol* into seven.⁶⁷

In the Great Horde only one of the two great divisions has in its turn a dual organization. The indigenous term for the Great Horde

⁶³ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 235.

⁶⁴ Aristov, *Opyt vyiasneniia*, 398-400.

⁶⁵ Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 235.

⁶⁶ Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 118.

⁶⁷ Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 230-231.

is the *Ulu jüz* or Great Hundred.⁶⁸ The concept of 100 in the Altaic steppe society relates to a decuple politico-military organization. The armies of Chingis Khan were commanded by decurions, centurions, chiliarchs, and the Kalmuks through the nineteenth century had a series of subdivisions imposed by the central Khanate into 10's, 40's, and 100's (cf. chapter on Kalmuks). However, in the case of the Kazakhs the concept of 100 has been extrapolated from its context as an administrative unit of the politico-military organization and has become a generalized term signifying a major social unit.

Of the social structures in the Great Horde of the Kazakhs, only the clan and its composite units will be considered in the following; divisions of Kazakh society greater than the clan must be left aside. All of Kazakh society is bound together by a genealogical bond, and a system of united lines of real or assumed common descent. All Kazakhs have therefore an actual or fictive kinship with each other, in the paternal line. But while the hordes were composed by means of these structural principles, they also had a state structure of sorts, with rulers, courts, taxes, levies of troops, certain quasi-permanent coercive organizations, and even maintained international relations. This state structure, in a manner comparable to that of the Kalmuks or of a Khalkha or Ordos Mongol principality, had features which magnified in size, but did not change in kind, patrilineal-agnatic features of the clan, the lineage, and the extended family. Other features of the Kazakh state, on the contrary, had little to do with consanguinity but were quite comparable to the foundations of any state, whether Oriental or western. The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order from the smaller units.

The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways. It throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the nineteenth century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state was hammered. It was in fact a state in miniature, with a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleavage in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief, and

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 235.

took slaves among the Shiite Moslems, lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.⁶⁹

Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the principle of patrilineal descent, and the mode of inheritance which operates differentially, with certain rights of primogeniture, ultimogeniture, and equal inheritance. Other principles concern the clan alone, among them the genealogical charter which was an expression of the myth of clan origin and also served to validate the membership of an individual in the clan. However, the lineage and the extended family participate in this principle of clan organization through the very architecture of the clan – its pyramidal form, to apply the concept of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard. The clan was composed of differentially ranked lineages, and the lineages in turn of villages and of families, the highest rank being that of the line through the eldest sons.

The clan was divided into noble and common strata, which marks it off from the lineage, and other lesser units. These strata have been aptly characterized as estates by Kharuzin⁷⁰ and distinguished by the Kazakhs and by all steppe peoples as different colored patrilineal descent lines called *siiök* (literally, bone, cf. Mongol *yasun*, bone). These bones were the white or noble estate, and the black or common, and the principle whereby they were distinguished was identical with that of the Khalkha, the Kalmuk, and other nomadic peoples of the Asiatic steppe.

The Great Horde preserved this division by estates within the clan for several decades after the Russian conquest. The Khan, ruler of a clan confederation, and his kinsmen formed a noble stratum. The nobles were called *ak siiök*, the white bone, and the commoners *kara siiök*, the black bone.⁷¹ Grodekoy, writing of the Kazakhs of the Great Horde during the same period, adds further details: The Kazakh nobles or white bone did not belong to one horde, nor to any

⁶⁹ Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements to Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

⁷⁰ Kharuzin, *op. cit.*, col. 47.

⁷¹ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 515.

one clan, nor were they divided by lineages; they were essentially the descendants of Khans who ruled in the steppe. They formed a clan or series of clans by themselves; they were those whose mother's patrilineage as well as father's patrilineage were of the white bone.⁷² The estates were generally endogamous until the Russian conquest. However, there were also estate distinctions within clans as well.

If this were the entire picture, there would be a relatively simple problem; however, a certain difficulty has been touched on by Dingelstedt, a young aide on General Grodekoy's staff in Turkestan. On social distinctions, Dingelstedt writes, the Kazakhs have no classes; they all recognize each other as noble in origin. Their aristocratic pride is great, because each must know the names of his ancestors; but they admit of certain distinctions: the right of priority, the right to this or that cut of meat served at feasts. To this end there are the two great divisions of people, the white and black bones. The white bones are the descendants of Chingis Khan and of certain other great Khans, and also of the disciples of Mohammed, who bear the name of Saïd or Khodji. So far Dingelstedt.⁷³ Now, the white bones are not actually incorporated members of a given clan, and are in this respect different from the Khalkha Mongols, whose white bone is of two sorts, those who are members of their clan as nobility and leaders, and those who are of princely rank, above the ordinary aristocracy, and trace descent in the direct line from Chingis Khan. The Kazakh nobles are similar only to the latter class of Khalkha nobles.

But even separating the white bone into a descent line of its own cannot solve the problem of reconciling two apparently contradictory principles of social structure: the common line of descent of all Kazakhs from one ancestor (Dingelstedt's "noble origin"), and the division into estates. Specifically, at what point did the unifying principle become divided? To resolve this problem, reference can only be made to the composite nature of Kazakh society and Turko-Mongol society generally, namely, to the principle of consanguinity through the paternal line which unites each of these societies, and to the existence of a kind of state which is composed of ruling and ruled strata. And finally, it has been already suggested that the clan

⁷² Grodekoy, 4-5.

⁷³ Dingelstedt, 146.

itself functions in part as a kin group and in part exemplifies certain quasi-state features. Insofar as the clan performs functions according to principles of the kinship system, it is relevant to our consideration; but the complications of a state-like character remove it to that extent from our consideration.⁷⁴

The Kazakh clan, in the Great Horde as elsewhere, had other bonds than the genealogical tie, and other functions than the politico-military. Where a line died out without issue, the property passed to the clan.⁷⁵ Presumably the property was administered by the clan elders. The clan had a system of identifiable signs, such as earmarks in common, whereby the members distinguished their livestock from those of other clans. These earmarks, called *tamga*, were not a sign of clan property, but a sign of the clan affiliation of the owners of the stock.⁷⁶ Again, each clan had a war cry, or *uran*, whereby it identified itself in battle, at great gatherings, and so forth. Such an *uran* was often the name of the clan ancestor, and thus evoked the past glory of the clan, intensifying the feeling of membership in the tradition of him who raised the cry.⁷⁷ The relation of the clan to principles of exogamy will be discussed below in a more general treatment of the rules of marriage.

The lineage in the Great Horde, as elsewhere among the Kazakhs, is a corporate structure, but does not fulfill the criteria for the corporation as closely as do the clan or the extended family. Thus, it lacks the firm locus of authority possessed by other social units of an analogical corporate type; moreover, its "charter" is derivative of the clan charter — the genealogy. Nevertheless, it was during the nineteenth century a more active social unit than the clan, since the latter was moribund, and it entered more intimately into the every-

⁷⁴ Izraztsov, 26. He writes that the clan was a political unit, a unit of military defense, which declined after Russian pacification. Smaller units remained after the clan declined, held together by common interests. In addition to external causes, the clan system had been weakened by intestine wars.

⁷⁵ Izraztsov, 27.

⁷⁶ Kharuzin, *Bukeev Orda*, col. 148. Cf. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 455-456; and Aristov, *Opyt Vyiasheniia*, 412-416, for reproductions of the clan earmarks for the Great Horde, and for the Kazakhs generally.

⁷⁷ Izraztsov, 27. Cf. Balliuzek, 164: "For the distinction of each of his friends under attack by foreign clans, to give him courage in attacking the enemy, . . . to invoke aid . . . there is a special signal called *uran* and consisting of the names of the clan ancestors or of later distinguished ancestors. . . ."

day life of the Kazakhs. The lineage was a unit of varying scope, by which is meant two things: first, the actual composition in living members; second, the number of generations which it counted back to its founder. One of its most important, if not its most important, functions was to define the unit of exogamy. Otherwise put, the lineage was coterminous with the exogamic unit, which counted usually, but not always, seven generations.

Grodekov maintained that marriage was forbidden between patrilineally related kinsmen up to the seventh generation. His informant, one Khalmahammad, was a local elder and judge in the Great Horde. Others informed Grodekov on the contrary that marriages took place between couples in the related fourth or even the third remove, reckoned exclusively in the paternal line. In his same statement he mentions that the (Kara-)Kirgiz used to reckon the prohibited degree of marriage to relations through the father in the fifth remove; whereas in his day, the 1880's the Shariat permitted marriage even in the second degree.⁷⁸

If these were the only data available, it would indeed appear that the Kazakhs had once had a rule of exogamy forbidding marriage between agnatic kin descended from an ancestor who was fewer than eight generations removed from the prospective spouses, a rule which had then broken down into a more chaotic picture under acculturative conditions. But the record is complicated, and Grodekov's observations are not universally true. Thus, in another part of the Great Horde, during the same period, the 1870's and 1880's, Izraztsov notes that marriage between those removed in the eighth or ninth degree of kinship was rare, if not forbidden, and as a rule, such marriage was avoided by any consanguines related in the male line.⁷⁹ There is more than a mere difference in generation count between these two more or less contemporary reports of the rule of exogamy in the Great Horde. There is a difference in principle. The second record cited indicates no fixed number of generations, but rather a fluid situation and the dominance of a central tendency instead of a definite practice. Moreover, we learn an interesting bit of folklore from Izraztsov: the Kazakhs explain their aversion to marriage between kin who are related by fewer than eight or nine removes from

⁷⁸ Grodekov, 27.

⁷⁹ Izraztsov, 70.

a common male ancestor through the belief that such marriages would be without issue.⁸⁰

In the same district in which Grodekov drew his data, an observer in the 1920's noted that the units of exogamy were the named sibs. Now this could not be the case if Grodekov had made an observation of general validity. Without disparagement to Grodekov, who was an accurate and meticulous ethnographer, especially in matters of law-ways, it may be pointed out that a rule of seven prohibited degrees cannot work in named units, because the head of the lineage would be shifting downward every generation, always seven generations behind, so that if there had been n generations, and one lineage formed in each generation, there would have been n -minus-6 lineage heads at any given time, and the name of the unit would be changing every generation.

An ethnographic account of the Great Horde in the 1920's written by Shmidt states that the only exogamic units he noted were the named sibs (in our terminology). In fact, the situation was more complex, because of the enormous strain and reshuffling that had taken place in Kazakh life through acculturation over two or even more generations. His observations were the following: in the district he observed, near Chimkent (southern Kazakhstan), there were two clans of the Great Horde, one, the Sergele, the other, the Shegir. The Sergele was divided into nine lineages, each one identified by a name; but they had only six exogamic units, for three former lineages had combined to form one sib, two had combined to form another, and only four lineages were large enough to constitute independent exogamic units. As for the other clan, the Shegir, while theoretically of equal status with the Sergele, is was itself an exogamic unit, because all the former lineages had combined into one, forming the sib itself. And the same might be said of the clans and lineages of the Middle and Little Hordes as well. The new sibs were of unchanging composition as units of exogamy.⁸¹

Levshin's material, which dates from the 1830's falls in line with the Grodekov picture, for Levshin likewise describes lineage exogamy, the exogamous lineage being a variable unit as defined above. Thus a Kazakh of the Great Horde in the 1830's married outside his

⁸⁰ *Idem.*

⁸¹ Shmidt, 314.

lineage, and preferably outside his clan as well.⁸² This is the earliest relevant body of data, but it is unfortunately the most schematic, with only the barest outlines of the exogamic picture. Nevertheless, taking it in conjunction with later and fuller reports we may infer that the Kazakh lineage in the nineteenth century was the exogamic unit, and if the latter was subject to a considerable amount of variation as to the number of generations it comprised, and if a named unit was only sometimes discovered, it was because the lineage itself was not a fixed entity. The lineage is to be regarded as an operational concept, functioning principally in the establishment of the limits of prohibited marriage, and was subject to local variation. The exogamic principle among the Kazakhs was subject to a certain amount of expansion and contraction, for none of the versions of the rule are far from each other. And the variations may be explained by local conditions, such as male to female ratio, population trends regarding fertility, mortality, in-migration — all factors bearing on the survival of the group. The limits within which variation was permitted were set by the mores of the group, that is, the disposition to accept certain variations on a principle, and to reject others. The lineage was, moreover, a more fluid entity than the family, which also had a biological as well as a moral basis for stability. Below, another variant on the lineage-exogamic structure will be cited, as reported for the Little Horde. The number of generations involved in any given statement regarding the rule of exogamy, and the extent of the lineage, may be influenced by what constitute propitious or magical numbers. For example, seven is a magical number among the Kazakhs and elsewhere, both in Islam and in Asia generally.⁸³

The evidence of Izraztsov and Shmidt point to an entirely different principle of social structure, one that has been encountered among the Kalmuks. At some time toward the end of the nineteenth century, and fully underway during the twentieth, the clan and lineage structure of the Kazakhs gave way to a system of named sibs, whereby the rule of prohibited degrees no longer functioned directly to define the unit of exogamy. As early as Izraztsov's day, the sib was the unit of exogamy, an exogamic unit comprising an entire body

⁸² Levchine, 364.

⁸³ Cf. Dingelstedt, 148: "Whoever does not know his ancestors to the seventh generation is a renegade," according to a Kazakh proverb.

of agnatic kin, without reference to the number of removes. This picture is fully achieved, apparently by Schmidt's day, some 50 years later. The sib is a flat structure, without temporal depth; in it, one does not reckon generations to determine eligibility to marry or not. Also it contrasts sharply with the clan and lineage structure, first, by virtue of the different time-conceptions in the two, second, by the fact that the principle of the sib name was the concept operative in determination of exogamy, thus yielding different principles of exogamy generally. The sib is not composed of lineages as the clan is, and if such units are found, it may be because the process of transition from one structural mode to another has not been completed. The correlates of the transition process among the Kazakhs are the same as those for the Kalmuks and the Monguor: change in economy from herding to agriculture mixed with herding, and change in politico-administrative organization of the society under Russian influence, comparable to the Chinese influence among the Monguor.

The Kazakh lineages were in turn divided into sublineages, which formed a series of units set off from other similar units through common interests over a period of time. Not only descent, but mutual protection, aid and support in social conflict, adjudication, or material want, held these sublineages together. Each had an elder, called *bii*, who was respected for the seniority of his line of descent within the group, the authoritativeness of his judgment, and his age. Conflicts within a lineage would be smoothed over by agreements among the individual *biis*, each one representing the rights of his sublineage. The authority of the *biis* depended on their relations both to their followers and to one another; some through their individual personalities could resolve the profoundest oppositions.⁸⁴

The *bii*'s scope of authority was thus variable, as was his "jurisdiction", for the same term was applied to the elder or most respected man in a sublineage, in a village, or any small-scale formation generally. Several smaller sublineages might combine to form a new lineage under the leadership of an influential *bii*, taking on the name of that man who led and represented the new formation. But the *bii*'s power was rarely if ever recognized unconditionally, and according to the European notion, his office was to some extent a

⁸⁴ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 514.

usurpation since there was no chiefly office.⁸⁵ However, this is somewhat far-fetched, since he performed important social functions in the resolution of conflicts and the adjudication of disputes; his social status, however, was founded on consanguineal, and not politico-administrative relations, hence Radloff's idea that his office was a usurpation.

THE VILLAGE OF THE GREAT HORDE

The *aul* or nomadic village (literally, enclosure) of the Kazakhs (Mongol *ayil*, Monguor *ayir*) had its greatest size and activity in the winter season when its members gathered at the customary encampment after the summer dispersal.⁸⁶ These *auls* were generally composed of closely related families: such at least was the case prior to the end of the nineteenth century, at which time their transformation into sedentary units with fixed localities began under the impact of Russian administrative dispositions and of the increase in agriculture. In certain cases the winter camps might be composed of several *auls*, forming a larger grouping for mutual cooperation and protection. The concentration of people often required the removal of the herds from the main winter camp, and hence more men would be needed to guard them, making common cause, and defending each other against marauders, both human and animal, of whom the steppe was full. But the close conjunction of many Kazakhs who recognized only vague authority relations among themselves required the constant recourse to the *biis* in the resolution of disputes.⁸⁷

The village head or elder other than the *bii* was the *aksakal* (literally, white beard),⁸⁸ who was the senior male member of the highest ranking family as measured by birth in the village. His social position was somewhat comparable to that of the *bii*, his functions likewise, and it is only later, in consequence of Russian administrative reforms and regularizations that a clear-cut distinction is possible. Radloff reports that toward the end of the century, the *bii* was the village leader, being the senior member of the wealthiest family in the

⁸⁵ *Idem*.

⁸⁶ Dingelstedt, 214.

⁸⁷ Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 513-514.

⁸⁸ Levchine, 330.

village, or the eldest male in that family which, in addition to its claim to priority by right of birth or wealth, had the largest number of closely related families in the village to back it up. The inference to be drawn is that the *bii*, who was a man who regulated affairs between village kin groups, now dominated over several groups who formerly had occupied different villages, but now to an ever increasing degree were combined in one. His functions remained the same; it is merely that the composition of the village had changed. By Radloff's day, the Kazakh *aul* which had an influential *bii* was usually a combination of several units which formerly would have been separate *auls*, or else it was one *aul* which was expanded by the addition of remnants of other *auls* in the form of families which had once combined to make them up.⁸⁹ In a similar manner, we have seen this very process at work in the formation of new lineages, whether maximal or minimal, or even clans, with the exception that the process here described involves the transformation of the village through new developments in administration and economy. Nevertheless, the acculturative pattern took on traditional forms, that is, the new village was built up by a process already encountered in lineage fusion. The *bii*, through his wealth, spiritual powers, sense of justice, and large number of kin (who were able to support his word if necessary by their very strength of numbers) thus continued to dominate the new forms of Kazakh life.⁹⁰

At the end of the century, the *bii* was regarded by the Russians as a kind of official judge, beneath whom was the *aksakal*, recognized as a popular judge who lived within the village and regulated its affairs in an informal manner. The *bii*, in contrast, concerned himself largely with inter-*aul* matters, which is a formalization of the relative positions as they had been reported in the previous era.⁹¹ One of the most important functions of the *bii*, whether in the matter of inter-*aul* or intra-*aul* relationships, was the determination of issues and resolution of conflict over the winter pasturages.

The *bii*, moreover, had an important role in regulating marriage settlements; however, he had little authority over the family of the

⁸⁹ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 513.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 513-514.

⁹¹ Sabataev, 66. Sabataev's observations bear rather on the Kazakhs of the Middle and Little Hordes, but may be taken to be relevant for the Kazakhs generally.

bride, if for example, it should alter the amount of dowry it had arranged to settle on the bride.⁹² The reason for this is clear: the family of the bride had a different set of consanguineal relationships, and she belonged to another lineage and another village (as a rule) under the judicial guidance of another *bii*. Thus we observe the operation of the principle of patrilineal descent, in its effect on the authority of the local elders and judges, delimiting their power according to the extent of their agnatic kin.

Even in the period which began at the end of the nineteenth century, when strong acculturative influences were instituted, the principle of descent in the paternal line continued to play a dominant role. The Kazakhs of the Great Horde were now settled in Russian administrative districts called *volosti*, which were in turn divided into still smaller units. According to Izraztsov, the influence of the *bii* seldom extended beyond the smaller division of the *volost'* in which he lived, and even more rarely beyond the *volost'* itself. The force of his judgments was likewise restricted, and the same agnatic principle obtained: most of the inhabitants of a *volost'* were kin, and the *volost'* was thus in general the means for recognizing and preserving the legal integrity of the kin unit.⁹³ And even if the new kinship groupings were not the same as those existing prior to the Russian culture contact, nevertheless the fiction in force made those in the same *volost'* kin to each other, and carried forward the principles upon which Kazakh society was based, even though in an altered external form.

Both under the new forms and the old (before and after the Russian conquest) a man stood with his kinsmen regardless of where his own sympathies might lie, and he supported the judgments of his *bii* against all outsiders, both the more distant kinsmen and strangers. Thus through the person of the local judge the principle of agnatic kinship determined the mode of adjudicating disputes between affinally related families, between or among various *auls*, or persons belonging to different families, *auls*, or sublineages. And the relationships thus called into dispute had been established in the first place through the operation of other rules within the principle of agnatic kinship. The affinally related families necessarily belonged to different

⁹² Izraztsov, 82.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 4, 26; Radloff, *ibid.*

patrilineages because of the rule of lineage exogamy. The members of an *aul* generally were related because one's most trusted friend was one's closest kinsman, upon whom one could place the greatest reliance for mutual aid measured in wealth or arms. And the *bii* himself embodied the agnatic principle because he was in the ideal circumstance the senior male in the ranking family of a Kazakh community.

One effect of culture contact at the end of the nineteenth century, we have seen, was the organization of the Kazakhs into Russian administrative units. Despite this new mode of social organization, however, certain structural principles continued to exert their force: namely, the inhabitants of a given district recognized either a real or assumed kinship with others of the district. The acculturative process may be further examined to see which structural features survived as the least common denominator of Kazakh life, and which were stripped away. The division of the Kazakhs into estates by seniority of descent lines through primogeniture and differential succession has been discussed. These estates, the white bone or aristocracy, and the black bone or commoners, did not intermarry in any significant degree until after the Russian conquests. The young people of the succeeding generation, that is, from the late 1880's and on, began to do so in larger proportions regardless of estate, with decreasing difficulty.⁹⁴ The reason is clear: the *ak süök* or white bone had been the political rulers in the steppe in view of their descent from Khans and illustrious exponents of Islam. While they had remained the political rulers, it was important to maintain the quality of their estate by recourse to a rule of endogamy, thus preserving their superiority over the black bone. When the political meaning of the separateness disappeared, the practice of endogamy between the estates disappeared. Correlated with this change was the greater emphasis on wealth to indicate social distinction: we have seen how the *bii* was often chosen at this time because of his wealth rather than by birth.

