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[zauresh07@mail.ru](mailto:zauresh07@mail.ru), KazNAU, [torlanbayeva@mail.ru](mailto:torlanbayeva@mail.ru),**COLONIAL RUSSIA'S POLICY TOWARDS ISLAM  
IN KAZAKHSTAN (BASED ON THE MATERIALS  
OF THE ORENBURG STATE ARCHIVE)**

**Abstract:** In this paper authors explore Russia's colonial policy with regard to religion, population or Orenburg steppes on the basis of archive data. Main task of the publication is a complex research of history of Russia's colonial policy regarding peoples in Central Asia.

Steppe part of the Orenburg region was included into conquered colonial territory of Russia. This region connecting steppe routes of Kazakhs, Bashkir, Tatars and representing a strategical territory for strengthening Russian influence in Central Asia. Interesting aspects explored during review of archive data and study of the region's history is a policy towards religious life of population.

The methodology of the analysis is based on the study of archival materials in Orenburg conducted by researchers in 2010. The focus was on archival materials of the Orenburg State Archive on the situation of Kazakhs, Tatars and Bashkirs in the Russian Empire.

The result of the study was the conclusion that religion was considered by the colonial administration as the main tool of trust establishment to the Russian authorities.

**Key words:** Orenburg, history, archive, policy of Russia, Kazakhs, Islam, European travelers.

**Introduction**

The purpose of this research is a study of Russia's colonial policy directions towards Islam in Kazakhstan by the example of Orenburg history and Orenburg state archive analysis.

Kazakh people are connected with Orenburg by a long historical path, when nomads' pastures stretched on the large spaces of steppe and different Turkic-Mongolian peoples of Kazakhstan, Siberia, Altay, Mongolia, Orenburg region were one economic-culture unity. Colonial stage of the world's history transformed and completely changed existing course of Turkic-Mongol people's history. Present time, there is a large number of researches dedicated to the history of colonial policy of Russia and other countries in Central Asia [1; 2; 3].

Important factor in the policy of Russia towards conquest of Orenburg steppe people becomes religion. Tatar, Kazakhs and Bashkir population identified themselves as adherents of Islam. That's why after Ekaterina comes to power Russia actively uses Islam in colonial policy. Those Russians and Europeans who observed religious practices of population saw many features of pagan cults and shamanism. Moreover, based on representation about themselves as a civilizing nation, they led active missionary activity and recruited new adherents to the ranks of Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Protestantism, and ultimately became conductors of colonial ideology.

One of the main questions of Russian and Western observers regarding the religion of Kazakhs is to what extent are Kazakhs Muslims. Researches aimed at study of Kazakhs' historiography and art of its creators emerged in the contemporary historical discourse [4]. Indeed, in the period of colonial transformation and then Soviet modernization, Kazakh people preserved their adherence to Sunni Islam. Authors of verbal history writing, among which is Mashhur Zhusup Kopeev, Islam for Kazakhs was traditional or popular Islam [5, p. 23-34; 6]. Popular Islam is Islam "diluted" strongly by pre-Islamic beliefs, i.e. heathen beliefs and customs had merged with Islam. These are customs and rules of conduct in every-day life dictated by shariat which prescribes scenario of humans' life from its birth to death and even assigns an algorithm of afterlife. The religiousness of Kazakhs is expressed in observing rules of domestic Islam. And indicator of religiousness can be observing of any separately taken rule.

### **Methodological approaches**

Methodological basis of this research is analysis and description of archive materials of Orenburg State archive of the Russian Federation. The archive data were verified and compared the materials of European travelers, with their opinions on results of policy provided by Russia in Central Asia in conquers and strengthening the Russian administration.

In post-Soviet period in historiographical discourse opinions of Soviet researches regarding national verbal historiography and its bearers had changed. In our research comparison of archive data with literature of Kazakh enlighteners, collectors of custom traditions of verbal heritage allows to look at these resources from the position of its significance in preserving national history writing in XIX – beg. XX centuries. Also, our research includes comparative analysis of Soviet time archive data regarding religion in Kazakhstan.

The methodology of research is comparative and historical analysis of the policy discourse of colonial epoch in the world history, historical processes in Russia and its policy with regard to colonized. Our task concluded in analysis of these processes which can be observed when reading archive files of Orenburg State archive, information of European travelers, their opinions in the analysis of present condition of historiography.

### **Results**

Orenburg has a peculiar charm of multilingual cultures and preserves heritage of strategic fortress city construction of which was connected with political will of the Russian empire in the policy of conquering Central Asia. In XIX, Orenburg was in the center of tsarism policy events in Kazakh steppe, in relations with Bashkir and Tatars population, in Kazakhs national-liberation rebellions and territorial-administrative policy of Russia in 1867-1868.

