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GRAVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF GENEALOGICAL GROUPS OF KAZAKHS IN KAZAKHSTAN AND RUSSIA

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The article analyzes the gravestones of the Kazakhs of Kazakhstan and Russia. The features of these structures are shown on the example of the Kazakhs of the North and South (respectively, Akmola and Turkestan regions) of Kazakhstan and Western Siberia (Russia, Omsk region). Particular attention is paid to the development of grave constructions of the Kazakhs throughout the XX century and the identification of factors that influenced changes in these structures in the specified period of time, and establishing of their types. An analysis of such structures is carried out in connection with the genealogical groups of the Kazakh ethnic group. In the southern regions of Kazakhstan, grave constructions of Kazakhs of the “Qozha” genealogical group were analyzed, in the northern part - the “Kyrgyz” genealogical group, and in the Omsk region – the “Kypchak”, “Argyn” and “Kerei” genealogical groups. The article describes the gravestones, their location within the grave structure. It also analyzes the origin and evolution of gravestones in the nomads of the Great Steppe, in particular, among the Kazakh nomads. The work also clarified some information regarding the territorial distribution of certain types of gravestones among the Kazakhs of the Omsk region, given in the works of ethnographic researchers, as well as about the appearance of gravestones in the form of metal fences in the Kazakhs. The study of cemeteries of various genealogical groups of Kazakhs, who live in areas of Kazakhstan that are geographically significantly remote (more than 1 thousand km) from each other, as well as outside Kazakhstan (in the Russian Federation), allowed the author to draw conclusions about the overall similarity of the structure, types of grave constructions of Kazakhs in different regions of their residence.

Keywords: Kazakhs of Kazakhstan, Kazakh Omsk region, gravestones, genealogical groups of Kazakhs

ҚАЗАҚСТАН ҚАЗАҚТАРЫ ГЕНЕАЛОГИЯЛЫҚ ТОПТАРЫНЫҢ ҚАБІР ҮСТІНДЕГІ ҚҰРЫЛЫСТАРЫ

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Аңдатпа: Мақалада Қазақстан мен Ресей қазақтарының қабір үстіндегі құрылыстарына талдау жасалған. Белгіленген құрылыстардың ерекшеліктері Солтүстік және Оңтүстік (тиісінше, Ақмола және Түркістан облыстары) Қазақстан мен Батыс Сібір (Ресей, Омбы облысы) қазақтарының мысалында көрсетілді. XX ғасырдағы қазақтардың қабір үстіндегі құрылыстарының дамуына әрі аталған мерзімде сол құрылыстардың өзгеруіне ықпал еткен факторларды анықтауға ерекше мән беріледі, олардың түрлері анықталады. Осындай құрылыстар қазақ халқының генеалогиялық топтарына байланыста талданады. Қазақстанның оңтүстік жерлеріндегі «қожа» генеалогиялық тобының, солтүстікте «қырғыз» генеалогиялық тобының, ал Омбы облысының аумағында «қыпшақ», «арғын» және «керей» генеалогиялық тобының қабір үстіндегі құрылыстарына талдау жасалады. Мақалада қабір ескерткіштеріне, бұлардың қабір үстіндегі құрылысының орналасу орындарына сипаттама берілді. Сонымен қатар, Ұлы дала көшпенділері, атап айтқанда, қазақ көшпенділеріне қатысты қабір ескерткіштерінің шығу тегі мен даму мәселесі талданады. Еңбекте зерттеуші-этнографтардың жұмыстарында келтірілген Омбы облысы қазақтарына қатысты қабір үстіндегі құрылыстарының жекелеген түрлерінің аумақтық таралуына байланысты кейбір мәліметтер, сондай-ақ қазақтардағы темір қоршаулар түріндегі және қабір үстіндегі құрылыстарының пайда болуына байланысты ақпарат анықталады. Қазақтардың, сондай-ақ Қазақстанның бір-бірінен едәуір алыс (1 мың шақырымнан алыс) орналасқан жерлерінде және Қазақстанның сырт жағында тұратын әртүрлі генеалогиялық топтарының зираттарының зерттелуі, жалпы алғанда қазақтардың қабір үстіндегі құрылыстарының конструкциясында, түрлерінде ұқсастық бар екені туралы қорытынды шығаруға мүмкіндік берді.

