

Peculiarities of Seasonal Migration of The Kazakhs (The End of The XIX – The Beginning of The XX)*

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Abstract

The Kazakhs, involved in livestock keeping, provided their livestock with natural pastures in all seasons. For this purpose the Kazakhs used pastures according to seasons: qystau (winter pasture), kokteu (spring pasture), zhailav (summer pasture) and kuzdeu (autumn pasture). The given article considers the usage of seasonal camps and historical-topography and cartography of the route of the Kazakhs on the basis of scientific facts. There were traditions and beliefs connected with seasonal migration. Those tribes who were involved in livestock keeping used to move to a long distance. The introduction of Russian tsar regime and the arrival of settlers made the nomads transfer to settled way of life in the second part of the XIX century. Tribes who moved a long distance used meridional, a short distance – transportation, to highlands – “direct” or “vertical” type of moving.

Keywords

The organization of migration, types of nomadic routes, seasonal pastures, distance and the length of nomadic routes, traditions of nomadic migrations.

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Introduction

The study of economic and cultural characteristics of the nations, including the spread of nomadic and semi-nomadic cattle breeding on the territory of Kazakhstan, the consideration of types of pastures, directions and the length of nomadic and semi-nomadic routes is regarded to be one of the topical directions of the ethnographic science. It involves the creation of a durable source base, the introduction of accumulated knowledge on the history of the economy of nations, scientific generalization of the complex of ethnographic and historical material with the characteristics in the historical, economic and socio-cultural progress, the evaluation factor of ethno-economical and cultural contacts of people.

Materials relating to the XIX - early XX century present the main source base of this work. In this period numerous materials of ethnographic and statistical expeditions held in the territory of the Kazakh steppe guided by the Russian Empire were accumulated as well as articles and daily records of military orientalists and military officials worked in the administration department during the colonization of the country. In addition to the documentary materials the photo documents and mapping data were given.

There were two types of nomadic economy of nations of Central Asia: the nomadic and semi-nomadic. The reason for this distinction is the degree of the people engagement in agriculture, the role of agriculture of which is highly visible in the semi-nomadic economy, as for nomadic pastoralists they hardly involved in agriculture.

There were three ways of nomadism in Central Asia: meridian, vertical, stationary. The meridian way of migration was known in the nomadic economy, it was widely used in many villages in the lower reaches of Syrdarya, Aral and Caspian oasis (Mangistau and Ustyurt), in Turgai valleys, on the skirts of Mugalzhar, Ulytau, Kishitau mountains, on the skirts of Elek, Qabyrga, Sarysu rivers, i.e. in the central and northern parts of the steppes of modern Kazakhstan.

In the meridian migration the winter nomadic pastoralists located in the southern regions of that oblast where they lived, and with the onset of spring and the appearance of new grass they moved towards the north following the warm weather and new grass. In the summer pastures the

nomadic pastoralists located at a considerable distance from each other, as they needed a large pasture space. With the beginning of autumn they returned back to winter houses.

Routes of movement of pastoralists were regulated according to the location of water sources (wells, rivers, lakes) used for livestock watering during migrations. The direction and length of migrations depended on the number of the flock. In the meridian migration the pastoralists had a large number of cattle and moved to a long distance, as there was no sense to migrate with small flock. In the meridian migration the flock consisted of camels, horses and sheep fully excluding cattle, as it was not able to move over long distances.

The Kazakhs who were involved in livestock keeping had seasonal pastures and own traditions of nomadic migration, every year each aul (village) moved following the routes made by their ancestors. The livestock were grazed on natural pastures in all seasons. For winter pastures lee side, forest, woody and cane places were chosen to protect the livestock from wind, as for summer pastures the places with much natural water (rivers, lakes), high mountains with fresh air were chosen. Spring and Autumn pastures were located in the same place with rivers and lakes nearby and the places where snow fell late and began to melt early.

Nomadic Migration Traditions

The migration period to zhailav or qystau was considered to be an important process for Kazakhs, they demonstrated a big responsibility to this process, they dressed their best clothes and put beautiful saddles on horses.

Nomadic camels were covered with so called “*asmaldyk*”-beautifully designed special cover and silk fringe tied on camels` heads (Kostenko 1880 I: 340). Ivan Geyer described the tradition of Kazakh nomadic migration in this way: “All bags were put on camels that were covered with carpets beautifully designed with ornaments. People dressed their best clothes which they wore in special occasions as “toys” (holidays), mounted on their horses and young fellows organized different games riding their horses, so they had fun. They stayed for 1-2 days on the way and after they continued to move” (Geyer 1909: 43). The South Kazakhs put their bags on camels and move without carts because they had to cross sand dunes (Argynbayev 1969: 64). Zhetysu

Kazakhs demonstrated the importance of migration process by covering their camels with decorated fringes. Some rich nomadic people decorated their vehicle with so called “Qarqara”, feathers of an ostrich and a peacock (see Picture 1). According to Georgii Potanin: “Qarqara consisted of four feathers that were used to decorate the “*kebezhe*” (a box for transportation of a pack on a camel) (Potanin 1916: 109). If to consider that the Kazakhs used to hunt pheasants, we can state that pheasant feather was one of the decoration attribute of nomadic migrations. Pheasant feather as a decoration attribute could be connected with the superstition, which is protecting somebody from putting the evil eye on someone. Such migration ceremony was associated with the wish “Have a safe journey”.



