

SOME ASPECTS OF THE ETHNIC PROCESSES OCCURRED IN CENTRAL ASIA AND ALONG THE VOLGA AND URAL RIVERS IN THE EARLY 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

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Abstract: In this article, ethnic processes, ethno-political and ethno-cultural relations, ethno-political and ethno-cultural relations, processes of ethnic formation or the processes of coming to the form of today, mainly of Central Asia and the Volga-Ural region Turks, but also of all Turks, in the last middle ages, close similarities in the clans of the Kazakh, Karakalpak, Uzbek and Nogai peoples. and at the beginning of the 20th century, among the Karakalpaks, there is talk of memories of their ancestors living on the banks of the Volga.

Keywords: Central Asia, Volga-Ural region, Mahmud Koshgari, Khurasan, Seljuks, Kipchak, Mangit, Naiman, Kungirat, Qiyat, "besh-o'g'il", "olti-ogil", "uch-urug" "yetti-urug", "chimboyliq"

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Most of the Turkic people who have nomadic origins in Central Asia and neighboring countries, as a specific ethnic group, whose present form was mainly the result of ethnocultural processes that took place during the Classical Middle Ages and the Late Middle Ages. In particular, the emergence of the Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Karakalpak, Turkmen, Uyghur and Uzbeks as separate people coincides with the above-mentioned periods. Among these, it is possible to include the Nogay, Bashkir and Kazan Tatars, who are Turkic people from the Volga-Ural rivers neighbouring the region from the north-west. The beginning of separation of the Turks from one root into different branches along Central Asia and the Volga-Ural rivers corresponds to the 15th-16th centuries of the classical Middle Ages but the processes of becoming separate ethnic groups are limited to the late Middle Ages, the 17th-19th centuries, and even the beginning of the 20th century⁶³.

To get a more complete picture of this process, it is necessary to take a brief look at the stages of the division of the Turkic people. In fact, the first stage of the ethnic formation of almost all Turkic people goes back to the same foundation, and the beginning corresponds to the early Middle Ages. However, in contrast to the Turks of Southern Siberia and Altai, Onadoli and the South Caucasus (Azerbaijan), the process of separation of the Turks of Central Asia and the Volga-Ural rivers into different ethnic groups occurs somewhat later than them. The separation process of

⁶³ Bregel Y. An historical atlas of Central Asia. Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2003. – P. 70-80.

Anatolian Turks, Iraqi and Syrian Turkmens, Azerbaijanis from the common Turkic core mainly coincides with the Seljuks (1040-1157) period⁶⁴, while the separation process of the Turkic people of South Siberia and Altai: altai-kiji, tuva, khakas, shor, teleuts from other Turkic people happened in the 9th-10th centuries, which are considered as the developed Middle Ages.

In the developed Middle Ages, the majority of Central Asian and the Volga-Ural Turks converted to the Muslim religion and being ideologically different from the South Siberian and Altai Turks, who were their neighbors from the northeast leads to a relative weakening of the common unity between the people of both regions.

Separation of the Turks as “Muslims” and “non-Muslims” who lived in the region “from Romania to China”, that is, from Eastern Europe to Northern China, that is, in today's phrase, “Eurasian latitudes”, were shown and confirmed in Mahmud Kashkariy's work “Devonu Lug'ati-at-Turk” (11th century). Mahmud Kashkariy distinguished that the Turks' central region was Ettisuv, a part of the Amu Darya, Syr-Darya range and the central parts of Eastern Turkestan, Koshgar and its surroundings, and Kucha, Turfon to the northeast of it, and the Turks to its northeast were mainly called as “non-Muslims” and “non-Muslim Turks”. According to “Devonu-at-Turk”, it was the time when Uyghurs often lived between the northeastern ranges of the Tianshan Mountains and the Altai, who had not yet converted to Islam, and were engaged in ideological struggles with the Karakhani Turks, who were not considered as Muslims⁶⁵.

