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The Muslim cemetery «Karaotkel» as the sacred geography object of Nur-Sultan

Abstract. In 2016, the patriotic act «Mangilik El» was implemented, and also in 2017, for the specification of this ideological message by profile nationwide programs, which include the creation of a specialized research center «Sacral Kazakhstan», research and analytical activity began to understand and the definition of objects that could meet the requirements in the nomination - to be sacred objects.

The research center «Sacral Kazakhstan», which belongs to state research institutions, has developed lists of sacred objects, which include cultural and historical places of Kazakhstan sanctuary of national and regional significance.

In January 2018, SRC «Sacral Kazakhstan» published the first series of books, where the objects were divided into two categories: «The Kazakhstan sacred objects of whole national importance» and «The Kazakhstan sacred objects of regional importance». In the first edition, the nationwide list included 185 objects, using the principle of equal representation from each region; 500 objects that did not pass this selection, but which were also nominated for the nationwide, were added to the regional list. These books are an invaluable information guide to the natural and historical monuments of the native land.

In this article, using the example of a nationwide sacred capital object, real practices of pilgrimage to the Muslim cemetery «Karaotkel» will be recorded, as well as schemes of analysis will be studied who is the memory actor of this cemetery, which is included in the list of sacred objects of the city of Astana / Nur- Sultan. This concept of analysis in the future can be approved in research on the dissertation work «The peculiarities of memory transnational routes: cultural geography of Northern Kazakhstan».

Keywords: Karaotkel cemetery; tombstones; shyrakshy (cemetery caretaker); auliye (saints); Kokbel (blue waist); sacred.

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Introduction

In 2017, as part of the implementation of the program article «Course towards the future: modernization of Kazakhstan's identity» [1], the

research center «Sacral Kazakhstan» was created. In 2018, this center published the first books «The Kazakhstan sacred objects of whole national importance» and «The Kazakhstan sacred objects of regional importance» [2], [3] and also created

an interactive online map according to the lists of sacred objects. Each region was represented in these editions and the map by certain objects.

Sacred objects of national importance mean «especially revered monuments of the natural landscape and cultural heritage, secular and cult architecture, mausoleums, as well as places associated with historical and political events that have the perfect sign of the national memory of Kazakhstan.» Within this category, there are five subgroups: especially revered monuments of natural heritage; archaeological sites and medieval urban centers; religious and cult objects of worship; sacred places related to historical figures; sacred places related to historical and political events [4].

The object under study were included in the subgroup - sacred places associated with historical figures.

Research methodology

The methodology used in writing the article. The primary collection of information is based on included observation and narrative analysis (collection of local stories from visitors to the cemetery). The narrative method is used in almost all areas of theoretical knowledge: in history, in cultural studies, in philosophy, in medicine, etc. The study of narrative texts helps to penetrate the experience of an individual and culture as a whole (individual representation of the world, the world concept of culture or its field reflected in texts, plot schemes, etc.). On the other hand, the use of the narrative method is to create stories with its help to convey ideas. The fact that people live their lives in no other way than history makes narrative an ideal means of social impact [5].

Discussion

From foreign scientists, the area of the cult of saints can be found in me. Goldziher, a Hungarian orientalist, who, that the cult of saints, was an important process in the religious life of Muslims, developed in Islam under the influence of ancient polytheistic customs, which had their small local deities, in a narrow circle of admirers ... Based on

significant material, the scientist proved that the cult of saints was a convenient way to penetrate the beliefs and worship of other religions into Islam, “it became a kind of capsule, under which the remaining remnants of overcome religions could be preserved inside Islam” [6].

Russian historian-ethnologist, E.I. Larina writes about religious philosophy and religious landscape in Islam in the territory of Kazakhstan. She noted that it is difficult to imagine without sacralization of spaces, which include places of veneration for saints (auliye); mosques; natural landscape: holy keys, mothers, caves, mountain ranges, and ritual practices around places of worship. Contrary to the prohibitions of classical Islam, spiritual and ritual practices are widespread in Islamic civilization and have a strong connection with the national unity of the Kazakhs [7].

