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**SPIRITUAL SHRINES OF THE ASTRAKHAN KAZAKHS AND  
COMMEMORATIVE PRACTICES**

**Annotation.** The article is devoted to the description of the main types of sacred objects of the Kazakhs located in the Astrakhan region of Russia. Legends and traditions related to these sacred places and the names of the great sons of the Russian and Kazakh lands are also considered. Commemorative practices as a form of visualization of cultural memory are analyzed. Some of them go back to the "cultural archetypes" associated with the cult of ancestors. The initiators and organizers of others were the political and cultural elite of Russia and Kazakhstan. This can be seen as a conscious reconstruction of historical memory in the form of traditions.

**Keywords:** Kazakhs of borderlands; mausoleums; Bokey Khan; Seyid Baba; Kurmangazy; Dzhigit Jaidak Baba; places of memory; ancestor cult; pilgrimages; forms of commemoration.

*Introduction*

Spiritual values are means of consolidation and identity of the nation. A new direction now is the search and study of significant places associated with historical figures and places of memory abroad. These include burials of famous natives of the Kazakh steppes located outside the country and other sacred objects and places associated with historical and political events that have an enduring value in the memory of the people of Kazakhstan.

There are no publications specifically devoted to the topic of our article, with the exception of the article by A.M.Nurgalieva [1], but our attention was drawn to a number of articles concerning the state policy of Kazakhstan in relation to sacred places, as well as the attitude of the population to holy places. Of interest is the article by N.Tsyrempilov, U.Bigozhin and V.Zhumabaev, dedicated to the project "Sacred Geography of Kazakhstan", launched in 2017 in Kazakhstan [2]. The authors analyze the institutionalization of the organization and the recoding of the sacred landscape, which is important for the historical memory of independent Kazakhstan.

In course of analyzing the content of research conceptual apparatus, will be used the works of I.V.Stasevich, who noted the complexity and elaboration of the views of Kazakh folk religiosity in her investigation "The practice of worship of sacred objects and things in the traditional and modern culture of Kazakhs and Kirghiz" [3, p. 272]. A considerable support in understanding the problem of historical foretime commemoration and analyzing commemorative practices of the present was provided by acquaintance with studies of the Moscow historian E.I.Larina who participated in a wide range of expeditionary trips to sacred sites of Kazakhs in Kazakhstan and Russia including Orenburg, Saratov, Astrakhan and Volgograd regions. In one of her works, the researcher writes about the "invention of heritage" from below, which she, among other things, refers to the veneration of ancestral burial sites on the site of disappeared villages [4, p. 7].

Scientific novelty of the study consists in systematization and material classification which we define as spiritual shrines by period, typology, architectural and stylistic features, and popularity. It will be based on the typology proposed by the research center "Sacred Kazakhstan" at



the National Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan: 1) especially revered natural monuments; 2) archaeological sites and medieval centers of ancient settlements; 3) places that are religious or religious objects; 4) places related to historical figures; 5) sacred places associated with political or historical events [5, p. 9].

When classifying we proceeded from the following understanding of sacredness: “The status of sacredness is possessed to ancestral spirits (aruaqs), cult of ancestors, military courage, creativity, innate talent (individuals who have a sacred gift), knowledge (especially geniuses who know the secrets of secrets), elemental grandeur, governmental power, places where the signs of culture were originally revealed” [6, p 5].

Following on from the results of field expeditions there were described the below types of sacred objects:

By popularity, sacred objects will be classified on the following grounds: known aside from all the range under investigation, but also in present-day Kazakhstan; known to the whole district or region; known in close geographic surroundings.

Some topics, such as memorials in honor of especially revered persons and natural objects of worship of Kazakhs in the studied areas, analysis of their current state, associated commemorative practices, legends and traditions, have not yet been described and analyzed in scientific publications. The research introduces new factual material into scientific usage, gives estimated characteristics of spiritual shrines that we have assigned to various categories.