Picture 1. *Of nomadic migrations decorated Qarqara* (From the fund of the Central museum of Republic Kazakhstan)

Krasofsky described the migration ceremony as following: “the horses rode by women were covered by long rich cloth, the part of which was tied to women belt, so horse cloth could decorate both horses and women; the “*baibishé’s*” (the first wife of the rich man) horse was covered by a cloth decorated with ornaments and beads, rich stones as pearls and silk. Young lady’s horses were decorated in the same way. The loaded camels’ heads were decorated with fringed bells; boxes were decorated with peacock feathers. Men also dressed their smart clothes, carried rich lashes in their hands, saddles were made of silver. The migration of nomads was headed by respected old men who were good oriented in places, livestock followed them, men of that “*aul*” (village) continued the line, women followed men; there were loaded horses and camels at the end of the line; the youth could

go in two sides or at the end of the caravan. The length of caravan could reach up to 10 kilometers. When the road was very long they cut a sheep and arranged a party after reaching the place of destination” (Krasovsky 1868 III: 41-42).

The Kazakhs engaged in livestock keeping, before leaving qystau (winter pasture) to kokteu (spring pasture) laid table, prayed and treated all with smoked meat or sheep meat. After such superstitious beliefs as “*kauak syndyru*”, “*ottan sekiry*”, “*koshti alastau*” were followed. If the migration from qystau to zhailav was going to take place for the first time people stayed at nearby places (5-6 km) to qystau. Before continuing the migration fires were placed on two sides of road, then older woman took a ware made of pumpkin, broke it and spoke aloud: “*kauak syndy, kaigy ketti*” (“ware has been broken, all grieves vanished”). This tradition was connected with staying safe after winter. Then loaded camels crossed the burning fire. It was done for protecting the camels and horses from bad spirits and evils. Men and women jumped through fire crying “*alas, alas*” (“away, away”), so cleared themselves as well. Then they cut sheep and thanked the God to stay safe after winter by saying: “*eski zhurtta esirkeding, zhanga zhurtta zharylqa*” “You’ve saved us in the previous pasture, let us bring happiness in the new one” (Grodekov 1889: 109-110, Divayev 1992: 166). The severe winter frost made the livestock become weak and it could lead to zhut (the mass loss of livestock). Such wish as “*baqytty meken bolsyn*” (“let new place bring happiness”) was made to people who settled in a new place. A lot of traditions connected with the migration process disappeared after transferring from nomadic to settled style of life.

The settled place of aul was called “zhurt”. To find an appropriate pasture place “*zhaushy*” (messenger) was sent. According to the established rule no aul could occupy the place and winter pastures which belonged to other aul (Zagryazhsky 1876: 183-184). A wooden board, with the sign which showed to what tribe that place belonged to was fixed on the occupied place. To occupy a new place one didn’t ask for permission from neighbors. If the man didn’t leave the sign on the occupied place the other could own it. In disputable cases the pasture place went to that aul which was run by sultan, the aul headed by ordinary person had to find another place. The preference was given also to respectable “*aqsaqal*”(old wise man) heading

that aul. If two biis (feudal ruling clique), two sultans, two aqsqaqs who were equal in position took part in such dispute, then the older one won the case (Grodekov 1889: 110-111).

Aul people of all Kazakh regions used to leave a sign on occupied places. Ustirt “Adays” who moved to the North in summer, to the South in winter tied tops of herbs on places where they stopped. So this tradition was called “top budym” and it meant that they possessed that place.

The migration from Qystau to kokteu started when the grass began to appear on the ground. In the evening people went to “aqsqaq’s” house to plan the route of their migration. The aqsqaqs defined the “*satti kun*”, a favorable day to move (Kustanayev 1894: 15, Geyer 1909: 43). Respected people who headed the migration were 20-25 kilometers ahead of the caravan, sometimes they went too far and were hunting. Baybishe or respectable woman could go in front of others, women riding the loaded camels followed them. Such works as to tie boxes, to put nomad tents were done by women (Kostenko 1880 I: 340, Argynbayev 1969: 64, Meyer 1865: 247).

The Organization of Seasonal Migration

If the place of destination was far, people set up earlier. The spring came earlier to Syr region and to the South, so people left qystau for kokteu in the beginning of March, they could reach 15 kilometers a day and reach a place in about 15-20 days. Early spring was the time when livestock could breed. If there was not enough food for cattle people moved to summer pastures.

The transportation function was carried out by a camel, a horse, a bull. According to the volume of loaded bags the rich people needed 10-12 camels, people of middle class 4-6, according to the number of people one family needed 2-6 horses or camels (see Picture 2). In Syr region the camel was used as both to ride and load, in Tarbagatay, Qarqara regions the camel was used only as a kind of transportation, and in Qara Ertis region women rode a camel. To transport the nomadic tent consisted of six wings with all furniture six camels were needed. Each two wings were distributed to three camels, the rest three camels were loaded with uyk and other things, and people kept such order in loading household things. Before loading the camel dropped to it’s knees, so called “*kiziz zhabu*” (a cloth made of felt) was covered in order not to hurt the body of a camel, to fix the uyk on the

camel beautifully designed “*uyk qap*” and to fix wings “*qanat qap*” were used, so bags were fastened by “*bekime*” (a rope) on two sides of a camel hump and between two humps tekemet (a felt carpet) was laid down.



