

Turkic Studies Journal

Journal homepage: www.tsj.enu.kz



On the issue of studying the connection of the ancient people of the Upper Irtysh region and Zhetysu at the end of the 1stmillennium BC¹

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ARTICLE INFO

Keywords: Upper Irtysh region, Zhetysu, Kulazhorga culture, Wusun, funeral rite, sites, XiongnuSarmatian era, archaeological research, cultural belonging.

IRSTI 03.41.00

DOI: http://doi.org/ 10.32523/2664-5157-2023-2-23-33

ABSTRACT

In the archaeology of Kazakhstan, the controversial issues of the Xiongnu-Sarmatian era include the ethnic origin of sites, the origin of cultures, as well as the periodization and chronology of various complexes. There are difficulties with ethnocultural interpretation in the study of funeral and memorial complexes that were spread in the territory of Zhetysu and the Upper Irtysh region in the second half of the 1st millennium BC. Currently, the researchers believe that the first state formation on the territory of ancient Kazakhstan, in particular, in the Zhetysu region, was a political organization, founded by the Wusuns. Soviet researchers for the first time linked written sources about the Wusuns with specific archaeological sites based on excavations in Zhetysu.

Although more than 70 years have passed since the Wusun sites were found, they continue to be relevant. As for the study of the sites of the Kulazhorga culture of the Upper Irtysh region, which began in the middle of the 20th century, they still remain at the database source extension level. In this work the authors consider various points of view on this issue and give their assessments of the events that occurred.

Received 06 March 2023. Revised 10 March 2023. Accepted 27 May 2023. Available online 30 June 2023.



For citation:

A.K. Aitkali, A. Karazhigitova On the issue of studying the connection of the ancient people of the Upper Irtysh region and Zhetysu at the end of the 1st millennium BC // Turkic Studies Journal. – 2023. – Vol. 5. – No 2. – P. 23-33. DOI: http://doi.org/10.32523/2664-5157-2023-2-23-33

¹ The work was prepared under the project BR18574175 Xiongnu-Sarmatian era in the history of Kazakhstan: interdisciplinary research, analysis and reconstruction

Introduction

The lands of the Upper Irtysh region and Zhetysu have always been linked historically and culturally, especially the close ties have been observed since the time of the early nomads. In the territories under consideration, the similarity of the way of life of the population was formed by several main reasons. Firstly, the natural and geographical environment of these regions has a number of common features; secondly, the economic system of the ancient population led to close ethnocultural interaction and the unification of cultures (Akishev, 2009: 88-93). The continuity of contacts and the formation of similar historical and cultural complexes have developed since the Scythian-Saka time, and it was proceeded in the considered territories in the final period of the epoch of early nomads (i.e. at the end of the 1st millennium BC). Moreover, it was intensified, which is confirmed by the archaeological material. This article is deals with this issue.

Materials and research methods

In general, the study is based on archaeological material, which comes from the territory of the early nomadic cultures of the Upper Irtysh region and Zhetysu. Traditional archaeological research methods were used in the analysis and interpretation of the materials, including characterization of sites with the help of description, architectural analysis of elements of archaeological complexes. In addition, a comparative typological analysis was used to identify commonalities and differences in funeral rites, types of burials from two remote regions, which may indicate historical and cultural ties. With the goal to better understand and interpret the subject complex coming from necropolis, the method of analogy was used. The latter includes the comparison of materials, shapes, manufacturing technologies, as well as the analysis of the functional purpose of the subject complex. Together, these methods help to identify the links between the historical and cultural complexes of two remote regions.

The degree of research

In the history of the study of archeological complexes of the Upper Irtysh region and Zhetysu it is possible to distinguish a number of periods when the accumulation of primary sources took place (Khabdulina, 2019: 23). The first was the time of the initial accumulation of archaeological material, obtained through the receipt of accidental finds and the conduct of small predatory excavations of mounds by antiquity lovers in the 19th century. The second period began with the first scientific excavations in the Soviet era, when a significant amount of material was collected. The systematic and planned examination of sites is still ongoing at present.

