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Kazakh Bais and Their Role in the Development of Society in the Late 19th and Early 20th centuries

This study examines the social profile of *bais* in Kazakh society in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, considering their property, social characteristics, and legal status. The authors identify the forms and features of entrepreneurial activity and provide a detailed analysis of the economic and socio-political activities of the *bais*, and reveal their role in the development of culture and charity through patronage and assistance to the needy. The authors demonstrate the diverse forms of entrepreneurship in animal husbandry, agriculture, various trades, and industries related to the processing of agricultural products, and they summarize the significance of major economic changes associated with the sharply increased activity of private capital. Thus, studying the social status of Kazakh *bais* in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is essential for understanding the class structure of Kazakh society of that period, the processes of social stratification, and the influence of the *bais* on the political and economic life of the region. This helps analyze how the colonial policy of the Russian Empire contributed to heightened social tension and how the old ruling class managed to preserve its position amid growing changes.

Keywords: history of Kazakhstan, Kazakh society, Kazakh bais, policy of the Russian Empire, confiscation of bai farms.

Introduction

Examining the role of *bais* in Kazakh society is an important element in studying history of trade and market in Kazakhstan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Since the incorporation of the Kazakh Khanate into Russia, Kazakhstan played a connecting role in the development of trade and economic relations between several states. Under the constant changes of the legal framework of the region's administrative and territorial governance, the *bais* played a key role and served as a driving force behind trade relations between the steppe regions.

Under the influence of the capitalist relations penetrating Kazakhstan, a national bourgeoisie began to take shape, reflecting the specific features and distinct nature of this process. The core of the Kazakh national bourgeoisie was formed by the bai class. Kazakh *bais* were large livestock and landowners engaged in trade and moneylending, and they also played a significant role in local political and economic life. The social status of the *bais* was determined by their wealth, influence, and ability to control resources, including land and livestock. During this period, their economic power was often combined with political influence, including control over courts and other institutions.

It should also be noted that the processes of fundamental transformation toward a capitalist economy in Kazakh society became noticeably more active in the late 19th century. The growth of private entrepreneurship objectively influenced the pace and nature of the development of productive forces, which in turn changed the appearance of traditional social groups and made the emergence of a new bourgeois stratum in the region evident. Having gone through a short but challenging period of formation, the *bais* made a significant contribution to the development of commercial initiative, the adoption of modern forms of trade and industrial activity, and public life. Above all, their main achievement was the acquisition of extensive economic management experience, which remains relevant even today.

Researchers have different views on the assessment of the phenomenon of the *bai* class as a social group. Some scholars believed that the emergence of the *bai* class was not connected to capitalist relations. Others argued that the *bai* class was a new social stratum that arose only in the mid-19th century on the basis of commodity-money relations. E. Bekmakanov considered the main shortcoming of these viewpoints to be their treatment of the *bai* economy as a static phenomenon, whereas it should be viewed through the lens of evolutionary development. In his opinion, the *bai* class, unlike other feudal groups, represented an emerging national bourgeoisie [1; 338]. In this regard, examining this issue helps refine and expand the existing under-

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standing of the role of the *bais* in Kazakh society and the pathways of entrepreneurial development in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Materials and methods

The source base and research materials are represented by information obtained from the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. During the research process, five archival collections were examined, containing data on the entrepreneurial activities of Kazakh *bais* and on the economic relations of livestock-industrialists with Russia. Archival materials also made it possible to identify the names of specific Kazakh *bais*.

The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, and system-based analysis. The article attempts to establish, within the specific field of study, the dialectical interaction of diverse objective and subjective, material and ideal factors of the historical process that shape the life of individuals and society. Accordingly, the article employs several scientific research methods, including the historical-genetic, historical-comparative, historical-typological, and systemic-structural approaches.

The historical-systemic method was used to analyze the main components of the *bai* category, that is, the forms of capital organization and activity, the estate-based hierarchical system of entrepreneurship, and the processes of social consolidation. The historical-typological method was applied to identify the composition of the *bais*, who came from various social groups but shared established common characteristics. The historical-comparative method was used to analyze the economic activities of enterprises belonging to different forms of ownership, in order to determine the degree of participation of various social groups in entrepreneurial activity.