History of Orenburg is written according to materials of Orenburg State archive begins from 1881 when by initiative of N.V. Kalachev the Committee on organization of archive of the former office of the general-governor was established. Local scientific archive was established on the initiative of Petersburg archeological institute in 1887 and dealt with collection and filing of ancient materials on livelihood activities of the population, on Kazakh, Tatar and Bashkir population residing in steppe borders of Orenburg. It kept Imperators correspondence with governors of the region, diplomatic and military warfare, chancery of Orenburg Diocese, Orenburg Spiritual Administration, Orenburg division of Emperor Russian Geographic Society and etc. [7, p. 3].

Among numerous archive cases in the center of our attention were files on religious and spiritual life of people. Archives show existence of non-unified system of orthodox denominations, circulation of pagan cults, magic and superstitions among people of Orenburg region. For instance, the Case on False saints residing in the territory of Orenburg region, assigning them to monasteries, recruits and assignment to labor [8], Reports of clergy members from various regions [9], Case on dispatching the Order of the ruling Senate on detecting of heretics leaders and mentors [10], Case on assignment of Sevastianova fairy from Iletsk city to Orenburg spiritual administration [11], Case on prohibiting people in church to cross themselves with two fingers [12] and others. Each of these cases actualizes an issue on spiritual variety of the population, both and Slavonic ethnos describes shaman rituals and cults among people. There is evidence on confrontation of population on intervention of state and church officials into their spiritual; materials describe that Kazaks whose settlements became military fortresses on territories bordering with the steppe. Their spiritual life was not subordinated to Orthodoxy to the extent required by trustworthiness that's why churches were built in these settlements and missionary sermon was conducted.

At various times, Kazakh steppes were visited by Western travelers, among whom was John Castle - one of foreign members of Orenburg expedition organized in 1734 and it was aiming to return Orenburg into outpost of Bashkir lands colonization and further movement into Kazakh steppe. The book of J. Castle is of big interest which describes all main events occurred after annexation of the Small Juz to Russia: rebellion of Bashkirs, Russian and Turkey war, Orenburg expedition and first attempts of colonization of Kazakh lands by Russia. J. Castle describes also religious life of the Kazakh population in Orenburg and its steppe, in particular, he describes divination ritual performed by Kazakh mullah, but the ritual itself reminds more baksy (shamanistic kamlaniye). J. Castle had an impression that: Kazakh laws were based mainly on Koran and partially on prescriptions of ancestors. Their religion is Muhammadan

and in the center was belief in spirits and magic games [13, p. 251; 14, p. 23]. These observations can be compared with archive materials of Orenburg State archive, which also have a detailed description of Sufi ritual loud zikr, which helped to cure ill person and it reminded shaman rituals [15].

Interesting are cases showing state policy of Russia with regard to spiritual life of Muslim population in Orenburg region. At least three successive directions of the state policy towards religion can be observed according to archive files.

**First** direction of policy is connected with the policy of Anna Ioannovna and was rough with regard to local religions and beliefs of Orenburg peoples and required from church officials to conduct a missionary activity among Muslim and pagan population of steppe territories of the Empire. According to the order of Empress dated May 1, 1734 construction of non-Orthodox churches was prohibited, the missionary activity strengthened [16, p. 38]. This policy reflected in files dated by mid XVIII c. These are such archives as *Files on Awarding cross or money to people belonging to other faiths who accepted holy baptism* [17], *Files on conversion of Muslims to Orthodox religion* [18], *Order of Kazan ecclesiastical consistory prohibiting to construct mosques and to destroy the existing* [19], *File on charging newly-baptized Bashkir I. Syugeymonov in slander* [20] and etc. In general, such policy had no success joining of local population to the Russian citizenship.

**Second** direction of policy is connected with the policy of Ekaterina II when it becomes obvious that Russia is becoming a colonial Empire and leads a competitive policy with other European countries in this direction. The authority understanding the necessity to withhold steppe and Siberian peoples within its influence and planning to expand its borders and trade connections with Central-Asian khanates and China, starts to lead appeasing policy with regard to Islam. In connection with that September 4, 1785 Ekaterina II wrote to Orenburg general lieutenant I.O. Igyelstrom: "As I realize from your report dated August 6, mosques in Troitsk and Orenburg fortress (i.e. called Seitov posad- K.T.) constructed for our citizens of Muhammadan law are opened. I'm sure that construction of such places for a public pray will attract other neighboring nomads, and in future will serve as a mean to restrain them from willfulness better than any other strict measures. Therefore, I order to: 1) construct Tatar schools in the mentioned mosques consistent with Kazan mosques, as well as caravan and guest courtyards; 2) to construct stone fences around said mosques in accordance with customs of Tatars; 3) to construct new mosques especially in such places which are convenient to visit by up to five hundred people.

