

The Regional Features Of The Winter Pastures On The Lower Reaches Of Syrdarya (the End of 19th to the First Half of 20th Century)

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Abstract

The article considers the peculiarities of the location of wintering and winter pastures on the lower reaches of Syrdarya and their difference from other regions. Winter pastures were chosen on river valleys or near lakes, mountain hollows or between sand dunes protected from the wind with sufficient pasture places. The size of winter pastures depended on the number of livestock and farm size. The places where the winter houses stood were passed through inheritance. The Kazakhs used to live in nomad tents in winter. The first winter buildings of the Kazakhs were built at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. Many Kazakh villages engaged in nomadic pastoralism did not have permanent winter places and continued their nomadic lifestyle even in winter. Wintering materials were connected with the local natural landscape features: brick, reed, clay, wood. The construction of winter houses grew rapidly in the second half of the 19th century. This was because of the dwindling of summer and winter pastures, the loss of cattle due to scarcity of nutrition and Kazakh's transition from nomadic to sedentary life. Together with the adoption of sedentary life at the beginning of the 20th century, winter houses became Kazakhs' permanent place of residence.

Key word

Winter shelters, winter pastures, winter migration, winter

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Introduction

The housing of Kazakhs in which they live during winter is called - winter quarters. They chose a place on natural environment for winter quarters. In many places, the weather was steady, but in some regions nomad Kazakhs changed the winter. Life time in winter quarters occurred in different regions differently. Cattle breeders who had many animals by quantity wandered to various regions and in winter they came back to their quarters. They lived here since November till March. But those who had few animals returned from summer pasture in early autumn and they stayed there till the middle of April even till May. The winter quarters were called by name of the *aksakal* – old man-leader of an aul (village). For example, Aitpanbet aksakal's (old man-leader) winter quarters or aul. In some places winter quarters were permanent but those who were engaged just in nomadic animal husbandry often changed their wintering settlements for the caring of cattle. In the region of Kazaly at Syr cattle breeding Kazakhs moved to Kyzylkum in winter.

The features of material culture of Kazakh downstream Syrdarya (next – Syr locality)¹ are shown as usually from their kind of dwelling, especially from building of wintering settlement “pasture” and from the period of time when they live there. Earlier Kazakhs who were engaged in animal husbandry trade lived in *kiiz uyi* (nomad tent). Syr builders for the frame of *kiiz uyi* used the local wood. But to build wintering settlement, clay and cane were used. In the second half of the XVIIIth and the beginning of the XIXth centuries, they began to build the winter quarters.

According to local natural environment the winter Nomadic Encampment of Kazakhs had fixed regional features which were defined by raw materials, construction, function and the names of winter encampment types. The followings were used in the construction of winter encampments: in dense forests – wood, in small forests – clay and cane, in the mountains – stone. Environmental conditions and weather played a huge role in the construction of winter encampments. The types of houses were different, e.g. in the downstream of Syr river and in the west – *zhertole*, *zherkepe*, in the south – *qaqyra*, in the east – *duken*, *sharbaq*, *beldeu*.

Winter Kiiz Ui (“A Felt House” of Nomadic People)

In ancient times the Kazakhs lived in *kiiz ui* even in winter. According to Ibn Ruzbehan the Kazakh nomadic people lived in *kiiz ui*: its kerege (a wooden lattice which forms round walls of *kiiz ui*) was firmly fixed, covered with two layers of felt, hems of felt were dug in the sand and the outer side of *kiiz ui* was covered with cane. It was a fireplace in the middle of *kiiz ui* (Fazallah ibn Ruzbehan Isfahani 1976: 93).

The *kiiz ui* was considered to be the dwelling of Nomadic people (Pallas 1773, Part I: 566). G.S. Zagrzazhskij (Zagrzazhskij 1874: 114) describes the seasonal *kiiz ui* in this way: “The Syrdarya Kazakhs didn’t stay at houses in winter. The winter *kiiz ui* was smaller and covered with one layer of felt less than summer *kiiz ui*. There were other types of *kiiz ui*, the outer side of which covered with two layers of felt and cane as well. Winter *kiiz ui* was covered with brown or grey felt, the summer one with white felt”.