Results

The emergence of the national bourgeoisie was closely linked to the socio-historical specificities of the region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A significant portion of the *bais* remained strongly tied, in many ways, to the remnants of patriarchal-feudal life rather than to the laws of the market. The Kazakh bourgeoisie was economically weak and dependent on the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie [2; 70, 71]. The formation of capital among the national bourgeoisie mainly followed the path typical of the era of “primitive accumulation”, through trade-based and usurious exploitation of the local population.

With the penetration of capitalist relations into the Kazakh aul, the nature of livestock breeding changed: the focus shifted from sheep and horse herding to the raising of cattle, which brought higher income. For example, among the Irtysh Kazakhs, cattle made up one-third of the entire herd. This was explained, on the one hand, by the possibility of storing large quantities of hay, and on the other, by market demand specifically for cattle. Market price summaries for livestock and animal products provide insight into the volume and significance of trade turnover among merchant-livestock industrialists. The following were the prices at the Konstantinov Fair (Akmola region) in 1903: a horse or a bull cost 34 rubles each, a cow—25 rubles, a ram—5 rubles. Prices for hides were as follows: horse—3 rubles 30 kopecks, camel—3 rubles 60 kopecks, heifer—3 rubles 40 kopecks, sheep—60 kopecks, goat—1 ruble. Sheep wool cost 3 rubles 75 kopecks, goat wool—8 rubles, camel wool—5 rubles 50 kopecks. Horsehair sold for 22 rubles [3; 34, 35].

The *bais* who were involved in livestock-industrial entrepreneurship understood their role in economic relations with Russia and insisted on recognition of their contributions by the tsarist administration. A telegram sent in 1900 by a group of *bais* from the Chelkar volost of the Kokchetav uezd to Minister of Finance S. Witte stated unambiguously: “We are a more useful element than peasant grain-farmers, but unfortunately no one has ever taken into account the knowledge of the Kyrgyz in the economic life of Russia. We are taxpayers without arrears of any obligations; we supply tens of thousands of inexpensive horses to European Russia; we supply just as much livestock there; we supply millions of poods of lard, wool, hides, and sheepskins to the European market. In short, we are an active, vital force in the overall economy of the state” [4].

Some *bai* households transitioned to breeding improved livestock breeds (horse studs) and achieved notable success in this area. For example, in 1877, an exhibition and draft trials of horses belonging to Kyrgyz horse breeders were held in Troitsk. The first monetary prize from the award fund of the Main Directorate of State Horse Breeding, set at 20 rubles by the organizing committee, was awarded to the bay-brown stallion owned by Naizabai Sarybelev, who covered 285 sazhen in 4.5 minutes with a load ranging from 45 to 159 poods. The second prize of 16 rubles was awarded to a gray stallion belonging to Baidaulet Balagusov—he covered 270 sazhen in 4.5 minutes with a load of 45–153 poods. The third prize of 14 rubles went to a dark-gray mare owned by Magambet Unbaev, who covered 250 sazhen in 5 minutes with a load of 45–145 poods.

The fourth prize of 14 rubles was given to a gray stallion belonging to Kazy Klychbaev—he covered 220 sazhen in 4.5 minutes with a load of 45–133 poods. The fifth prize of 8 rubles went to a bay stallion owned by Galiy Safarov—he covered 210 sazhen in 4 minutes with a load of 45–129 poods [5; 15, 16].

In 1898, for excellence in horse-breeding, the emperor bestowed silver medals inscribed “*For diligence*”, to be worn around the neck, upon Kyrgyz horse breeders Sultan Zhangir Begalin, Nurmukhamed Sagynaev, Meiram Janaydarov, Kiyash Sanrykov, zauryad sotnik Jaru Jaiykpaev, and Sadyvakas Chormanov [5; 56]. Information on M. Janaydarov’s horse stud even appeared in the report of the governor of Akmola oblast: “In the Atbasar uезд there is Janaydarov’s horse stud. It was established in 1870 and consists of 400 brood mares of the Kyrgyz breed. It is serviced by crossbred stallions descended from local mares bred with purebred sires” [6; 22, 23].

The sources of recruitment into the national bourgeoisie were diverse. A portion of the bourgeoisie came from the aristocracy. They evolved from feudal livestock owners into livestock-industrialists, supplying livestock worth hundreds of thousands of rubles annually to fairs. However, most enterprises run by noble families continued to rely on traditional, pre-capitalist methods of production. Those households that possessed entrepreneurial skills were largely led by individuals rising from the *kara suyek* (“commoner bones”). The number of *bais* without noble origins increased especially rapidly in the early 20th century due to the rapid expansion of commodity-money relations [7].