The *ak süök* no longer had any legal privileges; their principal mark of social distinction was in terms of respect, a special place at feasts and ceremonies, and so forth.⁹⁵ Thus the estate in the past was a political structure embodying principles of the consanguineal

⁹⁴ Dingelstedt, 146.

⁹⁵ *Idem.*

system of the Kazakhs. It disappeared, but the kinship system upon which it was based remained in an altered form.

The nomadic village was until Russian times a patrilineal kin group, a portion of a lineage. It conformed to the theory of the corporate structure advanced here by virtue of its fixed rules of admission (by birth or adoption); its perpetual life, or at any rate the survival of the life-cycle of its individual members, and its fixed locus of authority in the person of the village *bii*. The family community formed the core of the social grouping necessary for the nomads. Family members who stood in closest consanguinity were bound closely together through common, undivided ownership, which was a condition of life for small herds; isolated further kinsmen came to them and neighboring families connected through other relationships combined to form what Radloff has called the smallest social unit, the *aul*,⁹⁶ in its economic, juridical and other functions.

THE FAMILY IN THE GREAT HORDE

The Kazakh family was an extended family: three generations of males, grandfather, father, and son, were combined in a family; such at least was the ideal case, achieved when conditions were favorable, such as among the rich Kazakhs.⁹⁷ An allotment was made to the sons on marriage among those families who could afford it, while the poor paterfamilias could make no such allotment; his herd was too small to allow for division.⁹⁸ Therefore it was held in common, supporting those whom it could support, while those who were in excess might go off to join the family of a kinsman, take up agriculture, or migrate. The practices governing inheritance will be taken up below; here only certain aspects of family property can be treated. The son to whom on his marriage allotment during the lifetime of the father was made, lived and herded in common with his father.⁹⁹ Rights in the family property continued to be recognized even after brothers had separated; for example, if one brother died without

⁹⁶ Radloff, *ibid.*

⁹⁷ Izraztsov, 3.

⁹⁸ Izraztsov, *ibid.*; Radloff, *ibid.*

⁹⁹ Izraztsov, 3.

male heirs, the family property passed to surviving brothers even if they did not live communally.¹⁰⁰

The general position of the family in the social structure of the Great Horde may be drawn from its situation before the law. The criminal law of the Great Horde, as codified by Grodekoy, had a number of references to the manner whereby theft within the family was handled. The Kazakh law in the matter of felony corresponded to what Durkheim has called restitutive law, rather than to his category of repressive law, and to the private delict in the somewhat more pertinent terminology of Radcliffe-Brown.¹⁰¹ The taking of cattle or other livestock without permission (*baranta/barymta*) was permitted in the following circumstances, according to information received by Grodekoy from the *biis* of the Great Horde:

1. Cattle rustling by the son from the father's herds, or the son's son from the grandfather's regardless of how many times or how much property was involved could not be officially punished. On the other hand, the father had the right of seizure of the entire property of the son; the father had the right to indenture his son for annual terms to another master, and the money thus earned was applied to the father's estate, the family property. The earnings did not necessarily advert to the son, either as allotment or *kalym*.

2. Stealing between sons of brothers could not be punished outside the family.

3. The sister's son might request aid from the uncles (mother's brothers). If this aid was not forthcoming, the sister's son (*džien*) might make up to three seizures on the property of the mother's brothers. If he made seizure beyond that number of times, the excess was taken away from him. If during the three permitted seizures he should steal a courser, the maternal uncle might require a return of like value. If the sister's son stole a fourth time, the maternal uncle might tell him: "Thou lovest the rights of a nephew."

4. Among kin related beyond the third degree (those with a common father's father), seizure was permitted, with the obligation to repay, however, as soon and as much as possible, in the following circumstances: (a) for payment of bridewealth (*kalym*), since the increase of descendants and the need to marry was a desirable thing;

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁰¹ Durkheim, *Division of Labor*, 112 ff; Radcliffe-Brown, *Primitive Law*.

(b) for the payment of a debt (to a stranger); (c) in time of famine; (d) for a necessary journey, or in pursuit of bandits or rustlers.¹⁰²

The degree of mutual support and dependence may be directly inferred from these sections of the criminal code: the father, the father's brothers and the father's father were effectively regarded as one social unit, from the viewpoint of the son. Property rights were in common, at least before the law. Relations between sons of brothers were only slightly more distant as measured by these practices of restitution and the recognition of felony. Mother's brothers and sister's sons were about in the same category as father's brother's sons; seizure beyond these degrees of kinship was reckoned as theft except under specified circumstances.

Important to note, although its fuller implications must be left for later discussion, is the significance of the avunculate: the mother's brother was under strong obligations to the sister's son, his *džien*. An identical practice is found among the Kalmuks, and even the two terms (Kalmuk *zē/dzē*) are cognate terms. There is a clear and demonstrable correlation between the terminological usages on the one side and inheritance practices and other kinship relations on the other. A most noteworthy feature of the *džien* relation is that it was a relationship in the maternal line, and this despite the preponderantly patrilineal orientation of the entire kinship structure. But it is not unusual to find matrilineal relations given great importance in a patrilineal society, and the paradox is more apparent than real. The matrilineal relations will be found operative in rules of marriage.

We have seen that there was some differentiation between the rich Kazakh family and the poor, especially in respect to family size. The rich family was more likely to be polygynous in composition, attract to itself close collateral (agnatically related) kin, and keep its member together longer. The wealthy Kazakh family thus conformed more closely to a corporate entity than did the poor one; it survived the life span of its members. The poor family was more likely to be of the simple conjugal type, dissolving on the death of the father, the son forming a new conjugal family. Both the rich and the poor family conformed, however, to another criterion of the corporate entity: they were a single personality in the eyes of such legal mechanisms as the Kazakhs possessed. That is, the *aksakal* or *bii* stepped in only

¹⁰² Grodekoy, 160-162; cf. Dingelstedt, 148.

with great reluctance when a family was riven by an internal dispute, if he stepped in at all. We have seen how seizure of property (usually in livestock) without permission was not regarded as theft between son and father, nephew and father's brother, or between sons of brothers; within certain limits, seizure between sister's son and mother's brother was not regarded as theft. Theft among family members was not recognized as such even where the members had set up separate households.¹⁰³

The authority pattern was patriarchal within the family, whether of a wealthy or of a poor Kazakh. According to Dingelstedt, this was a categorical phenomenon: the authority of the father over the son, or the husband over the wife, was absolute.¹⁰⁴ This is corroborated for the Kazakhs of the Great Horde by Izraztsov, who asserts that the wife was without any rights, all rights residing in the husband; for example, in deciding on the marriage of the son or the daughter.¹⁰⁵ Both these statements are extreme, and must be qualified, as will be seen in what follows. Nevertheless, the patriarchal nature of the Kazakh household and family authority pattern must be accepted as a datum subject to slight amendment. We have seen that the father could even indenture his son for a fixed term, and apply the income to the family estate which he controlled.

The family estate was not communal family property in the usual sense, nor can the paterfamilias be regarded as the owner of the family estate which he controlled. The family estate, both the physical and the intangible wealth, was an estate held in trust, and this definition fits the conception of the family (and the lineage) as a corporate structure.

INHERITANCE IN THE GREAT HORDE

Properly speaking, only a small proportion of the family physical property was transmitted on the death of the father. Prior to his death, his sons, with the exception of the youngest son, had allot-

¹⁰³ Dingelstedt, 148.

¹⁰⁴ *Idem.*

¹⁰⁵ Izraztsov, 67.

ments made over to them of various kinds. In the normal course, these sons would have a tent or yurt set up for them by the father,¹⁰⁶ which was generally done on marriage, but sometimes earlier, when they came of age; these two events, of course, might also be simultaneous. Thus, youths among the Kazakhs were generally regarded as coming of age between their twelfth and fifteenth years; among those who could afford it, the marriage likewise took place at or about this time.¹⁰⁷ The father likewise paid *kalym* or bridewealth for these sons; and he generally supplied them with herds in sufficient quantity for independence, if he could afford it, and if he so wished.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, a rich Kazakh might retain his sons by his side, or at least in the same household economy.

Kazakh families other than the rich were often forced by economic necessity to break up the family on allotment of the sons who had come of age. The father, once he had made provision for his sons, lost power over them, and they moved as they wished. But this quit-tance of obligation was a reciprocal relationship; the son lost all further claims on his father's wealth.¹⁰⁹ The poor Kazakhs made no allotment to their sons at all, since they could not afford to; it would have been uneconomical to break up the herd.

The youngest son was the residuary legatee of the father's property; he remained by his father's side until the latter's death, and acquired the father's tent, and such portions of the herds and other property which the father had not made over previously to the elder sons.¹¹⁰ In fact, the relationship between the youngest son and the parents was not restricted to the father; if the wife survived her husband, the youngest son and the mother shared a double portion. Izraztsov gives the following instance: a woman with four sons received from her husband a herd of 200 head of livestock of various kinds. She then divided the herd into five parts; two parts, or 80 head, were reserved for her youngest son and herself; the three older sons received 40 head each. This, however, did not require the elder sons to move away, for all the herds could continue to share in a

¹⁰⁶ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 477.

¹⁰⁷ Dingelstedt, 153; Izraztsov, 72.

¹⁰⁸ Dingelstedt, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁹ Izraztsov, 2-3.

¹¹⁰ Dingelstedt, 153.

common pasture, and to be otherwise indistinguishable, the natural increase being proportional to all.¹¹¹

The widow's portion again was held in trust for her minor sons. A distinction was made between children born out of wedlock as follows: if a widow had borne sons to her deceased husband, any further sons she bore could not share in her husband's estate, but were reckoned to their natural and actual sire's line, a consequence of the doctrine that the son of an unmarried woman participated with full rights in his biological father's estate.¹¹² On the other hand, sons born to a widow who had borne no sons previously were reckoned to her husband's line if they were born within a few years after the death of the husband, and thus social fact overrode the biological.

The mother was the guardian of the children until they came of age. Failing a man's widow as guardian of his surviving children, the closest agnatic kin took over the guardianship of the minor children. These were apportioned equally when they reached their majority, the youngest son possibly getting a slightly larger proportion of the entire estate. The trustee in this case took charge of the entire estate until it was apportioned. A daughter did not participate in the apportionment; she was entitled only to her dowry.¹¹³ In point of fact, however, these rigid rules did not always work out according to the ideal pattern. In one case a daughter participated in the division of the parental estate to a greater extent than the mere apportionment of the dowry. The son in this case inherited 30 horses, 300 sheep, five cattle, five camels, and a yurt with its furnishings; the daughter received 100 sheep and valuables worth 100 rubles,¹¹⁴ a portion greater than a typical dowry, but less than a full share in the estate.

Where equal provision was not made, other factors, such as favoritism, may have been brought to bear. In any case, no Kazakh died without society making provision for the appointment of his heirs: succession *ab intestato* was unknown to them.¹¹⁵ The maximum which any of his children would receive was determined by the

¹¹¹ Izraztsov, *loc. cit.*

¹¹² Dingelstedt, 154.

¹¹³ Izraztsov, 4; Dingelstedt, 153.

¹¹⁴ Izraztsov, 70.

¹¹⁵ Dingelstedt, *ibid.*

father; the minimum was often set by the elders and respected men of the community to whom appeal would be made by a dissatisfied heir.¹¹⁶ The authority of these elders was advisory rather than coercive, however, for they had no means other than public opinion to cause the father to change his mind.¹¹⁷

Further restrictions on the distribution of the family estate existed: a *kalym* or bridewealth had to be provided for all the sons, a mandatory provision in the Kazakh customary law.¹¹⁸ Again, if a man was squandering his patrimony, his wife could appeal to his senior kinsmen, the elders of the community, and these men could adjudge him irresponsible, and remove his estate from him. In such a case, the estate was usually allotted to a major son, or failing such, to the closest paternal kinsman to be held in trust for equal apportionment in the manner described above.¹¹⁹ These evidently drastic measures could only have been found necessary rarely; nevertheless they must be regarded as limitations on the authority of the father, which was far from absolute, therefore. It would be difficult to see, in any case, in view of what is known of Kazakh society and of the steppe societies generally, how a man could have an absolute authority, independent of all outside forces, within his family. The family was far from an independent entity even as an extended family. It was part of a larger whole which included wider and wider reaches of collateral agnatically related lines, and hence extended both backward and forward in time.

The estate of a man went first to his sons, whether major or minor; if he died without male issue, the estate then adverted to his brothers. Even if the brothers had quarreled and were living apart, no one could prevent this order of succession, for the estate necessarily remained in the male line, if not the direct line, then in the closest collateral line.¹²⁰

According to Izraztsov, the following was the order of succession:

1. sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, their successors;
2. brothers, brothers' sons, their successors;
3. father's brothers, father's brothers' sons, their successors.

¹¹⁶ Grodekov, 45.

¹¹⁷ Dingelstedt, *loc. cit.*; Grodekov, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁸ Dingelstedt, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁹ Izraztsov, *ibid.*

¹²⁰ Izraztsov, 5.

In each group, the division was equal, subject to the will of him who made the bequest. The inheritance passed to the second category if the first died without issue, then to the third if the second was not filled.¹²¹

It is of importance to note that the inverse order of succession, namely, brothers before sons, was not the case. And it is difficult to see how this could possibly have been, since the estate included not only real, but intangible property as well, and with its control was correlated a great amount of authority. Now if brothers quarreled, and they often did, they would split up. If an estate descended fraternally before passing to the next succeeding generation, this would mean that the locus of authority was always on the verge of moving off. Such an unstable situation could be envisaged, but it would also necessitate certain corrective or compensatory measures in order to lessen the friction which might thus arise; still no such measures are found in Kazakh society. In general, among the Kazakhs, the Kirgiz, the Kalmuks, the Buryats, and other steppe societies of Asia, the line of descent passed to the son, and failing a son it passed to the closest collateral line, whether that of the brother or that of the brother's son.

In addition to the evidence, both positive and negative, and the comparative material from other societies, there is a clear confirmation of the order of succession in the kinship terminology. In fact, the close correlation with a particular – and relatively rare – application of the kinship terminology should become a classical case of a behavioral correlate of kinship terminology. In a manner parallel to that of the Kalmuks, brother's son and son's son bear the same term, the term is Kazakh being *nemere*.

The avunculate, the relations between mother's brother (*nagašy*) and sister's son (*džien*), likewise played a role in the transmission of real property. The latter could call on his maternal uncle for support in paying his bridewealth, for the payment of a debt, and so forth. If the maternal uncle failed to fulfill a socially recognized obligation, the *džien* could effect a seizure on the stock of his *nagašy* up to three times, and the *nagašy* had no basis for protest. If the *džien* exceeded the three sanctioned seizures, only then could the *nagašy* tell him that he had forfeited the rights of a nephew.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

Just as the *nemere* term has a definable social correlate, so does the *džien* concept: both are related to the mode of acquiring a wife, transmitting inherited property, establishing respect and authority.

MARRIAGE IN THE GREAT HORDE

A Kazakh proverb runs: "A Sart (agricultural Turk or Tadjik of Central Asia) who becomes rich builds himself a house; a Kazakh who becomes rich buys himself wives."¹²² In this proverb a number of values in the Kazakh system are made clear: the relationship between marriage and wealth – notably bridewealth, and the relationship between polygyny and wealth, that wealth is a means to the end of acquiring wives, that a high social value is placed on polygyny.

The rules of marriage have been already mentioned in connection with the definition of lineage exogamy, and the definition of the lineage by the rule of exogamy. The question of the rules of marriage may now be raised in respect to the family, where in addition to lineage exogamy, the following marriage rules were in force at the end of the nineteenth century:

1. A father cannot marry his daughter-in-law's mother (marriage taboo between those who are *kuda*).
2. Two brothers cannot marry two sisters. In these two rules, relationship in the maternal line is as powerful a determinant as that in the paternal line. The sons of brothers are permitted to marry sisters, despite the prohibition placed on brothers marrying sisters.
3. Marriage with the stepmother, stepsister or stepdaughter is strictly forbidden.
4. Marriage of a widow with her deceased husband's father is forbidden.
5. Marriage of a girl with her father's wife's brother is forbidden.
6. Marriage with a milk sister or with the wet nurse is forbidden. (This is a Koranic influence.)

The following marriages are permitted, although no preferential pattern appears to be indicated:

1. Patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (father's sister's daughter to mother's brother's son).

¹²² Dingelstedt, 155.

2. Marriage with the wife's sister only after the death of the wife, if the former is not already betrothed. (Sororal polygyny is taboo).

3. Marriage with the brother's wife's sister on the death of the brother, when she no longer counts as kin. (This is the same as the rule in the case of the wife's sister.)

4. The son with his father's widow other than his own mother.

5. Marriage with the father's brother's widow. (By virtue of this rule and the following, the levirate is established.)

6. Marriage with the brother's widow.¹²³

Despite the frequent reference in these rules to plural wives, the Kazakh household was normally monogamous; polygyny was practiced only when a man was rich enough to afford it, or if the first wife was childless, specifically, without sons, which was reckoned the greatest misfortune to a household.¹²⁴ While in Grodekov's version of the rules, the practice of the levirate was possible on widowhood, the custom is put more strongly by Radloff who proposes that its occurrence was virtually automatic on the death of the husband.¹²⁵

When the rich Kazakh acquired many wives, he set them up in separate tents, usually in different encampments, and spent part of the year in each locality, hoping thus, apparently, to avoid trouble among the wives. If the wives lived in the same encampment, the eldest wife also was the mistress of the combined households, and the younger wife was in a miserable position. Nevertheless, in terms of the general context of Islam, polygyny was rare.¹²⁶

While there were yet Kalmuks in the vicinity of the Kazakhs, at the beginning of the century, there were not a few intermarriages between the two groups. The Kazakh did not oblige the Kalmuk wife to change her lamaist faith for Islam. But where a marriage took place between the two groups, the same rules obtained, covering the taboo on sororal polygyny, and so forth, as among the Kazakhs themselves. At that earlier time, the 1830's, on the death of a man, the brother who survived him had the right to marry one of the wives of the deceased.¹²⁷ In these earlier rules, or versions of the same

¹²³ Grodekov, 29 ff.

¹²⁴ Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 484; Izraztsov, 70.

¹²⁵ Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 484-5.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 484.

¹²⁷ Levchine, *op. cit.*, 364.

rules, the levirate was not automatic, but optional, a formulation which is stronger than Grodekov, but weaker than Radloff.

The marriage arrangements were centered around the payment of the *kalym* or bridewealth by the family of the groom to the father of the bride. The payment of the bridewealth is the one irrecusable obligation of the father to the son; the son cannot be deprived of this, even with the worst of will on the part of the father. It is the family of the groom which contributes to the *kalym*, moreover, and not merely the father. The groom's set of close kin included his father, brother's, father's father, father's brothers. Moreover, his maternal grandfather and uncles support him as well. This last provides a particular insight into the avunculate: The inclusive category of the avunculate is that of Mo Fa and Mo Br.

The marriage arrangements were opened by an exchange of pact-binding gifts between representatives of the groom and those of the bride, followed by a discussion of the terms of the *kalym* and the period of its payment.¹²⁸ A trait of steppe marriage arrangements is found among the Kazakhs of the Great Horde, whereby the go-between, usually a close kinsman or a close friend of the bridegroom's family, initiates the negotiations.¹²⁹ There is a general taboo on seeing the bride before the marriage, or at least before the betrothal.

The *kalym* was a great undertaking and it usually amounted to a major portion of the patrimony of a man; hence the existence of a system whereby kinsmen outside the immediate family itself could be called on for support. Typical sums made over in a *kalym* were seven sevens of livestock of various descriptions, or nine nines.¹³⁰ On the other hand, there was no discussion of the amount of the *kalym* in a marriage between rich Kazakh families, which was matched by the dowry: it was a matter of prestige to exchange enormous amounts of livestock, each family seeking to outdo the other in the sumptuousness of the exchange.¹³¹ Friends likewise did not debate the amount of the *kalym* in the marriage between their offspring; nor did poor families discuss the amount, for usually very

¹²⁸ Izraztsov, 72.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹³⁰ Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 476.

¹³¹ Izraztsov, 73-74.

little bridewealth or wealth of any kind was exchanged in such marriages.