Түйін сөздер: қазақтардың қабір үстіндегі құрылыстар, қазақтардың генеалогиялық топтары, зираттар, дәстүрлі мәдениет, Омбы облысының қазақтары, Қазақстан қазақтары.

НАМОГИЛЬНЫЕ СООРУЖЕНИЯ ГЕНЕАЛОГИЧЕСКИХ ГРУПП КАЗАХОВ КАЗАХСТАНА И РОССИИ

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Аннотация: В статье дан анализ намогильных сооружений казахов Казахстана и России. Особенности указанных сооружений показаны на примере казахов Северного и Южного (соответственно, Акмолинской и Туркестанской областей) Казахстана и Западной Сибири (Россия, Омская область). Особое внимание уделено развитию намогильных сооружений казахов на протяжении XX века и выявлению факторов, повлиявших на изменения этих сооружений в указанный период времени, установлены их виды. Анализ таких сооружений проводится в связи с генеалогическими группами казахского этноса. В южных районах Казахстана проанализированы намогильные сооружения казахов генеалогической группы «кожа», в северной части – генеалогической группы «кыргызы», а на территории Омской области – генеалогических групп «кыпчак», «аргын» и «керей». В статье дается характеристика могильных плит, вариантов их расположения в пределах намогильного сооружения. Также анализируются вопросы происхождения и эволюции могильных плит у кочевников Великой степи, в частности, у кочевников-казахов. В работе уточнены также некоторые сведения относительно территориального распространения отдельных видов намогильных сооружений у казахов Омской области, приведенные в работах исследователей-этнографов, а также по поводу появления у казахов намогильных сооружений в виде металлических оградок. Исследование кладбищ различных генеалогических групп казахов, проживающих к тому же в территориально значительно удаленных (более 1 тыс. км) друг от друга районах Казахстана, а также за пределами Казахстана (на территории Российской Федерации), позволило автору статьи сделать выводы о в целом сходстве конструкции, видов намогильных сооружений казахов в разных регионах их проживания.

Ключевые слова: намогильные сооружения казахов, генеалогические группы казахов, кладбища, традиционная культура, казахи Омской области, казахи Казахстана.

Introduction

The study of gravestones allows us to solve a number of questions of the origin and ethnic history of a particular ethnic group (ethnic community). It is about the fact in the process of historical development, the ethnos came into interethnic contacts with other ethnic communities, which was manifested in the adopting a number of elements of culture and language from neighboring peoples.

From this point of view, the Kazakh ethnos is of considerable interest to ethnographers and historians, since representatives of many Turkic and non-Turkic ethnic communities were incorporated into the Kazakh people, which was already noted by Russian researchers. So, in one of the pre-revolutionary publications it was said that “in their ethnic composition they (Kazakhs. – *authors*) are also the most interesting of all Asian Turks as embodying representatives of all the most important and oldest Turkic tribes” [Россия..., 1903: 199].

It should be noted that the study of gravestones and related funerary complexes allowed ethnographers “to reach a new level of understanding, in particular, of some aspects of the funeral rite and related social relations” [Корусенко, 1996: 118].

The purpose of this article is to identify the features of grave constructions of the Kazakhs of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation (in the example of grave constructions of the Kazakhs of certain regions of the two countries).

Sources for writing this article were the results of a study of gravestones at Kazakh funerary complexes in the southern regions of the Omsk Region, as well as in Kazakhstan, conducted by B.K. Smagulov in 1999–2003 and 2019.

