



МӘДЕНИ МҰРА
ғылыми журнал

КУЛЬТУРНОЕ НАСЛЕДИЕ
научный журнал

CULTURAL HERITAGE
science journal

ISSN: 2708-3365

№ 3 (94)

Нұр-Сұлтан
2021

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PRELIMINARY PRESERVATION OF THE BODIES OF THE DECEASED UNTIL BURIAL AMONG THE KAZAKH PEOPLE: BASED ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC MATERIALS*

As many Turkic peoples, the Kazakhs are distinguished by a respectful attitude to the dead. In this article, the authors consider the causes, duration and place of temporary preservation of the body until burial of the Kazakh people. This tradition is associated with the natural conditions and economic cycle of nomads. The authors give examples of the preservation of the body until the burial based on ethnographic data.

In the authors' opinion, the practice of making delayed burials originates from the early nomads of the Eurasian steppes. According to archaeological materials, we can see examples of the delayed burials of noble persons at the Turks.

The article also examined the special veneration of ancestors. According to the authors, this cult originates from the early nomads. They erected large mounds in honor of the dead ancestors and buried them in golden attires.

Key words: *burial, delayed burial, funeral repast, Kazakhs, cult of ancestors.*

As well as many other Turkic peoples, the Kazakhs are distinguished by a respectful attitude to their ancestors. We can clearly see it in the conception of such words as "aruak" (aruah) or "ataba rukhy" (the spirit of ancestors). Despite the spread of Islam religion among the nomadic peoples of the Eurasia steppe, we can still see manifestations of cults, associated with the respect for the ancestors among the Kazakhs. The following examples can be given from the Kazakh ethnography: the Kazakh folk wisdom says: "Oli razy bolmai, tiri bayimaidy" that means "without the approval of

deceased ancestors, you cannot achieve abundance and prosperity" (author's translation); the Kazakh women fry seven flatbreads on Fridays that are distributed among others. Flatbread and flavor that is felt during roasting are considered as the offerings to the souls of the deceased, with the hope of receiving their patronage. The pilgrims spend the night at the grave of the saint ("aulie basyna tuneu") in order to receive his protection. During the battles, the warriors called out the names of their ancestors as a battle cry, while asking their spirit to help them to win the battle.

* This work done by realisation science- studying project of grant funding of MES RK AP08052281 «Saving raw architecture monuments of sacred landscape in the Tengiz-Korgalzhyn depression with the use of digital 3D technologies»



Preservation of the bodies of the dead until burial at the early nomadic tribes of Kazakhstan

According to the authors, the veneration of ancestors among the Kazakhs in this form, originates from the early nomads. They built huge mounds and burial grounds in memory of the deceased king, paying a special attention to a burial rite. We tried to associate the cultural threads of ancient and late Saka-Scythian traditions of the Kazakhs of the Middle Ages and modern and prove that the rites of farewell to the deceased, mourning for one year and a funeral repast "as", the Kazakhs inherited from the Saka tribes, inhabited the steppe regions of Kazakhstan in the Early Iron Age.

The analysis of the results of long-term research shows that the Sakas and Scythians held the burial rite of the deceased only at certain times of the year – in early summer and autumn. According to archaeological data, this tradition can be seen in the Tagar and Pazyryk cultures, as well as in the culture of Turkic tribes (Kiselev 1951: 106-170, 225; Rudenko 1953: 326; Tamara T. Rice 2004: 90; Kubarev 1987; 128).

This tradition is associated with the natural conditions and economic cycle of nomads. The winter period was a difficult time of year with a high death rate. During the winter months, the strength and health of people were exhausted; a lot of people could not survive the harsh time. In winter, the ground froze, which caused difficulties in burying the body of deceased. In this regard, the bodies of people who passed away at this time of year were preserved until the warm days – they made a temporary or so-called deferred burial.

