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## АНТРОПОЛОГИЯ / ANTHROPOLOGY


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## THE FUNERARY RITUAL IN THE MUSLIM BURIAL GROUND OF THE BOZOK SETTLEMENT

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**Abstract. Introduction.** The article is dedicated to the analysis of the Muslim funeral rite of the necropolis of the Bozok settlement. The monument is located on the territory of the Akmola region of the Tselinograd district near the city of Astana. It dates back to the VIII–XV centuries and represents residential, religious, industrial, defensive structures of different times. The medieval settlement of Bozok is the first cult monument of Northern Saryarka, which allows us to trace the identity of the Islamization of the deep steppe regions of the Eastern Desht-i Kypchak on specific archaeological material. *Goals and objectives.* The purpose of this study is to determine the types of Muslim burials of the necropolis of the Bozok settlement. The following questions were considered and answered during the study. What applies to the ground structures of Muslim graves? What traditions are typical for the funeral rite of the medieval population of Saryarka of the Golden Horde period? *Results.* A comparative analysis of the Muslim funeral rite of the Bozok necropolis has been carried out. Above-ground burial structures have been identified: mausoleums, mud-brick, soil enclosures – khazirs. Grave structures, which are typical for cemeteries of all Golden Horde cities, are singled out: linings, shoulders, wooden vaults, crypts made of mud bricks. According to the architecture and design of the burial structures, according to the things found in the grave pits, it can be argued that the Muslim necropolis of the Bozok settlement began to form at the end of the 13th – beginning of the 14th centuries. *Conclusions.* It is worth noting that orthodox Islam did not take root in the steppe zone of Desht-i Kypchak in the 13th–14th centuries. The population continued to bury both according to the rite of paganism and according to the requirements of the Sharia. Also pagan traditions are combined with some requirements of Islam.



**Keywords:** Saryarka, Desht-i Kypchak, Ulus Jochi, Muslim funeral rite, Bozok settlement, Golden Horde

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## БОЗОҚ ҚАЛАШЫҒЫНДАҒЫ МҰСЫЛМАН ҚОРЫМЫНЫҢ ЖЕРЛЕУ РӘСІМІ


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**Аңдатпа.** *Kipicne.* Мақала Бозоқ қалашығы қорымындағы мұсылман жерлеу ғұрпын талдауға арналған. Ескерткіш Ақмола облысы, Целиноград ауданы, Астана қаласының маңында орналасқан. Ол VIII–XV ғасырларға жатады және әртүрлі уақыттағы тұрғын үй, діни, өндірістік, қорғаныс құрылымдарынан тұрады. Ортағасырлық Бозоқ қалашығы – Солтүстік Сарыарқаның алғашқы көрнекті ескерткіші, бұл Шығыс Дешті Қыпшақтың далалық аймақтарының исламдануының сәйкестігін нақты археологиялық материалда байқауға мүмкіндік береді.

**Зерттеудің мақсаты және міндеттері.** Бұл зерттеудің мақсаты Бозоқ қалашығы қорымындағы мұсылман қорымдарының түрлерін анықтау. Зерттеу барысында келесі сұрақтар қарастырылып, оларға жауап берілді. Мұсылман қабірлерінің жер үсті құрылымдарына не жатады? Алтын Орда дәуіріндегі ортағасырлық Сарыарқа тұрғындарының жерлеу рәсіміне қандай дәстүрлер тән?

**Нәтижелер.** Бозоқ қорымындағы мұсылман жерлеу рәсіміне салыстырмалы талдау жүргізілді. Жер үсті жерлеу құрылыстары анықталды: кесенелер, топырақтан, қыш кірпіштен жасалған қоршаулар – хазирлер. Алтын Орданың барлық қалаларының қорымдарына тән жерлеу құрылымдары: лақат, иықбауы бар шұңқырлар, ағаш күмбезді жабындылар, қам кірпіштен жасалған сағана бөлектеледі. Жерлеу құрылыстарының архитектурасы мен құрылымы бойынша, табылған заттарға сәйкес Бозоқ қалашығының мұсылман қорымдары XIII ғасырдың соңы – XIV ғасырдың басында қалыптаса бастады деп айтуға болады. **Қорытынды.** Айта кетейік, дәстүрлі ислам XIII–XIV ғасырларда Дешті Қыпшақтың далалық аймағында жалғасын таппады. Халық тәңіршілдік ырымы бойынша да, шарият талаптары бойынша да жерлеуді жалғастырды. Сондай-ақ тәңіршілдік дәстүрлері исламның кейбір талаптарымен үйлеседі.

**Түйін сөздер:** Сарыарқа, Дешті Қыпшақ, Жошы Ұлысы, мұсылмандық жерлеу рәсімі, Бозоқ қалашығы, Алтын Орда


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## ПОГРЕБАЛЬНЫЙ ОБРЯД МУСУЛЬМАНСКОГО НЕКРОПОЛЯ ГОРОДИЩА БОЗОК

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**Аннотация.** *Введение.* Статья посвящена анализу мусульманского погребального обряда некрополя городища Бозок. Памятник находится на территории Акмолинской области Целиноградского района рядом с городом Астана. Датируется VIII–XV вв. и представляет разновременные жилые, культовые, производственные, оборонительные сооружения. Средневековое городище Бозок – первый культовый памятник Северной Сарыарки, позволяющий на конкретном археологическом материале проследить самобытность исламизации глубинных степных регионов Восточного Дешт-и Кыпчака. *Цель и задачи исследования.* Целью данного исследования является определение типов мусульманских погребений некрополя городища Бозок. Были рассмотрены и даны ответы на следующие вопросы. Что относится к наземным конструкциям мусульманских могил? Какие традиции характерны для погребального обряда средневекового населения Сарыарки эпохи Золотой Орды? *Результаты.* Проведен сравнительный анализ мусульманского погребального обряда некрополя Бозок. Выделены наземные погребальные конструкции: мавзолеи, сырцовые, грунтовые оградки – хазиры. Выделены могильные конструкции, которые характерны для кладбищ всех золотоордынских городов: подбои, заплечики, деревянные своды, склепы из сырцовых кирпичей. По архитектуре и конструкции погребальных сооружений, по вещам найденным, в могильных ямах, можно утверждать, что мусульманский некрополь городища Бозок начал формироваться в конце XIII – начале XIV вв. *Выводы.* Стоит отметить, что ортодоксальный ислам не прижился в степной зоне Дешт-и Кыпчака в XIII–XIV вв. Население продолжало хоронить как по обряду язычества, так и по требованиям шариата. А также языческие традиции совмещаются с некоторыми требованиями ислама.