#### *Materials and methods*

The choice of methods for analyzing the material is determined by the tasks set in the study. The general methodological basis of the research is the principles of historical determinism and scientific objectivity. The problems are considered in historical and analytical aspects. The main method of the research involves the use of system-historical analysis of all source materials that make up the empirical base of the subject studied. This approach is important when referring to culture as a social phenomenon that develops in conjunction with other spheres of human activity. It allows us to consider the components of an integrated system in the aggregate of their qualitative properties. Note that the culture is understood in the work from the point of view of the activity and personality concept, in which the methods and types of activities are considered in close connection with the results of the activity. From the foregoing, the problem arises of including representatives of the local intelligentsia and other segments of the population in the general process of creating the cultural potential of the region. Turning to the facts of social activity and, in part, to the private moments of the personal life of a number of representatives of various estates makes it possible to fill in their missing biographical data, where the biography's value in itself can be presented as a component of the cultural life of the city, and to some extent, ensure against neglect forgotten and half-forgotten names of local culture figures.

It also was used the historical and genetic analysis reflecting patterns and connections in the process of historical development, historical and comparative analysis providing by analogy to fill in the lack of information and allowing historical generalizations. The work also uses the methods of structural and functional analysis, phenomenology, historical and cultural reconstruction in the analysis of a specific historical and cultural form of the sacred and hermeneutics in describing the results of the study and interpretation of empirical facts.

Among other methods it should be noted the retrospective one with the necessary insight into the inner essence of the era under study with all its specifics. The combined use of methodological principles of "complementarity", structural-functional and qualitative analysis is intended to provide a reliable theoretical foundation for the planned research.

To obtain the necessary empirical data, we used such quantitative and qualitative methods of empirical sociological research as a sample sociological survey, an expert survey and a group interview (focus groups), as well as a typology method.



The source basis of the research will be general and special works, archive materials concentrated in largest collections of Russia and Kazakhstan, the periodical press materials in both pre-revolutionary and downright soviet and modern.

The most important source basis will also be the materials collected during expeditions along frontier areas of Russia.

*Description of sacred objects classified into main types*

One of the tasks of field research was the description of local spiritual shrines that are significant for the Kazakhs living outside our country and their typology. Based on the results of field expeditions, five types of sacred objects are described. In the investigated areas, we noted the veneration of sacred sites of all types.

Based on the classification of the sacred objects of the Kazakhs we have chosen with the allocation of five main types, the first type includes the burials of prominent religious figures, Muslims, preachers.

An example is the mausoleum of Seid-baba, which is located in the village of Small Aral in the Astrakhan region, almost at the very border with Kazakhstan. Now it is part of the Bukei Khan and Seid Baba Memorial Complex.

Seid Baba (1741–1812) Khozhetayevsky, or Nurmukhammed bin Said Ali, is a representative of the Nogai people, a Karagash-Nogay from the Seid-Altayak clan, known during his lifetime as an exceptionally pious person and a great healer. After graduating with honors from the madrasah, he comprehended spiritual values in Baghdad, Turkestan and India [7, p. 65]. Seid Baba preached the word of Allah, and then became a spiritual teacher and healer of the ruler of the Bukei horde, Bokey Khan.

The mausoleum of Seid-baba is modest, wooden, but has a special energy. Burial of Seid Baba is a place of pilgrimage. People from all over Kazakhstan, Russia and other countries come here every day. There are legends that the saint understood the language of animals and could heal even the most terrible diseases. According to legend, after the death of the healer, the sick began to come to the grave of Seit-baba, whom he did not manage to heal during his lifetime. The gravestone was the only one to whom they could weep their despair. After visiting the burial, the patients of Seit-baba felt better, over time, the ailments receded, and the gravestone itself was warm at any time of the year. Even the land around his burial place in the vicinity of the village is still considered blessed and healing. It is interesting that in the village of Maly Aral, Krasnoyarsk region, there are many long-livers and, according to the villagers, almost no one is sick.

The second type of sacred objects can be attributed to the grave of the healer Aizhamal Zaurshishe, which is located in the same Muslim cemetery as the burial of Seid Baba, not far from an elegant snow-white structure with a light dome – the mausoleum of the wife of Khan Bokei Gitan-khanum (she named herself in the documents Atan Bukeyeva). There is an assumption that Ayzhamal was invited from Syria by the khan himself and she was widely known in the East in the late 18th – early 19th centuries. The tomb of the healer is crowned with a kulpytas, with bizarre texts carved on it. People come here to ask for help in a successful marriage, getting rid of infertility and skin diseases.