Mahmud Kashkariy almost did not dwell on the religion of the Turkic people living west of the central regions of the Turks, in the Volga, the Urals, and in Eastern Europe: bulgars, suvors, bayanaks (pechenegs), bashkirs, and kipchaks. However, it is clear from the Arabic and Persian written sources of the modern Middle Ages that a significant part of the Turks who lived in the north of the Black Sea, the North Caucasus and the Volga-Ural rivers, were Muslim and the remaining part was in their old belief system (piety) and Christianity⁶⁶. By the Classical Middle Ages, especially, there was no ideological difference between the Turks living in the Volga-Ural region and the regions adjacent to it from the west and the Turks of Central Asia, because almost all the Turkic population in this area

⁶⁴ Агаджанов С. Г. Очерки истории огузов и туркмен Средней Азии IX – XIII вв. – Ашгабад: Ёлым, 1969. – С. 226-230; Туркмены / отв.ред. Н.А. Дубова; Ин-т этнологии и антропологии им. Н.Н. Миклухо-Маклая РАН; Ин-т истории АН Туркменистана. – М.: Наука, 2016. – С. 265, 364-364.

⁶⁵ Кошғарий, Махмуд. Туркий сўзлар девони (Девону-луғот ит-турк) / Таржимон ва нашрга тайёрловчи С. М. Муталибов. 3 томлик. 1-том. – Тошкент: Фан, 1963. – Б. 64-66.

⁶⁶ Худуд улолаам (Мовароуннахр тавсифи). Форс тилидан таржима, сўз боши, изоҳлар ва жой номлари кўрсаткичи муаллифи О. Бўриев. – Т., 2008. – Б. 6-22; Истахрий. «Китаб ал-масалик вал-мамалик». Йўллар ва ўлкалар китоби. Тадқиқот, араб тилидан таржима, изоҳ ва кўрсаткичлар муаллифи Р. Т. Худайберганов. – Тошкент: Фан, 2019. – Б. 261-262, 305-306; Агаджанов С. Г. Очерки истории огузов и туркмен Средней Азии IX – XIII вв. – С. 379.

converted to Islam during the Golden Horde (13th and 15th centuries). This led to the free continuation of mutual ethno-cultural processes between the Turkic population of both regions.

Despite being known as a Muslim Turkic population in the developed Middle Ages and Classical Middle Ages, the basis of the fact that the Onaduli and Azerbaijanian Turks were somewhat ethno-culturally different from the Turks of Central Asia and the Volga-Ural region lied in the geographical separation between the parties. Iran, on the one hand, and the Caucasian world, on the other, implements as a natural, socio-political and ethno-cultural “barrier” between them. At the same time, in the Middle Ages, as in earlier centuries, the ethno-political and ethno-cultural relations of the Turks of Central Asia and the Volga-Ural rivers with the Onadoli and Azerbaijanian Turks continued on a small scale.

This process ensured continuity of communication between the Turkic people mainly through two directions - the Amu Darya and Syr-Darya region, Khorasan, Northern Iran, historical Azerbaijan, Eastern Onadoli chain and the second is the north of the Caspian Sea: along the Volga-Ural rivers, the North Caucasus, the north of the Black Sea, the Balkans, the chain of Asia Minor. Nevertheless, these chains, with some exceptions, did not have a significant impact on the internal ethnocultural processes and ethnic formations that took place among the Turks of all three regions - Central Asia, along the Volga-Ural rivers, and the Azerbaijan and Onadoli Turks. It should be noted as an exception that Central Asian Turkmens participated actively in the ethnic processes between Central Asia and Azerbaijan and Onadoli Turks in the last Middle Ages, as during the Seljuk period.

At this point, we briefly touch on the ethnic processes that are somewhat characteristic not only of the Turks of Central Asia and the Volga-Ural region, but also of all Turks. It can be seen that the process of ethnic formation of some Turkic people or the process of coming to their present form started in very early times, no matter how many new ethnic groups were added to their composition in the classical Middle Ages, they kept their original ethnic composition without much change and became a specific nation in the last Middle Ages on this basis. For example, in the early Middle Ages, the union of the Oghuz clans, which included the Orxun oasis and a number of Turkish clans around it (Mongolia), moved to the west and after passing through Altai and Yettisuv, in the middle and lower basins of the Syr-Darya, they founded the Oghuz Yabgu (9th and 10th centuries), which was considered as their largest political union⁶⁷.

