revolutionary China.[243] For instance, the traditional adoption system in which the first-born is given to the father's parents to raise continues, as does the custom of bride price, although it does so without official sanction.

Since 1980, not only has there been a new tolerance of national minority traditional customs and practices, but also there is no indication that the Chinese Communist Party is discouraging such traditional festivals and holidays as Kurban and Ramadan; nor is there evidently any attempt to compete with such festivals by the observance of new, socialist-oriented types of public observance. Indeed, the old holidays continue to be celebrated with great enthusiasm, in the traditional way, with much feasting, visiting of neighbours and relatives, and holidays from work.

Many aspects of traditional culture in Xinjiang thus persist today, and if the tolerance of the 1980s continues, their future role in Kazak culture would seem assured. The Han Chinese, themselves heirs to an extremely persistent cultural tradition, have sought to formulate an answer to the phenomenon of cultural persistence, but it remains to be seen whether the policy lines followed thus far will lead the People's Republic of China any closer to a solution to the age-old problems presented by plural societies to central governments intent on the integration and modernization of their ethnic minorities.

243. A richly illustrated volume on traditional Kazak folk art is available in Chinese bookstores, *A Collection of the Kazak Folk Art Designs*, Ürümqi 1983.

THE NOMADISM OF ORTA ƷÜZ KAZAKS IN XINJIANG 1911–1949

by

Ingvar Svanberg

The Kazaks in China have traditionally been regarded as a warlike and fierce tribe. Travellers in the 1920s and 1930s described them stereotypically, saying they "are lazy, they are thieves and rascals," or they are "wild and utterly undisciplined nomads without any fixed abode."[1] A Chinese writer, in accordance with the common Chinese opinion of the time, even described them in an official handbook as "lazy, cunning, hot-tempered and capable of doing nothing except tending livestock, they, as a rule, lead a bandit's life when winter comes."[2]

During the 1930s and 1940s the Kazaks in Xinjiang took part in several rebellions against the authorities. In the Ili rebellion of 1944 they even played a dominant role.[3] The causes of these rebellions can certainly be explained in several ways, but they are clear evidence of the ethnic conflicts typical of the area. Xinjiang has always been marked by tension between the various ethnic groups living there and the Chinese authorities. This chapter, however, is not intended as a discussion of the political implications of the nomads in a sensitive border area of China. Rather, this chapter will instead deal with some ethnographical characteristics of the Kazak nomads and will stress their economic role as part of an ethnic pluralistic society. As there is very little information available on the Xinjiang Kazaks during the period of the Chinese Republic, this account will be descriptive and seeks to give a cultural-historical overview of the Kazak society during that time.

Since this was a turbulent period in Xinjiang history, few data are avail-

1. Owen Lattimore, *High Tartary*, London 1930, p. 248, and Aitchen K. Wu, *Turkistan Tumult*, London 1940, p. 221.
2. Kao Shi-Ping, "Sinkiang," *The Chinese Yearbook 1936–37*, Shanghai 1937, p. 169.
3. Cf. Linda Benson, *The Ili Rebellion. A Study of Chinese Policy in Xinjiang (1944–1949)*, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Leeds 1986, for details.

able on the Kazak nomads and their movements.[4] But by putting together fragmentary information from various sources, in accordance with relevant ethnohistorical methods, it gives a general picture of Kazak life during the 1920s to 1940s, which can be used as background for studies on social change and cultural persistence within contemporary Kazak society in Xinjiang, as well as among émigrés in Turkey.[5]

The Nomads in Xinjiang

Xinjiang may be divided into several geographic zones. South of the Tian Shan range, stretching in an east-west direction, is Kashgaria, which is mainly composed of the Tarim Basin, a dry basin ringed with green oases. North of the snow-crowned Tian Shan is Dzungaria which consists of steppes up to the Irtish area. North of Irtish River is the mountainous Altai area. The main pastoral areas are to be found in the Altai, on the northern slopes of Tian Shan, and in the Ili River valley.

The three largest groups of pastoral nomads in the Republican period in Xinjiang were traditionally the Kazaks, Kirghiz and the Mongols. The Kirghiz were found mainly south of the Tian Shan range along the border with the Soviet Union. There were also some Kirghiz in the Ili Valley.[6] In the south, i.e. Kashgaria, there were, in addition, some other pastoral groups such as the Dolans in Maralbashi and Merkit, and the Iranian-speaking group in the Pamir.

The Mongols and the Kazaks were the main nomadic groups in the north, partly residing in the same areas. The Mongols numbered about 60,000 (2% of the total population in Xinjiang) in the mid-1940s, while the Kazaks numbered almost 450,000. Part of the Mongols, especially the Western Mongolian-speaking groups, could be regarded as autochtonous in Dzungaria. The Kazaks, however, have moved into the area in successive waves following the defeat of the Oyrat Empire in 1757.

The Historical Framework

Imperial China traditionally claimed jurisdiction over Central Asia, but in reality the Chinese have seldom been able to control this region and Chinese agriculture has never been able to get a foothold here. Instead, the area has often been controlled by nomadic confederations. Nomadic chieftains had periodically paid tribute to the Chinese Emperor,[7] but it was not uncommon for them to be in conflict with the Emperor and opposed to Chinese influence in Central Asia.

The last nomadic confederation to gain control over Central Asia was that of the Oyrat Mongols. During the second half of the 17th century, the Oyrat Mongols, under the leadership of Galdan Khan, extended their influence over a large part of Central Asia and created an independent nomadic state. The Oyrats held the area for almost a hundred years. In the

4. Ethnographical data for this chapter was collected mainly by interviews in 1979–1985 with **Orta Jüz** Kazak refugees from Xinjiang now residing in Turkey and Europe. See Ingvar Svanberg, *Kazak Refugees from Xinjiang. A Study of Cultural Persistence and Social Change*, (Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensia) [forthcoming].

   Literature of the period, foreign as well as Chinese, has very little to say about Kazak ethnography in China. Travelogues, intelligence reports and newspaper articles, however, include some information, which has been used here. The only ethnographer, as far as I know, who conducted some kind of field research among the Kazaks, is Frank Bessac. He stayed among a group of uprooted Kazaks in Xinjiang during the winter 1949–1950 as the Communists were taking over. He later wrote a dissertation with the title *Cultural Types of Northern and Western China*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin 1963. It is however, from my point of view, a disappointment. Of much greater interest is Milton J. Clark's dissertation on Kazak leadership, completed in 1955, with the title *Leadership and Political Allocation in Sinkiang Kazak Society*, Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University 1955. He conducted field work among a small group of Kazak refugees in Kashmir 1952–1953. His work is rich in detail and gives a reliable account of the Kazaks of Xinjiang in the 1940s. In 1979, I interviewed several of Clark's informants in Turkey and could compare the information given by them.

   In the 1950s, Chinese ethnographers collected a lot of material on various minorities. Unfortunately, most of that is still unpublished or available only in *neibu* literature (for internal use) and thereby mostly inaccessible for foreign scholars. Ethnology was branded as a reactionary science during the 1960s and 1970s, and only recently has ethnology, as well as many other disciplines within social sciences and humanities, recovered a degree of respectability in China. See Thomas Heberer, *Nationalitätenpolitik und Ethnologie in der Volksrepublik China*, (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Übersee-Museum Bremen, Reihe D., Völkerkundliche Monographien, Bd. 11) Bremen 1982, pp. 47–86. From information obtained in Xinjiang in 1986, I understand that there are several works currently in progress related to the Kazaks, and it is hoped such studies will be published in the near future.

5. For the methods of ethno-historical research, I have followed the Swedish ethnological tradition with relevant source critisism for each category of sources. Cf. Nils-Arvid Bringéus, *Människan som kulturvarelse*, Lund 1981. I became convinced of the possibility of doing ethno-historical studies on a non-European culture by reading Melville J. Herskovits, "For the Historical Approach in Anthropology: A Critical Case," in: *Cultural and Social Anthropology*, Ed., P.Hammond, New York 1969, pp. 436–443, and Jan Vansina, "Cultures through time," in: *A Handbook of Method in Cultural Anthropology*, Ed., R. Naroll & R. Cohen, New York 1973, pp. 165–179.

6. For a brief summary of the Kirghiz of Upper Ili, see Edward Murray, "With the Nomads of Central Asia," *National Geographic Magazine* 69:1 (1936).

7. For details on Chinese interests in Central Asia, see Joseph F. Fletcher, "China and Central Asia, 1386–1884," in: *The Chinese World Order. Traditional China's Foreign Relations*, Ed., J. K. Fairbank, Cambridge MA 1968, pp. 209–217; for information on the so-called Dzungar Empire see I. Ja. Zlatkin, *Istorija džungarskogo Xanstva, 1635–1758*, Moskva 1983.

middle of the 18th century, the Oyrats, however, due to internal struggles, were politically splintered, and in 1754 the Qing Imperial Army under General Zhauhui started a campaign to recover the area from the Mongols. The Oyrats were also weakened by epidemics and the Qing army defeated them in 1757. About 80 % of the 600,000 Oyrats are said to have been destroyed by disease and war, and the remainder fled to the Volga River area in 1760 after a last uprising under the self-appointed khan, Amurzana.

The mass emigration of the Mongols put an end to the Mongol influence in Dzungaria. The Qing ruler had at last gained control over the area. It was, however, not incorporated within the provincial system, but was held under the Manchu military administration.

The Qing policy to stabilize the area was to encourage immigration of various ethnic groups. The Qing administration had a favourable view of previously pacified and now loyal Mongols, such as Chakhars and Dagurs in northeastern China, and these were encouraged to move into and settle the former Oyrat territory. Also several Manchu-speaking groups, as well as Han Chinese and Turkic immigrants from the Tarim Basin – the so-called Taranchi – were allowed to settle in the area.[8]

The recovered area, which was called Xiyu ("Western Regions") by the Chinese, was bordered on the west by areas controlled by Kazak nomads. Along this border the Manchu authorities established guard posts, *qarun*, in order to prevent Kazak nomads from moving in. There were three kinds of *qarun*, i.e. remnant, moveable and provisional guard posts.[9]

But after the defeat of the Oyrats, the Kazaks had already started to move in. When the Oyrats were finally driven away they left an ecological niche of pasture land open. A section of Kazaks belonging to **Ulu Žüz** moved into the Ili River valley. They accepted the Qing Emperor as their overlord and started to pay tribute. Part of the **Ulu Žüz,** however, were still independent in Western Turkestan. They continued to be autonomous until the 1840s when they were finally integrated in the Russian administration.