Materials and Methods

In the study of grave structures at the funeral complexes of Kazakhs in the Omsk region, we proceeded from the features of the resettlement of Kazakhs in the specified territory. So, according to the official data of the 2010 population census in the Omsk Region, there were 78,303 people of Kazakh nationality, which is 3.9% of the total population of the region. At the same time, the Kazakh population is concentrated very unevenly across the region: 93.8% of Kazakhs in the Omsk Region are concentrated in the southwestern, southern and southeastern regions, as well as in the city of Omsk. 47.2% of the Kazakh population (36980 people) of the region live in the regional center [Численность населения...].

The indicated districts and the city of Omsk, according to the administrative division of the end of the 19th – 20th centuries, constituted the Omsk district of the Akmola region as part of the Russian Empire. In the areas north of Omsk, the Kazakhs live dispersed or in small masses among the Russian population. In particular, one of such arrays is represented by the Kazakhs of the Gorky district of the Omsk region. On the territory of the modern Gorky district of the Omsk region, the first Kazakh settlements appeared in the 2nd half of XIX century. At the beginning of the XX century, there were several Kazakh villages (Dyusen, Akhmet, Karaton, etc.). As a result of the political and economic processes that took place in the USSR, towards the end of the 1950s in the Gorky region there was only one Kazakh village called Belsendy-Kazakh (Kazakh. “Active Kazakh”) [Адам, 1999: 132].

Discussion

At present, in ethnological science, the concepts of an ethnographic and ethnic (sub-ethnic) group are used to analyze individual groups in an ethnic group. The ethnographic group is distinguished by some local features of the traditional everyday culture highlighted by researchers, but at the same time it does not recognize itself as a special group and does not have self-awareness. An ethnic (sub-ethnic) group is part of an ethnic group, but it not only has the characteristics of a traditional culture, but is aware of its difference from the rest of the ethnic group. The indicated groups as part of an ethnos are formed in different ways (territorial separation of part of an ethnos, remnants of the former tribal division, incomplete process of assimilation of a nation or its part, special social (ethno-social, ethno-confessional) status of a part of the population) [Субэтническая...; Этнографическая...].

Russian researchers, travelers, military, who visited Kazakhstan in the 18th – 19th centuries, singled out among the Kazakhs the population groups (Kipchaks, Argyns, Qozha, Kyrgyz, Tulenguts, etc.), which are referred to in the literature as “clans”, “sub-ethnic groups”, “tribes ”and others. The existence of such groups did not violate the ethnic unity of the Kazakh people. So, V.V. Radlov wrote: “although the names of the clans very clearly indicate that the Kazak-Kirghiz (Kazakhs. – *authors*) were formed from a motley conglomerate of various Turkic tribes mixed with Mongolian and even Samoyed tribes, it should be noted that in the sociopolitical and linguistic sense, all the Kirghiz (Kazakhs. – *authors*) on the vast stretch of their distribution have merged and melted so closely that we can rightly call them a single people, since they generally have an awareness of the unity of their people and their inextricable community” [Радлов, 1989: 111].

The Russian researcher N. A. Tomilov expressed the opinion that the union of related families formed from the common genetic root should be called a genealogical group. At the same time, there is

a need to distinguish the concept of the genealogical group from the concept of patronymy, since “patronymy is characteristic of the period of the decomposition of the clan system of the period of the patriarchal-communal and early class society”, and genealogical groups “were formed much later” [Томилов, 1992: 133].

According to researchers, the emergence of Kazakh genealogical groups was caused by the characteristics of the nomadic economy. So, the famous researcher V. F. Shakhmatov wrote: “As you know, wandering with large masses of livestock from one pasture to another is impossible, it is limited to a certain number of heads that can be fed on the pasture. Therefore, within each genus, small groups of farms gradually formed, they spent the wintering and roamed together. These groups were united by a kinship, the concept of common belonging to the genus (ru), “taipa”, “atabalasy”. These groups included aliens who took the patronage of the head of the community (bi – foreman)” [Шахматов, 1962: 26, 38].