Picture 2. *The aul moving a long distance*

(From the fund of the Central museum of Republic Kazakhstan)

The East Kazakhs used horses and bulls along with camels, because they moved not far. 7 – 8 bulls could replace six camels, whereas 10 – 12 horses could replace six camels (see Picture 3). The nomad tent consisted of four wings were transported by bulls and horses. The caravan was headed by bulls and young mares, then came horses and dry cows, cows with calves, sheep with lambs. In the East the Kazakhs women rode camels, but Altai Kazakhs used camels as a type of transportation and they rode only horses.



Picture 3. *The aul moving a short distance*

(From the fund of the Central museum of Republic Kazakhstan)

The distance of migration was different, for example people who were rich with camels and horses could move far (Gains 1898: 248, Andrianov 1985: 63). The migration routes and types depended on the nature of that place.

The length of migration routes were different according to the number of livestock which had that aul. The tribes from West, North and central part of Kazakhstan used a meridional type of moving, Qyzylqum, Inkardariya, Quangdariya, Zhanadariya inhabitants moved towards Torgay, and Ustirt Kazakhs towards Elek river in early spring (Andrianov 1985: 59, 232).

Nomads who crossed the desert stopped on a livestock pond to give a drink to their livestock and didn't stop until the next livestock pond, it was called "*udere koshu*" (Margulan 1949: 77).

Two roads of the migration route of the rich people of Syr region constituted 2000 kilometers (Narody Rossii 1879: 13). Topographers states that Syr Kazakhs could walk 1000, 1500 kilometers to get to a place of destination (Aziatskaya Rossia 1914 I: 159). Syr Kazakhs moved towards Troitsk, even farther and it reached 600-800 km (Gains 1898: 248, 569). Syr Kazakhs reached 800-1000 km to get to zhailavs in Qostanay region, as for Perovsk and Qazaly Kazakhs 600-1000 km were needed to get to Torgay region (Dobrosmyslov 1895: 12). The migration began in Syrdarya could reach Tobyl (Finsh vd. 1843: 149).

If to take as a comparison, the migration distance of Yrgyz Kazakhs to Ushbala zhailav which was in Qostanay region it constituted 500 km. And Lepsy zhailav which was in Zhetysu the distance from qystau varied from 3 km to 360 km. The earliest migration to this place was on the 20th of April, the late one was on the 5th of May, the earliest leave was on the 15th of August, the late one was on the 1st of November. The settlement in zhailavs of Zhetysu auls and leaving zhailavs for autumn pastures depended on harvesting campaign and cutting the grass. The distance of seasonal pasture places of Lepsy inhabitants could vary from 100 till 500 km, the longest was 750 km.

Fertile pastures in Zhetysu region located in the mountains that is why people had to camp in hills and use "*vertical*" way of migration. Those auls which settled in the mountains moved late because it was cold in the mountains and snow melted late, grass also turned green too late and returned to autumn pastures earlier. The nomadic people of Qarqara and the East of Kazakhstan, some places of Zhetysu region, some parts of Central Kazakhstan used the kind of migration "*tasymal*". This type of migration

was in use when one part of aul moved first, then horses and camels were returned back to bring the rest of the aul. It was widely spread among those who moved a short distance and engaged in cattle husbandry.

Cattle husbandry was not an easy work. On the way they had to clean the wells and tried to save livestock from the thirst in places where there was no natural water (Kostenko 1880: 13). The wells of 10–40 meters in depth in Kishi and Ulken Borsyk deserts and wells of 20–100 meters in depth in Mangystau regions showed the one way of organization of cattle husbandry. The wells on the migration way characterize the continuation of nomadic route and connection between tribes. The place where the well stood called “*suat*”. The distance between closely situated suats was 5–10 km.

Syr region served as winter pastures because of the nature and ecology of that place, firstly, hot weather was kept, there were quite many mosquitoes in June and July and there was little soft grass to graze cattle, secondly, there was much sand, and such plants grew as saxaul which was not favorable for cattle. That’s why Syr Kazakhs had to move to the Northwest, the West, the central part of Kazakhstan as Torgay, Qostanay in early spring (Neustruyev 1911).

It was difficult to cross Betpakdala desert for nomadic people. The tribes who directed to the Central part of Kazakhstan set up in early March before the hot days would come because they had to cross Betpakdala (it concerns also other deserts) desert. One road from Betpakdala connected Syrdarya, Torgay and the South Oral, Central Kazakhstan and the South of Kazakhstan were connected by so called routes as “Khan zholy”, “Qarqara zholy”, “Uanas zholy”, “Zhety Qongyr zholy”, “Sarysu zholy”, these roads once were caravan route, later the part of these roads were used to develop the cattle husbandry (*Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepol’zovaniyu* 1915: 52). On returning Syr Kazakhs crossed Dariyalyq-taqyr and Ayrsqum deserts when first snow fell.

The historical road started from the lower current of Syrdarya and brought to the North-West of the Kazakh steppe called “Satpay zholy”, the second one was “Tau zholy”. “Satpay zholy” started from Qarakum, reached Torgay through sand dunes of Syrdarya, then it stretched to Oral. This fact gives a basis to state that in the period of historical time this road served as a trade

road. Well planned road where natural water resources and valid pastures located along the road reveals the topographical feature of the “Satpay zholy” (*Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepol'zovaniyu* 1912: 46, *Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepol'zovaniyu* 1903).