The **Ulu Žüz** Kazaks who moved to the Ili area belonged predominantly

8. Harold J. Wiens, "Change in Ethnography and Land Use of the Ili Valley Arid Region, Chinese Turkestan," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 59:4 (1969), pp. 753–775.

9. Aitchen K. Wu, *op. cit.*, p. 195. On the importance of the border points for the movement of the Kazaks, see Tôrun Saguchi, "Kazakh Pastoralists on the Tarbaghatai Frontier under the Ch'ing," in: *Proceedings of the International Conferense on China Border Area Studies*, Taipei 1985, pp. 964–968.

to the Alban and Suwan tribes, and they are still mainly distributed in the Ili River valley.

In 1771, a large group of Torgut Mongols arrived from the Lower Volga to escape from increasing taxation in Russia. They had left Dzungaria in 1630 for Russia and became vassals to the Czar in 1654. Their khans, however, continued to pay tribute to the Chinese Emperor. They came back to their old pastures in the Ili River valley and the Yildiz Plateau. The area had, however, since been taken over by the **Ulu Žüz** Kazaks. Conflicts between the Kazaks and the Torguts led to the deaths of many Torguts. The Torguts who survived the clashes were settled by the Qing authorities in several places in Dzungaria.

Ulu Žüz Kazaks under the Khan Ablay, took part in the Qing campaign to subdue the Oyrats. Ablay acknowledged himself as vassal of the Emperor Qianlong, who sent him a title as prince and a calender reciting the conditions on which he was accepted as a subject in 1757. He also received permission to trade horses in the border area. Ablay's relation with the Russians made the situation complicated. The Qing administration inscribed Ablay in the list of their tributary nomad subjects, but Ablay continued to play the Russians against the Chinese and remained independent. The policy of the Russian Empress was to detach Ablay from his dependence on the Qing Emperor. In 1760 the Kazaks extended their pastures into the Tarbagatai area and Upper Irtish. The Qing opposed this advance of the Kazaks into the Dzungarian territory, but their opposition proved unsuccessful and Kazak pastoralists continued to move in. The pastures within Qing Dzungaria were used as winter camps, and the Kazak nomads continued to cross the Chinese-Russian border. From 1760 onwards Kazak nomads were pouring into the Tarbagatai and Altai area.

Trading links between Kazaks and Imperial traders were established by 1758 in Urumchi, 1761 in Ili and 1764 in Tarbagatai. Unauthorized trade between Kazaks and traders occurred in several places in Dzungaria, but the Qing authorities tried to control that. In 1762 an appeal to the Emperor said that Kazaks made unauthorized trade with Khalkha Mongols in the north.

The Kazaks bought silk, satin and cloth from the Chinese and Uighur traders, while the Kazaks sold horses, oxen and sheep. The Manchu military garrisons along the border-line needed horses, so it was important for the Qing authorities to keep up trade with the Kazaks of the area.[10] At the

10. The Kazak history of Xinjiang under the Qing period has still to be written. A short account is given in *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu* [China's National Minorities], Beijing 1981,

same time they tried to keep the Kazaks outside the area administered by the Qing. The newly established guard posts along the Dzungarian border were an attempt to prohibit the movement of the Kazak nomads into Qing proper. In the 1760s, however, the Qing authorities had to allow the Kazaks to use winter camps within its territory. Consequently, the Kazaks were obliged to pay tax to the Qing authorities. The tax for using winter pastures from August to March was paid in horses and consisted of one percent of the nomad herds. When spring came again, the Kazaks had to move west out of Dzungarian proper. However, a lot of good summer pastures were available within Dzungaria. Many poorer Kazaks decided to remain within the winter camps when the summer came. Other Kazaks crossed the border into China during the summer to raid cattle and horses within Dzungaria. A few Kazaks became Qing objects during this time and were integrated into the banner-system. In 1799, however, an imperial decree prohibited Kazak allegiance and naturalization.

Kazaks continued to move between Dzungaria and the western steppes during the first half of the 19th century. Several Kazak Khans and princes were subjects of Qing for short periods. They paid tribute to the Qing authorities, but after 1822 they became Russian subjects when the Czarist authorities introduced a new system of administration for the **Orta Žüz** Kazaks. Some Kazak chieftains became subordinates of local rulers within Dzungaria. After the conclusion of the Protocol of Tarbagatai on October 7, 1864 the borders were established, and the relationship between the Qing-rulers and the Kazaks within the Chinese border became consolidated. The Russian Empire regarded the permanent qarun line as the de facto border line between the Qing Empire and the newly established Turkestan Government-General. Since that time, the Kazaks of **Orta Žüz** tribes have been accepted as Chinese subjects.[11]

pp. 204–205, and in the chapter "Kazaxi", by S. M. Abramzon in *Narody vostočnoj Azij*, Ed., I. I. Čeboksarov *et al*, Moskva 1965, pp. 631–632. Valuable information is to be found in Tôrun Saguchi, *op.cit.* Detailed information on trade between the Qing authorities and Kazaks in the border area is given in Tôrun Saguchi, *Shiba shiju shiji Xinjiang shehui liyan jiu* [A Social History of Xinjiang in the 18th and 19th Centuries], Vol. 1. Ürümqi 1984, pp. 317–412, which quotes in length Qing records on trade. The Kazak trade with horses is especially stressed in them. The book is a Chinese translation of the Japanese original *Juhachi-jukyuseiki Higashi Torukisutan shakaishi kenyu*, Tokyo 1963. The Japanese original has not been available to me.

11. Godfrey E. P. Hertslet, *Treaties etc., between Great Britain and China; and between China and Foreign Powers; and Orders in Council, Rules, Regulations, Acts of Parliament, Decrees, etc., affecting British Interests in China*, Vol. 1. London 1908 (3rd ed.), p. 475.

Russian Kazaks continued, however, to enter into Xinjiang from Russia from the time of the Protocol onwards. For example, in 1878 not less than 9,000 Kazaks left Russian territory for China. Many of them tried to go as far as Qitai. The Russian explorer Nikolai Przhevalsky saw a lot of rotting carcasses left by their herds which had succumbed to thirst during the move through the Dzungarian desert.[12]

After the abolition of serfdom in Russia 1861 peasants started to move eastward to settle and take up agriculture in new areas. The increasing number of Russian and Ukrainian peasants on the Kazak plain led to continual migration of Kazaks into the Xinjiang area. More then 500 villages were established on the steppe by the end of the 19th century. A Czarist Russian commission of 1895 established a land fund for new settlers on lands that had been used mainly by the Kazak nomads.

The Russian colonization and settlement were not the only causes of the migration of Kazaks over the border to China. Political unrest and Russian claims on Chinese lands pushed the Kazaks away from the border area. Kazaks started to move into the Barköl area in eastern Dzungaria from Altai and Taicheng in 1883, after the second Tarbagatai Treaty between Russia and China that year. The first group of about 90 households left the border area for Barköl in the first year. Between 1889 and 1890 about 200 households moved to Barköl; in 1895 another 200 Kazak households left Altai for the same destination.[13]

Distribution of the Kazaks 1911–1949

After the Chinese Revolution of 1911 Kazaks continued to take new pastures within Dzungaria. These movements of Kazaks were often forced by authorities but Kazaks also moved of their own accord. At the beginning of the Republican Era, many Kazaks moved from northern Altai to take up pastures in the Qitai region. These Kazaks had been dislocated as a result of the independence of Outer Mongolia. Aurel Stein reported that fifteen hundred yurts of Kazaks had moved from the Altai Mountains on the Mongolian border to the Qitai tract. However, the area was also occu-

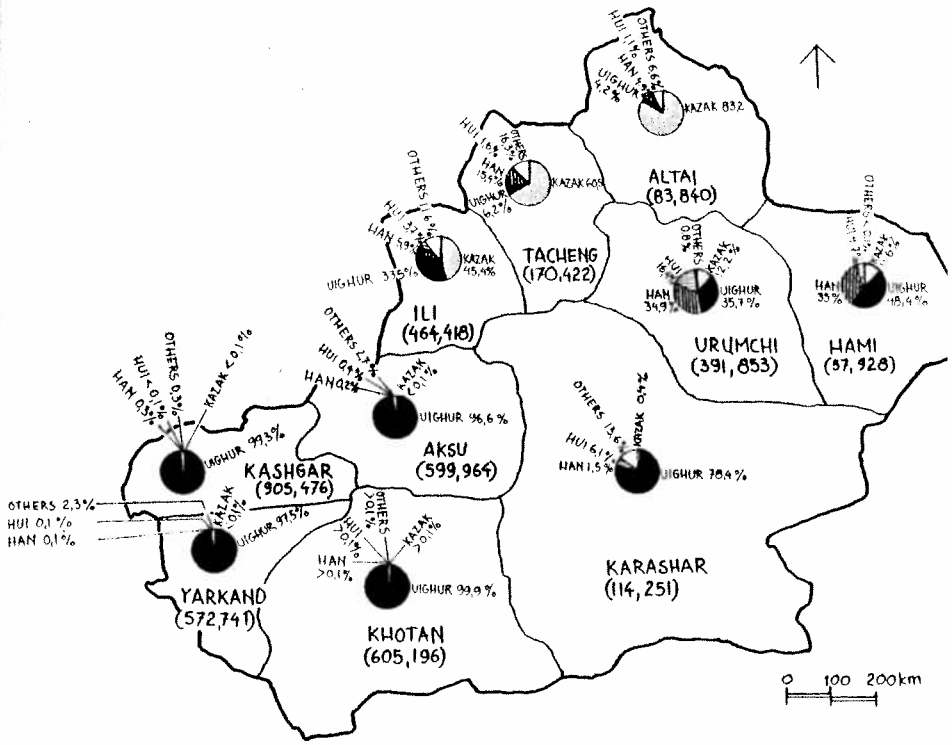
12. N. M. Prževal'skij, *Iz" Zajsana čerez" Xami v" Tibet" i na verxov'ja Želtoj rêki*, St. Petersburg 1883, pp. 20–21.
13. *Balikun Hasake Zizhixian Gaikuang* [A Survey of Barköl-Kazak Autonomous County], Ürümqi 1984, p. 45; *Mulei Hasake Zizhixian Gaikuang* [A Survey of Mori-Kazak Autonomous County], Ürümqi 1984, pp. 17–18; on the Russian settlements on the Kazak steppe, see George J. Demko, *The Russian Colonization of Kazakhstan, 1866–1917*, Bloomington IN 1969.