O. Shkapskij gives a social feature of seasonal picture of *kiiz ui* in this way: “the poor tied *the uyk* of *kiiz ui* with ordinary bands, whereas the rich people with weaved and colored bands. The yellow and red colored ornaments were drawn on the *uyk* and door. In winter time the rich covered the *kiiz ui* with one layer more of felt, the poor covered with cane” (Shkapskij 1889: 127-128). The descriptions of both scientists have a scientific basis. However, in accordance with the pictures taken by Kazakhs on the way to winter encampments from Perovsk county show that *kiiz ui* of rich people were covered with brown felts. We come to conclusion that *kiiz ui* with white felt were used for ceremonial purposes, holidays, commemorations and in summer pastures.

L. Mejer, who was familiar with household facilities of *kiiz ui*, stated that *kiiz ui* was covered by cane (Mejer 1865: 249, Karuts 1910: 67). The Kazakhs constructed *kiiz ui* with 6 qanat (panel), middle *kiiz ui* comprised 8 qanat, large *kiiz ui* – 12 qanat in summer, winter *kiiz ui* generally had 4-6 qanat.

The Kazakhs of Syr region called the *kiiz ui* as “*a black ui*” which means “*black shangyraq*”. It could be connected with dark color of felt (brown, grey) covered *kiiz ui*. According to local aqsaqals (old people) the Kazakhs stayed at *kiiz ui* till 1937-1938 in winter. In summer *kiiz ui* was in function till 1980 and it was constructed in the yards.

Winter Houses: Construction and Function

The regional peculiarity in the construction of a dwelling in Kazakh steppe, as we have mentioned before, was defined by raw materials. In Syr region the following materials were used in the construction of houses: clay brick, cane, turf, straw and local wood. For example, in the East all buildings such as shops, fences, houses were constructed using wood because this region was rich in forests. As for Syr region the wood was used in covering the roof, making the door. The basic raw materials were clay brick, cane, turf, straw.

According to raw materials the types of houses were different, e.g. turf and bedmatt were used in the construction of such houses as: *zhertole*, *zherkepe*, *shym ui*; cane – *qaqyra*, *shoshala*, *olshek*; brick – *qorzhyn ui*, *tirkеспе ui*, *toqaltam*.

To construct “*zhertole*” one should dig a hole one meter in depth and plaited bedmatt which forms the walls should be 1,5-2 meters height. The bedmatt was dug out by ketmen, the bedmatt was put on each other pressing with sheep dung (turf) and clay. According to Syr Kazakhs the roof was covered with twigs, cane was laid above it, above cane – soft grass, above – clay made of straw. There was a fireplace in the middle of *zhertole*. Its smoke was released by a chimney fixed on the roof. There were two houses on two sides of *zhertole* with two windows (AEM).

O. Shkapskij described winter *zhertole* of Oysylqara, Taldyq, Yrgyz and Qazaly regions as follows: “*Zhertole* is a one-room, with low walls and wooden floor, a chimney on the top of the house. There was a two-room *zhertole*: in one room women cooked and in the other room they welcomed guests. There was a wooden beam to support the roof in the middle of the room. *Zhertole* is made of cane, brick and clay. Inside the *zhertole* there was a plank-bed, felt and *korpe* (blanket) were piled on it, a felt rug was hung on the walls to keep warm” (Picture 5). There were *zhukayaq* (a support on legs for bedding in a *kiiz ui*, *kebezhe* (a wooden chest for storage of products), *ayaq qap* (a bag for ware storage in *kiiz ui*), a bed, and felt chests except other furniture. Families in encampments could vary from 5-6 to 15-20 families. Winter encampments were situated close to each other. The Kazakhs lived with all clan in winter encampments” (Shkapskij 1889: 127-128).

Shym ui – the house constructed using the turf. The ground was not dug

out, it was built without making a hole on the ground, the turf makes the foundation of a house. The turf was cut out, mixed with clay and sand, this mixture was used in the building of walls of a house (AEM).