At that time, a union of 24 Oghuz-Turkmen clans was formed around Jand and Yassi (Turkistan). After the Seljuk kingdom having been established in

⁶⁷ Гончаров Е. Ю., Настич В. Н. Монеты Сырдарьинских огузов IX в. // Тюркологический сборник. 2011-2012. – М.: Восточная литература, 2013. – С. 80-91.

Khorasan in the 1040s, the Oghuz who moved further south-west from the banks of the Syr-Darya settled in Azerbaijan and Onadoli. Turkmen, Azerbaijan and Onadoli Turks were formed on the basis of the Oghuz union, which includes *afshar*, *bekdili*, *dudurga*, *igdir*, *salur*, *qiniq*, *kayi*, *chepni*, *yazir* and a number of other clans. Despite the passage of thousands of years, there were no significant changes in the ethnic structure of these Turkic nations. Despite the fact that the Turkmens who remained in Central Asia experienced various ethno-cultural processes and included⁶⁸ many Turkic-Mongol clans related to the Golden Horde and the Chigatai clan, they did not lead to major changes on the Turkmens ethnic structure formed in the 10th century⁶⁹. This was due to a number of factors. Firstly, the fact that the Turkmens lived in a somewhat enclosed area, the new areas they moved to often coincided with a non-Turkic environment, etc., created the basis for them to maintain their ethnic identity. It can be seen that no matter how close the area where the Turkmens lived to the Golden Horde, with some exceptions, the Turkmens were dominated by the clan structure of that thousand years ago even at the beginning of the 20th century, the clans that joined the Turkmen during the Golden Horde and later periods were small clans or branch clans⁷⁰.

A similar situation is characteristic of the ethnic formation of the Kyrgyz people. The Kyrgyz (*gyangun*), whose origin goes back to the Southern Siberian Kyrgyz people of BC, were one of the major Turkic people in the early Middle Ages, when they founded their own Kyrgyz Khaganate (840-... centuries), they absorbed many nomadic clans from Southern Siberia, Mongolia and Altai⁷¹. The Kyrgyz who moved to Central Asia after the Mongol invasion were located in the northeastern part of the region: in the mountainous area between Central Tianshan and Yettisuv and united some Kyrgyz and other Turkic clans that lived here before them. In the late Middle Ages, the Kyrgyz included Turkic-Mongol clans, such as the *mangit*, *naiman* and *kungirot*, who migrated from the Golden Horde, most of whom belonged to the Kipchak clans did not have a significant effect on their clan structure.

It is noticeable that unlike the Turkmen and Kyrgyz, the ethnic structure of the Turks of Central Asia and the Volga-Ural rivers changed several times in the next thousand years, moreover, very different clans exchanged their places mutually in the developed classical and late Middle Ages. In the beginning, the Turkic clans were the leaders in this area, and it could be felt that by the Middle Ages, the

⁶⁸ Мошкова В.Г. Некоторые общие элементы в родоплеменном составе узбеков, каракалпаков и туркмен // Материалы по археологии и этнографии Узбекистана: Труды института Истории и археологии АН. УзССР. Т. 2. – Ташкент: 1950. – С. 141-149.

⁶⁹ Атаниязов С. Этнонимы в туркменском языке. – Ашгабат: Ылым, 1994; Bregel Y. An historical atlas of Central Asia. – P. 74-75.

⁷⁰ Bregel Y. An historical atlas of Central Asia. – P. 74-75.

⁷¹ Каратаев О. Кыргыз этнонимдер сөздүгү. – Бишкек, 2003; Bregel Y. An historical atlas of Central Asia. – P. 78.

