

ҚАЗАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫ
ҒЫЛЫМ ЖӘНЕ ЖОҒАРЫ БІЛІМ МИНИСТРАЛІГІ
ҒЫЛЫМ КОМИТЕТІ
Ш.Ш. УӘЛИХАНОВ АТЫНДАҒЫ ТАРИХ ЖӘНЕ ЭТНОЛОГИЯ ИНСТИТУТЫ



Asian journal "STEPPE PANORAMA"



2025. 12 (2)

ISSN 2710-3994

ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

Құрылтайшысы және баспагері: Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитеті Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

Ғылыми журнал Қазақстан Республикасы Инвестициялар және даму министрлігінің Байланыс, ақпараттандыру және ақпарат комитетінде 2025 ж. 5 сәуірде тіркелген. Тіркеу нөмірі № KZ91VPY00116246. Жылына 6 рет жарияланады (электронды нұсқада).

Журналда тарих ғылымының *келесі бағыттары* бойынша ғылыми жұмыстар жарияланады: тарих (дүниежүзі және Қазақстан тарихы), деректану және тарихнама, археология, этнология, антропология.

Жарияланым тілдері: қазақ, орыс, ағылшын.

Редакция мен баспаның мекен-жайы:

050010 Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28-үй

ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒК Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

Тел.: +7 (727) 261-67-19, +7 (727) 272-47-59

Журнал сайты: <https://edu.e-history.kz>

© Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы
Тарих және этнология институты 2025

© Авторлар ұжымы, 2025

БАС РЕДАКТОР

Қабылдинов Зиябек Ермұқанұлы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР ҰҒА академигі, ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒКШ.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының бас директоры. (Қазақстан)

РЕДАКЦИЯЛЫҚ АЛҚА

Аутрам Алан (Outram Alan) — археология ғылымдарының докторы, Эксетер университеті, тарих және археология кафедрасының профессоры. (Ұлыбритания)

Аширов Адхамжон Азимбаевич — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Өзбекстан Республикасы Ғылым академиясының Тарих институтының Этнология және антропология орталығының меңгерушісі. (Өзбекстан)

Әбіл Еркін Аманжолұлы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР БҒМ ҒК Мемлекет тарихы институтының директоры. (Қазақстан)

Әлімбай Нұрсан — тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, профессор, Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының бас ғылыми қызметкері. (Қазақстан)

Вернер Кунтһиа (Werner Cynthia) — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Техас университеті. (АҚШ).

Дайнер Александр (Diener Alexander) – тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор. Канзас университеті, (АҚШ)

Көксебаева Гүлжауһар Какенқызы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Абай атындағы Қазақ ұлттық педагогикалық университеті. (Қазақстан)

Кригер Виктор (Kriege Viktor) — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, Нюрнбергтегі Бавариялық немістер мәдени орталығының (BKDR) ғылыми қызметкері. (Германия)

Оайон Изабель (Ohayon Isabelle) — тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, профессор, CERCEC директорының орынбасары, Францияның Ұлттық ғылыми зерттеу орталығының (CNRS) қызметкері. (Франция)

Сабурова Татьяна — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Индиана университеті. (АҚШ)

Моррисон Александр (Morrison Alexander) — PhD, Оксфорд университетінің профессоры. (Ұлыбритания)

Муминов Ашірбек Құрбанұлы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Ислам тарихы, өнер және мәдениет ғылыми-зерттеу орталығының аға ғылыми қызметкері IRCICA – İslam Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi. (Түркия)

Римантас Желвис (Želvys Rimantas) — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Вильнюс педагогикалық университеті. (Литва)

Смағұлов Оразақ Смағұлұлы – тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР ҰҒА академигі, Балон ғылым академиясының корр.-мүшесі, Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы сыйлықтың лауреаты, ғылым мен техниканың еңбек сіңірген қайраткері, Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Еуразия ұлттық университетінің профессоры. (Қазақстан)

Таймағамбетов Жәкен Қожахметұлы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР ҰҒА академигі, ҚР Ұлттық музейі. (Қазақстан)

ЖАУАПТЫ РЕДАКТОР

Қаипбаева Айнагүл Толғанбайқызы — тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, қауымдастырылған профессор, Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының жетекші ғылыми қызметкері. (Қазақстан)

ҒЫЛЫМИ РЕДАКТОРЛАР

Қапаева Айжан Тоқанқызы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының Бас ғылыми қызметкері. (Қазақстан)

Қубеев Рустем Жаулыбайұлы — Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының ғылыми қызметкері. (Қазақстан)

ТЕХНИКАЛЫҚ ХАТШЫ

Копеева Сания Жуматайқызы — магистр, Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының қызметкері. (Қазақстан).

ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

Учредитель и издатель: РГП на ПХВ «Институт истории и этнологии им.Ч.Ч. Валиханова»
Комитета науки Министерства науки и высшего образования Республики Казахстан

Научный журнал зарегистрирован в Комитете связи, информатизации и информации
Министерства по инвестициям и развитию Республики Казахстан, свидетельство
о регистрации:

№ KZ91VPY00116246 от 03.04.2025 г. Публикуется 6 раз в год (в электронном формате).

В журнале публикуются научные работы *по следующим направлениям* исторической науки:
история (всемирная история и история Казахстана), источниковедение и историография,
археология, этнология, антропология.

Языки публикации: казахский, русский, английский.

Адрес редакции и издательства:

050010 Республика Казахстан, г. Алматы, ул. Шевченко, д. 28

РГП на ПХВ Институт истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова КН МНВО РК

Тел.: +7 (727) 261-67-19, +7 (727) 272-47-59

Сайт журнала: <https://edu.e-history.kz>

© Институт истории и этнологии
имени Ч.Ч. Валиханова, 2025
© Коллектив авторов, 2025

ГЛАВНЫЙ РЕДАКТОР

Кабульдинов Зиябек Ермуханович — доктор исторических наук, профессор, академик НАН РК, генеральный директор Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова КН МНВО РК. (Казахстан)

РЕДАКЦИОННАЯ КОЛЛЕГИЯ

Абиль Еркин Аманжолович — доктор исторических наук, профессор, директор Института истории государства КН МНВО РК. (Казахстан)

Алимбай Нурсан — кандидат исторических наук, профессор, главный научный сотрудник Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова. (Казахстан)

Аутрам Алан (Outram Alan) — доктор археологических наук, профессор департамента археологии и истории Университета Эксетера. (Великобритания)

Аширов Адхамжон Азимбаевич — доктор исторических наук, профессор, заведующий Центром этнологии и антропологии Института истории Академии наук Республики Узбекистан. (Узбекистан)

Вернер Синтия (Werner, Cynthia) — доктор исторических наук, профессор. Техасский университет. (США)

Дайнер Александр (Diener Alexander) — доктор исторических наук, профессор. Канзасский университет (США)

Исмагулов Оразак Исмагулович — доктор исторических наук, профессор, академик НАН РК, член-корр. Болонской академии наук, лауреат премии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова, заслуженный деятель науки и техники, профессор Евразийского национального университета имени Л.Н. Гумилева. (Казахстан)

Кокебаева Гульжаухар Какеновна — доктор исторических наук, профессор Казахского национального педагогического университета имени Абая. (Казахстан)

Кригер Виктор (Kriege Viktor) — доктор исторических наук, научный сотрудник Баварского культурного центра немцев (BKDR) в Нюрнберге. (Германия)

Моррисон Александр (Morrison Alexander) — PhD, профессор Оксфордского университета. (Великобритания)

Муминов Аширбек Курбанович — доктор исторических наук, профессор, старший научный сотрудник Исследовательского центра исламской истории, искусства и культуры. IRCICA – İslâm Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi. (Турция)

Оайон Изабель (Ohayon Isabelle) — кандидат исторических наук, профессор, заместитель директора CERCEC, сотрудник Национального центра научных исследований Франции (CNRS). (Франция)

Римантас Желвис (Želvys Rimantas) — доктор педагогических наук, профессор, Вильнюсский педагогический университет. (Литва)

Сабурова Татьяна — доктор исторических наук, профессор, Университет Индианы. (США)

Таймагамбетов Жакен Кожаметович — доктор исторических наук, профессор, академик НАН РК, Национальный музей РК. (Казахстан)

ОТВЕТСТВЕННЫЙ РЕДАКТОР

Каипбаева Айнагуль Толганбаевна — кандидат исторических наук, ведущий научный сотрудник Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова. (Казахстан)

НАУЧНЫЕ РЕДАКТОРЫ

Капаева Айжан Токановна — доктор исторических наук, профессор, главный научный сотрудник Института истории этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова. (Казахстан).

Кубеев Рустем Джаулыбайулы — научный сотрудник Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова. (Казахстан).

ТЕХНИЧЕСКИЙ СЕКРЕТАРЬ

Копеева Сания Жуматаевна — магистр, сотрудник Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова. (Казахстан).

ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

Founder and publisher: RSE on REM "Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology" of the Committee of Science of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan

The scientific journal is registered at the Committee for Communications, Informatization and Information of the Ministry for Investments and Development of the Republic of Kazakhstan, registration certificate: No. KZ91VPY00116246 dated 03.04.2025. The journal is published 6 times a year (in electronic format).

The journal publishes scientific works in the *following areas* of historical science: history (world history and history of Kazakhstan), source studies and historiography, archeology, ethnology, anthropology.

Publication languages: Kazakh, Russian, English.