Famous follower of Ekaterina's II policy was general-governor of Orenburg region V.A. Perovskiy. Construction of Orenburg symbol – Caravan Saray [27, p. 65-71] is connected with his name. The design of Caravan-Saray according to the idea of V.A. Perovskiy should play a representation role of the country in the region and attract Muslim population of border area in Kazakhstan and Central Asia. By opinion of V.V. Dorofeev: "Insightful plans of Perovskiy resulted not only in construction of shelter for Bashkirs, but also had aim to strengthen connections with Bashkiria in Orenburg region. Russia strived to attract Muslim peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in colonial competition with England [22, p. 65]. Construction of Caravan-Saray was approved for the project of A.P. Bryullov and started in 1840. Basic works were completed already by 1844; the mosque in Caravan-Saray was opened in 1846. Among patrons of tremendous complex was khan Zhangir of Bukeev Orda who donated for construction of the mosque 9512 rubles 90 kopecks in 1838-1839 years. Within 20 years this mosque was military and didn't have constant visit by the city dwellers. After the dissolution of Bashkir-Meshcheryak host in 1865 the Muslims residing in the Old and New Sloboda were assigned to the mosque in Caravan-Saray [23, p. 40-42].

Such policy delivered quick results in strengthening administration presence of Russia in Kazakhstan. According to this policy Tatar population was used in Islamization of Kazakhs in the result of which Tatar and Bashkir clerics were incorporated into administration structure of Kazakh steppe. Strongly linked Muslim communities of Tatars and Bashkir who migrated to Orenburg steppe more intensively namely in the result of such policy in 1830-1840s made a contribution into strengthening the Russian influence and provision of further administrative reforms on the territory of Kazakhstan in 1867-1868.

These files data of Orenburg archive with regard to policy of the Russian administration in religious life of local population are compared with opinion of Eugene Schuyler who visited Russian Turkistan in the end of XIX c., as a council-general of the USA in Saint-Petersburg. The authors trip materials and observations are collected in his book *Turkestan. Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara and Kuldja*. E. Schuyler travelled to Kazakhstan in the period when Ekaterina's policy brought

its results. In particular, he wrote: "It's curious, but Kyrgyz became Muslims thanks to erroneous endeavors of Russian government. Initially, Kyrgyz sultans or leaders were not aware of Islam doctrines and there were no mosques and mullahs in steppes, but Russian (as was in case of Tatar language for communication), dealt with them as with Muslims, constructed mosques and sent mullahs till they had not become Muslims, though the further from Russian lines and closer to settled population of Central Asia, their religion was weak. Exactly the same way, during this century Russian turned Buryats into Buddhists though they were shamanists. If the government knew about it from the very beginning, it might have turned these two peoples into Christianity [24, p. 37-38].

**Third** direction of policy is connected with the policy of culture unification of the Russian Empire citizens via russification. According to the Ministries Committee has exhausted all possibilities on serving to the colonial policy of Russia. It was necessary to maintain policy on strengthening Orthodoxy activity as a support of the Empire power. That's why according to Provisional decree on administration of Uralsk, Turgay, Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions 1868, the Kazakh population was removed from administration of Orenburg spiritual assembly: "Local administration of Kyrgyz on spiritual matters is provided to local mullahs with their subordination to general civil administration and through it – the ministry of internal affairs [25, p. 339], and it was done with aim of weakening the Muslim propaganda and break up of spiritual connections of Muslims residing in Russia.

The aims of breaking up connections between Muslims of Central Asia had a strategical character and were implemented in a long-term period of time. It became obvious that interrelations of the Russian Empire Muslims with Muslims of other countries threatened to governmental interests, as well as interconnections of Russia's Muslims with each other. In the end of XIX century, this policy was still relevant. According to archive data *Notes on pilgrimages of Muslims, its significance and regulation measures* prepared in the Ministry of foreign affairs and directed to the military governor of Turgay region, contain information on three generally accepted Hajj directions of Muslims from Russia. These Hajj roads were formed historically and were communication roads of Muslims from various states which interfered with the colonial administration. The *Notes* specifies necessity to prohibit Hajj from Samarkand to Bukhara, Afghanistan and India [26, p. 11-12].