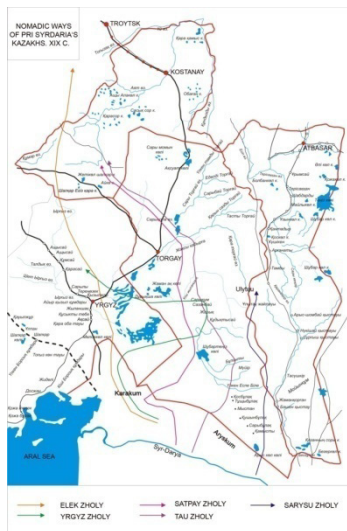
The migration direction of “Satpay zholy” started from the left side of Syr, the Kazakhs crossed Syrdarya in early March when the river was still covered with ice, then they passed Akzhota kum, Kyrmayak, stopped at Qarakum and stayed there until the livestock could become stronger, after they continued moving and the last destination was Baimuratozek (the place where it flows to Alabas). Through Baymurat Qyzylzhar, Quraqbai, Bozingen, Besbidaiyk, Uali Toipak (the place where it flows to Torgay), Ainakol, Qosbidaiyk, Saryozek (Qabyrga river) they reached Sala which was in the South where Qostanay bordered with Torgay region. Kazakhs of Tsarskaya volost stopped at Sala to have some water, then they reached Shashtyraz region belonged to Qostanay uezd.

The livestock pond of “Satpay zholy” was on the road of Tosyn volost belonged to Torgay region. Scientists who followed the direction of people of Tsarskaya volost in 1910 wrote: In the history of nomadic migration route the Tosyn volost located on the road which was used by Syrdarya Kazakhs, namely “zhappas” tribes and it was situated on the way to Qostanay zhailavs. In late February and early March the Zhappas left Syr region and directed towards the bank of Tobyl river, in August they moved back. During our expedition we met Zhappas from Syr region who had flock of camels and sheep on the Urkash to Torgay road” (Neustruev 1911: 79). It is clear that it was a nomadic tribe Zhappas moving by “Satpay zholy”. Here I want to draw your attention to the extract taken from “Kazakh” newspaper in 1914: “In our uezd (Akmeshit aul) there is Dostiyar aul. They call the place where the aul stands as “Kenton” (Kentub bolus). The half of the aul follow the settled style of life and other half are nomadic people whose summer pasture is in Qostanay uezd” (Zhien 1914: 51).

The tribes who moved by “Satpay zholy” kept the migration direction as “udere zhuru”. They set up early morning and continued till hot came. In the afternoon they stopped to have a rest in shadow places then continued moving till the late night. The nomads directing the “Satpay zholy” camped Sala in July, then moved to Shashtyraz pasture of Qostanay uezd. In the

15th-20th of September they returned back. On the way they stayed at kuzdeu Baymurat which was in Tosym volost of Torgay uезд on the 15th of October. Then they reached Qarakum on the 15th of November where they stayed for about 15 days. Then they directed to the winter pasture and reached Syr in December. “Satpay zholy” was used by those tribes that had many flocks of cattle because the distance of this road was very long. Through Torgay region they walked to pastures Bestobe, Amanqaray volost belonged to Qostanay region.

The nomads of Aynakol volost took the direction to the North East and stopped to have a rest in Aynakol, Arys lakes, Sarysu zhailav, then they reached zhailavs of Qostanay region making a several stops at Torgay livestock ponds. The East side of “Satpay zholy” was known in the history as the “Tau zholy”. As for the direction of “Tau zholy” it began from Syr river, through Ainakol lake it passed Torgay steppe and stretched to the zhailavs of Qostanay region. Syr Kazakhs called Ainakol the complex of cane lakes situated in the North-West of Perovsk town (see Picture 4).

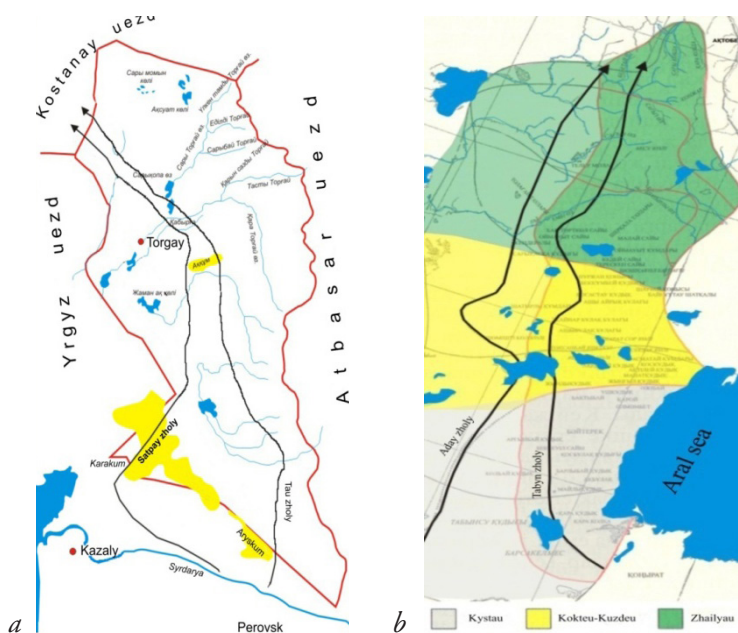


Picture 4. *Nomadic migration road of Syrdarya Kazakhs. XIX c. (Authorial map)*

The North-West migration direction of “Tau zholy” began from Syrdarya, through Ainakol lake, Qonyrtobe, Dariyalyk and Qarakemer, they stayed at Arys lake and Aksay lake. Then they crossed Qalmaqkyrgan, Kiyik,