**Ключевые слова:** Сарыарка, Дешт-и Кыпчак, Улус Джучи, мусульманский погребальный обряд, городище Бозок, Золотая Орда

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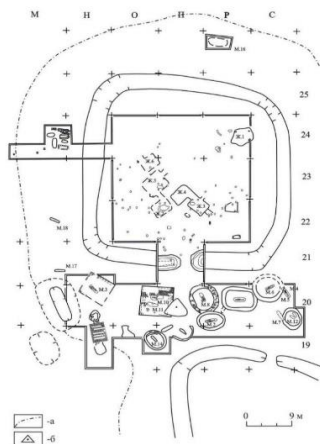
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## Introduction

The Bozok necropolis is the first medieval cult object of the steppe zone that makes it possible to trace the features and extent of Islamization of the deep steppe regions of the Eastern Desht-i Kypchak using specific archaeological material.

Early medieval objects of the settlement were abandoned by the XIII century, and a Muslim necropolis formed on their ruins. Here we excavated 5 mausoleums and 70 Muslim burials. Next to the two mausoleums built of burnt bricks, brick kilns were opened.

The Muslim burials of the Bozok necropolis are represented by graves with a ground structure and graves covered from above by a small earthen mound. Ground structures include the following: mausoleums, rectangular enclosures made of raw bricks, round and oval ditches, which are the remains of the foundations of some low fences that existed around the grave (Fig. 1).



*Fig. 1. Settlement of Bozok. Plan of excavations I-II.*

A – the borders of the shaft; b – bases of the triangulation tower  
(AF of the K. Akishev RIA, F. 2. In. 2. C. 1. L. 24.)

Islam is a religious system with a strong legal and ritual side. Islamic law – Sharia regulates all spheres of personal and public life. The funeral rite of a real Muslim is also described. Its text was preserved in the medieval code of laws "Al-Khidaya fil-furu" (XII) and is used by archaeologists in the classification of Muslim burials (Halikova, 1986: 44; Grigoriev and others, 2007: 129). The archaeological typology of the Muslim burials of the Ulus Jochi is based on the details of the rite, recorded in the design and maintenance of the burial pits, and the position of the burial (Halikova, 1986: 43–46). As noted, Sharia norms did not prescribe the construction of tomb structures, so their construction was not considered.

Among the set of requirements, the following can serve as archaeological indicators of the degree of Islamization. The position of the deceased facing the qibla with the body turning to the right side, or burial without things and clothes, only in a shroud. The religious norms did not recommend to cover the



deceased directly with earth. Therefore, the norms suggested constructions of gravel pits with a recess (lyakhad), recess of graves with bricks. The listed constructions of the graves, except for lining the walls with bricks, cannot be considered an innovation of Islam. These were characteristic of the pagan funeral rite from ancient times.

Compliance with all the canons of Islam is characteristic only for the cemeteries of large cities, in which the cadres of the Muslim clergy lived, exercising strict control over the implementation of all the rules of the rite. For regions far from metropolitan centers, such standardization is not typical. This also applies to the burials of the ancient settlement of Bozok (Habdulina and other, 2018: 22). Only half of the Muslim burials face south. Geographically, Mecca is located south-southwest of the steppes of Saryarka. In order to maintain the qibla principle, the burials must be oriented with their heads to the northwest. 30 burials out of 70 have this orientation. This direction is especially characteristic of the graves grouped next to mausoleum 3. This is clearly the late part of the Bozok necropolis. Judging by the anthropological material, the burials here date back to the period of the Kazakh Khanate. A more common Muslim sign turned out to be an indicator is as follows: there were no things in the burial. Things or ritual food in the form of bones of rams, skulls of horses are characteristics for only 8 burials out of 70.

### **Materials and methods**

The article is based on the archaeological material of the necropolis of the Bozok settlement, located on the southern outskirts of Astana. In 1998, the settlement was discovered by archaeologist K. Akishev, further study was continued by the K. Akishev Research Institute of Archeology under the leadership of M. Khabdulina. The methodological basis of the study was the collection and analysis of available expeditionary reports and bibliographic materials.

The main part of the finds was obtained during the archaeological expedition to the Bozok settlement. The method of archaeological stratigraphy was used in dating the ground burials of the Bozok necropolis. Some of them had the character of later, introductory burials in abandoned, ruined buildings of the previous period in the history of the Bozok settlement. In this case, the possibilities of the relative stratigraphy method were used. The study made an attempt to identify the indicators of the funeral rite of the local Kipchak and newcomer Mongolian ethnic group (Habdulina, Biljalova, 2017: 45). Through an archaeological source with the help of a retrospective method, the role and significance of Islam as a regulator of socio-cultural life and a source of sacred practice of the medieval population of Saryarka is shown.

The archaeological material was also subjected to the methods of statistical processing during the collection, systematization of burials and the analysis of the leading features of the burial rite.

### **Discussion**

*Mausoleums.* The erection of five mausoleums on the ruins of the Bozok settlement is quite interesting from the point of view of Islamization and testifies to the special spiritual status and sacredness of this space (Biljalova, 2021). Judging by the design, building material, the mausoleums were not built at the same time. The necropolis of the Bozok settlement formed over several centuries.

