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## THE ROLE OF WOMAN IN BIRTH RITUALS OF KAZAKH AND TURKISH PEOPLE

**Annotation:** This article delves into the captivating world of birth rituals in Kazakh culture, uncovering the rich tapestry of traditions, customs, and beliefs surrounding the sacred process of bringing new life into the world. Drawing upon ethnographic research, historical records, and interviews with Kazakh elders, this study aims to provide a comprehensive exploration of the significance and evolution of birth rituals within the Kazakh and Turkish community.

The article begins by setting the cultural context of Kazakh society, emphasizing the deeply rooted respect for family, community, and spiritual connection. It highlights the fundamental role of birth in perpetuating the Kazakh lineage and its influence on the social fabric of the community. Moreover, the article delves into the historical origins of these rituals, tracing their roots back to ancient nomadic traditions and the interplay between Islam and local animistic beliefs.

The subsequent sections of the article meticulously examine the diverse stages of birth rituals, commencing with preparations leading up to childbirth, followed by the actual delivery process, and concluding with postpartum practices. Each stage is scrutinized in terms of its symbolic significance, associated practices, and the roles of key individuals involved, such as midwives, elders, and family members.

**Key words:** woman, ritual, birth, customs, Turkish, Kazakh

**Introduction.** Giving birth is a profound and transformative experience, marking a significant milestone in a person's life. Across cultures and throughout history, rituals have played a vital role in welcoming new life into the world. These birth rituals serve various purposes, from providing support and comfort to the expectant mother, to ensuring the well-being of the newborn, and fostering a sense of

community and connection.

The concept of ritual originated as a formal term in the nineteenth century, aiming to identify a universally applicable category of human experiences. Scholars, such as myth-and-ritual theorists, initially employed rituals to explain the nature of 'religion.' Subsequently, social functionalists examined ritual actions and values to analyze 'society' and understand social phenomena. In more recent times, symbolic anthropologists have recognized the fundamental role of rituals in shaping 'culture.' The notion of ritual has transcended being a mere analytical tool, becoming essential in both defining the subject of analysis and the method employed, as observed from the works of W. Robertson Smith to Clifford Geertz.

Edward Shils argues that rituals and beliefs are interconnected yet distinct, as it is possible for someone to accept beliefs without engaging in the associated ritual activities. However, Shils concludes that while beliefs could exist without rituals, the reverse is not true, emphasizing the indispensability of rituals for their existence. Claude Levi-Strauss takes this idea further by differentiating between rituals and myths, which leads to a distinction between the realms of living and thinking [3,19].

Researching our rituals is important for cultural preservation, historical insights, psychological and sociological understanding, contemporary relevance, and personal and interpersonal growth. By studying rituals, we gain a deeper appreciation for our cultural heritage, expand our knowledge of human societies, and develop a greater understanding of ourselves and others.

**Methodology and research methods.** First, the responses of the people interviewed in this article were used. People aged 65-92 years living in Zhambyl district of Almaty region participated in the interview. As a result of the interviews with these people, the mentioned rituals were written down, comparing their history with the information provided by the researchers.

The study of rituals requires extensive work. First of all, it is worth looking at the books written by theorists such as Taylor and Claude Levy Brew on the mindset of the first humans. As for ritual itself, many traditions, rituals and superstitions of the Kazakh people are outdated and disappearing day by day. That is why ethnographic essays are so important. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the essays of ethnographers such as Zeland, Altynsarin, Ualikhanov and Potanin were widely respected and used. In addition, the works of scholars such as Argynbaev, Toleubaev, Stasevich, who studied the way of life, traditions and family characteristics of the Kazakh people, were reviewed.

**Discussion and observation.** There are several stages in a person's life that are considered important. These three important transitions are birth - marriage - death. They consist of many phases, and around each phase there are customs, beliefs, traditions and traditions that determine these phases and adapt to a particular culture [7,130].