A common form of marriage arrangement was an exchange of daughters between or among families. These exchanges were of two kinds, one called *uč urai*, and the other called *karsy*. *Uč urai* was a marriage arrangement among three families, in which family A by agreement gave a daughter in marriage to a son of family B, which in turn gave a daughter in marriage to a son of family O, which gave a daughter in marriage to a son of family A. These circular marital arrangements, while not as widespread among the Kazakhs as they are among the Gilyaks, or as complex as among the Kachin, were at least widely enough known to obtain a specific appellation. The second kind of exchange of daughters was called *karsy*, and was a simple exchange of daughters between two families. Such arrangements took place while the children were still minors, and were in many instances infant betrothals.¹³²

However, these forms of marriage arrangement were not the normal practices, which centered around the *kalym*. When the greater part of the *kalym* was paid, the groom acquired the right to visit the bride, who during this period continued to dwell with her father; but he generally visited her in secret.¹³³ This cannot be regarded as matri-patrilocal residence, because the groom did not really participate in the life of the bride's family; he visited the girl's camp stealthily, as a stranger, without social position. It was only on the payment of the *kalym* that the groom acquired full rights as a husband and the official wedding took place. Then the youth was given his tent, and took his bride to his father's residence, according to the rule of patrilocal residence.¹³⁴

The Kazakh wedding embodied many features of the Asiatic steppe pattern generally. The bride on entering her husband's tent for the first time made obeisance to the fire in the husband's new yurt; and in addition she fed the fire with pieces of fat, a trait spread in the Altaic world from the Kalmuks to the Buryats, and forming part of the general shamanistic fire ceremonial.¹³⁵ This ceremonial was

¹³² Izraztsov, 74.

¹³³ Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 477.

¹³⁴ *Idem.*

¹³⁵ Poppe, *Zum Feuerkultus*.

repeated among the Great Horde Kazakhs on the birth of the first child; however, in addition, if the first child was a boy, it was an occasion for great rejoicing and celebration, while if it was a girl, little or no celebration took place.¹³⁶

The wife never ceased to maintain a significant relationship with her father's family, and was never fully incorporated as a member of her husband's lineage and family. The fire ceremonial may be regarded in the same light as it is elsewhere on the steppe; its function is a propitiation by the wife of the spirits of the husband's line, a part of the shamanist religion, in which her spirits were antipathetic to his. Moreover, the wife continued to retain social as well as religious ties to her father's line. Thus, if the husband killed his wife, he had to pay a fine of a full *kun* (*wergild*) of 200 horses, the amount paid by a convicted murderer in restitution to the family of the victim.¹³⁷ If the wife committed suicide because of her husband's maltreatment, the husband paid half a *kun*, or 100 horses, to her family.¹³⁸

The social position of the wife may be further clarified by an examination of the *kalym*. If this were an economic and legal transaction pure and simple, her position would be clear: she should have to be regarded as a res or chattel, and *kalym* could then be translated as brideprice. But she was in fact not a res or instrumentum, and there was no question of the husband's having dominion over her, the power of the master over his slave.¹³⁹ The marriage arrangements, the exchange of gifts, the supplying of the dowry to the wife, the payment of the *kalym*, may be regarded as stipulations in a contract for the services of the wife necessary to keep the husband's line alive. The terms of the contract, as understood in an analogical sense, were fulfilled on the birth of a son; hence the increase in status of the woman when she had borne a son, or rather, her accession to full status as a woman.

The wife's dowry varied according to the ability of her father to supply her with one. The rich Kazakh supplied his daughter with a sumptuous dowry, which the family's prestige required to be the equal of the husband's *kalym*. A Kazakh of middle means was

¹³⁶ Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 475-477.

¹³⁷ Izraztsov, 67.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹³⁹ Maine, *Ancient Law*, 90-91.

capable of supplying only a modest dowry, which in general was less than the *kalym*; the poor Kazakh supplied his daughter with no dowry, and received little or no *kalym* in exchange.¹⁴⁰ Both *kalym* and dowry were part of an intricate exchange pattern which accompanied the movement of a woman from one community to another; her movement was in conformity with the rule of patrilocal residence on marriage.

The marriage contract was made between the husband's family and the family of the wife; it is only in this way that we can understand the *kalym* on the one hand, since it was made over to the wife's family, and the levirate on the other. For the contract was to supply male issue not merely to the husband, but to the husband's line, thus involving the husband's brother and those sons of her husband who were not her own. Sociologically, the husband of the mother was the father of the child, but the wife of the father was not necessarily the mother of the child. Moreover, the sororate, or marriage with the deceased wife's sister, which was required if the latter was not yet betrothed, was part of an undertaking on the part of the bride's family to supply a genetrix to the husband's family, whether it was the woman originally stipulated or a substitute. If a widow broke the contract by seeking to marry outside her late husband's kin group, the second husband of the widow had to pay the *kalym* to the family of the first husband, or offer a girl in exchange from his own family; the girl's natal family enjoyed no role in her remarriage.¹⁴¹

In full accord with this interpretation, Radloff has observed that the wife belonged not to the husband, but to his family. Now Radloff had conceived that the levirate was an obligatory practice, while Izraztsov, Grodekov and Levshin have reported it merely as customary. Yet even though he phrased the matter in an extreme way, Radloff was able to interpret fittingly from our point of view certain biologically anomalous customs as the marriage of a mature widow to an immature boy who happened to be the surviving brother of the deceased husband.¹⁴²

Latterly in Kazakh society, a marriage between a widow and a stranger, one not in the deceased husband's kin group, could not be

¹⁴⁰ Izraztsov, 82.

¹⁴¹ Dingelstedt, 155.

¹⁴² Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 485.

opposed by the family of the deceased; but the remarriage was recognized as having validity only if the *kalym* were paid in full to the late husband's family.¹⁴³ The full status of the mother of sons is seen in her right to hold the deceased husband's estate in trust for her minor sons; it is seen in the practices governing widow remarriage as well. If a widow had borne male children, she could not be forced to remarry against her will.¹⁴⁴ But if she was childless or had borne only daughters, then she remained single only if she was ailing or aging.¹⁴⁵

A *kalym* might require a number of years to be paid in full; nevertheless, the girl could not be married to anyone else unless she was past 20 years of age; and in such a case an appeal to the *bii* had first to be made. If the original exchange of gifts had been made, a part of the *kalym* paid, and the girl was married to another before she was 20, then the *kalym* had to be returned, and in addition a heavy fine of from three to six nines of horses or camels had to be paid to the family of the rejected groom. This was an extremely heavy fine, in view of the fact that the *kalym* itself, which was reckoned a heavy tax on the family of the bridegroom, was equal to seven sevens of horses, or nine nines, or more. If the girl died, a sister would be supplied by the family of the dead girl, if possible, but the *kalym* in this case was much lower.¹⁴⁶

If the wife died within two years of the marriage, the husband was obliged to return to the wife's family the dowry and all her private possessions and ornaments. If she died after two years of the marriage, or before the two-year limit but meanwhile having borne sons to her husband, the husband was obliged to return nothing, nor could he ask for *kalym* in return as he might if the woman died before two years of marriage and childless. But he might require the family of the wife to supply him with another wife, in which case he paid a lower *kalym*.¹⁴⁷

Bride abduction from another Kazakh family was rare, especially against the will of the girl. On the other hand, it was not unusual to steal women from the Kalmuks and the Kirgiz, for whom there was a flourishing market, since the price for these women was less than

¹⁴³ Dingelstedt, 155.

¹⁴⁴ Izraztsov, 93.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁴⁶ Izraztsov, 81.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 82-83.

the *kalym*.¹⁴⁸ Women abducted and married by the Kazakhs of the Great Horde had little if any difference in status from Kazakh women; they retained their own religion without infringement, and occupied the same legal and economic position in the family; nevertheless, non-Kazakh women had no consanguines to turn to. The legal personality of the wife could never rise to that of the husband; however, for example, she could not bear witness in the adjudication of disputes, nor could she take an oath.¹⁴⁹ The exclusion of wives from the legal process may be accounted for in the following manner: the judicial process rested on the support which a *bii* could give to his kinsmen in dispute with other kin groups; therefore, the *bii*'s jurisdiction lay within his patrilineal descent group. The law in general was a matter of normative adjustment and balance between or among three agnatically related kin groupings. We have further seen that a wife never fully joined her husband's patrilineage, that she always retained ties, spiritual and legal, to her natal family. Hence, since the law was a matter of membership in specific corporate structures, the wife could not participate since she was not a member: she could not join her husband's, and she lived away from her father's.

In divorce, the woman operated at a distinct disadvantage to the man, but she was not entirely without rights. The husband could divorce his wife at will, merely by sending her back to her family.¹⁵⁰ But the wife had grounds at her disposal for the initiation of a divorce proceeding: if the husband was impotent or if he had left her for twelve months without sending news of himself.¹⁵¹ More important were the considerations which militated against the husband's arbitrary use of his power, and which protected the woman: the husband who divorced his wife lost all claim to the *kalym*;¹⁵² the provisions for disposal of the property (dowry and arrha sponsalitia) were agreed on in the marriage arrangements.¹⁵³ Divorce was in any case a rare occurrence; a family would see to it that the husband would

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 81, 91.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁵⁰ Dingelstedt, 155; Izraztsov, 92.

¹⁵¹ Izraztsov, *loc. cit.* Dingelstedt, *loc. cit.*, mentions seven years, not one year, as the necessary period for recognition of husband's desertion as grounds for divorce.

¹⁵² Izraztsov, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵³ Dingelstedt, *loc. cit.*

not get rid of the woman who was valuable for her fertility and for her capacities as a worker, and it took place as a rule only if the woman were incurably ill, or for like reasons.¹⁵⁴

In the event that the husband was known to be impotent, the wife took a second husband from the family of the first "in order not to have discredit cast upon her in the eyes of others". The new husband paid a *kalym* called the *kalym* of kinship, which was materially lower than that of the original *kalym*, and whose ratio was in inverse proportion to the degree of consanguinity between the two men concerned. The children of the divorced couple remained with the family of the first husband, but a son who was of age had the right to choose among his kin; also, an eldest daughter could often follow her mother.¹⁵⁵ Among the wealthy, there was usually no question of divorce, since a husband could easily afford another wife.

CRIMINAL LAW IN ITS RELATION TO THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

A distinction between theft of cattle – rustling – in general and seizure without permission from specified kinsmen – *baranta* – was made in Kazakh legal practice. A number of distinctions likewise existed in the punishments for taking a life. No provision was made for repressive punishment (by loss of life or liberty), the only punishment being restitution if it was determined that a wrong had been committed. The penalty involved was the payment of a whole or a part of a *kun* or *wergild*. The basic *kun*, mentioned above, was 200 *baital* (*baital* is an abstract unit of the value of a horse in good condition, or the equivalent). This might vary somewhat; for example, the *kun* in the vicinity of what is today Alma Ata was 200 horses, 100 sheep, and a camel, or roughly 225 *baital* (five sheep equalled one *baital*, a camel equalled five *baital*) toward the end of the nineteenth century. The taking of a woman's life, other than one's wife, required the payment of half a *kun*.¹⁵⁶

If a man was killed in a fight or in a raid, only a partial *kun* was paid. The kinship system had relevance to the criminal proceedings: voluntary aid was always given by the kin of a murderer in payment

¹⁵⁴ Izraztsov, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁵ Dingelstedt, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁶ Izraztsov, 12.

of the *kun*, even if the murderer were wealthy and could afford the amount himself. On the other hand, if the murderer and his family or village could not make up the sum among them, wider circles of kinsmen were called in, contributing in proportion to the degree of closeness of kinship, provided the man was of good standing in his community.¹⁵⁷ If the sum could not be made up by these means, it was made up by giving the daughter in marriage to a descendant of the victim, provided the daughter was not yet betrothed. It was stated, although how much meaning may be attributed to it is far from clear, that the making over of from two to four daughters could stand in lieu of a *kun*.¹⁵⁸

The implication of such payments and the participation of the kin involved is that it is one lineage which is indemnifying another lineage for the loss of a member. The fact that a daughter could be given in marriage as partial quittance of a *wergild* indicates that the offending lineage recognized that it had endangered the continuity of another and the daughter offered was a means of meeting that danger. The Turks of the Orkhon-Yenisei, it will be recalled, offered a daughter in payment for the putting out of an eye; presumably this practice had a similar meaning.

The recipient of the *wergild*, the injured lineage, distributed it among the kin group. On receipt of the full amount, the kin of the victim (the sublineage as a rule) took one-half, which it further distributed among the elders of the clan or lineage. The remaining half was further divided, part being distributed among the more distant kin of the victim; how much was thus given out was up to the family of the victim, but it was impossible to give nothing. A slighted kinsman would appeal to the elders of the community, and was given a share of the *kun* proportional to the closeness of kinship. The remainder was divided among the sons of the victim, or if there were none, among the next of agnatic kin.¹⁵⁹

The unit for payment after the reorganization of Kazakh society under Russian impact was the *aul*; despite the composition of the village at this time by segments of various lineages, it continued to act through a convenient fiction as though it were a unitary kin group.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁵⁹ *Idem.*

Support for payment of the *kun* was drawn from neighbors within the *aul* and from the kinsmen, both of whom were treated as a unit. If the guilty refused to pay, then the lineage or the clan, now settled in a *volost'*, simply raided the guilty man's herds and made seizure of the requisite amount.¹⁶⁰

The *bii*s would often require that kin in the seventh degree of agnatic kinship take the oath in support of the accused. By this was meant, if the man were adjudged guilty, the kin up to the seventh degree would be required to support him in the payment of the indemnity. Such a proceeding took place in 1885, some years after the Russian conquest, and represents a certain hardening of the judicial practice, but a hardening precisely of those features already observable in Kazakh society in the previous era. The power of the *bii*'s decree now had the force of a court sentence, backed up by an absolute coercive instrument: police system, prison, the entire force of state and empire. But the person of the *bii*, and his kinship and social relations, were more or less the same as before. The number of degrees of kinship recognized in a judgment were now fixed, but they were the same relationships which had been more vaguely defined in the preceding era.¹⁶¹ Moreover, the entire proceeding was reported by an officer of the court to the Russian authorities: the judges now had to bear in mind how the Russian provincial administration would respond to a judgment of a certain sort. Nevertheless, from all this we may see how vital the principle of kinship remained in the processes of adjudication, even under conditions of acculturation. Considerations of kinship operated in the legal process; and legal relations are operative in the actuality of the consanguineal system and in interpretation from without. The new relations imposed a constraint on the change of the Kazakh social system.

We have dealt thus far with relationships of the law to the system of consanguinity; but there were also important relationships to the affinal system. One such relationship has already been mentioned, the fact that a husband and his kin were obliged to pay full *kun* to the family of the wife if he killed her. Now the children of the murdered mother in this case got nothing,¹⁶² for they were reckoned in the

¹⁶⁰ Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 525.

¹⁶¹ Dingelstedt, 520.

¹⁶² Izraztsov, 14.

paternal kin group. Thus they suffered doubly: from the loss of a mother, and from the burden of the *wergild* which they had to bear as part of the father's line.

On the other hand, if the wife were murdered by a stranger, the *kun* was divided equally between the wife's father's kin and the kin of the husband. If a betrothed girl were murdered, the father of the girl and his line received the entire *kun*, and the family of the affianced youth was presented with a choice, either to accept a sister of the victim, or to have the *kalym* returned and seek elsewhere for a wife.¹⁶³ The ambiguous situation of the woman could not be expressed more sharply in Kazakh life than by the process of division of the *kun* if her life were taken: she was regarded as belonging fully to no group, neither to the husband's nor to the father's.

The role of affinal kinship in the legal process may also be deduced from the fact that in addition to support by one's agnatic kin (father, son, brother, father's brother), one could also call on one's wife's sister's husband to take the oath on one's behalf, provided that his loyalties had not already been engaged on the other side. Cognatic kin, too, played a role: the sister's son, and the mother's sister's son (matri-parallel cousin).¹⁶⁴ The relationship of the mother's brother *nagašy* to sister's son or *džien* has already been mentioned in respect to the payment of the *kalym*, or debts to strangers. It is simply a further pursuit of the same principles to observe it in the restitutive process of the law as well.

The new kinship relationships that are brought out here relate to the closeness of mutual support between husbands of sisters, those who are *badža* to each other, and sons of sisters, those who are *biile* to each other. The principle underlying these relationships is quite different from that of the avunculate, which implied no systematic restructuring of the system of agnatic relationship. The case of the relationship between children of sisters, those who are *biile* to each other, is quite clearly a systematic attack on the agnatic principle, because in addition to the mother's brother relationship, a man must now be aware of, and respond to the economic and legal implications of, a relationship through the mother's sister. In the light of this, we must re-examine the lines of consanguinity. The agnatic line no

¹⁶³ *Idem.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

longer satisfies all the relationships involved. In the light of the *biile* and *badža* relationships, we infer that descent from either grandfather is significant, and not from the father's father alone, as in agnation. A man can call on all his cousins for help, paternal and maternal alike; he shares a common grandfather with them. This relation is reciprocal. It is a cognatic relationship, and not agnatic. This is of considerable theoretical interest as a matter of a socio-legal evolution.

A final relationship between the kinship system and the law on the steppe to be discussed is the legal personality of the family. The family was a person before the criminal law of the Great Horde, as it was in other parts of the steppe. Thus, if a father killed his son, no legal proceeding could be undertaken against him; nor could the law intervene if the son killed his father. The family unity could not be invaded by outside forces. Again, if the father were alive, and a brother killed a brother, the legal process could not intervene; and even if the father were dead and the sons had moved apart, only a small sum was paid to the family of the victim, more a token payment than a true *wergild*.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, the family acted as a personality in paying or receiving the *wergild*; it was liable to penalty or indemnity as a unit. To this conception we add in corroboration the family as a personality in the marriage practices of *kalym*, levirate and the marriage agreement itself.

THE MIDDLE HORDE

The Middle Horde, Kazakh *orta жүз*, literally Middle Hundred, nomadized on the steppe north of Lake Balkhash as far as the upper course of the Irtysh River in southern Siberia. From the viewpoint of European Russia, it was less distantly removed than the Great Horde. In territorial expanse the Middle Horde was smaller than the Great Horde, but larger than the combined Little and Inner Hordes. Numerically it was the largest of all the hordes in the nineteenth century; it was estimated in the 1830's at 165,000 families, approximately, and at about the same number at the end of the century. Thus from Levshin's day in the 1830's to Radloff's in the 1890's, it

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

showed no absolute change at all, whether of increase or decrease, while compared with the other hordes it had suffered a relative decrease.¹⁶⁶

Unlike the Great Horde, the Middle Horde had no trace of any dual organization in its major divisions. Instead, it was divided directly into six clan federations: the Argyn, the Kipchak, the Kongrad, the Naiman, the Kirei, and the Uwak.¹⁶⁷ That these federations bore distinctive names is of interest; that these names are all archaic is even more so. Four of these names occur both in the ancient Turkic records and in the *Secret History* of the Mongols: Kipchak, Kongrad, Naiman, and Kirei or Kereit. Another tie with the Mongol steppe, the historical scene of both Orkhon texts and the *Secret History*, is in the name Argyn; there is an Argun River in the Amur River drainage in northwestern Manchuria, forming the border with Siberia. Turks occupied parts of Outer Mongolia during the sixth-eighth centuries, and at other times.

The Middle Horde Kazakhs of the 1820's had not yet come under Russian cultural influence to any significant extent. Yet even at this time, the practice of polygyny was restricted to the wealthy families; a rich Kazakh might have from three to five wives, while a poor Kazakh had but one. Infant betrothal was practiced, while marriage took place at age 20 at the latest. On marriage the father outfitted the son with one or more tents, livestock, clothing, felts, according to his means; for then the son came of age. But the relationship had a second significance; on coming of age, the son could make no more demands on the father; the allotment was at the same time a quittance of further obligation.

A distinction was made between the inheritance of real property and the transmission of such intangibles as authority. The father was the absolute lord in his family, and his authority passed, in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, to the eldest son, or, lacking a son, to a brother. Related families were gathered into villages, *auls*, and a village elder, or *bii*, generally had a position of influence in

¹⁶⁶ Levchine, 300; von Hellwald, 20; von Lebedour, II, 450; Schuyler, I, 34; Lansdell, I, 303-304.

¹⁶⁷ Valikhanov, 162; Aristov, *Zametki*, 350. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 326; mentions only five of these federations in the nineteenth century, omitting the Uwak.

public affairs, and a limited amount of authority in intra-family matters. Thus there was a limitation on the paternal power.

The leadership of a sublineage, a village, or a family, passed in the direct line through the eldest sons.¹⁶⁸ The status of *bii* some decades later, in the 1860's, is described as quasi-hereditary, and a case is cited by Valikhanov in which it remained in one family through four generations.¹⁶⁹ The office later came to be appointive, and only quasi-hereditary.

Among these Kazakhs of the Middle Horde, one means of settling disputes is reported as having especial prominence, the use of affinal ties. The *bii* would propose that a youth of one side marry a sister of the other; or alternatively, that one party marry off his son to a daughter of the other, provided that neither is already betrothed. The disputants would then embrace and call each other *kuda*, father-in-law of the respective children. In such a case, the children must be eligible to marry according to the rules of exogamy.¹⁷⁰ The close interrelation between the kinship system and the law is demonstrated in the impingement of both consanguineal and affinal relationships on the judicial process.

The legal process continued to function within the kinship system even under conditions of acculturation, as evidenced in the following case among the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde in the 1870's. A man had two older brothers who had been allotted their shares of the father's estate during the lifetime of the father, while the youngest remained by his father's side until the death of the latter. Through the principle of ultimogeniture, the residual property should have gone to the youngest son, but the two older brothers threatened to take the herds and pasturage away from him. The youngest brother then appealed to his legal authorities, the *bii*s of his community. (Note: the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde had been longer under Russian rule than those of the Great Horde. The acculturative process had proceeded farther in the Middle Horde than in the Great Horde by the 1870's, as will be seen from the issues raised in the pleadings.) The older brothers argued that the Kazakh customs were no longer in force, and that Russian law required an equitable distribution of

¹⁶⁸ Von Lebedour, II, 459-461.