At the end of the XIX century the southwestern, southern, and southeastern parts of the territory of the modern Omsk region were inhabited by Kazakhs, members of various associations (genealogical groups) of the Middle Zhuz. In particular, the southwestern part of this territory was inhabited by Kazakhs of the Argyn tribal association. In the southern and partially southeastern parts – the tribes of “Kerey” and “Uak”, and in the southeastern parts – from the association of “Kipchaks” [Томилов, 1992: 79; Муқанов, 1974: 185–186]. Since the late 1970s mass records of genealogy of Kazakhs living in the Omsk region were carried out. So, the materials of the Kazakh detachment of the Siberian historical and ethnographic expedition of Omsk State University, collected in 1978 and 1981, showed that the Kazakhs living in the Omsk region belong mainly to tribal associations of “Argyns”, “Kerey”, “Kipchaks” and “Uak” [Томилов, 1992: 80]. These associations consisted of smaller groups. So, according to M.S. Mukanov, the tribal association of Kipchaks included several groups (Kurleut, Madiyar, Kara-Kipchak, Kulan-Kipchak, etc.) [Муқанов, 1974: 186].

Results

The presence of various genealogical groups in the Kazakhs became the starting point for us to study their grave structures. At the same time, we proceeded from the considerable distance between the Kazakh funerary complexes that we studied in Kazakhstan, as well as the residence of some Kazakhs outside the state borders of Kazakhstan (in the Omsk region of Russia).

Gravestones of the Kazakhs in the southern regions of Kazakhstan. In April 2019, during the ethnographic expedition of the Ch. Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology (consisting of B.K. Smagulov and associate researcher A. Kh. Ryskildin) in the village of Kozhatogay (with a population of about 2 thousand people) of the Otyrar district, Turkestan region [Қожатоғай, 2005: 339] some ethnographic material was collected on the traditional Kazakh culture of the “Qozha” genealogical group, whose representatives comprise the vast majority of the aul population.

According to archival data for 1922, representatives of the “Qozha” genealogical group lived in a number of settlements in the southern part of Kazakhstan. In particular, they inhabited the village of Chayan-barar or Chayan-mosque (Kassym-Ishan) in the Chayanovsky volost of the Chimkent district. In particular, the following was said about the above-mentioned village: “Having a large madrassah, an ancient mosque, good architecture and cultural places”. In addition, Kozha also inhabited the village of Donguz-tau in Sairam. They were characterized as “a clan originating which is direct descendants of the Prophet...”. The motto of the Kozha genus was Kozha-Akhmat (Hodja-Akhmed), and their tamga was two diagonally crossed lines, there was a small circle on the tip of the lower right line [Архив...: 1, 2, 3, 20, 26, 27].

The study of the cemetery (*zirat*, *qorym*) of the specified settlement showed the presence of grave structures of various types on it. In particular, we are talking about quadrilateral in terms of brick

structures with turrets in the corners, metal fences, gravestones in front of the grave hill. In the cemetery under consideration, a number of graves do not have fences (Fig. 1).

Fig 1. Grave hills in the cemetery of the village of Kozhatogay of the Otyrar district of Turkestan region. Photo by B. B. Smagulov. 04/19/2019.

In this case, the grave hill is not fenced, and gravestones, which are located in front of the grave hill, act as a grave structure. The fact that the grave hills are not deliberately fenced is evident from the date of death of the buried people: enough time has passed since the day of death to erect a fence. For example, gravestones are located in front of grave mounds (at a distance of about 50 cm from the grave mound), on which the person's name and dates of his life are indicated (Zholdasbekov Murat Suyrbayuly, 01.10.1970–07.11.2016; Polatbektegy Asan Akhanguly, 08.15.1952–03.27.2018, and others).

One of the structures is noteworthy, which is a gravestone in the middle part of which two lines (resembling knives or daggers) are shown, intersecting diagonally (Fig. 2)

Figure 2. Gravestone in the cemetery of Kozhatogay village, Otyrar district of Turkestan region. Photo by B. B. Smagulov. 04/19/2019.

It can be assumed that in this case we are dealing with the image of the “tamga” of the “Qozha” genealogical group, similar to the one mentioned in archival materials for 1922 [Государственный архив...: 20, 26, 27].