Koyankarta, Donguztau, Sarapan, Tegenesay (the place where it flows to Alabakh lake) and Astaushasay, reached Akkol lake and stopped there. After having a rest they continued the migration and through Botakoshu, Qarasay, Boshakol, Temir Qarasu (Torgay region), Zhylkeldi (the livestock pond after Torgay), Katynkum, Dobyrkuduk, Kurman mola (the bank of Qabyrga river), Shortandy and Zhalaul they reached Sala. The pastures in Sala were situated in the bed of Qabyrga and Ulkiayakh rivers.

These two roads of Syr Kazakhs intersected on the right side of Torgay river of Torgay region not far from Sala. The length, direction and topographical feature of Satpay zholy and Tau zholy were coincided with the Aday and Tabyn tribes migration road which directed to the North. “Aday zholy” laid parallel to “Tabyn zholy” road (see Picture 5).



Picture 5. Nomadic migration road. XIX. c.: a) Satpay zholy and Tau zholy; b) Aday zholy and Tabyn zholy. (Authorial map)

The road which brought to Elek river and Mangystau boarded with Khiva (Khiva) was one of the longest road and it was known as “Elek zholy”. The South Ustirt nomads in order to reach Qandaral, Qarasakal zhailavs along Embi river had to cross Dahla, Uzunkoyu, Qaramola, Tabynsu wells and

Sam, Shatyrlı sand dunes. The nomadic Aday auls moved to the South to Aibogir belonged to Khiva in severe winter. The tribes got used to move a long distance as Tabyn, Altyn, Zhappas of Perovsk returning from zhailav to Qystau chose the shortest road and returned to Qystau in December when Syr river was covered with ice (Aleksandrov 1884: 202). Levshin stated that “the Baganaly - Naiman tribes who spent summer in Esyl and Torgay moved to Quangdariya in winter and Zhappas tribes moved from Troitsk to Syrdarya in November” (Levshin 1996: 298), according to Nebolcin “Altyn, Zhappas tribes of Syrdarya moved till Troitsk in summer” (Nebolcin 1854: 299) and this fact specifies that Syr Kazakhs` summer pasture occupied the banks of Esil and Torgay rivers and stretched to the territory of Troitsk, and “Satpay zholy” was considered to be an ancient migration road which connected Syr with Troitsk.

According to Dobrosmyslov the Altyn and Tabyn tribes of Qarmaqshy aul of Qazaly uezd, Zhappas tribes of Aynakol Shagan, Tsarskaya, Kentub and Qaraozek volost of Perovsk uezd, the Tabyn tribes of Bayzak volost spent spring in Tosym volost of Torgay uezd from the 15th of May till the 1st of July, then they reached Qostanay, this place was used as kuzdeu on the way to Syr from the 15th of September till the 15th of October (Dobrosmyslov 1895: 345, Kostenko 1880 I: 255).

The Syr and South Kazakhs moved to kokteu in the end of February and in the beginning of March, because spring came earlier to that region. The Kazakhs could walk 10-15 km a day or even 20 km. The tribes moving through semi-arid zones waited till cool days would come because it was too hot (Dobrosmyslov 1895: 12, 14-15). According to Kostenko the Syr nomads walked 20-25 km a day, if the weather was suitable they could walk 3-4 hours without a break and reach 40 km a day (Kostenko 1880 I: 340).

Orta zhuz (tribe) Kazakhs who lived in the East inhabited in wooden places on the bank of Syrdarya river. The Kazakhs of Zholek, Golovachev, Saryshagan, Sarysu auls settled down in zhailavs at the foot of Ulytau and Kishitau mountains and in Qarazhar near Sarysu. The foot of Ulytau and Kishitau mountains served as zhailavs for Perovsk Kazakhs, but for Sarysu Naymans it served as Qystau (Zagryazhsky 1903).

The moving and returning period time from Qystau of the Kazakhs from the East part of Syr was different from the West part of Syr Kazakhs and the distance of the latter was shorter. According to Zagryazhsky the migration to

Sarysu zhailav began in early spring in the beginning of March and reached Sarysu till the 25th of March. The Kazakhs of Zholek aul moved through river Shu, but Saryshagan nomads moved through Telekol and Telikkolata. In these pastures they stayed till the middle of April in order to graze their livestock with young grass. The rich auls through Koltobe pasture, through Belengana cemetery reached Shaqpaq hills and then reached Zhamanqorgan and stayed there till May. Then passing through Moyinqum, Akayak zhailavs came to Zhyrqamys and stayed there till the end of May. They reached Qarazhar in the beginning of June and stayed there till the middle of July, then returned to Syrdarya in the middle of August.