Thus, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Kazakh livestock-industrialists included both large and small owners, possessing massive herds of sheep, cattle, and horses, which formed the foundation of their wealth and way of life. Wealthy livestock-industrialists could own thousands of sheep, while poorer segments of the population were often forced to sell their livestock due to economic hardship and the colonial policies of tsarist Russia.

The national bourgeoisie was primarily a commercial bourgeoisie. Kazakh merchants mainly supplied raw materials for Russian industry. Many *bais*, while still livestock owners, became traders as well. According to V. Kuznetsov’s expedition, 65–70% of *bais* who owned 500–600 head of livestock were simultaneously engaged in large-scale trade [8; 227]. Prominent Kazakh merchants were shareholders in major trading houses and employed 10–25 clerks. Small traders were especially drawn to the profitability of steppe commerce. The petty commercial bourgeoisie consisted of trade employees (clerks), itinerant clerks (commercial travelers), *saudagers*, and brokers. By the late 19th century, the Kazakh commercial bourgeoisie was increasingly formed from merchants–middlemen (*alypsatars*). Commercial capital penetrated ever deeper into the region’s economy. Sources indicate that in 1901 each volost of Semipalatinsk oblast had no fewer than 20–40 small and medium-sized traders [9; 96].

In the early 20th century the formation of the national commercial bourgeoisie accelerated. The ranks of petty traders, such as Kazakh brokers, *alypsatars*, and *saudagers*, remained numerous. With the intensification of trade exchange, the number of *alypsatars* and their monetary turnover increased. Thus, whereas in the 1890s surveys of Kazakh households in the Pavlodar, Atbasar, Kokchetav, Kustanai, and Aktobe uyezds recorded 640 *alypsatars*, a second survey conducted ten years later found 849 buyers and middlemen in just the Kustanai and Aktobe uyezds, with an income of 223,000 rubles [3; 53]. Some of these *alypsatars* gradually transformed into mid-level bai livestock-industrialists. For example, in 1908–1910, the commercial turnover of *alypsatar* T. Truspekov from the Kopal uезд of Semirechye oblast reached 50–60 thousand rubles. He employed six hired workers to care for purchased livestock and owned a large textile shop in the village of Aksu with an annual turnover of 30 thousand rubles [10; 75].

Thus, due to Kazakhstan’s colonial position, commercial entrepreneurship occupied the leading place in the region’s economy. Its development was the logical outcome of earlier trading relations. For example, the Irtysh River, even before the arrival of settlers from European Russia, had long served as a major trade route. With the development of market relations in the second half of the 19th century, trade acquired new features and characteristics. The possibility of accumulating wealth through the sale of steppe products at higher monetary prices stimulated entrepreneurial activity mainly among the wealthier segment of the Kazakh population. Large *bais* practiced broad diversification of capital. For instance, in the Omsk uезд, among *bais* who on average owned 500–600 head of cattle per household, 65–70% simultaneously engaged in trade. Statistics from commercial documents show that the areas of greatest development of entrepreneurial trade in the domestic markets were Semipalatinsk and Omsk. The domestic market was dominated by large merchants. By 1900, the most prominent in the Irtysh region were Semipalatinsk first-guild merchants A.V. Moskvina and D.N. Derov, and second-guild merchants F.V. Stupin and G. Gabdulzhaparov [11; 141–143].

In the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, a petition by Petropavlovsk townsman Andrei Goncharenkov has been preserved, in which Goncharenkov requests that he and his family be transferred to the Petropavlovsk second-guild merchant class beginning in the second half of 1872 [12; 1]. His request was later granted. Semipalatinsk second-guild merchant Mukhamed Fatikh Gabaidullin was the son of a towns-woman of Semipalatinsk, Bibi Ganifa Gabaidullina [13; 1–3]. Another noteworthy fact is the removal of individuals from merchant status into the townsman class: on 10 March 1899, the Omsk Treasury Chamber reclassified Kokchetav merchants Nikolai Vasilievich Suslov and Prokopii Dmitrievich Strigin as townsmen of Kokchetav [14; 12].