Birth, the first of these phases, is always considered an auspicious phase of



humanity. Families with children, especially women, have always been more respected among Kazakh and Turkish people. Kazakhs say «a house with children is a bazaar, a house without children is a grave» and equate childlessness with a living dead. In other Turkic peoples, children were equated with wealth and happiness [13,143]. The birth of a child is the continuation of the generation. When there is a generation, the belief in the future will also grow. With the birth of a child, a woman's status in society also increases. Thus, a woman who gives birth to a child becomes not only a woman but a mother. In the Kazakh language, distinct lexemes are ascribed to females throughout their entire lifespans, reflecting their respective societal standings. Such as qyz, boijetken, bibi, jar, qalyñdyq, qūrby, qaryndas, sıñılı, äpke, täte, kelın, jeñge, jesır, kelnšek, qatyn, toqal, ana, bäibişe, ene, äje, kempır, qūdağı, qūdaşa, şeşe etc[19, 75].

The birth of a child can be divided into three phases, «prenatal, during the birth and posnatal» Each phase is special and important. Since one cannot exist without the other, these three phases, even though divided into three stages, are one process.

All rituals and traditions were performed by women. It is the woman who brings prosperity to the house, raises children and always thinks of the honor of the family. Marrying a girl, having a daughter-in-law, giving birth to a child, all this is considered the most important and beautiful moment in life. When Kazakh wishes or blesses, they wish to grow and prosper. Since the birth of a child is an important time both for the family and for society, it was important to perform various rituals. Therefore, the rituals that are performed in the first transition period of a person start from the desire of the family and are performed by certain people [7,132]. Among the Kazakhs, the rituals are mostly performed by women. Women play a special role in the rituals performed in the family from conception to birth and until a person reaches a certain age. The rituals that are followed to this day are deeply rooted. It is clear that both the language and the tradition change over time. Nevertheless, nothing changes radically; everything remains the same. As for rituals, they are an integral part of our tradition, and it is known that rituals have existed since the first writing of the Turkic name. The traditions that were inherent in the Turkic peoples before the arrival of Islam are still maintained, even if they are few. If we rely on the ancient Chinese data about the Turkic Khaganate, we see that there were shamans who performed various rituals, and these shamans were mostly women. This word 信巫 Xin wu is translated by many scholars as witchcraft beliefs. Scholars have translated the word 巫 as a dancer, a woman who performs rituals.

When the Byzantine ambassador Zemarchus arrived in the Western Turkic Khanate, he was greeted by special shamans who circled the fire, rang bells and beat the tympanum (drum). The locals believed that they would cleanse them of the demons that came with the guests [11,78]. Rituals took place during the whole life of a person. Over time, large, specific rituals were used in daily life. Rituals such as

putting a knife under the pillow to protect the child, tying a white cloth to protect the house from the devil, and hanging other things were performed. As we can see, people performed these rituals to protect themselves from various harmful magical forces. People also used different materials such as stone, metal, wood and animal parts to perform rituals. Even special trees were planted outside or inside the house for protection [2, 265]. From the writings of Pian del Carpine, who was an ambassador to the Mongol Empire, it is known that guests were first led through the fire and performed a ritual around the tree [4, 93].

#### Wishing a baby

Both the bride and the bride's family eagerly await the good news. The arrival of another little person in the family is very happy news. Therefore, family members get worried when there is no good news for a long time.

In the past, there were several reasons in people's minds for the inability to bear a child: 1) curses of other people sending evil, 2) the work of a demon, a fairy, the devil, 3) the wrath of a spirit, 4) the failure to observe a taboo, 5) the man's poor health or the woman's congenital infertility. [12, 40-41]. Many of the causes were associated with occult forces and various rituals were performed to get rid of them. Fire was believed to purify, so circling fire and removing it is widely practised. Even today, people who follow the old traditions, great-grandmothers, light matches, light candles and spin over the child's head. Taking a woman who cannot bear a child to the graves of her ancestors is also common in Kazakh society. «If the dead are not satisfied, the living will not be rich»,» they first of all go to the heads of their ancestors, saints, slaughter cattle and dedicate the Koran [10, 229]. If the daughter-in-law is unable to bear a child, an older woman or a mullah may perform a ritual called «dem salu». From the moment a girl becomes a bride, the main task of a daughter-in-law is to bring happiness to the family, make them prosperous and give birth to a child. After the bride entered the house, the first thing that was cooked and given to the bride was the abomasum (ultabar) of a slaughtered animal. As the name suggests, there was a ritual to find a son.

Informant Anarkul said, «There was no doctor then, Kazakh rituals were performed. Older women do a ritual «dem salu» when they blow. At that time, women wore underwear with strings. People who gave birth to many children would give away the string of their underwear, and brides would wear this string on their chest. Mullahs blow. Then a woman could give birth. After many years, they would get pregnant and give birth.»