The inhabitants of the West region of Syr (Aral) called this type of house as *bastyрма*, as each material (turf, bedmatt, cheegrass) was laid on each other and finally was pressed with clay in building this house. *Bastyрма* is widely used in the West, because it was cold in winter than in the East of Syr region. The house with one wall open and covered roof was also called as *bastyрма* (Vostrov 1963: 32).

Another kind of winter house of Syr region was *zherkepe*. According to Ozbekali Zhanibekov's research a *kepe* initially was a house of Hunters. The skeleton of the lower vertical wall made out of sticks vertically driven into the ground, the top were secured by means of transverse sticks. The upper end of each of the standing straight sticks attached a pole forming a skeleton of the roof; all poles were brought together at the top. The front face of a *zherkepe* was covered with tree bark or an animal skin. O. Zhanibekov describes *zherkepe* as following: "... first, the ground was dug a square hole, the walls were formed at the expense of the dug-out ground, wooden beams were put in the middle of the walls, tree sticks were laid down in opposite sides, it covers with soil, plasters with clay, there was a hole on the roof to get the smoke out and a door. Such type of house is supposed to be a late model." With the modification of tools of Hunters and Farmers the transportable and stationary encampments developed in Kazakh steppe (Zhanibekov 1995: 18-19). The Kazakhs of Syr region called the process of covering the roof of winter encampments as *itarqasyn zhabu* (AEM).

Among winter encampments of rich families of Syr region there was another type of encampment – *qorzhun ui*. The walls of two houses were joint, so relatives lived there. They shared a hall for cooking, it was the room which connected two houses. To build *qorzhun ui* a high place was chosen, the ground was leveled with ketpen (mattock), straw, tumbleweed, dry camel's thorn and other grass laid down on the ground, trampled down by cattle hoofs and with a wooden hammer. It made the house warm. On the prepared ground a hole was dug out following the line, the walls were built after filling the hole with straw. The walls were made of straw brick and

covered with clay mixed with straw. Qorzhun ui was widely spread in Arqa, Zhetisu regions (AEM).

The winter encampment *toqaltam* was a low house constructed using brick made of clay, roof was covered with cane (see Picture 1-3). Clay was filled in special wooden forms to get clay bricks. The straw was cut off to get a clay brick of high quality. According to E.A. Polochanskij there were winter encampments in the South of Kazakh steppe on the streamway of rivers Syrdarya, Talas, Shu, Qaratal, Aksu in 1920 and gave a picture of winter encampments. (Polochanskij 1926: 6). In 1922 M.D. Spiridonov said “Winter encampments of Syrdarya were built using clay bricks and straw. The houses were located 0,5-1 kilometers far from each other. 1-2 winter encampments could be found in the regions with water” (Spiridonov 1922). The house windows of rich people were made of glass, whereas the poor used the processed cattle stomach instead of glass (Dobrosmyslov 1895: 337).

Tirkеспе ui, another type of winter encampments, appeared to be a complex construction (a hall, room with a fireplace, bedroom, drawing room) that could be met in many regions of the Kazakh land. The rooms were joint; it is the reason why the house of this kind bore such a name. This clay brick house, clay plastered or covered with burned brick represents the complex construction of the XXth century. *Tirkеспе ui* could be built using turf and clay slate. Wealthy Kazakhs built a house using burned brick and covered the roof of their houses (Zhanibekov 1995: 52-53). In summer Farmers of Syr region built a temporary house *olshek* which was similar to *zhertole*. The walls were from clay brick, the roof covered with branches, tamarix, camel’s thorn, some places were pressed with clay. It was cool in *olshek* in hot weather (Zhanibekov 1995: 22).

Qaqyra was a winter encampment which built using cane, cheegrass and clay plastered walls. *Qaqyra* were in regions with mild winter: in the South, in the middle stream of Syr, in the East part of Perovsk. The house with a single room without a roof *auli* served as a storage of houskeeping equipments.