During the period under study, the economic life of the Kazakhs was characterized by active commercial and craft activities. Income from crafts averaged over 500 rubles per year [7; 10]. Commercial agriculture developed on a large scale. One official's report noted: "In the Semipalatinsk and Ust-Kamenogorsk uyezds, in favorable years, grain is produced in such abundance that part of it ...is exported to grist mills..." [15; 9]. One of the major areas of commercial agriculture in the Irtysh region was Bel-Agach. Here, among the Kazakh *eginshi* farmers, many sowed 100–200 desiatinas of grain; some harvested up to 9 million poods of grain, of which no less than 5 million were taken to market. Revenue amounted to about 800 thousand rubles [16; 168].

The national bourgeoisie did not limit itself to livestock breeding and trade; it also began engaging in agriculture. At the beginning of the 20th century, according to Berotov, the region saw the growth of "large agricultural estates which in some places, for example in the Akmola and Kustanai uyezds, closely resemble Russian privately owned farms". The author added: "The same phenomenon, i.e., the concentration of land and simultaneously of livestock in the hands of individual *aksakals*, is observed in all uyezds of the region, especially in those closest to the markets" [9; 227]. Such areas included the Pavlodar uezd, where *bais* such as Berkimbaev (owner of 2,000 desiatinas), Khansultanov (2,500 desiatinas), and Baimukhamedov (140 desiatinas) operated. Some *bais* were sub-lessees: they rented land from Russian colonizers and then released it in small plots on oppressive terms to poor Kazakhs [7; 12].

By the late 19th century, commercial agriculture was most developed among *bai* households that sowed up to 1,000 desiatinas and traded grain. According to data for 1910–1915, the *bais* Yamayashalov, Zheksembai, and others sold annually between 1,000 and 5,000 poods of grain. The *Memorial Book of the Semipalatinsk Oblast* for 1900 mentions "Kyrgyz planters", Kontarbay Bataev, Tleukin, Mukhamed Sadykov, and Zhaksybai Kustanov, who owned hundreds of desiatinas of crops. Despite the growth in sown areas, yields in Kazakh entrepreneurial farms remained low. Far greater economic benefit came from livestock breeding, which occupied 86% of the region's population [7; 13].

The spread of entrepreneurial spirit was accompanied by the evolution of the people's mentality. The formation of market values progressed rapidly. Awareness of one's usefulness to society served as a stimulus for many businessmen. Entrepreneurial philanthropy played an important role in public life. First, it was a means of supporting the poor; second, a way to improve citizens' living standards; third, it played an important moral role for the entrepreneurs themselves, giving their business a patriotic character. Charitable actions aimed at constructing religious buildings were widespread.

For a long time in Pavlodar, the only functioning Muslim center was the mosque built by entrepreneur Bizhan Shokybasov. Another notable example of philanthropy occurred in 1888, when "with funds provided by merchant P.M. Mikhailov and other benefactors", the Pokrovsky Cathedral was built in Ust-Kamenogorsk [18]. Many entrepreneurs provided material support to talented young people in obtaining an education. The *bai* Abdykarim was widely known for his patronage, offering comprehensive assistance to S. Toraygyrov, as was Musa Chormanov, who provided both moral and financial support to Ch. Valikhanov. Musa Chormanov's son, Sadwakas, continued his father's work: thanks to his initiatives, dozens of gifted children were able to study at the best educational institutions in Russia [7; 13].

Discussion

Scholars' opinions on the role of Kazakh *bais* in Kazakh society in the late 19th and early 20th centuries differ: some emphasize their role in preserving traditions and providing social support, while others view them as exploiters and agents of colonial policy.

According to E.B. Bekmakhanov, in the 19th century the social layer most directly connected to trade was the Kazakh *bais*. In his monograph "*The Incorporation of Kazakhstan into Russia*," he notes that it is incorrect to equate the social position of all *bais* with the market, as some *bais* belonged to the feudal-lineage nobility. During this period, the role of the *bais* intensified. Among the Kazakhs, many *bais* conducted large-

scale trade and usury operations. The chairman of the Orenburg Frontier Commission, Ladyzhensky, who drafted a profile of Sultan Akhmet Zhantyurin for a state award, wrote: "In the eastern part of the Horde, there is almost no Kyrgyz who is not a merchant, a cabman, or a salt transporter. Akhmet, engaging in trade himself, readily offers his money, of course not without considerable personal benefit, to every Kyrgyz wishing to engage in any of the aforementioned occupations" [18; 44].