Informant Bagdagul apa: Yes, there was such a superstition. When a bride gets pregnant and cannot bear a child for a long time, her mother-in-law or another close relative of her husband steals the clothes of a woman who has many children, takes them to her daughter-in-law and makes her wear them. But it has to be underwear. I have seen it with my own eyes and heard about it. A long time ago, my aunt stole a woman's underwear and gave it to her daughter-in-law. It's true, nowadays young

people do not wear other people's underwear. Then they drink leftover tea and soup. To their daughters-in-law, who drink the tea and soup left at the bottom of their grandmother's bowl. Then, when the elders have finished eating, the brides take the tabaq (large plate placed in the middle) in the middle, bow and take it for a blessing. Then the brides eat the food that is on the plate. They have to eat it. It is given to the daughters-in-law as a gift from your ancestors. I believe in it. It is sung to show the way of the grandmothers and grandfathers.

A childless woman has been excluded from the most important events of society. People who do not have children are said to have no hooves. Apa Salima: A childless woman, a widow whose husband returned early, does not bless, does not scatter candies (shashu). Childless women are not welcomed when the bride arrives and are not supported by the groom.

If they think it is related to their health, in most cases they think the cold has passed. In such a case, apart from rituals, they have practised healing.

Informant: «For example, my sister did not give birth for 5 years and then she kept saying that her back hurt. Then my mother would boil blackthorn salt, sit in a big bath, sweat and do the same ritual. Then she did the same by cracking the yellow egg on the oilcloth and sitting on it. It is important to keep warm, neither men nor women should be cold. It is said that this is caused by a cold. After performing this ritual, she gave birth to the child.»

When we investigated the researchers of Malatya district in Turkey and looked at the written works, we found that there are similar traditions to the rituals mentioned above. For example, a woman who is unable to bear a child is taken to various sacred places, such as the graves of famous people, springs and trees that are considered sacred. At the places visited, rituals such as praying, cradling the cradle, giving a specific name to the child in case of pregnancy and going to sleep are performed. If a woman cannot bear a child because of a cold, felt is heated or boiled and the woman sits on this felt. The felt expels the cold from the womb and she conceives a child [17].

When they are carrying a child and the first signs of pregnancy appear, they think of the safe birth of the child in the womb. During this time, the ritual was often performed by a woman when she felt unwell. First, the mother-in-law invited the women from the neighbourhood to the "qursaq shashu", to share with them their happiness. Only women usually are invited. Except "qursaq shashu" relatives and other close people call the pregnant woman to their house, they call it "jerik as". So they do it in the hope that woman would find a dish that would relieve her toxemia [6, 184]. There are several equivalents of the Turkish word to toxemia, «aşyerime», «aşerime», «aşeriyor», «yerik», «yerikli». In Kazakh it is "jerik". Among the Turkish people, it is a meritorious act to get food for a woman and help her as much as they can. In rural areas, people try to help each other as much as possible.

If a pregnant woman has "it jerik", in modern terms toxicosis, there is also a

ritual to treat it, and as the name suggests, the help of a dog is used for this:

Informant Sister Ultuar: If a pregnant woman cannot eat, there is a superstition. She took the food she gave the woman, and first brought it to the dog without showing it to her, after the dog smelling it give it to the woman. After eating, the toxicosis disappears.

A pregnant woman refrains from doing certain activities in order to give birth to a child who is physically and morally healthy and has the characteristics she wants and to prevent certain characteristics that she does not want in the child. The belief that people can prevent something by doing something or, conversely, by avoiding it is a remnant of ancient shamanism. With the adoption of Islam, Islamic elements were added to these customs.

Taboos play a special role in Kazakh upbringing, that's why today pregnant women follow taboos more than rituals:

Do not do crocheting or knitting, otherwise the baby will be wrapped around the navel.

You can't cut your hair; the child will be short-sighted.

Don't eat camel meat and camel milk products, they carry the baby like a camel for a long time.

After reading researches about Turkish, it is clear that there are a lot of prohibitions and actions that should be taken on the contrary. Those prohibitions are still followed by the vast majority of the population, because it is clear that a woman who gives birth to a child has a certain fear. That is why a pregnant woman tries to follow what she hears from adults as much as possible. Here are some examples of prohibitions:

«You can't lie to your parents; the child will become a liar»

«When a pregnant woman goes to the grave, she should not touch any part of her body, because there will be a big scar or spot on the child.»