It is especially worth noting the studies conducted in different years in the Upper Irtysh region by a number of scientists, starting from the end of the 1940^s of the 20th century, including: S.S. Chernikov (Chernikov, 1951: 1956), F.Kh. Arslanova (Arslanova, 1968-1969)², S. Samashev (Samashev, 1987), A.A. Tkachev, V.A. Dubrovsky (Tkachev, Dubrovsky,

² Arslanova F. H., 1968-1969. Report on the work of the archaeological expedition of the Ust-Kamenogorsk

1996) and others. A large amount of the materials of the studied period, collected during excavations in the period from the mid-1960s of the 20th century in the territory of the Upper Irtysh region under the leadership of F.Kh.Arslanova, are still unpublished. At this time, the research of most sites was carried out simultaneously with multi-temporal ones and were rather reconnaissance in nature, during which a sufficient amount of factual material was collected to form a primary database. On the basis of the collected database, preliminary conclusions were drawn on the nomads' culture of the studied time. The scientists excavated many burial and memorial complexes of nomads of the end of the 1st millennium $BC - 1^{st}$ centuries AD. The archaeological cultures were highlighted, and the boundaries of their distribution were expanded. In East Kazakhstan, the sites of the Kulazhorghinsk culture (the 4th-3rd cc. BC- 1st-2nd cc. AD) were highlighted and the boundaries of its distribution were determined. S.S.Chernikov divided them into earlier (the 3rd-2nd cc. BC) and later (the 2nd c. $BC - 1^{st} - 2^{nd}$ cc. BC) sites, while expressing his opinion about their belonging to U-ge tribes, known from the campaigns of one of the Xiongnu leaders to the west (Chernikov, 1948: 1-7)³. The first general studies on the nomads of the Zhetysu area belong to M.P. Gryaznov and M.V. Voevodsky (Voevodsky, Gryaznov, 1938). Subsequently, they were continued by a number of scientists, including: A.N. Bernstam, K.A. Akishev, A. Kibirov, E.I. Ageeva, G.V. Kushayev, A.G. Maksimova, A.K. Abetekov, Yu.A. Zadneprovsky and others. On the basis of the analysis of archaeological material collected in the period from the mid-1950s - to the 1960s of the 20th century, most sites of the end of the 1st millenium BC – the first half of the 1st millennium AD were related to the Wusuns. According to the calculations of A.M. Dosymbayeva, the total number of studied complexes of the Xiongnu-Sarmatian era (2nd c. BC – 5th c. BC) on the territory of Zhetysu is 54 burial grounds, Moreover, 3,930 funerary and memorial structures were examined in the composition of these sites (Dosymbayeva, 2013: 557).

Many important findings in the archaeology of the Wusuns belong to the well-known Kazakh archaeologist K.A. Akishev On the basis of the analysis of archaeological material, collected in the period from the mid- $1950^{\rm s}$ – to the $60^{\rm s}$ of the $20^{\rm th}$ century, most sites of the late 1st millennium BC – the first half of the 1st millennium AD were connected with the Wusuns. In turn, G.A. Kushayev classified these sites in three chronological periods: early $(3^{\rm rd}-2^{\rm nd}$ cc. BC), transitional $(1^{\rm st}$ c. BC. – $1^{\rm st}$ c. AD) and late $(2^{\rm nd}-3^{\rm rd}$ cc. AD), reflecting the specifics and dynamics of the development of the Wusun culture. Each of these stages of the genesis of the Wusun culture, reflects the specifics of the development of material culture. (Akishev, Kushayev, 1963).

Analysis

There were many similarities in the synchronous sites of two regions, both in the funeral rites and in separate categories of accompanying equipment. The first stage of the Kulazhorga culture of the Upper Irtysh region has the greatest similarities with the sites of Altai and Tuva. The following features characterize the mounds of the early group: the bodies of the deceased are oriented to the eastern side; there are double burials and the burials with horses. The

Pedagogical Institute for 1968-1969. Archive of the Institute of Archeology. F. 11. Series 2. RC. 120. SV.10. p. 1-26.

³ Chernikov S. S., 1948. Report on archaeological studies of the territory of Eastern Kazakhstan in 1948. MESc of RK, F. 11, Series. 2, RC. 1123, SV.71, P. 1-7.

stone boxes predominate in the design of the burial structures. The accompanying inventory is richer, unlike the second chronological group (Chernikov, 1975: 132-148). The first group includes the burial grounds, investigated by S.S. Chernikov near the village of Yupiter, part of the Slavyanka burial mounds (mounds 1, 14, 15), Kulazhorga I, II, Kyzyl-tu (mound 3), Zevakino (mound 104). The burial grounds of Zhartas mound, excavated under the leadership of F.Kh. Arslanova and Z. Samashev in the period from 1980 to 1983 in Tavrichesky district of East Kazakhstan region, dating from the 4th-3rd centuries BC, can be attributed to this chronological period (Arslanova, Samashev, 1985: 28-30).