The study of holy places is carried out in the context of religious and sacred geography. The main issue of sacred geography is the interaction between the physical and spiritual worlds. These two worlds are in contact in specific places, the spiritual divine forces become even closer and can serve to protect worldly prosperity or help in salvation. In such places, the spiritual can be true, tangible, and realized in a person, the focus of space or an object, making this space, object, person sacred. The acceptance of this concept forms the basis of the practice of pilgrimage. Questions on geography and religion were insignificant until the end of the 60s of the 20th century, therefore, many studies in sacred geography fell on the past decades. The second branch of research into sacred spaces was formed in the era of the phenomenology of religion. Namely, the ideas of the phenomenologist of religion M. Eliade have become theoretical and methodological frames for the study of sacred space [8]. The scientist introduced the distinction between sacred and profane (devoid of holiness) space, identified the principles of the formation of sacred space. The spaces where pilgrimages take place are precisely such sacred places. These places play a big role in the life of certain people and nations in general.

Ethnographer V.L. Ogudin, exploring geographic places, identified 6 functions of

objects highly respected by the population: 1) consolidating function - a cult object acts as a conditional center of a certain territory and connects clan societies inhabiting there, as well as religious groups; 2) mediator function - a cult object is an intermediary between a person and the divine, in the spiritual picture of the world; 3) communicative function - when a cult object is the center of public life; 4) protective function - the object or the powers behind it, protect people living in a certain place or constituting a certain social group; 5) healing function - the object promotes healing; 6) nature conservation function - the object helps to preserve and enhance the world of flora and fauna in the surrounding area [9].

One of the important directions in the study of objects of pilgrimage is the hierotopic concept proposed by A.M. Lidov. Hierotopy as a type of life activity is deeply embedded in human nature, at the stage of understanding oneself as a spiritually enlightened being, first unconsciously, then consciously forms a certain environment of its relationship with the upper world through fine art, material things, prayer, a palette of colors and aromas, rituals. Consequently, the hierotopic

concept is the formation of holy places, as well as a separate area of historical studies, in which many sacred spaces are considered [10].

In Kazakhstan, various issues of religious identity and, accordingly, the specifics of holy places were dealt with by the orientalist-religious scholar Ashirbek Muminov, who developed a detailed classification/typology of mazars in South Kazakhstan and Central Asia [11]; Raushan Mustafina, who distinguishes seven categories of holy places in South Kazakhstan in the context of everyday Islam [12]. But the position of the staff of the center was such that there would be no dominance of one research version in the understanding of the sacred.

The name of the cemetery is "kara otkel" which is translated from Kazakh as a "black ford", a "significant crossing", a "big crossing". Let's turn to the history of the name «kara otkel»:

In discussions about this toponym B.Kh. Khussainov, historian, ethnographer, notes that there were four large caravan routes in the north of Kazakhstan. In discussions about this toponym B.Kh. Khussainov, historian, ethnographer, notes that there were four large caravan routes in the north of Kazakhstan. One of these routes began



Picture 1. Photos from the book: «The City on Ishim» Dubitsky A.F.

from the city of Kyzylzhar (now Petropavlovsk) and passed through the Akmola district, then crossing Ulytau, reaching Bukhara and Tashkent. According to Khussainov, this caravan route was called the «Khan's way» and was one of the branches of the ancient roads of the «Silk Road». According to his research, the vicinity of Karaotkel was an important point on the “Khan Zholy” (Khan's path) [13].

He argues this with a reference to the «Kniga bolshomu cherteju». These sources were taken from the travels of the Tsarist-Russian ambassadors in Central Asia Velyamin Stepanov, Fyodor Skibin and Matvey Troshkin, where information about the Ishim region and Karaotkel was presented. They left Tobol and went to the embassy of the Khan of the Kazakh horde Tauke. During the trip the first information about the Ishim region and Karaotkel can be found in the ancient book which was mentioned above [13].