Turkic-Mongol clans began to dominate. Especially, this process played a significant role, firstly, in the formation of Turkic *kipchak*, and later *mangit*, *naiman*, *kungiro*t, *qiyat* and dozens of other large Turkic-Mongol clans, Central Asian Turkic people and neighbouring regions such as Kazakh, Uzbek, Karakalpak, Nogai on the banks of the Volga-Ural rivers, which were considered as the central regions of the Golden Horde⁷². So, the *chigil*, *yagmo*, *karluq*, *tuxsi*, *argu*, *oghuz*, and *kipchak* clans were the leaders in the central regions of this region during the early developed Middle Ages⁷³, then some of them disappeared from the scene of history, and new ethnic groups began to appear in their place during the Genghis Khan invasion. Particularly, names of the clans such as *chigil*, *yagmo*, *tukhsi*, *argu* completely disappeared during the Golden Horde and the Chigatai Ulus's period, then in the Golden Horde, Turkic-Mongolian clans such as *barlos*, *arlot*, *sulduz*, *jaloyir*, *kungirat*, *kovchin*, *kangli*, *uyshun*, *mangit*, *kenagas*, *naiman*, *saroy* began to lead between the Amu Darya and Syr-Darya rivers and Yettisuv. It can be seen that during the Shaybaniy state (1501-1601), several dozen clans of the Golden Horde migrated to the Amu Darya and Syr-Darya river basin and adjacent areas and became the leading clan in the newly conquered lands⁷⁴.

In general, as a result of the ethnocultural processes that took place in the late Middle Ages, mainly in the central and southeastern parts of the Golden Horde, the completion of the ethnic formation process of the Kazakh, Karakalpak, Uzbek and Nogai people took place, which was gathered around a root, and from its parts that were later separated into pieces. This is also confirmed by the fact that the ethnic composition of all five people was almost identical in the written sources of the late Middle Ages. Especially, this situation is clearly visible when comparing the nomadic Uzbek, Karakalpak and Nogai clans (see Table 1). Although a more similar situation prevails in Kazakhs, it is clearly seen that the names *dulat* (*duglat*) and *argin*, characteristic of the clans living in their central, northeastern and southeastern regions, are rare or almost non-existent among uzbeks, nogay and karakalpaks.

Table 1. Some of the Turkic-Mongol clans of the Golden Horde (based on the table of Nogai ethnographer R.Kh. Kereytov)⁷⁵:

s/n	Turkish onyms	Uzbek	Nogay	Kazakh	Karakalpak
1	Kipchak	+	+	+	+

⁷² Трепавлов В.В. История Ногайской Орды. – Казань, 2016. – С. 338-339, 490-496.

⁷³ Кошғарий, Махмуд. Туркий сўзлар девони (Девону-луғот ит-турк). – Б. 64-66.

⁷⁴ Султанов Т.И. Опыт анализа традиционных списков 92 «племен илатийа» // Средняя Азия в древности и средневековье. – М.: Наука, 1977. – С. 165-176.

⁷⁵ Керейтов Р.Х. Ногайцы. Особенности этнической истории и бытовой культуры. – Ставрополь: «Сервисшкола», 2009. – С. 12, 120-121.

2	Kangli	+	+	+	+
3	Uyshun	+	+	+	
4	Naiman	+	+	+	+
5	Kerait	+	+	+	+
6	Kungirat	+	+	+	+
7	Mangit	+	+		+
8	Qatagon	+	+		
9	Xitoy	+	+	+	+
10	Tama	+	+	+	
11	Kenagas	+	+		+
12	Ming	+	+		
13	Uygur	+	+		+
14	Qirgiz	+	+	+	
15	Turkman	+	+	+	+
16	Siyraq	+	+		+
17	Durman	+	+		
18	Merkit	+	+	+	
19	Mojor	+	+		
20	Siljuvit / Chiljuvit	+	+		+

It can be seen from this table that among the listed clan names, Uzbek, Karakalpak and Nogai clans have the closest similarity with each other. It should be noted here that R.H. Kereytov cited as Nogai clans, equated them with the number of other Turkic people's clans, made some minor flaws without paying attention to it, in particular it can be seen that some clan names were preserved only in Nogai, although it was present in Uzbeks and Karakalpaks⁷⁶. For example, appearance of the clans *mojor*, *uyghur* in the list of Uzbek clans "92 bovli" and Uzbek ethno-toponyms, in the Nogai, the *abaz* clan is a branch of the *qiyat* and *keneges* clans of the Karakalpaks, in the form of *abaz*, the *Turkmen* clan of the Nogays is *Turkmen*, *Turkmen-Juz* in Uzbeks, in Karakalpaks, *Turkmen-kara*, *Turkpen* in Kazakhs, and the *Shijuit* clan, which is part of the Nogays, was recorded as *Siljuvit*, *Chiljuvit* in Uzbeks, and *Shiljuvit* in Karakalpaks.