On the basis of materials taken from “Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepol’zovaniju” V. Vostrov stated that 66% of Perovsk Kazakhs had winter encampment in 1910, 55,7% – in 1911. In 1910-1911 the winter

encampments of Syr Kazakhs consisted of 2-3 rooms (Vostrov 1963: 33).

According to the article “Zametki ohotnika” (Notes of a Hunter) published in the newspaper “Turkestanskije vedomosti” winter encampments in the South were built using typha because of mild winter. Hunters and Hawkers lived in *shalash*, *shatyr* while hunting (G-iy 1888: 151), i.e. temporary dwelling. Dwelling of Fishermen was called “*shalash*” as well and covered with cane (AEM).

Syr Kazakhs called winter dwelling as “*tam*”, for example they said “*to build tam*” instead of “*to build a house*”. According to Levshin notes: “at the end of the XVIIIth century a Kazakh man named Qarabolat belonged to Tortqara tribe of Kishi zhuz built a small fortress with a mosque at the bank of Syrdariya river, but he found kiiz ui comfortable to live. Later this construction took the name Qarabolattam. Merchant coffle stopped at Qarabolat place and paid tax” (Levshin 1996: 298). This fact shows that the word “*tam*” exists in the lexicon of Syr Kazakhs from early times. The word “*tam*” in Syr was also used in marking rooms, for example bedroom – “*ishki tam*”, a room for guests – “*ulken tam*” or “*torgi tam*” and so on. In Aral, Qazaly regions so called “*basqaldaq*” made of cane or clay was built at the bank of the river. The fence in the region where Syr flowed into Aral was called “*sharbaq*”, at Terengozek region it was called “*darbaza*”. It was made of branches of tamarix (AEM).

In Syr region during the construction of tam people made “*asar*” to finish the building of house in the nearest time. If a man couldn't be able to do something himself (e.g. dig a grave, build a house, clear irrigation ditch) he called people to help him, after finishing the work he laid the table and in this way he made “*asar*”. Even nowadays “*asar zhasau*” is organized to build a house, make a tomb. It is also called “*umme*”, which means to call people for help. The aqsaqal of that aul or aqsaqal of that family who made “*asar*” run this process (AEM).

In Syr region while passing from nomad to settled life those Kazakhs who weren't be able to move from winter encampments lived in the house “*qamys shoshala*” (Sokolovski 1926: 3, Picture 4). “*Shoshala*” of Syr region was a kind of house which was made of turf, cane, clay brick.

I.G. Andreev stated that Semey Kazakhs began to build wooden winter

encampments in 1779 (Andreev, 1998: 105), according to I. Dobrosmyslov the winter encampments were risen at the beginning of the XIXth century on Kazakh land (Dobrosmyslov 1895: 337).

According to the statisticians: “in the middle of the XIXth century the house made of clay brick was rare in Syr region”. It shows that in the middle of the XIXth century the house construction was not so important (Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepol’zovaniju 1913: 30). In the middle of the XIXth century the rich Kazakhs and the Kazakhs who lived on Syrdarya military line used winter encampments (Nebolsin 1855: 53). The rich Syr Kazakhs built *kiiz ui* next to winter encampment so they used two houses (see Picture 1).

The Regional Differences and Similarities of Kazakh Land

In Aqmola, Atbasar, Zhetikol regions which abound with forests and steppes the first type of encampment was “*toshala*” and it was called as “*toshala ui*”, “*shoshaq ui*”, “*shoshala*”. “*Shoshala*” was a house with five walls, bent roof poles and a crown (*shangyraq*) covered with *tundik*, the door was made of felt which was a good protection against the rain and wind. The base of *shoshala* had a circle form, the top was covered with 10-15 bending sticks and felt. The name “*shoshala*” was connected with its shape. Those who lived in the East part of the Kazakh land and forest-steppe Altai used wood in the construction of houses. The house consisted of wooden lattice walls, the roof was covered by tied reed and hay remains, the bottom of a chimney plastered with clay. In 1897 the Kazakhs from East Altai began to use a winter encampment “*duken*” which was made of lattice log. The face side of “*duken*” was alike to *kiiz ui* (but it was not circle), it was five-cornered and latticed with round log, a *shangyrak* of *kiiz ui* covered the top of the house. In the middle of the house there was a fireplace as in *kiiz ui*. But in Syr the word “*duken*” meant the name of another building: the workshop of a Hammersmith.