The early and elite part is the central inter-neighborhood platform, on which there are two mausoleums and graves with fences. According to the architecture and construction of burial structures, the first Muslim burials appeared here at the end of the XIII century. The use of the ruins of a settlement for a necropolis was a common practice in the Middle Ages. Thus, the connection of times and generations was maintained. The erection of mausoleums gave the surrounding space a special holiness, selectivity. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that orthodox Islam did not take root in the steppe zone of Desht-i Kypchak. Pagan traditions were combined with some of the requirements of Islam. All researchers of the Muslim necropolises of Ulus Jochi point to this fact (Mazhitov, Jaminov, 1990: 184; Vasil'ev, 1995:23; Vasil'ev, 2009).

Since the end of the XIII century the ruins of the ancient settlement of Bozok retained their attractiveness and became a sacred burial place for the elite of the Nura-Ishim region. On the abandoned ruins of the settlements, buried were performed both according to the rite of paganism and according to the requirements of Sharia. Both types of burials were made archaeologically at the same time, i.e. within the limits of the end of the XIII–XIV centuries.

The mausoleums occupy platforms dominant in height on the surface of swollen ramparts. Mausoleum No. 1 is located on the central highest platform of the monument, the dimensions of the base are 6.6x6.6 m. The walls are lined with square bricks in three rows. The width of the walls is 0.88 m. Bricks of the standard are 25x25x4.5–6 cm. The floor of the mausoleum is lined with the same bricks laid on clay filling 5–7 cm thick. Whole and fragmented bricks with carved ornaments and fragments of the ceramic top of the dome of the mausoleum with dark green glaze were found within the excavation of the mausoleum.

Inside the mausoleum, archaeologists discovered two grave pits with the remains of three burials. The graves were oriented along the west-east line. Judging by the stratigraphy, the mausoleum was built for grave No. 9, which was later destroyed by grave No. 10. Grave pit No. 9 originally contained a burial of an adult with three iron arrowheads. Arrows were found in the infill at various levels. Floor bricks covered the top of the grave. But its location seems to be somehow fixed. After some time, the grave was opened, the bones of the human skeleton were broken, some bear traces of burning, some of the bones were thrown away. Instead, a teenager was buried in the grave, but also with things. There were alchiks (dice) in their heads (Biljalova, Habdulina, 2020: 291).

Grave pit No. 11 is located 20 cm south of burial No. 10. This grave is the latest one in the mausoleum. The bricks of the floor were opened or cut through for its construction. At the bottom of the grave, archaeologists found the burial of an old man with his head to the west, and his face to the south. The burial was covered with bricks. A brick kiln was explored 7 m southwest of the mausoleum. There were carved bricks found in its filling along with slag and broken bricks. Consequently, bricks for the construction of mausoleum 1 were fired in this kiln, because this is the only mausoleum with carved terracotta found in the ruins. The time of construction of the mausoleum is determined by iron arrowheads, which date back to the XIII–XIV centuries.

Mausoleum No. 2 is located 6 meters west of Mausoleum No. 1. It is partially preserved. The line of the walls is uneven, apparently, the masonry was made without marking with twine, that is “by eye”. Brick was used in the masonry for the second time, i.e. even brick fragments were used at the base of the wall. The width of the walls is 0.8 m.

The mausoleum is square (5x5 m) or rectangular (6.5x5.0 m) in a plane oriented by the corners to the cardinal points. In the center of the mausoleum there was a grave oriented along the NW-SE line. At the bottom there was a burial of a woman of senile age. It was stretched out on her back, with her head oriented to the NW, and her face turned upwards. The secondary use of bricks in the masonry showed that mausoleum No. 2 was built later than mausoleum No. 1.

Mausoleum No. 3 is located 80 m south of the central city-forming sites of the monument. The mausoleum was opened by one excavation with a furnace. Its ruins also looked like a hill and contained introductory burials. Mausoleum No. 3 is almost diamond-shaped in plan, oriented to the cardinal points at the corners. The external dimensions of the mausoleum are 9x8.5 m. The walls of the mausoleum were built of baked bricks on a mortar of black silty soil. The width of the preserved walls is from 1.02 to 1.06 m. The standard square brick is 25x25x5 cm (Biljalova, Habdulina, 2020: 292).

An entrance is 0.8 m wide. It is fixed in the southwestern wall. In the center of the mausoleum there is the main grave pit (No. 5), at the southern corner there are three late grave pits (No. 6–8). The main grave has been robbed. By design, it looked like a crypt made of raw bricks. The long sides of the crypt formed a vault. The floor of the grave was lined with mud bricks. The depth of the grave pit is 1.3 m. At the bottom, the bones of an incomplete human skeleton were stacked in a neat pile: the bones of the forearm, shoulder blade and several ribs. It is possible that human bones found 5 m south of the

entrance were taken out of this grave.

Fragments of alabaster plaster found in the piles and heaps above the central burial No. 5 are of great interest. Apparently, plaster covered the tombstone of the central grave pit. Near the pit, archaeologists found small fragments of glazed bowls decorated with floral ornaments, outwardly brown and green glaze, and fragments of a ceramic top of the mausoleum with green glaze.

Mausoleums No. 4 and 5 are made of raw rectangular bricks. According to the construction technique, they belong to a later time, possibly XIV–XV centuries.

The mausoleums of the Bozok settlement are of the single-chamber type, square in plan. The walls were erected without a foundation, the thickness of the walls is 0.8–1.2 m. The walls of four mausoleums (except the first one) are uneven, their markings are made “by eye”. The mausoleums were built of burnt and raw bricks. They have south side entrances. Any data on the height and structure of the ceiling have not been preserved. It can be argued that the vaults of the brick mausoleums were crowned with ceramic tops – kubbs, covered with dark green and bright blue glaze. For firing the bricks of the first and third mausoleum, brick kilns were built nearby. Consequently, bricks, kubba and glaze were made from local raw materials (Habdulina, Biljalova, 2017: 48).