We briefly touch on some ethnic terms that were the result of ethnocultural processes in Central Asia and the Volga-Ural region now. Union of several clans as "besh-o'g'il", "olti-ogil", "uch-urug" (mesit+tama+yabu) "yetti-urug", "chimboyliq" was formed as a result of the ethnocultural processes that took place in the Golden Horde, in the Dashti Kipchak region and its traces had been preserved as follows.

1. Besh-ogil. The Uzbeks' clan Kungirod, a branch of "vox-tamgali" (uvoq-tamgali) section is called *besh-ogil / besh-ul*⁷⁷. Karakalpaks had such clans as *bes-ul*,

⁷⁶ Керейтов Р.Х. Ногайцы. Особенности этнической истории и бытовой культуры. – С. 120-121.

⁷⁷ Нафасов Т. Қашқадарё кишлоқномаси. – Тошкент: Муҳаррир, 2009. – Б. 61.

bish-ul (besh-ogil)⁷⁸. There are several factors behind this name, similar circumstances occurred as a result of the union of the same number of clans into one union of clans or the separation of branched clans from a root clan.

2. Olti-ogil. In written sources, the names of Uzbek clans are mentioned as *olti-ogil*, *olti-ul*⁷⁹, and *alti-ul* in Kazakh and Karakalpak⁸⁰. According to the Russian historian Karamzin, the Nogai along the Volga rivers were divided into 3 hordes at the beginning of the 17th century, one of which was called the Altaul (Alti-ul “Alti-ogil”) horde located on the side of the Aral Sea⁸¹. The Karakalpaks’ clans *alti-ul* were named as follows: *muyten*, *kungirad*, *kitay*, *kipchak*, *keneges*, *mangit*⁸².

When some parts of the Karakalpaks who lived in the middle and lower basin of the Syr-Darya, around Yassi (Turkestan) were subordinate to the Kazakh khans of Yettisuv, and other parts were subordinate to the Ashtarkhans in the first decades of the 17th century, they lived in the upper basins of the Volga basin, Ural and Emba rivers and were in close contact with the Nogai in the west⁸³. Alti-ul Horde was formed in this area on the basis of Nogai Horde, and when the Karakalpaks became part of this horde, the traditions related to the association of *alti-ul* clans were preserved among them⁸⁴. It is interesting that in Kyrgyz, the term *alti uuldun tukumu* is used for a part of the *sari-baghish* clan⁸⁵, but it is not determined whether it is the heritage of the Golden Horde or contrariwise.

3. Yetti-urug. In Uzbeks, this ethnonym has not been mentioned in the list of Uzbek clans “92 bovli”. Zarafshan oasis included a small clan called *jeti-urug* in Uzbeks’ clan Kipchak⁸⁶. This ethnonym was recorded in Poyariq, Jomboy districts of Samarkand region⁸⁷. This ethnic term has been preserved in Kazakhs as *jeti-ru*, and in Bashkirs as *yeti-iru*⁸⁸. Kazakhs’ *jeti-ru* consists of such clans: *tama*, *tabin*, *kerderi*, *kereit*, *teleu*, *ramadan*, *jagalbayli*. In Kyrgyzs, *jeti-uruu* (yellow) is the name of the union of several clans within the clan, which includes *baliqchi*, *saqoo*, *ogotur*, *qashqa tamga*, *qizil qurt*, *qizil qulan* and other clans⁸⁹. A clan of the *polovtsians*

⁷⁸ Аюпов Т. М. Башкирско-каракалпакские этнокультурные взаимосвязи и происхождение естеков Приаралья // Известия АлтГУ. Исторические науки и археология. 2019. №3 (107). – С. 26.

⁷⁹ Шаниязов К. Ш. К этнической истории узбекского народа. – Ташкент, 1974. – С. 131.