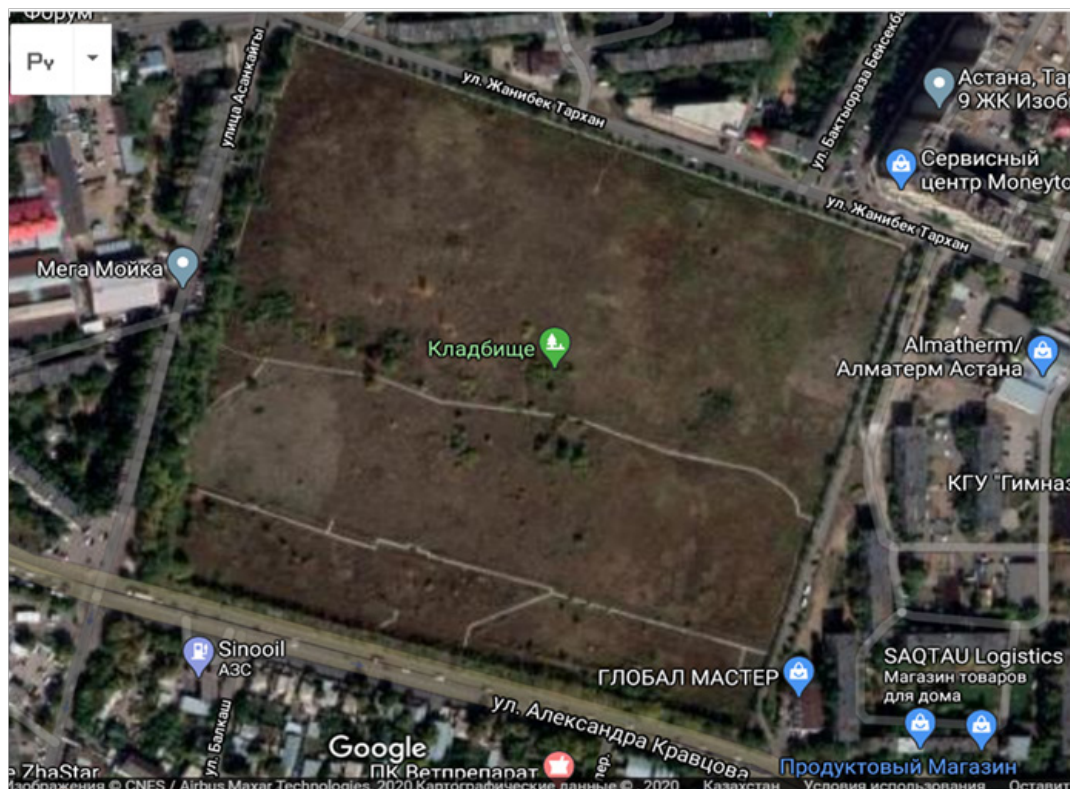
The mention of Karaotkel as an important point of the caravan routes through which the trade of Russia with the lands of Central Kazakhstan passed is also found in the works of

the Akmola and Tselinograd regional historian A.F. Dubitsky [14].

Thus, the object under study, the Muslim cemetery Karaotkel, has the name of this area before the construction of the Akmola fortress began here.

This cemetery is the oldest burial site in the city. The very first tombstone dates back to 1609, and the last burials in 1962, by that time there were already 10 thousand graves in the cemetery. The total area of the cemetery is 17,125 sq. m. The burials are expressed by kulpytas (small hills and tombstones) [15]. However, during the entire period of the capital, the cemetery was closed from the city, it was surrounded by a blank fence, and if there were rapid changes in another part of the city, then this territory turned out to be like a time capsule for us.

The entrance to the cemetery is located from the side of Assankaigy street, you need to go to the center of the cemetery to get to the entrance. This street is through, there is no special sidewalk; from the beginning to the end of this street there are large pipes. On the same street opposite the



Picture 2. Satellite view google map

cemetery, there are five-story buildings in the post-constructivist style.

The next part of the cemetery is located along Zhanibek Tarkhan Street, where there is a two-way carriageway, on the opposite side from the cemetery there are houses of both Soviet architecture and a new type of construction. This street intersects with Baktyoraz Beyssekbayev street; the cemetery ends with the intersection of the Tselinny micro-district. Five-story Soviet-era buildings are located along this micro-district; Alexander Kravtsov street closes the perimeter of the square of the cemetery. There is a sidewalk road and a two-way carriageway along this street. On the opposite side of the cemetery, there is a private sector; many houses from the time of the Otorvanovka district have been preserved there.