The sites of the late chronological group in contrast to the previous one, are similar to synchronous Wusun burials of Zhetysu (according to G.A. Kushayev the sites are dated from the 3rd-2nd centuries BC). The burials are solitary and of opposite direction – to the west and northwest. The accompanying equipment is poor, often encountered iron knives with an unprocessed handle, pins, iron rods and copper and bronze earrings. There are no accompanying burials of horses in the pits (Akishev, Kushayev, 1963: 139-214).

It is possible to unite the burial grounds according to the marked signs: Baty, Tuskain, Pchela, Ubaredmet, Karashat III (excavations of F.Kh. Arslanova and Z. Samashev). Among the late burials, we can include the burial ground 2 of Kulbabas mound in the territory of the foothills of Tarbagatai. A double burial was found in the mound, one in the catacomb, the other in a simple ground pit. By analogy with the Xiongnu and Wusun complexes, the time of construction of the site is determined within the 2nd-1st centuries BC (Dosymbayeva, 2007: 66).

The mounds of this group are mainly represented by the ground pits, sometimes with a wooden lining along the bottom. Part of the intra-grave structures of the burial grounds in the Kulazhorga mound, not in stone boxes, but in simple earthen pits, in these cases the remains of a wooden lining around the perimeter of the pit are observed. According to these signs they can be attributed to the second chronological group (Chernikov, 1948: 4). In 1937, the burial in a wooden box was found in the burial ground of Bata, in which the pieces of chalk and red paint were discovered, similar stone boxes were found in the Wusun burials of Northern Kyrgyzstan.

There is an opinion that the sites of the Kulazhorga culture do not constitute an independent archaeological culture. Apparently, the first stage of the Kulazhorga culture, with the above characteristic features, was left by ordinary community members of the Pazyryk period. A similar opinion was expressed regarding the synchronous sites of the Kara-Kobin culture of the Altai Mountains, about their belonging to the lower or middle stratum of the population of the Pazyryk society (Kubarev, 1992: 115-117). According to Z. Samashev, the ancient population of the second stage of the Kulazhorga culture does not genetically go back to the previous stage; it could have been displaced by the penetration of the Xiongnu into the Balkhash-Ili region (Samashev, 2011: 200). The scientist connects the second group of sites of the late chronological period of the Kulazhorga culture, with such peculiar features as mounds without stone boxes, direction of the heads of the buried to the west and with scanty accompanying inventory of the Wusun culture of Zhetysu.

In general, during this period, in the territories of the Upper Irtysh region and Zhetysu, some similar processes in the development of industrial and economic relations can be traced. The economic foundations of the ancient population that left the sites of the Kulazhorga culture are still poorly studied. The scale of the discovered sites of sedentary culture completely

changes the ideas that existed before about the purely nomadic life of the Wusun society. According to available data, more than 20 settlements of the Wusun period are known only in the Talgar district. The architecture of stationary dwellings is represented by sub-rectangular and oval dugouts (Samashev et al., 2005). The remains of wheat, barley, millet were found on the area of the studied settlements. The cultivation of these cereals was carried out by rainfed and artificial irrigation. The analysis of ceramics showed that the traditions of making vessels from different settlements are identical (Kuznetsova, 2000). In addition, the traces of home-based and cattle breeding with the use of summer pastures in the mountains were revealed (Baipakov, Chang, 2000).

The presence of a large number of iron objects in the sites of the second chronological group of the Kulazhorga culture, as well as in the synchronous Wusun burials, indicates similar economic processes in two remote territories, as well as the gradual displacement of bronze and its replacement with iron. The latter probably meant the final decay of the metallurgical center of bronze (Chernikov, 1951: 150). As already noted, most often the iron objects were found in burials: knives with a hole in the handle, with a ring, rods of uncertain purpose and pins.

In addition, the pottery, found in the Wusun burials, differ in shape from the previous Saka, which gave reason to distinguish them. The round-bottom vessels were spread in the first stage of the Wusun culture (the 3^{rd} - 2^{nd} cc. BC), in the second and third periods (the 1^{st} c. BC -3^{rd} c. AD) flattened bottom vessels were used. The pottery repeated in the sites of the Kulazhorga culture - mainly pitcher-shaped ceramics, with flattened bottom part and occasionally found with a rounded bottom.