pied by peasants already taking up agriculture on these grazing lands and therefore many Kazaks were eager to return to the Altai.[14]

In Russian Turkestan, mass settlement of Russian peasants took place between 1906 and 1912, during the so-called Stolypin agrarian reform. Nearly 19 million hectares of land on the plain were set aside for the settlers. This was land that had been used as pastures by the nomads. The growing influx of Russian settlers on the plain drove thousands of Kazaks out of Russia and into China. A mass immigration took place in 1912–1914. Most of these Kazaks went to the Ili and Altai area. In 1914, Chinese authorities in Xinjiang and the Russian consul in Urumchi made an agreement which stipulated that Kazaks who had immigrated before July 1911 and had remained in Xinjiang were to be granted Chinese citizenship, while Kazaks arriving after that date were to be sent back to Russia. The Chinese authorities in Beijing, fearing that the Russians would use the Kazaks in their political claims on Ili, decided that the number of repatriates should not exceed 6,000.[15]

In 1916 the Czarist government decided that Kazaks and other Muslims in Russian Turkestan who, traditionally, had been exempted from military service, should be drafted into labour units. This led to a revolt on the steppe and in the Ferghana Valley. More than 50,000 rebels took part in the uprising. As a punishment, the Governor-General of Turkestan, General Koropatkin, decided to drive nomads who took part in the revolt away from their lands and to open them immediately for Russian settlers. The resettlement decision was carried out while revolt was still in progress. Just before the February Revolution about 300,000 persons, mostly Kazaks, fled to Xinjiang. Governor Yang in Urumchi was eager to get rid of them quickly, partly because of the difficulties of supporting so many refugees, and partly because of security reasons. Through negotiations with the Soviet representatives in Urumchi, Yang managed to obtain amnesty for the refugees if they returned back home. Thanks to Yang's tactics and quick manoeuvring, the last Kazak refugees left Xinjiang during the autumn of 1918. Only a few of them remained in Xinjiang.[16]

14. Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia. Detailed Report of Exploration in Central Asia, Kan-Su and Eastern Iran*, Vol. 2. Oxford 1928, p. 553; Douglas Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia. A Record of Travel and Exploration in North-West Mongolia and Dzungaria*, Vol. 2, Philadelphia 1914, p. 360.
15. Arthur C. Hasiotis Jr., *A Study of Soviet Political, Economic, and Military Involvement in Sinkiang from 1928 to 1949*, Ph. D. Thesis, New York University 1981, pp. 19–20; George J. Demko, *op.cit.*, pp. 78–106.
16. Richard Yang, "Sinkiang under the Administration of Governor Yang Tseng-hsin, 1911–1928," *Central Asiatic Journal* 6 (1961), pp. 306–308.



Map 1. Ethnic Composition of the Population by District.

Other movements of Kazaks were caused by Yang's domestic policies. In July 1917, about 300 Kazak households fled from Yang's taxation policy in Altai and settled around Barköl.[17]

Political changes which began with the establishment of the Soviet Union also caused a new influx of Kazak nomads into Xinjiang. The collectivization program in Soviet Central Asia and Kazakstan in the late 1920s led to conflict and great difficulties for the nomads there. The Kazaks were forced to settle and many nomadic families saw their herds starving on pastures which no longer could sustain them. Other nomads, facing the threat of expropriation of their animals, slaughtered their herds and escaped to Afghanistan or Xinjiang. Many Nayman Kazaks moved into

17. *Balikun Hasake* ..., p. 45.

Xinjiang at this time. Some Kazaks who had been in Xinjiang at the end of the 19th century and who had moved back again to Russian territory, returned as refugees at the end of the 1920s, and included Kazaks of the **Ulu Žüz** who moved into the Ili region. The authorities granted these refugees pastures in Xinjiang. No figures on exactly how many entered Xinjiang during this time have ever been published. According to Republican Chinese official Aitchen Wu, thousands of Kazak refugees from the Soviet Union were still pouring into the Altai district at the beginning of the 1930s.[18]

After Kazak uprisings in Altai in 1933 and for some years afterwards several thousand families were driven to the Barköl area where they settled. However, the new strong man in the region, Sheng Shicai, continued to harass them even there and many Kazaks fled further to Gansu and Qinghai. Many Kazaks settled around Gas Lake in Qinghai but about 4,000 of them continued all the way down to India.[19]

In the 1940s there were Kazaks living mainly in the Altai, Tacheng (Tarbagatai) and the Ili districts, but there were also Kazaks living in Manas, around Bogda Ulu, Metchin Ulu and in the Barköl region north of the Barköl range. They were not allowed to use grazing lands south of the Barköl Mountains. According to the census of 1946–1947, the distribution[20] of the Kazaks within Xinjiang was as follows:

Table 1. The Distribution of the Kazaks by District in 1946.

Districts:	Number:
Urumchi	47,690
Tacheng	103,180
Ili	210,672
Altai	69,717
Hami	6,741
Aksu	7
Kashgar	11
Khotan	58
Karashar (Yanqi)	476
Yarkand	23
Total:	438,575

18. Aitchen K. Wu, *op.cit.*, p. 197.
19. Halife Altay, *Anayurttan Anadolu'ya* [From My Homeland to Anatolia], Istanbul 1981, pp. 266–344. Detailed figures on Kazak refugees from and to Barköl in the 1930s is given in *Balikun Hasake . . .*, pp. 49–50. For description on the flight to India see Ingvar Svanberg, *op.cit.*, and Chapter 4.
20. The census was published in a local magazine by She Lingyun, "Yi jingji jianshe jiu Xinjiang yongjiu heping," ["Economic construction in Xinjiang as a Means to Secure Peace,"] *Tianshan Yuegan*, 1 (Oct. 15, 1947), pp. 9–15. The only copy which seems to be available for scholars, and the one which I have used, is in Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, at Stanford, cf. Linda Benson, *op.cit.*, p. xi. Oddly enough Owen Lattimore never used this data in his *Pivot of Asia*, Boston 1950, but instead used estimates gathered by Chang Chih-yi in 1943. The census figures of the total population for each county are given in Zhang Dajun, *Xinjiang fengbao qishi nian* [Xinjiang's Seventy Years of Turbulence], Vol. 9, Taibei 1980. However, he does not give the figures for each nationality at the county level.

The majority were living within the Ili, Tacheng and Altai districts making up almost 53 % of the total population there. For the percentage of the Kazak population in each district, see map 1. Despite the fact that the Kazaks did not number more than 10 % of the total population of Xinjiang, they comprised 40 % of the inhabitants of Dzungaria in the mid-1940s. The census of 1946 gives the total number of Kazaks in each county. The following are the number of Kazaks in the five districts of Dzungaria:[21]

Table 2. The Distribution of the Kazaks by County in 1946.

Urumchi District	
Urumchi City	40
Urumchi County	7,719
Changji	3,699
Hutubi	10,169
Suilai	8,823
Chiente	1,071
Fukang	4,322
Fuyan	1,668
Qitai	5,614
Mori (Mulei)	4,109
Shanshan (Piqan)	13
Turpan	22
Toksun	33

21. For the location of each county see *Atlas of the Republic of China*, Ed., Chang Chi-yun, Vol. 2. *Hsitsang (Tibet), Sinkiang and Mongolia*. Published by the National War College, Taipei 1960, map A 11.

Ili District	
Ili	22,921
Suiding	17,957
Gongliu	15,008
Gongha (Nilka)	30,633
Tekes	32,843
Zhaosu	17,097
Ningxi	10,423
Huocheng	16,772
Wenquan	4,611
Bole	7,873
Jinghe	5,114
Xinyuan	29,418
Tacheng District	
Tacheng (Tarbagatai)	30,358
Emin	41,201
Hofeng	3,541
Yumin	12,993
Shawan	7,747
Usu	7,340
Altai District	
Chenghua (Sharasume)	16,912
Burqin	11,864
Jeminay	9,978
Habahe	12,194
Fuhai	7,919
Fuyun (Köktogay)	5,987
Qinghe (Qinggil)	4,863
Hami District	
Hami	1,487
Chenxi (Barköl)	4,941
Yiwu	313

Administration of the Nomads

During the Qing dynasty, the Kazaks within Dzungaria and Altai were regarded as tenants of the Mongols. The Qing had decreed that all the

nomad lands belonged, by right, to the Mongols. The Kazaks were, therefore, required to pay grazing fees for using pastures regarded as the property of the Mongol banners. While the Mongols in Dzungaria were ruled by princes or Wangs, who were directly under the emperor, in reality there was a high degree of autonomy within the various leagues. The Kazak leaders were considered subjects under the local *amban* within their districts.

At the turn of the century, the Kazaks were administered through a hierarchy established by the Manchu government. They had generic chieftains who bore the title **taǯi.** The Kazaks in the Tarbagatai were under the control of the amban of Tacheng. Below **taǯi,** there were **mïŋbasï,** i.e. chiefs of one thousand, **ǯüzbasi** – head of one hundred – etc.[22] This system of organizing the administrative units on a series of ten was known as the *bao jia*-system. The purpose of the Manchu administration was to divide the nomadic groups into administrative units and to distribute political power between the different tribal segments. A **taǯi** thereby had the dual function as a lineage leader and as a Qing official. The result was a stable administrative system with far-reaching autonomy for the various lineage groups. This feature was typical for the Manchu policy of *yi yi zhi yi,* or divide and rule.