There was much wood in the East, that’s why people used wood in building of winter encampments, it is the reason of the existence of the expression “*agash tamdy naiman*” (AEM). Altai Kazakhs’ house – “*agash-aiyl*” was four-six sided, latticed with round log, the top was cone shaped. This house was 3-4 meters tall. The Kazakhs of this place as well as Syr Kazakhs lived in

other types of houses as “*zher ui*”, “*shym ui*”. Kazakhs of Atbasar built winter encampment from a crude brick. In 1862 the military officers of Russia during the business trip to Qaragengir pool of Atbasar county recorded 100 winter encampments that were built using crude brick. The construction of these buildings was similar to “*toqaltam*” which can be seen in Syr region (Krasovski 1868: 220).

In the second half of the XIXth century the Kazakhs who lived in the East and in the Centre of Kazakhstan could use only winter encampments which owned the Cossacks. That’s why they moved to the bank of Ertis from winter encampments in early spring and came back in late autumn. Some aul inhabitants rented the bank of Ertis for autumn and spring cattle pasture. They lived in temporary autumn dwelling “*kelte qystau*” till winter. “*Kelte qystau*” was a kind of temporary dwelling with low walls and without a roof which was built to protect cattle from storm in autumn. The local Kazakhs called this type of dwelling as “*zhalgan qystau*”, “*sholaq qystau*”. But this dwelling wasn’t used as a permanent place of living (Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepol’zovaniju 1903: 78-81). In the East of Kazakhstan, particularly Kazakhs of Pavlodar County lived in “*beldeu ui*” in early spring which was considered to be as a winter encampment. Altybai argyns (one of tribes) of Pavlodar stopped at the bank of Ertis at the beginning of March coming back from winter encampments. They built house using crude clay brick because the early spring was cold. “*Beldeu ui*” was similar to “*kelte qystau*”, a house which was intended for use in late autumn. Each Pavlodar Kazakh family had “*Beldeu ui*”. The Kazakhs paid a tax 40 kopeck (coins) for rent the *beldeu ui* to settlers (Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepol’zovaniju 1903: 81, 127). Only the rich people built winter encampments using wood in the North-West region (Dobrosmyslov 1895: 337).

Winter Pasture

Nomadic people could change a place of living even in winter, because they were seeking a place for cattle pasture. According to P. Nebolsin: “such clans (families) as nazar, shuren, qabaq, teleu, zhaqayim, kete, ozhyrai, qygyz, shekti, zhankylysh, alim changed places of living during winter”² and they settled down in place with no grass in winter. (Nebolsin 1855: 53) Of course, people wouldn’t have moved from one place to another if there had been enough food for cattle and mild weather.

In winter some Syr nomadic people moved to Qyzylqum seeking a place for cattle pasture, in the North the Kazakhs had to move towards Perovsk, Qazaly³ because of longstanding and severe winter in that place. In 1879-1880 the winter was so severe that 216167 cattle were placed from Torgai to Perovsk County (Dobrosmyslov 1895: 27). In 1893 according to the report of military governor of Torgai County 6353 families in Yrgiz, 944 – in Torgai didn't have own winter pastures, that's why they had to move several times during winter. Some of nomadic people of Yrgiz region moved to nearby Aqtobe County and the rest were sent to Qazaly in winter. In the South East of Yrgiz County pastures of *shomekey* and *teleu* families were next to Qazaly region pasture. Some Uaq families settled down on the bank of Aral river to live with *shekti kins* (Dobrosmyslov 1895: 339-340).