In the Volga region of the Astrakhan region, not far from the village of Kilinchi, on the Khlebnikov hillock in the bend of the Bolda and Maly Kutum rivers, there is the burial of saint Dzhigit Dzhaidak-baba. His admirers call Dzhigit-ata or “magic horseman”. The grave was not always located here, but was moved from the territory of the Selitrennoye settlement in about the 30s of the 20th century [8, p. 57]. Astrakhan researcher A.V.Syzranov noted the active revival of the cult of the holy Dzhigit Baba in the XXI century [9, p. 95].

Of these informants, it is of interest to conduct a rainmaking ceremony near his grave. This ancient ancient Türkic rite, carried out during a period of prolonged drought, has survived to this day. Participants slaughter a ram with a prayer for rain (“... Forgive us for our sins, and may our



sacrifice be pleasing to You ...”, “May our adversity and drought go away with blood”) and then prepare ceremonial food from it.

A resident of the village of Kilinchi Bikbaeva Rumiya-apa shared her memories of Dinahan-maman karauche, the keeper and caretaker of the grave of the holy Dzhigit Dzhaidak-baba, who lived on the street next to her family, and the rituals of making rain performed by her: “In those recent times, on the bank of the river in our village there was no fortifying rampart from the flood. After the water left the liberated land, the locals planted potatoes. There were years with no rain during hot summers. Then the villagers came to Dinakhan-maman karauch and brought some money, some rice, some flour. Then they bought a ram and proceeded to the sacred sacrifice in honor of Dzhigit Dzhaidak-baba (Dzhigit-haji, Dzhigit Vaziz Dzhaidak-ata. After a while it always started to rain heavily” [10].

The third type of sacred objects is the tombs of secular persons - ancestors, rulers. An example of such an object is the mausoleum of the ruler of the Bukееvskaya (Inner) horde, Bokei Khan (circa 1742 – may 12, 1815).

Bokey Khan died in May 1815 and, according to his will, was buried next to his friend and spiritual teacher, Seid Baba, near the then village of Dzhigit. Two great men Bokey Khan and Seid Baba were friends until the end of their days and died with a difference of only three years.

Before the new mausoleum was built, a metal grave fence was installed over the grave of Bokey Khan. At the moment, this grave fence is located on the territory of the complex. It was made in 1830 by the order of his son Zhangir by the architects of St. Petersburg.

During Soviet times, the cemetery in the village of Maly Aral, Krasnoyarsk District, Astrakhan Region, where Bokei Khan is buried, was a fenced-in wasteland with wooden and stone sculptures at the burial site. In the early 90s of the XX century, thanks to the efforts of local residents, it was relatively landscaped, but its final reconstruction was completed in 2011 thanks to the support of the government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the finance of Gazprom.

The Mausoleum of Bokey Khan was built in the style of medieval solemn Islamic architecture. The snow-white dome of the 18.5-meter building is decorated with a traditional crescent moon. The entrance from the portal façade has carved entrance doors. The lower part of the structure is faced with Kordai granite. The upper part is lined with red ceramic bricks, and the ornament is made of light sandy limestone specially brought from the Mangystau region. All building materials, except for concrete, were brought from the Atyrau region.

Burial of Bukey Khan is also a place of pilgrimage. A glorious ancestor is asked to help in work and business. As residents of the Krasnoyarsk region Azalea (33 years old) and Mergul (26 years old) told us, their parents and they themselves always visited holy places, including the Bukey Khan and Seid Baba complex. Locals come here mostly on Tuesdays, and slaughter a ram and pray.

The fourth type of sacred objects – “the tombs of secular persons, endowed, according to the people, with a sacred gift, innate talent, or who performed feats in the name of the people”, can be attributed to the mausoleum of the great Kazakh composer-dombrist, the “progenitor of the kyui” Kurmangazy Sagyrbayev (Sagyrbayuly) (Sagyrbayuly) (1823-1896). The Kurmangazy mausoleum is the first mausoleum of the eastern type in the studied border areas. He, like the Bokey Khan mausoleum, is a symbol of Kazakh art.

The mausoleum is located on the Albasta hillock in the southeastern outskirts of the Kazakh village of Altynzhar (literally “golden coast” or “golden cliff”) in the Volodarsky district of the Astrakhan region of Russia. Kazakhs make up 80% of the population of the village.