The frozen ground and winter cold, of course, were the main reasons for postponing the burial time, but there are suggestions that it was equally important to allow more people to see the deceased off to his final journey. The customs of temporary burial of the body in the ground or placing the body in a storage facility can be compared by importance with such Kazakh traditions as the annual memorial meal "as" in honor of the deceased. S.I. Rudenko gives information about the Kazakh funeral repast - "as" in honor of the bays (the rich men) of Zhangabai Bytebayev and Butabai Zharkyn (Butabai kazhy) with the participation of thousands of people, which he visited personally. Those who came to a funeral meal "as", drove in their cattle for the slaughter and brought treats:

kumys (a fermented milk drink, made from mare's milk) and boursaks (dough pieces, fried in a large amount of lamb fat) (Rudenko 1960: 327-328). The origins of these traditions can be seen in the excavations of Berel mounds, belonging to the Pazyryk culture, that the leaders of different tribes in accordance with the status, basically presented horses. This was proved by paleobotanists.

The stomachs of 13 parade horses, discovered by Z.S. Samashev during the excavation of Berel mound, contain the remains of herbs from different regions of Kazakhstan (Kashkinbayev, Samashev, 2005; 123-133).

The visitors were notified about such funerary and commemorative ceremonies in advance, getting a message – "sauyin" about the upcoming funeral or a funeral meal "as" (sauyin aitu). The specially appointed people visited neighboring villages and districts, informing them about the event. There are many examples of this in the folklore of the Kazakh people. One of them can be found in the Kazakh version of the poem "Kulager" by the Kazakh poet Ilyas Jansugurov:

- We asked you to come with more people.

Famous, rich, with a decent face.

You came alone, where are your companions and servants?

Where is the kin of Karaul? Gone and drop of the grid?

(translated by Berik Jilkibayev) (Zhansugirov Iliyas, 323, 332).

The customs of a temporary burial of the body were also used among the Turks, as we are convinced by the written data in Chinese, dating back to the beginning of the 7th century. The stelae of Khusho-Tsaydam contain precise information about the long-term preservation of the bodies of famous personalities among the Turks:

1) "in the year of Ram, on the 17th day ...", in our opinion on February 27th, 731, "... Kul-Tegin went to another world".

"On the 27th day of the 9th month...", in our opinion, November 2nd, 731, "... was buried with honors".

2) "in the year of Dog, on the 26th day of the 10th month...", in our opinion on November 26th, 734, "... bilge-Kagan died".

"In the year of Boar, on the 27th day of the 5th month...", in our opinion on June 24th, 735, "... was buried".

According to V.E. Voytov, "Kul-Tegin was buried 9 months later, and bilge-Kagan 7 months

after his death". As well as, he mentioned that the embalmed bodies were stored in a yurt, set on a high hill (Voytov, 1996: 109). The remains of a yurt-like structure were recorded in the first construction horizon of the Bozok settlement, dating back to the early Turkic time (VI-VII cc.) (Khabdulina M., Tleugabulov D., Orazbayeva Z., 2016: 63).

The temporary burial of the deceased among the Kazakh people

The Kazakhs, having previously wrapped the body of the deceased in a leather shroud, placed it in a yurt in the same way, where it was stored till the burial ceremony, or stored it in a cave, covering it with snow or stone. These rites should not be considered as funeral, since, according to Sharia, it is forbidden to dig up a buried body. It is allowed to rebury the deceased if his body has not been decomposed and preserved in good condition (Zhanaza ..., 2017: 110).

The Kazakh people usually buried the deceased on the third day after death. In some regions of Kazakhstan, this custom is still observed. According to the ancient beliefs, the soul of the deceased lives in the house on the first day after death and flies around it, on the second day the soul sits on the shanyrak and the soul flies to the Supreme Being on the third day (Toleubayev, 2015: 172). On particularly hot days, those who died in the morning were buried in the evening, and those who died in the afternoon were buried the next day (Altynsarin, 1994: 158-162).

In Islam religion, it is not required to delay the funeral, it is necessary to send out sad news after death and begin the funeral rites. The hadith of the prophet Muhammad says: "If any of you die, do not delay, hurry to lay the dead to rest." In another hadith: "there are five duties of a Muslim to his coreligionist: respond to the greeting; if he falls ill, inquire about his health; take part in the janazah (a funeral prayer); accept invitations; if he sneezes, wish him the blessings of Allah" (Janazah ..., 2017: 34).