When the Qing dynasty was overthrown in the Xinhai Revolution of 1911, the Khalkha Mongols made themselves independent and Outer Mongolia established itself as a sovereign state. The newly appointed governor of Xinjiang, Yang Zengxin, shifted his favor from the Mongols in Dzungaria to the Kazaks. This was done to protect the border area and to prevent Dzungarian Mongols from following the example of the Khalkhas and attempting to declare themselves independent. The Manchu-educated Yang continued to rule Xinjiang in the Imperial style from the yamen in Urumchi. Ending the preferential treatment of the Mongols and favouring the Kazaks was a typical *yi yi zhi yi* policy toward the nationalities of Xinjiang. Traditional animosity between Kazaks and Mongols increased. The Kazaks were encouraged to retaliate against the Mongols. The Chinese allowed the distribution of arms among the Kazaks, but arms were withheld from the Mongols. The Mongols along the border area in Altai were forced to move in order to divide them from the Mongols in Outer Mongolia; the Kazaks took advantage of this and, almost unchecked, plundered the Altai area.[23]

22. H. S. Brünnert & V. V. Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization of China,* Shanghai 1911, p. 440.
23. Owen Lattimore, *The Desert Road to Turkestan,* Boston 1929, pp. 298–299.

The Manchu administrative structure among the nomads survived the Chinese revolution. In the 1940s there was in fact a Wang for the Kazaks, residing in Urumchi, and regarded as a leader of all Kazaks within Chinese territory. He was, however, only a titular leader and seems to have had little influence; he was used by Sheng Shicai to legitimate his power over the Kazak nomads. Alin Wang claimed to be a **töre** and a descendant after Ablay Khan of **Orta Žüz** who swore his alligance to the Emperor in 1757.[24] The administrative *bao jia*-hierarchy established by the Manchu continued among the Kazaks. The ideal was for each lineage to be headed by an hereditary **taǯi.** During the 1940s there existed about 30 Kazak **taǯi** in Xinjiang. But in reality the power of the **taǯi** was broken during the Republican Era. Administrative reforms had cut the power of the hereditary tribal chiefs at the top of the hierarchy. Instead the nomad leaders from the **mïŋbasï** or lower were appointed leaders over counties, the subdivision of a district or aymaq. In the 1940s several of the **aymaq bastïq** were in fact Kazaks. So also were many district leaders. The lower chieftains normally inherited their positions during the Chinese Republic. A nomadic **mïŋbasï** or *okurday* controlled 300–600 yurts or nomadic households; under him was a *zaleng* or **ǯüsbasï** who had jurisdiction over 100–200 yurts, an **elibasï** or *zangen* who controlled 50–100 yurts, and a *kunde* or **onbasï** who controlled 10–30 yurts. This hierarchy was best preserved in the Altai area with its compact nomadic population.[25]

The various leaders within the hierarchy had several functions. As assistants the nomadic chief had as his advisers four **bïy** who assisted in the descision-making and judgements. They were chosen by the leader himself from among subordinate **mïŋbasï.** The chieftains at various levels had the duty of collecting taxes from the Kazak commoners and solving conflicts.[26]

To help them, the leaders had several other subordinates or assistants, about whom we have scant knowledge. Very important for maintaining contact between the nomadic leaders were their appointed messengers, **xabarčï,** while the **qarawlčï** and **saqčï** served as guards and police. A Kazak on official duty for the administrative leadership carried a sword as a sign and emblem. This sword gave him the right to free food, lodging and transport within the province. According to Lattimore this institution was officially abolished during the Republican period, but apparently it continued to function at least during the 1920s.[27]

Every year the **aymaq bastïq** called all the appointed leaders who had a rank of an **elibasï** or higher to an official meeting, **mayllS** or **köraltay.** At these meetings disputes between different chieftains, disputes over pastures, disputes between lineages, etc. were solved. At these meetings, decrees and messages from the authorities, directives on taxes, etc. were also read and distributed.

Social Organization

The Kazaks in Xinjiang have, like other tribal groups in Central Asia, a social organization based on patrilineal descent groups. It can be characterized as a hierarchy of named segments. Historically, the Kazaks consisted of pastoral tribes of Turkic and Mongolian origin which were united in confederations in the 15th and 16th centuries. From these confederations they were developed and consolidated into an ethnic unit. The Kazaks today still regard themselves as divided in three hordes, i.e. **Ulu, Orta,** and **Kiši Žüz.**

Like the **Ulu** and **Kiši Žüz, Orta Žüz** consists of several kinship units called **uru** which can be classified as maximal lineages.[28] **Orta Žüz** is, according to the Xinjiang Kazaks, divided into six **uru,** the Kerey, Nayman, Waq, Koŋrat, Qïpčaq, and Aryïn. Only the three first mentioned were represented in the Republican Xinjiang.

Here I will give just a brief outline of the **Orta Žüz** Kazak social organization. The amount of data is still too scant for a more thorough analysis.

In the 19th century the Kerey are said to have had their pastures in the valley of the Kara Irtish River and in the southern Altai. In the mid-20th

24. His grandchildren in Urumchi in 1986 still regarded themselves as töre ('noble').
25. Ian Morrison, "Some Notes on the Kazakhs of Sinkiang," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,* 36 (1949), p. 70; A. Doak Barnett, *China on the Eve of Communist Takeover,* London 1963, p. 274; *Yili Hasake Zishizhou Gaikuang* [A Survey of Ili-Kazak Autonomous Prefecture], Ed., Chen Yunbin, Ürümqi 1985, pp. 14–15.
26. [George Fox-Holmes], "The Social Structure and Customs of the Kazakhs," *Central Asian Review* 5:1 (1957), pp. 19–20.
27. Owen Lattimore, "The desert road to Turkestan," *National Geographic Magazine* 55 (1929), p. 694; Eleanor Holgate Lattimore, *Turkestan Reunion,* New York 1934, p. 165.
28. For traditional Kazak social organization in Russian Turkestan, see Alfred E.Hudson, *Kazak Social Structure* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, 20) New Haven 1938; Lawrence Krader, *Social Organization of the Mongol-Turkic Pastoral Nomads,* (Uralic and Altaic Series, 20), The Hague 1963; Elisabeth E. Bacon, *Obok. A Study of Social Structure in Eurasia,* (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, 25), New York 1958; Xalel A. Argïnbaev, *Qazaq xalqindaqi sem'ya men neke (Tarixi-Etnografiyaliq solu)* [Family and Marriage among the Kazak People (A Historical-Ethnographic Survey], Almatï 1973. The terminology for the patrilineal kinship units varies somewhat in earlier literature. Soviet and Chinese scholars still often use tribe and clan for the pastoral nomads of Central Asia. However, I have chosen the term "lineage" for the kinship units among the Kazaks.

century the Kerey Kazaks dominated in Xinjiang, and had their vast pastures on the southern slopes of the Altai mountains and in the Tian Shan. They were also to be found in the Irtish Valley, and small numbers were distributed in other parts of Dzungaria, e.g. Bogda Ulu and in the Barköl area.

The Nayman had their pastures on the west bank of the Irtish River as well as in the valley of the Kara Irtish River, the Tarbagatai basin, and the area surrounding Murka Köl. From the middle of the 20th century, they were reported as living in the Emil River valley in the frontier district of Tarbagatai in the Barlïk-, Mayli-, and the Dzhayri Mountains.

The Waq Kazaks were dispersed in small contingents throughout the Kazak area in Xinjiang.[29]

These three maximal lineages are today distributed over vast territories even outside Xinjiang. Both the Nayman and Kerey are also found in the Soviet Union, as well as in the Mongolian People's Republic.

The maximal lineages of these Kazaks are characterized by a consciousness of a common patrilineal origin, but exogamy is commonly not regarded at this level in the kinship system. Every **uru** is divided into many subgroups which can be regarded as lineages. They also are usually called **uru,** but sometimes **el** among the Kazaks. These lineages are named after a real or fictive apical ancestor. The lineage members on this level respect certain behaviour connected with the lineage, e.g. exogamy, which ties all members together. Ideally, the member should be conscious of seven forefathers.

The Waq were divided into three lineages, namely Sarï, Sarman, and Soγa. The Kerey consisted of twelve lineages, the **"Oneki Kerey",** i.e. the twelve Kerey: Ǯantekey, Ǯadïq, Iteli, Merkit, Molqï, Ǯastabaw, Köŋsadaq, Šiymoyin, Šibarayγur, Qaraqas, Sarbas, and Šerwsu. Among these lineages, which are regarded as equal to each other, the Ǯantekey has a special position. It is, in turn, further divided into sublineages, and the members on these levels can – but most do not – intermarry with other sublineages. It seems therefore correct to say that exogamy is demanded of the lowest lineage segment but is lesser strict higher up in the segmentary hierarchy. I have recorded the following sublineages among the Ǯantekey: Šaqabay, Barqï, Bazarkul, Tasbike, Esaγasï, Qïstawbay, Esdewlet, Sekel,

29. For the distribution of the Kazak maximal lineages in the 19th century, see Tôrun Saguchi, "The Kazakh Pastoralists . . .," pp. 980–983; for brief information on the distribution of the different groups in the mid-20th century, see S. I. Bruk, "Etničeskij sostav i razmeščenie naselenija v Sin'czjanskom Ujgurskom Avtonomnom Rajone Kitajskoj Narodnok Respubliki," *Sovetskaja ėtnografija* 1956:2, p. 92.

Taylak, Sïltaybolat, Qangeldi, Botaqara and Atantay. From a behavioural point of view the sublineages within Ǯantekey are regarded as equivalent with the lineages, but genealogically they are defined as subgroups.