Policy of russification of Kazakh population started in the Russian Empire was continued actively in the Soviet period in all spheres of lives, which can also be observed when reading archive materials. Moreover, in the Soviet state because of atheism policy, sects' directions of non-registered, i.e. illegally acting religion organizations of Orthodox and Catholicism directions are flourishing [27, p. 267-269].

### Conclusion

Russia's policy directions described in archives, materials of Western travelers and researches with regard to religion life of Orenburg steppes population characterizes also in general the content of the colonial policy in Kazakhstan.

The researched directions of the colonial policy of Russia transformed religious views of Kazakhs.

First, Kazakhs were active actors of the religious lives of the Muslim society in the policy of Russian colonization.

Second, ideologists with influence of Tatar Islam different from Central-Asian influence and dispute started to appear in Kazakh Muslim intellectual space.

**Third, the factor of Kazakhs religious mindset change became the policy of Russia on propagation Orthodoxy as a new empire religion.**

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**З.Т. Тастанова, К.У. Торланбаева**

**ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ ИСЛАМҒА ҚАТЫСТЫ РЕСЕЙДІҢ ТАРАПЫНАН  
ЖҮРГІЗІЛГЕН ОТАРШЫЛЫҚ САЯСАТЫ  
(ОРЫНБОР МЕМЛЕКЕТТІК МҰРАҒАТЫНЫҢ МАТЕРИАЛДАРЫ БОЙЫНША)**

**Аннотация:** Бұл мақалада авторлар Орынбор даласында өмір сүрген халықтың дініне қатысты мұрағаттық құжаттарды зерттеп, Ресейдің отаршылық саясатын қарастырды.

**Басылымның негізгі мақсаты** – ол, Орталық Азия халықтарына қатысты Ресейдің отаршылдық саясатының тарихын жан-жақты зерделеуі.

Ресейдің отарлау орбитасына Орынбор аумағына жататын далалары - қазақтардың, башқұрттардың, татарлардың дала жолдарын байланыстыратын және Орталық Азиядағы Ресейдің ықпалын күшейту үшін стратегиялық аумақты білдіретін аймақтар кіргізіліп қарастырылды. Мұрағаттық материалдарды және аймақтың тарихын ашып, қызықты аспектілерді анықтайтын дәлелдер - бұл халықтың діни өміріне қатысты саясат. Дінді Ресейдің үкіметі отаршылық әкімшілікке деген сенімді нығайтудың негізгі құралы ретінде қарастырады.

**Талдау әдістемесі** 2010 жылы зерттеушілермен мұрағат материалдарының қарастыру бойынша Орынборда жүргізілген жұмыстарына негізделген. Орынбор мемлекеттік мұрағатының материалдары Ресей империясындағы қазақтар, татарлар мен башқұрттардың жағдайы туралы ақпарат береді.

**Зерттеудің нәтижесі:** Екатерина II кезінде дін, әсіресе Ислам, патшалық әкімшілік Ресей үкіметіне сенімін нығайтудың негізгі құралы ретінде қаралды.

**Түйін сөздер:** Орынбор, тарих, мұрағат, Ресей саясаты, қазақтар, ислам, еуропалық саяхатшылар.

**З.Т. Тастанова, К.У. Торланбаева**

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**КОЛОНИАЛЬНАЯ ПОЛИТИКА РОССИИ В ОТНОШЕНИИ ИСЛАМА В КАЗАХСТАНЕ  
(ПО МАТЕРИАЛАМ ОРЕНБУРГСКОГО ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО АРХИВА)**

**Аннотация.** В представленной статье авторы исследуют колониальную политику России в отношении религии населения оренбургских степей на основе архивных документов.

Основной задачей публикации является комплексное изучение истории колониальной политики России в отношении народов Центральной Азии.

В орбиту колониальных завоеваний России была включена степная часть Оренбуржья – регион, соединяющий степные маршруты казахов, башкир, татар, и представляющий стратегическую территорию для укрепления российского влияния в Центральной Азии. Интересными аспектами, открывающимися при изучении архивных материалов и истории этого региона, является политика в отношении религиозной жизни населения. Религия рассматривается колониальной администрацией как основное орудие в установлении доверия к русской власти.

**Методология анализа основана** на изучении архивных материалов в г. Оренбурге, проведенные исследователями в 2010 г. В центре внимания были архивные материалы Оренбургского Государственного Архива о положении казахов, татар и башкир в Российской империи.

**Результатом исследования** стали вывод о том, что религия, в частности, ислам в период правления Екатерины II рассматривался колониальной администрацией как основное орудие в установлении доверия к русской власти

**Ключевые слова:** Оренбург, история, архив, политика России, казахи, ислам, европейские путешественники.

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