The Kazakh people tried not to leave the bodies of batyrs who died at the hands of the enemy outside their country and buried them in their native land. One of these examples is reflected in the following lines, which describes how the remains of Arghynbai batyr were transported to his homeland:

... We arrived with a hero in the autumn.

It is a hard fate to tear the meat from my brother.

They washed and consecrated the bones and wrapped them in a leather shroud,

It has not been passed my way in vain (translated by the author) (Shokparuly, Darkembayuly, 2007).

Abdrakhman, a beloved son of the great Kazakh writer Abay Kunanbayev, who died in Almaty, was temporarily buried. – Maikan and Utegeldy put the body Abish (Abdrakhman- the author's note) to the bottom of the pit and carefully placed in a grave niche. –Amanat! – Amanat! - they said at the same time, and the people standing around, repeated in one voice: Amanat! Amanat! Later, his body was transported and buried in Shingystau. (Auezov b/d: 248).

The authors' work "Nauryz: renewed customs and traditions" mention the methods, applied by the Kazakh people for long-term body preservation with the use of honey, juniper and placing the body in a leather shroud. After all the measures were taken for the body preservation, the body could be placed on a high wooden structure in a yurt or stretched between two nearby trees, being wrapped in a leather shroud.

The foreign travelers who could not correctly perceive the local rites, traditions and creeds, made fallacious interpretations of the above-mentioned customs of the body preservation. One of them is the Englishman Jenkinson, who plotted Kazakhstan on his map and depicted people, hanging on the trees. Drawing the bodies, hanging on the trees, he incorrectly tried to give a wrong idea about an offensive attitude to the deceased (Nauryz: zhangyrgan ... 1991: 122).

As well as the Kazakh people has another burial custom – placing the body in a crypt (sagana). Sagana is an underground structure, consisting of two rooms, one for men and the other for women. One of those who was placed in the Sagana is the Kazakh poet and thinker, religious figure M.Zh. Kopeyev. His body was preserved without mummification and washing the body with herbal remedies. He lived in the first half of the XXth century, was a deeply religious man, confessing Islam. During his lifetime, he prepared the burial place, performed a funeral prayer-janaza in advance and arranged a funeral repast "as" in his honor. After his death, his body was placed without clothing in special items, and despite this, it has not been underwent decomposition and preserved for forty years. There are many versions about this fact, and most of them like fictional legends; of course, they are valuable data, containing information



about the customs of preserving the body and burying the deceased.

There is a word "Koyu" in the Kazakh language that means "place" or "put", which refers to funerals. The historian L.A. Yamayeveva notes that there are such concepts in the Bashkir language too. In her article about the funeral customs of the Bashkir people before the adoption of Islam, she associated these concepts with the place of burial – "dakhma", which resembles the Kazakh "sagana" (Yamayeveva, 2015: 202-210). The similar burial sites are found in Zoroastrianism. The body was placed in an open area, after the meat was eaten by birds and animals; the bones were placed in an ossuary. (Sarianidi, 2010: 50).

If a person passed away in a foreign land and was not buried with honors, the relatives could dig up his bones in a few years, transport them to their homeland and rebury. Shakarim Kudaiberdyuly – a famous Kazakh poet, writer, composer and philosopher was shot without trial and thrown into the water well, where his body laid about 30 years. Later, his son Akhat dug up his father's bones and buried them in his homeland. This example is also directly relevant to the topic under consideration (<https://e-history.kz/...4330>).

During the years of enemy attacks and wars, it was not always possible to deliver the body of the deceased, in such cases, it was allowed to separate the bone from the body, even a big toe, and bury this part in a native land. All the traditional funeral rites were observed during the burial of the body (Nauryz: zhangyrgan ... 1991: 123).

Among the burial grounds of the Saka epoch and monuments, belonging to the Hunno-Sarmatian period and the Turks, sometimes the cenotaphs are discovered. The construction of burial grounds of the Kazakh people – the monuments dedicated to the batyrs and heroes who died in battle, whose bodies were not buried at homeland, is directly related to the monuments-cenotaphs.

In some cases, when it was not possible to bring home the body of the dead hero, the Kazakhs erected monuments where they placed his clothing and items, used during his life.