According to the stories, Kurmangazy bequeathed to bury himself near his faithful friend Ishman. On the left, after the main entrance to the mausoleum, you can see a small tombstone with Arabic script. This is a tombstone, erected to Ishman, a loyal friend of Kurmangazy.

The Kurmangazy mausoleum was built of white sandstone, which was specially brought from Kazakhstan and looks very beautiful from a distance. Three regions of Kazakhstan (Atyrau, West Kazakhstan and Mangistau) and the Astrakhan region of the Russian Federation contributed to



the construction of the mausoleum. The grand opening of the mausoleum took place on October 11, 1996 in honor of the centenary of the death of Kurmangazy.

The mausoleum of the great kuishi attracts the eye with its beauty. The author of the project is Maksut Nurkabaev from Mangystau. The construction was ordered by the Ministry of Culture of Kazakhstan.

It consists of two rooms. The first serves as a prayer hall. down steps lead to the second room. In it, to the left of the entrance, there is a tombstone with the name of the great composer and the image of a snow-white dombra, as well as the tomb of Kurmangazy. and dombra sculpture. Here you can ask the saint for health, prosperity, prosperity and talk about your innermost desires by touching the sarcophagus.

Before many important events: exams, being sent to serve in the army, an important trip, etc., it became a custom to visit this sacred place for Kazakhs and receive the blessing of Ata. Many visitors to the Kurmangazy mausoleum ask him to help them in various life situations. It is said that anyone who wants to learn how to play the dombra should spend the night next to his grave, holding a dombra in one hand and bread (taba nan) in the other. If you dream about dombra, then you can become a famous musician, and if you dream about taba nan, then it is better to adapt to everyday life, household.

Almost ten years later, in 2005, next to this monument was opened the Interstate Cultural Center. Kurmangazy, whose buildings are stylized as large white yurts.

Distribution of the studied sacred places by popularity and their description

In terms of popularity, sacred objects are classified on the following grounds:

- known not only in the entire studied area, but also in modern Kazakhstan;
- known to the whole region or region;
- known in a limited area.

The study introduces new factual material into scientific use, provides evaluative characteristics of spiritual shrines that we have classified into various categories.

The burial places and monuments of personalities revered both in Russia and in Kazakhstan (Bokei-khan, Kurmangazy Sagyrbayuly), as well as burials of people revered only within one region or district, are described.

Among such revered objects is the grave of the poet-songwriter and journalist Mazhilis Utezhanov. Residents of the village of Altynzhar, Volodarsky District, Astrakhan Region, visit the grave. Mazhilis Utezhanov was one of those who revived the Kazakh language, traditions, culture of the people, who sought to remind the younger generation of its history and national origins. Majlis Utezhanov was a member of the Union of Journalists of Russia, the Union of Writers of Kazakhstan, a recognized poet and the first editor of the Ak Arna newspaper - perhaps the only newspaper in the Kazakh language in the Russian Federation. Respect is shown to him and in memory of his mother, whom fellow countrymen called Ak sheshe, she treated people, received them at home. Aniya Mustafaevna Makabayeva, head of the museum of the State Budgetary Institution of Culture of the Astrakhan Museum-Reserve JSC, a branch of the Kurmangazy Sagyrbayev Museum, said while she was alive, and she herself often went to her house.

During the expedition, it was noted that in the Saratov region, the process of Tatarization of the culture and life of Kazakhs in rituals after burial is noticeable, these are tombstones without an indication of the genus (ru) and the predominance of iron fences. Whereas in the Orenburg region, the ru of a deceased person is usually indicated on a tombstone. And brick mazars are erected in modern cemeteries in the Orenburg and Astrakhan regions.

Description of the forms of commemoration of the spiritual shrines of the Kazakhs

The task of our research also includes the study of the forms of commemoration of the spiritual shrines of the Kazakhs who are now in the near abroad. Commemoration is a way of transmitting and preserving the memory of the past in the public consciousness. The meaning of



commemorative practices lies in the reanimation in the present of memories that are significant for an ethnos as a means of its consolidation.