«A pregnant woman should not eat the spleen, kidney, and head of aubergine, if she eats, she should not touch any part of her body»

«It is believed that one should not hear the sound of animals being slaughtered, otherwise the child's character will be naughty and bad»

«A pregnant woman should not look at a rabbit, if she does, her child's ears will look like those of a rabbit»

«A pregnant woman should not look at a turkey or a hedgehog, if she looks at it, the child's hair will stick out»

In the Kazakh people, when a woman is going to perform a ritual, she often begins with the following words: «Not my hand, but the hand of Domalak Ana, the hand of Bubi Batima», with this word, the performer of the ritual will increase their confidence, will be helped by mystical forces, and believe their work will be easy. The same words are said by a woman giving birth in the Turkish nation: «Elim Fatma/Fadime ananın eli olsun (may my hand be the hand of Mother Fatima). As we

know, Fatma is the mother of Prophet Muhammed, Kazakhs call her Batima. Before the advent of Islam, the Turkics used to say «Umay ana's hand».

The moment of birth

It was important that the head of the baby lying in the stomach was looking down when the birth was approaching. If the child comes with the legs or other sides, it will be difficult to give birth. First of all, the Kazakhs demanded that the woman move a lot so that the contractions would be easy and the baby's head would look down when the time was right. That is why it is necessary for a pregnant woman to continue doing her daily chores until she gives birth. However, in Turkish people, from the moment the bride found out she was pregnant, it was important for her to rest more and not work too much. Kazakhs not only interfere in the daily life of the house, but also perform a special ritual to make the child's head look down, it is called "oñ ba teris pa?" (right or wrong):

Informant Sister Ultuar: It is said that a woman who is about to give birth, or who is about to give birth, makes a "oñ ba teris pa?"; the purpose of this ritual is to turn the baby's head down. Two women stand on both sides, circle around and stroke the stomach and say "oñ ba teris pa?". At that time, the child's head looks down and is born quickly.

In order to make the contractions easier and faster, there was a ritual called «jarys qazan» and «tusti ma?». Argyntbaev also mentioned about this ritual, in his article about Kazakh medicine. When women hear that young woman went into labor, they start boiling meat or cooking something easy. Doing this ritual, they believe that woman will give birth before the meal will be ready.

Informant Sister Salima: The moment she was taken to give birth, the neighboring women gathered, lit a fire in the hearth, and started cooking in a cauldron. It is called «cauldron competition» and it is said that it is born before the food is cooked.

Informant Sister Bagdagul: "Jarys qazan" "a cauldron competition". If the cauldron boils first, if the baby will be born first, women immediately start cooking in the cauldron, whether they cook light food, roasts, or cook meat, so that it will cook faster.

Informant Kyrghyzbai ata: It was used to take the kelsap and make dye. A member of the family goes around the house, knocks the kelsap on the ground and shouts "Tusti ma?" («has it come?»), the woman giving birth says (Tusti) «it has come». The reason why it is said to have fallen is that at that time, women gave birth standing upright.

Sister Ultuar: The regular contractions called "myrza tolgak". Then, for example, if she is in labor now, at 4 o'clock, she will give birth when the cattle return, if she is in labor at night, she will give birth when the cattle go to the field. I still tell my daughters the same. To make the contractions easier, she would take a kelsap, hit the ground and make it fall.

If the time of birth is overdue, special rites were performed:

Sister Ultuar: If she runs out of time, she smells the camel's fur, she smells the camel's fur to see if she has drunk the camel's milk or eaten the meat.

If a woman giving birth was weak and tired, there was no medicine, there was no doctor in the village, so rituals were performed. Kazakhs believed in the spirit of the horse, which they consider sacred. Whips and knives were often used for rituals. However, in Zeland's essay, he wrote that a woman who could not give birth was put on a horse, a shaman was called, and the shaman beat him with a whip. How true can this be? People who care about the well-being of children and women cannot do such an act. Information from interviewees:

Informant old granny: But there is a woman in our village who is unable to give birth. Everyone is in a frenzy, they don't know what to do, they take the fainting woman to the front of the yurt. It was early in the morning, when my father was riding his horse, the stallion inside of him came to the woman who was struggling to give birth, smelled it, touched her head, and then the new woman regained consciousness and gave birth safely. There is such a thing as the devil.