There are names of localities, villages in place names, indicating a temporary burial in these areas. As an example, the village of Bylgary tabyt that means "leather coffin or shroud", is located in Terekty rural district of Kurchum district in East Kazakhstan. The bodies of Kazybek bi and Bogenbay batyr had been preserved before the

burial in Turkestan. The storage sites still serve as the tombstones.

Kazybek bi- "bi" (ruler) of the Younger Zhuz died in the suyunduk family tract at the foot of the Dalba mountain, in the Muryntal area of Bayanaul region. This area was called "the place of burial of Kazybek bi" (Argynbayev, 2005: 81). Bekbolat's son established a yurt in that place and observed the preservation of Kazybek bi's body for four months. After the beginning of warm days Bekbolat transported the body of his father to Turkestan and buried it in the mausoleum of Khoja Akhmed Yasawi (<http://e-history.kz...1013>).

Olzhabay batyr Tolybayuly-a courageous Kazakh warrior of the XVIIIth century, one of the leaders of the national liberation movement of the Kazakh people against the dzungarian invaders, a strong supporter of Abylai khan, a contemporary of Kazybek bi, was also temporarily laid to rest in the vicinity of the Yerementau Mountain and buried in Turkestan in the summer. This area is still called the place of Olzhabay's burial ("Olzhabaydyn soresi") ("Sharapatty Olzhabay", 2014: 142).

Anet Baba is the Kazakh bi, adviser to Tauke khan, passed away in the mountains of Karatau, in the area of Koshkarata. Kokenay batyr transported the bones of Anet Baba to Turkestan. Kokenay batyr removed the entrails from the body of Anet Baba and buried them in the area of Koshkarata, but the bones were preserved, and later transported to Turkestan and buried in the mausoleum of Khoja Akhmed Yasawi.

Mamay batyr died at the foot of Shyngystau, on the instructions of Kengirbai bi, the entrails were extracted from the body of the batyr and buried in the vicinity of the Horde and the bones were wrapped in a white shroud, transported to Turkestan and buried. Forty men transported the bones of the famous batyr to Turkestan with honors. The following year, the cattle were brought for sacrifice to Turkestan and a funeral repast "as" was held in honor of Mamay batyr (Zhanbolatuly 2004: 36, 37).

As previously noted, the Kazakh people tried to bury notable and respected people-khans, batyrs, biys-in the mausoleum of Khoja Akhmed Yasawi in the city of Turkestan. There you can notice the cult of ancestor worship. Khoja Akhmed Yasawi is the most revered Muslim Saint in Central Asia, and some people still visit the mausoleum up to now and ask for the patronage of the Saint. At the mausoleum Arystanbab - the teacher of

Khoja Ahmed Yasawi which was constructed by Tamerlan, there are hotels for overnight stay for those who come to ask Saint Arystanbab to realize their wishes.

The mausoleum of Khoja Akhmed Yasawi was a special burial place for the representatives of the society with a high social status. In the Saka society, there were similar burial places for the kings, chieftains, military leaders and other persons of high status among their tribesmen too. Some scientists call such places the pantheons of the ancient nomads. The pantheons were located in the areas where a river flowed nearby, the vast plains were stretched out or broad hills were located. Also, a very important role in choosing the location for the pantheons was given to the presence of materials necessary for the construction of a burial ground in the nearby territory. Most often, mountain or river stones, logs and turf were used.

The results of many studies lead to the conclusion that it was banned the construction of ordinary graves next to huge mounds. If they were found, despite their modest appearance, the deceased were buried with the items of wealth and abundance.

Baigetobe mound, built in honor of the most revered representative of the Saka tribes, is located at the beginning of the entire mound group and situated in the southernmost tip of the burial ground. A special reverence for the representatives of the ancestral aristocracy, reflected in the topography of burial grounds, we can see in other sites of the Saka-Scythian culture, for example, in Ulandryk, the graves of the heads of large families or ancestors were located at the beginning or in the middle of the mound chain, they were distinguished with large sizes (Kubarev 1987: 123). Researcher V.D. Kubarev very correctly points out that "...the funeral rite inevitably reflects the specific socio-economic conditions in which the deceased lived, so

the burial structures show to the last detail the real conditions and forms of life in which the ancient nomad existed" (Kubarev 1987). The layout of the burial ground repeats with a certain convention the order of placement of dwellings of a living persons. Among the Asian nomads, the yurt of the head of the village was usually placed on the downwind side, the young could not put their yurt ahead of the older ones (Vyatkin K. 1960: 182; Sorokin 1981: 30).