Among the cult monuments of the Bozok necropolis, mausoleum No. 1 is distinguished by the thoroughness of construction, the use of carved terracotta. It stands in the center of the inter-neighborhood area. Perhaps the mausoleum belongs to a special person who played a significant role in the spread of Islam in this region. And it is this mausoleum that the history of the Muslim necropolis of the Bozok settlement begins from. The man buried in it was accompanied by weapons and a horse bridle. For the construction of the mausoleum, a brick kiln was built, and located 7 m to the west. The fact that this site was the earliest is evidenced by several indirect data. Ground structures were located only here with ditches remained from their walls nowadays. The process of “settlement” of the site continued for a long period of time. This is evidenced by the facts of overlapping graves and their ground structures. Another argument in using the possible construction of mausoleum No. 1 at the end of the XIII century is the use of burnt bricks in the interior of the dwelling, in the lining of the walls of the sufa, in the design of the furnace. It is established that the dwellings were already abandoned by the end of the XIII century. Consequently, the brick mausoleum was already erected in the XIII century.

Researches excavated two brick furnaces next to the ruins of brick mausoleums. They had two stages with the combustion chamber below and the firing chamber above it. The combustion chamber is rectangular, 3.5x2.0 m in size, elongated along the northwest – southeast line. The furnace was built on the floor of a pit 1.5 m deep from the level of the ancient surface and was lined with raw silt bricks.

The combustion chamber had nine rows of brickwork to a height of 0.7 m. The furnace vault was cut into blowholes for the circulation of incandescent gases and their entry into the firing chamber. The width of the arches, separated by airholes is 25–26 cm, i.e. corresponds to the size of the brick. Lake vegetation served as fuel. Willow, common reed, marsh cattail, lake reeds are species that grow abundantly on Lake Buzukty in our time (except for willow). Armfuls of reeds were tied into fascines and served as excellent fuel.

The height of the firing chamber reaches 2.2 m from the floor to the vault. The entire height of the structure from the floor to the upper point of the ceiling (assuming that the thickness of the lattice ceiling of the furnace is 0.3 m, and the thickness of the arch of the firing chamber is 0.4 m) was equal to 3, 4 m. The furnace had to rise 2.2 m above the level of the ancient surface.

Apparently, the inter-neighborhood space was completed and raised in height for the mausoleum. All this suggests that the mausoleum belonged to a person who played a special role in the spread of Islam in the Nura-Ishim region. However, yielding to the traditions of the pagan rite, he was buried with things.

The barbaric attitude towards the remains of a person buried in the mausoleum is unclear. His bones were crushed, even burned and thrown out of the grave. A child was buried in its place, still not according to the requirements of Islam: with playing alchiks (dice). The same fate befell the main burial of



mausoleum No. 3. The human skeleton was thrown out of the crypt (Habdulina, 2010: 388).

The necropolis of the Bozok settlement was formed over several centuries. The early and elite part is the central inter-neighborhood platform with two mausoleums and graves with fences on it (Fig. 2). According to the architecture and construction of burial structures, the first Muslim burials appeared here at the end of the XIII century. The use of the ruins of a settlement for a necropolis was a frequent practice in the Middle Ages. Thus, the connection of times and generations was maintained. The erection of mausoleums gave the surrounding space a special holiness, selectivity. However, it must be emphasized that orthodox Islam did not take root in the steppe zone of Desht-i Kypchak. Pagan traditions were combined with some of the requirements of Islam. All researchers of the Muslim necropolises of Ulus Jochi noticed that.

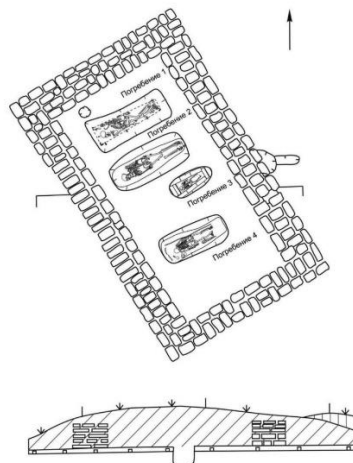


Fig. 2. Settlement of Bozok. Excavation IV. Plan and section of a raw fence.  
(AF of the K. Akishev RIA, F. 2. In. 2. C. 1. L. 25.)

At this stage of study, 5 mausoleums were excavated on the territory of the Bozok settlement: three ones made of baked bricks, two mausoleums made of mud bricks. Their walls are represented by broken bricks; the shape and construction of the ceilings have not been preserved. The mausoleums of the Bozok settlement are of the single-chamber type, square in plan. The walls are 0.8–1.2 m thick, erected without a foundation. All mausoleums have a floor lined with bricks or plastered with a thick layer of alabaster. The erection of tombstones over the central grave was registered only in two mausoleums (No. 2, 3). The entrance is from south side. Muslim burials are grouped around two brick mausoleums distinguished by elegant decor. Mausoleum No. 1 had a facade decorated with carved bricks (Habdulina, 2010: 389). The ceilings of the brick mausoleums were crowned with ceramic tops – kubbs, covered with dark green and bright blue glaze.

The graves in brick mausoleums were robbed, the bones of the buried were thrown away. Iron arrowheads and fragments of glazed ceramics were found in the mixed fillings of the grave pits. Arrowheads belong to the types common in the XIII–XIV centuries. According to the things found in the grave pits, it can be argued that the Muslim necropolis of the Bozok settlement began to form at the end of the XIII – beginning of the XIV centuries. The latest Muslim burials were made in the XV–XVI centuries.

*Ground burials.* Archaeologists discovered more than 70 soil burials at the Bozok settlement (Akishev, Kolbina, 2002: 36). According to the funeral rite, they are divided into two groups: the first ones (8) are pagan, with things, date back to the XIII–XIV centuries; the second ones are Muslim burials (70). There are burials with things and ritual food among them, but burials made according to the requirements of Islam predominate (Halikova, 1986: 44).