The nomadic people of Saryshagan in order to protect a flock of camels didn't come to the banks of Syrdarya till the 15th of August because the water in the rivers was warm and there were many gadflies there. On the way they didn't stop at Eskidarya because there was not water. Those who moved to Ulytau and Kishitau reached Kokalazhar in March, then they went up Espe river where they stayed for 2-3 days. They reached the foot of Kishitau mountains in the end of June. The rich, who had a lot of cattle and camped in Ulytau and Kishitau zhailavus in summer returned to the banks of Syrdarya in September. The poor Kazakhs stayed in Duisenbay till the beginning of August and joined the Kazakhs who camped in Ulytau and Kishitau on the way back (Zagryazhsky 1903). According to 1857 Syrdarya Lines Control the distance till Sandyk zhailav which was between Ulytau and Kishitau was 120 km. and the nomadic road turned the right from Qaragandy river, one part of caravan stayed at the banks of Qarakengyr and Sarysu rivers. The Sarysu river pastures were very suitable for camels and horses (Neustruev 1911).

Spiridonov described the Sarysu zhailav inhabited by Syr Kazakhs as following: "Zholek Kazakhs stayed at Katynkamys zhailav of Perovsk uezd which stretched from Belengana cemetery to the upper current of Sarysu river till August" (Spiridonov 1922: 35-36). From spring till the middle of summer there were full of kiiz uiy (nomads tent) and a flock of sheep and camels on the bank of Sarysu river which started from Belengana cemetery" (Spiridonov 1922: 96). This place was known in the history as fertile pasture of Syrdarya Kazakhs. According to Spiridonov Syr Kazakhs reached Baikonyr which was on the bank of Bulanty river in early spring. The livestock breeders moving from Syrdarya to Ulytau mountains didn't stop at livestock ponds for a long time because of long distance (Spiridonov 1922: 113). The facts given by

Shokan Valikhanov specifies that the tribes of the East region of Perovsk uезд came back in August (Valikhanov 1985: 133).

The Syr Kazakhs had two reasons of moving early from Sarysu zhailav, first, the water became salty in August and the inhabitants had to drink less salty water having dug to a depth of 4-5 arshyne (about 28 inches), second, Sarysu Nayman tribes returned to their winter pasture from the North in early August.

According to Kostenko Syrdarya river near Qazaly froze on the 21st of November, and it melted on the 24th of March, as for Perovsk it froze on the 7th of December and it melted on the 14th of March (Kostenko 1880 I: 254). The Kazakhs who wintered in the North of Syrdarya moved before ice began to melt, then walking through mountains they stopped at spring pasture near Arys lake, after they crossed Zhylanshak and Torgay rivers, then they went along Qabyrga river and on the 15th of June reached Mamyrshagyr and Urkash valleys located in Qostanay region. There they sheared lambs and got the wool of spring shearing “kuzem”. After having a short rest they moved to the West. On the way to zhailav the nomadic people made a short stop about 70 times, on the way to Qystau – 45 times (*Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepol'zovaniyu* 1903: 198-199).

The migration route from qystau to Yrgyz zhailav of Perovsk Kazakhs, namely Shomekey tribes was drawn in the records of Aleksandrov. Shomekey tribes moved to Qarakum in early spring and camped there in April and May. The Shomekey tribes moved from Qarakum to Yrgyz region in two directions: the direction Yrgyz – Torgay – Yrgyz brought to Zhaltyrsor and Sheber Lake, these two lakes served as summer pastures of Shomekey tribes of Perevosk uезд. The second road of Shomekey tribes reached Qarakum through Qazaly. Then it reached Alka lake of Torgay uезд and one part of this road led to zhailavs of that region and the other part reached Shalkar Lake and served as a temporary place of living. As for Tortqara tribes, they moved from qystau to zhailav in early spring and had a short rest in Qarakum on the way to Torgay.

Tortqara tribes following the route in two directions parted into three directions when they reached Yrgyz border. Three migration roads of Tortqara tribes of Qazaly brought to zhailavs located in Torgay uезд through Yrgyz uезд. Shekty tribes of Qazaly who camped in Qarakum spring pasture spent summer in Yrgyz and on the banks of Tolsay and Ashysay rivers and at the foot of Ibaly Mountains. Aleksandrov stated that: “The first route began from Yrgyz and

Or rivers and ended in Orsk, in other words, from Qarakum to the West, the second one brought to the West, Kyshy Borsyky. Shekty, Qarasakal, Shomekey, Tortqara tribes camped in Qyzylqum and Zhanadariya rivers had their own nomadic routes leading to zhailavs. The nomads of Quangdariya had a rest on the bank of Syrdarya, through highlands they moved to Qarakum without making a stop, Shomekey tribes stayed at the place which located in the East of Kolmas mountains, Tortqara and Qarasakal tribes stayed at the place between Kolmas and Terekty, and Shekty tribes stayed at the place located in the West of Terekty” (Aleksandrov 1872). This fact shows the direction of migration route to Yrgyz and Torgay uezds of Syr Kazakhs was very “complicated”.

Most of Syr auls camped in winter pasture for 90 days beginning from 1st of December till the 1st of March, and some auls stayed there till the 10th of March. The first part of aul moved on the 1st of March from winter pasture and reached Qostanay zhailavs in 90-110 days. The period of camping in summer pastures was different. The Sytyk tribes of Qaraozek stayed at Taldykol, Koshbyke, Tobyl zhailavs for 105 days starting from the 1st of June till the 15th of April, Qonaqbay tribes stayed at Qaratomar zhailav for 80 days between the 1st of July and the 20th of September, Zhylkeldy tribes stayed at Kotybok and Dobyrukuduk zhailavs for 110 days between the 1st of June and the 25th of September, Bokay-tabyn tribes from Bayzak volost, Kereyit tribes of Kotkenshek volost and one part of Zhylkeldy tribes of Qaraozek volost camped for 115 days in zhailavs. The nomadic people of Kentub volost stopped about 70 times on the way to zhailavs located in Qostanay (*Materialy po kirgizskomu zemlepol'zovaniyu* 1903: 199).