During the study of the burial grounds of Shilikty, Besoba, Kyrkyk-Oba, Karakemer and etc., we noticed that the presence of cult structures along with the burial constructions was an important condition for giving the place the status of sacred. Probably, the cattle were not pastured in the sacred burial places of the ancestors. It is possible that such pantheons were protected by the armed troops.

Summing up, we can say that the Kazakh people reverently treated aruakh (the spirit of the ancestor) from ancient times, did not lose respect for their ancestors. The early nomads-Saka tribes did not just bury the body, they dressed the deceased in the best funeral clothes and solemnly saw them off to the last journey. The tombs of impressive sizes were built and regularly were conducted memorial ceremonies in commemoration of the Saka kings and rulers. Undoubtedly, Islam has made changes in the funeral rites of the steppe population. However, the Kazakh people tried to keep the traditions unchanged that did not contradict the Sharia and some customs were changed and brought into line with the norms and teachings of Islam. The Kazakhs managed to unite two worlds and arranged funeral repast in order to live in peace and prosperity with the blessing of aruakh on the third, seventh, fortieth day, annual funeral repast "as" and sacrifices and at the same time, many traditions and customs included the saying of prayers from the Koran.

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ҚАЗАҚ ХАЛҚЫНДАҒЫ МӘЙІТТІ УАҚЫТША САҚТАУ ЖӘНЕ ЖӨНЕЛТУ ҒҰРПЫ: ЭТНОГРАФИЯЛЫҚ МАТЕРИАЛДАР НЕГІЗІНДЕ

Мақалада авторлар этнографиялық материалдар негізінде, археологиялық материалдармен сабақтастыра отырып көшпелілер қоғамында, оның ішінде қазақ халқында кездесетін «аманатқа қою» сияқты мәйітті уақытша сақтаудың жолдарын, себептерін, бұл ғұрыптың көшпелілер дүниетанымымен байланысын ашуға талаптанған және мәйітті жөнелту ғұрпына кеңінен тоқталды. Сонымен қатар, ерте көшпелілердің патшаларды ірі пантеондарға жерлеуі, қазақ халқының хандарын, би-шешендерін, батырларын Түркістандағы Қожа Ахмет Яссауи кесенесіне жерлеуінің, беделді тұлғаларды соңғы сапарына елге сауын айтып, жиналып салтанатпен шығарып салудың мәнін сабақтастыра ашып көрсеткен. Қазақ халқында кездесетін кейбір жағдайларда өлген адамның мәйіті болмаған кезде кенотафты жерлеу түрлеріне де тоқталған.

Түйін сөздер: дәстүр сабақтастығы, сақ пантеондары, қасиетті жерлер, мәйітті жерлеу, өлікті жөнелту, аманатқа қою, сөреге қою, сауын айту.

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ОБРЯД СОХРАНЕНИЯ И ЗАХОРОНЕНИЯ ТЕЛ УМЕРШИХ У КАЗАХСКОГО НАРОДА: НА ОСНОВЕ ЭТНОГРАФИЧЕСКИХ ДАННЫХ

В данной статье авторы на основе этнографических материалов попытались раскрыть способы, а также причины отложенных погребений «аманатқа қою» («захоронить временно»), и их связь с аспектами мировоззрения кочевых племен, в том числе казахского народа. Дали описание обряда похорон умершего. Рассмотрели в исторической взаимосвязи традиции погребения сакских царей в больших пантеонах, погребения казахских ханов, биев-правителей и батыров в мавзолее Ходжа Ахмета Яссауи, а также традицию распространения вести о смерти влиятельных людей. Кроме этого рассмотрели погребения без покойного (кенотаф), встречающиеся у казахского народа.

Ключевые слова: преемственность традиций, сакские пантеоны, сакральные земли, погребение тела, похороны умершего, отложенное погребение.