One such prominent Kazakh merchant of the Semipalatinsk region was Karazhan Ukibaev, a descendant of a *bai* family, who obtained a first-guild merchant certificate in Moscow. Karazhan Ukibaev's father was a major *bai* and livestock owner, with a herd of 11,000 horses. Later, Karazhan established meat and leather industries in the city of Semipalatinsk [19; 169]. Interestingly, in a study by Kazakh scholars M.K. Karimov, M.K. Asylbekov, and A.F. Dautova, Pidakhmet Bobkin is listed as one of the first Kazakh merchants to have a store in Nizhny Novgorod [20; 163]. In V.V. Galiyev's work, a list of merchants of Zaisan in 1909 includes both Kazakhs (Kystaustai Myngozhin, Bayazat Satpayev, Khasan Tarakov, Safa Nasyrov, N.I. Manafov) and Russians and Tatars (Pidakhmet Bobkin, Khaviulla Erzin, Yu.K. Seyfullin, Ismatulla Urmanov, Khaibulla Shametdinov, L.F. Sorokin, A.S. Khokhlov). Here, Bobkin is listed among the Tatar merchants [20; 65, 66]. The article by Bobkin's granddaughter, Halima Bekmukhamedova, clarifies his ethnic origin, specifying the ethnicity of the merchant's daughter. Aisha studied at the women's gymnasium in Semipalatinsk. Although the merchant's daughter was Kazakh, she wrote essays in Russian excellently [21; 13] [22; 56].

According to S. Asfendiyarov, the *bais* accounted for approximately 8–12% of the total Kazakh population [23; 260]. S. Tolybekov estimated that large *bai* estates constituted no more than 10% of all *bai* households and 0.5% of the total nomadic population [24; 573]. S. Sundetov believed that in the Steppe region, *bai* households made up about one-fifth of all Kazakh households [3; 71].

The well-known historian T.K. Shcheglova notes that the trading classes of Bukharans and Tashkentis, acting as intermediaries in the exchange of goods between Kazakh livestock breeders and Russian merchants within the Steppe regions, took control of trans-Asian trade, facilitated by similarities in language, religion, and lifestyle [25].

According to A.S. Kereibayeva, unlike in Russian territories, where, as noted by Russian authors, the entrepreneurial layer formed as a result of the disintegration of the old feudal social classes, in the Steppe region the local bourgeoisie developed within the context of new socio-economic conditions, partly linked to the integration of the Steppe into market relations and the all-Russian market. With the penetration of commodity-capitalist relations, significant changes occurred in the social structure of Kazakh society. Large *bai*-livestock industrialists, as well as medium and small herders and elders, gradually became involved in the vortex of commodity-capitalist relations and formed the core of the national bourgeoisie of the Steppe region, as they controlled the majority of livestock and land [22; 57].

According to K.Zh. Abilov, despite the apparent successes of certain *bai* households, it must be acknowledged that commercial agriculture did not develop widely in Kazakh households. Only a small portion of *bai* estates, which had embarked on the path of capitalist relations, were able to supply grain to the market. The harvested grain primarily served to meet the households' own needs. Meanwhile, the most important branch of the Kazakh economy—livestock breeding—remained extensive in nature. *Bai* households were characterized by low labor productivity. The transformation of *bai* estates into market-oriented farms gradually undermined the subsistence foundations of nomadic economy. The integration of nomadic households into market relations and the increasing dependence on *bai* moneylenders impoverished the poorest segments of the Kazakhs. The process of forming a national trading bourgeoisie was slow. The dominance of subsistence farming, the underdevelopment of commodity production and exchange, and competition from Russian and Central Asian merchants all had an impact. The creation of national trading capital was further constrained by Kazakhstan's colonial status: the Russian bourgeoisie set low prices for livestock and animal products—the primary commodities of Kazakh merchants. Consequently, the share of Kazakhs in Kazakhstan's trade was small. According to the 1897 census, 39,537 people were engaged in trade in Kazakhstan, of whom only 4,608, or just over 11%, were Kazakhs. In 1910, Verny had 765 commercial establishments, of which only 23 were owned by Kazakhs. In the same year, in the village of Zaytsevskoye (Chilik) of the Vernensky uезд, out of 130 commercial establishments, only two belonged to Kazakhs [26; 134]. According to G. Esengaliyeva, in 1890 in the Semipalatinsk region, out of 29 enterprises processing livestock products, only three were owned by Kazakhs. The total value of the output of all 29 enterprises amounted to 580,862 rubles, of which the Kazakh national capital accounted for 8,500 rubles (1.4%) [27; 163].