Muslim burials (70) are topographically localized in three places of the Bozok settlement: on the

central inter-neighborhood site (excavation I), on the western rampart of the northern neighborhood (excavation II) and near the ruins of a large mausoleum located 80 m south of the three city-forming neighborhoods (excavation III). Single children's burials (2) and one of an adult were found in the rampart on the eastern side of the northern neighborhood. Separately from all of them, a rectangular enclosure made of raw bricks was built. It contained 4 graves. The fence is located at excavation site IV next to the ruins of dugout dwellings.

*Khazira-fences.* Domeless memorials include graves surrounded by ditches. The outer dimensions of the ditches ranged from 4.5x3.7 to 7.5x5.3 m. The original construction of the ground part of these burial structures has not been preserved. It can be said that only the foundations of ground structures were recorded in the form of ditches 0.4–0.5 m wide, 0.2 to 0.67 m deep. The ditches were filled with fragments of baked and mud bricks, some of them contained a homogeneous silty soil, similar to a special filling.

The ground part of these structures probably had the form of fences, called *khazira* in the Muslim funeral rite. According to researchers, they appeared in the initial period of the formation of Muslim burial practices and belong to a special trend of Islam. Its supporters adhered to the ban on the construction of mausoleums (Maryksin, 2011). Fences (*khazirs*) have survived to this day among the Kazakhs in the form of tomb structures "tortkulak".

The fences of the settlement of Bozok are concentrated on the central inter-neighborhood platform. Apparently, it was from this platform that the formation of the Muslim necropolis began at the end of the XII – beginning of the XIV centuries.

According to the layout of the ground structures of the central site, it can be seen that the burial structures were attached for a long time. Some of them turned out to be blocked by later fences, therefore, their ground structures were no longer visible. Enclosed burials are made in accordance with the requirements of the Muslim rite and are characterized by a variety of intra-grave structures: recesses, ledges wooden rolls at the level of the day surface, gable arches of three rows of rectangular mud bricks in the bottom part of the grave.

A common feature is the turning of the face to the south, towards Mecca. At the same time, pagan traditions are preserved. Fragments of cloth from clothes were found in two burials, an incomplete skeleton of a sheep, a fragment of a cast-iron cauldron were found in one burial. As it is known, the formation of Muslim necropolises was often associated with the burial place of the "ancestor" or a special clergyman who did a lot to establish Islam and received the status of "saint".

Among the Muslim burials studied at the Bozok settlement, 4 burials were made in the undercut, the rest ones were made in narrow soil pits. Many of the pits are pear-shaped in cross-section; from above they were narrower, slit-like, expanding towards the bottom. Such pits are concentrated near the mausoleums at excavation 1 and at excavation III.

*Mausoleums crypts.* On the Golden Horde necropolises, along with ground memorial buildings, there are underground and semi-underground burial crypts structures. A crypt is any vaulted tomb, usually buried in the ground, often found in individual ground burials. Their design is different – from a false vault of bricks placed on the edge, to real vaulted ceilings of a semi-cylindrical or lancet outline in section.

A large number of monumental underground or semi-underground structures designed for collective burials are known. Their essence most accurately reflects the name "mausoleums crypts" (Zilivinskaja, 2014). During the excavations at the settlements of Sarayshyk and Zhaiyk in Western Kazakhstan archaeologists investigated domed mausoleums crypts. In the steppe Irtysh region, during the excavations of the Kalbasun tower, crypts near the village Kyzylenbek were also found (Smagulov, 2012: 26).

In the necropolis of the Bozok settlement, in four cases burials were found in brick crypts with vaulted ceilings. Two of them come from mausoleums. This is the central burial (No. 5) in the mausoleum No. 3. Its walls from bottom to top were lined with mud bricks and blocks. The bricks of the longitudinal

walls were laid with an overlap. The shape of the vaulted ceiling is fixed by imprints of bricks preserved on the western end wall. On the floor of the mausoleum above the pit, a semi-cylindrical tombstone of burnt bricks was erected. The tombstone is plastered with ganch (alabaster) and painted with a floral multicolored pattern.

Archaeologists managed to explore three crypts on the western rampart of the northern neighborhood. One of them is in the mausoleum No. 5. Two crypts were made in earth pits, located on the shaft, to the south of mausoleum No. 5. The pits with crypts are oriented latitudinally. A feature of raw crypts is the filling of the bottom with soil or covering with thin boards. Two adobe crypts are made of black silty bricks of approximately the same size: 37x24x8; 28.5x24x8.5; 39x25x9; 37x24x8.5 cm. In the end walls there are bricks of the following format: 25x20x15 cm; 38x20x8–9 cm. This is the standard of a small elbow, common for mud bricks in the construction practice of the Golden Horde era. The sizes of bricks could vary and depended on handicraft manufacturing conditions.

An interesting construction of the crypt was found in the pit on the southern corner of the rampart of the northern neighborhood (apartment 21/M). The entrance pit and the pit were lined with square burnt bricks. The recess is stepped, made in the southern wall. The southern and eastern walls of the entrance pit are lined with square bricks almost from above. The bottom of the entrance pit is lined with a horizontal layer of bricks. The second parallel row of horizontal bricks goes into the cavity of the recess and closes the burial from above. In order for the bricks not to crush the burial under the bricks, a lattice wooden ceiling was made. At one end, the perches rest on the bottom of the entrance pit, at the other end they are supported by fragments of bricks placed vertically along the southern wall of the recess. Thus, the mouth of the recess is covered with a vertical wall of square bricks, and the burial itself in the recess is additionally covered with horizontally laid bricks. In order to give the pose of turning to the right side, bricks were placed under the shoulder blades and the head of the buried. Burnt bricks, apparently, were taken from the ruins of the walls of Mausoleum No. 1. On top of the crypt there was a brick tombstone, with fragments of burnt bricks preserved.