⁸⁰ Жданко Т. А. Очерки исторической этнографии каракалпаков. – М.-Л.: 1950. – С. 46.

⁸¹ Иванов П. П. Очерки истории каракалпаков / Материалы по истории каракалпаков. Сборник. Труды института Востоковедения. Том VII. – М.-Л.: АН СССР, 1935. – С. 19.

⁸² Сагитов И.Т. Каракалпакский героический эпос. Ташент, 1962; Бердиев Ж. К. Отражение в легендах и народных преданиях истории каракалпаков XIII-XVII вв. Автореферат диссертации. Нукус, 1996.

⁸³ Бекмурадов М. Б. Этническая территория каракалпаков в XVI-XVII веках // Ta’lim Fidoyilari. 1, 2022. – С. 178-179.

⁸⁴ Жданко Т.А. Очерки исторической этнографии каракалпаков. – М., Изд-во АН СССР, 1950. – С. 39; Давкараев Н. Очерки по истории дореволюционной каракалпакской литературы. – Ташкент, 1959. – С. 60-61.

⁸⁵ Каратаев О. Кыргыз этнонимдер сөздүгү. – Бишкек, 2003. – Б. 22.

⁸⁶ Кораев С. Географик номлар маъноси. – Тошкент: Ўзбекистон, 1978. – Б. 54.

⁸⁷ Маликов А.М. Тюркские этнонимы и этнопонимы долины Зерафшана (XVIII – начало XX в.). – Т.: Muharrir nashriyoti, 2018.

⁸⁸ Кузеев Р. Г. Происхождение башкирского народа. - М.: 1974. – С. 116.

⁸⁹ Каратаев О. Кыргыз этнонимдер сөздүгү. – Б. 73.

(kipchakh) named yetebichi (yetti-urug) was mentioned in the Russian chronicles of the Middle Ages⁹⁰.

Firstly, during the Golden Horde, then the Abulkhair tribe, and later during the Nogai Horde, as a result of the ethnic processes that took place in such areas as the banks of the Volga-Ural rivers, the basins of the Emba river, the Aral Sea, the lower and middle Syr Darya basin the historical memories of that time were preserved to one degree or another among nomadic Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Karakalpaks and Nogays until the beginning of the 20th century. Especially, the period of the Nogay Horde, which is one of the last stages of the mentioned periods, has been relatively well preserved among the Karakalpaks, as has been discussed below, in this respect, they are somewhat different from nomadic Uzbeks. At this point, it should be mentioned that historical memories related to the “Nogayli” period have been somewhat preserved among Kazakhs and Nogays.

Despite the occurrence of ethnic terms such as “alti-ul”, “yetti-urug”, “nogay” among Uzbek clans at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, it was related to the Nogay Horde, relatively few historical memories, written source data or oral narratives have been preserved. We can come across some notes on this only in Uzbek folklore (mainly in poems).

The following memories were kept about their ancestors among the Karakalpaks, who lived on the banks of the Volga River at the beginning of the 20th century:

1) the Karakalpaks connected their origin with the Nogays and showed that their old land was on the right bank of the Volga River between the “Kingdom of Astrakhan and Kazan”; 2) the migration of the Karakalpaks from the banks of the Volga occurred as a result of the capture of the Bulgar city by “Mir Temur”, that is, Amir Temur; 3) according to a legend, after the Russians conquered the Kazan Khanate, the Karakalpaks were forced to move; 4) according to another legend, after the Karakalpak ancestors built the city of Kazan, as a result of uprisings, they were forced to move, moving to the left bank (“Bukhara part”) of the Volga, they went to the Aral Sea. The Karakalpaks, who reached the lower basins of the Syr-Darya river from the north the Aral Sea, made the surroundings of the Turkestan city as their home. G. Vamberi, who was in Khiva in 1863, noted that he heard a legend from the Karakalpaks that once upon a time the “Nogay sultans” were Karakalpak⁹¹.

The clan-tribal structure of the Karakalpaks is based on the “binary system”, and all clans are divided into two groups of “aris”: *on tort uru* and *kongirad*. Both groups contained dozens of large and small clans, which in turn consisted of many

⁹⁰ Баскаков Н.А. Имена половцев и названия Половецких племен в русских летописях // Тюркская ономастика, Алма-Ата, 1984. – С. 65.