Most of the gravestones in the surveyed cemetery are represented by brick constructions in the form of small (3x4 m) houses, which are built of standard red or white bricks with quadrangular turrets in the corners, on which metal knitting needles or rods with a Muslim crescent are installed. Structures have through window openings (see. Fig. 3).

Figure 3. Brick gravestones in the cemetery of Kozhatogay village in the Otyrar district of Turkestan region. Photo B. B. Smagulov. 04/20/2019.

As we indicated above, some part of the grave constructions at this burial complex is represented by rectangular metal fences (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. Metal fences in the cemetery of Kozhatogay village, Otyrar district, Turkestan region. Photo by B. K. Smagulov. 04/20/2019.

The choice of a gravestone by the relatives of the deceased is determined by socio-economic factors (affordability, financial condition of the family, etc.). Inspection of grave structures showed that some of them are designed for two people.

It is interesting that at the indicated burial complex we recorded a direct proximity of Kazakh gravestones with Russian (Christian) population gravestones, and there are virtually no borders between the indicated groups of gravestones (previously there was a metal fence in the form of a masonry net, but it fell apart over time).

Gravestones of the Kazakhs in the northern regions of Kazakhstan. We managed to obtain some interesting information when studying the funeral complexes of the Kazakhs in the northern part of Kazakhstan in June 2019. In particular, we are talking about grave structures in the cemetery of the Kyrgyz clan, composed of Kazakhs of the village of Ozen, Zerendinsky district, Akmola region. It should be noted that the sources noted the facts of the inclusion of part of the Kyrgyz people in the Kazakh people. So, talking about the battle of Khan Abylai with the Kyrgyz near the Kyzylsu and Shamsi rivers flowing into the Chu, Ch. Valikhanov further writes the following: “Abylai returned to Kokshetau, his favorite nomad camp, near the Siberian line, burdened with prey, and the prisoners, that he brought were so numerous that now their descendants comprise two volosts called Yana and Bai-Kirghiz (that is, new and rich Kyrgyz)” [Валиханов, 1985: 11]. The Kyrgyz element in the composition of the Kazakh people is considered by Ch. Valikhanov in the article “Kirghiz genealogy” [Валиханов, 1984. Т.2]. It should be

noted that the Kyrgyz ethnic element in the composition of the Kazakhs was also recorded in the western [Алимовские...], southern [Государственный архив...; Архив...] and the central regions of Kazakhstan [Fig. 5].

Fig 5. Gravestone in the cemetery near Karkaraly (Central Kazakhstan). Photo by B. Ashim, 08/27/2019.

As for grave constructions in the Ozen village cemetery, here mainly the structures made of metal fences and brick constructions are fixed (Fig. 6).

Figure 6. Gravestones in the cemetery of Ozen (Razdolnoye) village, Zerendinsky district, Akmola region. Photo by B. K. Smagulov. 06/19/2019

Thus, the results of studying the Kazakh population's grave constructions in the above-mentioned territories made it possible to establish similarities in the design of these constructions in various regions of Kazakhstan, regardless of the genealogical affiliation of the buried people.

Grave constructions of Kazakhs in the southwestern, southern and southeastern regions of the Omsk Region (Russian Federation). The gravestones of the Kazakhs in the indicated territory were investigated during a series of expeditions.

Gravestones of the Kazakhs in the southern part of the Omsk region. In the early 2000s, during a joint archaeological and ethnographic expedition of the Museum of Archeology and Ethnography of the Omsk State University and the Omsk State Museum of History and Local Lore under the direction of V.V. Mikhalev, the cemeteries of the Kazakhs in the Gorky district of the Omsk region were examined. During the expedition, with the direct participation of B.K. Smagulov, survey of the cemeteries of Belsendy-Kazakh village and the former village of Dyusen in the Gorky district of the Omsk region was performed. At that time, 39 visible grave structures were recorded in the cemetery of the latter aul. The cemetery of Belsendy-Kazakh village is located about 2 km east of this settlement. At this cemetery, 4 types of grave structures were recorded (based on the material from which they were built): metal fencing, wooden fencing, brick fencing, as well as turf structures. According to informants, fires occurred in this cemetery, as a result of which part of the wooden fences burned out.