The cemetery is open every day from 9 am to 6 pm. Yerenbek kazhy (pilgrim) works as a shyrakshy (caretaker at the cemetery).

Already in Soviet times, the area of the Muslim cemetery was called Otoravnovka. This area has become the edge of the city of Tselinograd. According to the local residents, Otoravnovka covered the following streets: from the beginning of Valikhanov Street (former Avdeeva) to Takha Khusein Street (Asfaltovy Lane), and stretched further to Tashenova Street (Polevaya), Kravtsova Street covering the Muslim cemetery.

In the dictionary of the Russian argo, Otorvanovka means an area of the city, remote from the city center, in which a crime situation took place [16]. This name of the district was not only in our city, but throughout the Soviet Union, for example, in Moscow, in Aktobe, etc.

In the book «The City on Ishim» Dubitsky has the following mentions about Otorvanovka: August 1832 Akmola district order at that time was a village of several adobe and limestone barracks. The southern side of the village rested on the bank of the Ishim, in the west and north of it there were swamps overgrown with reeds and sedge, in the east there was a flat steppe. It was on the western side that a settlement was formed, which was called Otorvanovka [14].

According to the stories of the indigenous inhabitants of the city in 1960, the Soviet Government wanted to demolish the cemetery

for the construction of residential buildings, but the local population was not allowed to touch the burial place of their ancestors. Much later, during independent Kazakhstan, there was also the question of demolishing the cemetery, but then the people again defended the place of memory. Many said that plague and cholera were buried there, as a result of the cemetery it remained in its place. The cemetery has long been a gathering of drug addicts and homeless people; however, there was also a place for sports: in winter, skiers actively skied through the cemetery.

In 2012, a Russian philanthropist, businessman, a native of Akmolinsk Mikhail Gutseryev came to the cemetery to honor the memory of his ancestors. He also allocated funds for the construction of a fence, stone paths, video surveillance, and other works to improve the cemetery [17].

In September 2018, the youth club «Kenessary Khan Sarbazdary (warriors)» was founded by the Nur Otan party of the city of Nur-Sultan. The club includes activist guys, mostly students. To implement the «Rukhani Zhangyru» (Modernization of Kazakhstan's identity) program, the club is engaged in educational work, the main task is to transfer knowledge about Kazakh patriotism among the young population of the country, to read historical figures and events of our country. In the summer of 2019, the youth club «Kenessary Khan Sarbazdary» organized cleaning at the Karaotkel cemetery, where they helped to mow the grass and remove the garbage [18].

However, during our observations, we met Bakhyt - a resident of the city of Nur-Sultan, who is a permanent assistant to the cemetery. He comes here to help mow the grass, keeps order at the cemetery, knows the history of many graves; finds harmony and peace in the cemetery.

According to the research expertise of the Karaotkel cemetery, the main gravestones in the cemetery are kabyr tas (a type of tombstone); taktai (flagstone); belgi (sign); kulpytas (a type of tombstone). These tombstones contain Arabic inscriptions, but there are also Orthodox and Jewish burials, 2,169 graves. In a detailed study of some data, there may be about 10,000 burials [19].



Picture 3-8. The cemetery «Karaotkel» (Photo taken by G. Karbayeva)



Picture 10. Translation of the tombstone to the warriors of Khan Kenessary

Among the graves of the cemetery «Karaotkel» there are tombstones of the warriors of Kenessary Khan, who died during the capture of the Akmola fortress. Scientists have deciphered the inscription on the tombstone, where the names of 200 Sardars and 50 Yessauls of Kenessary Khan are engraved in Arabic script. There is also a «strech» with an explanation in Russian and Kazakh, which is written on the tombstone plate to the soldiers of Khan Kenessary [19].