⁹¹ Иванов П. П. Очерки истории каракалпаков. – С. 24.

“top” branches clans⁹². *Kipshaks* (kipchak), one of the largest clans belonging to the “on tort uru” group, have dozens of branch clans and lived in Amu Darya, Nukus, Kegeyli and Chimbay districts.

Unlike the Karakalpaks, the clan-tribal structure of Kazakhs is based on the “triple system”, and all Kazakh clans were divided into 3 groups: *uli juz* “katta juz”, *orta juz* and *kishi juz* “kichik juz”. Each “juz” (group) included dozens of large clans, and these clans, in turn, consisted of dozens of small and large “top” branches clans.

The Kyrgyz who lived far away from the Lower Amu Darya region, in the Yettisuv and Fergana valleys, were also based on the “binary system” according to their clan-tribal structure: “otuz-uul” (ottiz-ogil) and “on-uul” (on-ogil) groups. In turn, the group “otuz uul” was divided into two major branches: *ong qanat* (right wing) and the *sol qanat* (left/left wing), and the “on uul” was divided into the branches of the clans *ichkilik*⁹³.

Despite the fact that the Uzbeks included almost all Turkic clans characteristic of Dashti Kipchak and Central Asia, they did not have the “double” or “triple” wing system that existed in Turkic people such as Kazakh, Karakalpak and Kyrgyz. This can be expressed in various ways: 1) such a system was not envisaged in the process of merging with a clan “92 bov”, 2) such a system existed, but the system “qanot” was forgotten for many centuries. There are certain “relative clan” associations among the Uzbek clans, but the issue of whether they are related to the system of “qanot” or not has not been clarified. For example, the clans *ming*, *yuz*, *qirq* were included in the union of clans known as “marqa” or “marqa bolasi”⁹⁴, while the clans *barlos*, *qarluq*, *musobozori*, *kalta-toy* formed the “Turk” group among themselves. Also, the clans union called only “Turk” consisted of four clans, such as *kalta-toy*, *kal-hofizi*, *lolaki*, *qorakozi*⁹⁵. A similar “relative clan” system was preserved among Uzbeks’ clans *mangit* and *kenagas*.

Table 2. Clan-tribe division and major clans of Central Asian and Volga-Ural Turkic people

No	Nation names	Clan-tribal identity	Large clans
1	Uzbeks	“92 bovli”	Mangit, kungrad, kipchak, saroy, juz), ming, qirq, nayman, xitoy, qatagon, s, qarluq, turk, laqay, bahrin, durman...
2	Kazakhs	3 groups: 1) uli juz, 2) orta juz,	Argin, nayman, kerey, qongirot, dulat lat), jaloyir, qangli ...

⁹² Аюпов Т. М. Башкирско-каракалпакские этнокультурные взаимосвязи и происхождение естеков Приаралья. – С. 28.

⁹³ Аристов Н.А. Заметки об этническом составе тюркских племен и народностей и сведения об их численности. «Живая старина». Вып 3-4. – СПб., 1894. – С. 277-390; Каратаев О. Кыргыз этнонимдер сөздүгү. 81, 153.

⁹⁴ Қораев С. Географик номлар маъноси. – Б. 76.

⁹⁵ Гребенкин А. Д. Узбеки // Сборник. Русский Туркестан: Сборник ст. Вып. II. – Москва: Университет. 1872. – С. 79.

		3) kichik juz	
3	Karakalpaks	2 groups: 1) On tort uru, 2) kungirad	Muyten, qitay, kipchak, kungirad, g'it, kenagas ...
4	Turkmens	2 groups:	Taka, yavmut, chovdur, ersari, goklan, ...
5	Nogays	"32 bovli"	Mangit, kenagas, qipchoq, qangli, irad, uyshun, saroy...
6	Bashkirs		qipsaq (qipchoq), qatay (xitoy), muyten, un, qanli (qangli), yurmati, usergen, yeneu, ming ...
7	Kyrgyzs	2 groups: 1. ottiz uul: 1) ong qanot, 1 qanot, 2. on uul: ichkilik	qipchoq, qangdi (qangli) nayman, gush, bugu, adigene, bagish, saruu, solto ...