From sacrificial food, the bones of the ram are most often found in the later burials of the Upper Irtysh region. For example, in the burial ground of Kulazhorga, the tail part of the ram was found in only one case, whereas in Bata almost in all cases (Chernikov, 1948: 6). According to G.A.Kushayev in the Wusun burial grounds, funerary food in the form of tail vertebrae of sheep is found in more than half of the graves of the early 3rd-2nd cc. BC (Akishev, Kushayev, 1963: 139-214). They are much less common in the sites of the border area. It can be concluded that in the regions under consideration the same form of economic system existed for a certain period, where the herd consisted of small cattle.

Probably, the tribes of the North-Eastern Zhetysu led a settled way of life and began to be engaged in agriculture relatively earlier than the Kazakh Altai region. For Zhetysu, the most favorable places were the western spurs of the Chu-Ili Mountains, the valleys of the Charyn, Chilik and the foothills of the Trans-Ili Alatau. During the period under review, in East Kazakhstan, rain-fed agriculture could theoretically exist in the foothills of South Altai and Irtysh (Samashev, 2011: 176). The millet grains were found in one of the mounds of the Kulazhorga culture of the Upper Irtysh region.

According to K.A. Akishev, the gradual reduction of sheep bones and the increase in the number of clay vessels in the ordinary burials of the Wusuns of Zhetysu in the 1st half of the 1st millenium AD is probably an indication of the development of agriculture and the extensive settlement of the ancient people of this region. The scientist noted that Zhetysu and East Kazakhstan are the regions of the mountain systems of Tien Shan and Altai, where seminomadic and rain-fed agriculture was developed. In addition, the same system of nomadic

vertical vegetation zones was developed in these regions, which was called «vertical nomadic system» (Akishev, 2009). At one time, K.A. Abetekov stated convincingly about the nature of the farm. The scientist claims that in the period from the 3rd c. BC – to the 1st-2nd centuries AD the basis of the farming of tribes of the region was cattle breeding according to the findings of animal bones. Later, from the middle of the 2nd century AD according to archaeological data – the discovery of vessels for storage of grain, mealing stones and the remains of dwellings, the agriculture began to play the dominant role. Thus, at an early stage, at the end of the 1st millennium BC, the economy of the Wusuns had a cattle-breeding character, at a later stage, in pre-Turkish time, it turned into a complex cattle breeding and agricultural complex (Abetekov, 1970: 67-71).

Results and discussion

It is clear from the above that the changes in the burial ritual and therefore in the spiritual sphere of the ancient people of the Upper Irtysh region may be due to the movements of certain groups of the ancient people and similarities in the economic patterns of the two regions under the consideration during the Xiongnu-Sarmatian era. The first stage (the 4th c. BC -2nd c. AD) of Kulazhorga culture has the characteristic features of the lower or middle social layer of the society of Pazyryk culture. The second stage is dated from the 2nd-1st centuries BC and the upper chronological boundary of it is conditionally established. In addition, the early stage of the culture under consideration differs from the first chronological group both by the design of the intra-grave structures and by the set of parallels in the accompanying inventory, which achieve identity with the culture of the Wusuns of Zhetysu. It is likely that the opinion of S.S. Chernikov about the possible extension of the boundary of the Wusun tribal union to the Upper Irtysh region, expressed in the late 40s of the 20th century is quite provable fact (Chernikov, 1948: 6-7). Moreover, the northern periphery of the Wusun culture is not clear. On this basis, it is necessary to consider the early and late sites of the Upper Irtysh region as two different stages of cultural development, tending to two completely different ethnocultural areas.

It necessary to add that in addition to the contacts of the ancient population of the Upper Irtysh Region with the tribes of Zhetysu in the late 1st millennium BC, the connections are observed in the territory of the Altai Mountains. There are also some parallels with the subject complex of the Tesin stage of the Tagaro-Tashtyk transition time of the Minusinsk basin (Savinov, 1978: 48-54). In the Altai Mountains, the Bulan-Koba culture of the Xiongnu-Xianbei era was highlighted with successive stages of its development. According to A.A. Tishkin, in the early Ust-Edigan stage (the 2^{nd} c. BC -1^{st} c. AD) of the Bulan-Koba culture, the tribes of the Upper Irtysh region played an important role (Tishkin, 2009: 194-199). However, this topic is beyond our research.

Conclusion

The connection of the ancient people of two different regions can be expressed through various factors connecting them. However, this study covers only a few of them. We believe

that at a certain point in time, the population of the two regions under consideration could have similar cultural and household characteristics, not only because of the same form of housekeeping, but also because they belong to the same historical and cultural field. This phenomenon is confirmed by the spread of a similar funeral and memorial practices in these territories and elements of the subject complex.