Editorial and publisher address:

28 Shevchenko Str., 050010, Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan

RSE on REM Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology CS MSHE of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Tel.: +7 (727) 261-67-19, +7 (727) 272-47-59

Journal website: <https://edu.e-history.kz>

© Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute
of History and Ethnology, 2025
© Group of authors, 2025

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Kabuldinov Ziabek Ermukhanovich — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan, General Director of Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology SC MSHE RK. (Kazakhstan)

EDITORIAL BOARD

Abil Yerkin Amanzholovich — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Director of the Institute of History of the State CS MES RK. (Kazakhstan)

Alimbay Nursan — Candidate of Historical Sciences, Professor, Chief Researcher at the Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology. (Kazakhstan)

Azimqulov Javohir — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Head of the Center for Ethnology and Anthropology at the Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan. (Uzbekistan)

Diener Alexander — Doctor of Political Science, Professor, University of Kansas. (USA)

Ismagulov Orazak Ismagulovich — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Corresponding Member of Bologna Academy of Sciences, winner of Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Award, Honored Worker of Science and Technology, Professor of L.N. Gumilyov University. (Kazakhstan)

Kokebayeva Gulzhaukhar Kakenovna — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor at the Abai Kazakh National Pedagogical University. (Kazakhstan)

Kriege Viktor — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Researcher at the Bavarian Cultural Center of Germans (BKDR) in Nuremberg. (Germany)

Morrison Alexander — PhD, Professor, University of Oxford. (UK)

Muminov Ashirbek Kurbanovich — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Senior Researcher at the Research Center for Islamic History, Art and Culture. IRCICA (İslâm Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi). (Turkey)

Ohayon Isabelle — Candidate of Historical Sciences, Professor, Deputy Director of CERCEC, Researcher at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS). (France)

Outram Alan — Doctor of Archaeological Sciences, Professor in the Department of Archaeology and History at University of Exeter. (Britain)

Rimantas Želvys — Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences, Professor, Vilnius Pedagogical University. (Lithuania)

Saburova Tatiana — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Indiana University. (USA)

Taimagambetov Zhaken Kozhakhmetovich — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan, National Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan. (Kazakhstan)

Werner, Cynthia — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Texas university. (USA)

EXECUTIVE EDITOR

Kaipbayeva Ainagul Tolganbayevna — Candidate of Historical Sciences, leading researcher at Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology (Kazakhstan).

ACADEMIC EDITOR

Kapaeva Aizhan Tokanovna — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Chief Researcher at the Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology. (Kazakhstan)

Kubeyev Rustem Dzhaulybayuly — researcher at Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology. (Kazakhstan)

TECHNICAL SECRETARY

Kopeyeva Saniya Zhumataevna — Master's, researcher at Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology. (Kazakhstan)


ТАРИХ / ИСТОРИЯ / HISTORY


Published in the Republic of Kazakhstan
Asian Journal “Steppe Panorama”
Has been issued as a journal since 2014
ISSN 2710-3994.
Vol. 12. Is. 2, pp. 575-588, 2025
Journal homepage: <https://edu.e-history.kz>

FTAXP / MPHTI / IRSTI 03.20
https://doi.org/10.51943/2710-3994_2025_12_2_575-588

RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATION IN KAZAKH SOCIETY UNDER IMPERIAL MODERNIZATION

Mirzahan Sh. Egamberdiyev¹, Yerlan M. Turgunbayev²

¹Al-Farabi Kazakh National University
(95, Karasai Batyr Str., 050026 Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan)
Associate Professor (Docent)
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1022-0483>. E-mail: mirzahan.egamberdiyev@gmail.com

²Al-Farabi Kazakh National University
(71, Al-Farabi Ave., 050060 Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan)
Assistant Professor, Senior Lecturer
 <https://orcid.org/0009-0000-1448-6273>. E-mail: turgunbaev_63@mail.ru

© Ch.Ch. Valikhanov IHE, 2025
© Egamberdiyev M.Sh., Turgunbayev Ye.M., 2025

Abstract. *Introduction.* This article presents a historical and cultural analysis of religious transformation in Kazakh society during the period of imperial modernization in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The pre-revolutionary period is chosen deliberately, as it marks the beginning of systematic and targeted interference by the Russian Empire in the religious life of Turkic-Muslim peoples. Seeking to consolidate its control over colonized territories, the tsarist administration implemented a series of reforms aimed at the institutionalization of Islam, regulation of pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina, restriction of the Jadidist movement, and the subordination of Muslim clergy to state structures. The topic is relevant due to the need to rethink the mechanisms of Islamic adaptation under colonial pressure and its coexistence with pre-Islamic elements of traditional culture. *Goals and Objectives.* The goal of the study is to identify the specific features of the transformation of Muslim traditions in Kazakh society within the context of imperial religious policy. Objectives include analyzing the mechanisms of integrating Islamic norms into the nomadic way of life; interpreting traditional Islam as a form of localized religiosity; exploring the role of ethnoreligious institutions (Sufis, khojas, aulie) and sacred geography in preserving Islamic practices; and assessing the impact of administrative measures on Kazakh religious identity. The research is based on archival documents, works by pre-revolutionary and Soviet scholars, ethnographic observations, and materials from Russian, Kazakh, and Uzbek archives. The methodology includes historical and cultural analysis, elements of postcolonial theory, and a comparative approach to Islamic and pre-Islamic traditions. *Results.* The study shows that despite strict religious regulation by the imperial authorities, Islam persisted and transformed through the resilience of Sufi networks, the authority of local saints (aulie), the institutional role of khojas, and the functioning of sacred spaces as centers of spiritual resistance. *Conclusion.* Religious transformation in Kazakh society in the 19th and early 20th centuries reflected both the adaptation of Islamic institutions to colonial realities and a hidden resistance to imperial intrusion into the sacred realm.

Keywords: Kazakh society, Islam, religious transformation, imperial modernization, colonial policy, Sufism, sacred spaces, Jadidism, pilgrimage

For citation: Egamberdiyev M.Sh., Turgunbayev Ye.M. Religious transformation in Kazakh society under imperial modernization // Asian Journal “Steppe Panorama”. 2025. Vol. 12. No. 2. Pp. 575–588. (In Eng.). DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994_2025_12_2_575-588


ИМПЕРИЯЛЫҚ МОДЕРНИЗАЦИЯ ЖАҒДАЙЫНДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚ ҚОҒАМЫНДАҒЫ ДІНИ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ

Эгамбердиев Мырзахан Шарипбаевич¹, Тургунбаев Ерлан Мухаммеджанович²

¹Өл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті

(95-үй, Қарасай батыр көш., 050026 Алматы, Қазақстан Республикасы)

Т.ғ.к., қауымдастырылған профессор (доцент)

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1022-0483>. E-mail: mirzahan.egamberdiyev@gmail.com

²Өл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті

(71-үй, Өл-Фараби даңғ., 050060 Алматы, Қазақстан Республикасы)

Т.ғ.к., аға оқытушы

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0000-1448-6273>. E-mail: turgunbaev_63@mail.ru

© Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы ТЭИ, 2025

© Эгамбердиев М.Ш., Тургунбаев Е.М., 2025

Аңдатпа. *Kipicne.* Мақалада XIX–XX ғасырдың басындағы империялық модернизация жағдайында қазақ қоғамындағы діни трансформация тарихи-мәдени тұрғыдан талданады. Зерттеу кезеңі ретінде революцияға дейінгі уақыттың таңдалуы кездейсоқ емес. Себебі, дәл осы кезеңде Ресей империясы түркі-мұсылман халықтарының діни саласына жүйелі әрі мақсатты түрде араласа бастады. Патшалық әкімшілік отарланған аймақтардағы бақылауды күшейту мақсатында исламды институционализациялауға, Мекке мен Мединеге жасалатын қажылықты реттеуге, жәдидтік қозғалысқа шектеу қоюға және мұсылман діни элитасын мемлекеттік құрылымдарға бағындыруға бағытталған бірқатар реформаларды іске асырды. *Зерттеу өзектілігі* исламның отарлық қысым жағдайындағы бейімделу механизмдерін және дәстүрлі мәдениеттегі исламға дейінгі элементтермен қатар өмір сүру үдерістерін қайта ойластыру қажеттілігімен айқындалады. *Мақсаты мен міндеттері.* Зерттеудің басты мақсаты – империялық діни саясат аясында қазақ қоғамындағы мұсылмандық дәстүрлер трансформациясының ерекшеліктерін айқындау. Осы мақсатты жүзеге асыру үшін келесі міндеттер қойылды: исламдық нормалар мен тәжірибелердің көшпелі өмір салтына енгізілу тетіктерін талдау; дәстүрлі исламды жергілікті діндарлықты бір түрі ретінде қарастыру; этнодіни институттардың (сопылар, қожалар, әулиелер) және сакралды географияның исламдық тәжірибелерді сақтаудағы рөлін зерттеу; сондай-ақ әкімшілік шаралардың қазақтардың діни болмысына тигізген әсерін анықтау. *Материалдар мен әдістер.* Зерттеу көзі ретінде архивтік құжаттар, революцияға дейінгі және кеңестік кезеңдегі зерттеушілердің еңбектері, этнографиялық зерттеулер, Ресей, Қазақстан және Өзбекстан мұрағаттарының материалдары пайдаланылды. Методологиялық тұрғыдан зерттеу тарихи-мәдени талдауға, постколониалдық теория элементтеріне және исламдық пен исламға дейінгі дәстүрлерге салыстырмалы тәсілге сүйенеді. *Нәтижелер.* Зерттеу нәтижесі көрсеткендей, империялық биліктің діни реттеулеріне қарамастан, ислам өзінің өміршеңдігін сақтап, бейімделе білді. Бұл үрдіс сопылық желілердің орнықтылығына, жергілікті әулиелердің беделіне, қожалардың институционалдық қызметіне және рухани қарсылық орталықтарына айналған сакралды кеңістіктердің қызметіне байланысты жүзеге асты. Қажылық, діни білім беру, серт жүйесі және сенімнің ауызша берілу формалары шектеулерге қарамастан, ислам дәстүрінің сабақтастығын қамтамасыз етті. *Қорытынды.* XIX–XX ғасырдың басындағы қазақ

қоғамындағы діни трансформация – ислам институттарының отарлық саясатқа бейімделу үдерісі ғана емес, сонымен қатар сакралды кеңістікке империялық араласуға жасырын қарсылық формасы түрі іспетті еді. Әкімшілік реформалар мен діни тәжірибелер арасындағы өзара байланыс этноконфессиялық бірегейліктің ерекше формаларын қалыптастырды. Бұл жағдайда ислам бір мезгілде бақылау нысаны және мәдени мобилизация құралы ретінде өзін көрсете білді.

Түйін сөздер: Қазақ қоғамы, ислам, діни трансформация, империялық модернизация, отарлық саясат, суфизм, сакралды кеңістік, жәдидшілдік, қажылық


Дәйексөз үшін: Эгамбердиев М.Ш., Тургунбаев Е.М. Империялық модернизация жағдайындағы қазақ қоғамындағы діни трансформация // Asian Journal “Steppe Panorama”. 2025. Т. 12. № 2. 575–588 бб. (Ағылш.).

DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994_2025_12_2_575-588

РЕЛИГИОЗНАЯ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ В КАЗАХСКОМ ОБЩЕСТВЕ В УСЛОВИЯХ ИМПЕРСКОЙ МОДЕРНИЗАЦИИ

Эгамбердиев Мырзахан Шарипбаевич¹, Тургунбаев Ерлан Мухаммеджанович²

¹Казахский национальный университет имени аль-Фараби
(д. 95, ул. Карасай батыра, 050026 Алматы, Республика Казахстан)
К.и.н., ассоциированный профессор (доцент)

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1022-0483>. E-mail: mirzahan.egamberdiyev@gmail.com

²Казахский национальный университет имени аль-Фараби
(д. 71, просп. Аль-Фараби, 050060 Алматы, Республика Казахстан)
К.и.н., старший преподаватель

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0000-1448-6273>. E-mail: turgunbaev_63@mail.ru

© ИИЭ имени Ч.Ч. Валиханова, 2025

© Эгамбердиев М.Ш., Тургунбаев Е.М., 2025

Аннотация. *Введение.* Статья посвящена историко-культурному анализу религиозной трансформации в казахском обществе в условиях имперской модернизации в XIX – начале XX века. Выбор дореволюционного периода обусловлен тем, что именно в это время Российская империя начала системное и целенаправленное вмешательство в религиозную сферу тюрко-мусульманских народов. Царская администрация, стремясь укрепить контроль над колонизированными территориями, реализовала ряд реформ, направленных на институционализацию ислама, регулирование паломничества в Мекку и Медину, ограничение деятельности джадидского движения, а также подчинение мусульманского духовенства государственным структурам. Актуальность темы определяется необходимостью глубокого переосмысления механизмов адаптации ислама в условиях колониального давления и его сосуществования с доисламскими элементами традиционной культуры. *Цель и задачи.* Цель исследования – выявить особенности трансформации мусульманских традиций в казахском обществе на фоне имперской религиозной политики. Задачи включают: анализ механизмов внедрения исламских норм в кочевой уклад; рассмотрение традиционного ислама как формы локальной религиозности; изучение роли этнорелигиозных институтов (суфии, кожа, аулие) и сакральной географии в сохранении исламских практик; а также определение степени воздействия административных мер на религиозную идентичность казахов. Источниковую базу составляют архивные документы, труды дореволюционных и советских исследователей, этнографические наблюдения, материалы российских, казахстанских и узбекских архивов. Методологически работа опирается на историко-культурный анализ, элементы постколониальной теории и сравнительный подход к исламским и доисламским традициям. *Результаты.* Исследование демонстрирует, что несмотря на жёсткую религиозную

регламентацию со стороны имперской власти, ислам продолжал сохраняться и трансформироваться благодаря устойчивости суфийских сетей, авторитету местных святых (аулие), институциональной роли коша и функционированию сакральных пространств, выступавших очагами духовного сопротивления. Паломничество, религиозное образование, система обетов, а также устные формы передачи веры обеспечивали непрерывность исламской традиции даже в условиях ограничения. *Заключение.* Религиозная трансформация казахского общества в XIX – начале XX века представляла собой не только адаптацию исламских институтов к колониальной реальности, но и скрытое сопротивление имперскому вмешательству в сакральную сферу. Взаимодействие между административными реформами и религиозной практикой определило уникальные формы этноконфессиональной идентичности, в которых ислам выступал одновременно как объект контроля и как средство культурной мобилизации.

Ключевые слова: Казахское общество, ислам, религиозная трансформация, имперская модернизация, колониальная политика, суфизм, сакральные пространства, джадидизм, паломничество

Для цитирования: Эгамбердиев М.Ш., Тургунбаев Е.М. Религиозная трансформация в казахском обществе в условиях имперской модернизации // Asian Journal “Steppe Panorama”. 2025. Т. 12. № 2. С. 575–588. (На Англ.).

DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994_2025_12_2_575-588

Introduction

Islam in the Kazakh steppes in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries underwent a complex process of transformation, shaped by both internal cultural dynamics and external political pressure. During this period, the religious life of Kazakh society increasingly came under the scrutiny of the Russian Empire, which sought to strengthen its control over the Muslim population. In the context of colonial modernization, Islam adapted to the traditional way of life and became the object of systematic regulation by the imperial administration, especially after the reforms of the second half of the nineteenth century (Valikhanov, 1985: 71). As administrative intervention intensified, the authorities more frequently regarded Islamic religiosity as a potential source of instability. Particular concern was caused by transregional connections: in the western and northeastern regions of Kazakhstan, the religious activity of Tatar religious figures was perceived as a threat, while in the south and southeast, the spread of influence by Uzbek theologians raised alarm. Particular concern was caused by transregional connections: in the western and northeastern regions of Kazakhstan, the authorities perceived a threat in the religious activity of Tatar mullahs, and in the south and southeast in the expansion of the influence of Uzbek theologians.

The spread of Jadidism, a religious and educational reform movement, significantly influenced the spiritual atmosphere of the region. Although Jadidism was initially shaped by the ideas of I. Gasprinskiy, it quickly went beyond the Crimean context and spread throughout the territory of the Russian Empire as a form of cultural and spiritual resistance to the Russification and Christianization of Turkic Muslim peoples, as well as an attempt to modernize the traditional education system (Alektorov, 1879: 59). After I. Gasprinskiy's meeting with the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II, Jadidist ideas acquired a new resonance and political significance. As a result, in the Turkestan region and the Kazakh steppes, the religious and educational activity of the so called “*Turkish emissaries*” intensified, which caused additional concern among the tsarist administration (Atkinson, 1999: 150). These emissaries not only disseminated ideas of educational and religious reform but also contributed to the formation of a sense of unity among the Turkic Muslim peoples of the empire, which was seen by the authorities as a potential threat to stability. In response, imperial policy sought to limit such contacts: control over religious institutions was strengthened, pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina became strictly regulated, and the activities of local religious leaders were closely monitored by administrative structures (Orlov, 2016: 62).

In parallel with administrative measures targeting the Muslim clergy, the forms of Islamic practice were undergoing transformation. Despite efforts by the authorities to restrict religious freedom, Islam was preserved and continued to develop within stable social and cultural structures. Sufi brotherhoods, the cult of saints (*aulie*), the authority of the *qozha*, and the significance of sacred sites all contributed to the preservation of Islamic tradition, which functioned as an element of collective identity and spiritual self awareness of the Kazakh people (Herschel, 2004: 125).

Historical and cultural analysis of Islamic practices during this period reveals the specific features of their integration into the everyday life of nomadic society. The spread of Islam in the steppes occurred through tariqats and systems of religious education, forming a stable model in which religious norms were interpreted within the context of local customs and social ties. On the one hand, imperial reforms shaped a new administrative reality. On the other hand, they stimulated a rethinking of religious roles and authorities (Danilevsky, 2002: 97).

The relevance of this study is defined by the need for a thorough reconsideration of the mechanisms of religious transformation under conditions of colonial pressure and imperial modernization, especially in the context of interaction between Islam and the administrative policy of the Russian Empire toward Turkic Muslim peoples. The second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries represent a distinct stage in the history of Kazakhstan, when the imperial authorities began systematic and purposeful intervention into the spiritual sphere of peoples who practiced Islam and possessed a Turkic cultural and linguistic code (Gavrilov, 2005: 210).

The choice of the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries as the focus of the present study is explained by the nature of the transformational processes that occurred in Kazakh society under the influence of systemic imperial modernization. This period is characterized by a sharp intensification of Russian intervention in the religious sphere in the territory of the Kazakh steppes, which had previously enjoyed considerable autonomy. The strengthening of control over Islamic institutions, the administrative reorganization of the region, the restriction of religious mobility (including pilgrimage), as well as attempts to create a loyal structure of the Muslim clergy, all indicate a shift in the approach to governing Turkic Muslim regions (Semenov Tian Shansky, 1879: 145).

The aim of this study is to conduct a comprehensive analysis of religious changes in Kazakh society in the context of administrative reforms that increased the influence of centralized authority on the regional confessional structure. Particular attention is paid to how Islamic institutions, rituals, and authoritative figures such as the *qozha*, *aulie*, and *regional bearers* of religious knowledge adapted to imperial policy or entered into latent conflict with it. Among the objectives of the study are the reconstruction of mechanisms for regulating religious life, identifying the degree of Islam's integration into the everyday practice of the Kazakhs, analyzing cross border influences including the role of intellectuals from Crimea, Central Asia, and the Ottoman Empire, as well as examining local forms of religious enlightenment and mobilization. The theoretical framework is based on approaches from historical anthropology, studies of imperial governance practices, and the analysis of ethnographic field data, which makes it possible to identify hidden forms of religious resilience and adaptation (Levshin, 2002: 205).

The scholarly novelty of this work lies in clarifying the nature of Islamic transformation in the Kazakh steppes not as a one dimensional consequence of colonial pressure, but as a complex process in which internal religious agents demonstrated institutional flexibility and cultural reorientation. The study proposes to consider Kazakh society as a space of active reinterpretation and testing of Islamic reforms, while maintaining connection to the autochthonous cultural environment. The proposed hypothesis is based on the assumption that Islam in the Kazakh steppe during the specified period developed under dual pressure from centralized imperial policy and simultaneously through transnational Muslim intellectual currents, which contributed to the formation of a distinct form of religious identity.

Materials and methods

The study of Islamic practices and religious institutions in the Kazakh steppes in the 19th and early 20th centuries requires a comprehensive approach that takes into account both the transformation of the Islamic tradition under the colonial policy of the Russian Empire and the adaptive mechanisms of local Muslim communities. Methodologically, the research relies on an interdisciplinary synthesis of historical anthropology, postcolonial theories, and the social history of religion (Geertz, 1968: 43–47). The focus is on the institutional and symbolic control over Islam by the tsarist administration, which sought to restrict religious autonomy and redirect the Turko-Muslim infrastructure – in particular, the network of madrasas, the clergy, and the hajj system – toward the logic of imperial modernization. The use of the historical-critical method allows for a reconstruction of the strategy of regulating religious life based on archival materials from the offices of the Orenburg and Turkestan governor-generalships, reports from the Border Administration, as well as ethnographic expeditions and records of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (ZIRGO, 1869: 112–115).