Informant Kyrgyzbay ata: No, she did not ride that horse, no one did not take a horse to the woman. They brought a horse near the house where she was giving birth. Calling strong and powerful people, he whipped the nearby objects with a whip, saying «go away evil» and chased away the devils. Then the woman regained consciousness.

Informant Sister Anarkul beats the woman's side with a whip, saying: «Don't leave, don't leave.» Or they bring a man and breathe.

Albasty is a spirit that harms women during childbirth. They are also called jeztyrnak. Their leader is a sharel, three cubits tall, chest is small, all the rest are legs, hooves are thin. Muslims also call the name of the disease as a demon. She looks like a girl with loose hair, and her breasts are hanging down, so she carries them around her shoulders [15,182].

Turkish people also believe that that devils or albasty may touch to the newborn woman and child. They describe it as an ugly old woman with red hair, yellow hair, and nipples down to her knees. Sometimes it comes in the form of a young girl. In order to protect her, they did not leave the woman alone, give her red drinks, and put an iron in the room [5, 184].

Among the Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Uzbek communities, there exists a prevalent cultural belief in the protective properties of owl feathers and talons, particularly for the safeguarding of children, girls, and women against misfortune and malevolent influences. Traditionally, the Kyrgyz people would suspend an owl's feather or talons within the birthing room to facilitate a smoother childbirth experience. This practice extends to women facing infertility, who also place owl feathers within their living spaces with the hope of receiving benefits. Additionally, the tradition of affixing owl feathers to cradles is widely observed within the Kyrgyz and Kazakh

cultures [18, 75].

In Turkey, many superstitions are used to make labor easier for women. Of course, day by day, superstitions are being forgotten, their traces are preserved only in small towns and villages. Nowadays, almost everyone gives birth in a hospital rather than at home, so no one performs rituals and superstitions. However, the rites that are still performed or are remembered by the elders:

«When labor starts, go to the barn and feed the animal»

«If the hair of a woman who is going to give birth is braided, comb her hair», this superstition exists among Kazakhs, and it is known that midwives in hospitals still do it. In the past, Kazakhs untied not only hair, but also all the knots inside the house.

«Husband jumped over a woman with a heavy leg»

«In the house, locked room doors and trunks were opened»

«He shot a gun in the sky to chase away evil spirits»

Many other superstitions were created to facilitate childbirth.

**Results.** The examination of the birth rituals among Kazakh and Turkish communities reveals a profound and intricate interplay between cultural traditions and the pivotal role of women throughout the entire birthing process. Through an exploration of pre-pregnancy rites, pregnancy customs, childbirth ceremonies, and postpartum traditions, a number of key findings emerge:

Women are central figures in every stage of the birthing process, embodying cultural symbols of fertility, wisdom, and communal support; The rituals highlight the integral role of women in preserving and transmitting cultural values, reinforcing their position as cultural custodians; Birth rituals serve as powerful mechanisms for building and reinforcing community solidarity among women; Prayers, blessings, and symbolic acts underscore the profound connection between the birthing process and cultural spirituality; The study highlights the adaptability of birth rituals to changing societal dynamics, with women actively navigating the intersection between tradition and modernity; Traditional practices coexist with contemporary influences, showcasing the resilience and flexibility of these cultural traditions; The rituals contribute to a supportive environment that addresses physical, emotional, and spiritual aspects of postpartum recovery.

The results of this exploration underscore the multifaceted nature of birth rituals within Kazakh and Turkish communities, revealing the indispensable role of women in shaping and sustaining these cultural practices. The findings contribute to a deeper understanding of the cultural richness embedded in the birthing process and emphasize the need to recognize and preserve the vital role of women as cultural bearers and guardians.

**Conclusion.** In conclusion, the comparative analysis of the roles of women in birth rituals among the Kazakh and Turkish peoples reveals the profound significance of women in these culturally rich and diverse traditions. Through a lens

of cultural anthropology, we have explored the common themes and distinctive nuances that underscore the pivotal role women play in the birth ceremonies of these two groups. Women, as bearers of tradition, are integral to the continuity and transmission of these rituals, preserving cultural identities and fostering a sense of unity within their respective communities. This examination has shed light on the shared reverence for women as life givers and protectors of tradition, while also recognizing the unique variations that exist within each culture, influenced by their historical, geographical, and sociopolitical contexts. Further research and exploration in this area may yield even deeper insights into the evolving dynamics of women's roles in birth rituals, as these traditions continue to adapt and flourish in the contemporary world, bridging the past with the present.