Nayman in Xinjiang are said to be divided into nine lineages. Altay mentions the following: Törtuwïl, Sadïr, Matay, Qaragerey, Ergenekti, Bayanalï, Kökǯarlï, Sarǯomart, and Terstaŋbalï which constitute "the nine dawn sons of Nayman" **(Tokuz Taŋbalï)**[30]. I have recorded the following lineages from a Xinjiang Kazak informant belonging to the Nayman: Törtuwïl, Musqalï, Bura, Beyǯiγit, Aqnayman, Terstaŋbalï, and Sarǯomart. Historically, the lineages have developed by segmentation of larger units. Far-reaching segmentation was recorded among Nayman lineages in the Russian Altai in the 1920s.[31]

The lineages may be regarded as a kind of charter to give an individual a sense of belonging and identity. When two unfamiliar Kazaks meet each other they present themselves by thoroughly defining their own lineage through genealogies. The lineages, however, never functioned as corporate units during the Chinese Republic. The migratory groups and the administrative units did not necessary coincide with the **uru.**

Household and Marriage

The Xinjiang Kazak household consisted of the members of a yurt, **üy,** i.e. either a conjugal family or an extended family. The Kazaks practiced a patrilocal residence pattern, and polygyny was allowed.

Marriage involved a very elaborate system of rituals, ceremonies and exchange of gifts. No other transition rite among the Kazaks can in any way compete with the marriage and its prelude in richness and complexity. It includes a ritualized performance with matchmaking, exchange of bride-price **(qalïŋ mal),**[32] and dowry **(ǯasaw),** repeated reciprocal exchange of gifts, horseback racing, singing of laments, a ceremonial taking of the bridal-veil **(betašar),** feasts **(toy)** with sheep-slaughtering and great quantities of food, etc. There is no doubt that marriage is the most important of the rituals for the Kazak society.

As already mentioned, the Kazak lineages are exogamous. Repeated

30. Halife Altay, *op.cit.*, p. 4.
31. A. Margylanov, "Najmany," in: *Kazaki. Sbornik statej antropologičeskogo ortajada Kazaxstanskoj ekspeditsij AN SSR. Issledavanija 1927g.*, Ed., S. I. Rudenko, Leningrad 1930, pp. 329–334.
32. Examples of bride-price are given in Aurel Stein, *op.cit.*, p. 551; Milton J. Clark, *op.cit.*, p. 174; *Yili Hasake* . . . p. 16.

marriages between two lineages create closer ties between them. Members in such a relationship refer to each other as **sarsüyek quda** (=yellowbone relative).[33]

Mixed marriages between Kazaks and other ethnic groups did occur, but there is no indication of the frequency. It was possible for Kazak men to marry **Sart** women, i.e. sedentary Muslims or Uighurs. Marriages with Mongols are said to have taken place,[34] but my informants deny this, pointing out the great religious differences between Mongols and Kazaks.

The Kazaks themselves stated that bride theft was not practiced. According to a woman informant bride theft or elopement would have been punished with the death penalty, and she had not heard of any case.

There were several institutionalized forms for choosing spouses among the Kazaks. A common custom, by which they could avoid the system of brideprice and dowry, was the exchange of brides, **qarši qudalïq.** Two families that have agreed to such an arrangement exchange daughters as brides for their sons.

Another institution is levirate where a man must marry the wife of his deceased brother. Sororal marriage also occurred – a deceased wife would be replaced by her younger sister. Such marriages could also imply polygyny.

Non-sororal polygynous marriages were more common among wealthier Kazaks and among Kazak chieftains. There are examples of chieftains having three and even four wives.[35]

According to one traveller in some places in Xinjiang it was common for young Kazak men to marry much older women. After ten years or more, the man could also marry a younger woman and the first wife received a more remote position within the household. It seems, however, that the source in this case may have been confused by the levirate custom among the Kazaks.[36]

Parental control in connection with choice of marriage partners was still dominant during the Republican period among the Kazaks. Young women sometimes had to become servants in their future father-in-law's home for a year before the actual marriage.[37]

The Kazaks practiced patrilocal residence patterns and after marriage the young couple settled in the **awïl** of the husband. During summer the

33. Cf. Milton J. Clark, *op.cit.*, p. 172.
34. Cf. Alexis de Levchine, *Description des hordes kirghiz-kazaks.* Paris 1840, p. 364.
35. [George Fox Holmes], *loc. cit.*; Milton J. Clark, *op.cit.*, p. 172.
36. Eleanor Holgate Lattimore, *op.cit.*, p. 268.
37. Godfrey Lias, *Kazak Exodus*, London 1956, p. 59.

Kazak camp was organized in a semicircle. The yurt of the head of the family group, **ülkün üy,** was placed in the middle. If a man had several wives they often lived in separate yurts. The yurt of the second wife was called **kiši üy** ("little house"). Yurts of married sons were called **otaw,** with the prefix **ülkü** ("the eldest"), **ortančï** ("the middle"), and **kiši** ("the youngest") according to seniority. The yurts of the same lineage relatives, i.e. the sons, were placed to the right of the **ülkün üy**. Other associated yurts were placed to the left in the summer camp.[38]

In marriage new ties were created and manifested through an institutionalized joking relationship and through avoidance behaviour among affinal relatives. The joking relationship becomes apparent with rather coarse jokes, bold words, and even teasing with sexual innuendo between men and women in such relationships.

The women also observe some avoidance behaviour with regard to the older male relatives of their husbands. A wife will avoid using the name of her husband and his older male relatives and will use circumscriptions or euphemisms instead of their names in everyday speech. For instance, wives married with Iteli-men avoid the word **it** ("dog") and instead use a circumscription.[39] A wife will also observe avoidance behaviour in contact with her husband's father and mother and will leave the room if they enter and do not invite her to stay.[40]

Despite such ritual restrictions or rules of etiquette based on respect, the woman has an outstanding position, at least within the household. Married women join the discussions and take part in the decision making regarding the household. There are even examples of Kazak women who obtained outstanding positions among the nomads. The best example in Xinjiang during the Republican era was the Kazak leader Alin Wang's wife, Qadiwan, who, during the 1940s, was **aymaq bastïq** – or District Officer – in Urumchi.[41]

Fictive Kinship

There existed several social relations that could be classified as fictive kinship among the Kazaks of Xinjiang. The principle of fictive kinship involves the transformation of close friendship to kinship thus giving the relationship a more binding character. But it also includes a dimension of

38. Cf. Milton J. Clark, *op.cit.*, p. 112.
39. Ibid., p. 100
40. Cf. *Yili Hasake . . .*, pp. 14–15.
41. Cf. Godfrey Lias, *op.cit.*, p. 151.

voluntariness contrary to relationships by blood ties. Blood brotherhood, **tamïr** is certainly the most well-known.[42] This institution is established by certain ritualized behaviours including oath-taking (**qasam**), exchange of gifts, slaughtering of sheep, and by the dipping of hands in sheep's blood.[43]

The other kind of fictive kinship ties resemble the institution of godparenthood in southern Europe. This is the relationship that is established between a child and the woman who cuts its umbilical cord. This woman is called **kindik čeče** (lit. "navel mother"). This institution occurs among several ethnic groups in Central and Northern Asia but seems to have drawn little attention from scholars. Among the Kazaks in Xinjiang the **kindik čeče** acts as a midwife and cuts the umbilical cord of the newborn child. The special relationship between the child and its **kindik čeče** persists throughout life, and the child continues to address her as "mother" (**čeče**). This relationship also implies certain reciprocal duties.

Adoption

Adoption is a frequent institution among the Kazaks, as well as among other Central Asian peoples such as the Tuvins, Khotons, and several Mongolian groups. It also occurs among the Uighurs in Xinjiang.[44] Among the Kazaks in Xinjiang it was a custom to offer the first-born to the man's parents or his elderly brother. Even childless couples could adopt a child from some close relatives. The Kazaks explain the custom of offering the first-born child to their parents as a way of keeping them (the parents) young. Kazaks have a saying that a child in the house keeps it young. In the Koran an adopted child is discriminated against[45] but the Muslim Kazaks regard an adopted child as their real child with the same rights and duties as their own. If the child is adopted by its patrilineal grandparents, his

42. Cf. Milton J. Clark, *op.cit.*, p. 43.
43. Ibid.; Cf. Godfrey Lias, *op.cit.*, p. 42.
44. For a description on the institution among Tuvins, see Erica Taube, "Mutter und Kind im Brauchtum der Tuwiner," *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig*, 27 (1970), pp. 76–77; among the Khotons, see Magdalena Tatár Fosse, "The Khotons of Western Mongolia," *Acta orientalia* 33:1 (1979), p. 24, and from the various Mongolian groups, Françoise Aubin, "Le statut de l'enfant dans la société mongoles," *L'Enfant*, 1 (1975), pp. 475–480.
45. The adoption custom among Kazaks before 1949 is also mentioned in *Yili Hasake . . .*, p. 15. According to the cultural anthropologist Bessac the Kazaks obtained foreign children by stealing them from other ethnic groups, Frank B. Bessac, "Co-variation between interethnic relations and social organizations in Inner Asia," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, 50 (1965), p. 378. My own information from Kazak refugees, however, makes this hard to believe. I think Bessac misunderstood the adoption custom among the Kazaks.

biological father will be regarded as his/her real brother. Although the real circumstances become apparent as the child grows up, closer contact will be maintained with the step-family, and the child will be the heir of that family, not of his biological father. An adopted child will in all aspects be regarded as a full member of its step-family.[46]

Migratory Cycle of the Nomads

The nomadism of the Kazaks in Xinjiang was vertical rather than horizontal as it was on the Kazak steppe in the west. Their winter pastures were in the valleys and on the Dzungarian steppe, but they moved up into the mountains when spring came. Thus the Kazak nomadism of Xinjiang resembles the Kirghiz nomadism in Central Asia rather than the dominating pattern of Kazak nomadism of the Kazak steppe.[47]

The Kazak nomads of Xinjiang moved in units called **awïl,** which commonly consisted of groups of related households. Each migratory group was led by an **awïl bastïq.** These leaders were responsible to the administrative organization and also transmitted messages from the **ǯüzbasï.** They also made decisons about the movements of the migratory group.