The theoretical framework of the study is shaped by concepts of power and everyday resistance, enabling the identification of forms of symbolic and cultural opposition to the colonial discourse. Particular attention is paid to the sacred geography of the steppes, represented by the phenomenon of *aulie* – venerated Islamic saints – and the associated mausoleums and pilgrimage sites, which functioned as alternative centers of religious legitimacy in opposition to official religious structures controlled by the state (Radlov, 1884: 221–225). Sufi brotherhoods, which maintained influence in the Kazakh steppe, acted as religious and sociocultural associations involved in the transmission of Islamic knowledge and practices (Kun, 1870: 83–87). The visual and spatial aspects of sacredness are analyzed through the lens of the anthropology of religious space, allowing *ziyarat* to be interpreted as a form of collective mobilization and the reproduction of historical memory under conditions of colonial pressure (Rychkov, 1762: 49–51).

Jadidism, which emerged within the intellectual milieu of the Turko-Muslim elite of the Russian Empire, took the form of educational reform and ideological challenge to the imperial order in the Kazakh context (Aristov, 1896: 256). Based on an analysis of prerevolutionary texts, letters, and periodicals – such as the works of I. Gasprinskiy and Kazakh enlighteners – the influence of reformist thought on the formation of a new model of Muslim identity can be traced (Lewis, 2003: 120–137). The Jadidists advocated for the modernization of Islamic education, the use of the native language in instruction, and the inclusion of secular subjects in the curriculum. At the same time, their activities raised concerns among the authorities, as they went beyond purely religious reform and touched on the foundations of the cultural and political autonomy of Turko-Muslim peoples (Frank, 2001: 92–110). It is in this context that the tsarist administration intensified its surveillance of the reformers, restricted the circulation of books and correspondence, and sought to isolate Central Asia from contacts with the Ottoman Empire (Montgomery, 2017: 65–89).

From a theoretical and methodological standpoint, the study of Islam in the Kazakh steppes requires a rejection of outdated paradigms of prerevolutionary and Soviet historiography, which portrayed Islam as a superficial and non-autonomous phenomenon allegedly not rooted in the culture of the nomads. In the framework of official scholarship of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the dominant concept was that of the “*under-Islamization*” of the Kazakhs, reducing religious life to remnants of shamanism and Tengrianism. Meanwhile, archaeological, epigraphic, and written sources indicate that Islam began spreading among the Turkic tribes of the region as early as the mid-8th century, and with its official establishment under the Karakhanid dynasty in the second half of the 10th century, it became the dominant religion (Barthold, 1927: 310). A key role in the rooting of Islam among the Kazakh population was played by Khoja Ahmed Yasawi, the founder of Turkic-language Sufism, whose teachings laid the spiritual and ethical foundations for a popular form of Islam that has persisted to the present day. His disciples, followers, members of the *khoja* class, and other religious figures became key agents in transmitting Islamic knowledge, integrating Sufi practices (*ziyārat*, *dhikr*, *veneration of aulie*) and structuring the sacred space of the steppe (Bonner,

2014: 112–128). This study undertakes a methodological attempt to analyze Islam not as a residual phenomenon but as a complex system adapted to the sociocultural conditions of nomadic civilization, and considers its role in the context of imperial modernization of the religious sphere carried out by the tsarist administration as part of its colonial policy of governing non-Orthodox peoples.

The source base of this study consists of materials from the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, drawing on the collections of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Department for Non-Orthodox Affairs, and the Spiritual Administrations, as well as data from ethnographic research of the prerevolutionary and Soviet periods. Of particular value are descriptions of pilgrimages, reports on religious activity, police memoranda, and inspection reports on madrasas stored in the Russian State Historical Archive and the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. In addition, the comparative historical method is used to compare the Kazakh experience with similar processes in the Volga region and Crimea, allowing the identification of specific features of the steppe Islamic landscape under the conditions of imperial modernization. Thus, the study demonstrates that Islam in the Kazakh steppes was not a passive object of imperial control, but developed as a complex and active system mobilizing sacred, educational, and cultural resources in response to the challenges of colonialism.

Analysis

The analysis of Kazakh religious practices in the 19th and early 20th centuries requires a comprehensive and interdisciplinary approach based on archival documents, pre-revolutionary scholarly works, folklore sources, as well as materials related to the sacred geography and cultic spaces of Kazakhstan. Under the conditions of colonial domination by the Russian Empire, religion was regarded as one of the tools for governance and control over the indigenous population. In this context, archival materials and reports by imperial officials indicate that Islam among the Kazakhs was often perceived not as an institutionalized system of norms and rituals but as an element of cultural tradition. This perception complicated the colonial administration's efforts to regulate and standardize Islamic practice. A statement from the Minister of Public Enlightenment in a report from 1877, which emphasized that *"the Kirghiz... in their private lives, both in religious and civil matters, are guided neither by the Quran nor by the Sharia"* serves as a vivid example of how the colonial administration shaped a discourse on the *"low level of religiosity"* among the Kazakh population (CSA RK. F. 64, Inv. 1, C. 543, P. 126). Such assertions were not only observations but also part of a broader ideological and administrative strategy aimed at discrediting traditional Islam and pushing it to the periphery of public life. The Russian Empire sought to portray Kazakh society as *"undeveloped"* in terms of Islamic orthodoxy, thereby justifying state intervention in the religious sphere. The emphasis on the Kazakhs' *"indifference"* to Sharia norms was aimed less at an objective analysis of religious practices and more at establishing the image of the Kazakhs as a pliable, *"not fully Islamized"* population in need of *"enlightenment"* and regulation. In other words, through the narrative of weak Sharia practice among the Kazakhs, the tsarist administration pursued the systematic weakening of traditional forms of Islamic authority, seeking to replace them with a convenient and controllable religious infrastructure. This was part of a broader colonial policy aimed at the institutional subjugation and cultural transformation of the steppe population.

For example, the statement by F. Usov that *"all their [the Kazakhs'] notions of divinity and religion boil down to various superstitions... more pagan than Muslim"* reflects a characteristic feature of the 19th-century orientalist and colonial discourse, which tended to interpret the religious practices of indigenous peoples as primitive, imperfect, or deviating from the *"normative"* model. Such evaluations are generalized and reductive, failing to account for the diversity of forms of Islamic religiosity that developed in the Kazakh steppe under conditions of nomadic life and the absence of rigid institutionalization (CSA RK. F. 64, Inv. 2., C. 238., P. 32). Contemporary studies, such as those by N.D. Nurtazina, E. Kartabayeva and M. Dauytbekova, based on a broad corpus of archival documents, folklore materials, and testimonies of Muslim theologians and travelers, demonstrate that Islam in Kazakh society was deeply rooted in social and cultural life. Its functioning was manifested in stable forms of ritual practice, the veneration of saints (*aulie*), adherence to basic religious ethics,

the authority of ishan, qari, and mullahs, as well as the sacralization of certain spaces (*mazars, ziarat*) (Nurtazina, Kartabayeva, Dauybekova 2024: 541–557).

The ethnographic studies of N. Zeland, which examined the adaptation of Islamic rituals in the Kazakh steppes, inadequately reflect the actual state of affairs. He claimed that the Kazakhs performed the main Islamic rites with deviations from canonical norms and that there were few literate mullahs in the steppe (Zeland, 1885: 67). However, such statements are not based on a thorough analysis of Islamic practice, but rather perceive Islam as a cultural element rather than a strict religious doctrine. The author did not take into account the specific features of local adaptation of Islam and its role in the social and spiritual life of the Kazakhs, which distorts the picture of Kazakh religious identity.

The assertions of K. Gubarev that mullahs and akhuns did not possess the same sacred significance among the Kazakhs as among the Tatars require critical reconsideration (Gubarev, 1894: 34). First, this statement underestimates the role of Islamic spiritual authorities, such as *mullahs and akhuns*, in Kazakh society. Although they may have competed with traditional leaders such as *biys and aksakals*, this does not mean that their authority was weak or insignificant. On the contrary, mullahs and akhuns in the steppe played an important role in regulating religious and social life, helping to integrate Islamic practices into local traditions. Moreover, the role of biys and aksakals in the spiritual life of the Kazakhs did not exclude religious figures, but rather coexisted with them, forming hybrid forms of power and spirituality. Kazakh Islam did not compete with traditional structures but adapted to them, preserving important elements of Islamic doctrine, such as reverence for spiritual leaders and the cult of sacred sites, as confirmed by many sources and practices of that time.

The use of the comparative-historical method in the context of the transformation of religious norms under the influence of external factors, such as interaction with Tatar religious centers and the Russian colonial administration, cannot fully explain the religious dynamics of the Kazakh steppes. Claims that Islam in the steppes served solely as a tool for the formation of Muslim identity and was simultaneously subjected to localization, which allegedly led to the preservation of shamanistic practices, greatly simplify and distort the real picture. First, the religious practice of the Kazakhs was complex and multilayered, but Islam was not subjected to “*syncretism*” with shamanism in the direct sense of the term. The assertions of N.A. Aristov about the “*formal adherence to Islam*” ignore the depth and resilience of religious practices in the steppe, which included elements of the Sufi tradition as well as adapted forms of Islamic rituals (Aristov, 1897: 189). The Kazakhs did not reject Islam in favor of shamanism; on the contrary, Islam manifested itself through integration with traditional norms and social organization, including the veneration of saints and participation in religious rituals, which was an important part of their spiritual life. Second, the thesis of a “*mixture of religious systems*” according to the model of syncretism proposed by G. Obermeyer oversimplifies the process of Islam’s adaptation in Kazakh society. In reality, Islam was adapted and transformed, but this transformation was neither chaotic nor devoid of system. It was a process of localization, in which Islamic practices and values were synthesized with existing social structures, maintaining their religious identity and norms.

The claim that Islam among the Kazakhs was merely an integrative and non-dominant religion and that its adaptation to the nomadic way of life was limited to syncretism oversimplifies the complexity of religious practice. Theories of S. Abashin, which emphasize the role of religion as an important element of social and political structure, show that Islam not only performed the function of identity formation but also served as the foundation of social organization and spiritual authority in Kazakh society (Abashin 2019: 146–165). Religious norms and rituals, despite their adaptation to the conditions of nomadic life, retained internal coherence and had a significant influence on social stability, which refutes the notion of superficiality in the religious practices of the Kazakh steppes. The claim that the lack of systematic Quranic study among the Kazakhs indicates the formality of Islam oversimplifies the perception of religious life in the context of both local practice and imperial policy. In fact, the limited study of the Quran and the role of mullahs with limited knowledge were largely the result of Russian imperial policies aimed at weakening Islam’s influence and preventing

its institutionalization. The Russian administration actively obstructed the creation of stable religious institutions (CSA RK. F. 64, Inv. 1, C. 452., P. 88). The role of Islam in the social structure of the steppes persisted and developed despite the obstacles imposed by the colonial administration. Mullahs, playing an important role in transmitting religious practices, acted as mediators between Islam and local culture, and their limited knowledge can be explained not only by local traditions but also by the political situation, in which education and religious practice were under strict Russian control. Religious rites could adapt to the nomadic lifestyle, but Islamic norms continued to influence public life, confirming the significance of Islam as an element of spiritual identity, despite the intervention of the colonial administration.