¹⁶⁹ Valikhanov, 162.

¹⁷⁰ Ibragimov, 237.

the paternal estate regardless of the settlements made on the older sons by the father during his lifetime. The matter thus presented to the *biis* brought from them the decision that the youngest son, the residuary legatees, had to give up one of his winter camps to the other two. (Evidently wealthy estate was in question here.) The youngest son appealed to the Russian courts, who advised him simply to comply with the decision of the *biis*, but to take one of the older brothers' winter camps instead. The youngest son declined both decisions.

His appeal to the Russian courts was strongly resented by the community and he was threatened with arrest, whereupon he removed to a nearby town. The entire affair was placed in the hands of the local *biis*, but it was left unsettled. Finally the courts found in favor of the youngest son after the appointment of a new governor general in the region.¹⁷¹

A number of salient features of Kazakh family life in the Middle Horde are brought to light in this case: the practice of allotment to all sons but the youngest during the lifetime of the father; the idea that they thus gave up all further rights in the estate of the father; the principle of ultimogeniture; the role of the *bii* in settling disputes; the break-up of family unity through a quarrel between or among brothers. The measure of the degree of acculturation is likewise made precise in this matter. We note a number of new features: the appeal to Russian practices in inheritance; appeal to the Russian courts to decide the matter; the resentment by the Kazakh community of the Russian appeal; the final, decisive role of the Russian administration – which, it is important to note, found for the plaintiff in accordance with the Russian court's conception of what the Kazakh custom was, and rejecting the elder brothers' notion of what the Russian custom in inheritance was. The flight to the town to escape the resentment of the community made by the youngest brother indicates nothing about acculturation: it could have been a new feature brought in by Russian contact, or it could have been an old feature, because towns have existed in the vicinity of the steppe for many millennia.

The Middle Horde differed from the Great Horde in two respects: it exhibited no trace of any dual organization, a feature of the large-scale social structure of the Great Horde; and it was further along in

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 253-257.

the process of acculturation than the Great Horde. A Middle Horde Kazakh could adopt a "Russian" point of view and have the public opinion of his community support him in it a full generation anterior to even a remote envisagement of such a situation in the Great Horde. However, no significant difference in small-scale social structure, whether in the corporate entities or in the kinship relationships can be detected.

Note: Appended to this chapter is material gathered on the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde during the period of World War I and the 1920's. It is separated from the body of the Kazakh materials since it represents an era removed from the preceding one by a war and a revolution.

THE LITTLE HORDE: CLAN AND LINEAGE

The Little Horde, Kazakh *ksi jüz*, literally Little Hundred, occupied the steppe between the Middle Horde and European Russia, stretching from the area north of the Aral Sea to the Ural River. The steppe between the Ural River and the Volga was in turn occupied by an offshoot of the Little Horde, the Bukei, or Inner Horde during the nineteenth century. In the structure of the Little Horde, certain marks of a dual organization are to be observed: it consisted of two major divisions, the Alchyn and the Djätti-uri. The Djätti-uri in turn were subdivided into seven clans. The foregoing is the version given by Radloff.¹⁷² Aristov, on the other hand, reports simply the existence of 10 clans in the Little Horde, and mentions no more inclusive groupings than these. One of his groups is named the Alchin, however.¹⁷³ Radloff further indicates that the Alchyn were further subdivided into two subdivisions, the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, the Alim-uli again into six subunits, and the Bai-uli into 10. A part of the Bai-uli broke away from the Little Horde, moved across the Ural River through an agreement between their leader, Bukei, and the Russians, and occupied the steppe between the Ural and the Volga which had formerly been the pasture land of the Kalmuks.¹⁷⁴

The elucidation of the functions of these greater divisions of Kazakh society, the horde and its principal segments, are mentioned briefly in this context merely to indicate that the web which tied them

¹⁷² Radloff, *op. cit.*, 237-241.

¹⁷³ Aristov, *op. cit.*, 350.

¹⁷⁴ Radloff, *op. cit.*, 237.

together was a common patrilineal descent, traced back to immemorial time by oral tradition to a mythical ancestor. Eventually all Kazakhs are agnatically related in this manner.

The combined Little and Inner Hordes numbered about 190,000 families according to various estimates between 1876 and 1885: the Little Horde contained 150,000 to 160,000 families, and the Inner Horde about 30,000.¹⁷⁵ This represents about a 20 percent increase over the figure of 160,000 families given for the Little Horde in 1830 by Levshin.¹⁷⁶ The Little and Inner Hordes were closest to European Russia, and had been the longest of all in close contact with the Russians; the degree of acculturation was not different in any marked manner from that of the Middle Horde Kazakhs. Because of the accessibility of the Little Horde to the Russians, however, we have fuller data on certain aspects of their social structure and kinship relations than we have for the more distantly situated hordes.

The clans of the Little Horde, just as those of all the other hordes, were organized on the basis of patrilineal descent from a common ancestor who sometimes gave his name to the clan. Otherwise the clan name was drawn from the stock of names which are associated with glorious events, great traditions designed to inspire the Kazakh warriors to emulate those who bore that name in the past. One clan name in the Little Horde was Yappas, a derivation from the name Japhet, the son of Noah, who appears in several Kazakh etymologies; other clan names are Argun, Kipchak, Kirei, all of which occur elsewhere in Kazakh clan lists, and which take their origin in the traditions associated with Chingis Khan. These names also appear in the *Secret History* of the Mongols, and continued to evoke great affect among the steppe dwellers.¹⁷⁷

The close association of the clan with military organization implied by these characteristics is further evidenced by the identification of the clans with their *uran*, the clan passwords or countersigns, which consisted either of the name of the eponymous clan ancestor or of an illustrious warrior generally among the clan forbears, and was used to hearten the warrior in battle, rally the aid of clansmen, or celebrate

¹⁷⁵ Schuyler, I, 34; Lansdell, I, 303-304. The lower estimate is that of von Hellwald, 20. Schuyler and Lansdell gathered their materials through interviewing local officials.

¹⁷⁶ Levchine, 300.

¹⁷⁷ Balliuzek, 164.

a victorious outcome.¹⁷⁸ The clan was closely associated with war, and had among its most important functions the constitution of a military unit.

Each clan had its special *tamga* which it stamped on the left thigh of the cattle of the clansmen. These were not property signs but were simply means of distinguishing among the cattle of various clans. The clan embodied the same structural principles found at work throughout Kazakh society, in larger-scale units as well as smaller: it was based on the principle of agnatic relationship and patrilineal descent. It was composed of patrilineages.

The lineage in turn was based upon the agnatic principle, and is defined in terms of a fixed number of generations counting from its founding ancestor; it had a personality as a socio-legal unit; and it had corporate structure. The last is a defective category, because several attributes of the corporate unit were better exemplified in the clan, the village and the extended family. The lineage functioned as the unit of exogamy. The lineage was defined by a specific number of generations in a given locality, but subject to a certain amount of variation within a small range from place to place.

In the Little Horde a family head sought a wife for his son or for his younger brother only among families which shared a common ancestor; but marriage was permitted only in the eighth ascending generation or higher, according to a report by a learned Kazakh of the 1870's.¹⁷⁹ Elsewhere among the Kazakhs, a common ancestor in the seventh ascending generation, or again in the fifth, or again in the ninth was the basis for marriage eligibility or prohibition.

The Kazakhs on the Mangyshlak peninsula, on the eastern shore of the Caspian, had a different rule of exogamy at the turn of the century. It was forbidden to take a wife from one's own kin group. According to Karutz, all the Kazakhs on Mangyshlak peninsula at this time were descended from a certain Adai who migrated to Mangyshlak from the northern part of the territory of the Little Horde. Adai had two sons, Kudaike and Kelebede, who were the founders respectively of two exogamous lineages, of which Kudaike's was the senior in rank. Karutz's informant was descended in the tenth generation from Kelebede; hence he was in the cadet lineage. He

¹⁷⁸ *Idem.*

¹⁷⁹ Altynsarin, 104.

had to seek a wife among the women descended from Kudaïke.¹⁸⁰ A case might be made for the analysis of this kin structure as a sib; indeed the Adai descent-group is typologically transitional between genealogically reckoned patrilineage and named sib; but the sublineages are ranked and exogamous, and the basis for both ranking and exogamy is a detailed genealogy. Exogamy here is not on the basis of name alone; hence the classification as lineage and the implied clan structure.

The requirement to take a wife removed in the tenth degree from oneself is the most extreme rule of exogamy found among the Kazakhs. It can only be regarded as the result of special conditions operating: a group of people who had migrated to a new locality had preserved the unity of the group intact over 11 generations, retained a full oral tradition of the origins and history of the group, and consciousness of membership. The entire group, the descendants of Adai, formed a major or maximal patrilineage, and was further subdivided into two exogamic minimal or sublineages. These Kazakhs of the Little Horde occupied a peninsula of the eastern shore of the Caspian, and were somewhat isolated from the rest of the Kazakh world by stretches of true desert lying immediately to the east and south; the very isolation tended to stabilize the internal group relations over time, making for the exogamic practices founded on the maximal lineage and minimal lineage structures here described. We may note in passing that something approaching a moiety situation is implied by the report, but we do not know whether the entire Adai was endogamous, taking wives from among themselves alone. They probably did, but only because of situational rather than systematic factors.

The lineage exogamy which has been posited theoretically may be applied to the minimal or sublineage equally. The division of clans into major or maximal lineages, and these further into minimal or sublineages is dependent on locally operative conditions. The Inner or Bukey Horde composed still further variations on this theme.

The lineage founded by Adai exemplifies another structural principle of steppe society, that of formation by fission, by splitting away. Adai, the lineage ancestor, had once been a member of another lineage; but at a point in the past, put at 11 generations by his

¹⁸⁰ Karutz, *Von Kirgisischer Hochzeit*, 37.

descendants, he moved with his family to a new locality. We are not told where his immediate descendants looked for their wives, and must infer that for several generations they formed a single lineage with a taboo on in-marriage. Possibly Adai and his descendants could take wives from the people where Adai's original kinsmen had taken their wives. In any case, with the passage of generations, in the course of lineage time, his descendants came to recognize themselves as Adai's line of descent, as a distinct entity. The final stage in the process was the formation of two sublineages. These two sublineages, in conformity with the minimal criterion of degrees of relationship, came to reckon themselves as mutually exogamous, and were permitted to intermarry. Because of favorable conditions of lineage stability, possibly based on their isolatedness, the minimal number of degrees was exceeded, for 10 generations in marriage taboo is the longest count we have. We cannot say whether the entire lineage was endogamous, thus forming moieties, but we can point out a classical instance of lineage fission, and a further process of splitting into minimal or sublineages formed by the passage of generations. Stability of social conditions, duration, and isolation in space provided conditions for the formation of a new descent line of a novel type.

Finally, attention should be drawn to the working of another structural principle: the ranking of the minor or sublineages according to the priority of birth of the founder by virtue of the principle of differential inheritance and succession.

THE VILLAGE IN THE LITTLE HORDE

Meyendorff made a journey from Orenburg in the southern Ural Mountains to Bukhara in the year 1820. En route through the territory of the Little Horde he encountered a village, *aul*, the camp of a great Kazakh chief. By comparison with other *auls*, Meyendorff counted this a large one; it contained 50 tents, grouped in clusters of from three to six tents each. The time was the month of October, when these pastoralists had gathered together in their winter camp after the summer dispersal.¹⁸¹

Radloff has reported that the typical Kazakh *aul* was composed of

¹⁸¹ Meyendorff, 14.

from 50 to 70 tents;¹⁸² here it is necessary to distinguish between tents and families, contrary to the identification made by the estimates and censuses. Radloff's data are offered as having general validity for the Kazakhs in the last third of the nineteenth century, and probably refer to winter camps. Meyendorff's *aul* was a large one; nevertheless it falls within the lower limit of Radloff's range. In the interim the Kazakhs took up agriculture to an ever greater extent; there is no difficulty therefore in accepting the validity of both observations, which in fact tend to corroborate each other. The neighboring Kalmuks had winter camps of similar size to Meyendorff's, and from these various considerations we may derive a picture of an *aul* in the western steppe, Kazakh and Kalmuk.

That *auls* are units of kinship has already been proposed: they were composed of families agnatically related. Meyendorff's account further points to relationship of *aul* size and wealth. A rich Kazakh attracted to himself wider and wider circles of kin and formed his own village, and in this connection Meyendorff cites a line in a song, "See this *aul* which is that of a wealthy man." Again, Meyendorff observes that the village elder or *aksakal* was usually a man of substance, with a large family.¹⁸³ Compare the villages of the Great Horde, where a village head or elder was the one with the greatest number of kinsmen to support his point of view – in those cases where a village was not consanguineally related in a homogeneous manner.

Auls among the Kazakhs of the Little Horde and elsewhere were headed by men of wealth, or of rank through birth: the case of the *aul* of 50 tents mentioned above was that of a nobleman of the Little Horde. Through either means they acquired influence by the support of numerous kin. There remains the question of the composition of the clusters of from three to six tents noted by Meyendorff: tents of extended families, dependent kinsmen, servants. Karutz has given a schematic description of the Kazakh *aul*, identical with that of the

¹⁸² Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 518. By Radloff's day the administrative reform and reorganization of villages into *volosti*, integrated into the Turkestan governor-generalcy, had already been carried out. By then, too, the office of village elder had become appointive, and was no longer an expression of birth or wealth alone; although these considerations probably influenced appointment.

¹⁸³ Meyendorff, 45-47.

Turkmen: Turkmen and Kazakhs live in *auls*, clusters of tents based on family or lineage relationship; the tents are ranged either in a straight line or in a gentle curve open to the south. The consanguineal principle in *aul* formation is further noted in the fact that there may be as few as two tents in an *aul*, one for a father and his wife, and one for a married son.¹⁸⁴ This is probably truer of summer camps than winter, however, because of the greater degree of concentration in the winter. Turkic *aul*, Mongol *ayil*, enclosure, are cognate terms. The Mongol camp was a circle. (See Shchapov on the Buryats, Pozdneev on the Khalkha Mongols, and Vladimirtsov on the Mongols of earlier times.) The nomadic village of Little Horde Kazakhs, the Turkmen, their congeners to the south, and the Kalmuk opened out. Probably the enclosed circle of the eastern steppe is the older form.

THE FAMILY IN THE LITTLE HORDE

The family of the Little Horde was agnatic patrilocal in residence, and extended, that is, the family into which one was born was the same as that which one procreated on marriage. The extended family had a personality before the law, extended beyond the life span of any individual member, and in general conformed to the conception of the corporate structure which has already been advanced here. The extended family was the unit of economic production and consumption; production of children was the function of its conjugal component. The extended family could be the unit of nomadic movement if it were identical with a village; the village was the unit of nomadic movement.

Betrothal negotiations, when and with whom they were to be conducted, rested on the unconditional discretion of the father.¹⁸⁵ Neither of the betrothed had any say in the matter, nor pro forma, had their mothers, for authority was and is patriarchal. In the initiation of betrothal arrangements, a go-between, a close kin or friend of the boy's family, was sent to the family of the girl.¹⁸⁶ Why a go-between? There is a stern taboo on contact between the boy and

¹⁸⁴ Karutz, *Unter Kirgisien und Turkmenen*, 65.

¹⁸⁵ Altynsarin, 103; Balliuzek, 69; Karutz, *Von Kirgisischer Hochzeit*, 37.

¹⁸⁶ Balliuzek, 71; Altynsarin, 104.

the family of the bride. The affianced youth could not show his face to his prospective father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law, nor to any older agnatic kin of the girl's father until the day of the wedding itself. The future son-in-law either had to hide himself quickly or run to the side on a chance encounter. This was explained by the Kazakhs as (1) a reflection of respect for one's elders, and (2) the attitude of a debtor who has not acquitted himself fully of his debt.¹⁸⁷

However, this taboo does not explain why the youth's father did not represent his son. The understanding of the role of the go-between and its necessity involves the entire relationship between the two affinally related families. The wife-givers lose a daughter and her dowry, and acquire bridewealth in exchange; they also gain prestige, as Leach has put it, for the husband. His family regarded the wife's kinsmen as occupying a socially higher position than their own, comparable to the Kalmuks and the Ordos as well. In the case of the Adai lineage, one of the component sublineages was senior to the other, but this seniority was a matter of collateral ranking of lineages; it had nothing to do with the affinal relations involved here, even though the same people were involved. The affinal "prestige debt" was wiped out between the sublineages over the course of time, through the normal exchange of daughters in marriage; it was a reciprocal relation, which seniority is not. The youth's family went to the bride's family as seekers; they went as a social group, in an inferior position to the future wife's family, the would-be husband did not go alone. The sending of a go-between is an expression in a modified and less stringent form of the general avoidance and respect relation between future son-in-law's family and future wife's family; the youth's family was the debtor, and not the youth alone.

On the Mangyshlak Peninsula at the turn of the century, the betrothal was usually arranged while the prospective pair were still children, between three and eight years of age.¹⁸⁸ The marriage itself did not take place for several years, until the children were 10 or 11 years old at the earliest, including leviratic marriage.¹⁸⁹ The general tendency in marriage, however, was for it to take place between the

¹⁸⁷ Altynsarin, 108.

¹⁸⁸ Karutz, *op. cit.*, 37.

¹⁸⁹ Altynsarin, 101.

ages of 13 to 15 years, which corresponds to reports elsewhere in the Kazakh steppe; among the rich, on the other hand, it might wait until the couple were 20 years old.¹⁹⁰

There was a broad distinction between wealthy Kazakhs and poor Kazakhs; the rich tended to marry the rich, and the poor married the poor, for the bridewealth necessary for a rich wife was beyond the means of a poor Kazakh.¹⁹¹ However, if a family of moderate means wished to acquire a wealthy family connection, it might seek a wife for its son in those quarters, but the marriage would then have to be delayed considerably until the entire *kalym*, or a major portion of it, had been paid.¹⁹²

The *kalym* was typically the value of 47 horses, a figure often encountered elsewhere in the Kazakh hordes, close to Radloff's figure of seven sevens. Alternately, the typical *kalym* might be 50 horses, or the equivalent in the Little Horde.¹⁹³ All these figures agree closely. On the other hand, a rich Kazakh of the Little Horde generally paid twice or even three times that amount in the *kalym* for a first-class marriage, while a marriage of slightly less éclat might involve a *kalym* of from 75 to 100 horses or the equivalent. Finally, a poor Kazakh might pay as little as 10 horses for his *kalym*.¹⁹⁴

The family of the bride undertook to give the girl a dowry on her marriage, and that property which she brought with her was called *kiit*.¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, a certain sum was given by the family of the groom to the family of the bride, "for the adornment of the daughter-in-law" — *baš džaksa*.¹⁹⁶ The value of the wealth exchanged in these various arrangements was always greater on the side of the husband's family than on the side of the wife's. The wife-receivers had to pay doubly, to the wife's family, and to the wife herself for her adornment, but the girl left her natal *aul* and family, and was lost to them economically, while the young man remained with his family.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁰ Plotnikov, 123-124.

¹⁹¹ Karutz, *op. cit.*, 37.

¹⁹² Plotnikov, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹³ Altynsarin, 104.

¹⁹⁴ Balliuzek, 78.

¹⁹⁵ Karutz, *op. cit.*, 38.

¹⁹⁶ Altynsarin, 104.

¹⁹⁷ Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen*, 100.

But this explanation is still insufficient, because it ignores what is expected of the wife: not only her economic power but her capacity to produce children, and specifically sons. The transaction involving wealth in exchange for a bride is not accounted an equal transaction, because the Kazakh family still placed a higher value on male than female children, as the author who proposed the above explanation himself reports.¹⁹⁸ The levirate, the attitude toward the widow and the children, as well as the simple value placed on a male child, all point to the interpretation of the marriage among the Asiatic steppe pastoralists as a contract for the services of the wife for the production of male issue.

If a girl died while still only betrothed, the father of the girl was obliged to find a substitute, a sister or other junior kinswoman, or else return the *kalym* or that part of it which had already been made over to him. If the affianced boy and his family refused a marriage with a younger sister of the deceased girl, they forfeited the *kalym* which they had already parted with. Again, if the father of the deceased girl declined to supply the boy with another daughter, he was required to pay back the entire *kalym* which he had already received, and pay an indemnity in addition.¹⁹⁹

In the process of making the marriage arrangements, the go-between brought the two families together. The primary concern in these arrangements, was the amount of *kalym*, and the amount of dowry. The *kalym* was paid over a period of years, during the course of which ceremonies to the number of seven were celebrated; the sixth ceremony was held as the bride left her father's residence and was usually associated with the completion of the *kalym* payments.²⁰⁰ A part of this ceremony was a mock abduction of the bride and a mock struggle between her partisans and those of the groom, in which a degree of suppressed antagonism was given free expression, both between women and men, and between the two kin groups about to become related by marriage. It was only on this occasion that the groom could move freely in the presence of his wife's elder kinsmen; the taboo on his relationships with them was now lifted.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁹⁹ Balliuzek, 87-88.

²⁰⁰ Karutz, *Kirgisische Hochzeit*, 37-38.

The seventh and final ceremony was performed on entering the new tent of the husband.²⁰¹

If a man really abducted a daughter from her family, his family was required either to furnish a daughter in exchange from its own midst or from among the closely related families, or to pay a full *kalym* for her. If the girl herself was returned after the abduction, an indemnity was imposed on the family of the abductor, since the girl could no longer command a full *kalym*.²⁰² Abduction for cause, however, such as delay in surrendering the bride after the *kalym* had been paid in full, could not be punished.²⁰³ The requirement of the full *kalym* for an abduction was in itself an indemnity, for it placed a great economic burden on a family, over many years; an indemnity in the case of an unlawful abduction had to be paid in a short term.