1 zhol: Yerezhep aiynyn... /.../orazasy;
 2 zhol: 1838-inshi zhyl Sarmyrza;
 3 zhol: Sheih Berdibai Kaiyrolla/.../ kolynyn;
 4 zhol: /.../ Sarzhan uly;
 5 zhol: 50 zhasauyl Akmola;
 6 zhol: Khannyn uly torelер 200 sardar;
 7 zhol: Koshti Alla tagala arbir shahit;
 8 zhol: Kyrshyn zhasyn/.../

1 line: In the month of Rajab (erezhep) /... / on the days of (holly three days) fasting;
 2nd line: 1838 and Sarmyrza;
 3 line: for funds - Sheikh Berdibay Kaiyrolla /.../;
 4th line: /.../ son of Sarzhan;
 5 line: 50 yesauls in Akmola;
 6 line: (and) Khana great nobility (chosen) 200 military leaders;

Line 7: By the will of Allah Almighty, they prematurely left for another world, having died as shahids;

Line 8: Young at the dawn of years /.../

As we pointed out earlier, the shyarakshy of the cemetery is Yerenbek kazhy. He told us many stories about the cemetery. Many famous people of different centuries were buried in this cemetery, both Kazakhs and Tatars, Ingush, Chechens, and many other nationalities were buried. Sameke khan, the first khan of the middle zhuz (tribe), the son of Tuke khan, was buried here; the Koshygulov brothers (merchants, owners of a chocolate and spice factory), sheikhs, auliye (saints) and other noble people.

“The beloved woman of Baluan Sholak, Galiya khanum, was also buried here. One of the richest women in Akmolinsk, the mistress of the well-known kymyzkhan in these parts, which was located now in the famous part of the city - the congress hall”, - shyarakshi Yerenbek kazhy.

“In the city of Akmolinsk, in the Orthodox Church (when Soviet power came), soldiers shot two priests, and a Kazakh named Ibrahim found out about it ... since he could be punished (shot), he secretly buried the bodies of two priests at Muslim customs”, - from the story of Amankesh apa a cemetery visitor.



Picture 11-12. The grave of Kenessary Khan warriors (Photo taken by G.K. Karbayeva)

The burial place of Smagul Sadvokassov

From the memoirs of D.A. Kunayev about the mysterious death of S. Sadvokassov (his wife Yelezaveta-Zeinep Sadvakassova, in a girlhood Bokeikhanova, was convinced that her husband was killed by orders from above), since he was cremated in 1933, and not in 1930, and not in Razgulyaevka, but at the Donskoy cemetery. His ashes were there for 78 years until 2011. In 2011, professor, academician of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan D. Kamzabekuly organized the delivery of Smagul Sadvokassov's ashes to Astana for reburial at the Karaotkel cemetery [20].

History of the Orientalist – Arabist

In September 2011, an elderly woman asked for help at the Department of Oriental Studies of L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University. The head of the department introduced her as Ms. Zekenova Amankesh Rakhimzhanovna. The case was entrusted to a young specialist, Ms. Tutenova Dinara, who willingly got down to business. Amankesh-apa handed over a pack of printed A4 papers. Glancing at them, Dinara realized that they were stone tombstones, the inscriptions looked like Arabic script, but there were some Persian letters, as well as unknown letters that looked like a rune (a little later, the specialist realized that it was the Chagatai language). The print quality was poor, and the letters were erased in places. Amankesh-apa told her that she had been looking for her grandfather for several years (she did not say the exact data, most likely she was afraid that Dinara was young, inexperienced, and could make a mistake when reading the tombstone), every summer she flew in from Almaty, the grandfather was buried in the cemetery « Karaotkel »(in the Molodezhnyi microdistrict). The specialist said that she would not be able to read the printouts because of their poor quality. It was decided to go to the cemetery itself. Fortunately, the weather allowed, despite September, the weather was hot, there was not a cloud in the sky. Arriving, they first went to the shyrashy, did ablution, he read the suras from Koran, gave instructions on how

to go through the cemetery so as not to fall into one of the mass graves, then they went in search. Glancing around the cemetery, Dinara was seized by melancholy and despondency, she saw several thousand tombstones, a little later she learned that it was also multi-layered. Amankesh-apa said that she had been looking for her grandfather for several years and that this time she brought a clairvoyant from Karaganda, and he showed her an approximate burial place, they walked briskly in that direction, it was almost the end of the cemetery, when she came there, she saw several dozen graves at the alleged burial site.