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Жоғарғы Ертіс пен Жетісудың ежелгі тұрғындарының б.з.д. I мыңжылдықтың аяғындағы өзара байланысын зерттеу мәселесіне

Аннотация. Ғұн-сармат дәуірінде көптеген саяси оқиғалар жүзеге асты. Еуразия тарихындағы бұл бетбұрыс кезең халықтардың көші-қонымен және жаңа этносаяси құрылымдардың пайда болуымен ерекшеленді. Қазақстан археологиясындағы ғұн-сармат дәуіріне қатысты пікірталас тудыратын мәселелер қатарына ескерткіштердің этникалық тиесілілігі, мәдени бірлестіктердің шығу тегі, сондай-ақ әртүрлі кешендердің хронологиясы жатады. Жетісу және Жоғарғы Ертіс

өңірі аумақтарында б.з.д. І мыңжылдықтың ІІ жартысында таралған жерлеу және аза тұту кешендерін зерттеуде, этномәдени тұрғыдан түсініктеме беруде қиындықтар бар. Қазіргі уақытта зерттеушілер ежелгі Қазақстан аумағында, атап айтқанда, Жетісу өңіріндегі алғашқы мемлекеттік саяси құрылымды үйсіндер құрған деп есептейді. Кеңестік зерттеушілер алғаш рет Жетісудағы қазба жұмыстары негізінде үйсіндерге қатысты жазбаша дереккөздерді нақты археологиялық кешендермен байланыстырған. Үйсін ескерткіштерінің ашылғанына 70 жылдан астам уақыт өткенімен, олар әлі күнге дейін зерттеу нысаны болып қалып отыр. Сонымен қатар, заманауи кешенді ғылыми зерттеу әдістерін қолдану нәтижесінде аймақтың шаруашылық дамуы жайлы жалпылама түсінік қалыптаса бастады. Зерттелуі ХХ ғасырдың ортасында басталған Жоғарғы Ертіс өңірінің құлажорға мәдениетінің ескерткіштеріне келетін болсақ, олар әлі де дерекқорды кеңейту деңгейінде қалып отыр. Соңғы онжылдықтарда жоғарыда аталған екі аймақ ескерткіштерінің өзара байланысына арналған бірқатар жұмыстар жарық көрген. Авторлар бұл жұмыста ғалымдардың осы мәселеге қатысты әртүрлі көзқарастарын қарастырады және болған оқиғаларға өз бағасын береді.

Кілт сөздер: Жоғарғы Ертіс өңірі, Жетісу, құлажорға мәдениеті, үйсін, жерлеу рәсімі, ескерткіштер, ғұн-сармат дәуірі, археологиялық зерттеулер, мәдени қатыстылық.

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К проблеме изучения взаимосвязи древнего населения Верхнего Прииртышья и Жетысу в конце I тыс. до н.э.

Аннотация. В так называемую гунно-сарматскую эпоху происходило множество политических событий. Этот переломный период в истории Евразии был отмечен миграцией народов и возникновением новых этнополитических образований. В археологии Казахстана к числу дискуссионных проблем гунно-сарматской эпохи относятся проблемы этнической принадлежности памятников, происхождение культур, а также периодизация и хронология различных комплексов. В изучении погребально-поминальных комплексов, которые были распространены на территории Жетысу и Верхнего Прииртышья во второй половине I тыс. до н.э., существуют сложности с этнокультурной интерпретацией. В настоящее время исследователи считают, что первым государственным образованием на территории древнего Казахстана, в частности, в регионе Жетысу была политическая организация, основанная усунями. Советские исследователи впервые связали письменные источники об усунях с конкретными археологическими памятниками на основании раскопок в Жетысу. С момента открытия

усуньских памятников прошло более 70 лет, и они продолжают быть объектами исследования. Кроме того, благодаря использованию комплексных научных методов исследования удалось получить более полное представление о хозяйственном развитии региона. Что касается исследования памятников кулажоргинской культуры Верхнего Прииртышья, которые начаты в середине XX века, они по-прежнему остаются на уровне расширения источниковедческой базы данных. В последние десятилетия появился ряд работ, посвященных взаимосвязи памятников двух вышеупомянутых регионов. В данной работе авторы рассматривают различные точки зрения ученых на эту проблему и дают свою оценку происходившим событиям.

Ключевые слова: Верхнее Прииртышье, Жетысу, кулажоргинская культура, усуни, погребально-поминальный обряд, памятники, гунно-сарматская эпоха, археологические исследования, культурная принадлежность.

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