From the data on the payment of the *kalym*, it may be seen that the family was patriarchal in authority, patrilineal in descent, and patrilocal in residence. There is a certain amount of evidence that the family of the groom paid a form of prestige and respect to the family of the bride, in addition to the material goods which exchanged hands. The taboo on face-to-face contact between the youth and his prospective wife's elder male kin is but one aspect of this respect relationship, another being that of the function of the go-between, and the initiation of the betrothal proceedings by the family of the groom, who came as supplicants for the daughter-in-law. Nevertheless, a family did not wish to have daughters, but sons, even though it might gain prestige by marrying the daughters off. The emphasis on sons is a correlate of the patrilineal orientation of the entire society, its patri-centrism in values.

The Kazakh family of the Little Horde, as elsewhere on the steppe, was polygynous if it could afford to be. On the Mangyshlak peninsula at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was estimated that 50 percent of the marriages were monogamous and the other 50 percent consisted of two wives, although the Kazakhs were permitted as many as five in theory. The motivation for seeking a second wife was accounted to be childlessness²⁰⁴ and is exemplified in the prov-

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 39-41; Plotnikov, 131-132, 135.

²⁰² Balliuzek, 82.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 79-80.

²⁰⁴ Karutz, *Kirgisische Hochzeit*, 42.

erb, "The more mares the more colts."²⁰⁵ The Kazakhs were fully aware that polygyny in turn raised another issue, that of possible conflict between the wives. The wives therefore were kept in separate tents;²⁰⁶ again, a man rarely married a second wife without the consent of the first.²⁰⁷ However, the maintenance of separate households was not correlated exclusively with the need for diminishing family friction, but also closely associated with the distribution of family property among the various segments of the household. as we shall see when the question of inheritance and succession within the family is taken up. A portion was settled on the sons during the father's lifetime in a polygynous family. If the settlement was made while the sons were still minor, the wife living in her own tent with her children held the patrimony in trust until her sons came of age. There was some change of roles within the household: while in the 1870's the first wife was the mistress of the menage, by the turn of the century the second wife could often rule over the first.²⁰⁸

A certain number of the polygynous households were the result of the levirate where the surviving brother was already married. A proverb of the Little Horde runs:

*"aga ulsa dženge mura
ini ulsa kelin mura
at ulsa saury mura."*

"If the elder brother dies, his wife goes to the younger brother; [just as] when a horse dies, the hide is property of the owner."²⁰⁹ The "owner" of the wife in this sense cannot be regarded as either of her husbands, but as the extended family which thus maintained her. A 10-year-old boy might receive a wife who already had borne children, and if the deceased husband had no brothers, the husband's family then sought to find a husband for her among the closest collateral kinsmen in the paternal line, such as the husband's father's brother's son.²¹⁰

However, the widow did not always go to the husband's oldest

²⁰⁵ Altynsarin, 103.

²⁰⁶ Karutz, *loc. cit.*

²⁰⁷ Balliuzek, 85-86.

²⁰⁸ Karutz, *loc. cit.*

²⁰⁹ Balliuzek, 99.

²¹⁰ Altynsarin, 102.

surviving brother; she might go to another brother or to a close kinsman of the deceased on payment of a horse.²¹¹

If the widow had borne sons, and if she herself preferred another brother of the deceased than the one on whom she would have ordinarily devolved, the other brother might make a small payment to the primary candidate, and the former then would be able to marry the widow, who came to him with all her children and her deceased husband's estate. If the widow was childless, however, she went to her new husband with her nuptial tent alone, but shorn of her former husband's herds, while the property of the deceased was distributed equally among the surviving brothers. If she had one son, and no matter how many daughters, her children were not taken away from her; all remained by her. But if she had only daughters, and no sons, then they were taken away from her and given to the husband's brothers to raise, and she was permitted to keep only one daughter.²¹²

This was the idealized model of the family around the year 1870; actually the acculturative process had begun, of which the contemporary reporters were aware, and they regarded it as the result of Russian influence. Thus, a degree of loosening of the practice of the levirate was noted, and a newly widowed woman was adjured rather than commanded: "Thou hast the right to reject one person, but not the entire line or clan [of the husband]. With thousands of people there will be at least one who will meet your taste."²¹³ The widow was considerably freer than the unmarried girl, for she was not under the thumb of a father, and had some choice or option. The husband's family, moreover, was telling her that according to custom, she should stay among the agnatic kin of her deceased husband and continue that line which was in the larger sense her husband's; but they were in fact losing control over her. This prospect was now optional and no longer rigidly enforced.

A generation later it was only a memory that the widow had once necessarily remarried leviratically, and by the turn of the century a number of alternatives had been opened to her in the Little Horde. She might indeed marry her deceased husband's brother; again she

²¹¹ Plotnikov, 125.

²¹² Balliuzek, 99-100.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 101.

might simply go to live in the household of the latter informally; or she might marry away from her husband's kin entirely.²¹⁴

Divorce was rare in the 1870's.²¹⁵ In the following generation, the same general pattern still existed in divorce as elsewhere on the steppe: the husband needed very little grounds to divorce his wife; the wife was limited to the following grounds – impotence and maltreatment on the part of the husband. The latter is a variant on the desertion or nonsupport for a year as the wife's grounds for divorce. However, by the turn of the century, she was also permitted to divorce her husband if he was unfaithful to her. The divorced woman was simply returned to her father; if she married again, it was without the formalities of the *kalym*, the go-between, and so forth.²¹⁶ Husband's infidelity as ground for divorce occurs now for the first time and may be added to the general transformation of certain traits through acculturation.

RULES OF INHERITANCE AND SUCCESSION

We have seen that the estate of a brother was equally distributed among the surviving brothers on his death; but this division is only one aspect of a complex problem. The practice of allotment or apportionment of sons as they came of age was the basic mode of transmission of physical property, which together with the payment of the *kalym* on behalf of the son, formed part of the total property distribution from one generation to the next. For the coming of age was associated with marriage, and entailed both the payment of the *kalym* and the apportionment of the son.²¹⁷

The youngest son, in contrast to his elder brothers, was not portioned off during the lifetime of the father, although the *kalym* was paid on his behalf when he came of age, which was about the time he was married, or when the negotiations were most actively pursued. He shared his father's estate during the father's lifetime, and did not take up full possessive rights until his father's death, when he became the sole residuary legatee of the estate. For it was considered that

²¹⁴ Karutz, *Kirgisische Hochzeit*, 42.

²¹⁵ Balliuzek, 90.

²¹⁶ Karutz, *loc. cit.*

²¹⁷ Balliuzek, 104.

the elder sons gave up their rights in any further share in the patrimony when they were portioned off. The youngest son thus had a favored position in one sense – usually if the father were wealthy: compare the case cited in the Middle Horde, in which the youngest brother was envied and hailed into court by his elder brothers. The youngest son likewise received a special title, both in the Turkic and the Mongol worlds, prince of the hearth – the lord by right of succession to the paternal hearth.²¹⁸ However, any civil or military honors, any hereditary rank by birth was passed to the eldest son, as well as the position of authority in the family and community.

The apportionment during the lifetime of the father is considered to have been recent among the Kazakh by Balliuzek. This is an interesting point, if it can be maintained successfully, and it is further claimed that the practice arose because formerly there had been much conflict over inheritance. This practice of apportionment during the father's life, or rather, on the coming of age of the son, is called *inče*, and in it, the son gives up all further rights in the paternal estate, except in the case of the youngest son. It is further maintained by Balliuzek that the daughter's share is equal to that of the sons in the *inče*, her share taking the form of a dowry or marriage portion.²¹⁹ Unfortunately, it is nowhere corroborated that the *inče* was of recent date (as of the year 1872), and the equal participation of the daughter was definitely limited to wealthy Kazakhs, who made a dotal settlement equal to the *kalym* they received for the daughter as a matter of prestige.

It is the ideal family situation which is here described, which the wealthy family could afford to realize in practice by maintaining the extended family unity. When the son was portioned off, he remained within the family enclave or *aul*, which was in turn identical with the extended family of the wealthy. For in such a case, the collateral lines, including father's younger brothers, their sons, and their sons' sons, lived together with the father, his sons, and their families and offspring in one great community. When Wilhelm Schmidt equates the Grossfamilie with the *aul* of the Kazakh,²²⁰ his equation can be accepted in the light of the considerations here entertained: that it

²¹⁸ *Idem.*

²¹⁹ *Idem.*

²²⁰ Schmidt, *Eigentum*, 187.

related to the ideal family, the sought-after family, the wealthy family, and not the ordinary one.

In transmission of the property from one generation to the next, the rights of the *džien*, the sister's son and the daughter's son, to the property of the mother's brother and his mother's father were recognized. In the Little Horde the *džien* had the right of free seizure (*baranta*) up to three times from his *nagašy* or mother's brother, whether by agreement with the *nagašy* or without his knowledge. The *džien* could not be punished unless he abused his rights by seizing beyond the customary three times.²²¹ This is the avuncular relationship and neither here nor elsewhere was it a smoothly working principle. The mother's brother did not volunteer to transfer part of his property to the sister's son; the latter had to make seizure to obtain it. In principle this is different from the bulk of Kazakh (and Kalmuk) consanguineal relations, which are agnatic and voluntarily cooperative. The avuncular relationship forms part of a limited cognatic pattern. Thus a problem of the dynamics of transition from the principle of agnatic to a partial application of the principle of cognatic kinship is posed. The problem further is that the mother's brother is not a voluntary participant in the relation, but seeks to protect his property against the seizure by the *džien*, warning him that after the third time he loses his rights as such. The same relationship, with its inherent conflicts, is found among the Kalmuks. Another aspect of the problem is the unforeseeable nature of the *baranta*. It is not merely that the nephew comes silently and unbeknownst to the uncle to drive off his portion; it will also be recalled that marriage residence is patrilocal, and the brother may not reckon with the existence of a sister's son who appears from afar to demand what is his. Such a seizure may disturb whatever prior arrangements the *nagašy* may have made. An act of seizure is a violent act, and per se is disruptive of social peace. The entire relationship is a disharmony built into the social structure.

The principle of apportionment to the elder sons during the lifetime of the father and that of ultimogeniture continued in force in the Little Horde at the turn of the century: "The inheritance on the death of the father goes to the unmarried sons still living in the paternal aul, or if all are married, to the youngest, who remains with

²²¹ Balliuzek.

the father. The older married sons will have been established during the father's lifetime and have no more rights in his property."²²²

Adoption was generally practiced among close kin alone.²²³ which recalls the practice elsewhere of adoption of deceased brother's children. Again, an affianced girl who has been orphaned may be raised by her father-in-law, who has an interest in her upbringing in view of the *kalym* already paid for her.²²⁴ This is to be distinguished from adoption per se because, while it does mean the taking up of children not one's own, the female never becomes fully incorporated into her husband's family.

THE INNER OR BUKEI HORDE

The Horde named for Khan Bukei was the last such formation among the Kazakh hordes. It was formed in the year 1800 when some 1500 Kazakhs of the Little Horde crossed the New Cossack lines to occupy the steppe between the Ural River and the left bank of the Volga, a steppe left empty for a generation by the flight of the Kalmuks to China and occupied only by wild horses and saiga antelope.²²⁵ The leader of the new horde, Khan Bukei, was encouraged to do so by the Russians, who were seeking to pacify the steppe, and the move was willingly undertaken by the Khan partly for financial considerations, and partly through fear of the internecine wars and raids on the steppe beyond the Ural River.²²⁶ Khan Bukei was of the highest nobility in the Little Horde, tracing his descent from Chingis Khan. His more immediate ancestor some three or four generations back had been Abul-Hair, the last great Khan whose fame was recognized by all the hordes of the Kazakhs. However, Bukei was not in the direct senior line from Abul-Hair, and hence was not among the chief rulers of the Little Horde.

He and his followers, who were changed in status from a group

²²² Karutz, *Kirgisische Hochzeit*, 42; Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 113.

²²³ Balliuzek, 96.

²²⁴ Plotnikov, 124.

²²⁵ Ivanin, 5-7.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 7-9.

on the order of a clan some 1500 families strong, to a horde with its independent Khan, increased through Russian support and the attraction of peaceful conditions to in-migrants to some 5000 families in five years. They lost some groups through defections in the 1820's,²²⁷ but increased steadily until by 1845 they had come to number 30,000 families.²²⁸ This was the same number they had 40 years later, in the 1880's. The demographic history of the Inner Horde reveals much of the instability of all social formations, clans, lineages, hordes, villages, and even extended families. Migration, as opposed to nomadization, brought about ever new conjunctions and combinations. Clans and villages had to survive not only the mortal span of their individual members, but the shifting of loyalties and membership affiliations as well.

Khan Bukei was related to all the other members of his clan and horde through real or assumed descent from a common ancestor; at the same time he was a descendant of Chingis Khan and of a junior line of Abul-Ha'ir. His horde because of its recent formation, small size, and relative instability, retained many features of clan structure of an earlier era. It was divided into two estates, the white bone and the black. There are somewhat more detailed data regarding the composition of the noble estate of the Inner Horde than the other hordes. It had three components in the Inner Horde, according to data gathered in 1849-1850, in addition to the direct senior descendants of the Khan himself. These were descendants of Khan Bukei in the cadet branches, clan leaders, and aristocrats without duties. All of these totalled about 200 members. Of these, 85 percent were in the last category, those without duties, or junior aristocratic lines.²²⁹ Khan Bukei's cadet line formed a separate noble category.

Among the lineage names of this time, familiar ones appear, such as the lineage of Adai, homonymous with the one visited by Karutz on the Mangyshlak peninsula about 50 years later. The number of families in these lineages ranged from 120 to 5000. Counting the aristocracy as a separate lineage, there was a total of 18 lineages. Of these, 10 numbered between 120 and 900 families; four numbered between 1100 and 1500 families; three between 2600 and 3200

²²⁷ Levchine, 300.

²²⁸ Ivanin, 6.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

families; and one had 5000 families.²³⁰ These lineage figures indicate the range in the number of people who considered themselves close agnatically. Beyond this close inner ring were wider circles of agnation. There is the consanguineal tie recognized by all Kazakhs, and that which is recognized by members of a given horde. There is finally a consanguinity vaguely recognized between a member of a clan bearing the name Kongrad or Kirei among the Uzbeks, and the Kongrad or Kirei clan of the Kazakhs. But closeness of relationship in the paternal line such as is found within lineages and measured by the functions that such a grouping has, is not found among the larger units. One might marry outside one's clan, or even outside one's horde; but the real exogamic unit was the lineage, whether major (maximal) or minor (minimal) or sublineage. The lineage members supported each other and their *bii* in humble matters: taking oath or acting as witness in a dispute, supporting the judgment of the *bii*, helping to pay an indemnity, making common cause against rustlers or feuding parties, dividing and sharing pasturages. For these reasons, it was important to have many kinsmen, and to call upon them for the common affairs of the community. Hence it was of the utmost importance to know one's kin and their degree of relationship. The degree of relationship determined the behavioral relationship.

This idea stands close to the theory of mechanical solidarity of Durkheim. A community of kin who have a distant consanguineal relationship, of the order of 10 degrees or more, nevertheless act together and support each other, although they have little interest, activity or economic relations in common. Their solidarity rests on what is essentially an external factor in the life of a kin-village or a clan. However, the type of social organization is from another point of view transitional from a mechanical to an organic solidarity. There is at least a minimum amount of specialization of function, politico-legal, economic, religious.

The population density of the Bukei Horde was 0.2 per sq. km. of the lands actually in use for the greater part of the year, including their own and leased lands; the figure is slightly lower, 0.17 per sq. km., if the useless lands (arid, sandy, salt, or alkaline) and the lands under dispute with the Ural or New-Line Cossacks are taken

²³⁰ *Idem.*

into account.²³¹ These figures are not only of interest for demographic, economic or ecological purposes; they are of interest in the study of kinship, for they indicate the limits within which close kin may be reckoned, how low the number may fall before the lineage members will seek to fuse with another group, and how high the number may reach before the group will divide into two or more by the process of fission. Thus, number itself relates significantly to kinship principles and to social organizational principles under conditions of mechanical solidarity; the nomads do not improve their economic conditions, for they are parasitic on grass.

These numerical data must in their turn be brought together with other data, to answer still further questions: in what sense were the Inner or Bukei Horde Kazakh herders like other herders, Kalmuk, other Kazakh, Khalkha Mongol? Two Bukei Horde groups in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea in 1852 show herding ratios comparable to those of the Mongols:²³²

Sheep/Goats	Cattle	Horses	Camels
72%	12%	10%	6%

Another series of herd ratios for the Bukei Horde for the period 1849-1850 is comparable to these:²³³

Sheep/Goats	Cattle	Horses	Camels
72%	9%	14%	5%

These data bear evidence to the fact that we are dealing with the same type of society. Moreover, we see changes in ratio indicating changes in herd strength, indicating the perils of steppe life, that the pastoralist is at the mercies of natural forces. Thus, three severe winters (1846-1849) caused an over-all drop of 25 percent in the size of herds.²³⁴ And we gain thereby a closer understanding of the factors making for instability of life on the steppe, how the rise and fall of herd size effectively determines the dissolution and recombination of social groups in pastoral societies.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

²³² *Ibid.*, 40. Cf. Krader, *Ecology*, 1955, passim.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 11. Krader, *ibid.*

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

CLAN AND LINEAGE OF THE INNER HORDE

There is an excellent account of the Inner Horde at the end of the last century by Kharuzin. The clan was divided into lineages called *taifa*, and the lineage in turn was divided into sublineages (or major lineages into minor ones) called *ata-bala*. An important acculturative note in this connection is that *taifa* is of Arabic origin, introduced into the Turkic social organization through the intermediation of Islam.²³⁵ The term *ata-bala* is a binome composed of the words for father and for child, thus indicating the indigenous conception of the patrilineal descent principle. The clan had disappeared in the Inner Horde by the 1880's, the clan *uran* was forgotten, together with the clan cattle mark or *tamga*, which was not a property mark, but a clan sign.²³⁶ Lineages had come to take over clan functions, becoming the named units to which people attributed membership, with their cries and brands. On the other hand, many clans might be combined into one unit by the process of fusion.²³⁷

The lineage of the Bukei Horde had become an administrative unit directly under the Khan, who in turn was in the Russian service; it had a chief selected by the central administration. The lineage was no longer collectively responsible for the debts of a member as it had been in previous times, according to the report. On the other hand, the lineage had been the unit of exogamy as late as 1816, when this function was taken over by a subordinate unit, the sublineage. The clan could continue to be the unit of exogamy in those cases where it was coterminous with the lineage, and was so even in the twentieth century. However, this is not a direct return to the past. The lineage or sublineage was the normal unit of exogamy, had been before Kharuzin's day, and continued to be afterward. That the clan had now, in certain cases become the exogamic unit was actually a sign of acculturation and loss of stability.

The clan was no longer responsible for the crimes of clan members; that it had been in the past is shown by the payment and collection of the *wergild*, and distribution on receipt. It was possible to change clan affiliation: indeed this exemplifies the principle of the fictive descent, whereby on joining another clan one was given the genealogy

²³⁵ Radlov, *Opyt Slovaria*, s.v. *taifa*.

²³⁶ Kharuzin, *Bukeev Orda*, column 48.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 41-43.

of the new clan. One of the most frequent reasons for leaving one's clan and joining a new one according to Kharuzin was to escape punishment; but this reason is self-defeating, since the clan of asylum might not want responsibility for the fugitive and could demand the return of the new arrival to his old clan. (In fact, the notion contradicts Kharuzin's point that the clan had no responsibility for its members' activities.²³⁸ However, this is a minor matter.)

Another principle of social structure is illustrated in Kharuzin's account of the Bukei Horde, that of differential succession. The entire Bukei Horde reckoned descent from three brothers; the eldest line was the Alim-uli, the two junior lines were, first, Bai-uli, and second, the descent line of the Seven Clans – eponymous ancestor not given. All three lines were also represented elsewhere among the Kazakhs as well, not only in the Bukei Horde. The Alim-uli descent line was represented on the Bukei steppe by only one clan (or lineage), the Kita, who are mentioned as one of the lineages by Ivanin about 25 years previously. According to Radloff's account of the Little Horde, the Alchin, a major division of the Little Horde, were subdivided into the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli. The Bai-uli contributed most of the members to the formation of the Inner Horde. This conforms with Kharuzin, who found only one Alim-uli line among them. But Radloff nowhere mentions a third genealogy, and this creates a conflict, because Radloff's analysis is a systematic case of dual organization.²³⁹ With Radloff Kharuzin agrees that the majority of the Inner Horde was composed of members of the Bai-uli. The only expression of the superiority based on primogeniture of the Kita members of the Alim-uli descent line was their preferential treatment at feasts and marriages, where part of the gifts were made over to the chief of the Alim-uli. The reasons given by Kharuzin for clan decline generally, as part of the acculturation picture, are administrative changes imposed by the Russians, the growth of sedentary agriculture, and the consequent loss of nomadic pastoralism.²⁴⁰

The lineage was the exogamic unit in the 1880's, and leadership of the lineage passed to the eldest son. However, it might rest temporarily with the first or senior wife until the eldest son came of age;

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 44-45.