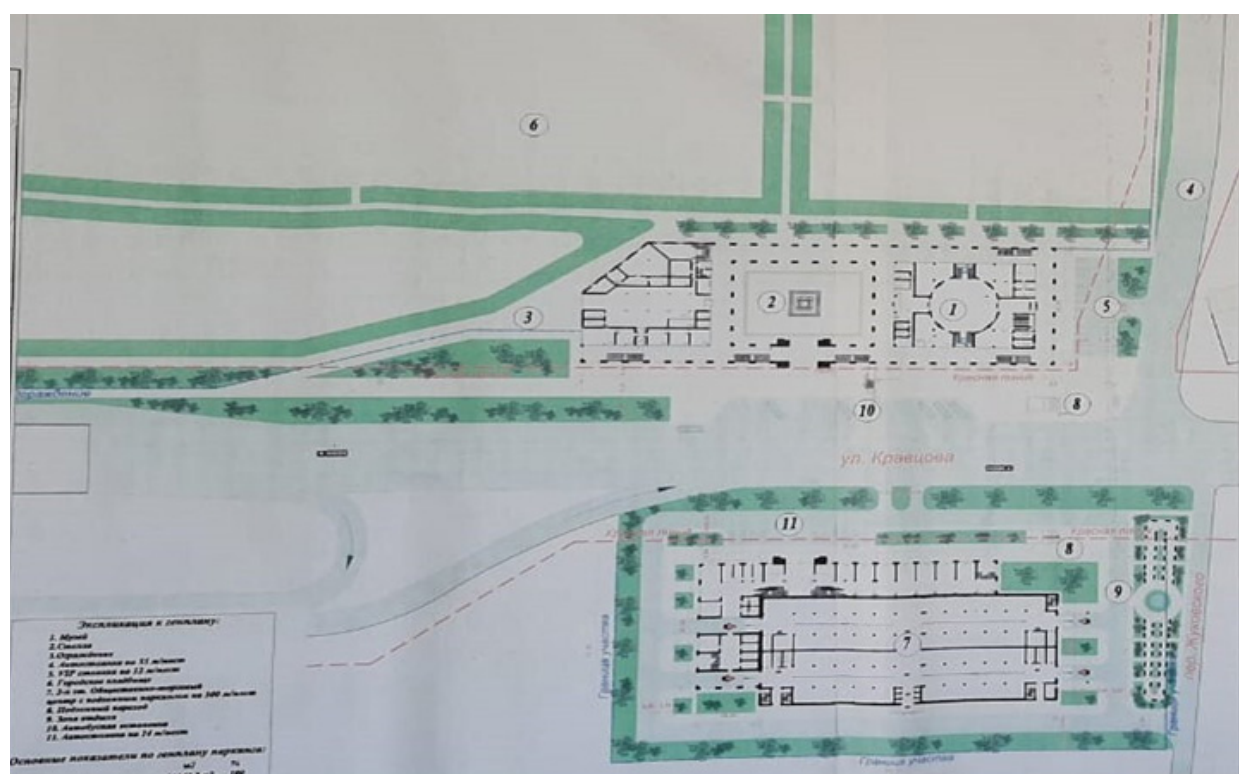
They had to start somewhere. Amankesh-apa settled down right on the grass behind Dinara, and she began to read, she read aloud everything in a row, about 5-6 tombstones, Amankesh-apa asked to read one of the tombstones again, and she read: “Ibizhan Bapakuly, Kosagaly volost” ... It turned out to be her grandfather's grave. Amankesh-apa told her grandfather's story. His name was Ibizhan Bapakuly, he was born in 1865, was a volost of the Kosagaly region, at the age of 49, i.e. in 1914, he was killed, but it happened like this, he and his coachman arrived at a meeting in one of the villages, during the meeting, his sleigh was coated with deadly poison, arriving home, they, together with the 19-year-old coachman Nurman, died of poisoning. Nurman was his nephew. By the way, Nurman's grave was discovered next to the grave of Ibizhan. Amankesh-apa attached the identification tape to the tombstone, and they went to the exit.