The erection of fortresses by Russians in the West, the rapid arrival of Russian settlers narrowed the winter and summer pasture places for cattle, the formation of the Soviet Government and confiscation of rich people led to stop the nomadic lifestyle. The invaders erected fortresses along Syrdarya and Khuandarya, so the nomadic people of these regions had to winter in Zhanadarya and Qyzylqum in the second half of the XIXth century.

In winter pasture where herds of cattle were kept was called *tebin* (tebenevka – winter pasture where cattle got food clearing the snow). Each aul family had a sowing place, a place for cattle pasture near the winter pasture. And there were additional pastures as *qoibolek*, *qoryk*, *atabolek* for keeping sheep in winter. These places served not only as a cattle pasture, but also to take fodder grass as additional food for cattle. There were *Qoibolek and qoryq* in each winter pasture. Harmony was remained among *qoryq* people. When there was a strong wind the cattle could go far seeking leeward place. Vital issues were settled by *aqsaqals*. The distance of pastures depended on the size of that area. In winter, sheep and camels were kept in an open paddock chipped felt which called *yqtyrma* (Bukejhan 1995: 153-181).

Winter time was difficult for pastoralists. Severe winter caused a great livestock loss, it was “*zbut*”. The following reasons led to “*zbut*” as well: firstly, a lot of snow, severe storm and frost happened as a result of a continuous drought in summer; secondly, winter started with warm days, it rained, then it changed to snow and ice covered the ground, finally grass became unavailable for cattle; thirdly, cold spring lasted too long which made the

cattle become weak. To prevent cattle from “*zhut*” the Kazakhs changed the winter pasture and had to roam even in winter.

Not only “*zhut*” cause a problem, but also wolves attacked cattle of nomadic people. The cattle could die from cold if people didn't keep them in a corral. If they didn't have a corral people kept cattle on the leeward side or on the hills. The cattle used to be kept in winter pastures, that's why the nomadic Kazakhs didn't cut grass and didn't collect food for winter (AEM).

The fact that the cattle was kept in the open air in 1886 corroborates that the building of enclosed paddock began at the end of the XIXth century in Syr. (Obzor Syr-Dar'inskoj oblasti 1888: 70). According to the facts which revealed the number of livestock loss in 1889 runs “the cattle of nomadic Kazakhs suffered more than the cattle of Kazakhs who followed the settled life” (Obzor Syr-Dar'inskoj oblasti 1889: 33), according to the report in 1906's “Kazakhs of Perovsk and Qazaly region didn't keep the fodder grass for winter, if they had it was not much”. This fact proves that mowing hay developed slowly at the beginning of the XXth century (Obzor Syr-Dar'inskoj oblasti 1907: 89).

The “*zhut*” which took place at the end of the XIXth and at the beginning of the XXth century weakened the Syr Kazakhs. In 1879-1880 the Kazakhs whose cattle decreased in quantity changed nomadic life to settled life and began to prepare for winter ahead of time (AEM). In 1870 just in Qazaly region “*zhut*” took away 6388220 cattle, in 1877 – 4113999, 1885 – 2754700, and in 1910 6/1 part of cattle were lost, all in all 15.4% of cattle died (Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepolzovaniyu 1913: 47, 58).

According to local aqsaqals “*zhut*” took place in Syr in 1930 and 1963. Such saying spread among the Kazakhs of Qazaly, Aral: “Rich for one “*zhut*”, hero for one shot” (AEM). *Zhut* turned the rich to the poor. At the end of the XIXth century nomadic people began to prepare winter food reserve ahead of time to prevent their cattle from “*zhut*”. According to historical facts “*zhut*” took place in Syr region. During the “*zhut*” a lot of cattle died, it was the main reason of changing nomadic to settled life. Such a big loss of cattle was not easy for Kazakhs and it made the Kazakhs settle down in permanent places. Settlement process developed the building of winter dwellings.