²³⁹ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 237-241.

²⁴⁰ Kharuzin, *op. cit.*, cols. 45-47.

here again seniority was operative, among the wives as well as among the sons.²⁴¹ There is regrettably no indication of the number of generations in establishing an exogamic unit among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde in Kharuzin's account.

The composition of the noble estate is twofold: in addition to the *ak süök* descended from Chingis Khan, there are the Islamic leaders among the Kazakhs, called Khodja. They had been formerly free from tax and tribute, but with the advent of the Russians were no longer. However, they were not subject to the judgments of the *biis*, and hence had a kind of legal immunity. Khodja, or white bone Kazakhs, by a genealogical fiction traced their descent from Mohammed.²⁴² These descent lines had formed the aristocracy in the past while the commoners were the estate of the *kara süök*. The distinction maintained by the end of the nineteenth century was no longer that of purity of descent in a particular line, but rather by wealth, between rich and poor Kazakhs.²⁴³

AUL AND FAMILY; AUL-FAMILY IN THE INNER HORDE

The lineage was composed of a number of *auls* whose members were agnatically related to each other more closely than to other members of the lineage. Where possible, a single extended family might form an entire *aul* of five to 10 tents. Such an *aul* would be composed of a father, his married sons, their children, sometimes close collateral kin of the father, and if possible, four generations of patrilineal descent. This, however, was to a decreasing degree practiced by the end of the nineteenth century, now sons had a greater tendency to break away on marriage or on being apportioned by the father. Authority in the *aul* passed to the eldest son on the death of the father. Authority in the family was patriarchal except in such cases when the father died while the sons were still minor. Then the senior widow in polygynous marriages, or the widow in monogamous, held the authority in trust, together with the entire estate, until the sons came of age.²⁴⁴ This pattern obtained for the lineage, for the *aul*, for

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 110.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 47-52.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 47, 52.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.

the extended family, and in those cases, a fortiori, when any or all coalesced in one unit. The *aul* was the nomadic unit, which camped, moved, and pastured its herds together.

The family could be polygynous, but the usual family had but one wife, and more than two wives in a family was virtually unknown: The *kalym* was high and women were few. In the polygynous household, the first wife was in a favored position, for she could only be punished by the husband, while she in turn could punish the others, a distaff reflection of the rule of patriarchal authority and of seniority. This contrasts with the situation in the Great Horde, where the first wife had no such preferred status. The Inner Horde wife enjoyed considerable freedom in general, and there was something close to equality of the spouses.²⁴⁵

The children of all the wives inherited equally from the father, and both sons and daughters shared in the estate,²⁴⁶ the daughter's portion being the dowry. On the marriage of the first-born son, he was usually charged with the support of the senior wife, his mother, in keeping with the principle of primogeniture. The custom of ultimogeniture, whereby the youngest son was the residuary legatee and likewise received the title of prince of the hearth, continued in force. Despite this favored treatment of the youngest son, the actual authority passed to the eldest son.²⁴⁷

Divorce was easy and frequent among the Kazakhs of the Inner Horde,²⁴⁸ but since this is totally unlike other reports on the Kazakhs, it is to be understood as a reflection of acculturative conditions, and not a normal situation, or possibly so only by comparison with the Russians. Nevertheless, patriarchal authority, and the extended family as a continuing unit, tended to resist acculturation: the daughter-in-law would be chosen not by the son in question, nor yet by his father necessarily, but by the patriarchal head of the entire extended family.²⁴⁹ On the other hand, under the conditions of culture contact, a tendency toward neo-local marriage residence arose at the end of the nineteenth century.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 107-108.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 108.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 108-111.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 108.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 110.

²⁵⁰ *Idem.*

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Kazakh kinship terminology differs in many respects from the terminology of certain other Turkic-speaking peoples, such as the Bashkir, Tatar, and Chuvash, but, on the other hand, corresponds closely to existing fragments of the Orkhon and Yenisei Turkic system, and to the Kalmuk, Kirgiz, and Uzbek. In addition to the general patrilineal principle at work, Kazakh terminology shares the following features with the Orkhon Turkic: in the ascending paternal line, separate terms for Fa and Fa Br (Orkhon term for Fa Yo Br is unreported); the same term for Fa Br and for Ol Br; distinctions between Fa and Fa Fa. In the descending patriline: common terms for So So and for Br So; distinction between So and So So (contrary to Bashkir, where they are combined). Orkhon Turkic has the same term for Br So and So So, and the principle of identifying the two has remained the same in Kazakh, yet the etymologies are different: Orkhon Turkic *aty*, Br So and So So; Kazakh *nemere*. Features relative to terms for female patrilineal kin shared by Kazakh and Orkhon Turkic are: Fa Si and Ol Si are called by the same term in both, but again the terms used are different: Orkhon Turkic *äkä*; Kazakh *apa*. On the other hand, terms for Da and for Yo Si are etymologically identical in both. Orkhon and Kazakh have a term for spouse's Fa, combining thus Wi Fa and Hu Fa, and the terms are etymologically related: Orkhon *kadyñ*, Kazakh *kain (ata)*. The only other Orkhon affinal terms reported, Da Hu *küdegü* and So Wi *kälin*, are etymologically related to Kazakh. On the other hand, the Orkhon collective term, *käliñün*, wife's kin, is not found in Kazakh.²⁵¹

The basic features of the Kazakh system of nomenclature, those which are invariant from horde to horde, are the following: In the parental generation, the terminology is of the bifurcate collateral type, with separate terms for Fa, Fa Br, and Mo Br; separate terms for Mo, Mo Si, and Fa Si. In ego's own generation, the cousin terminology is of the Omaha type, with separate terms for each cousin, Fa Br Ch, Fa Si Ch, Mo Br Ch, and Mo Si Ch, all distinct from sibling terms. In a manner identical with Omaha terminology,

²⁵¹ The sources for the Orkhon and Yenisei terms have been given above, footnote 24. Sources for Kazakh terms generally are: Radlov, *Opyt Slovaria*; Balakaev, et al; for the Great Horde: Grodekov, 30-33; for the Middle Horde, Rudenko (1930), 58-61.

Fa Si So and Si So are terminologically equated, as are Fa Br So and Br So. On the other hand, the term for Mo Br So is that which is given to the maternal kin generally. Again, at least in the Great Horde, the term for Fa Br So is the same as that for Br So and So So; and the term for Fa Si So is likewise extended to Si So and Da So. There are separate terms for each patrilineal forbear, to the fourth ascending generation, and separate terms for descendants for two generations. The fraternal collateral line generally bears the same terms, but moved down a generation from ego's direct descending line. That is, Br So is terminologically equated with So So. This feature may be conceived as a reservoir system for descendants noted elsewhere on the steppes as well. It not only correlates with the customary form of adoption, that of Br So adoption, but also with the highest value of Kazakh and other steppe society, the supplying of male descendants for the continuity of the line. These features are shared with the Kalmuk terminology: other shared traits will be discussed directly. Kazakh and Kalmuk societies possess a common structure closely resembling Uzbek,²⁵² contrasting with the rest of the Mongol parts of the Turkic world, such as Bashkir, Chuvash, Uriankhai, Yakut, Osmanli societies, each one of which in turn is different from the others.

Kazakhs and Kalmuks do not only share a terminological system; they also have a number of specific patterns of kinship behavior in common.²⁵³

PATERNAL KIN TERMS

In the direct ascending paternal line, separate terms exist up to the fourth generation:

Fa Fa Fa Fa	<i>tub ata</i>
Fa Fa Fa	<i>ul ata</i>
Fa Fa	<i>ul ake</i>
Fa	<i>ake</i>

²⁵² Potapov, *Uzbeki "Kungrad"*; Zadykhina, *Uzbeki Amu Dar'i*.

²⁵³ Rudenko, *op. cit.*, 58. This vocabulary was collected in the Middle Horde in the 1920's.

Another series of the same kinship term is:

Fa Fa Fa Fa	<i>ekešiniñ ekeši</i>
Fa Fa Fa	<i>argy ata</i>
Fa Fa	<i>ata or ülken ata</i>
Fa	<i>eke</i> ²⁵⁴

In both cases the number of generations is the same, and certain terms are common to both, either identically or in dialectal variation: *ata* and *ake/eke*. Moreover, a syntactic device in counting generations is common to both. The Middle Horde series starts with a basic morpheme and mounts a generation by preposing *ul*; mounts another generation with another morpheme, *ata*, preposing the same *ul*; and mounts to the fourth generation by retaining the morpheme *ata*, preposing *tub* to it. In the 1946 general Kazakh series, the basic morpheme is *eke*; the father of *eke* is *ata* or *ülken ata*; Fa Fa Fa has the same morpheme, *ata*, with *argy* preposed; Fa Fa Fa Fa is a reduplication of the morpheme *ekesi*; *-niñ* is the genitive form, *ekešiniñ*, literally grandfather of. *-ši* is a postfixed generation counter on the root-morpheme *eke*, Fa: *ekešiniñ ekeši*. An alternative form for Fa is *ata*, an alternative for Fa Fa is *baba*.

The term for Fa Ol Br in the Middle Horde is *ülken aga*, and is distinguished from Fa Yo Br, *aga*. The differentiation between paternal uncles by seniority was made in all variants in the Kazakh terminological system. In the Great Horde, Fa Ol Br is *ata* or *nemere ata*, and Fa Yo Br is *aga* or *nemere aga*. The term *ülken* generally indicates a senior position when applied to a given kinship term, specifically to Fa Fa, Fa Ol Br. The term for Ol Br is the same as that for Fa Yo Br, *aga*; Yo Br is *ini*.

Fa Mo is *aze*; Fa Si is *apa*, and this is the same term for Ol Si. Yo Si is differentiated according to whether a man is speaking or a woman: man speaking, *karyndaş*; woman speaking, *siñli*. The terms for female paternal kin are fewer than those for males, a reflection of the greater weight attached to males in the kinship system and value orientations of the Kazakhs generally. Symmetrically with the terms for men, however, Ol Si is upgraded a generation, just as Ol Br; Ol Si

²⁵⁴ Balakaev. This is a general Kazakh dictionary published in 1946, with no notation of dialectal differences. Cf. Makhmudov and Musabaev.

is differentiated from Yo Si. A distinctive feature of the sister terms is the differentiation by sex of speaker in the case of Yo Si.

The term for So is *ul*, and that for child (also used for So) is *bala*.

A matter that calls for further analysis is the cousin terminology. The term for Fa Br So is *nemere*, differentiated as Fa Br Ol So, *nemere aga*, and Fa Br Yo So, *nemere ini*. Fa Br Ol So and Fa Yo Br bear the same term. The term *nemere* is also applied to Br So and So So, and thus applies to all those who stand eligible to receive the patrimony, real and intangible, of the family; more important, this group of kin, called by the same term, form a unit which ego looks to for maintenance of the paternal line. If the direct line fails, others stand as a reserve of kin to maintain it. This is the outer limit of the extended family, together with those more closely related in the paternal line as a corporate unit. Within this group the junior levirate is practiced.

Fa Si So is *džien*, and the term is extended to include Si So and Da So. Above we have seen the limited rights enjoyed by the *džien* in the property of his Mo Fa and Mo Br, sometimes associated with forcible seizure. Implied here is a certain amount of tension, of dysfunction. If a system is functioning smoothly, there is no need of force and of legal formulae for the containment or limitation of that force.

The rights of the Si So in the estate of the Mo Br go beyond the strictly agnatic system of relationships. The Si So and Da So relationships are cognatic, for they bring in relationships to the kinship system which exist through the mother. The right to share in an estate in an agnatically related society is asserted by demonstrating descent from the father or the paternal grandfather; these are patrimonial rights. The system of rights shared by the Kalmuks and the Kazakhs, however, are established through descent from either grandfather, paternal or maternal, although in a greater proportion from the Fa Fa than from the Mo Fa. This is an expression of the mode of transmission of the property rights. From the viewpoint of the kinship terminology, however, a totally different problem emerges. The cousin system of the Kazakh is of the Omaha type; that is, there are separate terms for patri-parallel, patri-cross-, matrilateral parallel, and matrilateral cross-cousins; and there is the distinctive feature of Omaha cousin terminology, that Fa Si Ch bears the same term as Si Ch, *džien*. But the variation on Omaha is that this term has the

same extension as the term *nemere*; both are symmetrical in the system. *Nemere* designates Fa Br So, Br So, and So So; *džien* designates Fa Si So, Si So, and Da So.

Nemere possesses certain rights in succession and inheritance; *džien* likewise has important social correlates, including rights in the estate of the Mo Br and the Mo Fa and in the direct descent line of these matrilateral kin, notably the Mo Br So. The extension of the *džien* term and its delimitation is a function of a new concept in Kazakh and Kalmuk social structure: the key relationship of consanguinity is kinship through a common grandfather. Those who call ego *džien*, are his Mo Br, his Mo Fa, his Mo Br So; they are all his cognatic kinsmen. In turn, ego calls them all *nagašy*, with certain qualifiers.

By what change in structural principle or practice can a social system remarkable for the purity of its patrilineality submit to changes predicted both in terminology and in kinship behavior, on a cognatic principle, whereby descent through the father as through the mother validates a given right, claim, or obligation? On the terminological side, the kin through the Fa Si are singled out as distinct referents, with specific terms in Kalmuk, Kazakh, and Uzbek; such is not the case in other Turko-Mongol systems which lack the term for patrilateral cross-cousin; we have the specific statement in Ordos that these individuals are simply not reckoned as kin. Therefore the Omaha system on the Asiatic steppe is found in such societies as the Kalmuk, Uzbek, and Kazakh alone.

An explanation may be sought in shifts in marriage rules. Let us assume that at one time a preferred form of marriage was that with the matrilateral cross-cousin. In such a case a boy's family could turn to the Wi Br, the boy's Mo Br, and ask him to supply a daughter as the boy's wife. This implies a constant flow of women in one direction, from Clan B (or Exogamic Unit B) to Clan A (or Exogamic Unit A), for the mother and the wife both would then come from the same clan, a different one from ego's own clan. Such a state of affairs is hinted at in the *Secret History*, when Chingis Khan's father, Yesügei Bagatur, states that he is going to seek a wife for his son among the son's mother's kin.²⁵⁵ It need not necessarily have been

²⁵⁵ *Secret History*, para. 61-62. Haenisch, 1948; Pelliot, 1949.

the Mo Br Da, and certainly Chingis Khan did not call all the men of the mother's clan in the mother's generation by the term for Mo Br. But let us assume that Yesügei Bagatur actually set out to obtain a wife for his son from the family of his wife's brother, and that this was the aboriginal condition.

In fact we need not make any such assumptions. We have a report on the Kirgiz north of the Altai Mountain region that "Marriage with kin through the mother is the most to be preferred. The sister's son may marry the brother's daughter . . . while the *tai-eke* (Mo Ol Br) is obliged to give him his daughter without bargaining or requiring a *kalym*.²⁵⁶ That is the Mo Br is not supposed to require a *kalym* for his Da. Among these Kirgiz further aspects of the avunculate are: The Mo Br helps the Si So in marriage and after; he helps pay the *kalym* for the Si So. In turn, the Mo Br is given special and respectful treatment at the wedding, and at feasts and sacrifices.²⁵⁷ He gains prestige in return for his role in either supplying a daughter of his own, or helping to pay the *kalym* in finding another woman as wife for the Si So.

These data fit the set of assumptions made above. Returning to the assumptions, the only step in reasoning that remains is the hypothesis that the Mo Br helps to pay the *kalym* precisely because he is not supplying his daughter as a wife for the Si So. If there is preferred matrilateral cross-cousin marriage and the Mo Br Da is not forthcoming, then the avuncular obligation of Mo Br to Si So, in helping with the *kalym*, is substituted. This is arguing post hoc, ergo propter hoc, but in support is the linguistic evidence: the nomenclatural system in which there is no term for Fa Si Ch (and the idea that he or she is not kin) is earlier chronologically than the Omaha variant on the steppes of Asia.

The final stage in this historical reconstruction is again fully supported by fact: the mutual obligation to help in paying the *kalym* and the payment of respect in return by the *džien* disappears. There remains only the negative form of the avunculate, the claim of the Si So on the Mo Br, to an extent limited by law. And this non-reciprocal obligation has brought about the shift to a cognatic principle in the transmission of property. The Si So is not obligated in

²⁵⁶ Dyrenkova, 15; quoted in Starynkevich, 217.

²⁵⁷ Starynkevich, *op. cit.*, 216.

return to pay respect to the Mo Br; the Mo Br is not obligated to supply a daughter as wife to the Si So. Hence the disharmony between the two, and the reluctant participation of the Mo Br.

Viewed from still another angle, the daughter has a right to share in the patrimony of her father, not, it is true, in her own right; but as a mother she is the specific medium whereby the son may assert his claim in the estate of the Mo Fa or Mo Br. He does this by establishing the right to make seizure in the estate of the *nagašy*. Thus the inheritance practice that corresponds to the identification of Si So and Da So in terminology is accounted for; and likewise the social relationship that corresponds to the terminological identification Mo Fa, Mo Br, and Mo Br So. Finally, property is still transmitted in the main agnatically, and the claim is not against the estate of the Mo Br specifically, but against all those called *nagašy*, including Mo Fa, Mo Br, and Mo Br So. By reciprocity, the *džien* relationship and attendant claim is extended from the Si So and Da So to the Fa Si Son, for he calls the Mo Br So *nagašy*, and the *nagašy* calls him *džien*.

In all the foregoing, only one assumption has been made which was not directly an expression of fact, or immediately demonstrated by fact; namely, that the contribution to the *kalym* made by the Mo Br was in lieu of supplying a daughter as wife to the Si So. However, this line of reasoning as a possible explanation for two systematic shifts, in terminology and in behavior, can be correlated with each, point for point, in the *nemere-džien* relation as well as in the *džien-nagašy* relation. It is founded both in chronology and typology, and above all is a systematic phenomenon. Finally, it may be used to account for certain anomalies, such as the present nineteenth century use of force in the *džien-nagašy* relations to obtain the wherewithal for a *kalym*. This is at once cultural history and structural history – the history of the change in social structure, which can be tied to specific eras in time. Thus we can say that the Omaha system, and these cognatic relationships, are post-fifteenth century phenomena; that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage as a preferred form precedes them in time, and survives into the twentieth century in certain areas of the Kirgiz and Kazakh world. Dyrenkova has proceeded a step further with her evidence of preferred cross-cousin marriage. This is consistent with the pattern here proposed.

The son of *nemere* is called *šübere*, that is, Br So Ch and So So Ch. By this means, the direct and the collateral descent lines are terminologically identified for still another generation. The same kinship logic extends to both: the collateral line is implicitly recognized as a potential replacement for the direct line; the descendant in the direct line is upgraded a generation to make this identification possible. Here is a fragmentary instance of a linguistic phenomenon which is systematically carried out among the Buryat, the Ordos and other terminological schemes: *-ere* designates a given line of descent, *ne-*, *šü-* are counters of generations in this line. The desinence is actually *-bere/-mere*, because of the alternation *b/m*, of which numerous instances exist in intervocalic position, such as *omok/-obok*, clan.

KIN IN THE MATERNAL LINE

The female kin in the paternal line are not marked by a wealth of terms or of internal differentiation, and neither are the kin in the mother's line. The ascending line of the mother's male kin is designated by the same terms as the father's line, with the classifier of maternal kin set before each. This is reported solely of the Middle Horde:

Mo Fa Fa Fa *nagašy tub ata*
 Mo Fa Fa *nagašy ul ata*
 Mo Fa *nagašy ul ake or nagašy ata*

Mo El Br is *nagašy ata*; Mo Yo Br is *nagašy aga*. Mo Br So is called simply *nagašy*, i.e., by the collective and general term for maternal kin. The matrilateral parallel cousin term is a reciprocal designation found throughout the steppe, *büle*; children of sisters, just as the maternal parallel cousins, are considered especially close; no behavioral correlate is reported for the maternal parallel cousin term.

The term for Mo Mo is *nagašy šeše*; Mo is *šeše*. Mo Si is *nagašy dženge/yenge*, in keeping with the bifurcate collateral terminology for parents' siblings.

AFFINAL KIN TERMS: SPOUSAL KIN

The general term for spouse's kin is *kain*, which is applied both to the wife's and the husband's kin.

The term for Hu is *er*; the term *küyeü* is also used, and is applied both to Hu and Da Hu; it is possible that in the case of *er*, it is the woman who is speaking, and in the case of *küyeü*, it is a man; but there is no clear indication of this. It also is possible that *er* is a term of address, and *küyeü* a term of reference.

The term for Wi is *katyn* generally; the chief Wi is *baibitse*, and all other wives are *tokal/takal* (dialectal variants). The term *tokal* is applied to all women junior to ego who marry into ego's kin group, a phratrogamic term.

The term for Spouse's Fa is *kain ata*; alternately, Wi Fa is *kain aga*, literally, affinal El Br. Spouse's El Br is called also *kain aga*. Spouse's Mo is *kain ana/kain ene* (dialectal variants); spouse's El Si is *kain bike*.