Picture 13. Grave of Amankesh apa grandfather (Photo taken by D. Tutenova)



Picture 14. General plan «Memorial complex «Kokbel»



Picture 15. General plan «Memorial complex «Kokbel»

About 1.5-2 months later, a call rang, it was Amankesh-apa. She said that on such and such a day, she would wait for Dinara at the entrance to the cemetery. Arriving, Dinara saw a large number of people, she was greeted, Amankesh apa told them that she was the one who found the burial place. After taking an ablution, they went to the grave, where they already ennobled

the place, raised the zirat for both Ibizhan and Nurman. Then, after reading the prayers, everyone went to the as (memorial dinner).

On one of our observation days, we met a man who is studying the history of the cemetery on his own. From a conversation with him, we learned that there is another name for the cemetery - «Kokbel», which in translation from the Kazakh

language means «blue belt». Earlier, before the foundation of the city, this cemetery was located on a hill on the outskirts of the town, which rose above the surrounding landscape, below was the Ishim River («salty gully»), which wrapped around this hill like a belt. The people called this place Kokbel.

At the cemetery, there is a «stretch» of the general plan of the future memorial complex «Kokbel». This memorial complex will be located on both sides of Kravtsova Street. Each object on the plan is numbered.

Results

In the period from February to June 2020, measurements were taken of the real practices of pilgrimage to the cemetery «Karaotkel» during the first quarantine in the second half of March - April, no observations were made.

Conclusion

During the entire observation period, the cemetery was visited by 21 people. For many people, visiting a cemetery meant a real practice of reading the Koran, on the graves of relatives or famous personalities.

From conversations with visitors, various reasons were indicated: some noted about the power of the sacred object, the fact that this place heals from diseases, gives strength, i.e. aruaktar (ancestors) bless for some kind of protection, such were about a third of the total number of respondents; for half, this needed to be the burial place of not only loved ones but also national heroes and honored cultural workers; in addition, one of the respondents had his scientific interest, he investigated the history of this object.

Now the cemetery is a sacred place of historical importance. The preservation of the historical memory of the cemetery forms the process of

Table 1. The observation diary. The «Karaotkel» cemetery

№	Date	Time	Plot
1	07.02	9:50 a.m.	An elderly man came to the grave of his mother, where he koran oqydy (read a prayer)
2	14.02	10:00 a.m.	The same old man came to the cemetery and read the Koran.
		1:00 p.m.	The young man came to read a prayer, he believes in the power of ancestors.
3	06.03.	10:30 a.m.	There were no visitors
4	13.03	10 a.m.	The same old man came to the cemetery to read the Koran.
5	16.05	11:00 a.m.	A middle-aged woman visited the grave of her father, the shyракshi read the Koran.
6	15.05	11:00 a.m.	An elderly woman came to the cemetery. The purpose of the visit is to believe in ancestors, to receive blessings from the Supreme God.
7	22.05	11:10 a.m.	There were no visitors
8	31.05	12:00 a.m.	On the day of memory of the victims of the Holodomor, Kazakhstan,
9	04.06	11:00 a.m. 1:00 p.m.	A group of 10 teachers from L.N. Gumilyov ENU, as well as 2 deputies, visited the cemetery, where the grave of S. Sadvokassov was visited.
10	11.06.	11:00 a.m.	The same woman who came to the cemetery, she often comes here. She believes that through the auliye (saints) who are buried here, the Supreme God will hear her prayers faster.
11	19.06.	12:00 a.m.	There were no visitors.
12	26.06.	11:00 a.m.	There were no visitors.

sacralization. According to our research, the main actors in the preservation of memory are the professional communities of historians, for whom this object was a «time capsule»; and for other actors, thanks to whom the cemetery became well-groomed, we are talking about Mikhail Gutseriyev, a Russian philanthropist, a representative of the Chechen-Ingush families, the place is to strengthen the memory of their ancestors.

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Нұр-Сұлтан қаласы киелі географиясының нысаны ретінде «Қараөткел» мұсылман зираты

Аңдатпа. 2016 жылы «Мәңгілік Ел» патриоттық актісі жүзеге асырылды, сондай-ақ 2017 жылы осы идеологиялық жолдауды бейіндік жалпы мемлекеттік бағдарламалар бойынша нақтылау мақсатында «Қасиетті Қазақстан» мамандандырылған ғылыми-зерттеу орталығын құру, ғылыми-зерттеу және талдау жұмыстары басталды, номинациядағы талаптарға сай келетін объектілерді түсіну және анықтау – киелі нысандар болу.