We noted the following acts of commemoration: the establishment of monuments, the naming of streets, the placement of commemorative plaques, holding a celebration in honor of people or events, holidays, festivals, the establishment of the Kurmangazy Sagyrbaev Governor's Prize of the Astrakhan Region, and the uttering of commendable words. Events or personalities of the past are elected by representatives of the political and cultural elite and government bodies. We noted that the leading role in the processes of memorialization is played by the authorities, determining what and how should be preserved and perpetuated. They rightly believe that objects of cultural heritage are necessary for the formation of historical memory and moral self-awareness, especially among young people. The leadership of the Russian Federation is making serious efforts to preserve places of memory and is proud of such places. Moreover, they are in the register of cultural heritage, and this implies the corresponding state maintenance of these places, because without such support it will be difficult to implement it.

An important role in the implementation of such tasks is played, among other things, by the practice of commemorative commemorations. For example, in 2012, on the occasion of the 190th anniversary of the birth of Kurmangazy Sagyrbaev, the state Kazakh publishing house “Audarma” with the sponsorship of the head of the Fund for the Development of Kazakh Culture, the famous Astrakhan businessman Nikita Isakov, published his special two-volume bilingual edition of Gennady Vasilyev's book “Sary-Arka” (“Golden Steppe”), dedicated to the life and fate of the great son of the Kazakh people [11].

Note that the opening ceremony of the mausoleum, which took place in 1996, was attended by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev and Russian Prime Minister V.Chernomyrdin. The construction was ordered by the Ministry of Culture of Kazakhstan.

The construction of the majestic mausoleum on the grave of Bukei Khan in the village of Maly Aral of the Krasnoyarsk region began on the instructions of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, in honor of the centuries-old friendship between the peoples of Russia and Kazakhstan. The opening ceremony on October 12, 2011 was attended by the Governor of the Astrakhan Region A.Zhilkin, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Kazakhstan to Russia Z.Turisbekov, Akim of the Atyrau Region of the Republic of Kazakhstan B. Ryskaliev, representatives of the public of the two border regions, activists of the Astrakhan Regional Society of Kazakh Culture “Zholdastyk”.

At the meeting with Astrakhan region's delegation, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan K.K.Tokayev expressed gratitude to the administration and residents of the region for perpetuating the memory of Bokei Khan, Kurmangazy, Dina Nurpeisova and other great sons and daughters of the Kazakh people on the Astrakhan land.

Chairman of the Astrakhan Regional Society of Kazakh Culture and Language “Zholdastyk” (“Partnership” or “Commonwealth”) N.S.Isakov initiated and inspired the construction of a memorial to Bokei Khan in the Krasnoyarsk district of the Astrakhan region, a bronze monument to Kurmangazy on horseback in the very center of Astrakhan, provided great support in the creation of the museum complex named after Kurmangazy Sagyrbaev (the branch of the Astrakhan Museum). Nikita Seitovich Isakov was born in the Kamyzyaksky district in the village of Sharapovka. A financier and economist by education and occupation, but a historian and philosopher at heart, a patriot and a faithful son of his people, Isakov has been the head of the Zholdastyk society all these years, drawing more and more associates with him. June 21, 1995 he was awarded the honorary title "Honored Economist of the Russian Federation". He was awarded the Order of Friendship, the Order of Merit for the Astrakhan Region, the diploma of the laureate of the Governor's Prize Kurmangazy Sagyrbaev in the field of culture, as well as letters of thanks from the republics of Russia and Kazakhstan.



Here we see an example when a deep need for preservation and fixation of cultural and historical memory gives rise to “places of memory”. A sign of a place of memory, according to P.Nora, is that the imagination endows it with a symbolic aura [12, p.40]. That is, in this case we are talking about memorial activities.

In August-September 2021, a survey of Kazakhs in the regions bordering Kazakhstan was conducted to determine their awareness of the sacred places of Kazakhs in the Astrakhan, Orenburg, Samara, Saratov and Volgograd regions.

According to the survey data [13], in the Astrakhan region – 47,3%, noted that the sacred place for them is primarily the grave of their ancestors. For about 22,9% of Astrakhan residents, this is a tomb, the grave of a holy man revered by the people. This is due to the level of popularity of the tombs of Kurmangazy and Bokey Khan, which are located in the region. 80,0% of the Kazakhs surveyed in Astrakhan region are familiar with or know about the sacred places of Kazakhs located on the territory of the Russian Federation. Slightly more than half (58,6%) of the respondents noted the presence of a tradition in their families of visiting sacred places.