Though Qazaly and Perovsk regions located in one local zone they had different nature and soil. Qazaly was considered to be a sandy place and suitable to keep camels. The most fertile pastures were Qarakum, Yrgyz, Aktobe, Qostanay zhailavs, as for winter pastures were Qyzylqum and Amudariya (Pashino 1868: 40).

Stating the complication of nomadic migration route of Shekty tribes to Aktobe uezd Ashmarin specified the distance of migration, the period of time of their stay at temporary dwellings (Ashmarin 1925: 116-120).

Dobrosmyslov stated that the migration route of Syr Kazakhs to Torgay region corresponded to the ancient caravan route. According to Dobrosmyslov the distance from Sarysu till Troitsk was 945 km., the distance of each livestock pond was one-day road by camel, the distance from Borytesken till Bileuty

river, then till Zhidely river, from Nogaykol till Zharkol constituted a half-day, in total it made 27 days. And the distance from Telekol lake to Orsk town was 910 km. from Telekol to Qamysty which was in the North side of Ayskol salt lake was two-days road, the distance from Kaydakol to Bashykol, from Qabyrga river to Torgay river was a half-day, and in total it made 26 days. Sarysu route began from Syr region, it passed Torgay region through Sarysu, then directed to the North-West.

Once it served a caravan road, later this road was a nomadic migration route. According to Dobrosmyslov this road was used not only by Syrdarya Kazakhs but also by Kazakhs of Kyzylshengel, Zhylanshyk, Qaratorgay, Sarytorgay, Sarykopa, Nauryzym volost of Torgay uezd, and along these two roads one could meet nomadic people during summer (Dobrosmyslov 1897: 184-186). Dobrosmyslov's notes defines the distance of Atbasar uezd where the Kazakhs of the East of Perovsk uezd directed to and some parts of Mountain roads which could bring to the North-West. The distance from Telekol to Orsk made 910 km. from Syr to the border of Qostanay was about 800 km.

There are contradicting views about the nomadic roads. According to the article "Ocherky Perovskogo uezda" by Zagryazhsky: "nomadic and caravan road were not the same, it was the road known to nomadic people and was a separate road" and stated that the establishment and choice of migration road was closely connected with the livestock care (Zagryazhsky 1903).

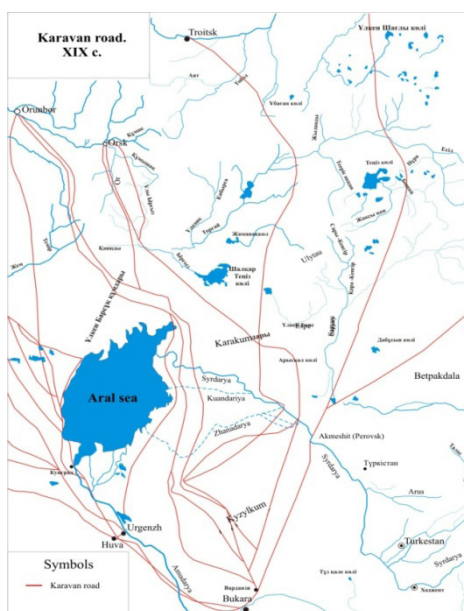
The nomadic people who camped on the right bank of Syrdarya on the way to Qarakum deserts and to the North fertile places in spring encountered the caravan of dealers. It specifies that the nomadic people used the some places of caravan roads. We can state that the direction of caravan corresponds to the road of nomadic migration road that passed Yrgyz road shown by Dobrosmyslov, however the caravan roads led to Orsk, Tomsk did not correspond to the nomadic road, these two roads were intersected only in a certain places.

As far as I am concerned, I partly agree and disagree with these stated views relating to forming and using the nomadic roads. It is obvious that an ancient caravan road served both as the road to attack the enemy during the unrest time and nomadic road, nevertheless the caravan roads didn't serve a complete nomadic road.

Nomads could go aside from caravan road if they met suitable pasture for their

livestock. So, the nomadic road of Syr Kazakhs didn't coincide with caravan roads. The nomadic roads of Syr Kazakhs covers the large part of caravan roads located on Yrgyz, Sarysu roads, but the road led to the North-West of "Satpay zholy", "Tau zholy" covered one part of caravan roads which led to Orsk, Tomsk and intersected only in certain stations and livestock ponds.

The map of the main caravan routes drawn up according to the author of XIX century claims that the migration ways totally didn't coincide with the caravan routes (see Picture 6).



Picture 6. *Karavan roads. XIX c.* (Authorial map)

Some nomadic people had to change seasonal pastures because of livestock care even in winter. One part of cattle breeders of Qazaly to provide the livestock with food sent them to Qyzylqum and the other part of them to the South-West of Perovsk uezd, Mangystau and Ustyrt Kazakhs to Khiva. In winter some Syrdarya nomadic people moved to Qyzylqum seeking a place for cattle pasture, in the North the Kazakhs had to move towards Perovsk, Qazaly because of long standing and severe winter in that place. In 1879-1880 the winter was so severe that 216167 cattle were placed from Torgay to Perovsk County (Dobrosmyslov 1895: 27). In 1893 according to

the report of military governor of Torgay County 6353 families in Yrgyz, 944 – in Torgay didn't have own winter pastures, that's why they had to move several times during winter. Some of nomadic people of Yrgyz region moved to nearby Aktobe County and the rest were sent to Qazaly in winter. In the South East of Yrgyz 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).