Despite the judgments of pre-revolutionary ethnographers such as G. Spassky and A. Kharuzin, the perception of Islam among the Kazakhs was not reduced to formal ethnic identity. Such statements, for example, the opinion about the "*vague understanding of Sharia*" (Spassky, 1823: 109) or the view of "*Islamic symbols as mere shells*" (Kharuzin, 1888: 154), reflect an external observation devoid of access to the internal structures of steppe religiosity. In reality, Islam among the Kazakhs retained ritual and symbolic richness and adapted to cultural specificities through the mediation of *khojas* and *aulie*. Their authority ensured not the formalization but the flexible integration of Islamic concepts into a complex system of sacred practices rooted in steppe life. Regarding the limited influence of Tatar and Bukhara centers, as claimed by E. Shmurlow (Shmurlow, 1899: 213), it is important to understand that the difficulties faced by visiting mentors do not indicate the isolation of steppe Islam, but rather confirm the strength of local forms of religious knowledge. The nomadic society developed its own channels for the transmission of spiritual meaning: through oral tradition, saint veneration, and the charismatic leadership of local sheikhs. This did not negate Islamic content but rather facilitated its reinterpretation within the conditions of space and mobility.

Discussions about shamanistic survivals in the religious configuration of the 19th and early 20th centuries underestimate the transformative power of Islam itself. The integration of Islamic norms was not a superficial adaptation but proceeded through internal mechanisms of sacralization of space and time. Phenomena such as *mazars*, the cult of *aulie*, and the dynasties of *khojas* demonstrate not a simplification of belief, but its complex multilayered embodiment. These forms of religiosity cannot be reduced to relics; they were part of a conscious theological and practical synthesis rooted in the community and served as a counterbalance to colonial unification. The studies of A. T. Toleubayev (Toleubayev, 1972: 82–87) undoubtedly provide important insights into the role of traditional elements in the structure of religious culture. However, it is mistaken to perceive them as evidence of an underdeveloped Islamic discourse. On the contrary, the systematic inclusion of elements of local ritual in Islamic practice was not the result of passive reception but an active act of religious interpretation under colonial pressure. Russian administrative policy and judicial reforms of the second half of the 19th century demanded that the Kazakhs redefine the legitimacy of power, law, and sacred authority. It was precisely under these conditions that *khojas*, *aulie*, and sacred spaces became key structures ensuring cultural and spiritual resilience. These were not "residues" but evidence of the capacity of the Islamic tradition in the steppe for critical reproduction and resistance through synthesis.

Research results

In scholarly literature, it has been repeatedly emphasized that Islam in the Kazakh steppes emerged as a unique phenomenon that developed under conditions of acculturation and transformation shaped by specific historical and social factors. It is particularly important that the development of Islam occurred in the context of increasing colonial pressure from the Russian Empire, which sought institutional and ideological isolation of the Kazakhs from the influence of Muslim centers, primarily Tatar, Bukharan, and Fergana. As DeWeese notes, the phenomenon of "*popular Islam*" in the region represents a complex interweaving of Sharia norms and local beliefs, which was largely a consequence of the political fragmentation of Muslim institutions under imperial policy (DeWeese, 1994: 45). The imperial administration actively obstructed the establishment of strong ties between the Kazakhs and Muslim intellectual centers of the Volga region and Central

Asia. This was expressed in the restriction of the activities of Muslim courts, control over madrasas, and the suppression of Muslim religious figures, especially those of Tatar and Bukharan origin.

Of particular significance in this context is the concept of “*steppe Islam*” a religious tradition adapted to the conditions of nomadic life. As Olcott points out, “*Kazakh nomadic Islam preserved elements of shamanistic practices that preceded Islam and were organically woven into Islamic rites*” (Olcott, 1987: 129). Such assessments, however, often stem from a colonial notion of the “*backwardness*” of the steppe population and served as an argument for intervention in the religious sphere. The imperial authorities sought to portray Islam among the Kazakhs as superficial and “*distorted*” in order to justify their own policy of restricting Muslim institutions and promoting the Orthodox mission. As A.J. Frank demonstrates, Islam under colonial control functioned as a means of social mobilization and cultural defense, especially in the context of growing pressure from the colonial administration (Frank, 2001: 78–80).

Archival materials from the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan indicate a religious revival triggered by the resettlement of Uyghur and Dungan communities in Semirechye at the end of the nineteenth century. These groups, possessing a developed agrarian culture and a strong Islamic tradition, reinforced the region's Islamic infrastructure and became an important factor in the religious consolidation of local Kazakhs (CSA RK. F. 64, Inv. 1, C. 3216., P. 21). The migration was distinctly religious and ethnoconfessional in nature: the Uyghurs' and Dungans' desire to preserve their Muslim identity under pressure from Chinese authorities was the reason they applied for Russian citizenship (CSA RK. F. 64, Inv. 1, C. 3298, P. 3). These processes were accompanied by institutional changes an increase in the number of mosques, madrasas, and mektebs. According to the 1912 census, Semirechye Province had 288 functioning mosques, 175 imams, and 84 mektebs (CSA RK. F. 26, Inv. 1, C. 1284, Pp. 5–6).

Despite formal “*tolerance*” the imperial administration in practice aimed at ethnic fragmentation and institutional control of Islamic life. Archival documents record that mosques in Almaty were divided along ethnic lines: Uyghur, Tatar, Dungan (CSA RK. F. 64, Inv. 1, C. 3276, P. 34). Such division was encouraged by the authorities in order to weaken the religious and cultural unity of the Muslim population. Particular suspicion was directed at the influence of the Tatars, whom imperial officials regarded as carriers of “*Pan-Islamic*” and “*Pan-Turkist*” ideas. Despite this, the Turco-Tatar enlightenment tradition played a significant role in spreading Islamic education among the Kazakhs. Archival data confirm that Kazakh youth studied in madrasas in Ufa and Kazan (CSA RK. F. 92, Inv. 1, C.1524, Pp. 14–15). In 1917, the newspaper *Kazakh* reported that over ten years, 154 members of the Kazakh population had received education at the *Galiya* madrasa (CSA RK. F. 26, Inv. 1, C. 1472, Pp. 2–4).

Colonial policy also manifested itself in the encouragement of Kazakh conversion to Orthodoxy. Archival sources record instances of baptism, often driven by pragmatic considerations: new converts were granted tax and land benefits (CSA RK. F. 64, Inv. 1, C. 3221, Pp. 17–19). However, the superficial nature of these conversions often led to mass renunciations. A 1907 resolution of the Turkestan episcopate stated that a significant number of baptized Kazakhs had used Orthodoxy as a means of obtaining privileges (CSA RK. F. 26, Inv. 1, C. 1483, P. 48). There were also recorded cases of Russians converting to Islam, explained by both socio-economic and personal factors. One example is the story of the priest Gornov, who embraced Islam and received support from the Muslim community to engage in trade (CSA RK. F. 26, Inv. 1, C. 1495, Pp. 19–21).

Islam in nineteenth-century Kazakhstan existed as a fully developed religious system with a sophisticated theological, legal, and educational tradition, functioning under colonial pressure. Despite the imperial administration's attempts to portray Kazakh religious practices as “*distorted*” or “*incomplete*” archival sources record the deep-rooted nature of Muslim norms in social life. Thus, the *Proceedings of the Orenburg Scholarly Archival Commission* noted that while local elements persisted in rites and customs, Islam played a leading role in shaping moral norms and social hierarchy (CSA RK. F. 64, Inv. 1, C. 3218, P. 12). These features were interpreted by Russian officials as arguments for the necessity of a “*civilizing mission*” but in fact reflected the resilience of the religious tradition.

A pre-revolutionary article titled *The Kirghiz* claimed that Kazakh religion was a mixture of Muslim rituals and local beliefs: "the religion of Muhammad is mixed with various pagan rites" (CSA RK. F. 26, Inv. 1, C. 1472, P. 23). Such judgments formed the basis for policies of intervention and control over spiritual life. Ethnographer S. Chicherin also noted that a significant part of the population formally professed Islam while continuing to follow traditional beliefs (CSA RK. F. 92, Inv. 1, C. 1524, P. 34). A. Levshin documented the resilience of religious ideas that included belief in good and evil forces, ancestor cults, and ritual practices rooted in local culture (CSA RK. F. 64, Inv. 1, C. 3015, P. 78).

Publications in the *Tobolsk Diocesan Gazette* also emphasized the preservation of certain beliefs and rituals that did not coincide with the orthodox interpretation of Islam (CSA RK. F. 26, Inv. 1, C. 1284, P. 54). However, these practices did not signify a rejection of Islam but rather reflected a strong religious identity formed under conditions of a nomadic lifestyle and imperial control.

Conclusion

The religious transformation in Kazakh society during the 19th and early 20th centuries, occurring in the context of imperial modernization, is a multifaceted and complex process that includes the adaptation of Islamic institutions to changing political and social conditions, as well as the preservation of deeply rooted traditional elements in the spiritual life of the Kazakhs. The Russian Empire, seeking to strengthen its control over Central Asia, actively intervened in the religious sphere, implementing reforms aimed at institutionalizing Islam, creating controlled centers of religious authority, and subordinating the Muslim clergy to the state system. However, despite these efforts, the religious life of the Kazakhs continued to develop along traditional lines, maintaining interaction with pre-Islamic beliefs and practices, which indicates that Islam in the Kazakh steppes was not merely an object of regulation but also a factor of active cultural and social adaptation.