Larger and richer **awïl** consisted of up to twenty households having altogether 4,000–5,000 sheep, 300–800 horses, 80–600 cattle and 60–200 camels. The poorest **awïl** consisted of only one or a couple of households with only a number of animals.[48]

A Soviet source divided the nomads of Tekes and Kunges Valleys into three categories in accordance with the size of the animal stock.[49] Each category was said to have the following amount of animlas:

Horses	2,000–5,000	200–300	15–20
Cattle	300–400	100	15
Sheep	5,000–10,000	1,000	50–100

Rich group leaders would let the herding be done by contracted herdsmen. In the Ili valley the Kazaks sometimes had Mongols as herdsmen. But there were also richer Kazak chieftains who were settled in towns or

46. The custom of offering the first-born for adoption still occurs among Kazaks and Uighurs in Xinjiang, according to interviews made in northern Xinjiang in 1986.
47. For further description and classification of Central Asian pastoralism, see A. M. Khazanov, *The Nomads and the Outside World*, Cambridge 1984.
48. Milton J. Clark, op.cit., p. 40.
49. Quoted from Fuad Kazak, *Ostturkistan zwischen den Grossmächten*, (Osteuropäische Forschungen, N. F. 23), Königsberg 1937, p. 34.

villages and retained feudal ties with poorer herdsmen in a system of stock raising by shares. These absentee leaders rented their herds to poorer nomads. The growth in the herds was paid back as rent.[50] It is also said that sedentary Dungans (*Hui*) sometimes leased their herds to Kazak herdsmen.[51] Of course, these economic relations developed a kind of obligating dyad between Kazak leaders and common herdsmen. An alternative method also existed in which kinfolk could lend some milk animals during the summertime to poorer relatives. The animals were returned in the autumn without compensation.

The Kazaks had their winter pastures, **qïstaw,** on the steppes or along the forest-clad banks of the river valleys in Dzungaria and Altai. They traditionally lived in log houses or adobe houses during wintertime. Some kin groups or individuals had the right to winter pastures in certain areas. Other nomads had to use marginal areas around marshes or along river banks.

Wintertime and early spring is the most critical period for the animals. At this time of the year they suffer from shortage of fodder and a harsh climate. In only one winter storm, the herds could be decimated so only half might survive. Owners of larger herds were liable to suffer the greatest losses proportionally, while poorer nomads could manage to feed more animals thanks to stores of hay. After such catastrophes, known as **ʒüt** by the Kazaks, the prices of meat increased on the markets to double or more in order to cover the loss.[52]

The time when the Kazaks would leave their winter pastures depended on when the first grass started to grow. This, of course, varied from location to location in Dzungaria. In Tian Shan the spring migrations are said to start as early as the end of March or beginning of April, while movement started much later in the Altai area. The first movement was from the winter pastures to the spring pastures, **köktew,** commonly a fixed place owned by certain migratory groups, where they lived in yurts. The **köktew** are located on lower flanks of the mountains. The migration is dramatic and heralds the beginning of the real nomadic way of life, according to Kazak standards. Owen Lattimore, who travelled in Xinjiang in the late 1920s, gives the following vivid eyewitness report of the spring migration of the Kerey Kazaks:

50. Chang Chih-yi, "Land Utilization and Settlement Possibilities in Sinkiang," *The Geographical Review* 39 (1949), p. 66.
51. A. Doak Barnet, *op.cit.*, p. 273.
52. Ludwig Golomb, *Die Bodenkultur in Ost-Turkestan* (Studia Instituti Anthropos, 14), Freiburg 1959, p. 109; Nils Ambolt, *Karavan,* Stockholm, p. 71.

> To force a way through the snow, they drove their pony herds before them to trample out a rough road. Then came oxen and cows, every one of them laden, some with felts and household furniture. Some served as saddle beasts, and often a baby would be strapped in its rough cradle on top of a load.
>
> The pony herd was in charge of the youngest and most active men, and the cattle were guided mostly by women. After them came more men, in charge of the camels, which floundered with difficulty through the frozen, slippery snow, often falling into drifts and having to be dug and hauled out. The camels, being the strongest and tallest of the animals, were laden with the poles and framework of the *yurts*, the round felt tents. At this time of year the baby camels, only a few months old, are unable to stand the hardship of long, difficult marches; each was tied on top of the load carried by its mother.
>
> Last of all came the great flocks of sheep, struggling and floundering through the snow. They were herded along by young boys and girls, riding young oxen and ponies; and the saddle of every child was draped, fore and aft, with exhausted lambs picked out of the snow.[53]

At the **köktew** the Kazaks also branded the animals. Every household or migratory group had their own brand, **taŋba,** to mark the ownership of the animals. Individual animals of each member of the migratory group had their own mark, **en.** The larger animals were branded, while the sheep and goats were marked by cuts in their ears. This was done by using certain brand irons or with the help of two large scissors. The horses and the horned cattle were branded on the flanks, while the camels were marked on the chests. Sheep and goats were cut in the ears and the Kazaks have certain names for these marks, depending on where on the ears they were cut, **kiyik en, solaq en, kez en, sïdïŋyïš en,** etc.[54]

In May or in the beginning of June the nomads would move to higher altitudes where they have their summer pastures, **ʒaylaw.** Some moved further up in July. The herds grazed the whole summer in the mountains.

53. Owen Lattimore, "The desert road to Turkestan," *National Geographic Magazine* 55 (1929), pp. 688–689.
54. Halife Altay, *op.cit.*, pp. 25–26. Owners' marks among Turkic peoples have been discussed in detail by several ethnographers; for Xinjiang see Gunnar Jarring, "Owner's mark's among the Turks of Central Asian," in: *Scholia, Beiträge zur Turkologie und Zentralasienkunde. Annemarie von Gabain zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Juli 1981 dargebracht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern,* (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, 14). Wiesbaden 1981, pp. 103–106. For discussion of owner's mark among Kazaks, see J. Castagné, "Les tamgas des Kirgizes (Kazaks)," *Revue du monde musulman* 47 (1921), pp. 30–64 and Alfred E. Hudson, *op.cit.*, pp. 31–32.

Fig. 1. A Kazak family at their summer camp in Tian Shan south of Urumchi in the beginning of the 1930s.

(Photo: Nils Ambolt. From the Hedin Collection, the Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm)

Now, the animals had their milking period and several dairy products were made. The nomads also produced some clothing and tools. Traditionally the border for pasture lands was marked by stone pillars, **oba,** and claims on pastures were common sources for conflicts between the migratory groups.

Most of the men were herders, **malčï** or **qoyčï.** Their main duties were to guard, herd and move the animals, but also to geld them, cut the sheep, butcher, and milk the mares. Young boys started herding early. The herdsmen spent the days herding the animals on pastures around the camps. Occasionally during the summer, men living in the camps rode down to market places in towns to buy provisions or to buy salt for the sheep.[55]

The camp was the women's domain. They were responsible for the work at the camp and inside the yurt. They made the food, gathered firewood

55. Nils Ambolt, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

and dung for fuel, milked cows, sheep and camels, took care of the children, and had other minor obligations.[56]

During the summertime the diet for the nomads consisted of various milk products, among others fermented mares milk or kumyss, **qïmïz,** and sour milk, **ayran.** The Kazaks drank a lot of tea which was produced from brick tea obtained in the markets, and they ate bread. Beside dairy products, many nomads also consumed large quantities of meat. Poorer nomads, however, also had to live on cereals during the summertime. Vegetables did not exist within the traditional Kazak diet. The main meal was eaten during the evening.[57]

While most of the Kazak men were herdsmen they were also fond of hunting. The game was usually deer, mountain sheep, fox, wolves, and gamebirds. Some Kazaks were specialized as hunters. They hunted fur animals and the pelts were sold on the markets. Hunters from Altai have told me about even more strange game they captured in the mountains. During a hunting expedition in the 1930s, two men of the **Šaqabay** lineage, captured a **kiyk adam** ("Wild Man") which they brought to their camp.[58] It was furious and clawed people. Its body was said to be hairy. Since it had breasts they determined it was a female. They tied her to a pole by their yurt. But the creature cried the whole night, so they felt sorry for it and released her the next morning!

In August and September the **awïl** started to move back toward the winter pastures. They stayed one month or so on lower altitudes in the autumn pastures, **kuzdew,** where the sheep were sheared. Back in the **qïstaw** some animals were sold in the markets, while others were slaughtered.

Despite the fact that some Kazaks settled as peasants in Dzungaria and a very few others specialized as smiths, saddlemakers, carpenters, and fishermen, the cultural focus of the Kazaks was nomadism, around which their basic values were generated. The cognitive orientation of the Kazaks was to a very high degree imprinted by the nomadic life style. To see their herds growing, to have many horses, to go hunting with good or well-trained hunting eagles constituted the highest quality of life for Kazak

56. Eleanor Holgate Lattimore, *op.cit.*, p. 267; Milton J. Clark, *op.cit.*, pp. 46–47.
57. Nils Ambolt, *op.cit.*, p. 71; Ludwig Golomb, *op.cit.*, p. 115.
58. See also Owen Lattimore, *Desert road . . .*, p. 186 about stories on a hairy wild man in the forests of Xinjiang. Tradition on wild men is common in Central Asia, cf. Emanuel Vlček, "Old literary evidence for the existence of the 'snow man' in Tibet and Mongolia," *Man* 59 (1959), pp. 133–134 and Dimitri Bayanov, "Hominology in the Soviet Union," in: *The Sasquatch and Other Unknown Hominids,* Ed., V. Markotić, Calgary 1984, pp 65–74.

men. But there were also other basic values connected with the nomadic life.

The Kazaks fancied freedom, bravery and martial ideals. Every Kazak man was a potential warrior, fit to defend honour, family, and livestock with his life. People who had qualified in war were lionized in folk songs and in the oral tradition. Such people were given the epithet **batïr** ('Hero') and could claim leadership over a group of Kazaks willing to follow them. Bravery could also be expressed through theft of horses. To steal horses from others was idealized as something desirable, because in that way the young men especially could express their bravery and virility. Horse thefts were institutionalized and were called **barïmta.** For instance, if a man did not obtain a girl promised as wife from another lineage group, it justified horsethefts in the eyes of the Kazaks. He could steal horses from the family who should have given him their daughter.