At the end of the XIX and the beginning of the XX the century the nomadism was still kept, though the migration distance reduced, and at the end of 1920s the nomadism changed into settled style of life.

Conclusion

The migration distance of the nomadic people depended on the number of livestock. In those areas where nomadic livestock husbandry is developed the size of their seasonal pastures was large. The forming of several directions of nomadic migration route was connected with the mastery of organization technology of livestock husbandry.

Nomadic people could change a place of living even in winter, because they were seeking a place for cattle pasture. The complication of direction of nomadic migration was also connected with environmental ecology. Kazakhs who had much livestock moved to the South in search of cattle pasture in winter because the land in the lower current of Syrdarya was dry, sandy, windy and in summer they moved to the North because there were a lot of flies and midges and there were not enough place for livestock pasture. The migration in winter rarely happened, it was connected with the lack of pasture for cattle. 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 direction of nomadic migration and territory of settlement based on tribes relations, Middle zhuz tribes who camped in the East of Perovsk uezd moved to Atbasar uezd settled by Middle zhuz Kazakhs, Small zhuz moved to the West and North-West who camped in Perovsk and Qazaly uezd, i.e. they moved to places camped by their tribes.

The introduction of Russian ruling in the middle of the XIX century made the people of some auls stay at winter pastures and change to semi-settled way of life, so one part of nomadic people reduced the nomadic migration radius to 20-25 km. The beginning of the XX century the establishment of the Soviet system and confiscation of livestock of rich people led to break of nomadic life. The only way to come out of such situation was the transfer to settled style of life.

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Kazak Halkının Mevsimlik Otlaklara Göç Etme Özellikleri (19 yy. – 20. yy. Baş Dönemleri)*

Tattigül Kartaeva**

Öz

Geleneksel olarak hayvancılıkla uğraşan Kazak halkı, hayvan sürülerini her mevsimde tabii otlaklarda yetiştirilmiştir (yetistirdi). Bu amaçla Kazak halkı otlakları mevsimlere göre kullanmışlardır: kıstau (kışlık otlak), kökteu (baharlık otlak), jaylau (yayla, yani yazlık otlak) ve kuzdeu (sonbaharlık otlak). Makale sahibi ilmi veriler ışığında Kazakların mevsimlik otlakları kullanma şekillerini, göç yollarının tarihi topografyası ile kartografyasını incelemiştir. “Geleneksel göçebe kurallarına” bağlı Kazak toplumu, kendi geleneklerini, örf ve adetlerini, batıl inançlarını oluşturmuşlardır. Göçebe hayvancılıkla uğraşan kabileler oldukça uzaklara göç etmişlerdir. Kazak topraklarında Rus Çarlık yönetiminin hüküm sürmeye başlaması ve göç yoluyla yeni yerleşimcilerin gelmesiyle birlikte XIX. yy. ikinci yarısından itibaren göçebelikten yerleşik hayata geçiş aşaması hızlanmıştır. Uzaklara göç edecek kabileler göçün meridional, kısa mesafeye göç edecek olanlar “tasımal” taşımacılık şeklini kullanmışlardır. Oysa dağlı, taşlı bölgelerdeki yaylalara göçecek olanlar dağ geçitlerinin kenarından “dik” ya da “dikey” olarak yükselerek göç etmişlerdir.

Anahtar kelimeler

Göç organizasyonu, göç yollarının çeşitleri, mevsimsel otlaklar, göç yollarının mesafesi ve süreleri, göç etme kuralları.

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Особенности кочевания казахов на сезонных пастбищах (XIX – начало XX века)*

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Аннотация

В традиционном скотоводческом хозяйстве казахи во всех сезонах разводили скот на естественном пастбище. Для этой цели казахи пользовались пастбищами согласно сезонам: кыстау (зимнее пастбище), коктеу (весеннее пастбище), жайлау (летнее пастбище) и куздеу (осеннее пастбище). Автор данной статьи на основе научных данных рассматривает использование сезонных пастбищ и исторической топографии и картографии маршрута перекочевания казахов. Казахское общество связано с «правилами традиционного кочевания» на сезонных пастбищах, где имеются свои традиции, обычаи и приметы. Племена, которые занимались кочевым скотоводческим хозяйством, перекочевывали на большие расстояния. Введение режима царской России и наплыв переселенцев во второй половине XIX века ускорили процесс перехода от кочевого хозяйства к оседлому. Направления кочевых путей племен, которые перекочевывали на дальние расстояния, были меридианального характера, племена которые перекочевывали на ближние пастбища – «тасымал». Те племена, которые кочевали на летовку в горных пастбищах, расположенных в высокогорье в гористых каменистых районах, мигрировали по крайгорным перевалам, поднимаясь «круто» или «вертикально».

Ключевые слова

Организация кочевков, виды кочевых путей, сезонные пастбища, расстояние и длительность кочевых путей, правила кочевания.

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