The confrontation between state power and Islam was not reduced merely to the restriction of religious practices. Despite the efforts of the Russian administration, Islamic traditions continued to be preserved in the daily life of the Kazakhs through Sufi brotherhoods, the cult of saints (*auliye*), the system of religious education, and sacred practices. These institutions remained independent of official structures and served as an important element of resistance to colonial control, allowing Kazakh society to preserve its religious and cultural identity. Sufi teachings and the authority of local spiritual leaders «*qoja*», «*auliye*» continued to exert a significant influence on religious practice and collective consciousness, creating space for spiritual resistance to external influences.

An equally important aspect of this process is the interaction of traditional Islam with local culture and religious practices. Since Kazakh society remained nomadic, Islam, like other religious systems, had to adapt to the specifics of life based on mobility and social ties within tribal structures. In this context, Islamic norms were not perceived as dogmatic and absolute, but rather as elements integrating into existing cultural and religious traditions. This interaction was particularly evident in the context of sacred sites and rituals, which combined Islamic elements with pre-Islamic beliefs, creating a unique form of religiosity adapted to the conditions of the Kazakh steppes.

The systematic intervention of the Russian Empire in the religious life of the Kazakhs, including attempts to control pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina, strict regulation of Muslim institutions, and restrictions on the activities of local spiritual leaders, failed to completely suppress local religious traditions. On the contrary, such restrictions became catalysts for the emergence of new forms of religious practice aimed at preserving identity. Jadidism, which became an important religious and educational movement, played a key role in shaping a new intellectual and spiritual wave, within which Islamic ideas adapted to new social and political conditions. This movement spread the idea of reforms in the field of education and religious practice, as well as contributing to the formation of a new cultural and religious self-awareness among Turkic-Muslim peoples, including the Kazakhs.

Thus, religious transformation in Kazakh society under the conditions of imperial modernization represents not just a process of submission to external pressure, but also active cultural resistance, manifested in the preservation of local religious traditions and the adaptation of Islam to

local conditions. Despite the intervention of the Russian Empire, Islam in the Kazakh steppes continued to play an important role in the social and cultural life of society, acting as a link between different ethnic and confessional groups, as well as a tool for cultural mobilization and spiritual resistance. The religious identity of the Kazakhs during this period was shaped under the dual pressure: on the one hand, from imperial power, and on the other hand, in the context of interaction with broader Muslim and cultural traditions, which led to the emergence of unique forms of Islamic practice that maintained a connection with the indigenous culture and traditions of the steppe society.

Источники

ЦГА РК — Центральный государственный архив Республики Казахстан

Sources

CSA RK — Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan

References

- Abashin 2019 — *Abashin S.* «Мое мировоззрение» Vladimira Nalivkina: vzglyady rossijskogo socialista na imperskoj okraine. Central'naja Azija v jepohu srednevekov'ja i novogo vremeni [«My Worldview» of Vladimir Nalivkin: Views of a Russian Socialist on the Imperial Periphery. Central Asia in the Medieval and Modern Times]. Tashkent: “Akademnashr”, 2019. Pp. 146–165. (In Russ.).
- Alectorov, 1879 — *Alectorov A.E.* Islam v Kazahstane: istoriko-etnograficheskij analiz [Islam in Kazakhstan: A Historical and Ethnographic Analysis]. Kazan: Kazan University Press, 1879. 104 p. (In Russ.).
- Aristov, 1896 — *Aristov N.A.* Ocherki jetnograficheskogo sostava tjurkskih narodov i statisticheskie dannye o chislenosti ih [Essays on the Ethnographic Composition of Turkic Peoples and Statistical Data on Their Numbers]. Saint Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1896. 256 p. (In Russ.).
- Aristov, 1897 — *Aristov N.A.* Kirgizy i ih jetnograficheskie svjazi [The Kyrgyz and Their Ethnographic Connections]. Saint Petersburg: Ministry of Public Education Press, 1897. 189 p. (In Russ.).
- Atkinson, 1999 — *Atkinson J.A.* Islam and the Traditions of Central Asia. London: Routledge, 1999. 150 p.
- Bartold, 1927 — *Bartold V.V.* Turkestan v epohu mongol'skogo nashestviya [Turkestan During the Mongol Invasion]. Moscow – Leningrad: USSR Academy of Sciences Press, 1927. 310 p. (In Russ.).
- Bonner, 2014 — *Bonner B.* Islam and Cultural Practices in Central Asia. New York: Routledge, 2014. Pp. 112–128.
- Danilevsky, 2002 — *Danilevsky N.Ya.* Kul'turnye adaptacii v Central'noi Azii [Cultural Adaptations in Central Asia]. Saint Petersburg: “Vostochnaya Literatura” Publishing House, 2002. 97 p. (In Russ.).
- DeWeese, 1994 — *DeWeese D.* Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994. 45 p.
- Frank, 2001 — *Frank A.J.* Islamic Transformation in Central Asia: A Historical Perspective. Leiden: Brill, 2001. Pp. 92–110.
- Gavrilov, 2005 — *Gavrilov S.A.* Musul'manskije tradicii v Central'noi Azii [Muslim Traditions in Central Asia]. Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura, 2005. 210 p. (In Russ.).
- Geertz, 1968 — *Geertz C.* Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968. Pp. 43–47.
- Gubarev, 1894 — *Gubarev K.* Byt i verovaniya kirgiz [Life and Beliefs of the Kyrgyz]. Orenburg: Orenburg Military District Press, 1894. 34 p. (In Russ.).
- Herschel, 2004 — *Herschel L.A.* Religioznyj sinkretizm v Central'noi Azii [Religious Syncretism in Central Asia]. Moscow: «Nauka» Publishing House, 2004. 125 p. (In Russ.).
- Kharuzin, 1888 — *Kharuzin A.N.* Ocherk religioznoj zhizni kochevyh narodov Central'noi Azii [An Essay on the Religious Life of the Nomadic Peoples of Central Asia]. Moscow: Moscow University Press, 1888. 154 p. (In Russ.).
- Kun, 1870 — *Kun A.L.* Turkestan: krai i ego narody [Turkestan: The Land and Its Peoples]. Saint Petersburg: Society of Lovers of Russian Literature, 1870. Pp. 83–87. (In Russ.).
- Levshin, 2002 — *Levshin A.V.* Islam i narodnye verovaniya kazahov [Islam and Folk Beliefs of the Kazakhs]. Almaty: Qazaq universiteti, 2002. 205 p. (In Russ.).
- Lewis, 2003 — *Lewis R.* Rethinking Islam in Central Asia. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. Pp. 120–137.
- Montgomery, 2017 — *Montgomery D.* Everyday Islam: Religion and Tradition in Rural Central Asia. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017. Pp. 65–89.
- Nurtazina, Kartabayeva, Dauytbekova 2024 — *Nurtazina N., Kartabayeva E., Dauytbekova M.* Nasledie kazahskih ishanov i svjatyh celitelej: novye podhody i perspektivy izucheniya v kontekste musul'mansko-sufijskoj tradicii Central'noi Azii [The legacy of Kazakh ishans and saint-healers: New approaches and research perspectives in the context of the Muslim-Sufi tradition of Central Asia]. “edu.e-history.kz”. Vol. 11(3). 2024. Pp. 541–557. URL: https://doi.org/10.51943/2710-3994_2024_11_3_541-557 (In Russ.).

- Olcott, 1987 — *Olcott M.B.* The Kazakhs. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1987. 129 p.
- Orlov, 2016 — *Orlov A.K.* The Syncretic Nature of Kazakh Islam. London: Routledge, 2016. 62 p.
- Radlov, 1884 — *Radlov V.V.* Iz Sibiri: Stranicy dnevnika [From Siberia: Pages from a Diary]. Saint Petersburg: Academy of Sciences Press, 1884. Pp. 221–225. (In Russ.).
- Rychkov, 1762 — *Rychkov P.I.* Topograficheskoe opisaniye Orenburgskoi gubernii [Topographical Description of the Orenburg Province]. Orenburg: Provincial Chancellery Press, 1762. Pp. 49–51. (In Russ.).
- Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, 1879 — *Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky M.P.* Putevoditel' po Central'noi Azii [Guide to Central Asia]. Saint Petersburg: Pushkin Publishing House, 1879. 145 p. (In Russ.).
- Shmurlo, 1899 — *Shmurlo E.F.* Musul'manstvo v stepyah: Istoriya i sovremennost' [Islam in the Steppes: History and Modernity]. Kazan: University Press, 1899. 213 p. (In Russ.).
- Smit, 2015 — *Smit J.B.* Islamic Traditions in Central Asia: A Western Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 88 p.
- Spassky, 1823 — *Spassky G.I.* Etnograficheskie ocherki aziatskikh narodov [Ethnographic Sketches of Asian Peoples]. Saint Petersburg: Russian Academy of Sciences Press, 1823. 109 p. (In Russ.).
- Toleubaev, 1972 — *Toleubaev A.T.* Perezhitki domusul'manskikh verovanij i obryadov v semeinom bytu kazakhov v konce XIX – nachale XX vekov [Survivals of Pre-Islamic Beliefs and Rituals in the Family Life of Kazakhs in the Late 19th – Early 20th Century]. Moscow, 1972. 213 p. (In Russ.).
- Valikhanov, 1985 — *Valikhanov Ch.Ch.* Sobranie sochinenij v pyati tomah [Collected Works in Five Volumes]. Vol. 4. 2nd ed., revised and expanded. Alma-Ata: Main Editorial Office of the Kazakh Soviet Encyclopedia, 1985. Pp. 71–76. (In Russ.).
- Zeland, 1885 — *Zeland N.* Materialy po etnografii kirgizskikh stepei [Materials on the Ethnography of the Kyrgyz Steppes]. Saint Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences Press, 1885. 67 p. (In Russ.).
- ZIRGO, 1869 — *ZIRGO.* Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva [Notes of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society]. Vol. XVIII. SPb., 1869. Pp. 112–115. (In Russ.).