The Livestock and Its Utilisation

The largest number of animals among the Kazak nomads were the sheep. The Kazaks kept mainly the fat-tailed sheep, **(qïzïl qoy)**. They were used for milk, mutton, wool, and skin products.

According to my informants, the Kazaks of Altai had only a few goats. Some goats, designated **serke** (lit. 'leader goat') were kept together with the sheep. Their function was to guide the sheep to find grazing. The goats are regarded as more active and clever in searching for good grazing. This custom is known to exist among other shepherding people in Central and Western Asia. I have, for example, observed it among the Kara Hacılı Yörüks in Central Anatolia and it is still a common practice among the Kazaks in Bogda Ulu in Xinjiang.[59] From the goats the nomads also get milk. According to one author, poorer nomads had goats instead of cows for producing milk.[60]

Horned cattle were held in small herds among the nomads for producing milk and skins and as beasts of burden. In the Ili valley they were kept in larger number for sale as livestock in the autumn. A problem with cattle is to keep them during the winter. The Kazaks did not produce winter fodder on any large scale, but some nomads had access to good winter pastures where the cattle could graze during wintertime.

While mare's milk was held apart from other milk, the milk from sheep,

59. Cf. Gunnar Jarring, *Åter till Kashgar. Memoarer i nuet,* Stockholm 1979, p. 53.
60. Ludwig Golomb, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

goat, and cow could be mixed and was used for almost the same kind of products. According to a woman informant from Altai, the Kazaks utilized the biestings, **uwus,** freshmilk, **süt,** cream, **qaymaq,** and they also made sour milk, **ayran,** and a kind of thick sour milk, **qatïq.** For winter supply they produced dried dairy products, dried curds, **qurt,** and dried cheese, **irimčiq** and **aq irimčiq.**[61]

The horse is the domestic animal with the highest status among the Kazak nomads. This was manifested, among other ways, by a rich treasure of songs that praised beautiful and fleetfooted horses. Horses were kept for riding and as transport animals, as well as for meat and milk producers, and for sale. During summertime, young horses and stallions grazed on the meadows while the mares were kept near the yurts. About twenty mares were kept for each stallion.[62]

One of my informants stated that men commonly milked the mares, but even women could occasionally perform that task. She also said that mares have to be milked very fast, otherwise no milk will come. A mare could be milked up to five times a day.

Horseflesh was a highly appreciated meat among the Kazaks. Horsemeat sausage was accounted as a great delicacy among them. Another horse meat dish was the **qouwïrdaq,** a kind of stew.

The mountain horses from Barköl, the Ili valley and Karashar had a wide reputation and were sought after on the markets all over the province.[63] The nomads often had to pay horses in tax to the provincial authorities. In one of Sheng Shicai's efforts to raise money for his government – or his own – use, he ordered that each district in Xinjiang should contribute a specific number of horses to the government in March 1944. Of course, few districts could afford to give up horses. Only the districts inhabited by the Kazaks and the Mongols in Karashar produced horses. The order stated that if a district did not have horses, they should pay Xn$ 700 in lieu of each horse; this was nearly double the price for a horse on the market at that time. The aim of the decree was certainly to collect money, rather than horses.[64]

61. See also Halife Altay, *op.cit.*, pp. 59–62 for information on cattle, sheep and goats, their designations, care and various kind of illness. Dairy products are described on p. 116. Information on dairy products are also to be found in Nils Ambolt, *op.cit.*, pp. 70–71, and Ludwig Golomb, *op.cit.*, p. 114.
62. Eleanor Holgate Lattimore, *op.cit.*, p. 225.
63. Washington D. C., US. Department of State. Records of the Office of Strategic Services, Research and Analysis Branch, Report No. 751, "Survey of Sinkiang," 2nd Ed., Sept. 27, 1943, p. 6.
64. Linda Benson, *op.cit.*, pp. 62–63.

My informants from Altai have mentioned that they used camels for milking as well as for meat production. But they were also used as beasts of burden. While the Chinese and Mongols pierce the camel for the bit below the opening of the nostril, and well back, the Kazak did it above the level of the nostrils, where the cartilage is said to be much weaker.[65] During the migration the camels carried the construction materials of the yurts. It is stated by several authors that the Kazaks had very few camels. There were ecological limitations to keeping camels. Because camels are steppe animals, the Kazaks had few possibilities of keeping them at their high altitude pastures during the summertime. In some areas, however, nomads kept camels and sold them to Chinese and Uighur caravan traders as beasts of burden. In other areas it is said that the Kazaks kept a few camels only as a kind of status symbol, an animal to look upon, and thus kept in small numbers near the nomadic campsite.[66]

My female informant from Altai mentioned that they used to milk the camels three times a day. To milk a camel mare two person were needed: one held it, while the other milked it. Camel milk could not be fermented.

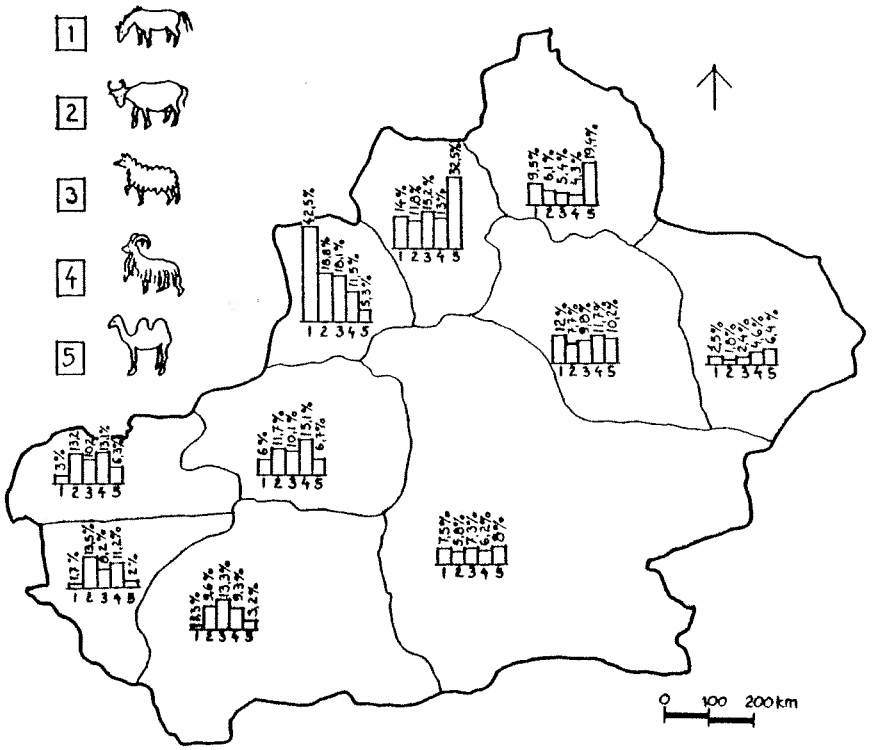
The Kazak nomads kept two kinds of dogs. One breed was to guard the stock from predatory animals, while a certain breed of greyhound called **taz it** was used for hunting.

Some Kazaks also had eagles, **burqut,** for hunting. Good hunting eagles were very expensive. One good eagle could easily cost two of the best horses. Lattimore says that good eagles were commonly not sold, but given to chieftains and other important high-ranked persons to bestow honour.[67] Eagle nestlings, as well as falcons, were captured in nests located on mountain sides in Bogda and in Altai.

Economic Aspects of Nomadic Production

According to a Soviet estimate, the animal stock in Xinjiang declined during the Chinese Republic from 17 million animals in the beginning of the 1910s to 12 million toward the end of the 1940s. Economic mismanagement by the local Chinese rulers of the province was said to have been the main cause for this.[68] It may be so, but in fact during the Republic Kazak animal production became more and more integrated into the market economy of the province.

65. Owen Lattimore, *The Desert Road . . .*, p. 133.
66. i.e., Ludwig Golomb, *op.cit.*, p. 117.
67. Owen Lattimore, "The desert road . . .," p. 689.
68. N. N. Mingulov, "The Uprising in North-West Sinkiang, 1944–49," *Central Asian Review* 11:2 (1963), p. 181.



Map 2. The Number of Livestock by District in 1946.

Xinjiang was a very isolated province within China. A small amount of trade went via the caravan routes along the Gansu corridor. The trade declined during the Republican era and it seems mainly to have existed to supply the Han Chinese rulers with goods.[69] While trade with the rest of China was of less importance, however, trade in the western direction with Russia and, after 1917, with the Soviet Union increased in importance. The main export item was livestock and livestock products.Thus the nomads played a significant role for the trade in Xinjiang 1911–1949.

In the 1850s, Russia had already established trading offices in Ili and Tacheng. After the Russian annexation of Western Turkestan in 1865 the trade between Xinjiang and Russia increased in importance. There were

69. See figures on trade in Fuad Kazak, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

few significant natural barriers toward Russia. While the Xinhai Revolution in 1911 interrupted most of the Xinjiang trade with China, the Russian Revolution did not stop the trade over the border to Xinjiang. Civil war, however, decreased its importance for some years. Still, in 1913, 300,000 sheep were sold to Russia from Xinjiang. The trade in sheep, skins and wool had decreased but began to recover in the mid-1920s. In 1926 around 90,000 sheep were exported from Xinjiang to the Soviet Union, which constituted 32 % of Soviet purchases from Xinjiang. All livestock together accounted for 48 % of that year's trade.

During the 1930s these totals increased rapidly and between 1930 and 1933 livestock and animal products provided between 79 and 93 % of the total trade with the Soviet Union.[70]

Official provincial figures published in 1932 in Xinjiang counted 10 million sheep, 1.5 million horned cattle, 700,0000 horses, 200,000 donkeys, and 60,000 camels.[71]

In 1943 the livestock of the whole province was estimated at 11,720,000 sheep and goats, 1,550,000 horned cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels. The nomads are said to have owned about two-thirds of the total number of animals.[72]

Further details about the distribution of the pastoral production are to be found in the provincial census from 1946 in which the animal stock was also recorded. The distribution of animals in each district was as follows:[73]

Table 3. The Distribution of Livestock by District in 1946.