Customs are very important for both Kazakh and Turkish people. However, with the change of times and the development of medicine, many rituals have been forgotten. Only old grandparents remember it. Nevertheless, it is clear that customs have become an integral part of our way of life. We perform each ritual with all our faith and enthusiasm. According to those who study modern psychology, everything starts with faith. Most of the mentioned traditions are still continuing. Our tradition is what preserves family values and unites relatives.

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## **ҚАЗАҚ ЖӘНЕ ТҮРІК ХАЛЫҚТАРЫНДА БОСАНУ РИТУАЛДАРЫ ЖӘНЕ ӘЙЕЛДІҢ РӨЛІ**

**Аңдатпа.** Бұл мақала әлемге жаңа өмірді әкелудің қасиетті процесіне қатысты дәстүрлердің, әдет-ғұрыптардың және наным-сенімдердің қыр сырын ашып, қазақ мәдениетіндегі босану рәсімдерінің әсерлі әлеміне тереңірек үңіледі. Этнографиялық зерттеулерге, тарихи деректерге және информанттармен сұхбаттарға сүйене отырып, бұл зерттеу қазақ және түрік

қауымдастығындағы туу рәсімдерінің маңызы мен эволюциясын жан-жақты зерттеуді көздейді.

Мақала қазақ қоғамының мәдени контекстін белгілеуден басталады, отбасына, қоғамға, рухани байланысқа деген терең тамырлы құрметті атап көрсетеді. Ол қазақ тектілігін мәңгілік етудегі туудың іргелі рөлін және оның қоғамның әлеуметтік құрылымына әсерін көрсетеді. Сонымен қатар, мақалада бұл салт-жоралардың тарихи бастауларына тереңірек үңіліп, олардың тамырын ежелгі көшпелілердің дәстүрлерінен және ислам мен жергілікті анимистік наным-сенімдердің өзара байланысынан сараланады. Босануға дейінгі дайындықтан бастап, нақты босану процесіне дейін және босанғаннан кейінгі тәжірибемен аяқталатын туу рәсімдерінің әртүрлі кезеңдерін мұқият қарастырады. Әрбір кезеңдегі әйел босануының символдық мәні, ақушерлер, ақсақалдар және отбасы мүшелері сияқты негізгі тұлғалардың рөлдері тұрғысынан қарастырылады.

**Түйін сөздер:** ритуалдар, әйел, туу, салт-дәстүр, түрік, қазақ.

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**РОЛЬ ЖЕНЩИНЫ В ОБРЯДАХ РОЖДЕНИЯ РЕБЕНКА У КАЗАХСКОГО И  
ТУРЕЦКОГО НАРОДОВ**

**Аннотация.** Данная статья погружает в мир ритуалов рождения в казахской культуре, раскрывая богатое разнообразие традиций, обычаев и верований, окружающих священный процесс принесения новой жизни в мир. Опираясь на этнографические исследования, исторические записи и интервью с казахскими старейшинами, данное исследование направлено на всестороннее исследование значения и эволюции ритуалов рождения в казахской и турецкой обществе.

Статья начинается с определения культурного контекста казахского общества, подчеркивается глубоко укоренившееся уважение к семье, сообществу и духовной связи. При этом особенно акцентируется внимание на фундаментальной роли рождения в сохранении казахского происхождения и его влияние на социальную структуру общества. Более того, статья углубляется в историческое происхождение этих ритуалов, прослеживая их корни

в древних традициях кочевого образа жизни и взаимопроникновении ислама и местных анимистических верований.

В последующих разделах статьи тщательно рассматриваются различные этапы родовых ритуалов, начиная с подготовки к родам, за которыми следует сам процесс родов, и заканчивая послеродовыми практиками. Каждый этап тщательно исследуется с точки зрения его символического значения, связанных с ним практик и роли ключевых лиц, участвующих в нем, таких как акушерки, старейшины и члены семьи.

**Ключевые слова:** ритуал, женщина, рождение, обычаи, турки, казахи

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