«Қасиетті Қазақстан» ғылыми-зерттеу орталығы Қазақстанның мемлекеттік ғылыми және зерттеу мекемелеріне жатады, бұл орталық киелі орындарының мәдени-тарихи орындары, республикалық және өңірлік маңызы бар қасиетті нысандардың тізімдерін әзірледі.

2018 жылы қаңтар айында «Қасиетті Қазақстан» ғылыми зерттеу орталығы кітаптардың бірінші сериясын басып шығарды, бұл нысандарды екі категорияға бөлінді: Қазақстанның «жалпыұлттық қасиетті нысандары» және «өңірлік қасиетті нысандары». Бірінші басылымда жалпыұлттық тізімге әр өңірден тең өкілдік принципін қолдана отырып, 185 нысан енгізілді; бұл іріктеуден өте алмаған, бірақ жалпы республикалық байқауға ұсынылған 500 нысан өңірлік тізімге қосылды. Кітаптарға енгізілген мәліметтер кез келген туған өлкесінің табиғи және тарихи ескерткіштерін зерттеуде құнды анықтамалық болып табылады.

Бұл мақалада жалпымемлекеттік киелі астананың үлгісін пайдалана отырып, «Қараөткел» мұсылман зиратына зиярат егудің нақты тәжірибелері жазылады, сонымен қатар осы зираттың естелік актері кім екенін талдау схемалары әзірленеді, сондай -ақ, Астана / Нұр-Сұлтан қаласының киелі нысандарының тізіміне енген осы зираттың естелік актері кім екенін талдау сызбалары әзірленетін болады. Бұл талдау тұжырымдамасын келешекте «Естелік трансұлттық маршруттарының ерекшеліктері: Солтүстік Қазақстанның мәдени географиясы» диссертациялық жұмысы бойынша зерттеулерде қолдануға болады.

Түйін сөздер: Қараөткел зираты; қабіртас; құлыптас; шырақшы (зираттың қараушысы); әулие (қасиетті тұлға); Көкбел; қасиетті.

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Мусульманское кладбище «Караоткель» как объект сакральной географии Нур-Султана

Аннотация. В 2016 году был реализован патриотический акт «Мәңгілік Ел», и также в 2017 году для спецификации этого идейного послания профильными общегосударственными программами, которые включают в себя создание специализированного научно-исследовательского центра «Сакральный Казахстан», началась научно – исследовательская и аналитическая активность по осмыслению и определению объектов, которые могли бы соответствовать требованиям в номинации – быть сакральными объектами.

Научно-исследовательский центр «Сакральный Казахстан», который относится к государственным исследовательским институциям, разработал списки сакральных объектов, куда вошли культурные и исторические места святынь Казахстана, общенационального и регионального значения.

В январе 2018 года, НИЦ «Сакральный Казахстан» выпустил первую серию книг, где объекты были разделены на две категории: «общенациональные сакральные объекты» и «региональные сакральные объекты» Казахстана. В первом издании, в общенациональный список вошли 185 объектов, при этом использовался принцип равномерного представительства от каждого региона; 500 объектов которые не прошли этот отбор, но которые также номинировались в общенациональный, были добавлены в региональный список. Данные книги служат бесценным информационным путеводителем по природным и историческим памятникам родной земли.

В этой статье, на примере общенационально - сакрального столичного объекта будут зафиксированы реальные практики почитания на мусульманское кладбище «Караоткель» (Қараөткел), а также бу-

дут проработаны схемы анализа, кто является актором памяти данного кладбища, которое вошло список сакральных объектов города Астаны/Нур-Султан. Данная концепция анализа в будущем может быть апробирована при исследованиях над диссертационной работой «Особенности транснациональных маршрутов памяти: культурная география Северного Казахстана».

Ключевые слова: кладбище Караоткел; надгробия; шырақшы (смотритель кладбища); аулие (святой); Кокбел (голубой пояс); сакральный.

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