Gravestones of the Kazakhs in the south-eastern part of the Omsk region. At the burial complex near the Tselinnoye village in the Russko-Polyansky district of the Omsk region (southeastern part of this region). This funerary complex, surveyed by B.K. Smagulov in August 2000, is located about 2 km southeast of the Tselinnoye village in the open steppe area. In total, as of August 7, 2000, 129 grave structures were recorded on the territory of this burial complex, including:

- metal fences - 58 pieces (45% of 129), of which 10 with domes (17.2% of 58).

- brick fences - 57 pieces (44.2% of 129).

- fences made of construction blocks - 8 pieces (6.2% of 129). In addition, the presence of 2 concrete and 2 wooden fences was recorded. One gravestone structure combines the features of both concrete and wooden fencing. Around one of the grave hills the brickwork is laid. In the Tselinnoye village, information was received about its belonging to the Kazakhs of the Sagal-Kipchak clan. The resident of the specified settlement N.K. Kildagulova (born in 1922) reported: "The cemetery located near Tselinnoye is the cemetery of the former Koyandy aul. It belongs to the Sagal-Kipchak. Our ancestor is Toganas, we origin from him" [Архив...91].

In this regard, it should be noted that in the southeastern regions of the Omsk region several cemeteries belonging to this tribal association were recorded. In particular, the cemetery owned by the Kazakhs from the Sagal-Kipchak tribal association was also recorded 3 km away, south of the Buzan aul, Russko-Polyansky district of the Omsk region [Ахметова, Толпеко, 1998].

Certain features were revealed in the study of the cemetery, located about 2 km north-west of Alabota Lake in the Pavlograd district of the Omsk region. It was investigated by B. K. Smagulov together with V. A. Erokhin in May 2001. In the course of the study, we made survey of this cemetery.

In its shape, it resembles an arrow, stretched towards Alabota Lake. This burial complex is relatively small. As of May 12, 2001, more than twenty visible grave structures were recorded here, including: brick structures, metal fences, wooden fence, two brick masonry (in the shape of a quadrangle) around the grave hill and two temporary grave structures. The central part of this cemetery is older. This belongs to the Kazakhs from the Kulatay-Kipchak (kaz. *Qulataykypshaq*) genealogical group. But unlike the cemetery of the Sagal-Kipchak group, in the cemetery under consideration there were no individual family-related groups recorded. Some people buried in this cemetery do not belong to the indicated genealogical group. In the first case, these are women who married representatives of this genealogical group.

Gravestones of the Kazakhs in the southwestern part of the Omsk region. In this territory, the case of the presence of two cemeteries in one settlement was recorded.

In particular, we are talking about the cemetery of the aul Omar, Isilkul district, Omsk region. One cemetery is located about 1 km southeast of this settlement. Its inspection in July 2000 showed that at present, almost no grave structures have remained on its territory, which, most likely, were structures built of turf bricks. But at the time of the examination they are in a vague state. On the territory of this cemetery, one gravestone was recorded in the form of a metal fence.

The cemetery of the former Shilikpay village is of certain interest as this village ceased to exist. The cemetery is located about 2 km northwest of the Borovoye village, Isilkul District, in which some of the inhabitants of the above-mentioned disappeared village currently live. In total, 53 visible grave structures were recorded at this cemetery. Among them, metal fences predominate (29 pieces). Along with metal fences, brick structures were also fixed.

The study of the Kazakh gravestones in various regions of the Omsk region showed that their gravestones are similar to the Kazakhstani Kazakhs gravestones considered above.

Now we briefly describe some elements of grave constructions of the Kazakhs of the Omsk region, which are similar to the Kazakhs of Kazakhstan.