All recesses of the settlement Bozok are arranged in the southern wall, they have a step at the transition to the bottom. The entrance pit was covered from above with a wooden ramp (2 cases) or a falsely vaulted ceiling made of baked bricks (type A2–2a). The construction of the recesses is typical of the Muslim funeral rite.

The north-western orientation of the dead predominates (26), followed by the western orientation (15), in five cases the orientation of the head to the west-southwest and once to the north and north-west were found. Both burials with a northern orientation sector are distinguished by the presence of ritual food. One of them was opened in mausoleum No. 5. Two horse skulls were placed at the head and on the legs. Chopped parts of the lower jaw, possibly from a horse, were found near the shoulder and between the legs. The second burial, oriented to the NNW, was discovered under an "mound" surrounded by a round ditch. An incomplete skeleton of a ram was found in the filling of a slit-like grave, covered from above with a wooden ramp, above the bottom of the pit. The ram's skull was oriented to the south. A fragment of an iron cauldron was found between the bones of the animal. Near the forearm of the human skeleton, a chopped half of the lower jaw of a sheep was found. Once again, such a detail was found in burial 4 of a family adobe enclosure, which, according to a bronze mirror, is dated to the second half of the XIV century.

Ritual food in the form of separate ram bones was recorded in two more cases. The vertebrae and two ribs of a ram were found among a pile of human bones in burial 4 (near the brick mausoleum No. 3 at excavation site III). This burial is similar to a reburial, as no traces of robbery were found. Throughout the pit had the same filling. The rib and shoulder blade of a ram were found at the bottom of the entrance pit of the cenotaph recess (burial 7 in mausoleum No. 3).

As to the hands position in Muslim burials, arms extended along the body predominate. The second place belong to arms bent at the elbows, hands are on the pelvic bones. Among 70 burials there are 13 children's burials. They are found in different places of the settlement of Bozok (Habdulina and others,



2018: 22). In five cases, the bones of infants, laid in a heap, were found: a skull and long bones nearby. Four teenage burials were accompanied by things: alchiks (dice), glass beads, an iron knife. One of them was a burial with a coin and an iron arrowhead.

In general, judging by the details of the funeral rite, one gets the impression that Muslim burials were left by a related group of the population. There are no significant differences within all burials.

## Results

All types of tomb structures, which are typical for urban necropolises of the Golden Horde time, are presented at the settlement. The distribution of mausoleums and the Muslimization of the population in the steppe zone, according to the data of the Southern Urals, dates back to the second half of the XIV century. When analyzing a large sample of barrow burials of the developed Middle Ages, pagan and Muslim burials were identified based on the details of the rite.

All researchers pay attention to the fact that strict adherence to the requirements of Islam in the burial practice of the population of the Ulus Jochi is not observed. Deviations relate to such rules of the canonical Muslim rite as burial without clothes and things, facing towards Mecca (qibla) with the body turning to the right side. The burials of people in clothes, with weapons and decorations were investigated even in the large Muslim centers of Central Asia, there are vessels in the mausoleum crypts. In the city necropolises of the Golden Horde in the mausoleums.

The most elitist territory of Muslim burials is the central inter-neighborhood area, specially filled and raised to a height of 2 m. On its surface (60x17 m) there are two brick mausoleums, 7 burial structures in the form of round and oval ditches, enclosing the space around the grave pits. The outer dimensions of the ditches range from 7.5x5.3 m to 4.5x3.7 m. The original structure of the ground part of these burial structures has not been identified. It can be said that only the foundations of ground structures in the form of ditches 0.4–0.5 m wide and 0.2 to 0.67 m deep have been found (Biljalova, 2022: 107).

The ditches were filled with fragments of baked and mud bricks, some of them contained a homogeneous silty soil, similar to a special filling. The filling of ditches indicates that they are the foundations of walls that towered above the ground. In this way, they are similar to mazars and to the type of Kazakh tomb structures common in Central Kazakhstan – “tortkulak”. Later designs have ditches with loose soddy soil. Low mounds were fixed inside two ditches. The shape and size of the ditches showed up during the cleaning of the upper level of the inter-neighborhood area (excavation 1).

In addition to burials that had an above ground part, 6 grave pits without enclosures were explored at this elite site (excavation 1). According to the mutual arrangement, it is clear that three oval-shaped buildings with ditches overlap the earlier burial structures.

The category of above-ground constructions of Muslim burials includes brick mausoleums and one rectangular adobe enclosure containing 4 earthen graves (family burial vault). Single grave mounds of Muslim burials in their location are grouped around the mausoleums.

Of the 70 Muslim burials of the settlement of Bozok, 25 were made in structures with a ground part. The rest are ground. Some of them had tombstones, which are fixed on the modern surface with a low relief, but their design, as a rule, has not been preserved.

## Conclusion

The necropolis of the Bozok settlement formed over several centuries. The early and elite part is the central inter-neighborhood platform, on which there are two mausoleums and graves with fences. According to the architecture and construction of burial structures, the first Muslim burials appear here at the end of the XIII century. The use of the ruins of a settlement for a necropolis was a frequent practice in the Middle Ages. Thus, the connection of times and generations was maintained. The erection of mausoleums gave the surrounding space a special holiness, selectivity. However, it must be emphasized that orthodox Islam did not take root in the steppe zone of Dasht-i Kypchak. Pagan traditions are combined with some of the requirements of Islam. All researchers of the Muslim necropolises of Ulus

Jochi noted this feature.