Литература

- Абашин, 2019 — *Абашин С.* «Моё мировоззрение» Владимира Наливкина: взгляды российского социалиста на имперской окраине // Центральная Азия в эпоху средневековья и нового времени. Ташкент: Akademnashr, 2019. С. 146–165.
- Алекторов, 1879 — *Алекторов А.Е.* Ислам в Казахстане: историко-этнографический анализ. Казань: Типография Казанского университета, 1879. 104 с.
- Аристов, 1896 — *Аристов Н.А.* Очерки этнографического состава тюркских народов и статистические данные о численности их. Санкт-Петербург: Императорская Академия наук, 1896. 256 с.
- Аристов, 1897 — *Аристов Н.А.* Киргизы и их этнографические связи. Санкт-Петербург: Типография Министерства народного просвещения, 1897. 189 с.
- Бартольд, 1927 — *Бартольд В.В.* Туркестан в эпоху монгольского нашествия. Москва – Ленинград: Издательство АН СССР, 1927. 310 с.
- Валиханов, 1985 — *Валиханов Ч.Ч.* Собрание сочинений в пяти томах. Том 4. Алма-Ата: Главная редакция Казахской советской энциклопедии, 2-е изд. доп. и переработанное, 1985. С. 71–76.
- Гаврилов, 2005 — *Гаврилов С.А.* Мусульманские традиции в Центральной Азии. Москва: Восточная литература, 2005. 210 с.
- Гершель, 2004 — *Гершель Л.А.* Религиозный синкретизм в Центральной Азии. Москва: Издательство «Наука», 2004. 125 с.
- Губарев, 1894 — *Губарев К.* Быт и верования киргиз. Оренбург: Типография Оренбургского военного округа, 1894. 34 с.
- Данилевский, 2002 — *Данилевский Н.Я.* Культурные адаптации в Центральной Азии. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство «Восточная литература», 2002. 97 с.
- Зеланд, 1885 — *Зеланд Н.* Материалы по этнографии киргизских степей. Санкт-Петербург: Типография Императорской академии наук, 1885. 67 с.
- ЗИРГО, 1869 — *ЗИРГО.* Записки Императорского Русского географического общества, вып. XVIII. Санкт-Петербург, 1869. С. 112–115.
- Кун, 1870 — *Кун А.Л.* Туркестан: край и его народы. Санкт-Петербург: Общество любителей русской словесности, 1870. С. 83–87.
- Левшин, 2002 — *Левшин А.В.* Ислам и народные верования казахов. Алматы: Qazaq universiteti, 2002. 205 с.
- Нуртазина, Картабаева, Дауытбекова, 2024 — *Нуртазина Н., Картабаева Е., Дауытбекова М.* Наследие казахских ишанов и святых целителей: новые подходы и перспективы изучения в контексте мусульманско-суфийской традиции Центральной Азии // Электронный научный журнал «edu.e-history.kz», 2024. Вып. 11(3). С. 541–557. URL: https://doi.org/10.51943/2710-3994_2024_11_3_541-557
- Радлов, 1884 — *Радлов В.В.* Из Сибири: Страницы дневника. Санкт-Петербург: Типография Академии наук, 1884. С. 221–225.

- Рычков, 1762 — *Рычков П.И.* Топографическое описание Оренбургской губернии. Оренбург: Типография губернской канцелярии, 1762. С. 49–51.
- Семёнов-Тян-Шанский, 1879 — *Семёнов-Тян-Шанский М.П.* Путеводитель по Центральной Азии. Санкт-Петербург: Издательство «Пушкин», 1879. 145 с.
- Спасский, 1823 — *Спасский Г.И.* Этнографические очерки азиатских народов. Санкт-Петербург: Типография Российской Академии наук, 1823. 109 с.
- Толеубаев, 1972 — *Толеубаев А.Т.* Пережитки домусульманских верований и обрядов в семейном быту казахов в конце XIX – начале XX веков. Москва, 1972. 213 с.
- Харузин, 1888 — *Харузин А.Н.* Очерк религиозной жизни кочевых народов Центральной Азии. Москва: Типография Московского университета, 1888. 154 с.
- Шмурло, 1899 — *Шмурло Е.Ф.* Мусульманство в степях: История и современность. Казань: Университетская типография, 1899. 213 с.
- Atkinson, 1999 — *Atkinson J.A.* Islam and the Traditions of Central Asia. London: Routledge, 1999. 150 p.
- Bonner, 2014 — *Bonner B.* Islam and Cultural Practices in Central Asia. New York: Routledge, 2014. Pp. 112–128.
- DeWeese, 1994 — *DeWeese D.* Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994. 45 p.
- Frank, 2001 — *Frank A.J.* Islamic Transformation in Central Asia: A Historical Perspective. Leiden: Brill, 2001. Pp. 92–110.
- Geertz, 1968 — *Geertz C.* Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968. Pp. 43–47.
- Lewis, 2003 — *Lewis R.* Rethinking Islam in Central Asia. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. Pp. 120–137.
- Montgomery, 2017 — *Montgomery D.* Everyday Islam: Religion and Tradition in Rural Central Asia. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017. Pp. 65–89.
- Olcott, 1987 — *Olcott M.B.* The Kazakhs. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1987. 129 p.
- Orlov, 2016 — *Orlov A.K.* The Syncretic Nature of Kazakh Islam. London: Routledge, 2016. 62 p.
- Smit, 2015 — *Smit J.B.* Islamic Traditions in Central Asia: A Western Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 88 p.

МАЗМҰНЫ

ТАРИХНАМА ЖӘНЕ ДЕРЕКТАНУ

Алпысбес М.А. ШҮРШТҚЫРЫЛҒАН ШАЙҚАСЫ ХАЛЫҚТЫҢ ТАРИХИ ЖАДЫСЫНДА.....	327
Ногайбаева М.С., Шакирбаева И.Т. КЕЙІНГІ ОРТАҒАСЫРЛЫҚ ҚАЗАҚ ҚОҒАМЫНДАҒЫ ӘЛЕУМЕТТІК МӘРТЕБЕ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРІ.....	343

ТАРИХ

Адилова Ф.А., Колумбаева З.Е., Серубаева А.Т. ҚАЗАҚ ДАЛАСЫНДАҒЫ ҚАРҚАРАЛЫ ПЕТИЦИЯСЫНДАҒЫ ДІН МӘСЕЛЕСІ (XIX ғ. аяғы – XX ғ. басы).....	356
Азирбекова А.Ж., Абишева Ж.Р. ГЕРЖОД ІСІ: АШЫЛМАҒАН АҚИҚАТ.....	367
Алпыспаева Г.А., Жұман Г., Аубакирова Х.А. XX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ 50–80-ші ЖЖ. ҚАЗАҚСТАННЫҢ МЕКТЕП БІЛІМ БЕРУ ЖҮЙЕСІНДЕГІ ДІНГЕ ҚАРСЫ ТӘРБИЕ: ТАРИХИ ТАЛДАУ.....	382
Бекмағамбетова М.Ж., Бекмағамбетов Р.К., Бимолданова А.А. 1950 ЖЫЛДАРДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚ ӘДЕБИЕТІНІҢ МЕКТЕП ОҚУЛЫҚТАРЫНДАҒЫ «ИДЕОЛОГИЯЛЫҚ ҚАТЕЛІКТЕР».....	399
Белялова А., Қаипбаева А.Т. ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ АШАРШЫЛЫҚ КЕЗІНДЕГІ ЭТНИКАЛЫҚ ТОПТАРДЫҢ ЖАҒДАЙЫ (1931–1933 жж.).....	415
Дүйсембаева Н.Б., Жұматай С. XX ҒАСЫР БАСЫНДАҒЫ БІЛІМ БЕРУДЕГІ «МАМАНИЯ» МЕКТЕБІНІҢ ОРНЫ.....	427
Жолсеитова М.А. ОТАРЛЫҚ БІЛІК КОНТЕКСТІНДЕГІ МҰСЫЛМАНДЫҚ БІЛІМ БЕРУ ЖҮЙЕСІ: САЯСИ СТРАТЕГИЯЛАР МЕН ИДЕОЛОГИЯЛЫҚ ДИСКУРСЫҢ ҒЫЛЫМИ ТАЛДАУЫ.....	442
Қаипбаева А.Т., Әбікей А.М. ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ 1931–1933 ЖЫЛДАРДАҒЫ ЖАППАЙ АШАРШЫЛЫҚ МӘСЕЛЕСІНЕ ТАРИХНАМАЛЫҚ ШОЛУ.....	456
Легкий Д.М., Турежанова С.А., Нурушева Г.К. ҚАЗАҚ КСР-ІНДЕГІ МҰҒАЛІМДЕР ДАЯРЛАУ ТАРИХЫНАН (1950 ЖЫЛДАРДЫҢ БІРІНШІ ЖАРТЫСЫ).....	471
Мәлікова С.З., Абуов Н.А. СОЛТҮСТІК ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ ҰЖЫМДАСТЫРУ ЖӘНЕ АШТЫҚ ТАРИХЫ.....	488
Мұқанова Г.Қ., Ахметжанова А.Т. ДАЛА ОБЛЫСТАРЫНЫҢ ҰЕЗДІК БАСҚАРМАСЫ ТУРАЛЫ ҚАЗАҚ ЗИЯЛЫЛАРЫНЫҢ НАРАЗЫЛЫҚ ЖАРИЯЛАНЫМДАРЫ. XIX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ АЯҒЫ-XX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ БАСЫ.....	501
Мұхатова О.Х. АШТЫҚ ЖЫЛДАРДАҒЫ ҚОРҒАНСЫЗ БАЛАЛАР ЖАҒДАЙЫ.....	516
Сағнайқызы С., Сартаев С.А., Нусупбаева С.А. ТҰРАҚТЫ АУЫЛ ШАРУАШЫЛЫҒЫ: ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ ЕТ ДАЙЫНДАУ МЕН ЖАСЫЛ ЭКОНОМИКА ҚАҒИДАТТАРЫНЫҢ БАЙЛАНЫСЫ (1927–1932).....	531
Сүлейменова Қ., Дауытбекова М.Қ., Құрманалина Н.Н. ҚАЗАҚ БАТЫРЛАРЫНЫҢ ДИПЛОМАТИЯЛЫҚ ҚАТЫНАСТАРДАҒЫ ОРНЫ (XVIII ғ.).....	543
Хайдаров Е.Е. БАТЫС ҚАЗАҚСТАН ОБЛЫСЫНДАҒЫ ҰЖЫМДАСТЫРУ ЖӘНЕ ХАЛЫҚ НАРАЗЫЛЫҒЫ (1928–1932 жж.).....	559
Эгамбердиев М.Ш., Тургунбаев Е.М. ИМПЕРИЯЛЫҚ МОДЕРНИЗАЦИЯ ЖАҒДАЙЫНДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚ ҚОҒАМЫНДАҒЫ ДІНИ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ.....	575