Conclusion:

The historical reason of building houses of nomadic people in Syr region can be explained as following: the Kazakhs stayed at seasonal places while passing from nomadic to settled life and places of winter pastures for cattle narrowed; permanent house was needed to protect from severe frost and a strong wind; the tsarist Russia introduced the regulation of ruling of Kazakh land and the Kazakhs began to settle down in winter encampments; the mass arrival of settlers developed the construction of houses. At the end of the XIXth and beginning of the XXth century while passing from nomadic to settled life the number of winter encampments and houses arose, winter encampments consisted of two or three rooms, even there was a joint bathhouse.

There were regional peculiarities and differences in building of winter encampments on Kazakh land. These differences were defined by raw materials used in building houses and clothing, i.e. in the East wood was used in the building of houses because this region was surrounded with forest, in Syr such materials were used as cheegrass, turf, clay brick, cane and types of houses were built according to natural features of that place. In the middle of the XIXth century winter encampments were used as permanent houses. Building of houses and cattle sheds developed at the same time. In many cases the winter encampments were built joint with cattle sheds in order to keep warm. Leeward side was chosen for building winter houses. There was a winter pasture near the winter house, that's why it was called as *winter encampment-aul*. In Syr region to live in the old type of winter encampments and to build kiiz ui near the house in summer lasted till 1980s.

Notes

¹ Located on the downstream of the Syr, Kyzyl-Orda region and the people of this area will be used the code name "Syr region". In the classification of geography-historical Mangistau, Syr, Sariarka, Zhetisu formation of their neighborhood as a separate name associated historical-toponymic position name of the river and countryside. Syr explore the area called so because the main source of water, the Syr Darya River, and also because at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, this name appears in written sources.

² Along downstream of the Syr having settled junior Horde belongs to the tribes of the branch kind of name Alimuly. Seasonal residence Alimulys occupied West, North West, between the rivers of the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea, north side of the Aral Sea. Alimuly tribe consists of kharakesek, tortkhara, shekti, kharasakhal, kete, shomekei. Counties were divided by parish stewards and aul.

³ Perovsk and Khazaly regions were formed in 1867, related to Turkestan General - Governor Syrdarya district covered Syr region administrative territory. Regions were divided into parish steward and auls.

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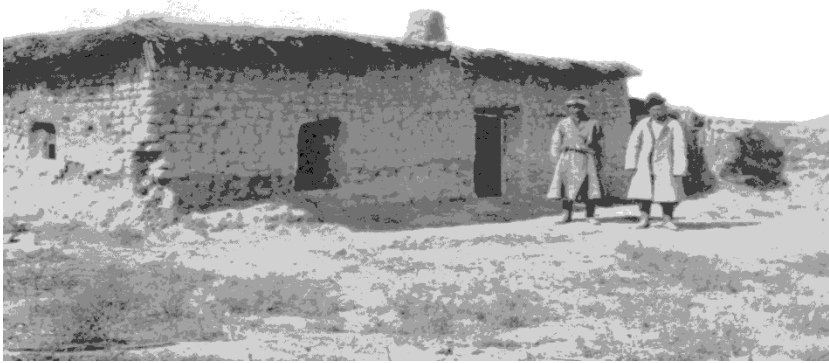
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Picture 1 – Winter encampment of the rich Kazakhs. Perovsk region, Tsarskaiya volost. 1910. Picture taken by A. Fisher. (Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepol'zovaniju, 1912: 40 A)



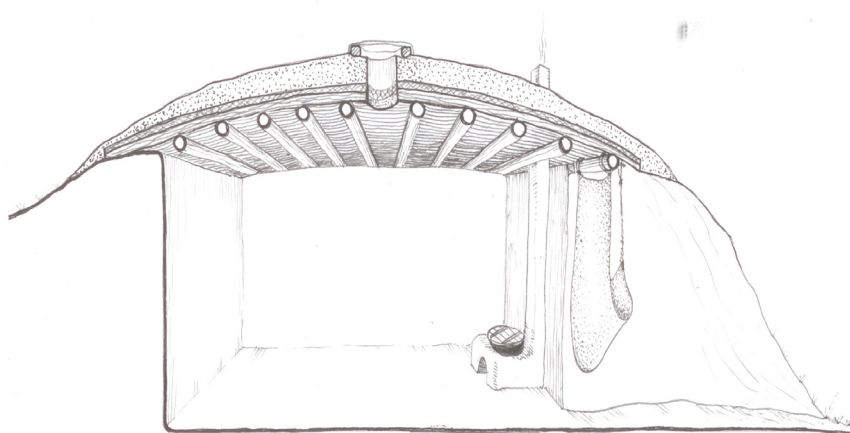
Picture 2 – Middle life style of the Kazakhs` winter encampment. Perovsk region, Sauran volost. 1910. Picture taken by A. Fisher. (Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepol'zovaniju, 1912: 32 A)