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## МАЗМҰНЫ

### ТЕОРИЯ ЖӘНЕ ӘДІСНАМА

<b>Нұртазина Н.Д., Аманжолова А.Қ.</b> МОҒОЛСТАН МЕН ТЕМІР МЕМЛЕКЕТТЕРІ ТАРИХЫ БОЙЫНША ЖАЗБА ДЕРЕКТЕРДЕГІ ДӘСТҮРЛІ ИСЛАМНЫҢ КӨРІНІСІ.....	646
<b>Саидов И.М.</b> ШАРУА ЫНТЫМАҚТАСТЫҚ САЯСАТЫ: ІЗДЕУ, СТРАТЕГИЯЛАР ЖӘНЕ ТАКТИКА.....	661

### ТАРИХ

<b>Асанова Г.К., Әділбектегі Г.Ә., Сайн Ә.Д.</b> ТӘУЕЛСІЗДІКТІҢ АЛҒАШҚЫ ЖЫЛЫНДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ ЭКОЛОГИЯЛЫҚ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕР.....	675
<b>Әдиет Қ.Б., Қалиев Ж.</b> XV–XVI ғғ. ҚАЗАҚ ХАНДЫҒЫ ЖӘНЕ МОҒОЛСТАН МЕМЛЕКЕТІ.....	692
<b>Гейноуз Дж., Беркінбаев О.У.</b> ӘБІЛПЕЙІЗ СҰЛТАН ЖӘНЕ ОНЫҢ ҰРПАҚТАРЫ.....	704
<b>Еришева Т.А., Қара Ә., Алпысбес М.А.</b> ТАРИХИ ЖАДЫ МӘСЕЛЕСІНІҢ ҚАЗАҚСТАНДА ЗЕРТТЕЛУІ: ТАРИХНАМАЛЫҚ ШОЛУ.....	725
<b>Жанқадамova Г.А., Оспанова Р.Р., Кариева Т.А.</b> ШЫҒЫС ҚАЗАҚСТАНҒА ҚОНЫСТАНҒАН «СЕНІМСІЗ ХАЛЫҚТАР» ОТАН ТАРИХЫН ЗЕРТТЕУ СЕГМЕНТІ РЕТІНДЕ.....	744
<b>Жылқышыбаева К.К.</b> ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ 1980–1990 ЖЫЛДАРДАҒЫ ТАРИХИ БІЛІМ БЕРУ.....	758
<b>Қаратаев Ә.Ә.</b> ШЕЖІРЕ БОЙЫНША ҰЛЫ ЖҮЗ ТАЙПАЛАРЫНЫҢ ШЫҒУЫ: ЖОШЫ ҰЛЫСЫ НЕМЕСЕ МОҒОЛСТАН?.....	772
<b>Марғұлан А.</b> XIII–XV ҒАСЫРЛАРДА АҚТӨБЕ-ЛАЕТИ АЛТЫН ОРДА ҚАЛАШЫҒЫНДА ҚЫШ ҰЛЫСТАРДЫ ЗЕРТТЕУ.....	790
<b>Сарсембина Қ.Қ., Қозыбаева М.М.</b> САЯСИ ҚУҒЫН-СҮРГІН ЖЫЛДАРЫНДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚСТАНДЫҚ ӘЙЕЛДЕР ТАҒДЫРЫ (1920–1950 ЖЖ.).....	802
<b>Тастекова Г.Б., Алпысбес М., Ураков Д.Ж.</b> МЫРЗАҒАЗЫ ЕСПОЛОВ – АЛАШ ҚАЙРАТКЕРІ.....	815
<b>Токишқадиров Б.Б., Бақытжанова А., Қайрат Д.Қ.</b> 1920–1930 ЖЫЛДАР ҚАСІРЕТІ: МОҢҒОЛИЯҒА КӨШКЕН ҚАЗАҚТАР ТАҒДЫРЫ.....	830
<b>Шалманова Ә.Б., Бекназаров Р.А.</b> МОҢҒОЛИЯДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚТАР: ЭТНОМӘДЕНИ, ДЕМОГРАФИЯЛЫҚ ЖӘНЕ ӘЛЕУМЕТТІК- ЭКОНОМИКАЛЫҚ ДАМУЫНА ЖАЛПЫ ШОЛУ.....	843

### АНТРОПОЛОГИЯ

<b>Біләлова Г., Хабдулина М.</b> БОЗОҚ ҚАЛАШЫҒЫНДАҒЫ МҰСЫЛМАН ҚОРЫМЫНЫҢ ЖЕРЛЕУ РӘСІМІ.....	856
<b>Иуксел Ф.А., Қаражігітова Ә.Е., Қасенәлі А.Е.</b> ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ АРХЕОЛОГИЯЛЫҚ ЗЕРТТЕУЛЕР: САН ЖӘНЕ САПА (2021 ЖЫЛҒЫ ДЕРЕКТЕР НЕГІЗІНДЕ).....	869
<b>Ярыгин С., Сакенов С.</b> БУРАБАЙДАН КЕЗДЕЙСОҚ ТАБЫЛҒАН ҚОЛА ДӘУІРІНІҢ ЖӘДІГЕРЛЕРІ.....	885



## СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

## ТЕОРИЯ И МЕТОДОЛОГИИ

Нургазина Н.Д., Аманжолова А.К.

ОТРАЖЕНИЕ ТРАДИЦИОННОГО ИСЛАМА В ПИСЬМЕННЫХ ИСТОЧНИКАХ ПО ИСТОРИИ МОГУЛИСТАНА И ГОСУДАРСТВА ТИМУРА.....646

Саидов И.М.

ПОЛИТИКА КООПЕРИРОВАНИЯ КРЕСТЬЯНСТВА: ПОИСК, СТРАТЕГИИ И ТАКТИКИ.....661

## ИСТОРИЯ

Асанова Г.К., Адильбектеги Г.А., Сайн Э.Д.

ПРОБЛЕМЫ ЭКОЛОГИИ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ В ПЕРВЫЕ ГОДЫ НЕЗАВИСИМОСТИ.....675

Адиет К.Б., Калиев Ж.

КАЗАХСКОЕ ХАНСТВО И МОГУЛИСТАН XV–XVI ВВ.....692

Гейноуз Дж., Беркинбаев О.У.

АБИЛПЕЙЗ СУЛТАН И ЕГО ПОТОМКИ.....704

Еришева Т.А., Кара А., Алпысбес М.

ИЗУЧЕНИЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ ПАМЯТИ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ: ИСТОРИОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ ОБЗОР.....725

Жанкадамова Г.А., Оспанова Р.Р., Кариева Т.А.

РАССЕЛЕННЫЕ В ВОСТОЧНОМ КАЗАХСТАНЕ «НЕБЛАГОНАДЕЖНЫЕ НАРОДЫ» КАК СЕГМЕНТ В ИЗУЧЕНИИ ОТЕЧЕСТВЕННОЙ ИСТОРИИ.....744

Жылкышыбаева К.К.

ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЕ ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ (1980–1990 ГГ.).....758

Каратаев А.А.

ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИЕ ПЛЕМЕН СТАРШЕГО ЖУЗА ПО ШЕЖИРЕ: УЛУС ДЖУЧИ ИЛИ МОГУЛИСТАН?.....772

Маргулан А.

ИЗУЧЕНИЕ ГОНЧАРНОЙ КЕРАМИКИ В ЗОЛОТООРДЫНСКОМ ГОРОДИЩЕ АКТОБЕ-ЛАЭТИ В XIII–XV ВЕКАХ.....790

Сарсембина К.К., Козыбаева М.М.

СУДЬБЫ КАЗАХСТАНСКИХ ЖЕНЩИН В ГОДЫ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ РЕПРЕССИЙ (1920–1950 ГГ.).....802

Тастекова Г.Б., Алпысбес М., Ураков Д.Ж.

МЫРЗАГАЗЫ ЕСПӨЛОВ – ДЕЯТЕЛЬ АЛАШ.....815

Токишкадилов Б.Б., Бакытжанова А., Кайрат Д.К.

ТРАГЕДИЯ 1920–1930-Х ГГ.: СУДЬБА КАЗАХОВ, ПЕРЕЕХАВШИХ В МОНГОЛИЮ.....830

Шалманова А.Б., Бекназаров Р.А.

КАЗАХИ В МОНГОЛИИ: ОБЩИЙ ОБЗОР ЭТНОКУЛЬТУРНОГО, ДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКОГО И СОЦИАЛЬНО-ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКОГО РАЗВИТИЯ.....843

## АНТРОПОЛОГИЯ

Билялова Г., Хабдулина М.

ПОГРЕБАЛЬНЫЙ ОБРЯД МУСУЛЬМАНСКОГО НЕКРОПОЛЯ ГОРОДИЩА БОЗОК.....856

Иуксел Ф.А., Каражигитова А.Е., Касенали А.Е.

АРХЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ: КОЛИЧЕСТВО И КАЧЕСТВО (НА ОСНОВЕ ДАННЫХ ЗА 2021 ГОДА).....869

Ярыгин С., Сакенов С.

СЛУЧАЙНЫЕ НАХОДКИ ЭПОХИ БРОНЗЫ ИЗ БУРАБАЯ.....885

## CONTENTS

## THEORY OF METHODOLOGY

**Nurtazina N.D., Amanzholova A.K.**

REFLECTION OF TRADITIONAL ISLAM IN WRITTEN SOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF MOGHULISTAN AND TIMUR'S STATE.....646

**Saidov I.M.**

POLICY OF COOPERATION OF THE PEASANTRY: SEARCH, STRATEGIES AND TACTICS.....661

## HISTORY

**Assanova G., Adilbektegi G., Sain E.**

ECOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN KAZAKHSTAN IN THE FIRST YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE.....675

**Adiyet K., Kaliev Zh.**

KAZAKH KHANATE AND MOGHOLISTAN (15th–16th CENTURIES).....692

**Gainous J., Berkinbaev O.U.**

ABILPEIZ SULTAN AND HIS DESCENDANTS.....704

**Yerisheva T., Kara A., Alpysbes M.**

STUDYING OF THE HISTORICAL MEMORY PROBLEM IN KAZAKHSTAN: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW.....725

**Zhankadamova G.A. Ospanova R.R., Kariyeva T.A.**

"THE UNRELIABLE PEOPLES" DISPERSED IN EASTERN KAZAKHSTAN AS A SEGMENT IN THE STUDY OF DOMESTIC HISTORY.....744

**Zhylykshybayeva K.**

HISTORICAL EDUCATION IN KAZAKHSTAN IN 1980–1990.....758

**Karatayev A.A.**

ORIGIN OF THE TRIBES OF THE SENIOR ZHUZ ACCORDING TO SHEZHIRE: ULUS JUCHI OR MOGULISTAN?.....772

**Margulan A.**

THE STUDY OF POTTERY CERAMICS IN THE GOLDEN HORDE SETTLEMENT OF AKTOBE-LAETI IN THE XIII–XV CENTURIES.....790

**Sarsembina K.K., Kozybayeva M.M.**

THE FATE OF KAZAKHSTAN WOMEN DURING THE YEARS OF POLITICAL REPRESSIONS (1920–1950).....802

**Tastekova G.B., Alpysbes M.A., Urakov D.Zh.**

MYRZAGAZY ESPOLOV – ALASH ACTIVIS.....815

**Tokishkadirov B.B., Bakytzhanova A.B., Kairat D.K.**

TRAGEDY OF THE 1920–1930S: THE FATE OF THE KAZAKHS WHO MOVED TO MONGOLIA.....830

**Shalmanova A., Beknazarov R.**

KAZAKHS IN MONGOLIA: A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE ETHNOCULTURAL, DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.....843

## ANTHROPOLOGY

**Bilyalova G., Khabdulina M.**

THE FUNERARY RITUAL IN THE MUSLIM BURIAL GROUND OF THE BOZOK SETTLEMENT.....856

**Yuksel F.A., Karazhigitova A., Kassenali A.**

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN KAZAKHSTAN: QUANTITY AND QUALITY (ACCORDING TO THE DATA OF 2021).....869

**Yarygin S., Sakenov S.**

CHANCE FINDS OF THE BRONZE AGE FROM BURABAY.....885

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