Districts	Horses	Horned Cattle	Sheep	Goat	Camel
	(n=1,078,908)	(n=1,807,196)	(n=11,387,986)	(n=2,862,253)	(n=97,477)
Urumchi	12 %	7.7 %	9.8 %	11.7 %	10.2 %
Ili	42.5 %	18.8 %	18.1 %	11.5 %	5.3 %
Tacheng	14 %	11.8 %	15.2 %	13 %	32.5 %
Altai	9.5 %	6.1 %	5.4 %	4.3 %	19.4 %
Hami	2.5 %	1.8 %	2.4 %	4.6 %	6.4 %
Kashgar	3 %	13.2 %	10.2 %	13.1 %	6.3 %
Aksu	6 %	11.7 %	10.1 %	15.1 %	6.7 %
Khotan	1.3 %	9.6 %	13.3 %	9.3 %	3.2 %
Yanqi	7.5 %	5.8 %	7.3 %	6.2 %	8 %
Yarkand	1.7 %	13.5 %	8.2 %	11.2 %	2 %

70. Owen Lattimore, *Pivot of . . .*, p. 174; Lars-Erik Nyman, *Great Britain and Chinese, Russian, and Japanese Interests in Sinkiang, 1918–1934*, (Lund Studies in International History, 8), Lund 1977, pp. 35–36.
71. Washington D. C., US. Department of State, Records of . . ., Report 751, p. 38.
72. Chang Chih-yi, *op.cit.*, p. 65.
73. Counted on figures published in She Lingyin, *op.cit.*, pp. 15–20.

The districts where the Kazaks lived were clearly the major animal stock areas. The high percentage of livestock in Yanqi (Karashar) is due to the nomadic Mongols living in the northern part of that district. Detailed figures from each county prove that large numbers of animals were to be found in areas dominated by the Kazaks.[74]

Table 4. The Distribution of Livestock in Counties Dominated by Kazaks in 1946.

Ili district	Horses	Horned Cattle	Sheep	Goat	Camels
Ili	55,221	139,501	366,611	57,690	508
Suiding	26,383	23,265	241,905	26,126	148
Gongliu	26,084	27,117	117,165	38,516	254
Tekes	51,237	35,604	187,892	–	120
Gongha	60,964	38,638	254,780	62,046	351
Zhaosu	43,953	44,778	178,740	25,896	445
Ningxi	21,400	15,778	70,083	29,449	117
Houcheng	18,171	17,369	86,612	21,654	76
Wenquan	9,082	18,078	238,991	17,073	324
Bole	9,773	18,392	158,431	30,748	997
Jinghe	99,248	18,758	89,527	20,361	288
Xinyuan	36,639	23,610	72,713	–	196
Tacheng district					
Tacheng	16,430	47,259	243,131	73,826	3,661
Emin	69,215	80,006	842,967	129,510	13,839
Hofeng	25,647	23,089	267,093	52,080	8,636
Yumin	12,348	26,854	168,014	45,554	1,287
Shawan	9,884	13,648	66,439	29,586	908
Usu	17,162	22,101	145,936	40,472	1,290

74. Ibid.

Altai district					
Chenghua	23,358	27,007	132,881	30,000	5,211
Burqin	21,619	24,795	117,861	16,672	1,640
Jeminay	11,588	14,968	107,802	20,000	1,713
Habahe	15,247	23,731	109,140	17,291	1,173
Fuhai	9,995	8,368	63,400	16,000	3,631
Fuyun	13,605	6,349	45,628	13,000	3,146
Qinghe	7,403	3,397	37,211	10,000	2,319
Hami district					
Hami	13,307	17,275	160,292	85,517	2,989
Chenxi (Barköl)	11,096	10,791	90,625	35,769	2,645
Yiwu	2,661	3,882	23,890	10,700	624

These figures are problably not exact. It is hard to believe that the census takers were able to get the real numbers from pastoralists who had to pay taxes according to the head of livestock they owned. However, the figures at least give an idea of the importance and the relative size of the animal stock within the Kazak areas.

More specific information on trade is rare. Horses, especially the breeds of Barköl and Ili, continued to play an important role as an export product to the Soviet Union. Especially in the Ili area, the horned cattle also played an important role in exports. Furthermore, large amounts of sheep were also sold as livestock over the border. Lattimore has pointed out that the increasing demand for meat in Soviet Central Asia from Xinjiang was due to the growth of large consumer cities there. The cotton-growing regions of the Soviet Central Asia, especially Uzbek SSR, were the chief purchasers. The shift from diversified farming to specialized farming, accompanied by industrialization all over Soviet Central Asia, increased the demand for livestock from Xinjiang. This in turn increased the degree of specialization and commercialization of the nomadic economy of the Kazaks in Xinjiang.[75] Unfortunately, few detailed figures are available on the exports. The Xinjiang provincial statistics were never systematically kept. It is said, however, that exports from Xinjiang to the Soviet Union increased from 26,665 tons in 1935 to 28,990 tons in 1937. In January–August 1937, the

75. Owen Lattimore, *Pivot of . . .*, p. 175.

following items were exported to the Soviet Union, according to official figures published in Urumchi:[76]

Table 5. Trade with the USSR, January–August 1937.

Products	Tons	Value in thousands of rubles
Live animals	7,422	2,878
Hides	1,868	2,519
Wool	1,872	2,390
Cattle intestines	128	2,117
Furs	105	1,584
Hair (mainly camel)	181	425
Raw silk	115	1,235
Cotton	930	1,041
	Total:	14,189

It is obvious that the Kazak production was adapted to a market economy in which animals and animal products were sold on the market and exported to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union purchased raw materials and in return sold manufactured goods to Xinjiang. The export figures show that the nomadic production was not marginal, but of real importance for the economic life of Xinjiang. A Soviet source gives us the import figures from Xinjiang in the 1940s.

Table 6. Imports to the Soviet Union from Xinjiang 1942–1945.[77]

	1942	1943	1944	1945
Wool (in tons)	4,864	811	157	2,089
Cattle	18,100	500	18,300	4,400
Sheep & Goats	481,000	2,500	469,400	315,000
Horses	50,200	2,200	19,000	25,500
Large hides	49,800	540	1,100	5,100
Small hides	1,548,000	12,700	7,300	118,000

76. Washington D. C., US. Department of State, Records of . . ., Report 751, p. 39.
77. M. I. Šladovski, *Istorija torgovo-ekonomičeskix otnošenij SSSR s Kitaem*, Moskva 1977, p. 158.

Table 7. Imports to the Soviet Union from Xinjiang 1946–1949.[78]

	1946	1947	1948	1949
Wool (in tons)	1,267	1,697	1,061	1,166
Cattle	48,200	21,300	34,700	35,200
Sheep & Goats	334,900	399,900	344,500	319,300
Small hides	520,000	495,000	379,000	412,000
Large hides	106,000	63,000	25,000	23,000
Intestines (in bundles)	516,000	829,000	642,000	631,000

In 1942 the warlord of Xinjiang, the *duban* Sheng Shicai broke his alliance with the Soviet Union. As a result, in 1943 the border was closed for a while. This was certainly a primary reason for the rebellion of the Kazaks in 1944. Their production depended on open borders. They had adapted their economic life to producing livestock and animal products for export to the Soviet Union. Suddenly they faced a situation in which their products could not be sold. When the Ili rebels opened the trade again a sudden increase can be seen in the trade figures for 1945. After the establishment of the anti-Chinese rebel government in Ili, the three districts of Dzungaria bordering the Soviet Union traded as usual again. These areas were populated by the Kazaks and the Soviet Union could purchase the same products as before.

The Kazak population in Xinjiang was to a high degree a result of Kazaks escaping the decreasing possibilities for independent animal husbandry production on the steppes. As nomads, the Kazaks could support themselves with animal products in Xinjiang. But during the Chinese Republic their production was highly adapted to the market economy of Xinjiang. Although a primitive economy, it still was much influenced by the trade over the Sino-Soviet border. Traders had already penetrated Xinjiang in the middle of the 19th century. While the Soviet Union had decreased trade across the borders in the west, it continued and increased after the revolution in the east. Tatar traders, originally immigrants from Russsia, brought the animals and products to the borders where they had kinship-based network contacts who took care of the animals. After 1926, however, the Soviet Union established its own trading company in Xinjiang. The Kazak nomads became highly dependent on this market. But they could, despite conflicts with the Chinese rulers and some uprisings, continue to live a rather independent way of life until the People's Liberation Army entered the province in the end of 1949.

78. Ibid., p. 187.

OSMAN BATUR: THE KAZAK'S GOLDEN LEGEND

by

Linda Benson

Ufkunda Gökbayrak, şanlı Ay-Yıldız
Arkasında bölük, bölük kızan, kız,
Ulu Allah' ından alıp kuvvet, hız,
Yazdı her savaşta bir altın destan!

Before him stood the Turkish flag,
with star and crescent,
Behind him his countrymen,
young men and maidens,
Drawing his strength and speed from
Great Allah,
In every way he rode a golden legend!

From "The Osman Batur Legend"
By F. Cemal Oğuz Öcal

In April of 1951, the Kerey Kazak leader Osman Batur was executed by the newly established government of the People's Republic of China (hereafter PRC) as a bandit and a traitor. Thus was eliminated one of the Kazaks' most romantic and colourful leaders – one whose career spanned a tumultuous and intriguing period of modern Chinese history.

Osman's death marked the end of organized Kazak resistance to the imposition of the Chinese Communist Party's rule in Xinjiang. It also left unanswered myriad questions concerning the nature of Osman's role in China's northwesternmost province. Today myth and legend surround this charismatic figure, whose exploits in the 1940s were still being vilified in 1985 in the PRC. Among Kazak communities outside of China, he remains a Kazak "Batur" or hero. But the historical record itself has remained unclear. Not only are Osman's actual movements during the period of the 1930s and 1940s in some doubt, but also the very allegiance of the man himself has been open to question. Was he a "freebooter" owing alle-

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