Another feature of the clan-tribe structure of the Turkic people of the lower Amu Darya basin in the late 19th and early 20th century is the is the problem of which clans are more common and which are less common among Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, Kazakhs, and Turkmens. Almost all the Karakalpak clans were recorded in this area, but it was found that mainly the Kazakh "kichik juz" clans lived, and the Turkmen clans lived mostly in the Khoresm oasis⁹⁶. More than half of the Uzbek clans "92 bowls" - about 50 - were recorded in the Khoresm oasis, and a significant part of them lived in the Lower Amu Darya region. In particular, large Uzbek clans such as *mangit*, *kungrad*, *kipchak*, were recorded in this area. It is interesting that *turk*, *qarluq*, *barlos*, *saray*, *qovchin*, *laqay*, as well as relatively small Uzbek clans such as *arlot*, *suldus*, *uz*, *batosh*, *kesamir*, *semiz*, were not found in this area. This situation can be explained as follows:

1) these ethnonyms are clan names related to the ethnic processes that took place in the central regions of the Amu Darya-Syr-Darya region (Movarounnahr) during the period of the Chigatoi tribe and the Timurids, and partly during the period of the Uzbek khanates;

2) there is not any information written about the arrival of Turkic-Mongolian clans such as *barlos*, *qarluq*, *qovchin*, *arlot*, *suldus* to the Lower Amu Darya region.

It should be mentioned at this point that it is difficult to determine whether the Oghuz clans, which are more characteristic of Turkmen and Uzbeks: *chandir*, *xalach*, *abdal*, etc.⁹⁷, participated in the ethnic processes in the Lower Amu Darya basin or contrariwise. It is not known that these Oghuz clans, which were hardly mentioned in the list of traditional Uzbek, Kazakh and Karakalpak clans, participated in the ethnic processes that took place in the Golden Horde or Syr-Darya basins in the

⁹⁶ Bregel Y. An historical atlas of Central Asia. – P. 70-80.

⁹⁷ Аллабердиев А. Бухоро ўғуз шеваларининг лексик қатламлари. – Т.: Abu Matbuot-konsalt, 2016. – Б. 16-17.

Middle Ages. They were mostly Turkic clans that were present in the southern and southwestern regions of Central Asia.

There were also clans in Central Asia and along the Volga-Urals that left their own place between the 17th and 19th centuries, the clans like *mangit*, *kungrad*, *ming* and others were differed from them. Particularly, the Mangits, known as a specific clan had a great importance in the history of the Golden Horde, mainly among the Uzbeks, Nogay and Karakalpaks, and partly among the Kyrgyz. They formed a separate Horde - Mangit Horde at the end of the 14th century. In the middle of the 15th century, the Mangits were called "Nogay" (Nogay), and their horde was called as "Nogay Horde". The Nogay Horde was divided into Katta Nogay and Kichik Nogay in the middle of the 16th century. Later, the Mangits in Katta Nogay became part of the ethnic group of Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, and partly Kazakhs. However, unlike the Uzbeks and Karakalpaks, the ethnonym "*mangit*" has not been preserved among the Kazakh clans.

In conclusion, if we look at some aspects of ethnic processes in Central Asia and the Volga-Ural region shows that socio-political and ethno-cultural processes that had an importance between the northeast of the Caspian Sea, the basins of the Lower Volga, Astrakhan, the Ural River, the Emba River and the northern regions of the Aral Sea, which was an important part of the region, left a unique mark in the history of the people of the region at the beginning of the 17th and 20th centuries. Especially, these processes, which took place within the framework of the Golden Horde, the Abulxayr clan, the successors of the Shaybaniy and Kazakh khanates, the Nogay Horde and the Mangit Horde, led to a number of ethnocultural changes. Historical events that occurred during this period, especially as a result of migration processes along with the ethnic formation of many Turkic people of the region: Kazakh, Karakalpak, Uzbek and Nogai entering its final stage, many aspects of Dashti Kipchak culture were inherited by them.

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