The parents of the spouses have a set of terms which are not only symmetrical (applied equally to Hu kin and to Wi kin) but reciprocal as well: the user of the term has it applied to himself in turn. The general term for parents of spouses is *kuda*; this is applied to So Wi Fa, Da Hu Fa, So Wi Mo, and Da Hu Mo. In the Great Horde, the term *kudagai* is used reciprocally by So Wi Mo and Da Hu Mo. Again in the Great Horde, the sons of one called *kuda* are *kuda bala/byla* (So Wi Br and Da Hu Br) and the daughters of *kuda* are called *kudatša* (So Wi Si and Da Hu Si).

At this point the symmetry in spousal terminology ceases; other affinal terms are applied only to either Hu kin or to Wi kin, not to both. The wife's senior male kin are called *ülken üy* (literally, senior generation). There is a single term for Wi Yo sibling, *baldyz*. Wi Fa Br Da is *dženge/yenge*, a term also designating Wi Fa Yo Br Wi. In the case of *baldyz* and *yenge/dženge* we know that women who bear these terms are sought in marriage if the wife should die, either before or after the wedding, or if the Wi kin for any reason fails to bring forward the affianced girl.

The wife addresses the Hu kin by the same terms that he uses to his own kin, with the prefix *kain*. Thus, in addition to the symmetrical usages of *kain* mentioned above, the Wi calls Hu Yo Br *kain ini* and Hu Yo Si *kain siñli*.

AFFINAL KIN TERMS: PHRATROGAMIC KIN

The phratrogamic kin are those kin who are acquired through the marriage of consanguineal kin. Si Hu and Da Hu are both called *küyeü*, and this terminological equation is symmetrical with the equation of So Ch and Da Ch, both *džien*. There is one term for son-in-law's brother and daughter-in-law's brother, So Wi Br and Da Hu Br; both are *kuda bala/kuda byla*, the child of *kuda*, literally, child's spouse's parent's child. Si Hu is further differentiated as Ol Si Hu, *yezde/džezde*, and Yo Si Hu, *badža*, which is symmetrical with the distinction made between Ol Si and Yo Si. A term for Si Hu in general is *badža*.

There is some dialectical variation in the term for Ol Si Hu: the term in the Great Horde is *džezde*; in the Middle Horde it is *yezde*. Those who call each other *baldyz* and *džezde/yezde*, and who are therefore in the relationship of Wi Yo Si and Ol Si Hu respectively, are an eligible marriage pair if the Ol Si of the one who is the Wi of the other should die. A man cannot marry sisters while both of them are alive; sororal polygyny or the sororate is strictly tabooed. But inasmuch as a marriage is a contract between families and not between individuals, the family of a deceased betrothed girl or of a wife who dies in the early years of her marriage undertakes to find a substitute, who is usually the deceased girl's sister, provided the latter is not already bespoken. This modified sororate is the concept which underlies the relationship of *baldyz* and *džezde/yezde*, and corresponds to the distinction in western society between bigamy which is permitted and bigamy or polygamy which are forbidden.

El Br Wi is *džesir*; Yo Br Wi and So Wi are both *kelin*. There is one term for son-in-law's sister and daughter-in-law's sister, So Wi Si and Da Hu Si: *kudatša*, the daughter of *kuda*, literally, child's spouse's parent's daughter.

The woman is called *tokal/takal* by all her husband's senior kin, a term also used for the junior wives of a polygynous household; generally it means younger women marrying in. However, the wife is called *kelin* by the Hu Ol Br and by the Hu Fa, that is, by males senior to the husband within the extended family. Thus there is a differentiation between junior female phratrogamic kin, depending on whether it is the extended family whose members apply the relevant

term. The term *kelin* pairs with the term *džesir*, Ol Br Wi, the wife of a man senior to ego within the extended family. Inasmuch as the wife is called *džesir* by Hu Yo Br, the pairing *kelin/džesir* has a bearing on the practice of the junior levirate. Marriage with a woman who is in the relation of *kelin* is taboo; marriage with a woman who is in the relation of *džesir* is precisely the practice of the levirate, for the latter is a woman one may marry on her husband's death.

ADOPTIVE KIN TERMS; TERMS USED ON REMARRIAGE

Adoptive kin terms are the same as consanguineal terms; the fiction of assumed kinship as real is complete.

On remarriage of either parent, outside the practice of the junior levirate, the term *ügei* (literally, no, not, negative) is put before the step-kinship involved. Thus, stepfather is *ügei ata*; stepmother is *ügei šeše*; stepson is *ügei ul*; stepdaughter is *ügei kyz*; stepchild is *ügei bala*.

COLLECTIVE KIN TERMS

A collective term for siblings (Middle Horde) is *tuskan*, literally, brother and sister; child is *bala*. The body of kin in whom an agnatic relationship is recognized is called *tuyskat*. For descendants, a number of distinctions are made. Any individual descendant is referred to as *tukym*; a close descendant is *dzuragat*; a collective for descendants is the binome *urym butak*.

Among the Kazakhs generally, the term for a line of common descent through the father is *süök*, literally, bone. Inasmuch as these descent lines were collaterally ranked, they served as the basis for the formation of the estates, noble and commoner. The principle upon which the descent lines were ranked was the birth order of the founders, and the senior line in rank achieved a different status, forming the aristocratic stratum, an aspect of the broader principle of differential inheritance and succession. The two estates, white bone and black bone, were distributed among all the hordes, and in all the clans of the hordes. The differentiation by estates is a horizontal cleavage in Kazakh society not to be found in Kirgiz society,

for example, but shared by the Kazakh with the Kalmuk society. In the Middle Horde, the clans were called *ruu*, and were divided into *byr top*, the component lineages; the principle of clan and lineage formation existed generally among the Kazakh hordes. In contrast to the horizontal cleavage of the estates, the clan and lineage formation is a vertical cleavage. A *süök* might be identical with a *byr top* in any given instance, but the principle upon which it was based was different. The horizontal cleavage was derived from the superposition of one layer of society upon another, and was a means of building the social hierarchy. The vertical cleavage could fit the system of a social hierarchy or a polysegmentary system without a supraclan hierarchy equally well; an example of the latter alternative, a polysegmentary clan-lineage formation without aristocratic commoner estates is found in the Kirgiz social structure.

APPENDIX: KAZAKHS OF THE ALTAI

An expedition to the Naiman division of the Kazakhs of the Middle Horde was undertaken by a number of Turkic specialists in the 1920's under the direction of S. I. Rudenko. The localities they studied were in the extreme northeast corner of Kazakhstan. This country is rugged and difficult of access. It was presumably chosen by the ethnographers Bukeikhan, Baronov, Margulanov, and Rudenko, and the linguist Samoilovich because here the degree of acculturation would be least of any part of the Kazakh world. The account of the Altai Kazakhs has been separated from the rest of the data on the Kazakhs and put into this appendix. A word is needed in answer to why the following data are incorporated at all, and why they are separated from the text proper. As to why data of the Soviet era are added, it may be said at once that they are marginally Soviet: they were gathered in the 1920's, and from an outlying province where the impact of Soviet acculturation had barely begun. Again, fully recognizing the acculturated life of these people, certain factors have remained constant, recognizable from the past; the data regarding them supplement descriptions of the previous era and fill in old gaps in the record. The resultant picture has historical significance, it describes what happened later; it has comparative significance, it

permits the confrontation of Kazakh data with other data, such as the Kalmuk. But the postrevolutionary report is separated from the prerevolutionary data because of the great changes in the life of the component peoples of the Russian empire.

CLAN AND LINEAGE

The Kazakhs of the Naiman division are sometimes called a tribe. Adequately detailed genealogical data afford a considerable amount of insight into the structure of the Kazakh clan and lineage. We are faced with a distinction which has been encountered several times in the course of the present study: the distinction between "objective" history and history as mythopoeia. As to the first, Margulanov tells us that these Naiman, in branching off from the Naiman corpus, migrated from Turkestan to the Altai region in the period 1750-1770. At this time they attacked the Dzungarian or Western Mongols and occupied their present territory.²⁵⁸ Having moved somewhat southward, to the valley of the Chu River, a portion of these Naiman have crossed and recrossed the Russo-Chinese border since that early time. They were possibly nomadizing in the valley of the Chu River before 1870, but between about 1870 and 1900 they were in Chinese Turkestan. By 1900 they migrated north and west to the pasture lands where they were reported in 1927 by Samoilovich.²⁵⁹

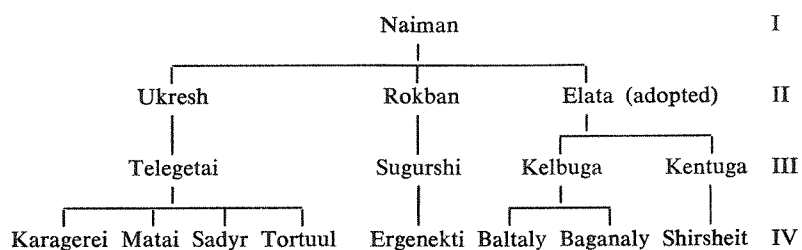
The above data are objective in the sense that they may conceivably be verified; Dzungarian traditions can be examined for a report of war over the pasturages in the western portions of the Altai Mountains; Chinese administrative records can be examined to see whether a movement across the borders during the last third of the nineteenth century took place; Russian documents may support this account which has been put together from Margulanov, Samoilovich, Shvetsov, and Tynyshpaev. This little historical excursus will probably be verified, perhaps with correction in detail; but in any case it is a record which is in every way the stuff that historians deal with.

The point is that a record of this sort is entirely different from the traditions of the Naiman themselves. The Middle Horde Kazakhs of

²⁵⁸ Margulanov, 330.

²⁵⁹ Samoilovich, 303.

the Altai assert that the common ancestor of all Naiman gave his name to the Naiman line. He had three sons, one of whom was adopted; nevertheless the claim of the adopted son's line to descent from the eponymous ancestor was not impaired by the fact of adoption. The genealogy collected by Margulanov follows:²⁶⁰



14 generations to present

Naiman's great-grandsons, in the generation of Karagerei, are regarded as the founders of eponymous clans, of which only the seven descended from the sons of Ukresh are represented in the Altai region. It may be that adoption is imputed to the Elata line of the Shirsheit clan precisely because they are not found in the Altai, because they are removed in space, hence only distantly kin; the imputation of adoption may be the genealogical expression of the distance in space and in kinship among the various groups. This need not have been the case, but the asseveration would inevitably come to mean what the genealogist has put into it; and it is this ultimate meaning which becomes the symbolic representation of the relationship between the line of Elata and that of Ukresh, viewed from the standpoint of the latter. This is mythical history, not subject to verification.

From the generation of Ergenekti to the time the genealogy was collected in the 1920's, 14 generations (twice seven) were reckoned, and this genealogy was the charter of membership, of incorporation in the analogical sense advanced here, of the Ergenekti clan, the eldest of the Sugurshi line. No particular functions are ascribed by the ethnographers to this structure, and we must look among the component lineages (patrilineage – bone – *siiök*) for these.

²⁶⁰ Margulanov, appended genealogies.

Among those Naiman who had moved to the valley of the Chu, a variation on the above genealogy was recorded in the 1920's. In this genealogy, that of another lineage of the Ergenekti clan, 14 generations were reckoned likewise, but not from the clan ancestor, rather from the eponymous ancestor of all the Naiman:²⁶¹

I Naiman	VIII Oletulu
II Ergenekti	IX Kuldja-Bai
III Kekzhardy	X Otunchu
IV Karatai	XI Buydakan
V Boranchy	XII Emu
VI Sargaldak	XIII Cham
VII Sary	XIV M. Chamov

Ergenekti is here reported to be the son of Naiman, and not his great-grandson, as in the preceding genealogy; moreover he is represented as the only son. No collateral lines are given. The genealogy covers in a stylized manner 14 generations – the ritual number – and it asserts the claim of the genealogist, Chamov, to direct patrilineal descent from the eponymous clan founder. The claim to senior descent over collateral lines from Naiman is not made, for it had become meaningless; Chamov's genealogy must be regarded as a genealogy made to validate a claim to that alone which had remained socially relevant. But even a claim to seniority in descent from Ergenekti was not the primary concern; rather it was the seniority of one of the lineages comprising the Ergenekti clan which was at issue. The founder of this lineage, in the tenth ascending generation from the genealogist, was Karatai. Now the recorder of the genealogy was the Turkologist Samoilovich, who proposed therewith to correct genealogies of these people compiled by investigators in the past, Aristov and Tynyshpaev. According to Tynyshpaev, Ergenekti had two sons, Kekzhardy and Karatai, whereas Samoilovich reports them respectively as father, son, and grandson. In Kazakh kinship nomenclature, Fa Ol Br may bear the same term as Fa Fa, *ata*; and Fa Yo Br may bear the same term as Ol Br, *aga*. There is thus really no contradiction between Tynyshpaev and Samoilovich; it is solely a matter of what the end in view of the genealogist was, and which generation he took as his point of reference. Let us consider first the generation reference point: assuming that Kekzhardy was senior and

²⁶¹ Samoilovich, 306.

Karatai the cadet, the son of Karatai, Boranchy, would call Kekzhardy *ata* regardless of whether he was his Fa Ol Br, Karatai's Ol Br, or Karatai's Fa, Boranchy's Fa Fa. This is viewed from the standpoint of the next descending generation, that of Karatai. Assuming, on the other hand, that Karatai was senior and Kekzhardy the cadet, Karatai would have been called *aga* by Kekzhardy; likewise, Karatai's son, Boranchy, would have called Kekzhardy *aga*, Fa Yo Br, so that the denotation of the term would coalesce from the viewpoint of the generation succeeding Boranchy. This telescoping and expanding of the genealogy ad libitum is made possible by the intricate system of cross-generation equivalences, generation up-grading and down-grading in the terminology.

Let us now consider the problem of the end in view of the genealogist. This man was Samoilovich's informant, the *aul* and lineage elder, Chamov, who was seeking to establish a direct senior descent line from the lineage founder, Karatai, and the senior descent of the Karatai lineage in the Ergenekti clan. In his conception, the line proceeded directly from Ergenekti to Kekzhardy and thence to Karatai, and no allusion to any cadet line whatsoever was made. This he did by asserting that Boranchy had indeed called Kekzhardy *ata*, but in the sense of Fa Fa, and not Fa Ol Br, a claim which was certainly in keeping with, and not contradicted by the system of kinship terminology. Thus a genealogy is propounded not merely to establish a descent group as such, nor merely to validate a claim to membership in that descent group, but also to assert certain rights of the descent group as over against other possible claimants in the matter of seniority, and the correlative leadership, prestige, and precedence. Moreover, the genealogy is closely related to the ritual number seven, or twice seven. Again, the lineage of Karatai is composed of a number of sublineages, including the Sargaldak, Döilöt, Shong-murun, and Kendje-Chagyr; of these the Sargaldak is proposed by Chamov as the senior one, that being Chamov's sublineage.²⁶² It will be noted that the founder of the Sargaldak sublineage is in the eighth ascending generation from the genealogist, which is exactly one generation higher than the number of generations in the exogamic unit among these Kazakhs. This calls for a further word.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 307.

According to the findings of Rudenko and Samoilovich, a unit such as the descent group from Ergenekti was a clan, *ruu*, among these northeastern Kazakhs. The descendants of Karatai, Ergenekti's grandson, excluding the descendants of the other grandsons of Ergenekti, formed Karatai's *byr top*, the major lineage. These major lineages in turn were divided into sublineages (or bones), *süök*; the four named above comprised the Karatai *byr top*.²⁶³ Just as were all other patrilineal descent groups among the Kazakh and elsewhere on the steppe, the *ruu*, the *byr top*, and the *süök* were internally differentiated by the order of birth of the founder. The *süök* might in turn be comprised of a number of *ata* (forbears, literally Fa Fa).²⁶⁴

In a general way, the *süök* corresponded to the exogamic unit embodied in Rudenko's seven generations or degrees of remove in the male descent line; such might have been the statement, for example, of Cham, M. Chamov's father. Chamov himself would have to marry outside his *ata*, those who shared with him a common ancestor in the ascending paternal line in the person of Sary, the son of Sargaldak, the *süök* founder. Sary was the founder of the *ata* in question, he being in the seventh ascending generation from Chamov. However, it would be dangerous to infer a universal rule from these data, for we have seen that the exogamic principle has been subject to considerable variation throughout the steppe, and among the Kazakhs as well.

A number of marks of acculturation are to be observed in the genealogy and commentaries on it. First of all, the concept of the *süök* has changed: no longer is there a distinction between *ak süök* and *kara süök*; whatever social distinction there was, was made between rich and poor Kazakhs, on the basis of wealth and not of birth; Rudenko's comment that family and social life among the Kazakhs was very archaic and conservative in form²⁶⁵ to the contrary notwithstanding. Again, a Russian system of patronymics was instituted, whereby Chamov was called thus because his father bore the name Cham, thus establishing a system of family names which had never existed before. A follow-up ethnography would probably show a considerable rigidification of the structural outlines, a loss of

²⁶³ Rudenko, 1930, 59.

²⁶⁴ Samoilovich, 308-309.

²⁶⁵ Rudenko, *op. cit.*, 66.

significance of this principle is not to be underestimated, because of the large proportion of people taken in war and raids and set free to dwell among the captors. Lineage fusion, individual adoption and admission of freed slaves are means, other than through birth, of extending the lineage rolls.

THE AUL OF THE ALTAI KAZAKHS

Data on village life of the Middle Horde Kazakhs of the Altai are remarkable for their detail. The nomads in question occupied the steppe northeast of Zaisan Nur, around the uppermost course of the Cherny or Black Irtysh. They were no longer nomadic herdsmen, but semi-sedentary farmer-herders in the 1920's. The poorest Kazakhs dwelled in the winter camps the year round, and supported themselves by tending their own farming plots and those of the wealthier Kazakhs, and by hunting. The wealthier Kazakhs, in contrast, maintained a mixed economy, based mainly on herding, but with some farming, aided by the poorer Kazakhs. They were for the most part Naiman, with some Kereit elements among them.²⁶⁹ Hence the following account of *aul* nomadism is to be understood in the setting of an advanced acculturation, and connected only to the pastoralism of moderate and wealthy Kazakhs.

The *aul* in its several variations was entirely a kin unit among these Kazakhs. The Kazakh *aul* elsewhere, even a generation earlier, had no longer comprised a homogeneous kin group. This was not so among the northeasternmost Kazakhs. The *auls* of the latter fall into two categories: fully nomadic, such as those of the Kazakhs in the Kosh-Agach *aimak* (Oirat Autonomous Oblast');²⁷⁰ and entirely sedentary, such as those of the poor Kazakhs mentioned above, members of the Kereit. In the Kosh-Agach *aimak* there were approximately 100 *auls* of the Middle Horde Kazakhs who were exclusively herders, with a total of 505 tents, thus averaging five tents per *aul*; the range was between three and eight tents per *aul*. The total number of people was 2408 (1233 males, and 1175 females), an average of 4.8 people per tent and 24 per *aul*.²⁷¹ Each *aul* moved

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1-3, 62.

²⁷⁰ Samoilovich, 312.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 311.

as an individual unit, and was composed of close kin who formed in effect a large extended family. However, their larger social units were of mixed composition, and not of more or less close agnatic kin.²⁷²

In the vicinity of the Black Irtysh, the bulk of the Kazakhs were of the Naiman division of the Middle Horde; they comprised most of the herding population, as they were the wealthy stratum, able to support herding. Their poorer neighbors, possibly more recent arrivals, were the Kazakhs of the Kereit division of the Middle Horde, more specifically, members of the Ashmaily clan of the Kereit. They lived primarily by farming and hunting, were very poor, had no horses, only a few cattle, sheep and camels, and lived a sedentary life. In contrast to the tiny mobile *auls* of the pastoral Kazakhs, these sedentary *auls* numbered up to 60 tents.²⁷³ There is a correlation between the wealth of a Kazakh community and its size. The nomadic pastoral life requires that it be relatively small and mobile. Its composition by closely and homogeneously related kin is an evolutionary matter. In this manner, the wealth and size are all interrelated with type of subsistence.

The validity of this correlation is not restricted to the northeastern Kazakh domain, which may be seen in an example drawn from the western portion, in the old territory of the Little Horde. Here it has been reported during the same period, the 1920's, that the poorer Kazakhs took up agriculture while the richer maintained a mixed economy of herding and farming. The *auls* of the richer Kazakhs were composed only of close kin, while in the encampments of the poorer, two or three different, unrelated groups of kin were joined together.²⁷⁴ From this we may infer again a correlation between economic pursuit, wealth or poverty, and consanguineal composition of *auls* of the Little Horde; unfortunately, the fourth element in the correlation, that of size, cannot be confirmed for lack of data.

The Altai Mountain Kazakhs of the Middle Horde moved as a unit from winter to summer pasturage provided the *aul* was small; large *auls* broke up into component extended family or close kin

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 312.

²⁷³ Rudenko, *op. cit.*, 61-62.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1927, 8-10; Bukeikhanov, 60-62.

groups for the summer movements.²⁷⁵ These *auls*, in the northeast of Kazakhstan, were disposed in a line just as those in the western parts were,²⁷⁶ in contrast to the nomadic village of the Khalkhas and Buryats which was circular in form.