Gravestones. To denote them, several words are used (*eskertkish, tas, belgi*) [Архив..., 91, 92, 95]. Gravestones are installed on a special stand on the western side of the grave structure. The material for making this kind of slabs are mainly stone and concrete. Two forms of gravestones are common. The first has the shape of a quadrangle. In the second variant, its upper part is somewhat narrowed, thus having an oval shape. The following options for the location of such slabs were recorded: in front of the gravestone (30–40 cm from it); close to the gravestone; in the wall of the grave building. In the latter case, the tombstone is part of this wall. There are two ways to connect such plate with the wall of the grave structure: a) placing the grave plate in a special indentation (quadrangular in shape) in the wall;) attaching the gravestone to the wall with bolts.

When examining the cemetery of the former Shilikpay aul in the Isilkul district and the cemetery of the Belsendy-Kazakh aul in the Gorky district of the Omsk region, we recorded cases when the gravestone is installed on the edge of the grave hill from the western side. In this case, it also acts as a gravestone. The height of such slabs is usually about 100 cm. However, some gravestones are quite high. So, when examining the above-mentioned cemetery in Isilkul region, there were fixed the gravestones 150 cm high.

Given the presence in the border cities of Russia and Kazakhstan of a significant number of firms specializing in the field of funeral services, a large number of gravestones that were manufactured to order were recorded in rural cemeteries. In particular, in the southwestern regions of the Omsk region, such plates are ordered in such cities as Isilkul, Omsk and Petropavlovsk. In the central and southeastern regions of the region, the main center for such plates production is the city of Omsk.

Images and inscriptions are applied on the front side of the gravestone from the western side. Illustrative material is presented, as a rule, with the image of a Muslim symbol – a crescent moon, which

is performed in the upper part of the gravestone. Also, in addition to the crescent, images of stars are also fixed. Inscriptions are placed in the middle and lower parts of the gravestone. Special tools were used as a writing tool, if we are talking about plates that are custom-made. For drawing inscriptions, paint brushes are also used. In some cases, images and inscriptions are placed in a carved frame. There is a desire to separate the various parts of the inscription from each other. This is achieved by carving on the front side of the gravestone a horizontal line, the ends of which are curved at the top. In addition, the separation of various parts of the inscription is carried out by using different colors. Separation of images and inscriptions can also be achieved by placing the latter in a special indentation in the tombstone. Note that the developed epigraphy is fixed at the gravestones of the Kazakhs of Kazakhstan. In particular, in the western part of the country it is represented by inscriptions on “kulpytas” - memorial with placement on horizontal and western faces in horizontal rows, and occasionally in vertical lines. Based on the study of a wide range of such monuments, S. E. Azhigali identifies in it the Koranic (monotheism and Basmala formulas), everyday (epitaphs) and complex (religious-everyday) content texts [Ажигали, 2001: 246–250].

According to researchers, the gravestones in their evolutionary development went through a number of stages, during which they underwent certain external changes. In particular, D. Valeyeva in her work “Artistic Carving in Architecture and Epigraphy of the Golden Horde Bulgars” (1998) suggests that the main tendency in the changes of gravestones was a gradual transition from realistic to symbolic images. In other words, the stone sculptures that commemorated the deceased in the Kipchak steppes were characterized by realism (the images of human figures with a face, hands, feet, elements of clothing and jewelry). Later they were replaced by rectangular gravestones, stone slabs, in which calligraphy and ornament became the main semantic determining centers [Валеева, 1998: 89, 92].

The material at our disposal allowed us to make some clarifications on the issue of the territorial distribution of brick gravestones in the Kazakh population of the Omsk region. In particular, earlier it was stated by O. M. Bronnikova that this type of grave constructions among Kazakhs of the indicated region is widespread in areas adjacent to Kazakhstan [Бронникова, 1989: 90]. Meanwhile, our studies have shown that quadrangular brick fences with turrets in the corners are common not only in areas of the Omsk region that are adjacent to Kazakhstan, but in territories far removed from it. In particular, such structures in large numbers were recorded by us at the cemetery of the Belsendy-Kazakh village and at the cemetery of the former village of Dyusen in the Gorky district, Omsk region, located about 70 km northeast of the city of Omsk. It can be argued that brick gravestones are common throughout the settlement of Kazakhs in the Omsk region. Moreover, brick fences, as we have shown above, are common among Kazakhs and throughout Kazakhstan. It should be noted that at present we have not recorded logging gravestones in any of the studied graveyards of the Kazakh population in the southern and central regions of the designated territory. According to the data of O. M. Bronnikova, the Kazakhs living in the northern regions of Omsk, as well as in the Novosibirsk regions, have similar structures, and she considers the fact that the Kazakhs of these territories have such structures as Tatar influence [Ibid.].