Conclusion

In Kazakh society, *bais* were among the wealthy. Thanks to nomadic livestock farming and the rural community structure, they were economically and socially affluent, owning more livestock than other groups. While some *bais* always remained part of the nomadic population, others were rising to higher social strata. This was especially noticeable in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, during the period under the colonial system.

At the turn of the 19th–20th centuries, Kazakh *bais* played the role of influential landowners and livestock breeders, serving as pillars of their clans, engaging in philanthropy, and distributing resources. They provided support to the poor, orphans, and relatives in difficult times, assisted with organizing weddings, and took on social obligations, acting as a stabilizing force within society.

The formation of a national bourgeoisie was a natural outcome of the penetration of capitalist relations into the Kazakh steppe. Due to a number of factors, this process had certain specific features, shaped by the colonial status and general underdevelopment of the region, the persistence of patriarchal-lineage traditions, and the strong influence of Russian and foreign capital. The national bourgeoisie was predominantly commercial and linked to servicing Russian and foreign capital, which was mainly oriented toward external markets.

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XIX ғ. аяғы – XX ғ. басындағы қазақ байлары және олардың қоғамның дамуындағы рөлі

Мақалада деректер мен тарихнамалық материалдар негізінде XIX ғасырдың аяғы мен XX ғасырдың басындағы қазақ қоғамындағы байлардың әлеуметтік келбетіне зерттеу жүргізілді, олардың мүлкілік-әлеуметтік сипаттамасы мен құқықтық жағдайы талданды. Автор алыпсатарлардың кәсіпкерлік қызметінің нысандары мен ерекшеліктерін анықтайды, байлардың экономикалық және қоғамдық-саяси қызметін талдайды, олардың меценаттық және мұқтаж жандарға көмек көрсету арқылы мәдениет пен қайырымдылықты дамытудағы рөлін қарастырады. Сонымен қатар мал шаруашылығын, егіншілік және ауыл шаруашылығы өнімдерін өңдеу өнеркәсібінде кәсіпкерліктің әртүрлі формаларын көрсетеді, жеке капиталдың белсендеуімен байланысы бар ірі экономикалық өзгерістерді сипаттайды. Осылайша, XIX ғасырдың аяғы мен XX ғасырдың басындағы қазақ байларының әлеуметтік мәртебесін зерттеу сол кезеңдегі қазақ қоғамының таптық құрылымын, әлеуметтік жіктелу процестерін және байлардың қоғамдағы саяси және экономикалық өміріне әсерін түсіну үшін қажет. Бұл Ресей империясының отаршылдық саясаты әлеуметтік шиеленістің күрделенуіне қалай ықпал еткенін және ескі билеуші таптың өсіп келе жатқан өзгерістер жағдайында өз ұстанымдарын қалай сақтай алғанын талдауға көмектеседі.

Кілт сөздер: Қазақстан тарихы, байлар, ұлттық буржуазия, қазақ қоғамы, кәсіпкерлік, бай шаруашылығы, экономика.

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Казахские баи и их роль в развитии общества в конце XIX – начале XX вв.

В статье на основе источникового и историографического материала проводится исследование социального облика баев в казахском обществе в конце XIX – начале XX века, анализируется их имущественно-социальная характеристика и правовое положение. Авторами выявляются формы и особенности предпринимательской деятельности коммерсантов, детально анализируется экономическая и общественно-политическая деятельность баев, раскрывается их роль в развитии культуры и благотворительности посредством меценатства и помощи нуждающимся. Авторами показаны разнообразные формы предпринимательства в скотоводстве, земледелии, промыслах и промышленности по переработке сельскохозяйственной продукции, обобщено значение крупных экономических перемен, которые были связаны с резко возросшей активностью частного капитала. Таким образом, изучение социального статуса казахских баев в конце XIX — начале XX века необходимо для понимания классовой структуры казахского общества того периода, процессов социального расслоения и влияния баев на политическую и экономическую жизнь региона. Это помогает проанализировать, как колониальная политика Российской империи способствовала обострению социальной напряженности, и как старому правящему классу удавалось сохранять свои позиции в условиях нарастающих перемен.

Ключевые слова: история Казахстана, баи, национальная буржуазия, казахское общество, предпринимательство, байские хозяйства, экономика.

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