The *auls* of the poor were generally larger than those of the wealthy because they were sedentary, and were identical with the Kazakh winter encampment *kystau/kstau*, where farming was engaged in. The Kazakh summer camp, *džaylau*, was smaller, more mobile, nomadic, pastoral, wealthier, related through close patrilineal ties. All these camps bore the names of their founders. For example, in the genealogy of Chamov cited above, his paternal ancestor in the fifth ascending generation, Kuldja-Bai, was the founder of the *aul* of which Chamov himself was the leader. This *aul* founder was the great-grandson of the *süök* founder, Sargaldak, and the grandson of the founder of Chamov's *ata*, Sary, and the *aul* itself bore the name of Kuldja-Bai. The head of this *aul* was also the head of the clan, since by right of primogeniture, the two offices coincided; thus the great-grandfather, *ul ata*, of Chamov was Buydakan.²⁷⁷ It was the latter who had led the great migration of the Karatai to their present pasturages.

The normal nomadic movements of the Kazakhs, especially those of the central and western portions of Kazakhstan, are north-south and south-north, in a yearly cycle, moving with the seasons.²⁷⁸ The timing of the movements is determined by factors such as grass and weather, water and topography.²⁷⁹ The influence of topography is seen from the fact that the northeastern Kazakhs, those in the Altai Mountain territory, cause their movements to conform with the relief, moving up the mountains in the summer, where the grass growth is favored by the snow-melt.²⁸⁰

A nomadic camp moves a minimum of eight kilometers a day to about 30 kilometers a day, but not daily; quitting the winter camp toward the end of May or early June, an *aul* might move slowly on alternate days, or with even longer rest periods, over a period of one

²⁷⁵ Rudenko, 1930, 8.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 54.

²⁷⁷ Samoilovich, 307.

²⁷⁸ Rudenko, *op. cit.*, 72.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 72.

to three weeks, to the summer camp. The total distance from winter to summer camp is 45 to 100 kilometers, generally about 70 or 75. Sometimes longer rests are made en route at spring camps (*kökteü*) and fall camps (*küzeü*).²⁸¹

These nomadic movements have been described in detail for several reasons; first, the intrinsic interest in the patterns themselves; second, for comparative purposes, since similar data exist for the Kalmuks; third, because they are germane to the kinship problem being discussed in this context. A summer camp is a dispersed unit in which kinsmen live apart from each other. These are close kinsmen, pastoral, relatively well-to-do Kazakhs who still maintain their herds. Under normal conditions, the factors of size of the different units, wealth in herds and amount of pasturage will determine how many close kin will remain together over several generations, and how far off they will disperse from each other. These factors together are determinants of kinship in general insofar as they decree how many human beings can optimally live together as herders; and they are determinants in particular cases of the variations imposed by necessity on the optimal arrangements. We have seen that nomadic *auls* contain between three and eight conjugal families and from one to three extended families. The number of conjugal families in the *aul* of a wealthy Kazakh, or of a leader of middle rank, may be as many as 10 to 15; the *aul* of a great leader may have as high as 50 tents or families, but these are special cases. The fact remains that the ordinary Kazakhs live in kin communities of a fairly limited size. How many kin a man has; how many will inherit from him; who will support him; whom must he support; whose wife he will take in the levirate; whose son he may adopt as his own; who will help him in pasturing his flocks: the variation is of relatively small range. All these relationships are consanguineal, and for this reason the factors of the environment play a profound role in the daily life of the Kazakhs, and impose themselves on the very kinship structure.

The leadership of the *aul*, other than that of a clan or lineage chief, was in the hands of the *aksakal*, as of old. In the past, the incumbency of the office was based on birth, primogeniture, or alternatively, the designation of the most able son if the first was incompetent or had quarreled with his father. Later the determination

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 4-8.

was based on wealth; but in any case, the leader's social position was the highest in the village, and his word was decisive as a rule.²⁸² He settled disputes and conducted the affairs of the community generally, and presided over its religious life, in the absence of a mullah; but since mullahs were rare in this part of the Turkic world, the leading of prayers and sacrifices was generally left to the *aksakal*.²⁸³ Such then was the nomadic village kin community of the northeastern Kazakhs. We see that it preserved a number of features of a time when acculturation was less advanced, giving ground in others. The growth of farming and the administrative reshuffling by the Russians were the main acculturative influences, but there were other minor ones, in technology for instance, which were not without an effect on the kinship picture. The increase in the gathering and storage of hay²⁸⁴ influenced the nomadic cycle of the still-pastoral Kazakhs, encouraging some to continue to be herders, lessening the scope of movement of others; these are factors closely bound up with kinship. On the other hand, the scythes and other implements necessary for mowing had to be purchased from the Russians, making for an increase in commodity exchange, closer economic interaction with the Russians, and an acceleration of the acculturative process once again.

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

The Kazakh family in the 1920's was an extended family and as such continued to form the innermost of a series of concentric circles of kinship. Like the next outer concentric circle, the nomadic village, and like the next circle, the lineage, it was founded on an agnatically related membership, and was patrilocal, patriarchal, and oriented toward the need for sons; it was patricentric-filiocentric. The Kazakh family in the early Soviet era was conservative, even archaic in these respects; in others, a number of acculturative innovations had intervened. The eradication of the distinction between black bone and white bone had been complete by then and the social stratification was now simplified to rich and poor; even influence, reckoned in

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 66.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 50.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

terms of the number of kinsmen, came to play a subordinate role.²⁸⁵ A wealthy Kazakh would find those eager to establish a close agnatic relationship with him, support him in disputes, and thus seek his favor.

The factor of wealth determined not only the number of those who asserted close consanguinity, it also correlated directly with affinity. Polygyny was permitted and continued to be practiced into the 1920's,²⁸⁶ although the Soviet regime sought halfheartedly to make monogamy universal (checked at that time by a *laissez-faire* policy toward nationalities). The wealthy Kazakh could afford plural wives, although he rarely had more than two. There is one case of an exceptionally important man who had three wives, but his circumstances indicate his outstanding position; for example, his *aul* had 13 tents in it, whereas the *aul* in these parts ranged between three and eight tents. The Kazakhs of modern means could afford to have only one wife; but there were those who were without families at all, the very poor.²⁸⁷

The relationship between wealth and family composition was intermediated by the continued existence of the *kalym*. But there was also a relationship between consanguinity and affinity, because a man's kin contributed to the payment of the required bridewealth;²⁸⁸ if he had no consanguineal kin and no wealth of his own, he might even go unmarried. Thus we may observe, on yet another level, the inter-functioning of patrilineality, marriage, and wealth.

The bride on her part brought as her dowry a tent and household goods, as well as livestock to her husband. The dowry, however, was not fully integrated into the family estate, the husband's patrimony, for, in Kazakh customary law, the husband could not dispose of the wife's dowry without her agreement.²⁸⁹ And in this we have a line of continuity from the earliest records of the Turks of the sixth to eighth centuries, A.D., into the Soviet era. The Orkhon and Yenisei Turks of that early time likewise distinguished between the husband's estate and the dowry of the wife such that the husband could seize it

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 66.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 67.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 54, 67.

²⁸⁸ *Idem.*

²⁸⁹ *Idem.*

only in payment of a fine; short of such a contingency, the dotal property was in a separate category.

Betrothals were arranged while the children were not yet of age, subject to the supreme authority of the family head. The junior levirate not infrequently caused a boy of eight or nine years to be married to a mature woman. On the other hand, girls might be married before puberty.²⁹⁰ A wife on taking up residence in her *Hu Fa aul* underwent a change in status symbolized by a new soubriquet which generally signified some personal characteristic – pretty, clever, sympathetic.²⁹¹ The new name thus emphasized the discontinuity in her social being, but at the same time it appears to have been directed toward positive or praiseworthy attributes in a woman.

The inheritance complex involving primogeniture, equitable apportionment and ultimogeniture continued in force. Thus paternal authority passed in the line of the eldest sons, and with it as a rule the totality of the incorporeal property, in such titles, ranks, honors, prestige as the Soviet era still permitted. All sons except the youngest were equitably apportioned from the corporeal property during the lifetime of the father, and they thereby gave up all rights to inheritance on the father's death. In addition, daughters were assigned their marriage portions when they wedded, and likewise had no further claim on the paternal estate. The residuary legatee was the youngest son,²⁹² which, too, extends down from the earliest times to the most recent, and is shared by all the pastoral nomads of the Asiatic steppe.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 67.

CHAPTER V

THE MONGUOR OF THE KANSU-TIBETAN FRONTIER

INTRODUCTION

A people practicing a mixed economy of pastoralism and agriculture, and speaking a dialect of Mongol, inhabit the high steppe to the east of Lake Koko-Nor, in western Kansu and Ts'ing-hai. The Monguor-speaking people have been isolated from the main body of the Mongol world for centuries, a matter reflected in the number of archaic features in their speech;¹ moreover, they have been subjected to heavy acculturative influences through prolonged contact with both the Chinese and Tibetan neighbors, influences which have had effect both on speech and culture. Our knowledge of this group is derived from a report on their marriage customs by L. Schram and a revision of de Smedt's notes on the Monguor dialect by the eminent Mongolist, Antoine Mostaert.²

¹ The language of the Monguor-speaking people has been made known to the western world by the primary researches of de Smedt, and their correction, systematization, and revision by Mostaert in a number of publications, the most important of which from the linguistic point of view are: Mostaert, *The Mongols of Kansu and their Language*; and Mostaert and de Smedt, *Le dialecte Monguor*, published in three parts in the pages of *Anthropos* and elsewhere, 1929 to 1945. For geographic location, cf. Schram, *Monguor*, I, 18.

² L. Schram is a Catholic father, a member of the same mission to which PP. Mostaert, de Smedt, Verbrugge, and others belong, to which we owe the bulk of our knowledge of the Ordos country, the Monguor, and related aspects of this part of the world. Schram in his *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen de Kan-sou*, refers to the same people here under discussion as the T'ou-jen (T'u-jen in the Wade-Giles transcription), which is the Chinese name for them, with the literal meaning of aborigenes. However, this is not their own name for themselves, and I shall write of them in what follows as the Monguor, which has been established by Mostaert and de Smedt as their own term for their own language, understanding this as a shorthand for the Monguor-speakers of Kansu. – Schram has recently published two volumes on the Monguor in the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*. The first deals with the history and social organization of the people, the second with

system of Mongol antiquity. In this way the finding of social-structural analysis and of cultural history coincide.

The kinship nomenclature mirrors and is mirrored by the social organization of these peoples; the social organization and the kinship system have a preponderant area of overlap, despite the presence of class differences and a history of sporadic state and empire development. The social structure and the kinship system are both founded upon the principles of patrilineal descent and agnatic relationship. These principles actually constitute the social nexus of the steppe peoples, and may be traced not only through the kinship system, but also through the political, the military, the economic, the religious, and the legal organization and institutions. The mode of adoption, the levirate, the nature of the marriage agreement, the increase in status of the woman, the value placed on the birth of a son, religious rituals of purification, and a number of problems in kinship terminology and respect patterns, can only be accounted for by this social nexus. Even within the limits of this system, exceptions to which have been indicated, it is clear that these societies have explored and developed the principles of patrilineal descent and agnatic relationship with internal consistency seldom encountered in world ethnography. The clan, lineage, and sib comprise within themselves virtually all the criteria which, in various combinations, have served anthropological writers as the bases for defining these controversial entities. The clan and lineage as Altaic steppe kinship structures are precisely the embodiments of the principles of patrilineality and agnation. The steppe societies well serve as the classical cases exemplifying these principles and structures of kinship and social organization.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- | | |
|----------|---|
| AA | <i>American Anthropologist</i> |
| AMNH | American Museum of Natural History |
| An | <i>Anthropos</i> |
| EO | <i>Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie</i> (Ethnographic Survey) |
| IRGO | Imperatorskoe Russkoe Geograficheskoe Obshchestvo (Imperial Russian Geographic Society) |
| | <i>Izvestiia Sibirskogo Otdeleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva</i> (Bulletin of the Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society) |
| IVSOIRGO | <i>Izvestiia Vostochno-Sibirskago Otdeleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva</i> (Bulletin of the Eastern Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society) |
| JA | <i>Journal Asiaticque</i> |
| JRAI | <i>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute</i> |
| JRASNCB | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch</i> |
| L | Leningrad |
| M | Moscow |
| MAAA | <i>Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association</i> |
| MSFOu | <i>Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i> |
| MSM | <i>Monumenta Serica, Monograph</i> |
| SE | <i>Sovetskaia Etnografiia</i> |
| VS | <i>Variétés Sinologiques</i> |
| ZDMG | <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> |
| ZhB | <i>Zhizn' Buriatii</i> (Buryat Life) |
| ZhS | <i>Zhivaia Starina</i> (The Living Past) |
| ZVSOIRGO | <i>Zapiski Vostochno-Sibirskago Otdeleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva</i> (Memoirs of the Eastern Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society) |

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LISTS OF KINSHIP TERMS.

ORDOS KINSHIP TERMS

Fa Fa Fa Fa	<i>xulumtši āwu</i>	Fa Fa Mo	<i>ölöŋtši ēdži</i>
Fa Fa Fa	<i>ölöŋtši</i>	Fa Mo	<i>ēdži</i>
Fa Fa	<i>öwögö</i>	Mo	<i>exe or ēdži</i>
Fa	<i>awā or etšige</i>	Da	<i>kūxen or oxin</i>
So	<i>kū</i>		
So So	<i>atši (kū)</i>		
So So So	<i>džitši (kū)</i>		
So So So So	<i>gutši (kū)</i>		
Fa Br	<i>awaga</i>	Fa Br Wi	<i>awag exe</i>
Fa Si	<i>awag exe or gagā</i>	Fa Si Hu	<i>awaga kürgen axa</i>
Ol Br	<i>axa</i>	Br Wi	<i>bere</i>
Yo Br	<i>dū</i>	Yo Br Wi	<i>dū bere</i>
		So Wi	<i>(kū) bere</i>
		So So Wi	<i>atši bere</i>
		Br So Wi	<i>atši bere</i>
		Ol Si Hu	<i>kürgen axa</i>
Ol Si	<i>egetši</i>	Yo Si Hu	<i>kürgen dū</i>
Yo Si	<i>kūxen dū</i>		
Fa Br So	<i>üy axa (senior to me)</i>	Fa Br Da	<i>üy egetši (senior to me)</i>
Fa Br So	<i>üy dū (junior to me)</i>	Fa Br Da	<i>üy dū (junior to me)</i>
Br So	<i>atši</i>	Br So Wi	<i>atši bere</i>
Br So So	<i>džitši</i>		
Br So So So	<i>gutši</i>		
Si So	<i>džē</i>		
Da So	<i>džē</i>		
Si So So	<i>džēntser</i>		
Da So So	<i>džēntser</i>		
Hu	<i>ere</i>	Wi	<i>gergi</i>
Mo Fa	<i>nagatša āwu</i>	Mo Mo	<i>nagatša ēdži</i>
Mo Ol Br	<i>nagatša axa</i>	Mo Si	<i>nagatša egetši or nagatša exe</i>
Mo Br	<i>nagatša etšige</i>	Mo Br Wi	<i>nagatša bergen</i>
		Mo Si Hu	<i>nagatša kürgen</i>

LISTS OF KINSHIP TERMS

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Mo Br Ch	<i>bölö</i>		
Mo Si Ch	<i>bölö</i>		
So Wi Fa	<i>xuda</i>		
Da Hu Fa	<i>xuda</i>		
Sp Fa	<i>xadam etšige</i>	Sp Mo	<i>xadam exe</i>
Sp Br	<i>xadam axa</i>	Sp Ol Si	<i>xadam egetši</i>
		Wi Si Hu	<i>badža</i>

Paternal Kin *yasun töröl* and *awaganar*
 Maternal Kin *maxan töröl* and *nagatšanar*

Consanguineal
 Kin *töröl xadun*

Spousal Kin *xadam*

Kin *töröl* (chiefly consanguineal kin).

WRITTEN CHAHAR KINSHIP TERMS: CLASSICAL MONGOL

Fa Fa Fa Fa	<i>qolunča ebüge</i>	Fa Fa Fa Mo	<i>qolunča emege</i>
Fa Fa Fa	<i>elünče ebüge</i>	Fa Fa Mo	<i>elünče emege</i>
Fa Fa	<i>(törügsen) ebüge</i>	Fa Mo	<i>(törügsen) emege</i>
Fa	<i>ečige</i>	Mo	<i>eke</i>
		Wi	<i>gergei</i>
So	<i>kübegün</i>	Da	<i>ökin</i>
So So	<i>ači (kübegün)</i>	So Da	<i>ači ökin</i>
So So So	<i>jiči (kübegün)</i>	So So Da	<i>jiči ökin</i>
So So So So	<i>guči (kübegün)</i>	So So So Da	<i>guči ökin</i>
Fa Ol Br	<i>yeke abaga</i>	Fa Ol Br Wi	<i>yeke abaga bergen</i>
Fa Yo Br	<i>baga abaga</i>	Fa Yo Br Wi	<i>baga abaga bergen</i>
		Fa Si	<i>abaga eke</i>
Fa Br Ch	<i>üyēle</i>		
Fa Br Ch Ch	<i>qayāli</i>		
Ol Br	<i>aqa</i>	Ol Br Wi	<i>bergen</i>
Yo Br	<i>degū</i>	Yo Br Wi	<i>beri</i>
Br Ch	<i>ači</i>		
Ol Si	<i>egeči</i>	Ol Si Hu	<i>kürgen aqa</i>
Yo Si	<i>ökin degū</i>	Yo Si Hu	<i>kürgen degū</i>
Si Ch	<i>jige</i>		
Da Ch	<i>jige</i>		
Mo Fa	<i>nagaču ečige</i>	Mo Mo	<i>nagaču eke</i>
Mo Ol Br	<i>nagaču aqa</i>	Mo Ol Si	<i>nagaču egeči</i>
Mo Yo Br	<i>nagaču aqa</i>	Mo Yo Si	<i>nagaču egeči</i>
Mo Br Ch	<i>nagaču aqa (senior to me)</i>		

Mo Br Ch *nagaču* (junior to me)

Mo Si Ch *böle/böliü*

Note: The nine generations from the fourth ascending to the fourth descending, in the direct line, are collectively termed *törül*.

The system of Written Chahar kinship terms is identical in most details with the Ordos system and the Classical Mongol system. Written Chahar departs from Classical Mongol only in the following terms:

In Classical Mongol, So So is *ači*

So So So is *jiči* or *guči*

So So So So is *jičincer*

Si So is *fige*

Si So So is *figencer* (unreported in Chahar)

Da So So is *figencer* (unreported in Chahar)

BURYAT KINSHIP TERMS

Fa Fa Fa Fa *gulinsak*

Fa Fa Fa *elinsek*

Fa Fa *tō bābai*

Fa *bābai*

Fa Mo *tō ezi*

Mo *exe* or *ebe*

So *xöbün*

So So *aša (xöbün)*

So So So *guša (xöbün)*

So So So So *döše (xöbün)*

Da *basagan*

So Da *aša basagan*

Fa Br *abaga* or *üngen bābai*

Fa Br Wi *abaga ezi* or *abaga egeše*

Fa Si *abaga ezi* or *abaga egeše*

Ol Br *axa*

Yo Br *dū*

Ol Br Wi *ber'gen*

Yo Br Wi *beri*

Ol So Wi *axa beri*

So Wi *beri*

Ol Si *egeše*

Yo Si *dū (basagan)*

Si Hu *xür'gen*

Da Hu *xür'gen xöbün*

Fa Fa Br So *üyēle*

Fa Br Ch *üyēle*

Fa Si Ch *üyēle*

Fa Fa Br So So *xayāla*

Fa Br So So *xayāla*

Fa Si So So *xayāla*

Br So *aša (xöbün)*

Br So So *guša (xöbün)*

Si So *zē*

Da So *zē*

Si So So *zēnsēr*

Da So So *zēnsēr*

So Da So *zēnsēr*

So So Da So *zēnsēr*

Mo Fa *nagsa (tābai)*

Mo Br *nagsa axai*

Mo Br Ch *böl*

Mo Si Ch *böl*

Mo Br Ch Ch *bölensēr*

Hu *üngen*

So Wi Fa *xuda*

Da Hu Fa *xuda*

Sp Fa *xadam esege*

Sp Ol Br *xadam axa*

Wi Yo Sibl *xür dū*

Wi Si Hu *baza*

Mo Si *nagsa ezi* or *nagsa egeše*

Wi *hamga*

So Wi Mo *xudugu*

Da Hu Mo *xudugu*

Sp Mo *xadam ezi*

Sp Ol Si *xadam egeše*

Hu Br Wi *baza*

Agnatic Kin *törel* (clansmen)

Consanguines *miaxan törel*

Spousal Kin *xadamüd*

Consanguines *törküm* (wife speaking)

Maternal Kin *nagsa/nagasa*

Bone *yahan/yasun*

Descendants *üre*

Clan *xolbon*

Lineage *urag* (sub-lineage; unit of exogamy).

KALMUK KINSHIP TERMS

Fa Fa Fa Fa *olantsag etsge*

Fa Fa Fa *elentseg etsge*

Fa Fa *öbege etsge*

Fa *etsge*

So *köbün*

So So *atši köbün*

So So So *džitši köbün*

So So So So *džilike köbün*

So So So So So *talike (köbün)*

Fa Br *abaga* or *axa*

Fa Si *gagā*

Fa Fa Si *gagā*

Fa Fa Fa Mo *olantsag eke*

Fa Fa Mo *elentseg eke*

Fa Mo *emge eke*

Mo *eke* or *ēzi*

Da *kūken*

Fa Br Wi *abaga bergen*

Fa Si Hu *gagā kürgen axa*

Da Hu *kürgen*

Ol Br *axa*

Ol Br Wi *axa bergen*