Fences with and without domes are widespread in the cemeteries of Kazakhs in the Omsk region. Describing the gravestones of the Kazakhs in the designated area, O. M. Bronnikova writes that metal fences spread among the Kazakhs of the Omsk region in the 1970s, and they are associated with Russian influence [Ibid.]. This opinion seems to us too categorical. First, apparently, already in the 1950s gravestones in the form of metal fences became commonplace in the cemeteries of the Kazakhs in the territory of the specified region. This is evidenced by the records made in these years by the local historian S. R. Laptev during his trips through the territory of the Omsk region. So, in 1957, driving to Ebeyty Lake, located in the southwestern part of this region, S. R. Laptev noted the following: “A large Kazakh cemetery comes across along the way. The graves are fenced with iron and wooden hedges” [Государственный архив... Ф-2118. Д. 23 Л. 74; Д. 29 Л. 64]. In the same year, in the southeastern part

of the Omsk region, he recorded grave structures in the form of metal fences in Kazakh cemeteries again. In particular, he wrote that "... there are grave fences with gates of iron rods" [Государственный архив... Ф-2118. Д. 28 Л. 72].

In addition, S.R. Laptev made a series of photographs that depict the gravestones of the Kazakhs in the form of metal fences [Государственный архив... Ф-2118. Д. 33 Л. 28]. Secondly, we believe that the appearance of gravestones in the form of metal fences at the Kazakhs of the Omsk region was the result of the development of chronologically earlier types of gravestones.

At the end of the XIX – XX centuries the Kazakh gravestones in the designated area underwent certain changes. By the end of the XIX century gravestones in the form of fences were already widespread among the Kazakhs, including among the Kazakhs in the territory of modern Omsk region. In the considered period of time, grave constructions passed through certain stages of internal development. The point is that some changes in their structure were not so much due to the active interethnic contacts of Kazakhs with the surrounding foreign-speaking, mainly Russian population, but as a result of the general socio-economic development of society. So, we believe that the initial type of grave structures, on the basis of which grave structures made of bricks and in the form of metal and wooden fences were formed, which are currently common in the cemeteries of Kazakhs in the Omsk region, were the turf gravel structures described above.

In the 1950s among the Kazakhs of the Omsk region, there is a transition to the use of metal fences as grave structures. But at this stage, Kazakhs continued to erect turf grave constructions. Apparently, only since the 1970s the transition to the use of factory-made bricks instead of turf and / or adobe bricks gradually begins. We made this conclusion when studying inscriptions on grave constructions. In particular, the earliest brick gravestones there date back to the 1970s. Since that time, the construction of turf gravestones gradually ceases, and currently only their remains are preserved in the cemeteries of the Kazakhs of the Omsk region.

Thus, we are observing the process of changing the material for the construction of grave structures (at the end of the 19th century it was mainly turf and adobe, and nowadays it is factory-made bricks, and metal rods), although the general appearance of such structures has remained largely the same (based on the available descriptions). Along with this, processes of some modification of grave constructions are observed. This includes, in particular, the use of building blocks as walls in the construction of some grave structures. Such a structure has a square shape in a plane view, with sides of 600 cm. In our opinion, such a structure is nothing more than a simplified version of a brick gravestone, since corner towers are added from standard bricks at its corners. Some cases of erection of grave structures from concrete walls based on rectangular granite slabs have also been recorded.

Conclusion

Thus, the part of the funeral rite of the studied population, associated with the construction of gravestones, is characterized by flexibility and adaptability to changes that occur in modern conditions.

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