ЭТНОЛОГИЯ/АНТРОПОЛОГИЯ

Нұрланқызы Г., Бекназаров Р.А. АҚТӨБЕ – ПОЛИЭТНИКАЛЫҚ ҚАЛА (1869–1946 ЖЖ.): ТАРИХИ-ЭТНОГРАФИЯЛЫҚ ЗЕРТТЕУ.....	589
Хабибуллин Е.И., Асылғожин А.Р., Рыскильдин А.Х. ГЕНЕТИКАЛЫҚ ЗЕРТТЕУЛЕР БОЙЫНША БАШҚҰРТТАРДЫҢ ҚЫПШАҚ ЖӘНЕ ТУЫСҚАН РУЛАРЫ (ТАЙПАЛАРЫ).....	603

СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ И ИСТОЧНИКОВЕДЕНИЕ

Алпысбес М.А. БИТВА ШУРШУТКЫРЫЛГАН В ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ ПАМЯТИ НАРОДА.....	327
Ногайбаева М.С., Шакирбаева И.Т. ПРОБЛЕМЫ СОЦИАЛЬНОГО СТАТУСА В КАЗАХСКОМ ОБЩЕСТВЕ ПОЗДНЕГО СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЬЯ...	343

ИСТОРИЯ

Адилова Ф.А., Колумбаева З.Е., Серубаева А.Т. РЕЛИГИОЗНЫЙ ВОПРОС В КАЗАХСКОЙ СТЕПИ В КАРКАРАЛИНСКОЙ ПЕТИЦИИ (конец XIX – начало XX вв.).....	356
Азирбекова А.Ж., Абишева Ж.Р. ДЕЛО ГЕРЖОДА: НЕРАСКРЫТАЯ ПРАВДА.....	367
Алпыспаева Г.А., Жуман Г., Аубакирова Х.А. АНТИРЕЛИГИОЗНОЕ ВОСПИТАНИЕ В СИСТЕМЕ ШКОЛЬНОГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ КАЗАХСТАНА В 50–80-Е ГГ. XX ВЕКА: ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ.....	382
Бекмагамбетова М.Ж., Бекмагамбетов Р.К., Бимоланова А.А. «ИДЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ОШИБКИ» В ШКОЛЬНЫХ УЧЕБНИКАХ КАЗАХСКОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ В 1950-Е ГОДЫ.....	399
Беялова А., Каипбаева А.Т. ПОЛОЖЕНИЕ ЭТНИЧЕСКИХ ГРУПП В КАЗАХСТАНЕ В ГОДЫ ГОЛОДА (1931–1933 гг.).....	415
Дуйсембаева Н.Б., Жуматай С. МЕСТО ШКОЛЫ «МАМАНИЯ» В ОБРАЗОВАНИИ НАЧАЛА XX ВЕКА.....	427
Жолсеитова М.А. МУСУЛЬМАНСКАЯ СИСТЕМА ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ В КОНТЕКСТЕ КОЛОНИАЛЬНОЙ ВЛАСТИ: НАУЧНЫЙ АНАЛИЗ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ СТРАТЕГИЙ И ИДЕОЛОГИЧЕСКОГО ДИСКУРСА.....	442
Каипбаева А.Т., Абиkey А.М. ИСТОРИОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ ОБЗОР ПРОБЛЕМЫ МАССОВОГО ГОЛОДА 1931–1933 ГОДОВ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ.....	456
Легкий Д.М., Турежанова С.А., Нурушева Г.К. ИЗ ИСТОРИИ ПОДГОТОВКИ УЧИТЕЛЬСКИХ КАДРОВ В КАЗАХСКОЙ ССР (ПЕР. ПОЛ. 1950-Х ГГ.).....	471
Маликова С.З., Абуов Н.А. ИСТОРИЯ КОЛЛЕКТИВИЗАЦИИ И ГОЛОДА В СЕВЕРНОМ КАЗАХСТАНЕ.....	488
Муканова Г.К., Ахметжанова А.Т. ПРОТЕСТНЫЕ ПУБЛИКАЦИИ КАЗАХСКИХ ИНТЕЛЛЕКТУАЛОВОБ УЕЗДНОМ УПРАВЛЕНИИ СТЕПНЫХ ОБЛАСТЕЙ. РУБЕЖ XIX–XX ВЕКОВ.....	501
Мухатова О.Х. ПОЛОЖЕНИЕ БЕСПРИЗОРНЫХ ДЕТЕЙ В ГОДЫ ГОЛОДА.....	516
Сагынайкызы С., Сартаев С.А., Нусупбаева С.А. УСТОЙЧИВОЕ СЕЛЬСКОЕ ХОЗЯЙСТВО: СВЯЗЬ МЕЖДУ ЗАГОТОВКОЙ МЯСА И ПРИНЦИПАМИ ЗЕЛЕННОЙ ЭКОНОМИКИ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ (1927–1932).....	531
Сулейменова К., Дауытбекова М.К., Курманалина Н.Н. РОЛЬ КАЗАХСКИХ БАТЫРОВ В ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКИХ ОТНОШЕНИЯХ (XVIII В.).....	543
Хайдаров Е.Е. КОЛЛЕКТИВИЗАЦИЯ И НАРОДНЫЕ ПРОТЕСТЫ В ЗАПАДНО-КАЗАХСТАНСКОЙ ОБЛАСТИ (1928–1932 гг.).....	559
Эгамбердиев М.Ш., Тургунбаев Е.М. РЕЛИГИОЗНАЯ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ В КАЗАХСКОМ ОБЩЕСТВЕ В УСЛОВИЯХ ИМПЕРСКОЙ МОДЕРНИЗАЦИИ.....	575

ЭТНОЛОГИЯ/АНТРОПОЛОГИЯ

Нурлановна Г., Бекназаров Р.А. АКТОБЕ – ПОЛИЭТНИЧЕСКИЙ ГОРОД (1869–1946): ИСТОРИКО-ЭТНОГРАФИЧЕСКОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ.....	589
Хабибуллин Е.И., Асылгужин А.Р., Рыскильдин А.Х. КИПЧАКСКИЕ И СВЯЗАННЫЕ С НИМИ КЛАНЫ (ПЛЕМЕНА) БАШКИР ПО ДАННЫМ ГЕНЕТИЧЕСКИХ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЙ.....	603

CONTENTS

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCE STUDIES

Alpysbes M.A. THE BATTLE OF THE SHURSHITQYRYLGAN IN THE HISTORICAL MEMORY OF THE PEOPLE.....	327
Nogaybayeva M.S., Shakirbayeva I.T. PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL STATUS IN LATE MEDIEVAL KAZAKH SOCIETY.....	343

HISTORY

Adilova F.A., Kolumbaeva Z.E., Serubayeva A.T. THE PROBLEM OF RELIGION THE KARKARALIN PETITION IN THE KAZAK STEPPE (late XIX-early XX th centuries).....	356
Azirbekova A.J., Abisheva J.R. GERZHOD'S CASE: THE UNREVEALED TRUTH.....	367
Alpyspaeva G., Zhuman G., Aubakirova H. ANTIRELIGIOUS UPBRINGING IN THE SCHOOL EDUCATION SYSTEM OF KAZAKHSTAN IN THE 1950–1980s OF THE 20th CENTURY: HISTORICAL ANALYSIS.....	382
Bekmagambetova M.Zh., Bekmagambetov R.K., Bimolanova A.A. “IDEOLOGICAL MISTAKES” IN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS OF KAZAKH LITERATURE IN THE 1950S.....	399
Belyalova A., Kaipbayeva A.T. THE SITUATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN KAZAKHSTAN DURING THE FAMINE (1931–1933).....	415
Duisembayeva N.B., Zhumatay S. THE PLACE OF THE “MAMANIYA” SCHOOL IN EDUCATION IN THE EARLY XX CENTURY.....	427
Zholseitova M. MUSLIM EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE CONTEXT OF COLONIAL POWER: A SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL STRATEGIES AND IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE.....	442
Kaipbayeva A.T., Abikey A.M. HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW OF THE PROBLEM OF MASS FAMINE IN 1931–1933 IN KAZAKHSTAN.....	456
Legkiy D.M., Nurusheva G.K., Turezhanova S.A. FROM THE HISTORY OF TRAINING TEACHERS IN THE KAZAKH SSR.....	471
Malikova S.Z., Abuov N.A. HISTORY OF COLLECTIVIZATION AND FAMINE IN NORTHERN KAZAKHSTAN.....	488
Mukanova G.K., Akhmetzhanova A.T. PROTEST PUBLICATIONS OF THE KAZAKH INTELLECTUALS ABOUT THE DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION OF THE STEPPE REGIONS. THE TURN OF THE XIX–XX CENTURIES.....	501
Mukhatova O.Kh. THE SITUATION OF STREET CHILDREN DURING THE YEARS OF FAMINE.....	516
Sagnaikyzy S., Sartaev S.A., Nusupbaeva S.A. SUSTAINABLE FARMING: LINKS BETWEEN MEAT PROCUREMENT AND GREEN ECONOMY PRINCIPLES IN KAZAKHSTAN (1927–1932).....	531
Suleimenova K., Dautbekova M.K., Kurmanalina N.N. THE ROLE OF KAZAKH BATYRS IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS (XVIII CENTURY).....	543
Khaidarov E.E. COLLECTIVIZATION AND POPULAR PROTESTS IN THE WEST KAZAKHSTAN REGION (1928–1932).....	559
Egamberdiyev M.Sh., Turgunbayev Ye.M. RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATION IN KAZAKH SOCIETY UNDER IMPERIAL MODERNIZATION.....	575

ETHNOLOGY/ANTHROPOLOGY

Nurlanovna G., Beknazarov R.A. AKTOBE – A POLY-ETHNIC CITY (1869–1946): HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY.....	589
Khabibullin E., Asylguzhin A., Ryskildin A. KIPCHAK AND RELATED CLANS (TRIBES) OF THE BASHKIRS ACCORDING TO GENETIC RESEARCH DATA.....	603

ASIAN JOURNAL “STEPPE PANORAMA”

2025. 12 (2)

Бас редактор:
Қабылдинов З.Е.

Компьютерде беттеген:
Копеева С.Ж.

Құрылтайшысы және баспагері:

Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитеті
Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

Редакция мен баспаның мекен-жайы:

050010, Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28-үй
ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒК Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

Журнал сайты: <https://edu.e-history.kz>

Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов ат. ТжЭИ басылған:

050010 Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28-үй