Picture 3 – The winter encampment of the poor. Sauran volost. 1910. Picture taken by A. Fisher. (Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepol'zovaniju, 1912: 32 A)



Picture 4 – Winter encampment of the rich Kazakhs. Perovsk region, Maslov volost. 1910. Picture taken by A. Fisher. (*Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepol'zovaniju*, 1912: 48 A)



Picture 5 – Zhertole. Graphical reconstruction.

Sırderya Nehri'nin Aşağı Kısımındaki Kışlaklarının Yöresel Özellikleri

(XIX – XX yy. ilk yarısı)

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Öz

Makalede Sırderya Nehri'nin aşağısındaki kışlık ve otlakların yerleşimi ile onların özellikleri ele alınmaktadır. Kışlık otlaklar rüzgârdan korunma amaçlı ve bol meraların bulunduğu yerlerde özel olarak nehir ve göllerin etrafında, dağların oyukları ile kumlu burhanlarda yerleşmiştir. Kışlık otlakların büyüklüğü, hayvanların sayısı ve çiftliğin boyutuna bağlı idi. Eskiden Kazaklar kışlık göçebe evlerde yaşamışlardır. Kazakların ilk kışlık evlerinin kuruluşu 18 yy. sonu ile 19 yy. başlarına dayanır. Hayvancılıkla uğraşan çok sayıdaki Kazak avulların (köylerin) belirli kışlık evleri olmamıştır, onlar kış ayları da göçebe hayatını sürdürmeye devam etmişlerdir. Kışlık evler yerli tabiatın özelliklerine göre, yanmamış tuğla, saz otu, toprak ve ağaçtan inşa ediliyordu. 19 yy.'ın ikinci yarısından kışlık evlerin kuruluşu gelişmeye başlamıştır, bunun sebepleri de yazlık ve kışlık meraların kısılması, kış aylarında hayvan sayısının kıtlıktan azalması ve Kazakların yerleşik hayata geçmesi ile bağlı kalır. 20 yy. başında göçebelerin yerleşik hayata geçmesi ile kışlık evler Kazakların sürekli ikamet mekânı olmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kışlak, kışlık otlak, kışlık göçler, kışlık evler, ağıl

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Региональные особенности зимних поселений нижнего течения Сырдарьи (XIX -нач. XX века)

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Аннотация

В статье рассматриваются особенности расположения зимовок и зимних пастбищ нижнего течения Сырдарьи. Места для зимовок выбирали в долинах рек или около озер, в горных лощинах или между песчанными барханами, с достаточным подножным кормом и защищенным от ветров. Размер зимовых стойбищ зависел от количества скота и размера хозяйств. Первые постройки казахами зимовок относятся к концу XVIII - началу XIX века. Многие казахские аулы, занимающиеся кочевым скотоводством не имели постоянную зимовку, они и зимой вели кочевой образ жизни. Строительный материал зимовок в связи с местными природно-ландшафтными особенностями состоял из нежженного кирпича, камыша, глины и дерева. Постройки зимовок начали свое развитие со второй половины XIX века, что было связано с сокращением летних и зимних пастбищ, с падением скота во время зимних джудов и переходом казахов на оседлый образ жизни. Со сменой кочевого образа жизни оседлым в начале XX века зимние временные постройки стали постоянным жилищем казахов.

Ключевые слова

зимовка, зимнее пастбище, зимнее кочевье, зимнее жилище, загоны для скота

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