In general, looking at these answers, it becomes clear that the family and social environment are important for a person's life, for the environment, for the people around him. In other words, it has been proven that social environment, family and friends have a great influence on a person's free time to explore and experience the world, which is directly related to the culture of his people. The older generation, in turn, educates the younger generation by example and advice.

According to 84,8% of the Kazakhs surveyed in the Astrakhan region, places of memory are able to preserve the culture and traditions of the Kazakh people outside Kazakhstan and only a small part of the respondents (6,3%) believe that young people do not understand the importance of such places.

#### *Conclusion*

Thus, in our study, the sacred places of the Astrakhan region of the Russian Federation are considered as objects of the historical and cultural heritage of the Kazakh people. In their veneration, values, norms and patterns of behavior that are significant for the people are recorded.

Our research group is primarily interested in the study of spiritual practices (forms of commemoration) associated with the sacred essence of holy places, places of pilgrimage and worship as symbolic protection, a source of preserving the historical memory of the people.

The creation of “places of memory” can be attributed to commemorative practices, the meaning of which is to reanimate in the present the memories that are significant for an ethnos as a means of its consolidation.

We noted that representatives of the political and cultural elite and authorities play a decisive role in the processes of memorialization, creation and popularization of "places of memory" for Kazakhs in the Russian border area. As our research has shown, anniversaries are especially actively used as a ceremonial form of commemoration to strengthen collective identity. The status received by this or that hero of national (ethnic) history depends on their position of power structures.

Members of ethnic and cultural associations of Kazakhs are doing a lot of work to contribute to the creation of a cultural-geographical belt of shrines of the Kazakh people in the Russian-Kazakh borderland. According to our observations, the most active and fruitful work in this direction is the Astrakhan Kazakh society of culture and language "Zholdastyk".

We hope that our research will serve as an element in creating a full-fledged sacred geography of the Kazakh people.

Provisions and conclusions, methods and results of the research, the proposed conceptual approach can inspire further deepening of theoretical and empirical studies of the problem.



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**АСТРАХАН ҚАЗАҚТАРЫНЫҢ РУХАНИ ҚАСИЕТТІ ОРЫНДАР ЖӘНЕ  
КОММЕМОРАТИВТІК ТӘЖІРИБЕЛЕРІ**

**Аңдатпа.** Мақала Ресейдің Астрахан облысында орналасқан қазақтардың киелі нысандарының негізгі түрлерін сипаттауға арналған. Сондай-ақ, аталған киелі жерлерге және Ресей мен Қазақстан жерінің ұлы ұлдарының есімдеріне байланысты аңыздар мен дәстүрлері қарастырылады. Мәдени жадыны визуализациялаудың бір түрі ретінде коммеморативтік тәжірибелер талданады. Олардың кейбіреулері ата-баба культі мен байланысты «мәдени архетиптерден» бастауалады. Басқалардың бастамашылары мен ұйымдастырушылары Ресей





мен Қазақстанның саяси және мәдени элитасы болды. Мұнда сіз тарихи жадыны дәстүртүрінде саналы түрде қайта құруды көре аласыз.

**Кілт сөздер:** шекара маңындағы қазақтар; кесене; Бөкей хан; Сейид-баба; Құрманғазы; Жигитжайдақ-баба; еске алу орындары; ата-бабаларға табыну; қажылық; коммеморация нысандары.

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**ДУХОВНЫЕ СВЯТЫНИ АСТРАХАНСКИХ КАЗАХОВ И**  
**КОММЕМОРАТИВНЫЕ ПРАКТИКИ**

**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена описанию основных типов сакральных объектов казахов, находящихся в Астраханской области России. Рассматриваются также легенды и предания связанные с указанными сакральными местами и именами великих сынов российской и казахстанской земли. Анализируются коммеморативные практики как формы визуализации культурной памяти. Часть из них восходит к «культурным архетипам», связанным с культом предков. Инициаторами и организаторами других выступала политическая и культурная элита России и Казахстана. В этом можно видеть сознательную реконструкцию исторической памяти в виде традиций.

**Ключевые слова:** казахи приграничья; мавзолеи; Бөкей-хан; Сейд-баба; Қурманғазы; Джигит Джайдақ-баба; места памяти; культ предков; паломничества; формы коммеморации.